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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
M A N C H E S T E R.
IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY
The Rev. Mr. WHITAKER.

THE
S E C O N D E D I T I O N
CORRECTED.



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MDCCLXXIII.

LPH.

REAR VIEW



P R E F A C E.

“ I F we compare the endeavours of our countrymen
“ for the illustration of our antiquities with those of
“ other nations, we shall find the preference both in
“ number and matter due to us. — The Italians and
“ French are our only competitors. The latter have ac-
“ quired, the former are born with, a passion for anti-
“ quities. Both will teach us a style, when we have as-
“ certained our knowledge; and we may borrow from
“ the one a portion of scepticism, to contrast with the
“ assiduity of the other. The French, carrying those
“ engaging talents they possess in the generality of
“ literary pursuits, into their antiquarian researches,
“ have handled those obscure subjects with the same
“ ease as romances: without going so deep as graver
“ nations, even their superficial knowledge appears to
“ greater advantage by an animated style and pertinent
“ reflections, while our language, as capable of concise
“ judicious remarks; is drawn out into tedious unani-

" mated narrative in such compositions.—Those who
 " have hitherto treated our topographical antiquities
 " seem to have trodden only in mazes overgrown with
 " thorns, neglecting the flowery paths with which the
 " wilderness of obscurity is diversified. Incorrect pedi-
 " grees, futile etymologies, verbose disquisitions, crowds
 " of epitaphs, lists of landholders, and such farrago,
 " thrown together without method, unanimated by re-
 " flections, and delivered in the most uncouth and hor-
 " rid style, make the bulk of our county histories.
 " Such works bring the study of antiquities into disgrace
 " with the generality, and disgust the most candid cu-
 " riosity *."

The History of Manchester is attempted upon a dif-
 ferent plan, upon that which has long appeared to the
 author the only judicious and manly one for a work of
 antiquities. He sketched it out to himself six or seven
 years ago. And he has had the patient resolution to
 work upon it ever since. Had he foreseen the full ex-
 tent of his scheme at first, he should not have had the
 hardiness to form it. And had he known, in any part
 of the execution, the time and labour which the rest
 would have cost him, he had certainly shrunk back from
 the attempt, and closed the whole work immediately.

* See p. vi. and xviii. of the ingenious and judicious Preface to
Anecdotes of British Topography, London, 1768.

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He proceeded on the model before him, flattering himself to the last, that a few months more would dismiss him from the employ, and remit him again to those professional studies which he had so imperceptibly deserted. He once designed to have deduced the history only to the Conquest. He afterwards intended to have folded up all below it in a few general and comprehensive notices. And he is not sorry to have been thus insensibly led on in the execution, till he had actually gone too far to recede, and had a just claim upon himself for the completion of the small remainder. The whole is divided into four Books, containing as many periods; the British and Roman-British, the Saxon, the Danish and Norman-Danish, and the Modern. Three are already finished. And one is here presented to the publick.

The reader must not expect in this work, merely, the private and uninteresting history of a single town. He may hope to meet with all the curious particulars, that can with any propriety be connected with it. Whatever serves to illustrate the antiquities of the kingdom or county, whatever marks the general polity of our towns, and displays the causes and circumstances of any national events that affect the interests of Manchester; all these the author proposes to examine, to ascertain the doubtful, retrench the false, and clear up the obscure,

in them. He will endeavour to fix the position of all the British tribes, and to define the extent of all the Roman provinces, in the island; which has been hitherto the philosopher's stone in antiquities. By a new test that seems to be decisive, he will attempt to investigate the first faint beginning of our present towns, and trace back Manchester and various others to the stations of the Britons in the woods. By a new argument that seems to carry conviction with it, he will try to lay open the curious system of polity that was primarily established among our ancestors, and pursue the discovery of our antient and domestick œconomy up to the period of its earliest origin. And he will attentively mark the progress of the Roman genius on the subjection of the Britons, in planting fortresses and constructing roads in order to command the country, and in erecting towns and introducing civility in order to humanize the natives.

Our national history before the Conquest is the most important and remarkable in our annals. It most forcibly lays hold upon the passions, by the quick succession and active variety of its incidents, and the decisive greatness of its revolutions. And, what is much more, it is that portion of our annals which gives the body and the form to all the succeeding centuries of them. It contains the commencement of every part of our publick and private œconomy. And yet this period has

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been more wretchedly described than any other; and continues to this day loaded with difficulties, and embarrassed with obscurities, on every side. But the present writer hopes to unfold many a dark and entangled clue of this history; and to settle at last upon decisive principles the origin and transactions of the Picts, the Scots, the Saxons, and the Danes, the conduct of the Provincials on the departure of the Romans, and the genuine annals of Arthur and of Alfred: And he equally hopes to point out a large variety of incidents and remarks, relating to the institution of counties and hundreds, of townships and manours, of parishes, feudal tenures, and juries; which have been regularly transmitted from pen to pen through a long course of centuries, and can only plead their antiquity in vindication of their falseness. With a judicious incredulity of spirit to inquire and think for themselves, and with a cool and critical discernment of genius to rectify the general history of their country, should be the study of all good antiquarians, and would be an honour to the best.

But the aim of the author is also of a more delicate and pleasing nature. He wishes to catch the general appearance of the island, the county, and the town, as it varies in the several stages of his progress. He designs to delineate the gradual advance of the arts, and

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trace the successive growth of civility, in all. And he proposes to mark the publick and private manners of every period, as they rise in an agreeable variety before him. The most striking parts of history to a philosophical spirit, are the curious and diversified annals of the human mind.

To design all this, may be too bold. And, to execute it, is perhaps impracticable. But to design boldly is absolutely necessary, either in morality or literature, in order to execute tolerably. We always sink below the standard in practice. And a great plan frequently kindles a new spirit in the soul, calls out unknown powers in the mind, and raises the writer and the man superiour to himself in the execution.

Nor must the general disquisitions and narratives of the present work be considered, as digressionary in their natures, and only useful in their notices. They are all united with the rest, and form proper parts of the whole. They have some of them a necessary connexion with the history of Manchester. They have many of them an intimate relation, and all a natural affinity, to it. And the author has endeavoured, by a judicious distribution of them through the work, to prevent that disgusting uniformity, and to take off that uninteresting locality, which will always result from the

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barren and private annals of a town. He has thus, in some measure, adopted the elegant principles of modern gardening. He has thrown down the close hedges and high walls, that have hitherto confined the antiquarians of our towns in their views. And he has called in the scenes of the neighbouring country to his aid, and combined them into his own plan. He has drawn off the attention to the history of Manchester, before it became languid and exhausted; by fetching in some objects from the county at large, or presenting some view of the national annals. But he has been cautious of multiplying objects in the wantonness of refinement, and distracting the attention with a confused variety. And he has always considered the history of Manchester, as the great fixed point, the enlivening center, of all his excursions. Every opening is therefore made to carry a reference to it, either mediate or immediate. And every vista is employed for the purpose of breaking the straight lines, lighting up the dark, heightening the little, and colouring over the lifeless, in it.

These are the principles, upon which the present work was originally undertaken, and this first volume of it completed. And the writer reflects with satisfaction, amid the solicitude naturally attendant on the hour of publication, that he has been impelled by accident and allured

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lured by pleasure to execute in part what he had always designed, but should never perhaps have deliberately begun; to task himself with some historical undertaking in the earlier period of life, to fix for some years his undivided attention on the subject, and then give himself and his performances to the candour of the publick.

THE



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
M A N C H E S T E R.
BOOK THE FIRST.

Containing the BRITISH and ROMAN-BRITISH Period.



ADVERTISEMENT

To the Second Edition of Book the First.

WHEN the present work was published, the author was not a little solicitous about its reception in the world. Additional to the anxiety so natural to every writer on his first publication, he had peculiar reasons for apprehension, both from the unpromising title and the striking singularity of his undertaking. A history that pretended merely to be local, and yet ventured to deviate widely from the common track of topical antiquities, and even presumed to make its private accounts only the center of a large circle, that should generally extend itself over the island, and frequently stretch into Ireland and the continent; was a work of so uncommon a nature, as was sure to encounter, at first, all the hereditary prejudices of our old antiquarians and the publick. The former would be apt to condemn the boldness of its plan, so much above the usual scale of antiquarian courage, as the very extravagance of fancy. And, what weighed more with the author, he was afraid of being confounded by the latter in the common herd of local historians, and hastily resigned with the rest of his brethren *Blattarum ac Tinearum epulæ*, to the moths and the worms of antiquarianism. But from these apprehensions he was soon freed. His plan has been approved of in every part. And the encouragement, which he has received, has even enabled him thus early to publish a second edition of his work.

In

In this he has availed himself of the observations, which have been made upon the former. And he thinks his history improved by the attention. But his plan and execution are still the same. His corrections are confined to parts. And he has altered some, and enlarged others. His great aim has been to render each essay in the work, as far as he could, a complete treatise upon the subject, to throw nothing wilfully into shade, but make every part stand forth distinct and clear. And the style, which was sometimes embarrassed by its own accuracy and weakened with excess of vigour, he has endeavoured to improve, by clearing away its obstructions and retrenching its exuberance. In a history of so singular a complexion and genius, and with an author unknown to fame, the first publication must be merely experimental; to try the taste and judgement of the publick, for the correction or confirmation of his own. The succeeding books of this work, therefore, will not want the alterations and additions of this; when, like it, they make their second appearance in octavo. And, in that strict justice which should always be shewn to the purchasers of a former edition, all the principal corrections of the second will be thrown together, and printed in a quarto pamphlet.

The author has been obliged to leave out the plates. They are too bulky to be folded in an octavo. And, useful as they are for embellishment, they are not necessary for illustration. But he has added near forty British coins, many of which have been published since the first edition, and remarkably coincide with the observations that he had made in it; has dispersed them

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in different parts of the history, and applied them to explain the manners of the Britons. And he has prefixed a little table of contents to every chapter, calculated to excite curiosity without anticipating information, to give the reader an inviting view of the country in which he is going to travel, and yet leave it to open afterwards with all its novelty upon him, as he gradually proceeds in his journey. Almost ever since Mr. Macpherson released him from attention to the dispute betwixt them, by ingenuously yielding up the whole; Mr. Whitaker has been employed in revising his work, and studying to give it every attainable grace and perfection. This he owed to himself, to local history, and a patronizing publick. And he has particularly endeavoured to perfect, what seems to himself the most curious part of the whole, the attempted history of domestick life. But he has been careful to preserve in the old parts, and pursue in the new, the general and leading spirit of the whole; and has always aimed, as before, to be original without being fantastical, and to deal constantly in new notices with an inviolable adherence to truth.

And he has particularly retained that disposition of the Notes, which seems to be as singular as his execution or his plan; and still places the numerous authorities for his assertions and facts, not, as has hitherto been the custom, at the foot of the page, and even not, as Lord Lyttelton has recently placed them, in an appendix at the end; but at the conclusion of each section. And from this arrangement of them the History of Manchester seems to have derived an advantage peculiar to itself. They are not now, what
on

on the common method they evidently are, so near as to distract the attention by diverting the eye, break the narration, or confound the argument. And they are not, like my Lord's, too remote to be consulted in the progress of the reading. These little members of a work, which are so necessary to every authenticated history, and yet so embarrassing generally to the reader and the writer, are not crowded inelegantly on the margin of the page, where they are attended with an inconvenience almost equal to their utility; and are not huddled together in a common repository at the close, where they are lost to every purpose of immediate consultation, and the observations in them cut off from the subjects to which they respectively belong, and of which they are actual though subordinate parts. They are now formed into collections. And these are subjoined each to its own portion of the work, where every one of them is given un-mingled with another; and are placed each at a point of the history, where a pause is made equally by the writer and the reader. They are not either so small, as to be occurring with a troublesome frequency, or so large, as to be formidable to the reader from their bulkiness. And they are equally ready for a transient consultation or a formal perusal.



CHAP. I.

MANCHESTER ORIGINALLY A BRITISH TOWN, ITS
FIRST NAME AND SITE, AND TO WHAT KINGDOM
IT BELONGED—THE EXTENT OF THE LATTER,
AND THE ARMS OF ITS SUBJECTS—WHEN THE
FORMER WAS FIRST LAID OUT PRO-
BABLY, ITS NATURE AND REMAINS—
AND THE REDUCTION OF BOTH
BY THE ROMANS.

I.

A MID the various doubts and uncertainties
A with which ignorance and inattention have
A clouded the Roman geography of our island,
no uncertainty has ever arisen, and no doubt been
started, concerning the well-known claim of Manchester
to the character of a Roman town. A station is ac-
B knowledged

Sect. I. knowledged by all the antiquarians to have been settled in the neighbourhood of Manchester, and within the compass of the Castle-field. And it is allowed to be the Mancunium of the Roman Itineraries. But the origin of it is not, I think, as all the antiquarians have equally agreed to suppose, derived entirely from the Romans.

P. 2.
Quarto.

The appellation, by which it is denoted in the Itineraries, is confessedly borrowed from the British language. And this one circumstance plainly shews the name to have been imposed by the Britons. They only could communicate a British appellation to a Roman fortress.—And, if the Romans had been the original constructors of the fort, they would have given it a Roman name. If the site had lain totally undiscriminated from the waste around it by any particular denomination, till they fixed their camp upon it; it could not but have received a particular and a Roman one from them. And, when they had given it its original denomination, they would as little have adopted any other afterwards, which the subjected Britons might have pleased to bestow upon it, as we now adopt the names of the Welsh or the Indians for our towns in America and Wales. They would no more have inserted the former in their Itineraries, than we make use of the latter in our charts and laws. And they would much less have superseded the original Roman appellation for ever by the new British one. Acting upon a very different plan, and informed with the natural spirit of all conquerors, they affected to bury British under Roman denominations, and to sink Durovernum in Cantuopolis, Londinium in Augusta, and

Eboracum, Deva, and Ifca Silurum in the names of the legions that were respectively quartered at those places ^{Sect. I.} 1.

The appellation of Mancunium, therefore, was communicated to the Castle-field by the Britons themselves, and before the Romans encamped upon the ground. And, as it is known to signify a fortress in the language from which it is derived, the site of the Roman station was previously the area of a British fortress. Till the field was thus applied, it could not have received the denomination of Mancunium. And, so distinguished, it necessarily obtained that or some other name, expressive either of its particular use or its local circumstances. P. 3.

The geographers of Rome have pointed out to us a large variety of strong-holds in the British and unconquered isle of Ireland 2. And her warriors appear to have met with as many in their reduction of Britain. They found more than twenty among two nations only, upon the southern shore of the island 3. They met with Camulodunum the capital of Cunobeline's kingdom, which they formed into a colony 4; Verulamium a city of the Cassii, which they modelled into a municipium 5; and Calleva or Wallingford, Durnovaria or Dorchester in the west, Eboracum or York, Isurium or Aldborough in Yorkshire, and many others, which they afterwards converted into stations 5. And finding the fort of Mancunium at Manchester, as they had found others before in the south and east, and fixing their own camp on the site of it, as they previously had upon that of others; they necessarily received and naturally continued the original and British denominations

Sect. I. of all, and only softened them to the Roman ear by giving them a Roman termination.

This is a remark, both as it is confined to Manchester, and as it extends to our towns in general, and equally comprehends the cities of Britain and Gaul, which arises at the first reflection upon the names of the Gallick and British stations in the Itineraries. Many are Roman, most are Celtick, and some are both. And where the appellation is of the first class, as *Aquæ Sextiæ* and *Forum Neronis* in Gaul or *Prætorium* and *Villa Faustini* in Britain, though the town which is signified by it may still perhaps challenge a Celtick origin, yet the presumption lies in favour of a Roman one. But where it is of the second, as *Camulodunum*, *Vindomagus*, and *Condate*, or even consists of both together, as *Londinium Augusta*; there the origin of the

P. 4 town is evinced to be actually Celtick. And to this rule, I think, there are only two exceptions, one positive, and the other negative; that respecting the British names of such camps as are within five or six miles of each other, of which the forts along the line of *Severus's* wall are particular instances; and this relating to the Gallick and British appellations of those that are wholly denominated from the rivers upon which they stand, as *Iliberis* and *Rhuscinum* in Gaul, or *Isca Silurum* and *Isca Damnoniorum*, *Alauna* and *Ad Alaunam*, *Tuæsis* and *Ad Tuæsim*, *Tamefis* and *Ad Sturium*, in Britain. In the former series, many of the stations cannot have been originally the fortresses of the Britons; and their names are therefore to be referred to another cause, as will be fully explained hereafter.

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In the latter, none can fairly be reckoned for the sites of such fortresses, except there be some greater evidence of the fact than the mere report of the name. And, under these two restrictions, this seems a criterion as simple as it is decisive, which has been never attended to by the antiquarian critick, but will prove of considerable assistance to him, and is generally all that he can have, in his enquiries into the first and original commencement of our towns. Sect. I.

In the present Castle-field of Manchester then, the area of the Roman station, but before the construction of that upon it, was the British town of Mancunium, all built upon the height which forms the northern bank of the Medlock. And it was distinguished among the Britons of this region by the general appellation of **MANCENION**, or the Place of Tents'. The singular nature of our towns in Lancashire, before the entrance of the Romans into it, was the result of that life of hunting and grazing, which is the natural employ of man in the infancy of society, and which in all the northern parts of the island, where the arts of agriculture were unknown, was necessarily pursued by the natives'. The towns of the Britons were not scenes of regular and general residence. They were only their places of refuge amid the dangers of war, where they might occasionally lodge their wives, children, and cattle, and the weaker resisted the stronger till succours could arrive'. And the first idea of a town, that would present itself to the mind of man in general, would naturally be that of a fortress only, But as before the Roman invasion they had known no

Sect. I. other enemies than their own Celtick brethren, who, like them, were always eager to decide the contest by a battle in the field, neither the one nor the other could be expected to have any considerable skill in the science of fortification. And yet the Britons possessed a greater portion of it, I think, than our historians have been willing to allow them. Their towns were planted in the center of their woods, defended by the advantages of their position, and secured by a regular rampart and fosse. And they resisted the attacks of the best troops under the command of the best officers in the world, and even gained from the greatest of the latter the repeated praise of excellent fortifications ¹⁰.

It is evident from the British names in the Itineraries, that at the first settlement of the Romans in the island, or about the year 50 of Christ, the natives of the present England and Wales had above a hundred of these towns in the woods, all constructed on account of the wars that were reciprocally carried on betwixt their tribes ¹¹. The eleven nations to the south of the Thames had about thirty; the seven betwixt it and the Mersey, nearly forty; and the three beyond the Severn and Dee, more than twenty; all in subordination to their respective capitals. And the Brigantes, who enjoyed the extensive region that is now divided into the five counties of Durham, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaster; holding the two first by the P. 6. equity of prior possession, and the rest by the right of a successful invasion; owned about twenty cities at the same period, in subjection to Isur or Aldborough, their metropolis ¹².

Since

Chap. I. OF MANCHESTER.

Sect. I.

Since Britain was originally peopled from Gaul, the possessors would gradually carry their settlements to the north, as they admitted other communities of their brethren into the island, or as the numbers of their own were augmented within it. Kent, the nearest part to the continent, would naturally be the first that was inhabited from it, and in all probability about a thousand years before the nativity of Christ¹³; and all the long range of the southern coast immediately afterwards. Having thus diffused themselves from the eastern to the western sea, the Celtick colonists would begin to advance towards the north, and at last reach the borders of Lancashire. But the marshes of Cheshire, and the unfordable depth of the Mersey along them, must effectually prevent their entrance into the county from the south-west. They would come in betwixt the village of Norton on one side and the hills of Yorkshire on the other; and the parishes of Ashton, Manchester, Flixton, Eccles, and Warrington be the first entered parts of the county. And this memorable event seems to have happened a considerable time before the invasion of the Brigantes, which was made about the beginning of the Christian æra. For the lengthening line of the settlements appears from that irruption to have been then carried on to the utmost limits of England. And it seems to have happened even before the numerous colony of the Belgæ, three hundred and fifty years preceding that æra, passed the narrow boundary of the sea, and settled, like the primitive

Sect. I. possessors, along the south of the island¹⁴. At this period many of the natives, relinquishing their ancient seats to the Belgæ, found all the central and northern parts of England already occupied, and transported P. 7. themselves into the uninhabited isle of Ireland¹⁵. And Lancashire and our own parish had therefore received a colony of the Celtæ at it.

Nor could they have received one very long before it. The gradual progression of the Gauls along the base of the triangle which the island forms, and afterwards across the plane to the summit of it, would be the labour of many ages. The population of England had been completed at the descent of the Belgæ. And it could not have been so long. Had the inhabitants of Galloway, in particular, been seated in that country for a considerable time before; so very near as Ireland was to them, they could not have left the first plantation of this island to their brethren of the south¹⁶. And their leaving it is as strong an argument as we can have, that the settlement of the southern parts of Scotland had not been long made at the arrival of the Belgæ. The county and the parish therefore were first entered in all probability about one hundred and fifty years before it, and five hundred before the Christian computation, about the period of Darius's expedition into Greece, the restoration of the democracy at Athens, and the institution of the consulate at Rome.

Thus settled in Lancashire, the colonists received the appropriate appellation of Setantii, Sistantii, or Siftuntii;

as

as those who took possession of the country immediately to the north were denominated Volantii or Volantii. And the name seems expressive of their situation. It is compounded perhaps of SE, TAN, TIU, or S, IS, TAN, TIU; signifies either simply THE COUNTRY OF WATER, or discriminately THE INFERIOUR AND SOUTHERLY one, and expresses the particular position of Lancashire with respect to the Volantii and the sea. Setantii seems to have been the original denomination of the settlers, and Siftuntii to have been afterwards conferred upon them, when a new colony had taken possession of the lands on the north, and accuracy was obliged to distinguish one from the other¹⁷. And from the beautiful altar which has been discovered at Elenborough in Cumberland, and is inscribed VOLANTI VIVAS, that town appears to have been denominated Volanty, and was assuredly therefore the Volantian capital¹⁸. But the Siftuntii had the towns of Cocci, Bremetonac, Rerigon, Veratin, and our own Mancenion; all acknowledging the first to be, what the name of Cocci or Supreme imports¹⁹, the metropolis of the country. Such was the principality of the Lancashire Britons, subject to its own capital, and governed by its own monarch. And such it continued about five centuries.

The neighbouring tribe of the Brigantes had been hitherto confined within the counties of York and Durham. But overcharged in all probability with their own numbers, about the commencement of Christianity, they detached a strong party across the hills which extend from Derbyshire to Scotland, and into the countries

Sect. I.

P. 8.

Sec. I. tries of the Siftuntii and Volantii beyond them. And these, apprehensive of the invasion and providing against the danger, seem to have wisely entered into a strict and intimate alliance. They entered, however, in vain. Unable with their united forces to resist the vigour of the Brigantian arms, they were obliged to submit, and received the general appellation of Brigantes. Cocci and Volasty were deprived of their little regalities. And both they and Manchester were reduced under the dominion of the Brigantian capital²⁰.

The appellation of Britain has been tortured for ages by the antiquarians, in order to force a confession of its origin and import from it. And erudition, running wild in the mazes of folly, has eagerly deduced it from every word of a similar sound, almost, in every known language of the globe. But the Celtick is obviously the only one that can lay any competent claim to it. And she must challenge it all for her own. The name was either assumed to themselves by the Gallick settlers P. 9. on the island, or communicated to them by their brethren on the continent. — And the meaning of it may be as easily ascertained as its origin. It, and that appellation of Brigantes which our Mancunian ancestors received at this period from their conquerors, is derived from the primary and common appellative of all the tribes of Britain.

The first denomination of the island was Albion²¹, a name that was evidently conferred upon it before it was inhabited, and while its Alb-ion or heights were only viewed at a distance from the opposite shore of Gaul. The second was Breatin, Brydain, or Britain²²; a name

a name not applied to the region, but bestowed upon the inhabitants ²³; not previously borne on the continent by the original settlers of the country, but assumed or received at their first removal into the island. And it is derived from a Celtick word denoting separation and division. This is a particular, which, in the natural language of the continent, has always characterised the inhabitants of our island. And (as I shall afterwards shew) it has equally given denomination to the tribes of Ireland, the nations of Caledonia, and two or three islands on our coasts ²⁴. The original word is still retained in the Welsh Brith and the Irish Breast, any thing divided or striped, in the Irish Brioth a fraction, the Irish Brifead a rupture, and the Welsh Breg a breach. And it was equally pronounced Briet or Brit (as the Ictius of Cæsar is the Itium of Strabo), Bris, and Brig; and appears with this variety of terminations in the usual appellation of the islanders, Britanni, in the present denomination of the Armorican Britons and their language, Brez and Brezonec, and in the name of the Brigantes. Brit is enlarged into Brit-on or Brit-an in the plural, and Brit-an-ec in the relative adjective, and so forms the appellation Brit-on-es, Brit-an-i, and Brit-an-ic-i ²⁵; as Brig is either changed into Brig-es in the plural, and makes Allo-brig-es or Allo-brog-es, the name of a tribe on the continent and of all the Belgæ in the island ²⁶, or is altered into Brig-an and Brig-ant, and forms the denomination Brig-ant-es. And, as we find the last applied once by a native to P. 10. two or three tribes of the southern, and by a Greek writer to the whole body of the northern Britons ²⁷,

so

Sect. I. so we see the first actually used by Ravennas for the country of the Brigantes, and our own Siftuntii expressly declared to possess a third part of this Britain²⁹.

¹ SEE Richard's and Antonine's Itineraries in N° II. Appendix to vol. II. Iter I. &c. And for a full account of Richard consult b. I. ch. iii. sect. 1. of this work.—

² See b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4. — ³ Vespasianus, — in Britanniam translatus, — duas validissimas gentes, *superque viginti oppida*, — et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam, in deditionem redegit (Suetonius p. 240. Oxon.). —

⁴ Dio p. 959. Hamburgi, 1750, and Tacitus Annal. lib. xii. c. 32. Elzevir, 1672. — ⁵ See b. I. ch. ix. sect. 1. — ⁶ See b. I. ch. vii. sect. 4. — ⁷ Baxter's Gloss.

Antiq. Britan. It is therefore written Mancinium in some MS. of Antonine's Itinerary: see Talbot's Annotations in Leland's Itin. 1769. vol. III. p. 169. — ⁸ Cæsar p. 89, Clarke, Glasgow, Interiores plerique frumenta non ferunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt — ⁹ Cæsar p. 92, Oppidum Britannii vocant—quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consueverunt; and Tacitus in Agric. Vitâ c. xxvii, Britanni conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent.—¹⁰ Cæsar p. 92, Cognoscit non longè ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, sylvis paludibusque munitum; quò satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britannii vocant quùm sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ muniunt—. Locum reperit egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum.—P. 87, Se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti

nacti egregiè naturâ et opere munitum,—quem—jam antè Sect. I.
 præparaverant. — See also Strabo p. 306. Amstel. 1707,
 and more particularly Dio p. 227.—¹¹ Cæsar p. 87,
 Locum egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum, quem do-
 mestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ jam antè præpara-
 verant.—Cæsar p. 88, Mela l. iii. c. 6. Lug. Bat.
 1685, and Richard p. 6.—¹² Richard p. 17—27, and
 his and Antonine's Itinerary in Appendix.—¹³ Richard
 p. 50, and the subsequent history of the population of
 Britain and Ireland b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.—¹⁴ Compare
 Cæsar's expressions Antiquitus transductos p. 33, and P. 11.
 Memoriâ proditum p. 88, with Richard p. 50.—¹⁵ Ri-
 chard p. 50. And in p. 42. he says, Certissimum est
 that the other tribes of Ireland came in postea, after
 these Britons.—¹⁶ See also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.—
¹⁷ Ptolemy l. ii. c. 3. Bertius; Richard p. 47; Gale
 on Antoninus p. 15; and b. I. ch. v. sect. 1.—Baxter,
 with his usual wantonness of criticism, alters their name
 Setantii into Segantii.—¹⁸ Horfeley p. 282. So
 Regnum was the capital of the Regni, Bibroicum
 of the Bibroces, &c.—More Roman inscriptions have
 been found at this Volantium or Elenborough, than
 perhaps in any one city besides through the whole ex-
 tent of Roman Britain (Horfeley p. 279). And, as the
 inscription upon the plane of the above-mentioned altar
 was evidently in honour of Peregrinus, and in memo-
 rial of his building or restoring the houses and temple
 of the Decuriones, so the inscription on the capital,
Volanti vivas, was evidently a wish in honour of the
 same person; one aptly corresponding with the dedica-
 tion

Sect. I. tion of the above-mentioned houses and temples to *the Genius of the place*, that Peregrinus might always live at the town, to the inhabitants of which he had been so great a benefactor, and to the Genius so pious a votary.—¹⁹ See b. I. ch. 4. sect. 3.—²⁰ Richard p. 27, *Propriè sic dicti Brigantes, gens numerosissima, toti olim provinciæ leges præscribens*; and Ptolemy l. ii. c. 3, though he places the Siftuntii on the western sea, yet carries the Brigantes from sea to sea.—Richard p. 27, *Volantii Siftuntique arctiori, ut videtur, fœdere conjuncti*—And Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xvii, *Brigantum civitatem quæ numerosissima totius provinciæ perhibetur*.—²¹ Pliny lib. iv. c. 16. Elzevir, 1635, and Richard p. 1, *Veteres Britanniam primùm Albionem—cognominaverunt*.—²² Pliny and Richard *ibid.*—²³ Richard p. 1, *Vocabulo gentis suæ Britanniam cognominaverunt*.—²⁴ B. I. ch. xii. sect. 2. and 4.—²⁵ So Siftuntii is formed by Ravens into Siftuntiaci (Gale p. 146); and Pœni, Punici, and Phœnices are one and the same name.—²⁶ Richard p. 18. and 20.—²⁷ *Brigantes* (says Galgacus), *feminâ duce, exurere coloniam &c.* (Agric. Vit. c. xxxi). And see also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 5.—²⁸ Gale p. 146.

M E M.

The etymology of the names Albion, Britain, and Brigantes, the period of the first population of the island, and the derivation of the original colonists, have, since the first edition of this work, been more fully opened and ascertained in *The Genuine History of the Britons asserted against Mr. Macpherson*, p. 29—32, 71—74, 91—93, and 95—103.

II. THE

II.

Sect. II.

P. 12.

THE riches of the Britons consisted chiefly in their cattle¹. And it appears to have been a practice among three of their tribes, at least, to keep large herds of them upon the uninhabited grounds, that skirted the confines of their country. Retaining under their own care as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, they detached the rest into the woods on the borders under the inspection of their servants. And these they sometimes called Ceangon or foresters from their place of residence, and sometimes denominated Paruis, herdsmen, or Gabrantic, goat-herds, from the nature of their employ. The Proper Brigantes had their Parisi or Gabrantuici, inhabiting all the East-riding of Yorkshire for the benefit of its extensive wolds². The Ordovices of North-Wales had their Cangiani or Cangani, spreading along the sea-coast of Caernarvonshire from Brachy-Pult Point nearly to Bangor³. And the Sifuntii of Lancashire kept their cattle and Cangii among the numerous mountains that fill up all the south of Westmoreland, and that then formed the northern barrier of their country. These also, like their brethren of North-Wales and Yorkshire, naturally provided for the security of the Cangii and their charge, by the erection of one or more fortresses among their pastures. Such appears to have been the Petuaria of the Parisi, the Segontium of the Cangani, and the Con-cangii of the Sifuntians. Such the two first are evinced

Sect. II. to have been by their sites, and the names of the tribes to which they belonged. And the last is more plainly evinced by its own name as well as its own site. Its appellation denotes it to be the capital of the Cangii. And its proximity to Lancashire, being seated at Watercrock near Kendal, points out the inhabitants to be the Cangii of the Sifuntians ⁴. The whole county of Westmoreland seems to have been originally appropriated to the feeding of cattle, and for this purpose to have been partitioned equally betwixt the Sifuntii and Volantii; **P. 13.** the barony of Kendal perhaps being assigned to the former, and that of Westmoreland allotted to the latter. And the whole remained wild and uncultivated, in general, to the late period of the Saxons, and therefore acquired from them the appellation which it retains at present, of Waste Moor Land or the rude and heathy region ⁵.

To a mind that has derived all its ideas of the Britons from the modern and popular accounts of them, it must seem ridiculous to talk of the British armouries. But in this, as in a thousand other particulars, modern history has grown wanton in prejudice and confident in error. And it is one principal design of the present work, to strip the Britons of the strange disguises in which she has hitherto dressed them up, and exhibit them in their natural and genuine appearance.—The armouries of the Britons were furnished with helmets, coats of mail, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows. The helmet, coat of mail, and chariot were confined to the chiefs. And the common soldiers fought always on foot, provided with shields for their own defence,

fence, and with spears, swords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes for the offence of an enemy⁶. The shield was like the target of our present Highlanders, slight, generally round, and always bossy⁷. The sword was like that of the same mountaineers, large, heavy, and unpointed⁸. And the dagger was similar to their dirk⁹. But some instruments have been discovered in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the isle of Anglesey, in Essex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Cornwall, and Staffordshire, and near Marston mere in Lancashire; which the antiquarians have generally attributed to the Celtæ, and have therefore distinguished by the unmeaning appellation of Celts¹⁰. Such an one was also discovered about fifty years ago in one of our mosses near Manchester, and immediately repositied in our publick library. And it has lain there ever since, mingled with the customary trifles of every library, and exhibited among them as an oddly formed chissel or an outlandish wedge.

The wedge-like form of these instruments is sufficiently known. In that particular nearly all of them agree. And they differ only in this, that some have no handle and are therefore hollow in the blade, and others have an handle and no hollow. Of the latter sort is our Mancunian Celt. Its blade, which is fluted a little at the upper part, is three inches in length, three quarters of an inch in breadth, and half an one in thickness at the fluted end, and thence widens to the breadth of one and a quarter at the edge. And the brazen loop at its side is nearly half an inch in breadth and three quarters in length. But the socket, which is of the same metal,

Sect. II. is two and a half in length, nearly one in breadth at its conjunction with the blade, and more than three quarters at the other extremity. And it has a small hollow on both sides for its whole extent, which is channelled in the middle, and bordered by a slight molding for more than an inch and three quarters from the blade. Such is the form of this brazen instrument. And it appears to be what scarcely any of the antiquarians have supposed it. Not an axe-head for the cutting of trees, or a chissel for the working of stones, as is proved by the too great narrowness of its edge and softness of its metal; not a druidical hook for the cutting of mistletoe, as is evident from the smallness of the blade and obtuseness of the edge; not the head of an halbert, as is shewn by its small size and too great lightness; and not the point of an arrow, a spear, or a javelin, as is clear from the roundness of its edge and its too great size; it was plainly the head of a small battle-axe¹¹. The hollow of the socket, and the raised molding on either side, are calculated for the reception of a wooden handle in the same line with the blade. And in a brass Celt which was lately discovered among the hills of Saddleworth, and is now in my own possession, the remains of a wooden handle were found inserted in the cavity of the blade¹². The termination of the molding three quarters of an inch from the end, proves that part to have been inserted into the stock of the handle and in a right angle with the blade. This united firmly the head and handle of the battle-axe; and the union was strengthened by a pin in the socket, which did not pass through the substance of it, but was received into a small

a small orifice upon one side, and, as seems from the ^{Sect. II,} largeness of the hollow within, was there secured by an ^{P. 15.} infusion of melted metal. And the whole appears from the loop at the head to have been slung across the shoulder, or suspended at the side, by a leathern thong.

This little instrument of brass, then, was originally a light battle-axe; and it is very like, in the formation and size of its blade, to those of the American Mohawks. And it is a British one. Axes were a principal part of the offensive armour of the Cæltæ. At the siege of the Roman Capitol by the Gauls under Brennus, we find one of the most distinguished of their warriors armed with a battle-axe ¹³. And Ammianus Marcellinus, many centuries afterwards describing a body of Gauls, furnishes them all with battle-axes and swords ¹³. Some of these weapons have been found in the sepulchers of the Britons, on the downs of Wiltshire and in the north of Scotland ¹³. Within these four or five centuries the Irish went constantly armed with an axe ¹³. And the axe of Lochaber hath remained a formidable implement of destruction in the hands of our Highlanders, even nearly to the present period.

Other instruments have also been discovered in Wiltshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Scotland, which were shaped in the same manner, and therefore designed for the same uses, which however were not composed of brass, but formed of stone ¹⁴. And the rude simplicity of these axes, their correspondence with the arrow-heads of flint which have been so often discovered in Scotland and Derbyshire, and the frequent

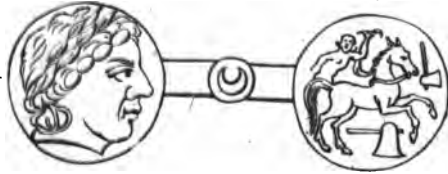
Sect. II. appearance of them in the sepulchers equally of the
 Gauls and Britons ¹⁵, shew the latter to have been the
 original proprietors of all. Nor are they, as they
 have been sometimes supposed by the learned, merely
 sacrificial or domestick implements. Domestick, but not
 sacrificial, were repositèd in the graves of the Celtæ; as
 in the barrows upon Salisbury plain have been found
 beads, and other personal decorations of the deceased.
 And the favourite instruments of the dead were interred
 with them ¹⁶. In all unlettered and uncommercial ages
 therefore, when the disengaged activity of man ever
 carries a keen and military edge with it, and his great
 employ is necessarily war and the chase; the weapons
 of both would be universally repositèd with the dead.
 And we have a striking passage of Scripture to this pur-
 pose, which shews the custom to have been as general
 as the spirit of ambition or the profession of arms.
 Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies
 of the Egyptians, Persians, and other nations, cries
 out: "They shall not lie with the mighty, that are
 " fallen of the uncircumcised, *which are gone down to*
 " *hell with their weapons of war, and they have laid*
 " *their swords under their heads* ¹⁶."

Such a stone-formed head of a British battle-axe I
 have now in my own possession, which was thrown up
 by the harrow in an inclosure a little distant from the
 Castle-field. It is a strong and heavy Celt, molded
 with great regularity, and ground neatly to an edge,
 but remarkably different from the flint-made axes of
 Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Those were all of
 them small, and most about four inches and a half only
 in

in length. And this is twelve in length, and three, and Sect. II.
 three and a half, in breadth. About three and a half
 from the broad and blunted end, the breadth of the
 stone is perforated for the insertion of an handle, as
 the thickness of it is left greater for an additional P. 16.
 strength. But the eye is made wider at the extremities
 than the middle, that the handle may be fastened within
 it by little wedges of wood on either side. And the
 whole is not less than eight pounds and four ounces in
 weight. ~~This great weight of the instruments,~~ in-
 deed, has been a familiar objection against the military
 application of them. But the argument proceeds upon
 a false estimate concerning the powers of the human
 frame. It takes not in that additional vigour and
 agility, which the body acquires in the habitual use of
 the heaviest armour. And the objector may be re-
 mitted for a sufficient answer, to the ponderous mails
 of our ancestors in the Tower of London. He may
 there reflect, whether he could march and counter-
 march with such an heavy incumbrance about him, as
 our fathers are well-known to have done even within
 these 200 years, and in the deep and foundurous roads
 of our island at that period. With an original vigour
 of body no greater than what they have transmitted
 to their sons, our ancestors obtained from practice
 what nothing but that could confer, and what an
 equal practice would equally confer on their descen-
 dants.

Two such battle-axes as this are delineated upon an
 ancient coin of the island, which the horse on one
 C 3 side,

Sect. II. fide, and the pearls round the head on the other, shew to be British. Here is a view of it.



And here we see a smaller and a larger Celt exhibited together on the coin, and having the handle inserted into the body of each ¹⁸.

This, and the military chariot, were derived to the Britons from the Gauls, and introduced into the island with the first inhabitants of it. And, even as late as the invasion of Britain by the Romans, some Gaulish tribes still retained the car of their fathers, and used it equally for the journey and the fight ¹⁹. But in Britain the use of it was universal at this period, and formed one of the discriminating marks in the national character of the natives ²⁰. And the British chariots had their wheels frequently furnished with scythes, like the Gallick; were always drawn by two horses; and carried sometimes two persons, the driver and the warrior, and sometimes only one ²¹.

† CAESAR

¹ CAESAR p. 88 and Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—² Ptolemy Sect. II. I. ii. c. 3, and Richard p. 27. Gabr makes Gabr-ant in the plural and Gabr-ant-ic in the relative adjective.— For Paruis see Mr. Baxter. But Ceang he violently derives from the Welsh Kaing, a bough, metaphorically meaning a young man. And Mr. Carte, mistaking his words in another place, and reading his changon into changon, would deduce it from that word, and even call the Ceangi free men,—in order to mark their dependency, (p. 108, a note). The word is thus derived probably. Cean or Can, an hill, signifies also a wood; as in the next section I shall shew Ven, the same word, to mean equally in Gallick and British. And Can would in the relative adjective make Canac. Fir-Canac, or in the rapidity of pronounciation Fir-Canc, as Cannock, the name of a forest in Staffordshire, is commonly called Cank at present, would signify the woodlanders. And Canc or Cang makes Cang-on, Cang-an, or Cang-ian in the plural.—³ Ptolemy I. ii. c. 3, and Richard p. 23. See also b. I. ch. v. sect. 1.—⁴ Notitia for Concangii, Pancirollus, fol. 176. The name is Con Cangii, the head or chief feat of the Cangii.—⁵ So Moorland in Staffordshire. And the antient mode of pronouncing the initial syllable, in Westmoreland, is what has hitherto disguised the origin of the name; see Gibson's Camden p. 983. See also b. I. ch. 5. f. 4. for other Cangii.—⁶ Tacitus in Ann. lib. xii. c. 35; Dio p. 1280; and Herodian lib. iii. c. 47. Oxon. 1678; compared with Ossian's Poems p. 37, 50, 51, 54, &c. (vol. I. quarto), Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline class 4—2, Mela lib. iii. c. 6. Gallicè armati, and Pegge's Coins 4—c, 5—4, and 6—2. The poems of

Sect. II. **P. 17.** **Offian carry in themselves sufficient proofs of their own authenticity.** But see this confirmed by a variety of external testimonies in appendix to Dr. Blair's Critical Dissertation on Offian, 2d edit. Indeed the whole body of the Highland Scots are living witnesses of their authenticity.—See also Statius Silv. lib. v. hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno. Each spear (says Dio p. 1281) had a brazen apple at the end, which was shaken in order to terrify the enemy with the noise. I have conversed (says Dr. Macpherson in Crit. Diff. p. 144. Lond. 1768) with some old Highlanders, who have seen spears of that construction. The apple was called Cnapstarra, a boss of brass; and the spear was denominated Triniframma, the same probably with the Framea of the Germans.—⁷ Quis rotundam facere cetram nequit? Varro; Herodian lib. iii. c. 47; Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 36; and Offian's poems v. I. p. 206.—⁸ Agric. Vit. c. 36.—⁹ Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 52. and Plate, and Horsley's Scotland N^o 3. And the dirks are even mentioned by Dio, and called *εἰσφορδία*, p. 1281.—¹⁰ Hearne's Leland vol. I; Mona Antiqua p. 86. 2d edition; Plot's Staffordshire p. 403; Leigh's Lancashire b. I. p. 18; Stukeley's Abury p. 27; Sibbald's Hist. Enqu. p. 51. 1707; and Borlase's Cornwall b. III. ch. xiii. Dr. Borlase derives the name of Celt from Cælo to engrave: Unde (says he) Cæltis vel Celtis, quasi an engraving tool, p. 283. edit. 2d. Such are sometimes the little escapes of real learning and judgment.—¹¹ See Hearne's Leland and Plot's Staffordshire ibid., Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46, Carte's History vol. I. p. 75, and Borlase b. III. ch. xiii.—¹² The wood

wood seemed to be yew. And see ch. vi. sect. 2. and Sect. II.
 ch. iv. sect. 1. of b. I. — ¹³ See Plutarch v. I. p. 315, Bryan, for the Gaul at Rome, and also v. II. p. 514; A. Marcellinus l. xix. c. 6, Galli — securibus gladiif-
 que succincti; and Topog. Hibern. p. 793, Camden, for the Irish: Camden c. 1263, Gibson, for the head of a
 brazen axe found in a cairn, and Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46. — ¹⁴ Dugdale's Warwickshire p. 778, Stukeley's
 Itin. Cur. p. 54, Plot's Staffordshire p. 397, and Gordon's Itin. Septen. p. 172. — ¹⁵ See Thoresby's Leeds
 p. 493—494, for flint arrowheads being frequently ploughed up near Buxton, and there called British
 arrows. But in Montfaucon's *l'Antiquité Expliquée*, tome cinquieme p. 194 and 195, is an account of a
 plainly Gallick monument opened in France, in which were found about twenty skulls, and as many stones
 shaped into axes under them. One was an oriental, studded with silver. And stone-axes are also found fre-
 quently in other parts of France (p. 196 and 197), as stone-weapons in general are often discovered in Ger-
 many (p. 198). And sharp and formed flints have been P. 18.
 found with human bones at the British temple of Abury (Stukeley p. 33), and within a cairn in Scotland (Gor-
 don's Itin. Sept, p. 172.). — ¹⁶ See b. I. ch. x. f. 5, and Ezekiel ch. xxxii. ver. 27. — ¹⁷ One has also
 been discovered at Tabley, Cheshire, Itin. Curios. p. 54; and they are very commonly dug up in Scotland, Sib-
 bald's Hist. Enqu. p. 51. and Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 172. See also Dugdale p. 778, and Plot p. 403 and
 plate. A Celt of brass, one inch longer than this, was found in a British barrow upon Salisbury plain; as
 a large

Sect. II. a large brass weapon like a pole-axe, and twelve pounds heavier than this, was discovered in another (Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46). And in the Musæum at Oxford are fourteen or fifteen of these axes, three or four in stone, and the rest in brass, but all small and light. — ¹⁸ The Coin was published since the first edition of this work, and is N^o III. plate 16. of Dr. Stukeley's *British Coins*. — ¹⁹ Strabo p. 306, Frontinus's *Stratagemis* l. i. c. 33. v. I. of *Scriptores Antiqui de re militari, Veffaliæ Clivorum*, 1670, and Diodorus p. 352. *Wesselingius*. — ²⁰ Cicero *Epist. ad Fam. lib. vii. E. 6, 7*, and Cæsar p. 79 and 80. — ²¹ Cæsar *ibid.* and Tacitus *Agric. Vit. c. 35 and 36*; *Mela lib. iii. c. 6*, Frontinus l. i. c. 33, *Offian* p. 11. vol. I, and b. I. ch. ix. sect. 2; and Cæsar p. 79 and Diodorus p. 352, compared with Tacitus c. xii. *Agric. Vit.*, and *Offian* and this Work *ibid.*

III.

Sect. III. W H E N the Siftuntii first settled in the county of Lancaster, they would naturally erect no towns because they could dread no invaders, and the area of our Castle-field would remain covered with its native wood. They could fear nothing from the Britons of Cheshire, of whom they were a colony, or by whom they had been permitted to march through their country into Lancashire. They could fear as little from the more southerly Britons, for whose superfluous numbers there were all the uninhabited counties of the north, and to whose

whose colonies they were ready to afford as peaceable a Sect. III.
 passage through their country. And when the Belgæ
 of the southern coast, about an hundred years before
 Christ, extended their encroachments into the interior
 parts of the island, the many refugees retired not into
 the more northerly counties, and either gained a set-
 tlement by allowance or secured one by violence among
 them, but passed over immediately to their brethren
 in Ireland¹. The political fears of the Siftuntii were
 first excited, and their political precautions first taken,
 in all probability, upon an incident of a more alarm-
 ing nature and on encroachments in a nearer district.
 About half a century before Christ, as I shall shew
 hereafter, the Britons of Cheshire burst from the nar-
 row confines of their own dominions, and attacked,
 over-ran, and subdued three or four adjoining coun-
 ties on the south². Such an act of hostility among
 the natives of the north, the first that we know to have
 been committed amongst them, would necessarily awak-
 en the jealousies of all the neighbouring states, and par-
 ticularly induce the Siftuntii to erect fortresses on their
 southern borders. And then would the Castle-field
 most probably be cleared of its oaks, and a town
 laid out by the Siftuntians upon it. The fortrefs could
 not well have been constructed before this period.
 And it would naturally be so at it. Thus the rude
 station of Mancenion, one of the first towns in the
 county of Lancaster, a little prior to all the more nor-
 therly forts, and the first faint outlines of the present
 Manchester, was originally formed in all probability
 about half a century before Christ, about the æra of
 the

Sect. III. the war successfully carried on by the southerly Britons against the Belgæ, or the period of Cæsar's expedition against both ³.

The dimensions of this original Manchester are still very discernible. And it filled the whole extent of the Castle-field, except the low and swampy part of it on the west⁴. Terminated by the Medlock on the south, south-east, and south-west, it was bounded on the east by a fosse, on the west by the present very lofty bank, and on the north by a long and broad ditch. The natural advantages of the river and the bank were great inducements with the Britons, to choose this particular situation. But the principal was one of which they could not readily be suspected, though they appear to have frequently acted upon it. Most of the British towns had such an area selected for them, as the ground of the Castle-field presented and the coldness of our climate required; one that by its position on the northern bank of the river, and its gentle declivity to the south or its collateral points, would give the Britons the whole reflected warmth of our sun. And this is the case with numbers of the British fortresses mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus⁵. Surrounded as they were with the damps of the neighbouring woods, such a position was dictated by prudence. And, for this reason only, could the Castle-field have been preferred by the Britons to the site of the present church and college; the latter being superiour to the former in all the common requisites of a fortress, but greatly inferiour to it in this.

ON

On the east and north were the advantages of situation lost, the ground within being even with that without. Here therefore the Britons would sink a ditch and raise a rampart. And at the south-eastern angle of the field, and on the lower margin of the Medlock, was a deep and narrow gulley, that was cut through the solid rock and existed to the year 1765. This was originally formed in all probability at the formation of the British fortress, a part of its eastern boundary. And from this point the ditch seems pretty plainly to have mounted up the little garden, that now lies along the eastern side of the field; the rocks on the right having been cut away sloping towards the west, and the earth appearing from the rubbish, that to the depth of several feet is mingled with it, to be merely adventitious; and, as I shall immediately shew, terminated a little farther above. The northern ditch continues for the greater part of its original course, being carefully preserved in general by the Romans afterwards. And the extraordinary aspect of its western end, so much more formidable than that of the Roman fosses, of itself bespeaks the whole to be British. The eastern part of it, which was closed by the ridge that runs along the side of the present road, has been long filled up by the Romans; and no traces are found at present. But, where the preservation of it became afterwards necessary to the defence of the Roman station, there the course still plainly appears; the ground gently sloping away in most places for fourteen or fifteen yards to the north, and then rising up more sharply as many. Along the greatest part of the line the ditch has been considerably

Sect. III. considerably levelled, the earth of the banks having been long thrown down into the hollow. And, at present, the concluding slope on the east commences within forty or fifty yards from the road, and the large hollow spreads about thirty-four in breadth, and sinks gradually about one and an half in depth, falling gently away to the west. For the next twenty yards, it is only about thirty broad and one deep, the southern bank gradually growing all the way. For sixty more, it is about thirty-four broad and one and an half deep. And for the following sixty it is less deep, but about forty in breadth; and the southern bank is scarcely visible. The fosse now begins to assume its formidable aspect, and gradually rises in grandeur as it proceeds towards the west. The southern bank all at once falls away in a long slope towards the north, and becomes what the northern had hitherto been, the striking signature of the fosse. At the end of forty yards, the latter has no perceptible fall, but the former carries a sharp descent of about twenty to the foot of it. And at the end of ten more, where the latter slightly slopes away for eighteen, the former descends as many, much sharper than before, to meet it. When we have advanced about ten farther, the northern presents to us a gentle shelve of twenty, and the southern a steep one of eighteen. And both mount with a very quick ascent of twenty for the remaining twelve, as the channel, cutting the thick bank in two, descends with a lively fall to the west.

On that side was a lofty bank, forming a sharp slope of fifty yards to the swampy ground below it. This is the

the southern point of the ridge, which extends along ^{Sect. III.} the ground immediately to the north of the British city. And, where it turned in an obtuse angle to the south-east, the line of the British fortification, not turning with it, was continued directly to the river; and the ^{P. 22.} rampart still appears along the descent, and carries a large appearance and an elevated crest. Under these spread out an impracticable morafs, about an hundred yards in breadth and three hundred in length, beginning at the margin of the Medlock on the south, extending betwixt the foot of the bank and the channel of a rill to the north-west of the British city, and giving it a full security on that quarter^o. Only, just upon the margin, the edge of the morafs remained to the present period sufficiently practicable and hard. And this, I suppose, obliged the Britons to continue the bank to the river.

These were the barriers of the British Manchester on the east, the north, and the west. And on the south was the natural fosse of the channel, and the natural rampart of the bank, of the river Medlock. But, for greater safety on this side, the rampart was improved as the bank was scarped by the Britons. And the strokes of their large pickaxes appeared in 1764 along the whole margin of the channel, and on the face of the rocks which are below the present edge of the water; and descended nearly to the original surface of it, within a yard and an half off the bed of the river. This continuance and extent of the scarping seems plainly to prove it British, as it was evidently performed at a period when the whole area of the field was a fortification;

Sect. III. fortification; and not merely a temporary one, used occasionally for a few weeks till a regular station could be constructed within it, which was the case in the time of the Romans; but when it was a fixed and stated fortification, which was the fact in that of the Britons only. And accordingly, deep in the artificial soil with which the face of the bank has been since covered, were found in 1765 and 1766 a Roman clasp for the clothes, a Roman urn which shall be described hereafter⁷, a Roman coin, which had REDVCI on one side and AN AVG COS upon the other, and a Roman lachrymatory of black glass, deposited in a little hollow on the rock, and half-filled with tears.

P. 23.

Along a part of the slope, from the eastern boundary of the field beyond the mouth of the new tunnel, the only one in which the upper point of the bank has been hitherto laid open, the same marks of the British œconomy in war have regularly appeared on the front both of the rocks and soil, which are above the present edge of the water, wherever the adventitious earth has been accidentally removed from the face of either. Both have then been found to have been formerly cut down, into a very sharp descent or an absolute perpendicular. Both therefore, as we have every reason to conclude, must have been so cut, not only for this particular extent, but along the whole semicircular verge of the Medlock. And about twenty yards to the east of the tunnel, upon the point of a projecting rock and under the same artificial soil, appeared in 1766 a flight of large rude stairs leading down to the water; being seven steps, about three yards in length, from three quarters

quarters of a yard to a foot in breadth, and from ten to ^{Sect. III.} four inches in depth, and very visibly worn away near the middle. Formed as these were because of the steepness of the scarp'd bank and for an easier descent to the current, and pretty certainly formed betwixt the construction of the fortrefs and the advance of the Romans into Lancashire; they would naturally, upon the first alarm of the latter, be thought to afford too ready a passage into the town. And the lower part of them had been cut down into a deep perpendicular.

The principal entrance into this British city seems to have been near the north-eastern angle of the field, and in the large vacancy betwixt the commencement of the eastern and conclusion of the northern ditch. This ground was opened in 1765, and the soil appeared to have been never shifted. And the area of the whole, being twelve acres, three roods, and ten perches in extent, the Britons filled with houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle^o. Both of them would be habitations more strongly built, than their temporary huts of reeds or turf. And the former particu-^{P. 24.} larly were designed to be the regular barracks of the garrison, and would therefore be constructed in the most durable style of British architecture. They were, as we have every reason to suppose, what the general houses of the Gauls and Britons were, great round cabins, built principally of timber on foundations of stone, and roofed with a sloping covering of skins or reeds^o. But the latter seem to have been constructed in a somewhat different form, to have been not rounded but nearly squared, and to have contained about sixteen

Sect. III. yards by twelve within. Such, at least, was the ground-work of a building which was discovered within Castle-field in 1766, and laid in a manner that bespoke it to be British. About half a yard below the surface of the ground was a line of large irregular blocks, some hewn from the quarry of Collyhurst, and others collected from the channel of the river. And under it were three layers of common paving-stones, not compacted together with mortar, but with the rude and primitive cement of clay.

So formed was this secret foundation, which was about two yards in breadth and one in depth. And, as such, it appears to have been very antient. It was plainly laid before the use of lime had been introduced among us, and consequently before the Siftuntii had been subdued by the Romans. For the knowledge of that preparation was first communicated to us by the latter; as is clear from the present remains of British buildings in the isle of Anglesey and Wiltshire, which are all, like the more regular structures of the free Peruvians, raised entirely without the assistance of lime. The houses in the western isles of Scotland, to this day, are built of stone and cemented with earth¹⁰. And the same sort of foundations has been equally discovered about those huge obelisks of the Britons near Aldborough in Yorkshire, which are so similar to the stones erected frequently without their circular temples. A foot below the surface of the ground, a course, chiefly, of boulders has been found at one of them, laid upon a bed of clay; four or five courses of clay and boulders spreading successively

cessively beneath it, and the whole rude ground-work forming a buttress about the basis of the stone ^{Sect. III.} _{P. 25.}

And the British foundation at Manchester, upon which a strong wall of timber, I suppose, was originally raised, could not have been the remains of a cabin for the warriors, because it was modelled in a square form. It was therefore the ground-work of an hovel for the cattle. And this opinion is confirmed by the nature of its situation. It was placed upon the slope of the bank, and about mid-way betwixt the tunnel and the road; as the floor of it had a strong inclination to the south, and what seemed to have been the door-way took up one whole side of it, and was opposed to the north. And the same sort of foundations was discovered in 1765 and 1770 a little lower in the field, and running for thirty or forty yards together; a single layer of small paving-stones, bedded equally in clay, resting on the plane of the rock, and covered with rubbish to the depth of a couple of yards. The cabins perhaps were disposed into two or three rows, coursed in right lines from east to west, and possessed the whole of the higher ground. This the gracefulness of a regular arrangement, and the necessity of regular walks, would naturally occasion. And the conveniency of the water, and the requisite attention to neatness, would place the hovels perhaps in two or three lines behind the most southerly of the rows, and along the inclining bank of the river. But the discovery of many blocks of Collyhurst stone, in the foundation, shews the Britons of Mancenion to have skirted along the site of the present town with their cars, and to have repaired to the rocks of Collyhurst. The whole clough or

Sect. III. woody hollow there appears upon a survey to be nothing more than the cavity of a great mine, which first began on the south-east, and had its first road of entrance from it. And the Britons were therefore the original openers of our Collyhurst quarry, and borrowed from it the ground-work of their cabins and the foundations of their hovels in the Castle-field.

P. 26. During this application of that remarkable spot, the country around it was one large wood, which began immediately on the outside of the barriers, and diffused itself on every side ¹². And the popular denomination of it among the Britons will hereafter appear to have been Arden ¹³. This was the common name of forests among the Celtæ in general, from the wildly extensive one which ranged for 500 miles in length across the country of Gaul, or covered more than half the county of Warwick in Britain, and the sites of which still retain the appellation of Arden, to the much smaller one that surrounded Mancenion. Written Arduen by Cæsar and Tacitus in speaking of the forest in Gaul, and Ardven by Ossian in mentioning the woods of Caledonia ¹⁴, it cannot be compounded of Ar the præpositive article in Celtick and the substantive Den, as the oracular interpreter of the Roman-British appellations asserts it to be ¹⁵; but is formed of Ard an adjective, and Ven the same as Den. The meaning of the name therefore is not, as Mr. Baxter renders it, simply the hills, or, even as the ingenious translator of Ossian interprets it, the high hill. Ard signifies either high or great, and Ven or Den either an hill or wood ¹⁶. Arduen, Ardven, or Arden ¹⁷, then, means a considerable wood.

Hence.

Hence, only, the name became applicable to such Sect. III.
 very different sites, as the plains of Warwickshire and the hills of Scotland. And it was given, not only to the most extensive forests, to that which was the greatest in Gaul or so considerable in Britain, but to many that were important only within their own contracted districts, to the wood of Mancenion, and others. That, particularly, covered the whole site of the present Man-P. 27.
 chester. And all along the streets, which now resound with the voice of industry, and are now crowded with the retainers of commerce, then existed the gloom of a forest and the silence of solitude. And a mind tolerably romantick might long amuse itself with the reflexion, that this gloom was never invaded or this silence interrupted, but by the resort of soldiers to the fortrefs in war, the visits of hunters in peace, or the distant sounds of the garrison conversing in the Castle-field; and that the boar and wolf, then (as will hereafter appear¹⁸) the inhabitants of this woodland, were for the most part the only possessors of it, slumbering perhaps in security by day on the bank of the present church-yard, and roaming in companies by night over the area of the present market-place².

¹ CAESAR p. 34, Nostrâ memoriâ, and Richard p. 50 and 42. See also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.—² See b. I. ch. iv. sect. 2.—³ Richard p. 50 and Cæsar p. 88. See

² — Passimque armenta videbant
 Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis.

Sect. III. also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 2.—⁴ The sides of the Castle-field and Roman fort do not quadrate exactly with the four cardinal points. But clearness and brevity oblige me to speak as if they did.—⁵ Horfeley p. 109 and 131.—⁶ Cæfar p. 89, Oppidum Caffivellauni — fylvis paludibusque munitum. And this lately continued fo bad a morafs, that even in the dry fummer of 1765 horfes funk up to the belly in it.—⁷ B. I. ch. ii. sect 3.—⁸ Cæfar p. 92, Oppidum Caffivellauni, — quò fatis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit.—⁹ Mona p. 89; Strabo of the Gallick houfes p. 301; Cæfar, Edificia ferè Gallis confimilia (p. 88); Man-cenion, literally the place of skins; and Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—¹⁰ See Martin's W. Ifles, p. 291, ed. 2d. And the Germans in general were equally ignorant of lime: Ne cæmentorū quidem apud illos ufus (Tacitus De Mor. German. c. xvi.).—¹¹ Gale's Effay on the four great roads, in Leland's Itin. P. 28.—¹² Cæfar p. 92, Oppidum Britanni vocant quò fylvas impeditas vallo atque fofsâ munierunt; and p. 87, The Britons fe in fylvas abdiderunt, locum nafti egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum.—¹³ B. I. ch. x. sect. 3.—¹⁴ Cæfar p. 84. and 126, Tacitus Ann. lib. iii. c. 42, and Offian vol. I. p. 38 &c.—¹⁵ Baxter's Gloffar. See also Camden p. 426. edit. 1607.—¹⁶ Dictionnaire Celtique tom. I. p. 281 and 293.—¹⁷ So Ruthven is pronounced Ruthen at present.—¹⁸ B. I. ch. x. sect. 3.

IV.

Sect. IV.

THIS was the state of the original Manchester in the Castle-field, and this the condition of the country around it, when the Romans first advanced into Lancashire. And the town had now been constructed little more than a century. In the regular progress of their arms from the south, and in the year 72 or 73, the Romans attacked the powerful and numerous tribe of the Brigantes. But Cerealis, the officer engaged in the attack, confined all his efforts to the Proper Brigantes, the inhabitants of Yorkshire and Durham. And, after several bloody engagements, equality of valour gave way to superiority of discipline, and the Britons reluctantly submitted¹. Thus were the Siftuntii of Lancashire, and their northern allies, now skirted on the south and east by the Romans. And weakened as perhaps they still were by their struggle with the warlike tribe of the Brigantes, and conscious of their inability to make an effectual opposition to the subduers of their conquerors, they would every moment expect and dread an invasion from the Romans. In this state of impotence and fear they continued till the year 79². And then one of the ablest officers in the Roman annals, the celebrated Julius Agricola, entered their country at the head of a powerful army.

Sect. IV. The only Britons that now remained unconquered by the Romans, within the present kingdom of England, were such of the Carnabii as inhabited Cheshire, the Siftuntii, the Volantii, and a part of the Gadeni and Ottadini beyond both. These therefore, the three first of these at least, were the nations which Agricola attacked in his second campaign, and the names of which his historian unaccountably suppresses.

As Agricola led his troops directly from the Ordovices of North-Wales, he would previously subdue the Carnabii of Cheshire, and invade Lancashire from the south. Victorious over the Carnabii and Ordovices, early in the summer of 79 he led his troops to the conquest of Lancashire. And he would naturally direct his march in two divisions, and enter the county in two places at once. The main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington, and defeated the Carnabii of north-western Cheshire³. And a considerable party was probably detached from the army at the same instant, crossed the Mersey at the pass of Stretford, marched along the fields of Trafford and the bank of the Irwell, and advanced up to the town of Mancenion⁴.

In this exigence, the conduct of the Siftuntii and their allies was very different from the behaviour of the Brigantes. They resolved to hazard no encounter with the Romans in the open field. And they confined themselves within their woods, hovering upon the skirts of the Roman army, and ready to seize every opportunity of attacking it in the many defiles of their forests and morasses, and in the many passages over their æstuaries and rivers. But their wisdom was ineffectual to save them.

In

In the march which Agricola made through the whole length of their country, he did not afford them a single opportunity of attacking him to advantage. His smaller detachments constantly scoured the woods and moſſes that flanked the army in its progreſs, and attacked the numerous parties of the enemy that were lurking in them; while the larger or the main body puſhed into the receſſes of their foreſts, ſtormed their fortifications, and ſacked their cities ⁴. Of theſe, the ſoutherly poſition of Mancheſter would early expoſe it to the attack of the Romans. And in vain did it preſent to their arms the ſteep and ſcarped bank of its rivulet, its morafs and its eminence, and the breadth of its deep ditch. Terrified by the vigour with which Agricola purſued the war, and allured by the offers which he made them of peace, the Siſtuntii and their neighbours ſubmitted, and gave up ſome of their chieftains as hoſtages ⁵.

¹ TACITUS Vit. Agric. c. xvii, Magnam Brigantum partem aut victoriâ amplexus aut bello. In this author, who wrote only a little while before Ptolemy, magna Brigantum pars refers to the whole of the Proper Brigantes, who are mentioned only as a part in relation to the weſtern or ſubject Brigantes.—² See Horſeley p. 47.—³ See b. I. ch. v. ſect. 4.—⁴ Tacitus Vit. Agric. c. xx, Loca caſtris ipſe capere, *æſtuaria* ac ſylvas ipſe prætentare, et nihil *interim* apud hoſtes quietum pati quò mindus ſubitis excuſſibus popularetur; atque ubi ſatis terruerat, parcendo ruruſus irritamenta pacis oſtentare.

The

Sect. IV. The word *interim*, opposed to *ipse*, implies some operations distinct from those of the main army; as the clause, *nihil apud hostes quietum pati quò minùs subitis excursibus popularetur*, represents the *Sistuntii* to have confined themselves to their woods and morasses, and to have been there attacked by *Agricola's* detachments. And the word *æstuaria*, connected with *ipse*, shews the operations of the main army to have been directed along the coasts.—⁵ Tacitus c. xx, *Ubi fatis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare; quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere.*

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

WHAT MANCHESTER WAS IMMEDIATELY MADE BY THE ROMANS, AND WHAT CALLED — THE NATURE OF THEIR WORKS AT IT — THEIR STATIONARY OECONOMY LAID OPEN — AND ALL THEIR STATIONARY REMAINS AT MANCHESTER POINTED OUT.

I.

THE Britons of Lancashire being subdued in the Señ. I. summer of 79, Agricola resolved to establish forts P. 31. and settle garrisons in several parts of their country². And he accordingly fixed the stations Ad Alaunam and Bremetonacæ in the north, Portus Sifuntiorum in the west, Rerigionium and Coccium about the center, Colonia on the east, and Veratinum and Mancunium on the south. Some were necessary to the maintenance of his conquests in the county, and must always have been erected by the Romans as they extended their empire. Six of these are mentioned by the earliest accounts which we have of Lancashire, and five by one that was drawn up about sixty years only after the reduction of it². Having been five of them originally **British**

Sect. I. British fortresses, they were now changed into Roman camps. And small garrisons, consisting principally (we may suppose) of the infirm and raw soldiers³, were lodged in them, while Agricola with the rest attacked the more northerly Britons in the following summer.

In the selection of sites for their stations, the Romans generally pitched upon such as had previously been the ground-plots of British towns. And the fact is shewn by the names of the camps in their own Itineraries, near three-fourths of them bearing British appellations, and thereby proving themselves to be erected upon British fortresses. The latter were generally fixed upon ground, which an intimate knowledge of the country recommended, and therefore the policy of the Romans could not but approve. And I have previously shewn them to have been upon such as the British Manchester afforded, and the woody condition of Britain required; such as by its position on the northern bank of a river, and its gentle declivity to the south or its collateral points, would give the Romans the whole reflected warmth of our sun⁴.

On these united reasons, probably, Agricola first lodged a garrison in Mancenion, in order to secure the fortress and awe the neighbouring Siltuntii from it, while he advanced into the center of the county with the rest of his forces; and afterwards commanded a station to be constructed upon it, when the successful campaign was terminated, and the Siltuntii and their allies subdued.

The Roman garrison in the Castle-field would naturally begin the construction of their camp in the autumn

turn of 79. The compass of it being marked out by Sect. I.
 the Metator, the soldiers allotted to the business we may
 image to ourselves, according to the description given us
 by Vegetius, leaving their shields and knapsacks in the
 center of the area and in circles about their respective
 standards, and repairing in centuries to the posts which
 the Præfectus assigned. And the rest of the garrison
 would be placed at the extremities of the field, to de-
 fend the labourers and themselves^s.

Adopting the British mode of building without the
 same necessity for it, the Romans founded their rampart
 as the Britons had previously fixed their hovels, on
 paving-stones bedded in clay. This I discerned, on open-
 ing the stationary wall in two different parts of it. I
 cut it down from the surface to the center and from the
 center to the base, in order to see the curious construc-
 tion of it within and below; and found all the lime-laid
 parts, in both, rising from two layers of paving-stones
 cemented with clay. And the same extraordinary pro-
 cess has been discovered in other walls of the Romans.
 At the town of Boroughfield on the Fosse in Leicester-
 shire, have been dug up foundations that were stones set
 edgewise in clay, and had had a structure of lime-morter
 upon them. At the station of Aldborough in York-
 shire, the walls of the town appear to have been built P. 33-
 upon layers of large pebbles, placed on a bed of blue
 clay four or five yards in depth. And even the great
 rampart of Severus in the north appears to have been
 constructed on the same principles. In a part of it that
 has been opened on Wall-fell near St. Oswalds, the
 lower courses have been discovered to be laid in clay, and
 the

Sect. I. the upper appeared to be cemented with mortar^e. And the same sort of foundations remained very common in the kingdom for many centuries afterward, the old steeple of the church at Prees, in Shropshire, being lately found to be reared upon a line of clay and boulders immediately above the natural rock. But the Roman walls at Manchester were not uniformly founded on the same sort of cement. The western was laid on two beds of blue clay, the lower nearly a foot in depth and remarkably stiff and solid. But the southern was laid in two courses, not of actual clay, but of clay and sand incorporated together, and both lying on a deep bed of river-sand that still retained a little of its original moisture. And, as clay-morter still remains in occasional use among us at Manchester, so the neighbouring church of Preston was discovered, in 1769, to have been erected upon a layer of loose paving-stones bedded in sand.

The old materials of the British banks, cabins, and hovels would supply the Romans sufficiently with stones. And with these they constructed the strong barrier of their camp, heaping them together in a very irregular manner, and only sloping the face of it a little. And, as the wall was raised from the breadth of seven or eight feet at the base, and narrowed to one or two at the crest, they poured their boiling mortar upon it. This from its fluidity insinuated itself into the many openings and hollows of the work, and from its strength bound the irregular pieces of stone into a firm and solid wall. And the whole course of the rampart in all
 proba-

probability was lined with a platform within, and terminated with battlements above? Sect. I.

In making the Roman mortar, the sand was mingled with the lime, unrefined by the screen and charged with all its gravel and pebbles. Some of the mortar, on breaking it, appears to have been tempered with pounded brick; small fragments of the latter very prettily chequering the surface, and being thoroughly incorporated into the substance, of it^s. And the lime was not derived from the hills of Buxton or Clitherow, which have long supplied the town with that necessary fossil. The Roman is strikingly different from that of both in its colour, being of a much shadier and browner hue. Nor would the Romans have fetched it from so great a distance, when they might easily find it in their own neighbourhood. A long vein of limestone stretches across one part of the parish, and along the confines of Newton, Ardwick, and Manchester townships. In that of Manchester it was observed many years ago; and the discovery was briskly pursued for a short period. And in that of Ardwick it has been found again within these six or seven years; and Thomas Birch Esq; obtained from it a block of stone so elegantly veined and clouded, that he ordered it to be polished for the chimney-piece of one of his bed-rooms. But, a long time dubious whether he should break up the quarry for marble or lime, he has now finally resolved upon the latter. And the same vein breaks out in many places near the Ancoats, many ledges of the stone going across the bed of the Medlock, and fragments being occasionally

Sec. I. nally loosened from them by the current. - These appeared lately very numerous there, and, upon any long intermission in gathering them, would be equally so again. They must therefore have been particularly numerous at the construction of the Roman station, and even many of them have lodged in the channel at the foot of the Castle-field. And, in their necessary enquiries after limestone, the Romans would speedily discern these brown and marbled fragments in the Medlock, and find in them a supply sufficient for all their uses, and immediately adjoining to their station.

In constructing the walls of it, the Romans pursued the method that has been equally noticed in those of Lemanis, Verulam, and Old Sarum^o, and left holes at certain distances in the ramparts. The design of these openings, however, has not yet been ascertained. And, for want of a better reason, they have been supposed to be made for the free admission of the air into the thick substance of the walls, in order to dry them^o. This cannot have been their original intention, as at Salisbury they appear to have been closed with stone at the ends, and have been found below the natural surface of the ground at Manchester. And they were calculated, I apprehend, to answer a more important purpose. The former have been represented, as extending quite through the breadth of the wall^o. But this is a mistake. I was there in 1772, and noted them attentively. They are five or six in number; and the facing of one side still remains over two of them. And one, that was accidentally laid open from end to end, disclosed the design of all. As the Romans carried their ram-

part

part upwards, they took off the pressure from the Sect. I.
 parts below, and gave a greater strength to the whole,
 by turning little arches in their work, and fixing the
 rest of the wall upon them. The holes at Sarum
 were all regular arches, at the distance of five or six
 feet from each other. And as late as the year 1769
 there was an arch appearing in the rampart of the
 Castle-field, a little to the west of the south-eastern
 angle; and the crown of it just rose above the
 ground.

The whole station was an irregular parallelogram. P. 35.
 The parallel sides were equally right lines and equally
 long: but the corners were rounded. The Romans
 particularly affected this figure in the formation of their
 camps. And they esteemed those as the most beau-
 tiful of the sort, which were just one third longer than
 they were broad ¹⁰. But they seldom rounded their
 angles; and Ivelchester, Dorchester, Chesterford near
 Cambridge, Little Chester near Derby, and our own
 at Manchester, are some of the few fortresses in the
 kingdom where they have ¹¹. The area of the last was
 much smaller than that of the British town. And,
 while this contained nearly thirteen acres of our statute-
 measure, that included only about five acres and ten
 perches, or 24,500 square yards.

The eastern side, like the western, is an hundred
 and forty in length. And, for eighty from the north-
 ern termination, the nearly perpendicular rampart still
 carries a crest of more than two in height. It is then
 lowered to form the great entrance, the porta præto-
 ria of the camp ¹²; the earth there running in a ridge,

Sec. I. and mounting up to the top of the bank, about ten in breadth. Then rising gradually as the ground falls away, it carries an height of more than three for as many at the south-eastern angle. And the whole of this wall bears a broken line of thorns above, shews the mortar peeping here and there under the coat of turf, and, near the south-eastern corner, has a large buttress of earth continued for several yards along it.

The southern side, like the northern, is an hundred and seventy five in length. And the rampart, sinking immediately from its elevation at the eastern end, successively declines, till about fifty yards off it is reduced to the inconsiderable height of less than one. And about seventeen farther there appears to have been a second gateway, the ground rising up to the crest of the bank for four or five at the point. The Roman
 P. 36. camps had constantly, about the age of Agricola, a gateway on the south and north, as well as on the east and west¹³. And one on the south was particularly requisite in this, in order to afford a ready passage from the station to the river. But about fifty three yards beyond the gate, the ground betwixt both falling briskly away to the west, the rampart, which continues in a right line along the ridge, necessarily rises, till it has a sharp slope of twenty in length at the south-western angle. And all this side of the wall, which was from the beginning probably not much higher than it is at present, as it was sufficiently secured by the river and its banks before it, appears crested at first with an hedge of thorns, a young oak rising

rising from the ridge, and rearing its head considerably over the rest; and runs afterwards in a smooth line, nearly level for several yards with the ground about it, and just perceptible to the eye in a rounded eminence of turf. Sect. I.

At the south-western point of the camp, the ground slopes away on the west towards the south, as well as on the south towards the west. And the third side still runs from it nearly as at first, having an even crest about seven feet in height, an even slope of turf for its whole extent, and the wall in all its original condition below. About an hundred yards beyond the angle was the *Porta Decumana* of the station, the ground visibly rising up the ascent of the bank in a large shelve of gravel, and running in a slight but perceivable ridge from it. And beyond a level of forty-five yards, that still stretches on for the whole length of the side, it was bounded by the western boundary of the British city, the sharp slope of fifty to the morass below it.

On the northern and remaining side, are several chasms in the original course of the rampart. And in one of them, about an hundred and twenty-seven yards from its commencement, was another gateway, opening into the station directly from the road to Ribchester. The rest of the wall still rises about five and four feet in height, planted all the way with thorns above, and exhibiting a curious view of the rampart below. Various parts of it have been fleeced^{P. 37.} of their facing of turf and stone, and now shew the inner structure of the whole; presenting to the eye the undres-

Sec. I. fed stones of the quarry, the angular pieces of rock, and the round boulders of the river, all bedded in the mortar, and compacted by it into one. And the white and brown patches of mortar and stone, on a general view of the wall, stand strikingly contrasted with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line, and with the green moss that half reveals the projecting points, of the rampart.

The great foss of the British city the Romans preserved along their northern side, for more than thirty yards beyond the eastern end of it, and for the whole beyond the western. And, as the present appearances of the ground intimate, they closed the eastern point of it with an high bank, which was raised upon one part of the ditch, and sloped away into the other.

The construction of the Roman camp upon a smaller scale than that of the British town, occasioned the former to recede internally from the eastern and western barriers of the latter. The garrison, therefore, carried on a new foss from the north-western and north-eastern angles of their wall, in order to secure both. And, as the soldiers proceeded in the work, we may fancy the centurions appointed to superintend it, employed as Vegetius describes them upon the like occasions, regularly examining the line of the ditch, and carefully measuring the depth of the channel, with their ten-feet rods ¹⁴. The north-western foss was made to slope away north and south, because the British bank, and the morass below it, were a sufficient defence on the west. But the north-eastern, having no such defence, was sloped away east and west, and

and for the same reason carried to a much greater depth than the other. This sinks about five feet, and That only about two and a half. Both, however, were carried on along a part only of their respective sides. The north-western return was continued about thirty-five yards in breadth, and filled up in length the whole space between the Roman rampart and British bank. And the north-eastern was extended as many in breadth, and about seventy-five in length, even up to the great road of entrance into the station. Sect. I.
P. 38.

¹ TACITUS c. xx, Civitates—præfidiis castellisq̄ue circumdatæ. Here the word Circumdatæ shews the common opinion to be false, which fixes the generality of these forts along the line of Hadrian's future wall.—² See b. I. ch. iii. sect. 1. &c.—³ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 3. among Scriptores antiqui de re militari, edit. 1670. Vessaliæ Clivorum in 2 V.—⁴ Horsey p. 109. But this was not (as Horsey supposes it to be) peculiar to the Romans as natives of Italy. More than half the Romans in the island were natives of colder countries, as the Gauls, Batavians, Frieslanders, &c. &c. (See Horsey's own inscriptions). And the human constitution, as such, would naturally affect a southerly position in the cold, bleak, and wooded state of our island at that period.—⁵ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. and Cæsar p. 90.—⁶ Itin. Cur. p. 100. and Camden c. 875, and the map prefixed to Warburton's Vallum Romanum.—⁷ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8, Super quem ad

Sect. I. similitudinem muri et pinnæ et propugnacula componuntur.—⁸ See also Camden p. 624. for cæmentum lateritiis frustulis intritum at Amblefide, and the account of Cambodunum in b. i. c. 4. f. 1; and see Itin. Curiof. p. 96. for the other.—⁹ Itin. Curiof. p. 125, &c.—¹⁰ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—¹¹ Plates in Itin. Cur. See also Horfeley p. 145. and Phil. Transf. 1759. p. 13, &c.—¹² Vegetius lib i. c. 23.—¹³ Grævius tom. x. c. 944.—¹⁴ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.

II.

P. 39. THE new fort in the Castle-field now became a regular camp, and the Romans settled a regular garrison within it. But it retained the name of the antient fortrefs, and Mancenion was only altered into MANCUNIUM¹. And even this small change in the appellation resulted, merely, from a particularity in the pronunciation of the name among the Britons; as the denomination of the town upon the Kennet was similarly changed into Cunetio by the Romans, and the Kennet itself is still popularly denominated the Kunnet among the peasants of the neighbouring region².

The garrison appears to have once consisted, and therefore we may reasonably presume it to have been ordinarily composed, of a single cohort. Amid the period of uninterrupted peace, which the Romans of Manchester most probably enjoyed to the time of their departure, there would always be the same reason for
 keeping

keeping the same number of troops in the station. Sect. II.
 And in the Notitia we find seventeen different cohorts,
 forming as many garrisons in the kingdom.

That which was quartered in the Castle-field was Cohors Prima Frisinorum, an auxiliary belonging to some legion, and the first which had been raised among the natives of Friesland. This appears from an inscription³ to have been in garrison there. And therefore we may reasonably presume it to have resided on the ground, as it continued in the island⁴, even to the final departure of the Romans from the station. They seldom shifted the quarters of their troops in Britain, as is clear to a demonstration from the history of the twentieth and sixth legions and a wing of the Asti. The first appears to have garrisoned Deva for nearly two centuries successively. And the others are found to have remained at Eboracum and Condercum for nearly three⁵.

The auxiliaries of a legion consisted both of infantry and cavalry. The cavalry, which was double in number to that of the legion⁶, was thrown into independent troops of four or five hundred men. And the infantry was exactly the same with that of the legion⁶, and, like it, was divided into several cohorts. But those of the latter were ten in number⁷, and those of the former only eight. The eight cohorts of the Batavi are expressly mentioned by Tacitus, as the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion⁸. And, upon a subject so minute in itself and so little explained by the Romans, such a notice, unopposed by any other evidence, carries a decisive authority with it. P. 40.

Sec. II distinguished from the rest, as one of the legionaries was, by the title of primary and a double complement of men. Each was discriminated only by the name of the people of whom it consisted, and by the order of succession in which it had been raised among them. And each contained nearly the same number. As, then, the whole amount of the ten legionaries in infantry, during the second, third, and fourth centuries, was exactly six thousand one hundred⁹; and that of the eight annexed auxiliaries precisely the same; each of the latter had seven hundred and sixty-two men. And, if the first-raised cohort of the Frisians had, as we have every reason to suppose that every corps of Romans in the island ordinarily had¹⁰, its entire complement with it; the garrison of Mancunium consisted of seven hundred and sixty-two foot-soldiers. But, since about three hundred and fifty of these were regularly absent from the station, and placed upon duty at some distance from it, as I shall shew hereafter¹¹; the real garrison could have been only about four hundred. And, according to the practice of the Romans in their camps, eight men out of every century, thirty-two in all, continued upon guard in the Castle-field, from six in the evening to six in the morning; being fixed at their posts within the camp by the sound of the trumpet, relieved every third hour by that of the horn, and kept alert at their stations by the appointed walkers of the rounds¹².

The whole compass of the area within was crowded with cabins, constructed probably of timber on foundations

dations of stone, and roofed with tiles, shingles, or straw¹³. But the prætorium, or pavilion of the commandant, would be erected in a superiour style. The barracks of the rest would be carried in regular lines towards and on each side of it. And the several pavilions of the centurions, and the standards of the centuries, must have risen regularly over the whole¹⁴. Each cabin of the soldiers was large enough to contain a band of eleven men; and as many were quartered in each, ten under the government of one, and the latter denominated the dean of the rest¹⁵. Each, I apprehend, was large enough to contain more, as it is evident from several inscriptions, and would be without them, that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. And the number of cabins in Mancunium was probably fifty or sixty in the whole, including the hospital for the sick, the workhouse of the armourers, the magazine for the corn, and the repository for arms. Formed by these, one principal street crossed the area obliquely from east to west, and another, a subordinate one, slanting from north to south. The former began at the prætorian gate, led down to the front of the prætorium, and terminated behind it at the decuman. The latter commenced at the water-gate, and stretched away to the entrance which opened into the road for Ribchester. And both were in all probability very narrow. Such was the street which Mr. Horseley measured exactly from one range of structures to another, betwixt the very visible foundations at the station of Amboglanna or Burdofswald in Cumberland. The outer walls of the barracks there

Sect. II.

P. 41.

were

Sect. II. were twenty-eight inches in thickness. And the clear opening between them was only thirty-two in width ¹⁶.

¹ The name is differently read in Antoninus. Some MSS. exhibit Mamucium, some Manucium, and others Mancinium or Mancunium; and the agreement of Richard (see b. I. ch. III. f. 1.) with the MSS. that present the last readings shews these to be the right appellation.—² Itin. Curios. p. 60.—³ See f. 3.—⁴ See b. I. ch. xii. f. 5.—⁵ Cheshire N^o 3. in Horfeley, and Antonine's Iter 2.; Ptolemy and Notitia. See also ch. vi. f. 4. and ch. xii. f. 5. b. I.—⁶ Horfeley p. 87.—⁷ Vegetius l. II. c. vi. and vii. where he speaks expressly of the *Ordinatio Legionis Antiquæ*.—⁸ Hist. lib. I. c. 59.—⁹ Vegetius l. II. c. vi. and vii.—¹⁰ See b. I. ch. vi. sect. 4.—¹¹ B. I. ch. v. f. 2.—¹² Vegetius l. III. c. viii.—¹³ Vegetius l. II. c. xxiii. and *Tabernacula vel Casæ* l. II. c. x. and Horfeley p. 152.—¹⁴ Vegetius l. II. c. xiii.—¹⁵ Vegetius ib. See also Grævius tom. x. c. mxxviii.—¹⁶ Horfeley p. 152.

III.

THE open ground of the Castle-field, which lay on three sides about the barriers of the station, would naturally be applied to a variety of purposes. And all around them many of the Roman officers and soldiers appear to have been interred. In the beginning of the last century was discovered a stone, which was the sepulchral

pulchral monument of one of the former, Candidus ^{Sect. III.} Fidefius, a centurion of the garrison, who died here in his 21st year. It is thus delineated by Camden,

O CANDIDI
 FIDES. XX.
 III.

and was inscribed

Dis Manibus
 Centurionis Candidi Fidefii
 Annorum 20
 Mensium
 Dierum 4.

To the Shade
 Of the Centurion Candidus Fidefius
 Aged 20 years
 months
 And 4 days.

About nineteen years ago a labourer, collecting gravel near the eastern boundary of the field and on the higher edge of the slope, found an urn containing a quantity of bones. It was composed of fine clay, was neatly glazed within and without, and, under a slight molding which encompassed the upper part of it, had some unmeaning circles and ill-wrought figures embossed upon it. And it had no inscription. But from the appearance

Sect. III. **P. 43.** pearance of the bones, which were extremely small, and even as little as those of a chicken, the contents of the urn could never have belonged to any human being, I suppose, and were only the remains of a favourite animal. And such have been equally found in an urn, at a place which I shall shew hereafter to have been the ancient *Cambodunum* of *Yorkshire*²; the bones being very little and yet evidently entire. An urn so filled is a singular discovery in itself, I believe, and almost the only one of the kind that has been made in the island. And such an act of regard to a little favourite perhaps, was never very common among a people, whose genius was too much steeled to the finer feelings of humanity by the philosophy of a perverted patriotism, the practice of a relentless heroism, and the attendance on sanguinary diversions³.

In the spring of 1765, was found another sepulchral vessel at the same extremity of the field, though on the lower part of the declivity, and among the artificial soil that had been heaped upon the perpendicular face of the ground. It was discovered about seven feet below the surface, at the bottom of a narrow hole, which was little more than the vessel in diameter, and had been filled up again with the shifted earth. And it rested on the rock, covered with a lid of the same, and placed in two vessels of much coarser materials; and inclosed a quantity of ashes. All the urns were fractured before they were discerned; but nearly the whole of the former was preserved, and is still kept in the Duke of *Bridgewater's* house at *Worsley*. This is a small one, not quite equal in capacity to a quart, and containing

containing only fifty-four solid inches and a half within. Sect. III.

It therefore inclosed most probably the ashes of a child. But the circumstances of attentive care, mentioned above, intimate them to have been that of a considerable officer in the garrison. And I have previously observed, that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. It is not formed, however, in the usual figure of an urn, but in that of a modern basin. And urns of such a model, though a little uncommon, have been discovered equally in London, Cornwall, and other places. Ours is composed of very fine elay, and is similar to the brown china of Staffordshire, but ^{P. 44.} more brightly coloured, and of a strong coral hue. And, ornamented with fanciful figures and devices, it has the name of the maker embossed upon it thus in small Roman capitals, ADVOCISI †.

Other or the same parts of the field were employed in the support of military discipline, by the erection of honorary monuments and the infliction of disgraceful punishments upon them. The latter, according to the general custom of the Romans in their camps, would be confined to the ground which lies on the western side of the station, the delinquents being conducted through the decuman gate, and punished immediately without the rampart ⁵. And, at the execution of such as were capital offenders, the musicians of the garrison assisted, and continued all the time sounding the charge of war ⁶. But the erection of honorary monuments was probably confined to no part. Few perhaps were erected in any. And only one has been discovered.

Sect. III. vered. It was found in the beginning of the last century, but was removed or destroyed before the middle of it⁷. The inscription, however, had been previously copied by the Warden of the Collegiate Church, and was thus inserted in the last edition of the Britannia :

COHO. I. FRISIN
D MASAVONIS
P. XXIII.

And it obviously mentions the first cohort of the Frisians, and proves it to have been stationed in the Castle-field.

P. 45. This, the important part, is certain. The rest is not so. The former half of it is thus read by Horsley, Cohors Prima, and by Ward, Cohortis Primæ, Frisiorum; as the latter is thus interpreted by both, Centurioni Marco Savonio Stipendiorum 23⁴. But both are mistaken in part. Neither has remarked the vacancy betwixt the letter P and the figures xxiii. There something has been erased by time, which ought to be supplied in the reading. And as the interval cannot be filled up by the word Stipendiorum at large, because it is either expressed by the abbreviature SP or was not expressed at all, it requires the insertion of some other word which will agree with the figures xxiii. The interposition of this betwixt the letters and numerals entirely precludes any connection between them. And the former can never be considered as the abbre-

abbreviature of Stipendiorum. They can be taken only for the initial letters of two distinct words, I think, and as put for Sepulchrum posuit. And both occur in inscriptions on the funeral stones of the Romans among us^o. Nor is the name of the centurion, as the above-mentioned gentlemen have given it, Marcus Savonius, but, as the inscription shews it to be, Marcus Savo. And the critick has no right to suppose a corruption when there is no reason for a correction, or an abbreviation, when there is no occasion for an addition. Sect. III.

Thus stated, the former part may be read in this manner, Cohors prima Frisiorum Centurioni Marco Savoni sepulchrum posuit, and the latter be supplied in this, Vixit annos 23. And, thus inscribed, the stone appears to have been neither a monument of honour to the living nor a cenotaph to the dead. It was an honorary monument erected over the grave of Marcus Savo, who was a young Frisian officer in the first Frisian cohort, and died in his twenty-fourth year. And it was erected by the common act of the garrison, in an honourable regard to the memory of an hopeful though subordinate officer.

But that large projection of the bank of the Medlock, which commences near the south-eastern and south-western points of the station, appears to have been applied to the most capital uses. Lying within the two angles of the camp, and forming an agreeable addition to it, it was naturally the site of all the offices. And in 1771 were here found some remains of buildings, which

Seç. III. which the nature of the construction and the discovery of coins equally marked to be Roman.

A little to the west of the south-eastern angle, and directly opposite to the small bridge on the other side of the river, as the workmen were levelling the bank for a wharf, and proceeding to the east, they came to a large stone, like the pedestal of a pillar, but all plane on the surface. It was about two feet nine inches across at the base, and gradually decreased upwards by four stages, as it were, of eight inches, three and an half, one and three quarters, and one and an half, in length, to two feet three inches, two feet, and one foot nine. It was placed on a flooring seven or eight inches thick, which was made with pieces of soft red rock, and bedded in clay. And it was nearly twenty-five yards distant from the present edge of the water.

Eight feet immediately to the east of this was a building, equally with the stone about two below the surface of the ground, and floored with a Roman cement of mortar and pounded brick. This was nine inches in thickness, and rested on a body of marble about as many in depth. And the whole building was about twenty feet long and ten broad.—Nine to the east of this was another flooring, two or three lower in the ground, and a cake of the same cement and thickness. It lay upon loose earth, but was covered with flags. And the whole was about ten feet broad and thirty long.—The exterior wall of both buildings was discovered on the northern side, running parallel with the river. That of the former was about two feet three inches

inches in thickness, and that of the latter about four. Sect. III.
 This rose about three high, and was formed of stones regularly drest, the upper shallow and the lower deep. And, having extended nearly in a right line about thirty feet, it then turned in a fair angle, and pointed towards the river. In the former building was dug up only one flooring; but in the latter three. Below the pavement described above, and in the loose earth on which it lay, were found, as the pillars of it, large blocks of a mill-stone grit and square tubes of strong tile. And the first flooring lay on all these; the intervals between the tubes and blocks being entirely filled up with earth. The latter were such as we have noticed before in the British foundation at another end of the field, and like them, I suppose, brought down by the floods of the Medlock. And the former were about sixteen inches in height and five in diameter, and filled up with mortar that had once been fluid. Three of these were found together, standing erect, and two of them so formed with projections as to make a third by their union. And these and the earth all rested upon a second flooring, another cake of the same cement, near two feet in thickness, and lying upon a second bed of rubbish about three in depth. In the body of this earth, which was covered with the second flooring, all unbroken and entire, were discovered three or four regular pillars of flag and tile. The first was placed about six feet to the south of the northerly wall, and the second about seventeen inches to the south of that. Six feet eastward was another; and about seventeen inches north of this were some remains of a fourth.

VOL. I.

F

They

Sect. III. They were composed of a square flag, then two layers of tile, each tile being about two inches thick and eight square, and afterwards of flag and tile in four layers alternately, all laid in mortar and pounded brick. And they rose from twenty-two to thirty-two inches in height, closely surrounded on every side with the loose earth; and lay, as it lay, upon a third flooring, made of pure and unmixed mortar, three inches in thickness, and having a layer of red sand below on the natural ground.

About a yard to the east of the more easterly building, was discovered a third, but all a mere mass of confusion. And in the broken ruins of it were dug up a couple of Roman coins, and three round tubes of tile. These were found in the ground, with their mortar adhering to the outside of them, and each about sixteen inches in length. They had plainly been formed in molds, were hooped as it were with circles on the outside, and narrowed from a diameter about four inches at one end to two at the other. And by this means they were calculated to be, as they were found, each inserted into each, and forming one long pipe.

What, then, was the design of these three buildings and the stone? Clearly Roman, they were as clearly some of the appendages belonging to the station. And the buildings, particularly, seem to have been the cowstall, the slaughterhouse, and the larder of the garrison. In enquiries of this circumstantial and private nature, however, we must not expect demonstration. And a probable conjecture is the highest point of certainty to which we can aspire.

It

It was the second building probably, that was the Sect. III. slaughterhouse of the station. Such a structure the Romans would necessarily have in the Castle-field. And they would naturally place it about the site of this, within the irregularly semicircular projection of the river-bank, below the level of the fortrefs, and on the edge of the water. But, what seems to amount nearly to a positive proof, close to it, near the south-western angle and along the north-eastern side of it, were found great quantities of bones heaped together, and chiefly of oxen, sheep, and cows.—What the particular design of the two inferiour floorings was, covered as they were with a mass of earth, perhaps we must not pretend to explain. And indeed they seem not, in any view of the building, able to serve a single purpose whatsoever, except only to prevent the burrowing of rats from the river.—Many tiles also were found in the ruins that had round holes in them, some larger and some smaller; and others, that were made with a bend for channels. The former were probably the vent-holes, and the latter the ducts, by which the blood on the floor discharged itself into the foughs, and was conveyed into the river. And one fough, I am informed, was actually observed in the building.

This, then, was in all probability the slaughterhouse of Mancunium. And the accompanying structures on the west and east would naturally bear an affinity to it, and be the larder and cowstall.—In the most easterly of them, the three long tubes of tile, inserted into one another, and laid in the ground with mortar, were evi-

Sect. III. deritly placed as a channel. And there were also found, as in the second building, several fragments of coarse tiles formed into hollows, and calculated for the same purpose. These were the drains probably for all the fluid filth of the cowstall. And the cattle, that were slaughtered for the use of the garrison, were probably kept here after they were taken from the pasture, and properly prepared for the knife. In the ruins of the second edifice was found a large knife of iron, with an handle of stag's horn. And in those of the more westerly one was picked up the beam of a balance, all of brass, and fitted with an hook at one end. That perhaps was the carving knife of the butcher, and this the balance of the larderer, with which he measured every soldier his portion; the beam being very slight, and capable of weighing about half a pound. The second and third buildings, as the slaughterhouse and cowstall, would consist only of one large room each; and no partitions were found in either. But they were in the first; and, as a larder, they would be wanted in it. As a larder also, it needed only what it had, a single flooring of Roman cement; because the drainings of the slaughterhouse would effectually divert the rats of the river from it. It had nothing therefore but the dampness of its position, to guard against. And, placed as it was so much higher than the slaughterhouse, one flooring would be fully sufficient for this purpose.

In this view of the buildings, the eastern being the cowstall, the middle the slaughterhouse, and the western the larder of the Roman garrison; the stone, which was placed about two yards to the west of the last, will have

have its proper use and place. It was evidently found in its original site, being fixed (as I have shewn) on a regular basis of red rock and clay. And it is so much in miniature what our market-stones are upon a larger scale at present, that I cannot but think it intended for a similar purpose; as the stated point, to which the soldiers repaired every day for their portions of meat, which were cut and weighed at the larder, and afterwards distributed at the stone. Nor has Vegetius, that curious detailer of the military œconomy of the Romans, neglected to give us an hint concerning these minuter parts of it. Speaking of the preparation requisite in a camp for supporting a siege, he particularly directs all the live stock of the garrison, except a few fowls for the sick, to be killed, and carried to the larder; *omne animalium genus, quod inclusum servari non potest, deputari oportet ad lardum*. And it should afterwards, he says, be distributed among the soldiers by officers appointed for the purpose, *ut adminiculo carnis frumenta sufficiant* ¹⁰.

Thus was the south-eastern part of the projection taken up probably by the cowstall, slaughterhouse, and larder of the garrison. In the ruins of them was found a Roman chissel of iron, shaped like our present chissels, and fitted for the reception of a wooden handle. And the south-western, which has never yet been dug into, was equally occupied in all probability by the stables of the officers, roofing-sheds for the fowls, and other constructions of a similar nature ¹¹. Only, at one point of this, was found a few years ago what seemed to have been a part of the Roman provision for a siege. Against

Sect. III. such an occasion Vegetius shews his countrymen to have carefully collected the round stones of the rivers, and to have lined the walls of their stations with them: *faxa rotunda de fluviis, quia pro soliditate graviora sunt, et aptiora mittentibus, diligentissimè colliguntur, ex quibus muri replentur.* The smaller were sent against the enemy either from the hand or slings. And the larger were launched from their engines. The former have been frequently found in the Roman camp of Camalet, and sometimes by half a peck at a time; though there are none such in all the parts of Somersetshire about it. And a great quantity of the latter was found all together at Manchester, when the duke of Bridgewater began his works in the Castle-field; gathered from the bed of the Medlock, and repositied on the bank of it, lying in a large heap immediately under the British rampart, and fairly turfed over by time¹²,

P. 46. ¹ Britannia, edit. 1607, p. 611.—² See b. I. ch. iv. sect. 1. — ³ Some instances however occur, as of Augustus, Pliny lib. viii. c. 42; of Hadrian, Dio p. 1159, and Spartian in p. 10. Hist. Aug. Script., Paris, 1620; in Montfaucon's Italian Diary p. 83. Henley's 2d edit.; and in Horsey p. 340. — ⁴ Within the circle, on which the vessel stands, are some characters rudely scratched with a sharp tool, and seeming to form Avittii, perhaps the name of the person whose ashes the urn contained. And in Phil. Transf. 1759. p. 13. we have a tin patera thus rudely inscribed with a tool. — ⁵ Vegetius lib. i. c. 23.—⁶ Vegetius lib. ii. c. 22. — ⁷ Mr. Holling-

worth's MS. in the publick library at Manchester p. 3, Sect. III.
 a rude essay towards an history of the town, and
 written about the year 1650.—⁸ Horfeley p. 301 and
 351.—⁹ See Sepulchrum in an inscription N^o 8. West-
 moreland, and Posuit and Ponendum curavit in p. 273,
 p. 303, p. 274, p. 322, and Oxfordshire, in Horfeley.
 —¹⁰ Vegetius l. iv. c. 7.—¹¹ I have the chissel in my own
 possession, and also the stag's horn handle of the Roman
 carving-knife., The blade of the latter being loose, it was
 stolen at the first discovery.—¹² Vegetius l. iv. c. 8. and
 Itin. Cur. p. 142.

IV.

One of the most distinguishing and permanent parts
 of the Roman character, though it has been little at-
 tended to, was a regular religiousness of spirit. This
 is that accomplishment of the mind which reflects the
 highest honour upon it, as it is the full result and
 united power of all the virtues blended together. For
 this, probably, did the great Father and object of
 all religion select the Romans from the common
 mass of mankind, and give them the empire of the
 globe. And so lively did the principle operate within
 them, and so actively was it diffused even through the
 camps of their soldiery, that nine tenths of their sta-
 tionary relicks in Britain are only monuments of their
 piety and memorials of their devotion.

The Roman garrison of Mancunium, therefore, must
 naturally have had some particular building for the pe-
 riodical services of religion. Perhaps only a cabin of

Sect. IV. the same construction with the rest, but appropriated to
 P. 47. the offices of publick devotion, it would be fixed within
 the walls of the station, and near to the pavilion of the
 commander and the standard of the garrison. The
 latter was always placed close to the former ¹. And near
 to both was a temple or chapel in every station, in
 which altars were erected and religious rites per-
 formed ².

But in every station altars were occasionally raised, as
 private gratitude for past or private supplication for fu-
 ture favours directed. These seem never to have been
 placed within the compass of the walls. There was
 no room for them within. They were therefore fixed
 without, and in such places as fancy or convenience re-
 commended.

But of these, or of such as stood in the temple, only
 one is known to have been discovered at Manchester ³,
 And that has a curious inscription on the plane of it,
 which runs thus,

FORTWAE
 CONSERVA
 TRICI
 L·SENECIA
 NIVS MAR
 TIVS 3 LEG
 VI·VICT·

It was consecrated, as the inscription witnesses, by Lu-
 cius Senecianus Martius, a centurion of the sixth le-
 gion, and of that particular brigade in it, which for its
 gallantry

gallantry was furnished the Victorious, which passed Sect. IV. over from Germany to Britain about the year 120⁴, and marched into Scotland before 140⁵.

The route, which this legion would naturally take into Scotland from the south, was by London to Lincoln, York, and Binchester on the east, or to Litchfield, Manchester, and Penrith on the west. These were the only direct roads that the Romans then had into the north⁶. And by these the legionaries would march in several divisions. The garrisons of the larger stations would otherwise have been distressed, and those of the smaller rendered utterly unable, to afford them the requisite quarters. And, while one of the divisions perhaps halted at Manchester, a centurion of the corps took the opportunity of erecting this altar.

Such I apprehend to be the actual date of it, more ancient perhaps than that of any other altar, and almost of any other monument, in the whole compass of Roman Britain. And with this notion every circumstance in the inscription seems perfectly to accord, the structure of P. 34 the letters in general, the punctuation and complication of some of them, and the centurial mark in the middle. The letters are of a good form and well-rounded, and better in this respect than the generality of the characters in the inscriptions of Antoninus Pius⁷. The points also, being merely the round dots or periods, bespeak an higher antiquity than the angular, triangular, and leaf-like ones of Antoninus's inscriptions; as the use of the periods only, in the former, has more the cast of antiquity, than the mixture of all four in the latter.

Sect. IV. letter ⁹. And the complications for UN in the first line and VA in the second are as little involved and modern, as those for NT, DR, and IO in the inscriptions of Antoninus ⁹.

The centurial mark, indeed, may seem by its uncommon form to fix a late date to our inscription. And so thought a considerable critick in antiquities ¹⁰. But so he thought, I apprehend, for want of sufficient attention. The centurial mark must have been originally CENT, CEN, or CE; and the letters of the last would often be inverted, to distinguish it from the signatures of prefix names. It thus became EC, and the moment that complications began was formed into a character which partook equally of both, the very same that appears on the Mancunian altar. This is older, because it is nearer to the original signature, than > the centurial mark of Antoninus ¹¹. And it occurs not upon any other inscription within the island, but is found with some little variation upon many on the continent ¹². And, if this cypher had been the invention of later

P. 49. ages, it could not but have appeared upon some of the many inscriptions that we have of them.

Erected then about the year 120, the altar was consecrated by the centurion to Fortune, in grateful acknowledgement to the Divinity that had so often preserved him in the hour of danger. And to this Deity have several altars been raised in Britain by the hand of mistaken piety. We have three dedicated to Fortune alone, a fourth to Fortune and other Deities, and a fifth to the Fortune of the Emperor; and all five in supplication of future favours. And we have three others

others in gratitude for the past; the Mancunian, and one Sect. IV.
 which was discovered about thirty years ago at Netherby in Scotland, being inscribed to Fortune the Preserver; and another, which was found in Cumberland, being addressed to Fortune the Redux or Re-conductor¹³. And it is pretty remarkable, that four of these were erected by persons who had been of the same corps, and even of this the sixth legion, the altar at Manchester, another lately discovered at Cambodunum¹⁴, a third by Julius Ralticus, and a fourth by Audacius Romanus; and that the two first and the last of these were raised by centurions of that legion¹⁵.

But it is more observable in this altar, though it has never been noticed by any of the numerous descanters upon it, that it has no focus for the sacrificial fire. It is evident therefore, that no victims were designed to be consumed, no libations to be poured, and no incense to be burnt, upon it. Two others only of the same nature have been discovered in the island, one dedicated to Jupiter and the Emperor at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and the other, like this, to the Goddess Fortune at Carrawbrugh in Cumberland¹⁶. And all three therefore were appropriated to the oblation of prayers from them, the presentment of the fruits of the ground upon them, or both.

Erected upon one of these designs, the Manchester altar seems to have stood near the eastern extremity of the Castle-field, and perhaps on the edge of the avenue that led up to the principal gate of the camp. It had P. 50.
 thence been thrown down the bank of the river, but luckily met with a soft part of the channel, and was
 not

Sect. IV. not broken by the fall. And there it lay undisturbed and unknown for many ages, the lettered side lying upon the ground, and an oak spreading out its roots above it. In that situation it was found in the year 1612¹⁷. The stone is twenty-seven inches and a quarter in length, fifteen and a quarter in breadth, and nearly eleven in thickness. And, what seems a full argument of the haste with which it was originally formed, and remarkably coincides with the supposition concerning its date before, it has neither capital nor base, and only a large plane in front bordered on either side by a molding. It is charged with a common præfericulum on the left edge, and with a common patera on the right; and is still preserved in the neighbouring hall of Hulme.

¹ Grævius tom. x. c. 1044. compared with Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—² Grævius c. 1044.—³ Dr. Strukely has converted this altar into two, Itin. Cur. p. 55.—⁴ Gale's Antonine p. 47.—⁵ Horfeley Scotland N° 4. and p. 79.—⁶ See b. I. ch. v. sect. 4.—⁷ Horfeley, Cumberland Fig. 46, and perhaps Suffex Fig. 1, Trajan's; Northumberland Fig. 77, and probably 59 (see pref. p. xiv.), Hadrian's; and Scotland Fig. 1, 3, 16, 25, and 26, Antoninus's.—⁸ Horfeley, Scotland Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—⁹ Horfeley, Scotland Fig. 2 and 25. and Northumberland Fig. 7. See also the imperial Inscriptions in Gruter and Reinefius.—¹⁰ Horfeley p. 189. and plate N° 1. p. 189.—¹¹ See Horfeley, Northumberland N° 71.—¹² See Urfatus, where it also appears in its natural position.—¹³ Phil.

Transf. 1763. p. 134, and Horfeley, Northumberland Fig. ^{Sect. IV.} 32. p. 240, and Cumberland Fig. 68. See also a bath, or an altar in it, dedicated to Fortune in Yorkshire (Horfeley Fig. 1. and p. 352).—¹⁴ See b. I. ch. iv. sect. 3.—¹⁵ Horfeley, Northumberland Fig. 55 and 78.—¹⁶ Horfeley, Northumberland Fig. 32. p. 218, and Oxfordshire Fig. 1. p. 537.—¹⁷ See Mr. Hollingworth's MS. p. 3.

V.

While the whole area of the Castle-field was thus P. 50. applied to a variety of uses, the low level of ground, which is directly to the west of it, would naturally be used as a pasture by the Romans. Lying along the fertilizing currents of the Medlock and Irwell, and just under the high bank of the station, it offered them an excellent pasture. Such they necessarily wanted in the immediate vicinity of their camp. And such therefore they would readily embrace in this, and turn the live stock of the garrison into it. Bounded by the two streams on two sides and an half, and terminated by the stationary morafs and an hedge on the rest, it must have contained an ample extent of ground, and sufficient for all their purposes. And there their cattle continued in safety, ranging along the fruitful and well-watered peninsula, and feeding under the immediate eye of their masters; a ready supply for the consumption of every day, and constantly recruited from the more distant parts of the country¹.

Many

Sect. V. Many coins have been occasionally discovered about the station in the last and present century, and many have been lately found in the precincts of the town. But none of them were uncommon, I believe. Only, one was of that species of brass medals, which has **C. CAESAR DICTATOR** upon one side and **VENI VIDI VICI** within a laurel wreath on the other; the supposed forgery of modern craft, and branded, but perhaps too universally, as the mintage of the famous Paduan.—A large Roman ring of gold has also been discovered in Castle-field².—And about fifty years ago was thrown up by the plough a sword of iron, very well preserved, and five feet, five inches, and a quarter in length. The handle is eighteen inches and a quarter long, and four and a quarter in circumference, lined all round with some soft pieces of wood, and covered over with leather; is terminated by a large ball of iron, about a pound in weight, at one extremity; and crossed by an iron guard, twenty inches and a quarter in length, at the other. And the blade, which is forty-seven long, carries a double edge, is nearly two in breadth at the guard, and tapers gently away to a sharp point. The whole weapon, lighter than the stone-made Celt that is described before, and equally with it designed to be wielded by both hands together, is seven pounds and eleven ounces in weight. And it is plainly Roman, being very like the sword that is described upon a Roman monument discovered in London; and is now repositèd in the elegant and magnificent museum of my friend, Ashton Lever Esq. of Alkington³.

But

But in the month of May 1772, close to the second lock of the Irwell, and about two miles from Castlefield, was found a Roman Bulla of gold. It was discovered in deepening the channel for the passage of the boats, buried about a foot deep in a ridge of gravel. And it is repositèd with the sword in Mr. Lever's Musæum. Sect. V.

This wellknown ornament of the Roman boys was made originally of leather among all ranks of people, I apprehend; as so it continued among the inferiour to the last. And, though it has never been suspected, it was plainly, I think, intended at first for an amulet rather an ornament. That lively spirit of religiousness, which I have noticed before in the genius of the Romans, was greatly tinctured with superstition. And they hung amulets about the necks of their children, representing different parts of the human body, and even those which are characteristick of man. Upon the same principle, assuredly, bullas were originally made in the form of hearts⁴. And, what seems a full evidence that they were amulets, they were frequently impressed with the figure of the sexual parts besides⁵.

But they did not always retain the form of an heart, any more than they were always composed of leather. As the wealth of the state and the riches of individuals increased, the young patrician distinguished himself by a bulla of gold, while the common people wore the amulet of their ancestors⁶. And the figure of an heart was laid aside for that of a circle. The bullas then became so generally round, and some even bearing the impression of an heart upon them, that there are not many of the original

Sect. V. original form, I believe, to be found in the cabinets of the curious⁷. But many are preserved of the other; and one, particularly, was discovered about 40 years ago in Lancashire, being accidentally picked up by a lady in the station of Overborough⁸. And, when once the form had varied from an heart to a circle, the gradation was easy from a circle to a segment of it. There was some fantastical reason, no doubt, the suggestion of the original superstition, for using the former. And as good an one would easily be found in the reveries of religious folly, for adopting the latter. Our Mancunian bulla is of this figure, and the only one that I know of in the kingdom. Very few indeed have been found within it. I recollect none at present, but our own and the Overborough bulla. And many cannot be expected. The leathern, that were lost, must long since have perished. And what can we hope for of the golden, when they were thrown off at the age of puberty, and a patrician's son was not likely to come over and serve in the armies before? They can be expected only from the sons of patricians settled in the island, and employed in the civil or military offices of the country. And the number of these was in all probability small.

But it is very remarkable, that the only two which are known to be discovered in Britain should both have been found in Lancashire. And ours at Manchester is much more curious than the other. Many have been collected on the continent in the round or Overborough figure; but none, I believe, in that of a segment. And it enables us to correct a prevailing mistake concerning these

these little implements. It is univerfally asserted by the Sect. V.
 criticks, that the bulla was hollow for the reception of
 an amulet⁹. But, as I have already observed, the 'amulet
 was the bulla itself. And our own serves to confirm
 the notion. When it was first found, it was nearly en-
 tire, and, if it had ever had any relick or talisman in-
 closed, would still have retained it. But, on examin-
 ing the cavity within, nothing could be found except a
 few particles of sand, that had insinuated themselves at
 the only breach in the whole, a small puncture at the
 bottom of it. And the whole is something more than
 three and twenty shillings in intrinsick value. The two
 flat sides are decorated a little differently. Both have
 segments of concentrick circles engraved upon them.
 One, however, is embellished only with plain strokes
 of the graver betwixt the segments. And the other has
 stars radiating between them, executed in an elegant
 taste, and interchangeably pointing upwards and down-
 wards. This therefore was the front of the bulla, the
 side which lay uppermost as it rested on the breast,
 And I give this view of it here¹⁰.



Real Size

Sect. V.

P. 52.

¹ See b. I. c. 6. f. 2. — ² Itin. Curios. p. 55. — ³ A Roman sword was also dug up a few years ago at Badbury in Dorsetshire (Camden c. 63). — ⁴ Montfaucon, L'Antiq. Exp. tom. III. part I. p. 69. — ⁵ See two in Montfaucon's plate, *ibid.* — ⁶ Signum de paupere loro, as Juvenal calls it. — ⁷ Four in Montfaucon, and two have an heart upon them. — ⁸ Ranthmell's Overborough, p. 99—100. — ⁹ See Montfaucon, resting on the authority of Macrobius. — ¹⁰ This, and almost all the pieces that come afterwards in the history, were voluntarily and obligingly engraved for it by Mr. William Macaulay, a young gentleman of Manchester, who is equally ingenious in his taste and ingenuous in his manners.

C. H. A. P.

C H A P. III.

A DISCOVERY MADE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO
 THE KNOWLEDGE OF ROMAN-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES — THE GEOGRAPHY OF ROMAN BRITAIN ASCERTAINED — THE GREATER ROADS ACROSS IT, BRITISH OR ROMAN — AND THE GENERAL ROADS OF THE ROMANS IN LANCASHIRE.

I.

THE only accounts that had descended to us concerning the Roman stations and roads within the island, in the year 1757, were the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Imperial Notitia, and the Anonymous Chorography. But in that year the science of Roman antiquities received an extraordinary illumination, from the discovery of a work which contains a very curious account of Roman Britain, and exhibits to us a new Itinerary for the whole of it. And, what greatly enhances the value to a Roman-British antiquarian, the latter is more antient than that of Antonine, more extensive in its design, and more circumstantial in its execution.

sect. I.

This appears to have been the surprising collection of a monk in the fourteenth century, who, having the spirit to travel, had the good fortune to meet with and the good sense to preserve these invaluable remains. But in an age when general curiosity was little awake, and antiquarianism had slumbered on for ages, being perhaps originally confined within a few MSS, those afterwards reduced to one probably, and that transported out of the kingdom to which alone it had any relation; the work was in the most imminent danger of perishing for ever. And in this state Mr. Bertram, an English gentleman, discovered it at Copenhagen in 1747, and immediately acquainted Dr. Stukeley with the fact. Struck with the nature of the work, a copy of which had been transmitted to him, and with a specimen of the hand-writing, which Mr. Casley of the Cottonian Library pronounced to be of the fourteenth century; the Doctor solicited, and Mr. Bertram made, a publication of it. In 1757 Dr. Stukeley published a translation of the Itinerary with a comment in quarto, from the transcript. And, in the beginning of the subsequent year, the whole was printed at Copenhagen from the original MS, and a few copies were immediately sent as presents into England*.

P. 54:

The compiler was Richard, a native of Cirencester but a monk of Westminster, and the author of many

* The title of the book is *Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres, RICARDUS CORINENSIS, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorensis*; and at the close it is said to be printed, *Hauniz, Typis Ludolphi Henrici Lillie, Anno salutis 1758, Mense Januario*; and one copy was sent to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

historical

historical and theological pieces. And that the work is Sect. 1.
 genuine needs no proof. All the embodied antiquarians of the fourteenth and three succeeding centuries, could not have forged so learned a detail of Roman antiquities.

Whence Richard compiled it, we know not; or whether he found his authorities in England or at Rome, to which place he had a special licence to travel¹. He has thought proper to say nothing of either. He only refers, and he refers frequently, to his vouchers, Ptolemy and his cotemporary writers, the tradition of the druids, antient monuments, documents, and histories². And the Itinerary, in particular, he declares himself to have collected from some remains of records, which had been drawn up by the authority of a certain Roman general, and left by him for the use of succeeding ages³.

The date of these must be the period of the Itinerary. And Dr. Stukeley carries the æra of both to the time of Agricola's command in the island, whom he supposes to be the Roman officer here spoken of, and to whose days he thinks the general aspect of the Itinerary to look⁴. But these are surely reasons of too feeble a nature; to support so weighty a conclusion. And the many parts of the work, as many there are, which are later than the age of Agricola, directly refute the supposition.

The eighteen Itinera, which Richard has presented to us, all unite to form an entire Itinerary. No single part stands forth of a different texture from the rest. And the whole refers itself to one period⁵. It P. 55. 1

Seft. I. was composed after the wall of Hadrian, and even after that of Antoninus, were erected; because it exprefsly mentions both ⁶. This neceffarily reduces the date of it below the year 138, the firft of Antoninus's reign. And it was drawn up when the Romans retained their ftations on his wall and beyond it, and when they had profecuted their roads and conquests along the eastern coast of the island as far as Inverness. Two of the eighteen Itinera traverse all the country betwixt Inverness and the friths. And, as fuch a road could not have been made or fuch an Iter compiled in the days of Agricola, who advanced the Roman empire very little beyond the Tay ⁷, fo could neither have been done much later than the reign of Antoninus Pius. We have the pofitive authority of the fame author, who fpeaks affuredly from records, and whose particular mention of the year is a full argument that he does, that in 170 the Romans deserted all the country which lay to the north of Antoninus's wall ⁸.

This reasoning, therefore, confines the date of the Itinerary within a small circle of years. Drawn up after 138, it was equally drawn up before 170. And this obliges us to assign the construction of the roads beyond the Tay, and the compofure of an Itinerary for them, to the only one that could execute either, Lollius Urbicus, the well-known governor of the island under Antoninus Pius. This officer, being fent into the island in 140 ⁹, immediately paffed the former bounds of the empire, and invaded the country that lay to the north of the friths. Betwixt them Agricola had formerly erected a line of forts ¹⁰. These had not been destroyed;

ed; and Lollius joined them together by a long rampart¹¹. Agricola raised them, before he advanced beyond the Tay to the Grampian mountains¹²; and Lollius seems to have acted in the same manner. He seems to have erected his wall in the year 140¹³, and then to have extended his conquests beyond it. And these he appears to have prosecuted up to Inverness.

Sect. I.

History, or Time the destroyer of history; has been very unjust to the memory of this gallant officer, and scarcely given us any intimation of his signal victories. But, that he gained considerable advantages over the northern Britons, is plain from the testimony of Richard, who expressly mentions the glories that he acquired by his victories in Britain, and from the concurrent attestation of Capitolinus, who says that he conquered the Britons¹⁴. And these actions were esteemed so important and honourable by Antoninus, that he assumed the name of Britannicus on his coins¹⁵. That he also carried his arms to Inverness, may be easily shewn. He only to the days of Ptolemy can be supposed to have passed the limits of Agricola's conquests, and to have fixed a garrison there. And he did it; a Roman station being there in the days of Ptolemy, and expressly mentioned by him under the name of Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον or the winged camp. That this was placed in or about Inverness, the Geography of Ptolemy suggested¹⁶, and the Itinerary of Richard evinces¹⁷. And here, as at the utmost boundary of the Roman empire and the most northerly point of accessible ground, Ptolemy, or some of the Roman officers, made the

Sect. I. astronomical observation which he has given us in the second chapter of his eighth book.

To Lollius, then, the Romans owed the subjection of most of the countries beyond the friths, and Ptolemy the opportunity of having an observation made at Inverness. To him they were indebted for the continuation of their military roads to the latter, and we for the Itinerary which measures them and Richard happily preserved. And in it Lollius has left a serviceable monument to posterity; useful to the memory of his own actions, which it has been the means of rescuing from oblivion, and of which it will be now a perpetual record; and very useful to the antiquarian critick. The very discovery of a new Itinerary would have been of considerable importance to the science of antiquities, had it been of as late a date as Antonine's confessedly is, and even as much later as, from the mention of Constantinople and Maximianople, it actually appears to be¹⁸; had it been even as short as that in its notices, and as uncertain in its numerals. By the collation of one with the other, much that was wrong might have been rectified, and much that was doubtful ascertained. But we have it with almost every possible advantage. The numerals are in general exact, the notices given in it are many and curious, and its date is equally certain and early. It was compiled as early as the middle of the second century, in a period when we have scarce any informations concerning the island from the Roman historians, and the Roman empire among us was in its greatest glory and at its farthest extent; when the Romans had carried two walls across

P. 57.

across the island; possessed all the north to the two friths, and all the north-east up to Inverness; and had one great road, that nearly traversed the whole country from Inverness to the Land's-end ¹⁹. Sect. I.

This Itinerary has thrown a particular lustre upon the Roman antiquities of Lancashire, and acquainted us with one whole road, a part of another, and two or three stations, that we were ignorant of before. And under the guidance of it and the other Itinerary, and with the occasional assistance of Ptolemy, the Notitia, and Ravennas, I shall endeavour to point out the sites of the Roman stations in general within the county; to describe such in particular, whether within or without it, as were the first stages from Manchester; and, only mentioning the roads that issue from the former, carefully trace through our own parish those which extend betwixt the latter ²⁰.

¹ Stukely's Comment p. 6.—² P. 3, 4, 18, 24, 28, 29, and 32.—³ P. 35, Ex fragmentis quibusdam a duce quodam Romano consignatis et posteritati relictis.—⁴ P. 12 and 71.—⁵ The only dissonant parts are these, which P. 58. sufficiently of themselves betray the interpolating hand of Richard: Iter 1, Verolamio municipio 12 [unde fuit Amphibalus et Albanus Martyres]; Iter 3, Camoloduno Colonia 9 [Ibi erat templum Claudii, Arx triumphalis, et imago victoriæ Deæ]; Iter 4, Eboraco Municip. [olim Colonia Sexta]; Iter 11, Isca Colonia 9 [unde fuit Aaron Martyr]; &c.—⁶ See appendix, 4, 9, and 10 Itinera.—⁷ Tacitus Vit. Agric. c. 22, 29, and 38.—⁸ P.

Sect. I. —⁸ P. 52; and see b. I. ch. xii. f. 2.—⁹ Richard p. 52.—¹⁰ Tacitus c. xxiii.—¹¹ Horfeley p. 158.—¹² Tacitus c. xxiii and xxix—¹³ Horfeley p. 203 and 52.—¹⁴ Richard p. 52. and Hist. Aug. Scriptores p. 19. Paris 1620.—¹⁵ P. 50 of Casaubon's remarks upon Capitolinus ibid.—¹⁶ Horfeley accordingly conjectured it to be a little to the north of Inverness.—¹⁷ Iter 9 and 10.—¹⁸ P. 9, a Constantinopoli usque &c. and p. 20. Bertius. See a mistake therefore in Gale, Horfeley, and others, who merely from the title of the work, and in direct contradiction to these passages, have supposed it to be written under one of the emperors that bore the name of Antoninus, and particularly under Caracalla the last of them.—¹⁹ In Richard is a Map of Britain, drawn up by himself (as he says) secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum. This Mr. Bertram thinks superiour to all the rest of Richard's Commentary, for the curiousness and antiquity of it (Preface). And it is a great curiosity undoubtedly, being (I believe) the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old one of Roman Britain. Maps of the island, however, were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some, as recentiore ævo descriptas and generally known (p. 3). And this is but of little value. It is frequently inaccurate. It frequently contradicts its own Itinerary.—²⁰ Richard also drew up an history of England, under the title of Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliæ. The hope of meeting with discoveries as great in the Saxon history, as he has given us concerning the preceding period, induced me to examine the work. A MS. copy is preserved

served in the publick library at Cambridge, Ff, 1, 28, Sect. I. containing 516 pages. But my expectations were greatly disappointed. The learned and deep antiquarian P. 59. I found sunk into a mere novice in history, sometimes the copier of Huntingdon, but generally the transcriber of Geoffrey. Deprived of his Roman aids, Richard shewed himself to be as ignorant and injudicious, as any of his illiterate cotemporaries about him.

H.

To delineate the British and Roman geography of the island, has frequently attracted the attention and engaged the application of our antiquarians. But their industry has been hitherto exerted to little purpose. A deep cloud has settled upon the general face of our country in those antient days. And the few scattered rays, with which it has been hitherto enlightened, have only served to make the darkness more visible to us. The Commentary of Richard, however, will now enable us to dispell the thicker part of the gloom. The position of each British tribe, and the extent of each Roman-British province, we may now ascertain with sufficient precision. And the whole interior disposition of Roman Britain, before as well as after the conquest of the Romans, may be sketched out with a pretty accurate hand. Some little darkness must always be expected to infold the antiquarian in his searches. And he should constantly oblige himself to the task of thinking over his work.

The

Sect. II.

The Roman conquests among us were divided, in general, into higher or western and into lower or eastern Britain, the one being separated from the other by a line that was carried through the length of the island¹. They were also divided, in particular, into the six provinces and distinguished by the six denominations of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, and Vespasiana. And a regular Itinerary, the first perhaps of Britain, appears to have been drawn up by Lollius for the whole.

- P. 60. ² Britannia Prima comprehended all the country that lies to the south of the Thames and Severn, and of a line drawn from Creeklade or its vicinity upon the one to Berkeley or its neighbourhood on the other; included eleven nations of the Britons, and contained about thirty-six stations, subject to Rutupæ or Richborough the provincial capital.—The Cantii generally possessed the exact compass of the present Kent, being bounded by the Thames on the north³ and the Lemanus or Rother on the west⁴, and acknowledging Durovernum, Cantiiopolis, or Canterbury for their capital; but once crossed the Thames, and annexed London, and all the southern parts of Middlesex, to their dominions⁵. And the Regni resided in Suffex and Surry; and Regnum, Regentium, or Chichester appears from its name to have been their metropolis⁶. Immediately to the north of these were the Bibroces or Rhemi; who originally occupied only the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, from the Lodden or its neighbourhood on the west to the Thames on the east, and had Bibroicum, Bibracte, or Bray for their capital; but afterwards subdued the
Regni,

Regni, and transferred the imperial seat to Noviomagus, Sect. II.
 a town in Surry⁷. And contiguous to them on the west were the Attrebates, spreading nearly over all the remainder of Berkshire; were bounded by the Loddon or its neighbourhood on the south-east, the curving bank of the Thames on the north-west and west, and the hills of East-Illey, Lambourne, ~~the~~ Ashbury, or their vicinity, on the south; and owned ~~the~~ Leva or Wallingford for their chief city. The Segontiaci inhabited the little remainder of Berkshire and the adjoining north of Hampshire, the Cunetius or Kennet flowing through their dominions in the former, and their principal town being Vindomis, Vindonum, or Silchester in the latter. The Proper Belgæ enjoyed the rest of Hampshire, held all Wiltshire, except a small district on the north-west, and had Winchester for their Venta or head-town. But these appear to have attacked the Segontiaci before the Roman arrival, and to have seized their dominions; all the possessions of the latter being pretty plainly attributed to the former by Ptolemy. The Durotriges or Morini lived in Dorsetshire, and had Durinum, Durnovaria, or Dorchester for their capital. P. 61. And the Hædui filled all Somersetshire to the Æstuary Uxella, Bridgewater Bay, or the river Ivel on the south; the south-west of Gloucestershire, to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge or its vicinity; and the north-west of Wiltshire, to the Avon and Creeklade⁹. These, however, appear from Ptolemy to have been subdued by the Belgæ, their country being expressly ascribed by him to that people⁹. The Cimbri extended over the rest of Somersetshire, except a small part to the east

Sect. II. east of the Thone ¹⁰, and along the north of Cornwall as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour ¹¹. The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west as far as Falmouth Haven ¹². And the Damnonii possessed originally the rest of Somersetshire ¹³, the rest of Cornwall, and all Devonshire. But, before the coming of the Romans, the Damnonii had subdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and usurped their dominions ¹⁴.

¹⁵ Britannia Secunda comprized all the country that lies beyond the Severn and Dee, contained three tribes of the Britons; and reckoned about twenty stations under Isca or Caerleon its capital.—The Silures inhabited originally the counties of Hereford, Radnor ¹⁶, and Monmouth, and the small portion of Gloucestershire which is to the west of the Severn, and acknowledged Caer Gwent in Monmouthshire for their metropolis; but afterwards conquered both the Ordovices and Dimetæ, who bordered upon them. The former at the Roman invasion possessed all North-Wales, the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint (except a small part of the last adjoining to Banchor and belonging to the Carnabii), and those parts of Shropshire which are to the south and west of the Severn; but previously possessed some contiguous regions of Flavia, which shall be specified hereafter ¹⁷. And the latter inhabited all the rest of South-Wales, the counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, and Brecknock; and Muridunum or Caermarthen was their capital.

¹⁸ Flavia;

¹⁸ Flavia, or (as it was first denominated) *Cæsari-* Sect. II.
ensis ¹⁹, or (as it is therefore called in the *Notitia*) *Flavia Cæsariensis*, took in all the central regions of the P. 62.
 island, was limited by the two other provinces on the south and west, and by the Humber, Don ²⁰, and Mersey on the north, and had about eight tribes and fifty stations within it.—The Trinovantes resided in the counties of Middlesex and Essex, Londinium or London being their chief town ²¹. And beyond the Stour, the northern boundary of Essex, were planted the Icenii ²², consisting of two nations. Of these, the Cenomanni inhabited the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, perhaps the north of Bedfordshire to the Ouse on the south, certainly the south of Northamptonshire to the Nen on the north, and the whole of Huntingdonshire and Norfolk; being limited on the north by the Nen, and having Caster near Norwich for their *Venta* or first city. And the Coritani occupied the remainder of Northamptonshire, all Leicestershire (except a narrow line of it on the west, which belonged to the Carnabii), the whole of Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby counties, and the little portion of Yorkshire which is to the south of the Don ²³; and *Ragæ* or Leicester was their metropolis ²⁴. The *Cassii* were originally masters only of all Hertfordshire, all or the rest of Bedfordshire ²⁵, and the adjoining parts of Buckinghamshire ²⁶, having *Verulam* in all probability for their capital; but before the Roman arrival extended their dominions, seized the kingdom of the Trinobantes and the country of the Dobuni ²⁷, and removed the royal residence to *Camulodunum* or Colchester in Essex ²⁸. The Dobuni or Low-landers

Sect. II. landers appear from their name to have first possessed only the south of Gloucestershire, and had Corinium or Cirencester in it for their head-city; but afterwards extended their authority over the north of Gloucestershire and the south-west of Warwickshire, over all the extent of Worcestershire and Oxfordshire, and the remainder of Buckinghamshire, reaching up to the western frontier of the Cassii²⁹, and still retaining Corinium for their capital. The north of Gloucestershire, and the whole of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, were pretty certainly occupied by a people whom I shall mention hereafter³⁰; as the whole of Oxfordshire, and the greatest part of Buckinghamshire, were in all probability possessed by the Ancalites³¹. And the Carnabii spread over the rest of Flavia, and had Uriconium or Wroxeter for their metropolis³².

P. 63.

³³ Valentia included all the country that was bounded by the two walls and the two seas, contained five tribes, and had ten stations under its capital. — The Ottadini inhabited the whole extent of Northumberland, except the small part of it that was to the south of the wall, all Mers, half of Tweedale, and all Lothian; being bounded by the wall of Antoninus on the north, that of Hadrian on the south³⁴, and the Tweed on the south-west; and having their chief town at Bremenium, or Riechester in Readisdale. The Gadeni occupied the little portion of Cumberland that was beyond the wall, Tiviotdale, Tweedale up to the Tweed, and Cluydisdale as far at least as Lanerk on the north-west; and their first city was Curia, or Corsford by Lanerk. And the Selgovæ held all Anandale, Nithisdale,

dale, and Galloway up to the Dee, and perhaps the south-eastern side of Kyle and the south-western of Cluydsdale. But beyond the Dee resided the Novantes, spreading over all the rest of Galloway, and acknowledging Lucophibia or Whitern as supreme. And to the north of three of these tribes, the Novantes, Selgovæ, and Gadeni, were the Damnii, possessing all Carrick, Cunningham, and Renfrew, the rest of Kyle, and the remainder of Cluydsdale; a chain of mountains, formerly denominated Montes Uxelli, running all along the south, the barrier betwixt them and their southern neighbours; and the rampart of Antoninus ranging along their northern border.

³⁵ All the region then which was bounded by the two seas, the wall of Hadrian on the north, and the Mersey, Don, and Humber on the south; and which contained the whole counties of Durham, Lancaster, and Westmoreland, all Yorkshire except a very small portion on the south, all Cumberland except a little angle on the north, and a narrow slip of Northumberland on the south; was entitled Maxima, or (as the Notitia and Richard's Itinerary call it) Maxima Cæsariensis ³⁶. It comprized the Brigantes, Volantii, and Siftuntii. And it included about thirty stations, besides the line of the forts at the wall, and was subject to Eboracum or York. The Siftuntii inhabited the whole compass of our own county, and the southern parts of Westmoreland. The Volantii possessed the remainder of Westmoreland and Cumberland. And the Brigantes enjoyed the whole of Durham, and all Yorkshire to the Don and the Humber. The sixth legion appears to have been settled at York as early as 140. And that

Sect. II.

Sect. II. city was raised as early to the same dignity under the Roman government, which Iſeur or Aldborough had previously enjoyed under the Britiſh ³⁷.

¹ Dio p. 794 and 795, compared with Ptolemy and Antonine. Mr. Camden, p. 111. edit. 1607, makes the higher part of Britain to be the ſouthern and the lower the northern, carrying the former to about the Humber or Merſey. But Mr. Horſeley inverts the plan, and makes the ſouthern the lower and the northern the higher, for this one good reaſon, becauſe Cæſar expreſſly calls the ſouthern the lower; p. 307 and preface p. 22. The true diſiſion is into eaſtern and weſtern, the legions at Caerleon and Cheſter being placed by Dio in the higher Britain, and that at York in the lower; and Pliny placing Ireland ſuper Britanniam (lib. iv. c. 16). And Roman Britain is naturally broken into Eaſt and Weſt, a chain of hills running from the highlands of Scotland, and joining to the peak of Derby, the moorlands of Staffordſhire, Edge-Hill in Warwickſhire, and the Chiltern in Buckinghamſhire.

² Richard, p. 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20. In the deli- neation of this province, Richard's map is pretty accu- rate in general. But Dr. Stukeley's, prefixed to his com- ment upon Richard, which very falſely pretends to be an exact copy of the other, has totally omitted one tribe that appears in Richard's map and ought to appear in both, the Carnabii of Cornwall; and has equally omit- ted the dotted lines that divide the kingdoms. — ³ See alſo Iter 1 of Richard. — ⁴ Somner's Roman forts in Kent,

Kent, p. 40, &c. — ⁵ Ptolemy: He carries the Cantii Sect. II.
to or nearly to the Attrebates, and places the Regni to p. 55,
the south of the former. — ⁶ Ptolemy. See Regnum
in Iter 15 of Richard and 7 of Antoninus. — ⁷ Ptolemy.
The whole country of the Bibroces and Regni is given
to the latter by Ptolemy and to the former by Richard,
both considering them as one people after the conquest
of the other, and Richard more accurately naming them
by the appellation of the conquering tribe. — ⁸ Richard
p. 20 and 24, Quæ intermissione Uxellæ amnis Heduo-
rum regioni protenditur, and Thamesis per fines Heduo-
rum—in oceanum—influit. — ⁹ Ichalis and Aquæ
Calidæ. So also Ptolemy places the Durotriges, not
south-west, as he is generally translated, but to the
south and west, of the Belgæ, ἀπο δυσμων και μεσημεριαις ;
the Durotriges being to the south of the Somersetshire
Belgæ, and to the west of the Hampshire. — ¹⁰ Uxella
urbs is given to the Damnonii by Richard.—And
yet is given to the Hedui by the map, in ex-
press contradiction to the account. — ¹¹ Richard's map.
— ¹² Cenia urbs and Ceniis fluvius given to the Dam-
nonii by Richard. — ¹³ Uxella urbs, Richard. — ¹⁴ Pto-
lemy and Richard p. 20, Damnonium Promontorium.
And the Damnonii are δυσμωνωσσοι, or the most westerly
tribe, in the former. — ¹⁵ P. 21 and 22. In this pro-
vince Richard's map is faulty, carrying the Ordovices
into Radnorshire, and giving them Magna. Dr. Stukeley
has corrected the mistake, but made others. He has
at once inserted and misplaced the Heriri Montes ;
has fixed the Dimetæ to the south of the river Stuctia,
when he ought to have carried them beyond it to the

Sect. II. Dovy; has entirely omitted this river; and neglected the dotted lines that limit the three kingdoms. — ¹⁶ *Civitas Silurum Magna*, Richard p. 21. — ¹⁷ B. I. ch. v. f. 3. — ¹⁸ Richard p. 15, 24, 25, and 26. In this province Richard's map has committed two or three mistakes, ascribing *Forum Dianæ* to the *Coitanni* (or *Coiritanni*), which belonged to the *Cassii*, and giving them also *Bennonæ*, that lay among the *Carnabii*, and *Durnomagus*, which was a town of the *Cenomanni*. And Dr. Stukeley's is so confused, for want of the defining lines of the original, that it would be idle to criticize upon it. — ¹⁹ Richard p. 25. — ²⁰ Richard Iter 4. — ²¹ Richard p. 25 and Iter 3. Ptolemy, who P. 66. places the *Cantii* in all the south of Middlesex, fixes the *Trinoantes* in Essex only, more easterly than the *Iceni*, and along the æstuary of the Thames. But, as the *Trinoantes* once resided in Middlesex (see Richard p. 23), Ptolemy's account of the *Cantii* and *Trinoantes* was taken from records of two different dates, and ought therefore to be referred to different periods. See b. I. ch. xii. f. 2. — ²² Richard Iter 3. — ²³ Richard Iter 4. And in Iter 18. is a station *ad Fines*, meaning *Gravesborough* upon the *Don*, the limits of *Maxima* and *Flavia*, and the borders of *Yorkshire* and *Derbyshire*. — ²⁴ See b. I. ch. v. f. 3. — ²⁵ Ptolemy, *Salenæ*. — ²⁶ Richard's map. — ²⁷ Dio p. 958, b. I. ch. ix. f. 1; and Richard p. 24. — ²⁸ Dio p. 959. — ²⁹ *Finitimi Dobunis Cassii*, Richard p. 24. And see his map. — ³⁰ B. I. ch. v. f. 3. — ³¹ *Cæsar* p. 92. — ³² See b. I. ch. iv. f. 2. — ³³ Richard p. 15, 28, and 29. In this province, Richard's map is inaccurate in

one particular, and Dr. Stukeley's in many. In the former, the Gadeni are carried greatly too far to the north, quite up to the frith of Forth; and the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes and Selgovæ only, and not of the Gadeni as well as them. In the latter, the Ottadini, who should be extended along the sea from Severus's wall to the frith of Forth, are settled to the north of the Tweed; and the Gadeni, who lived to the west, are fixed directly to the south, of them, and betwixt them and the wall, Coria, the capital of the Gadeni, is given to the Ottadini. And Bremenium, the metropolis of the Ottadini, is consigned to the Gadeni. The Selgovæ, who lived entirely to the east of the Dee, are even carried to the west of it. And the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes only, being thrust up into Cunningham and Renfrew. — ³⁴ Ptolemy (corrected) places the Novantæ on the west, the Selgovæ to the east of them, the Damnii to the north and west of them, the Gadeni to the east of the Selgovæ, and the Ottadini to the east of

Sect. II.

P. 67.

Sect. II. Coccium a good way to the south and east of Rerigonium, and north of the Belifama; and settling Portus Sifuntiorum at the mouth of the Alauna. For the absurdity of these positions, see the following chapters. And Dr. Stukeley has added some other mistakes, extending the Alpes Penninæ through half of Valentia, confining the Sifuntii to Cumberland, laying the Voluntii at the back of them, removing Rerigonium nearly from the mouth to the source of the Alauna, omitting the Belifama entirely, and putting Merseia flu: for Seteia,—³⁶ Iter 4.—³⁷ Ptolemy—and Richard p. 27.

III.

IN the comprehensive history of that remarkable people the Romans, there are few particulars which so strongly mark their native grandeur of soul, as the roads which they laid over all the ample extent of their empire. They girt the whole globe, as it were, with new zones and new zodiacs¹. And the tables of Peutinger and the Itinerary of Antonine give us a magnificent display of the whole.

On their invasion of this country, in all probability they found several ways in the southern parts of the island, and among the Belgick colonies that lined the southern coast of it. Such, we have every reason to presume, had been previously laid out, though rudely, for the publick use, and adapted, though indifferently, to the conveyance of its natural commodities to the ports, and

and the introduction of foreign from them. And this Sect. III.
 commercial intercourse, as well as the roads by which
 it was prosecuted, seem to have been extended much
 farther into the island, than the highest ideas of our
 historians concerning its interior condition would allow
 us to apprehend. They seem to have been carried
 from the south-west into Suffolk on one side, and from
 the south-east into Caernarvonshire on the other.

From the joint testimony of Richard's Itinerary and Bede's History it appears, that the great way, which reaches from Sandwich to Caernarvon, was distinguished among the Romans by the British name of Guetheling or Watling street². This has been hitherto supposed to be not the original, but a posteriour, appellation. And it has baffled all the powers of etymology. But it is derived probably from the same principle which gave name to the Ikening-street². And both were denominated, I think, from the people to whom they were laid. As the Ikening-street confessedly signifies the way which led to the Iceni of the eastern coast, so the Watling-street imports that which went to the Guetheli or Gatheli of Ireland. And this British appellation of the road, among the Romans, points it out to have been previously a British one. Had it not been so, as it could have had no name at all when the Romans took possession of the country, so could it never have adopted a British name afterwards among them. And had it not been constructed by the Britons before it was new-modelled by the Romans, it could not have acquired among the latter the appellation of Guetheling, as the inhabitants

Sect. III. of Ireland were never known to the Romans by that of Guetheli. The Watling-street, therefore, was originally denominated by the Britons Sarn Guethelin, or the way of the Irish. And the Ikening-street was equally denominated Sarn Ikenin, or the P. 69. way of the Iceni. But a merely Roman road would scarcely have received any appellation that related to the Iceni, and none at all assuredly that referred to the unconquered and unattempted Irish. And it certainly could not have obtained the appellation either of Guethel-in or Iken-in, these being the British plurals of Guethel and Iken⁴. Such roads indeed as the Romans primarily constructed in the island, like the fortresses of the same origin, are distinguished from those which they found already laid out, by the obvious discriminations of their names. And, if from the Itinerary of Richard and the voice of tradition we have the British appellations of Guetheling and Ikening for two ways, from the same Itinerary and the same tradition we have the Roman names of the Julian way and the Fosse for two others⁵. And the former seem as clearly evinced to be British, as the latter are to be Roman.

Thus were the two great roads of the Watling and Ikening streets originally undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans; undertaken for the purposes of British conveniency, and executed in the stile of British simplicity. Both must have been begun by the Belgæ of the southern counties. And, what is very extraordinary, both appear plainly to have commenced from the south⁶. Till the Belgæ came over into
Britain,

Britain, either no commerce was pursued by the island-^{Sect. III.}ers, or it was confined to a few promontories on the south-west and a few vessels from Phœnicia. But the Belgæ were strongly actuated by a commercial spirit, and pursued its directions so vigorously, that, within a century from their first entrance into the island, the most westerly tribes of them carried on a considerable trade with the Phœnicians, and all of them afterwards a much greater with the Romans of Narbonne and the Greeks of Marfeilles⁷. And, in consequence of the latter, the commodities of the country were regularly exported into Gaul in the time of Augustus, and conveyed by barges upon the rivers or horses on the roads across the Gallick continent to both⁸. At this period therefore, in all probability, the Belgæ contrived and the Britons concurred in the construction of two great roads, which should traverse the central parts of the island, and lead to such provinces as were stored with the saleable commodities. P. 70.

In the progress of commerce from the west, the Belgæ of Dorsetshire would naturally catch the enlivening spirit, before their more easterly brethren of Kent. And, when the staple was settled at the isle of Wight in or before the days of Augustus, the former would be nearer than the latter to the animating center of the trade. Those therefore would be the first to contrive and execute the plan. And they accordingly opened to themselves a communication with the Iceni of the eastern coast. But the Cantii rivalled the Durotriges in commerce at the period of Cæsar's invasion⁹, and would soon copy their example. They copied it

Sect. III. it in a bolder style and upon a larger scale. They opened to themselves a communication with the north-western parts of Britain and the colonists of Ireland, that they might receive from them those supplies of cattle which Ireland at present so remarkably furnishes, and must then have furnished in a still more considerable degree. And such was equally the object of the Ikening-street. Such would necessarily be the great object of both, while the riches of the Britons, like those of the patriarchs, consisted almost entirely in their cattle. And these roads in all probability occasioned the erection of several towns upon them, some raised by the tribes upon the confines, and others in the center, of their respective possessions; the former as fortresses to guard these great avenues into their dominions, and the latter as necessary places of refreshment for the cattle and their attendants, so frequently passing along them¹⁹.

P. 71. The Britons, I apprehend, must equally have constructed many other ways before the coming of the Romans, inferiour indeed but publick, and leading in different directions from one state to another, or connecting the different parts of the same kingdom. The former seem to have been necessary, as the marching-ways of the armies which were so frequently detached by one tribe against another. And the latter would equally be wanted, as the necessary chain of communication betwixt the several fortresses of the same tribe.

But neither one nor the other, neither the smaller nor greater roads, were likely to satisfy the desires or answer the exigences of the Romans, a polite and political

litick nation, studious equally of private pleasure and publick emolument. They therefore made new ways, two of them indeed, and many others perhaps, in the line of the British, but all upon plans much more beautiful and useful, and much better calculated for immediate convenience and a long duration. Sect. III.

These however were not, as our antiquarians have constantly supposed them, the admirable effects of Agricola's command in the island. In a country like this, where forests arose and morasses spread betwixt station and station, roads would be nearly as necessary as fortresses, and therefore were nearly cotemporary with them. And, as the Romans prosecuted their conquests in the island, they would multiply their stations and extend their roads. Accordingly, the way that crossed the country of the Silures, and retains in its name of Via Julia the appellation of its constructor, appears from this circumstance to have been laid by Julius Frontinus, the same legate that conquered the Silures¹¹. The reduction of the Siltuntii and Volantii occasioned the making of other roads in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. And Agricola, like every other legate, could have constructed the ways of those provinces only, which he himself had reduced.

As the fort of Manchester, and its sister stations in Lancashire and Cheshire, were erected in the year 79, the roads, which formed the necessary line of communication between them, would be laid out about the same period. They would necessarily be laid out in the immediately succeeding summers of 80, 81, and 82. P. 72.

WAYS,

Sect. III. ways, especially, does Galgacus in all probability refer, when in the year 84 he speaks so particularly of the roads that were carried on by the Romans¹². Every fresh conquest indeed would have strongly suggested the reflection; but the newest must have done it the most. And no ways but these could have been constructed, because no kingdoms had been reduced, during the ten years immediately preceding.

The roads, then, that issue from Manchester and the other stations in Lancashire, were all laid while Agricola was making and securing his conquests in the north. And from that particular, as well as from the above-mentioned speech of Galgacus, it appears that they were not carried on, as is frequently imagined, and as the beautiful roads in French Flanders and our own in Scotland were, by large detachments of the soldiery. The Romans were merely the directors; and the more laborious employ was imposed upon the natives. The former, says Galgacus, are perpetually exhausting the health of the latter, in the painful business of clearing the woods and paying the fens of the island¹³. The whole line of the road in all probability was previously designed, and the course of it prescribed, upon paper, after an accurate survey of the country. And the officers of the neighbouring garrisons inspected the execution by turns,

¹ See *Itin. Cur.* p. 72.—² *Iter 1, Ab eadem civitate [Rhutupi] ducta est via Guethelinga dicta usque in Segontium—sic; and so exactly Iter 11, Ab Aquis—per viam Juliam Menapiam usque sic: And Bede's*

Hist. lib. i. c. 7, Verulamium quæ Verlama-caestir five Sect. III.
 Vætlinga-caestir appellatur—³ See Itin. Cur. p. 105:
 —⁴ Ikening-street is also written Ikenild, as in the laws
 of the Confessor or Conqueror. That termination is
 either Iken eld, Old Iken steet, or perhaps the same as
 Ikenin, and equally the plural termination of Iken, as
 Uid, a Jew in Irish, varies into Uidhil and Uil.—⁵ See
 Richard Iter 11.—⁶ Itin. Curios. p. 113 and 179.—
⁷ See b. I. ch. xi. f. 2.—⁸ See b. I. ch. xi. f. 2.—
⁹ Cæsar p. 89 and 73.—¹⁰ The Ricning or Ricnild
 street, or (as it is more generally written) the Icening or
 Icenild-street, of Derbyshire, must also be derived from
 the same original. If rightly denominated Icening, it was
 perhaps so called, simply as terminating among the
 Coritani, and as laid to their country after they were
 conquered by and received the appellation of Iceni (see
 b. I. ch. v. f. 4). And if rightly called Ricning, as
 Dr. Stakeley affirms (Itin. Curios. p. 50) and common
 accuracy requires, it was so named in all probability as
 leading to the R-Iceni, the further or northern Iceni.
 Thus Caer-nar-von is so called, as being opposite to Von,
 Mon, or Anglesey. And thus see Rerigionium, and
 other names, in b. I. c. v. f. 1. This road extends from
 the mouth of the Severn into Derbyshire (Itin. Cur.
 p. 51, 58, 64, and 65), and was originally constructed
 (I suppose) by the Belgick conquerors of the Hædui, a
 people which possessed (as I have shewed before) the
 south of Gloucestershire and the north of Somersetshire.
 —¹¹ Iter 11 of Richard, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xvii.
 So Appian way from Appius Claudius.—¹² Tacitus
 c. xxxi.

P. 73.

Sect. III. c. xxxi. Agric. Vit.—¹³ Tacitus c. xxxi, Corpora ipsa
ac manus sylvis ac paludibus emuniendis—conterunt.

IV.

THE county of Lancaster is intersected from end to end by four great roads of the Romans. Two run from east to west, and two from north to south. One of the latter, the knowledge of which we owe entirely to Richard's Itinerary, enters the county on the north-west, and traverses a good part of it, even till it meets with another that is given us by Antonine, and comes in on the north-east. And from the point of coincidence both proceed in the same route, which is given us by P. 74. both Itineraries, and prosecuted to and beyond Manchester. The account of the north-western is a part of the 10th Iter of Richard, and in it the road runs from Luguvallium or Carlisle to

Brocavonacis 22

AD ALAUNAM m. p.

COCCIO m. p.

MANCUNIO 18¹.

And the north-eastern is described in the 10th of Antoninus, the road going from Alione to

Galacum 19

BREMETONACIS 27

COCCIO 20

MANCUNIO m. p. 17.

In Richard's Iter the station AD ALAUNAM appears, from the mention of Luguvallium and Brocavonacis on

one

one side and of Coccium and Mancunium on the other, Sect. IV.
 to be somewhere about the northern borders of
 Lancashire. And this, and the name, carry us
 at once to the town of Lancaster. Its stationary cha-
 racter has always been confessed. But it has been
 sometimes supposed to be the Lugandinum of the Cho-
 rography, and more generally but more wildly the
 Longovicus of the Notitia. It now appears to have
 been denominated Alauna, deriving its appellation from
 its site, and being placed upon a LAWN or the river
 Lan. And it was fixed upon the plane of the present
 Castle-hill, as the immediate vicinity of the river and
 the hanging remains of the Roman wall concur to de-
 monstrate².

In Antonine's Iter, Bremetonacæ is what the anti-
 quarians have previously supposed it to be, the sta-
 tion of Overborough. The only objection that could
 have been made to the supposition, the want of a
 known road from the north to it, is now precluded
 as this is discovered. And two others appear visibly
 to go away from the fortress, one towards Brugh near
 Afcrig in Yorkshire, and one to Ribchester³. The latter
 has been hitherto believed to be the way, upon which
 this Iter of Antonine proceeds through Coccium to
 Manchester; as another, that goes from Lancaster
 to Ribchester, may be imagined to be the same which
 is measured by this of Richard. Both may be supposed.
 But they must be supposed in opposition to decisive evi-
 dence. That Rerigonium is Ribchester, the consent of
 Ptolemy, Richard, and remains will demonstrate here-
 after⁴. Coccium therefore cannot be Ribchester, the
 one

P. 75.

Sect. IV. one being expressly distinguished from the other. And, the former being thus dislodged from the site which it has so long maintained, we must endeavour to give it its proper position, by finding a new station for the old name, as we have found a new name for the old station.

From the preceding account it is obvious, that this Iter of Richard, from Luguwallium to Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam, runs along the course of the present road from Carlisle to Lancaster. And along the same road I apprehend it to run from Lancaster to Coccium. It must necessarily point in general towards Manchester, because to Manchester it actually goes, and does not reach it by the round of Ribchester. It therefore stretches away directly to the south-east, and consequently in the line of the present road from Lancaster to Manchester. But this is not our only direction. We have a still more particular one. The distance betwixt Overborough and Coccium, in Antoninus, is confessedly erroneous; and that betwixt the latter and Lancaster, in Richard, is either erroneous or lost. But the distance betwixt Coccium and Mancunium appears in both, and is seventeen miles in Antonine and eighteen in Richard; a variation, that in Itineraries like these, where the fractions of miles are never enumerated as such, is no difference. The fraction omitted by Antonine is computed by Richard, and therefore reckoned for a whole mile. And this agreement of the two Itineraries decisively ascertains the distance of Coccium from Manchester. Such a coincidence should always be allowed as a decisive argument, unless there be demon-

stration

stration to the contrary. And, only with this exception, it must always be supposed to arise from the existence of the same numbers in the originals of both.

Sect. IV.

P. 76.

Following then the present road from Lancaster to Manchester, till we come within seventeen or eighteen Roman miles off the latter, we should expect to find the site of a Roman camp. And lo! just at the requisite distance we find one, one hitherto unknown to fame, but pointed out by the most determinate of stationary characters, the commencement of two roads from it to two well-known stations. Such is the village of Blackrode! It is indeed about thirty-five measured miles from Lancaster, and forty-five from Overborough. But this is a stage, which the ascertained distance from Coccium to Manchester obliges us to make. It is shorter than another in this Iter of Richard, that betwixt Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam being no less than forty-eight. And it cannot but be very long, when only Coccium appears betwixt Overborough and Manchester, though this is nearly sixty measured miles from that by the nearest route, and though the distance is here lengthened by the diversion of the road from the nearest through Rerigonium to the rounding one through Coccium^s.

Tradition universally declares the village of Blackrode to have been a considerable town. And the construction of a Roman road from Manchester, and the coincidence of another from Ribchester with it, shew the town to have been originally Roman. A road, which shall be described hereafter, comes directly from

Sect. IV. the Mancunian station, by Stany-street and Street-Gate near Walkden-moor, to the precincts of the present village. And another meets it there, giving name to the neighbouring Street in the township of Charnock, and pointing to Ribchester one way and Blackrode another.

P. 77.

It is justly observed by the Right Reverend and very learned enlarger of Camden's *Britannia* ⁶, that, wherever we find the appellation of Street, we have good reason to expect a road of the Romans. And his Lordship might with equal justice have observed, that wherever we meet with the one we may be certain of the other. We may be sure, that such a way has formerly proceeded or still continues to proceed along the place. And, when a Roman road has persisted invariably in the course of a modern highway, the name of Street, along the line of the latter, is the only proof that we can have concerning the existence of the former. *στρατ*, Strat, or Street, and *λεατζε*, Caster, or Chester, are two words derived from the Romans to the Britons, and communicated by them to the Saxons. In the original application of them by the Romans, they could signify nothing but their own roads and their own camps. And, in the application of them by the Britons and Saxons afterwards, they would naturally be continued to the same camps and be retained by the same roads. The Britons adopted these appellations from the Romans, before the departure of the latter from the island; when there were no publick highways and no stationary fortresses in the island, but such

such as had been formed by the Romans. And, as the ^{Sect. IV.} Saxons derived them from the Britons after the subjection of the latter in war, and therefore found them already affixed to the castles and roads of the Romans; so they actually appear to have used the name of Chester for the characteristick denomination of a Roman camp, and the name of Street for the appropriated appellation of a Roman way⁷.

Thus plainly is Blackrode evinced to have been formerly a stationary town. And hereafter I shall point out the particular site of the station⁸. Hereafter it will naturally succeed in its turn to be descanted upon, as I trace the several roads that commence from Manchester, and extend to the neighbouring towns. These are many in number, proceeding in various directions, and issuing as it were in radii from center to circumference. And I shall now begin to investigate them, P. 78: following where they once rose in ridges along our heaths, and opened in vistas across our thickets; and now seeing them present only some half-formed resemblance of a road, or still forgotten and unknown, but in a fair elevation, over our inclosures.

⁷ The original has no number of miles annexed to Coccium. But Dr. Stukeley's copy has, and by some strange mistake gives us sixty-six; p. 53. — ⁸ Camden p. 617, and Leigh's Hist. b. III. p. 10. — ⁹ Mr. Rauthmell's Overborough p. 19—20, and Mr. Perci-

Sect. IV. val's Essay in Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII. p. 227. The road from Overborough to Ribchester had been positively mentioned before by the knowing Camden (p. 614); but later criticks (Horfeley, &c.) had discredited the existence of it by their doubts. —

⁴ B. I. ch. v. sect. 1. — ⁵ And the sixty-six miles which Dr. Stukeley gives us were intended by him, I suppose, for thirty-six. The road from Overborough to Blackrode, I imagine, passed through Wiersdale forest to Broughton, where was a small intermediate camp, I apprehend, and where it fell into the great highway from Lancaster to Blackrode. This, allowing for the considerable inequalities of the road over the hills of the forest, would measure, I believe, about forty Roman miles. And perhaps the number was thus expressed in Antoninus $\frac{XX}{2}$, and, the upper pair of tens being casually omitted by a transcriber, the number became, as it now appears, twenty. —

⁶ C. 636. — ⁷ Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 11. The Roman residence in the island (he says) Civitates, Farus, Pontes, et. Stratae ibidem factae, usque hodie — testantur. Sax. Chron. p. 22, speaking of Ceaulin's taking three Roman or stationary towns, says that he took *three Chesters*, III Λεγτρο, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bathchester. And Bede Hist. l. iii. c. 19, in *Castro quoddam* quod — Urbs Cnobheri vocatur, meaning the Gariannonum of the Notitia, or the present Brugh near Yarmouth in Norfolk. We have also Stratfleur and Stratfleur Abbey, and the hundred and monastery of Ystrad Margell or Strata Marcelli, among the Britons

of

of Wales (Leland's Itin. vol. VII. p. 47 and 16. and ^{Sect. IV.} vol. VI. p. 105), and Temecestre and Brumcheffer among those of Wales and Caledonia, the former being in Montgomeryshire and the latter in Athol (Itin. vol. VII. p. 15 and 17). — B. I. ch. iv. sect. 3.

C H A P. IV.

THE ROMAN ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER
TO OTHER STATIONS, CAMBODUNUM, CONDATE,
AND COCCIUM — THE SITES FIXED, AND
THE REMAINS DESCRIBED—AND SOME
CURIOUS PARTICULARS LAID OPEN
IN THE HISTORY OF THE
BRITONS OF WEST-
CHESHIRE.

I.

P. 80. **I**T has been questioned by the antiquarians, whether the stations or roads of the Romans were prior in time^r. And no determination has been given to the question. But the decision, I think, is easy. The stations were prior, as I have previously intimated, and the roads were only the channels of communication between them. Many of the former necessarily commenced, as I have mentioned before, during the very conquest of the country, and all of them at the conclusion of it. And the latter could not be constructed till the first or second summer after both.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and from this to Condate is delineated to us by both Richard and Antonine, and one part of it twice by both. The whole

whole is given in the second Iter of Antonine and the sixth of Richard, and the part is repeated in their tenth. Sect. I.
 And the way to Coccium is equally traced by both. But the four others, which connected this and four more of the neighbouring stations, are given to us in neither.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and Condate stands thus in

Richard's sixth Iter,	And thus in Antonine's second,
Ab Eburaco Devam usque sic:	From Eburacum to
Calcaria m. p. 9	Calcaria 9
CAMBODUNO 22	CAMBODUNO 20
MANCUNIO 18	MANUCIO 18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ et	CONDATE 18
FLAVIÆ m. p. 18	Deva 20.
CONDATE 18	
Deva 18 ;	

And that from Coccium to Mancunium and from Mancunium to Condate is thus p. 81.

In Richard's 10th Iter,	And thus in Antonine's,
From COCCIUM	From COCCIUM
MANCUNIO 18	MANCUNIO m. p. 17
CONDATE 23	CONDATE 18
Mediolano 18;	Mediolano 18.

We are concerned only with such of these stations, as are the first stages from Manchester. And let us begin with Cambodunum and the road to it.

This commenced from the eastern gate of the camp, and would naturally have slanted along the left-hand side of the Castle-field and the right-hand of the adjoining gardens. But the position of the gate and intervention of the ditch prevented the course. And it appears to

Sect. I. have proceeded in a very gentle slant upon the left to the extremity of the field, and in one common stem along it for the roads to two other stations. There all of them commenced, and took the lines of their several destinations. And the road was cut down there from the surface to the base in 1765; and the materials of it lay plainly distinguished from the natural gravel of the ground, by the melted bricks and broken mill-stones which were found incorporated with them. It appeared to be constructed with a strong gravel, mingled with large boulders and fragments of rock. And the whole was about fourteen yards in breadth and one and an half in depth.

Leaving this, which was the grand avenue into the camp, and therefore laid out with an unusual width, the road began its course to York, crossed the present highway, entered the opposite garden, and went to the right of the present windmill. And it then pointed through the left-hand corner of the dye-house beyond both, crossed the Infirmary-lane, and left an hay-stand very closely, and two new houses more distantly, on the
 P. 82. left. Then crossing the lane to Ardwick, and pointing directly through Stanley-barn on the other side, it swept along the middle of the two next fields, slanted along the left-hand side of the third, and obliquely descended the little slope of the fourth into Ancoats-lane. And in all this course, so contiguous to the growing town, the trace of it is wholly obliterated, though the subsequent remains sufficiently point out the line of it.

Crossing

Crossing Ancoats-lane betwixt a large house and the resting-stone, it is discovered in the first field beyond it by a ridge of sixteen or seventeen yards in width, three quarters of a yard in gravel and one in marle laid upon it, and sloping towards Shooters-brook. Upon the right and in the field but one immediately beyond the brook, it is evidenced by a ridge which is about half a yard in height and four or five in width; and the gravel, when the ground is ploughed, appears powdering the sides of the furrows. In the fourth field the ridge rises to a greater height, and expands to a greater breadth; and in the fifth returns to its former height of half a yard, and its former width of four or five. And in the fifth and sixth closes the gravel is very copious, as the ridge of it is pretty plain in the seventh, and still plainer in the eighth.

Sect. I.

The road then relinquishes the fields for a while, enters the right line of Butler's-lane, and passes along it beyond the sign of the Fire-engine, the left-hand bank of the lane being near its commencement composed of the gravel. And, at the corner of the second inclosure on the right beyond the sign, it once more turns off into the fields, and appears for the whole length of the third, or Brickhill close, half a yard in height and five or six in breadth, the left-hand bank of the ground being formed with the plunder of the road.

Crossing the lane beyond in a considerable ridge, it appears in the first field with an evident elevation, extending eight or nine yards in width, and fringed with a broken line of rushes on either side. The ridge is
visible

{
 Sec. I. visible along a part of the second, and very plain along
 P. 83. the whole of the third. Interrupted by a lane, it
 steals just visible along the fourth. But, in the boggy
 extent of the fifth, the gravel becomes copious and the
 ridge evident. And in the sixth it presents a width of
 nearly seven yards to the eye. In the seventh per-
 ceivable by its slight elevation, it disappears in the
 eighth, but is discovered by the gravel in the ninth,
 and along the sloping side of the right-hand brook.
 And in the tenth the back of the road is once more
 conspicuous, and the body of the gravel even with the
 horizon.

It then crosses the lane which leads to the Medlock
 and Bradford with a fair eminence, but immediately
 loses it, and is only discovered by the spade in the first
 field and along the left-hand edge of it. And, thus
 passing another field and a croft, it is cut through by one
 of the washing-pits at the Well-house, and now furnishes
 an hard bottom of gravel to the water. Going through
 the fold beyond it, the road enters the neighbouring lane,
 and reaches Newton-heath. There, obliterated for the
 first hundred yards, it becomes very plain for an hundred
 and fifty; the gravelled ridge rising more than half an
 one in height, and spreading eight or ten in breadth;
 and the brown-green colour of the track, in winter, being
 strongly contrasted by the light hue of the rushes along
 it. For a few yards immediately on this side of the
 chapel, the course of the road is effaced, but appears to
 have gone directly into it, and through the whole
 length of the southern side; and was there discovered
 at

at the erection of the present structure, And on the other side of it the elevation appears again, but less conspicuous and of a shorter extent; being only about a quarter of a yard in height and seven or eight in breadth, and continuing about an hundred in length. Here the line of the road points visibly through the right-hand extremity of the house, which stands on the eastern margin of the heath. And the gravel of it is easily found in the ground-flooring of the loom-house within it. Sect. I. P. 84.

Entering the fields that lie betwixt the heath and Back-lane, and traversing them obliquely a little to the right of the foot-road, the way is discovered by the spade at the farther end of the first field, appears with a ridge in the third, and re-appears with another in the eighth. In the third it rises about half a yard in height, and continues across the whole breadth of the field; but, in the eighth, the ridge is small and the gravel low. And from this point, running nearly parallel with the course of the Back-lane and within the distance of a few yards from it, the road proceeded through the houses at the extremity of Lort-lane, and through the barn and houses of Wagstaffe-fold. And it was discovered a few years ago at the construction of the barn. Soon afterwards, crossing the Back-lane, it falls into the line of another, and extends along it about a mile and an half; going all the way in a direct course, and being denominated Street. And, about eighty yards from the entrance, are some remains of the road which are remarkably perfect, and carry the grandest appearance of any that I have seen in the island.

Here

Sect. I.

Here a moss intersected the course of the way. An house on the right is still denominated the Moss-Gate; the fields on either side strongly retain their mossy quality; and the rotten stocks and bodies of trees are frequently discovered by the plough. And this tract appears to have extended a whole mile in length across the road, some parts of it being tolerably firm, but others dangerous and deep.

About fifty yards within the entrance into Street-lane, the Roman road reaches the edge of the morass, and immediately presents a considerable ridge to the eye, having an elevation of a yard and an half above the ground on the left. In sixty more, the ground sloping sharply away on the right, the elevation is three or four above it, as in other sixty it is nearly five, and in seventy more actually six. And, thus gradually gaining a loftier crest and a more magnificent aspect, the road is carried for no less than four hundred yards across this hollow of the moss. The ridge of the gravel rises gently for the first two hundred, and falls as gently for the next. And the crest of it is nearly level in the fall with the roof of an adjoining cottage.

This extraordinary grandeur of the way is not, as might naturally be imagined at first, the mere result of Roman contrivance and British industry. It has been partly occasioned by the accidental subsidence of the ground upon either side, the thick coat of turf having been greatly cut away, and the ground reduced nearly to its vegetable mold. And it has been equally produced by the process of the Romans in constructing the road. From a large opening which I made into the

the turf below the Roman gravel, they appeared Sect. I.
 to have trenched the line of the moss, that was
 destined to receive the road, very deeply on either
 side. And the larger and more solid plates of turf,
 which rose with the shovel from the lower parts of the
 trench, they laid upon the original face of the bog,
 and raised the level of it more than a yard in
 height. For, on sinking a pit along the side of the
 gravel and a yard and an half into the black soil, no
 ling or heath was found upon the surface of the one
 and immediately below the other. It was first found
 about a yard below the surface. And it was then dis-
 covered in considerable quantities. The whole work
 was carried gradually sloping upwards, from a broad
 basis of twelve or fourteen yards on the face of the
 moss, till, at the height of nine or ten, it terminated in
 a crest of three or four, and ran even with the firm
 ground at either end of it. And the Roman gravel ap-
 pears heaped upon the loose soil, and raised near a yard
 and an half above it.

The road having reached about forty yards beyond P. 86.
 the cottage, and passed the boggiest region of the moss,
 the turf of which, even beneath the weight of the Ro-
 man gravel, is still very soft and spongy; the level of
 the ground on both sides begins to arise, and the height
 of the ridge is immediately lowered. But the track
 continues to be very evident, the gravel even lying half
 a yard in depth upon the firm black earth, and the crest
 rising about a whole one in height above the fields about
 it. Thus proceeding, the road sometimes extends into
 the inclosures on the left, and the base of the left-hand
 hedge

Sect. I. hedge is almost continually formed with the gravel of it. And in the third field beyond the cottage, where the cart sometimes plunges to the axle-tree and the horses to the belly in the quaggy soil, the border of the road is well known to the farmer by the great difficulty of harrowing the ground and the great scantiness of the corn upon it.

Thus does it continue along the lane, the course of it being still denominated Street, and the gravel more or less visible all the way. But approaching the common of Hollinwood, and the lane turning away on the right and left, it deserts the latter and re-enters the fields, sweeping across Wulfenden's meadow, where it is frequently found, ascending the little elevation of Barnfield, where it is just visible, and appearing in a plain green ridge along the rushy level of Moss-grave. And going through Mr. Kerthaw's kitchen-croft and fold, and over Mr. Bent's gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, where it has been found by the plough in one part, and is visible to the eye for a great number of yards together in another. It is again seen at the descent of the hill, and in the grounds of Wellihole. It leaves Haigh Chapel a little on the south, goes up the hill to the village of Osterlands, and enters Yorkshire; keeps in the inclosures along the southern edge of the High-moor, and comes close to Knot-hill in Saddleworth. Crossing the Manchester and Hathersfield road at Delf, and passing along the fields to Castlehaw, it appears in one long green seam upon Clowze-moss, and is popularly denominated the Old Gate. And it appears again in a green track upon the hill which is called the Reaps,
leaves

leaves March-hill a little to the north, and Marsden about a mile and an half to the south, and runs over the middle of Holm-moor, up Cupwith-moor, and by Polemoor-stone, to the northern side of Gowkerhill², and the groundplot of Cambodunum. Sect. I.

This station has never been hitherto discovered. Fixed originally at Aldmondbury, it has since been carried to Gretland-moor³. But the same good reason which occasioned it to be transferred from the former position, that lying too much to the south of the visible road, has equally caused it to be removed from the latter, that being equally too much to the north⁴. Thus uncertain does the site of Cambodunum remain. And, though the moors have been searched with uncommon diligence by a couple of antiquarians⁵, and the track of the road is occasionally very plain over them, not a station or the traces of one have been hitherto discovered; except a large camp at Kirklees, about a mile to the south of the road's direction and twenty-eight measured miles from Manchester, and a small one at Castleshaw, directly on the track, but only about twelve from the town. Neither of these can stand for Cambodunum. The one is too small, the other is too remote from the road, and neither are about the specified distance of Cambodunum from Mancunium. P. 87.

From the concurrent authority of Richard and Antonine, the former appears to be eighteen miles from the latter. And, as to Calcaria on the other side, we may fix Cambodunum at any distance from it, because of the difference in the numerals of the two Itineraries; Richard's placing Cambodunum at twenty-two miles from

Sect. I. from Calcaria, and Antonine's at twenty. But these eighteen Roman miles, by the necessary deduction of one fourteenth for the difference betwixt the Roman and English measure, will be contracted to sixteen and three quarters English, and by the as necessary addition of one fourth, for the difference betwixt the road and horizontal mile across this broad and lofty ridge of mountains⁶, will be augmented into twenty-two.

About the twenty-second mile therefore from Castlefield along the track of the Roman road, will be the site of Cambodunum. And just about that distance from it and Manchester I find it. The ground upon which I settle the town is vulgarly denominated Slack, and lies in the township of Longwood and the parish of Huthersfield. Here are four closes, which are called the Eald or old fields and crofts⁷, and adjoin to the

P. 88. course of the way from Mancunium. These contain an area of twelve or fourteen acres, and are watered with a couple of brooks, that meet just at the town and curve round three sides of it. Here several soughs have been found, pieces of thick glass, urns, bones, and slips of copper. And crouded foundations of buildings have been equally discovered along them, some a yard in thickness, and all composed of strong stone and cement. Two of the fields have been lately cleared. But the others remain to this day entirely filled up with them. And the farmers have frequently broken their ploughs in all.

Thus plainly have these Eald fields been the site of some considerable town. And it was certainly a Roman one. The position of it amid the wild extent of these

these moors and upon the course of the Roman road Sect. I.
 over them, and its exact distance from Mancunium,
 do of themselves declare it to be Roman. And a great
 quantity of Roman bricks has been discovered in the
 foundations, some long and some square, and all of a
 beautiful red. The latter were frequently twenty-two
 inches in the square, and found in the floorings
 of the houses; as in some was dug up a thick crust of
 brick, rudely scored into squares in imitation of tes-
 fellated work, and in others a pavement, composed of
 pounded brick and very white mortar. Near the
 eastern side of the area, where three stone-hedges and
 three lordships now meet, and whence a long line of
 houses appears from the discovered foundations to
 have extended towards the north, were lately found
 three coins of brass; two of which were soon lost
 by the carelessness of Ignorance, and the third has
 CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. on one side, S and
 C in the middle, and PVBLICA..... round the
 other. And these two Roman inscriptions have also
 been discovered,

J R E B U R R H U I

And

O P V S .

The former of them, walled up in a building, was copied
 for me by the Reverend Mr. Watson. And the latter
 is in my own possession.

But near the place where the coins were discovered P. 291
 was very lately a mount, one yard in height and about

Vol. I.

K

thirty

Sect. I. thirty in circumference. And in the rubbish of it, and about three yards below the ground, was dug up the foundation of a building, constructed of stone and floored with bricks. Upon the eastern side of this, and below the level of the floor, was a small chamber, four yards in length and two and a half in breadth. It was supported by pilasters, rising half a yard in height, and formed of square bricks. And it was paved with pounded brick and mortar, very hard, and about a yard in thickness. This was clearly a Roman Hypocaust, and the flooring was designed to bear the requisite force of the fire; as the space between the pilasters was sufficient to admit the body of a boy, and the pavement was covered with a quantity of black ashes. And, on the western side of the building, were found a Roman altar and its basis. The former is now in my own possession, and this is the inscription upon it.

F O R T V N A E
S A C R V M
C · A N T O · M O D E S ·
3 · L E G · V I · V I C · P · F
V · S · L · M

And at full length it runs thus: Fortunæ sacrum, Caius Antonius Modestus, centurio legionis sextæ victricis piæ fidelis, votum solvit lubens meritò; Caius Antonius Modestus, centurion of the sixth victorious, pious, and faithful legion, consecrated this altar to Fortune, and with pleasure discharged the vow which he owed:

Thus

Thus plainly are the remains evinced to be Roman. Sect. I.
 And what has been sought ineffectually for a century and an half, the real site of Cambodunum, is now discovered. The town was constructed along these four closes; and the station was placed upon the neighbouring fields, and immediately perhaps beyond the channel of the western current. There is a proper site for a camp, a tongue of land formed by the union of the two above-mentioned brooks, and defended by their deep channels on two sides.

So situated were the town and station of Cambodunum. And four Roman roads commence at both, and go away to Manchester, York, and two other stations: P. 98.
 That from Manchester, crossing the level of the second and loftier range of the Yorkshire hills, becomes a boundary to the parishes of Halifax and Huthersfield, has Longwood on the right and Stainland-moor on the left, and, passing within two hundred yards from the station and town, throws off a way to them on the right. And that from York, coursing fourteen yards in breadth over Lindley-moor, descending along the left side of Lee-hill, and going in the track of the Out-lane, throws off another to the town and station. But both these branches are also parts of two other roads, which extended from this to two other towns. One stretches visibly over Stainland-moor, appearing as a green list across the heath, passes over Forest-hill to Stainland-Dene, and in some inclosures at the bottom has been discovered by the plough. It traverses the valley near the present bridge into the township of Barkisland, being in this and that of Stainland denominated Saville-

Sect. I. gate; goes by Mofsleyden-gate, and across the township of Rishworth, to the old road over Blackstone Edge, and to that part of it which is called the Devil's Causeway; and is denominated the Danes-road by the shepherds of Rishworth. And it then runs to the Roman way from Manchester to Ilkley, and, as is asserted by the shepherds, proceeds across it into Lancashire^s. The other goes away from Cambodunum N. E. by N., has been discovered in an adjoining field six or seven yards in breadth, and crosses the Roman road from York to Manchester in a considerable angle. It passes along a green lane, and is therefore denominated Green-gate. And, running by the foot of Lee-hill, it points, I think, to the Roman town of Adel Mill near Leeds^s.

The name of this station in the Itineraries of Richard and Antoninus is written Cambodunum, but Camunlodunum in the Geography of Ptolemy, and in that of Ravennas more rightly Camulodunum; being fully distinguished in both from the camp which partook of the same name, the Camudolanum of the former and the Camulodulum Colonia of the latter. External **P. 91.** testimony therefore, the only evidence that we can have in the present case, favours one name as much as the other. Both were equally the appellations of the station. And we shall soon meet with other fortresses that bear a duplicate of names. Camulodunum is merely the general title of a camp, Camulus being one of the British denominations for Mars, and Dunum signifying a town¹⁰. And Cambo-dunum more specifically imports the fortress on the stream. The one is

is descriptive of its particular position. And the other Sect. I.
is declarative of its military application.

The pass over the mountains, which goes along the site of Cambodunum, is much less intersected with hills, vallies, and rivers, than any other that could be found for many miles on either side of it¹¹. This therefore, in the time of the Britons, would be the customary passage from the south of Lancashire into that of Yorkshire. And the Brigantes and Sifuntii would both of them, for their own security, endeavour to guard it by the erection of forts upon it. Nor was this the only pass that seems to have been fortified. Bremetonac in the north, a fortress about Colne, and a second perhaps about Littleborough or Windy-bank, in the middle, and a fourth at Castle-shaw in the south, seem to have formed a regular chain of camps for that purpose upon the Lancashire side of the mountains, and to have been answered by another on the Yorkshire; Camulodune being opposed to Castleshaw, and Olicana answering to Colne. And that Castleshaw, in particular, was once a fortress of the Britons, seems pretty plainly evinced by some few remains which have been accidentally discovered at it. Within the area of the castle, extended as from the present eminence of the ground and the appellation of the Husteads and Castle-hills it appears to have been, and containing several statute-acres in its compass, have been dug up those round beads of the Britons, that have been equally discovered in the barrows on Salisbury plain¹². They were of earth or paste perforated, ribbed or fluted on the outside, and coloured over with a bluish

P. 92.

Sect. I.

green. And within one or two fields from it was lately discovered a brazen Celt, hollow in the blade, and carrying a loop at the head¹³. The region of Saddleworth indeed, of which the site of Castlethaw is a part, now belongs to the county of York. But it has evidently been dismembered from Lancashire, being even now a chapelry in one of our Lancashire parishes, and the greater of this double range of hills naturally forming the barrier betwixt the Sifuntii and Brigantes¹⁴.

The Britons finding a site at Cambodunum that was very well calculated for a fortress; screened from the violences of the weather by the high grounds around it, and yet no-ways liable to be insulted from them; well provided with water, and very capable of defence; they placed their town upon it. It was then assuredly encompassed on every side by the forest, which covered the moors to these later ages, and has given the denomination of Forest-hill to a neighbouring height. And here the Romans, for the same reason, afterwards planted a stationary town. This appears from its remains to have been considerable, and from Richard to have even obtained the honourable privilege of the Jus Latinum¹⁵. And it must once have given the chearful aspect of cultivation to these wastes, and made the busy hum of men to resound in these solitudes. But it was destroyed very early in the period of the Saxons. The voice of Tradition, which speaks so loudly at the sites of some Roman towns, is either absolutely silent or very faintly whispers at this; though scarcely a single relick perhaps appears at the former, and

and the remains are equally numerous and remarkable at the latter. And the town was clearly, as Cambodunum has been generally supposed, to have been, the famous Campodonum of Bede, and levelled to the ground during the wasteful invasion of Cadwallaun and Penda in 633, and within a few years only after its first submission to the Saxons. With the Romans began the glory of this hilly region. And nearly with the Brigantes was it terminated for ever ¹⁶.

Sect. I.

¹ Horfeley p. 387, and others. — ² Mr. Percival's Essay in Phil. Transf. Vol. XLVII. p. 219, &c. — ³ Horfeley p. 414. — ⁴ Mr. Percival's Essay. — ⁵ Mr. Angier of Heton (Horfeley p. 413.) and Mr. Percival of Ryton. — ⁶ Ogilby's Roads p. 41. 1698, and Horfeley p. 412. — ⁷ The name is vulgarly pronounced the Yeld Fields, as the neighbouring Ealand is popularly denominated Yelland, and some Eald houses at Rushulme near Manchester are equally called the Yeld houses, — ⁸ The account of this road I received from the Rev. Mr. Watson, who lately resided at Ripponden in the neighbourhood, and obligingly assisted me in discovering the site of Cambodunum. — ⁹ See Phil. Transf. Vol. XXIII. p. 1285. — ¹⁰ Camden p. 322, Cæsar p. 164, and Gruter p. 56. — And see also Montfaucon's Antiq. Expl. tom. I. p. 46. plate 17. Mr. Pegge on Cunobeline's coins p. 15. supposes Mars to have had different denominations among different tribes, Camulus among the Cassii or Trinovantes, Belatucadrus among the Brigantes, and Braciaca among the Coritani. But this is a mistake, I think. Mars appears from the other name of Cambodunum to have been called Camulus among

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Sect. I. the Brigantes, as well as the Trinovantes or Cassii.
 And all the names without doubt were common to all parts of the island.—¹¹ Phil. Transf. Vol. XLVII. p. 225. —¹² Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 45. —¹³ See ch. i. f. 2. b. I. —¹⁴ See ch. v. f. I. b. I. —¹⁵ See b. I. ch. 8. f. 1. —¹⁶ See Campodonum in Bede l. ii. c. 14: and the B and P are frequently interchanged, as I shall shew hereafter. Basilicam (says Bede) cum totâ eâdem villâ succenderunt. It was levelled to the ground just thirteen years after its submission to the Saxons. See b. ii. ch. 2. f. 5.

The antiquarians have long called upon their incorporated brethren of London, to publish the many useful dissertations that were known to be lodged in their archives. The work is at last begun. And the publick has been this winter * obliged with the first volume of the Antiquarian Transactions. This is a valuable present in itself. But it is more valuable for its future consequences. It now forms a regular and respectable repository for the effusions of the antiquarian genius. It will peculiarly stimulate the ingenious and sensible, both in and out of the society, to remit their disquisitions to it. And we may therefore very safely affirm, that each succeeding volume will rise superiour in spirit, sentiment, and usefulness to the first.—In this, my learned and communicative friend the Rev. Mr. Watson, now rector of Stockport in Cheshire, and the late Thomas Percival Esq; of Ryton near Manchester, have advanced several particulars relating to the subject of the present

* The winter in which the first Edition was published, that of 1770-71.

fection, which have been too hastily taken up, I think, Sect. I. and are generally unjust. And, as they clash with the opinions that I have advanced in the text, I feel myself compelled in my own defence to notice them. Thus Mr. Percival in p. 63, on suppositions frivolous in themselves, and Mr. Watson in p. 218—220, on reasonings confessedly contrary to authority, fix the boundaries of Maxima and Flavia, not (as they actually ran) along the Humber, the Don, and the Mersey, but along the Humber, the hills of Castlehaw, and the Ribble. In p. 216—217 Mr. Watson endeavours to fix the Alunna of Ravennas at Castlehaw, principally because it occurs in that Chorography near to Mantium, the supposed Manucium of Antonine; when both Antonine and Richard confessedly go over the road on which Castlehaw stands, without the least mention of Alunna; when the very name implies a situation the reverse of Castlehaw, a position upon a river, from which this is at some distance; and the Alunna of Ravennas so obviously points at the Ad Alaunam or Lancaster of Richard. And, p. 225, Mr. Watson fixes the Campodonum of Bede at Doncaster, because Alfred mistakenly translates it Donafelda, and because Campodonum was destroyed at the invasion in which Edwin was killed at Heathfield near Doncaster. But the names of the towns in Bede must evidently be sought in the Itineraries of the Romans, and Cambodunum is obviously reflected in Campodonum. Doncaster would also have been mentioned by him under the appellation of Dano Caestir or Castrum ad Danum, and

Sect. I. and is expressly noticed by the Continuator of Nennius under the similar title of *Caer Daun*. And from this latter circumstance it plainly appears to have not been destroyed in A. D. 633. The *Campodonum* of Bede, therefore, cannot be *Doncaster*. It can only be the *Cambodonum* of the *Itineraries*. And we have exactly a parallel instance among the *Brigantes* of the *Alpine* regions, the *Cambodonum* of *Ptolemy* (p. 62) being denominated *Campodonum* by *Strabo* (p. 316).

II.

P. 95. To settle the particular position of *Condate*, hath long embarrassed the historical critics. Fixed originally at *Congleton* because of some remaining sameness in the name, that only guide in the infancy of antiquarian learning; it has been lately placed upon better principles at or near *Northwich*. But it was at neither one nor the other. The site of the station is pointed out by the course of the road. And this is ascertained by the broken remains of it, which sometimes appear, by the direction of them, where they cease, and the sure signatures of the name of *Street*, where both fail us.

Richard's

Richard's 6th Iter runs thus,	And Antonine's ad thus,	Sect. II.
From MANCUNIAM	From MANUCIUM to	
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ		
ET FLAVIÆ m. p. 18	CONDATE	18
CONDATE		18
Deva	Deva	20.

Richard's 10th goes	And Antonine's 10th.
From MANCUNIAM to	From MANCUNIAM to
CONDATE 23	CONDATE 18.
Mediolano 18;	Mediolano 18.

The road to Condate did not take the direct way from the station to Throstle-nest, but made a large curve on the south to reach it. A right line would have carried it from the south-western angle of the camp, across the channel of the Medlock, and in the line of the new canal into the road at Corne-brook. But this route was prevented by the steepness of the bank, the want of a ford there across the channel, and the prudence of retaining both in their natural state, as the principal barriers of the camp on the south. P. 96.

The way to Condate and Cambodunum commenced at the same time from the eastern gate of the station, and proceeded in one line along the eastern side of the Castle-field. And, parting at the extremity of the field, the former winded along the descent to the river, and a little on this side of Corne-brook, turned on the right to gain the course in which it should originally have moved. Passing from this point along the track of the present

Sect. II. present highway, but twisted into angles by the unequal encroachments of the inclosures upon it, it proceeded through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Mersey. And, as no appearance of the Roman workmanship can be expected along the line of the present road, so none are discoverable, I believe, on the borders of the adjoining fields. In the unvarying level of those low meadows particularly, which extend from the village to the ford, the least elevation of a road would be immediately perceived. And, in the coat of river-sand which covers them to a considerable depth, the smallest seam of gravel would as readily be distinguished. But no traces of a ridge appear to the eye above, and no remains of a foundation are discovered by the spade below¹.

The road, having passed the meadows and crossed the ford, continued along the present lane to the village of Cross-street, and proceeded through it to Broad-Heath. There, the present way beginning to wind upon the left, and to point towards the town of Altringham, the Roman deserts it, and enters the fields that have been lately inclosed from the heath. And the line of gravel is frequently found in them by the spade, lying upon the black turf and white sand. And, at the farther end of them, the road was discovered in cutting the canal, and the traces of it appear at present in the gravelled side of the bank. It then entered the inclosures of Oldfield-Hall, is invisible in the first, but very visible in the other three. These appear to have been originally a part of the neighbouring moss, which is denominated Seaman's, which once spread into a large extent

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extent on the right, and has still some narrow remains Sect. II.
 immediately on the left. And the road was constructed
 along them with a good elevation. Within these very
 few years, the gravel has been carried away to the
 depth of a yard in many places. And yet the seam
 remains very conspicuous along the third and fourth
 fields.

But, leaving these, the road enters a close that was
 hedged in from the moss only a few years ago. This
 was the most boggy part of it in the time of the Ro-
 mans, as even now the soil is so extremely loose and
 soft, that with great facility I pushed a whalebone
 whip a full yard into the ground. Over such a tract
 of land, the road was necessarily raised with gravel to a
 considerable height. And it still carries a lofty ridge,
 being popularly called the Upcast, and having a fall for
 ten or twelve yards on either side. And it lately carried
 a loftier; a great quantity of gravel having been taken
 off from the summit soon after the inclosing of the
 field, and equably dispersed along the sides.

Having crossed the moss, it leaves the low grounds
 to which it had hitherto been confined, and begins to
 ascend the Dune or hill that terminates the valley of
 Manchester to the south-west, and gives name to the
 neighbouring Dunham. Not mounting the summit,
 but passing along a lower shelve, it enters Dunham-
 park, and once communicated the name of Street-head
 to the height. And this is retained by the only ha-
 bitation which is near it, a small house at the foot of
 it and upon the margin of the present road.

Descending

Sect. II. Descending the slope of the hill, and leaving the park, it crossed the little valley beyond, and its rivulet the Bollen, and once more fell into the present road near New-bridge. This one significant circumstance indicates of itself. The whole length of the present road from New-bridge to Buckley-hill is denominated Street. The Roman road, therefore, stretches away from the angle immediately beyond the bridge, along the course of the present road, and left Rostherne-Meer about a bow-shot from it on the left. It thus proceeded to Buckley-hill, being all the way popularly known by the expressive appellation of Street. From Buckley-hill it passed to Mere-town, going in the same line and retaining the same name. And about two miles beyond the latter, passing the hollow channel of a brook, it assumes the name of Holford-street, and preserves it for half a mile together.

A little beyond the conclusion of this, the present road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich, the Roman insensibly steals away to the left. But about a mile beyond the point, and in the direction of the course, we recover it again. And this new part of it is a well-gravelled lane, denominated Street, and extending in a right line for four or five miles together. The appellation of it is written Kind-street by the only antiquarians that have named it, Mr. Horseley and Mr. Percival; but is invariably spoken King-street by the people. The former however is pretty certainly the name, and the latter merely a corruption, resulting from the natural humour among all nations, of assimilating strange to familiar names in popular pronunciation.

ciation. And it formerly led to Condate, and now leads to Kinderton². At its commencement, leaving the town of Northwich about half a mile to the right, the Kind-street goes on about twelve or fourteen yards in breadth, a great publick road, and wanting considerable repair. In its continuance, leaving Rud-heath on the left and Newton on the right, it passes through Ravenscroft into Kinderton. And the name of the lane is heard of no more.

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Here, therefore, the termination of the road and the length of the distance invite us strongly to search for a station. The name of Condate is pretty loudly echoed in that of Kinderton³. And, what is much more weighty, this is the first place convenient for a camp about the requisite distance from Manchester.

The Kind-street, pointing down the bank of the river to the bridge of Ravenscroft, forded the channel two or three yards to the right of the bridge, and entered the field beyond it. And here it has been actually discovered. This is denominated the Harbour's field, and was plainly the site of the Roman station. The particular position of the ground betwixt the rivers Croco and Dane, is a strong argument of itself. The appellation of the close is an additional evidence, the Har-bourh's field signifying the area of the military station. And the site and name, the remains about it, and the tradition concerning it, are a decisive proof⁴.

The ground is nearly a parallelogram about ten statute-acres in extent, and bounded by a natural bank, lofty and steep, upon one side, and the little Croco curling at the foot of it, and by another, less lofty but more steep,

Sect. II. steep, on a second, and the Dane running directly under it. And the former falls into the latter at the angle of the field. Upon the third side, but several yards within the hedge, are the considerable remains of a ditch, rising up the ascent, and being once continued probably in the same line and along the hollow of the adjoining lane. And upon the fourth the antient ditch preserves its original perfection, being a steep foss about ten yards in depth, and eight in breadth at the top; formerly converted, like a part of the other, into the course of a road, and lately made the channel of a current.

P. 100. Such was the station of Condate. And a road has been discovered commencing from it, traversing a field immediately without the camp, and frequently visible in a dry summer for the whole length of the close beyond both. This is ordinarily called the Roman road, and from its direction appears to have gone to Mediolanum in Shropshire. Another went by Home-street-Hall to Chester. And a third extended by Street-ford and Red-street to Chesterton near Newcastle.

This then is Condate, the station so long lost and so vainly sought. And, that it has been sought and lost so long, may justly excite our admiration. The road pointing towards Chester, because to that city one Iter of Antonine carries it; and pointing equally to the south or south-east of Chester, because another of his takes it into Shropshire; the course of it might have been easily investigated. The sure signatures of Street-ford, Cross-street, Street-head, Street, Holford-street, and King-street, names all occurring in the line, all pointing

pointing out either well-known villages, conspicuous eminences, or publick roads, and some retained for several miles together, trace out the course of it in the plainest colours. And the clear tradition of a Roman camp, and the appellation of Kinderton, at the conclusion of the whole, shed the fullest light upon the site of Condate.

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The distance of this station from Mancunium is fixed by the sixth Iter of Richard at thirty-six miles, but in the tenth at twenty-three, and by the tenth and second of Antonine at only eighteen. And, in this diversity of informations, we are fully at liberty to chuse such of the measures as best agree with the real distance, and to reject all of them if none agree. We need not the evidence of the numbers, to ascertain the position of the camp.

In the first measure of Richard, which reckons thirty-six miles from Mancunium to Condate, he makes the remarkable insertion of a station betwixt one and the other. And this he or his transcriber has placed at eighteen miles from both, and at the boundaries of the two provinces, Flavia and Maxima. But, certain as we P. 101. are concerning the course of the road, the very mention of these boundaries shews the number of the miles to be erroneous. The limits of the provinces are the banks of the Mersey at Stretford: and these are only four or five Roman miles from the Castle-field. And, if Richard's other distance of twenty-three to Condate be the right one, as we shall find it to be, five must be the number in this place; five, added to the following eighteen in the sixth Iter, being equivalent to the twenty-

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L

three

Sect. II. three in the tenth. This was pretty certainly the original number. And, the eye of Richard or his transcriber unwarily catching the eighteen immediately below, his hand inserted the latter instead of the former^s.

Differing equally from both and the truth are the numbers in Antonine. But the difference may be removed with ease, and without any alteration of the present figures. The two Itinera of Antonine give us exactly the same length for the distance betwixt Castle-field and Kinderton, as one of Richard's affords us for that betwixt Kinderton and Stretford. And from this coincidence it is highly probable, that the intermediate stage was originally inserted in the tenth of Antonine as well as the sixth of Richard, and had the number five annexed to it in both; and that the next reckoning of eighteen miles commenced from it in the one as well as the other. Such was very probably the original state of the Iter. And when this and all the similar notices, which must surely have been once inserted in Antonine's as they now appear in Richard's Itinerary, were thrown out of the former in order to contract the work, the abridger overlooked the number annexed to this, and left the next to stand as it stood before.

The real distance from Castle-field to Kinderton camp is this. From the cross at Manchester to the inn at Buckley-hill the ground measures about twelve miles, and from Buckley-hill by Mere-town to Middlewich about other twelve. But, as we must deduct three quarters of a mile for the distance betwixt Castle-field and the cross at Manchester, so must we subtract about
a whole

a whole one, for the difference betwixt the direct road of the Romans and that of the present times from Broad-Heath to New-bridge, and for the angle which the latter describes, in going nearer to Northwich and then turning to King-street. And, thus settled, the real distance from the station at Manchester to that at Kinderton is twenty-two English miles, which are very nearly equivalent to twenty-three and three quarters Roman, and therefore fully correspondent with the number in the tenth Iter of Richard.

But here, as we walk over the Roman Harborough, let us reflect a little on the antient history of this part of the country, which is so near to the confines of Manchester, and with which Condate, the first stage from Manchester to the south-west, is so intimately connected. It is utterly unnoticed by others. It is curious in itself. And it will greatly illustrate the antiquities of both.

The Cornavii of Ptolemy, before the arrival of the Romans, possessed that detached region of Flintshire which adjoins to the village of Banchor, all Cheshire, all Staffordshire, those parts of Shropshire which lie to the north and east of the Severn, almost all Warwickshire, and the adjoining lands of Leicestershire. They owned the towns of Deva or Chester, Uriconium or Wroxeter, Banchorium or Banchor, and Etocetum or Wall near Litchfield⁶. And their dominions appear to have reached all across the whole extent of Warwickshire to the south-eastern verge of it, as they enjoyed Bennonæ or Claychester in the neighbouring skirts of Leicestershire,

Sect. II and as, still lower to the south, a part of Warwickshire, that lies betwixt Southam and Coventry and along the Fosseway, is denominated from them the Cornavy to the present period. These, and the Britons of Cornwall in the south-western regions of the island, and those of Cathness in the north-eastern, are all equally called Carnabii by Richard. All of them were named, we may be sure, from some one striking circumstance of position or origin which was common to them all. And they were therefore denominated from the nature of their site. The Carnabii of Cornwall and Cathness inhabited a region exactly similar in this great particular, that, open upon one side, it narrowed gradually on the other, and shot out in a promontory into the sea. Such a projection the Britons called a *Kerenab*, or an horn of the sea. And from this, the common and significative characteristick of the two countries, the two tribes that possessed them would naturally be denominated. The Carnabii, therefore, who inhabited the whole of Staffordshire and Cheshire, and several parts of Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Flintshire, equally received their appellation from the nature of their coast. And, as all their possessions in the other counties are entirely removed from the sea, this necessarily carries us into Cheshire. There, in the neighbourhood of the Dee, the Carnabii are expressly declared by Richard to have been originally situated. And we have a region there similar to those of Cornwall and Cathness, open on one side, narrowing on the other, and shooting out into the sea; as the county is contracted on the west into the peninsula of Wirrall, and pushes out

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out in that long promontory betwixt the æstuaries of the Dee and Mersey. Thus considered, the same three names all result from one and the same circumstance. And the uniformity of the etymology is a proof of its propriety ⁸.

Within this peninsula then, and along the contiguous parts of the country, the Carnabii originally resided. And from them they originally sallied out, and spread their dominions over the rest of the county, over the whole of Staffordshire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Flintshire. While they were confined within the precincts of West-Cheshire, they seem to have had only the towns of Deva and Condate. And the latter appears from its name to have been the capital, being composed of the words Conda Te, and signifying the principal city ⁹.

Thus was Kinderton the capital of West-Cheshire, P. 104. and, after the acquisition of the rest of the county, Staffordshire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Flintshire, the metropolis of all. But, as it had been stript of its dignity before the arrival of the Romans, so did it most probably lose it in consequence of an invasion from the Brigantes. When this active and spirited tribe, about the commencement of the Christian æra, had seized all the fortresses that guarded the passes of the Yorkshire hills, and subdued the country that lay betwixt them and the sea; they appear to have carried their victorious arms to the south and north, crossed the Mersey and Solway, and conquered the Selgovæ

Sect. II. of Anandale and the Carnabii of Cheshire. The reduction of the former is evinced by a statue, which has been discovered in their country, and is inscribed to the Goddess Brigantia¹⁰. And the conquest of the latter is equally shewn by an altar, which has been found at Chester, and was addressed to the Goddess-Nymph of the Brigantes¹¹. The Carnabii and Selgovæ had received themselves, and communicated to the Romans, the worship of the peculiar or tutelar divinity of the Brigantes; and therefore, at the Roman invasion, must have been both subject to their dominion. Nothing can be a fuller proof of the reduction of one British tribe by another, than the desertion of its own national deity, and its adoption of the other's.

And this reasoning is fully confirmed by the authority of Ptolemy. He mentions not the Cornavii as the possessors of Cheshire. He gives them Chester indeed; but for that purpose has removed it far away from the county, and even placed it forty-five miles to the south of Wroxeter, and an hundred and five to the east of it. And from a comparison of the latitude and longitude of Seteia or the Dee with those of Devana or Chester, as they are all given by himself, it appears plainly, that he did not apprehend the latter to be within or even near to Cheshire, having placed it ninety miles to the east and an hundred and twenty to the south of the former¹². The whole county of Chester was as much subject to the Brigantes in the time of Ptolemy, as Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland; and therefore he equally cedes them all to that nation. He particularly extends their possessions on this western

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side to the channel of the Dee, expressly assigning them Sect. II. all the region that reached up to the Ordovices, who certainly lived beyond it ¹³. And he fixes the Cornavii, not to the north of the Ordovices, in Cheshire, but entirely to the east of them, in the regions of Shropshire and Staffordshire.

The eruption of the Carnabii was plainly prior to the invasion of the Brigantes; and this was equally so to that migration, which the latter made from our western coast into Ireland about the year 51 or 52 ¹⁴. From the friendly accompaniment of the Lancashire Cangii with the Brigantes in the last expedition ¹⁵, it appears to have been many years after the second, and when the conquered had subdued the first natural impressions of aversion, and now began to associate in friendship with their conquerors. And the invasion was a considerable time after the eruption, as, in the interval betwixt both, the conquerors of three or four counties were reduced enough in character to be attacked within their own dominions, and sunk enough in reality to be even subdued within their original territories. But, Condate being thus possessed by the invading Brigantes, the unsubdued Carnabii of Flintshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire naturally erected a new capital, and raised Uricon or Wroxeter to that honour. And Uricon appears to have been possessed of it at the period of the Roman invasion, Condate having then lost all its former lustre, and being reduced under the power of the Brigantes and the supremacy of Ifeur their metropolis ¹⁶.

Sect. II. ¹ Mr. Percival therefore in Phil. Trans., asserting the
 P. 106. road to be traceable in the meadows near the bridge,
 suffered his imagination to impose upon his judgement.
 And such impositions will frequently happen in anti-
 quarian pursuits, if a person be not upon his guard
 against them. — ² This is the road which Camden con-
 jectures to be Roman, and erroneously mentions to ex-
 tend from Middlewich to Northwich (p. 461). — ³ The
 name of Kinderton is probably formed only by the po-
 pular pronunciation of the letter R, as Pottage is pro-
 nounced Potrage, Rachel Tachey, Grammatica Gram-
 mar, &c. &c. — ⁴ Some of the people about Middle-
 wich ridiculouſly place the Roman camp upon the area of
 Bellpool-hill in the adjoining field, a mount surround-
 ed with ditches and the Dane, but containing only half
 an acre in extent. — ⁵ See b. I. ch. 6. f. 2. for this
 inserted station. — ⁶ Richard p. 24. — ⁷ P. 24, Ad
 fluvium Deyam primò-siti erant Carnabii. — ⁸ See Bax-
 ter in Corinavii, and Carte vol. I. p. 108, for two ety-
 mologies that are as idle in themselves, as they are fri-
 volous in their application. — ⁹ So Condatè Rhedonum
 in Antoninus &c. — ¹⁰ Horſeley, Scotland N^o 34. —
¹¹ Gale's Antoninus, p. 53. — ¹² See b. I. ch. v. f. 1.
 for Seteia being the Dec. — ¹³ Under the Brigantes
 (ſays Ptolemy), in the moſt weſterly regions, reſide the
 Ordovices, and more eaſterly than the Ordovices are
 the Cornavii. — ¹⁴ Richard p. 51. — ¹⁵ See b. I.
 ch. xii. f. 4. — ¹⁶ Among the Carnabian towns, Reli-
 quarum mater Uriconium, in Richard p. 24; and Utri-
 conion Cornoninorum in Ravennas, or, as the Vatican
 MS, juſtly reads the words, Urioconium Cornaviorum.

In

In the first volume of *Archæologia*, published this Sect. II.
 very winter^a by the Antiquarian Society, I find that the
 late Thomas Percival Esq; fixes Condate at Kinderton
 with me. But he asserts the Roman road from Man-
 chester to be "visible almost all the way" (p. 62);
 when, the Roman and present actually running almost
 all the way together, it is impossible for the for-
 mer to be more than partially and occasionally seen.
 And he also asserts the Roman camp to be "yet vi-
 sible at Kinderton where the Dane and Weaver join"
 (p. 62); when it is seen only in the remains of two
 ditches, and these are at the distance of some
 miles from the conjunction of those rivers. But Mr.
 Percival was only a young antiquarian when he died.
 Had he lived longer, his natural genius for these studies
 would have been more highly cultivated, his fund of
 learning considerably enriched, and his lively mind have
 acquired new vigour and additional accuracy from the
 habit of observing and reflecting.

III,

Richard's 10th Iter,	Antonine's 10th, ¹
From Brocavonacis	From Galacum
AD ALAUNAM m. p.	BREMETONACIS m. p. 27
Coccio m. p.	Coccio m. p. 20
MANCUNIO 18.	MANCUNIO m. p. 17.

^a The winter of the first Edition, that of 1770-71.

Sect. III. The road to Coccium or Blackrode did not commence immediately from the Castle-field. It might have begun at the south-western angle of it, have swept over the peninsula of Hulme-field, crossed the Irwell at the point of the meadow, and stretched away for Walkden-moor. And this would have been the most direct line of the road. But it was prevented by the badness of the morafs betwixt Hulme-field and the station, and the prudence of retaining so useful a guard to the latter. And the road to Blackrode actually began with the way to Kinderton, and proceeded with it for more than a mile. Taking the same course to Throftle-nest, it there turned away to the right, and forded the Irwell at the shallow which gave denomination to Old Trafford, and was lately destroyed by the commissioners of the navigation. And, having

P. 108. passed the channel of the river, it then took its proper direction, and first pointed towards the station at Blackrode. It ranged over the eyes or water-meadows, mounted the little heights, crossed the high road to Warrington, and joined the present plain and continued remains near Hope-hall. And this was even, in part, the customary way into the present town from that district of the country, as late as the present century. But, in all this course from the river to the hall, the road is wholly invisible; and the remains that begin at the latter, and extend for two miles together, are the only arguments of its course,

Proceeding along the foot of Harts-hill brow, and crossing Broomhouse-lane, it enters the estate of Hope-hall. It first slanted along the side of Dovehouse-croft, has

has been there turned up by the plough, and appeared ^{Sect. III.} to be seven yards in breadth. And it is next discovered in the field which is beyond the old Hope-hall and denominated the Upper Broad-hope, by the gravel below the surface, and in the next or lower Broad-hope by the long ridge above it. The seam of the gravel is a proof of the road, as the ground is all naturally clay; and the course of the ridge is very evident to the eye. In the next or Little Brook-field, when the ground is ploughed, the gravel appears very thick upon the furrows, and still more so at the extremity of the ground and on the brink of the water. And, in all these inclosures, the track is clearly marked to the farmer by the great luxuriancy of the corn upon it.

The road here leaving the Hope-hall estate and entering the Heath-fields, the gravel is easily discovered by the spade in the first of them, as it crosses the corner of it. And in the second the ridge appears again, but much greater and very large, extending ten or twelve yards in width, and having a fall on either side. Passing through an angle of the third, the elevation continues still evident, but reduced, in the fourth and fifth, rises to a very considerable height in the sixth, and retains it in Heath-lane and the field beyond it. In the last, it appears equally green and dry for twelve ^{P. 109.} or thirteen yards in width, and is skirted by a border of rushes in the wet ground of either side. But at the extremity of this, in the next or Toad-hill field, and in that beyond both, it entirely disappears; and the road is found only by the spade in the hither end of the second and at the further of the third inclosure, and
by

Sect. III. by the gravel which it discovers lying upon the natural soil. And here the ridge seems to have been taken away by the farmers, and the materials of it dispersed with an equal hand over a part of the sloping ground on the right.

Crossing the next clove and the lane, it points through Chorleton fold and the land beyond it to a second lane. It there enters the Westwood-fields, and appears again with a small ridge, ascending the slope of the second inclosure, and pointing to a large oak upon the furzy summit of it. And at that tree, and in the adjoining field, the gravel is very evident, lying thick upon the road, and spreading several yards in width. It crosses the second clove of Mr. Bailey in a plain ridge, and the first of Mr. Watson in a plainer. Losing its elevation at this end of Mr. Watson's second field, it recovers it with an addition at the other. But, in the next or Mr. Blomiley's, the gravel appears along all the three closes, lying in a tall ridge of ten or twelve yards in width. And, in the adjoining grounds of Brookside estate, the road still appears, though less conspicuous, but retaining an evident elevation, and pointing immediately by Drywood-house to Shaving-lane or Shaving-street, about half a mile beyond it.

This name is preserved by a direct and open lane for a mile together, and lost only in that of Stany-street a little on this side of Walkden-moor. There the Roman becomes the present way, and passes in a right line by Street-gate towards the village of Blackrode. And here it was discovered about sixteen years ago, parallel with the present road, and at a little distance from

from it; lying a foot below the surface, covered with ^{Sect. III.} a strong crop of furzes and briars, and three yards in ^{P. 110.} breadth and eight or nine in length.

The name of Stany or Stony street would naturally induce one to imagine, that the road which was so denominated must have been regularly paved. And so it was. In the first field which it enters belonging to the Hope-hall estate, and in the discovery which the plough made of it some years ago, it was found to be fet with large boulders. And the small piece of it, which was laid open by the spade at Blackrode, appeared to be a regular pavement, firmly jointed together, and composed of heavy stones.

Such was the road that led to the Roman station of Coccium. But where shall we fix the actual site of the station? The town, as it seems, having been very early destroyed, the traces of its ancient dignity are almost entirely erased, and exist only at present in the faint retrospect of traditionary history and the vague generalities of a winter's tale. And, in this state of uncertainty, the attention of an antiquarian is naturally engaged at first by the name of Castle-croft at the south-eastern extremity of the village, by the tradition of a castle upon it, and the evident remains of ditches around it. But this can never have been the area of a Roman camp. It is merely half an acre in extent. And the station can not have been on this side of the village at all. It was assuredly on the other, and upon the lofty bank of the river. There only are those particularities of site, which the Romans generally secured in the position of a camp, the convenience of a stream and the advantage of

Sect. III. of a bank, the concurrence of a brook with a river, and a commodious point of ground betwixt both. The
 P. III. one would afford a regular supply of water to the gar-
 rison. And both would furnish some natural defences to the camp.

Tradition asserts the town to have been originally erected, not, as now, upon the narrow crest of a lofty hill which has a gradual descent on every side of it, but along the slope to the north-west and in the line of the way to Preston. And, as that part of the Roman road, which was some time ago discovered at Blackrode, lay pointing directly to the river, so the distances in the Itineraries lead us to it. The chapel there is just at the eighteenth measured mile, along the curving course of the present highway, from the cross at Manchester. But from the station in Castle-field, and along the track of the Roman road, which falls into the other betwixt the seventh and eighth mile from the cross, and measures only about five and a half to the point, the distance is merely about sixteen to the chapel. And from this reckoning we must deduct about one sixteenth, for the difference betwixt the horizontal and road mile, as the ground rises gently all the way from the station to the village, and is frequently intersected with narrow vallies^r; and must add one fourteenth to the remainder, for the difference betwixt the English miles and the Roman. The former settles the distance along the Roman road at fifteen English horizontal miles, and the latter at sixteen horizontal Roman. And, as the specified distance to the camp at Blackrode is more than seventeen of the latter, we must

must proceed for more than a mile in the direction of the ^{Sect. II.} above-discovered road, before we can expect to find the site of the station.

Advancing then in this line and for this length, we come to the river Douglas, which rises in the neighbouring Pike of Rivington, and runs by Wigan to the sea; near the bottom of the descent to Preston, and at the extremity of the ground on which tradition has erected the original Blackrode. And here assuredly was the camp of the Romans. Here the Douglas forms a large crook in its channel, a brook discharges its little urn into it, and natural or artificial banks appear on the sides. Closely adjoining to the site is a considerable barrow; and tradition speaks of a remarkable battle near it, in which a great officer was slain, many of the soldiers were cut to pieces, and the Douglas ran crimsoned with the blood to Wigan. And, here only along the whole bank of the river, are all these advantages to be found united. P. 112.

This ground comprehends two inclosures, one peculiarly denominated the Rie-hay, and the other the Smi-thy-field, and both about seven statute-acres and a half². Lying within a curve of the Douglas and at the union of a brook with it, they have the channel of the former, and its precipice of five and seven yards in length, for the whole of the northern side and a part of the eastern, and the course of the latter, and its bank from two to five in height, upon the western. And on the south was a ditch, I suppose, winding along the edge of the neighbouring field, and going across the present road to the brink of the river below the barrow.

Thus

Sept. III. Thus situated, the station appears to be at once the *Coccium* of Richard and Antonine and the *Rhigodunum* of Ptolemy. Both the former and latter have been hitherto imagined to be the Ribchester of the present times. But I have previously shewn the supposition to be false concerning *Coccium*. And, as it relates to *Rhigodunum*, it is directly contrary to the testimony of Ptolemy.

The relative positions of the towns, in this author, are nearly as inaccurate in general as his absolute. And *Rhigodunum* in particular is placed by him thirty miles to the east of *Vinnovium* or *Biachester*, and as many to the west of *Devana* or *Chester*; when it is certainly, according to all the antiquarians and the truth, considerably to the west of the former and east of the latter. But, though this is the case with his relative positions of the towns, yet his relative bearings of the shore will necessarily, from the progressive particularity of his coasting, and the striking and permanent nature of the marks in his description, be sufficiently exact. If, therefore, we collate his positions of the one with his bearings of the other, and determine the site from both, though we must expect the decision to partake of the errors in the former, we shall come nearer to the truth by this than any other direction.

I shall hereafter shew the *Setanian* port of Ptolemy, which is in $17^{\circ} 20'$ of eastern longitude, to be within the mouth of the river *Ribble* and at the famous *Nese* of the *Nese*. *Rhigodunum* therefore was not at *Ribchester*, because this is not, like that, forty Roman miles in a right line to the east of the port; being, as Richard's

Richard's Itinerary will hereafter inform us, only twenty-^{Sect. III.} three on the road³. The same harbour is also placed in $57^{\circ} 45'$ of northern latitude, and Rhigodunum in $57^{\circ} 30'$; a circumstance that shews the latter to be no-where upon the Ribble at all, as the channel of this river is so far from lying to the south-east of its mouth, that it actually runs to the east and north-east of it.

And, as Rhigodunum is thus shewn from Ptolemy's position of the coast not to be Ribchester, it may as easily be evinced to be Blackrode only. I shall hereafter prove Belisama to be the river Mersey, the mouth of which is placed by Ptolemy in $17^{\circ} 30'$ and $57^{\circ} 20'4$. Rhigodunum therefore, being in $18^{\circ} 00'$ and $57^{\circ} 30'$, is just thirty miles to the east and ten to the north of that mouth. This necessarily confines us to the south of Lancashire and to Blackrode. And Blackrode is the only station that in the least approaches the requisite distances, being exactly about thirty Roman or twenty-eight English miles to the east of the Black Rock, and nine or ten to the north of it.

Thus plainly does Rhigodunum appear to have been intended by Ptolemy for the Coccium of Richard and Antoninus, and to have been the capital of the Sifstuntian dominions. And the former name is equally ex- P.114. pressive as the latter, of the joint supremacy of both over the towns of Lancashire. The latter, which from the Roman termination of the word appears to have been Caer Cocci, imports literally the city of the high one. And the former, which may be either Rigo or Rigodunum, signifies the fortress of the king or kings⁶. Thus Raga, the Roman name of the present Leicester,

Sect. III. and the British appellation of the Coritanian capital, and Reg-n-um or Regen-ti-um, the capital of the Regni, and the present Chichester in Suffex, are exactly the same with Rig-od and Rig-od-dunum; being all of them the British plurals of the same word, and equally with Cocci the designation of a metropolis⁷. And a duplicate of names appears to have been not uncommon among the Britons in general for their stations in the woods; Camulodunum and Cambodunum being two denominations for the same fortrefs, Regnum and Regentium being equally the title of Chichester, and the Bovium of Antoninus only a different appellation for the Banchorium of Richard.

The British town, therefore, which stood upon the site of the Roman Coccium, was the metropolis of the kingdom of Lancashire, before the Brigantes descended from the hills of Yorkshire and over-ran the country. It was then within the compass of that great wood assuredly, which remained three or four centuries ago under the denomination of Horwich-forest, and the site of which still continues very near it under the appellation of Horwich-moor. And it was placed there in all probability by the Britons of Lancashire, upon the irruption of the Carnabii into the counties of Flint, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Leicefter, and Warwick. On such an alarm, the first precaution of the Siftuntii would be to fortify their exposed frontier on the south, and construct the towns of Veratin and Mancenion. And the second would be to settle others in other parts of their little P. 115. kingdom, to which the inhabitants might retreat and the cattle be driven in case of an actual invasion. The ford

ford at Warrington was sufficiently secured, as I shall Sect. III. shew hereafter^s; and as probably was that at Stockport, because it could as easily be defended. But those at Wulston, Hollin's-green, Stoneford, Stretford, Barlow, and Didsbury could not be secured at all, because of the low grounds for a considerable way on either side of them, and for want of such a particular site as I shall shew Warrington to have possessed; and would therefore be all neglected. And this rendered it the more necessary to construct fortresses in the interior parts of the county. In consequence of this, the inland towns of Rerigon and Cocci would immediately be laid out; as about half a century afterwards in all probability, upon a just suspicion of the Brigantes, two new forts were settled at Concangion and Bremetonac, and others perhaps at Colne, Littleborough, and Castleshaw. But of all these, and perhaps of more, Cocci was appointed the capital. It was nearest to the center of the kingdom. And any invasion of the country from the northern, eastern, or southern quarters, might easily be notified to the metropolis, and communicated by it to the kingdom. A fire at Warrington, Manchester, or Castleshaw, at Pendle-hill near Colne, or Longridge-fell near Ribchester, would immediately be seen from the summit of Rivington-pike, and might immediately be answered by another from it; as one upon some of the lofty mountains near Kendal might be successively repeated on Ingleborough-hill at Overborough, Pendle-hill or Longridge-fell, and the Pike. And we find beacons familiarly in use among the primitive Britons and western Highlanders. The besieged capital of one of our northern isles, in the

Sect. III. third century, actually lighted up a fire upon a tower; and Fingal instantly knew "the green flame edged with smoke" to be a token of attack and distress. And there are to this day several carnes or heaps of stones upon the heights along the coast of the Harries, on which the inhabitants used to burn heath, as a signal of an approaching enemy¹. Thus would all the towns of the Sifuntii be directly apprized of an invasion, open their gates to receive the women, children, and cattle, and be immediately put into a condition of defence. And Cocci, the capital of the whole, would be as certain as a town could be to be the last attacked by an invading enemy, and the best prepared for a vigorous defence against him.

¹ See Horfeley p. 384, 385, 397, 398, &c. — ² See b. I. ch. vi. f. 2. for another station on a rie or river field. — ³ B. I. ch. v. f. 1. — ⁴ Ibid. — ⁵ See b. II. ch. li. f. 4. — ⁶ Baxter in Cogidumnus and Lhuyd in p. 215. — ⁷ B. I. ch. v. f. 3. — ⁸ B. I. ch. v. f. 4. — ⁹ Ossian Vol. I. p. 198, and Martin's Western Islands p. 35. Edit. 2d.

In vol. I. of Antiquarian Essays, published this very winter^a, I find Mr. Waffon and Mr. Percival both agreeing with me in fixing Coccium at Blackrode, but differing from me in the particular position of it. And they settle the station just at the entrance of the village, and on the area of Castle-croft (p. 70 and 63); when the

^a That of the first Edition, or of 1770-71.

distance,

distance, the site, the tradition, and the remains all agree Sect. III.
to carry it to the banks of the Douglas. Mr. Watson
mentions "the remains of a Roman station to be there"
(p. 70); which are only those of a small modern castle,
that, I believe, gradually occasioned the present village
to be constructed near it. Mr. Percival notices "a mid-
dle-sized fort to be yet seen there," but acknowledges
that he "had not *time to trace the whole* of it" (p. 63);
though the only relicks are those of the small castle, and
they are confined to the small compass of the Castle-
croft. And the latter, in his wild way of asserting ge-
nerally without any specification of proofs, affirms "a
Roman road to be yet visible" from Blackrode to Pen-
wortham, Garstang, Lancaster, and Overborough, and
the three intermediate stations to have been dropt in
transcribing both by Richard's and Antonine's Itinerary;
and, in his wilder way of supposing without advancing
any reasons for the supposition, imagines an Iter to
be lost in Antonine and Richard, that went from Kin- P. 117.
derton to five camps at Warrington, Wigan, Penwortham,
Garstang, and Lancaster (p. 63). Of assertions with-
out argument, and of suppositions without warrant, the
multiplication is easy and the fate obvious. And, had
Mr. Percival been left to the guidance of his own un-
tutored genius in antiquities, he would have stocked
Lancashire with an infinite variety of stations; and every
Saxon castle, and even every modern one, would
have been fancifully heightened into a Roman camp.
That the only determinate characteristick of a station is
either the appellation of Caster affixed to the place, or

Sect. III. the concurrence of Roman roads at the point, has never yet been sufficiently attended to by the antiquarian critick. And, for want of such a decisive standard, the mind has been left to brood fondly over its own ungrounded ideas, and to multiply stations at the random suggestions of the fancy.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

OTHER ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER TO
 OTHER STATIONS—THE SITES AND REMAINS
 FIXED AND DESCRIBED—A NEW ACCOUNT
 OF THE BRITONS IN EAST-CHESHIRE
 AND DERBYSHIRE — AND SOME
 ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS NEAR
 WARRINGTON AP-
 PLIED TO HIS-
 TORY.

I.

THESE are all the stations with which the two Iti-^{P. 118.}
 neraries represent Manchester to be connected,
 and these are the roads which ran between them. But
 there were also others. And one proceeded to Reri-
 gonium or Ribchester, another to Olicana or Ilkley, a
 third to Buxton, and a fourth to Warrington. Thus
 greatly defective are the notices which the Romans have
 left us of their roads, even after the acquisition of a
 second Itinerary.

The way to Rerigonium issued from the station about
 forty-eight yards from the north-eastern angle of
 it, and must have passed the large hollow of the north-

Sect. I. ern ditch by a bridge. It was discovered about eight years since in the adjoining garden, and is still visible from its elevation, stretching across the breadth of it, and being five yards in width. And it was also found in the second garden about two and twenty years ago, in the line of an hedge, of the same width, bordered with large squarish stones at the sides, and raised into a convexity of half a yard above the ground. Crossing the narrow lane beyond both, some traces of it lately appeared, and pointed across Camp-field to Mr. Philips's two houses in Quay-street. And there it was discovered about nineteen years since near the door-way of the easterly house, almost two feet below the surface of the ground, four or five yards in breadth, and above one deep in stones and gravel. In the gardens and Camp-field it appeared to be continued, not directly in a line to Ribchester, but slanting considerably to the east of it. This obliquity of the route was occasioned by the great curve of the Irwell into the margin of Deansgate and Huntsbank, and the right line of the road. And it passed among the houses of Deansgate, crossed the area of the college church, and reached the precipices of Huntsbank.

P. 119.

Here the rocks falling very steeply to the Irwell on the west and perpendicularly to the Irke on the north, the passage of the Romans was obstructed by them. The labourers therefore wielded their pickaxes, shaped the face of the western bank as we now see it, and made the first way that had descended along it to the rivers, Cutting down the rocks on the eastern side of the intended way into a lofty perpendicular, and leaving a

small ledging of them on the western, as a battlement Sect. I.
 for the road and a security against the precipice, they
 laid their materials upon the plane of the rock betwixt
 them. And, to lessen the sharpness of the descent, they
 would not carry the line of it directly down the steep of
 the Huntsbank, but, as the face of the eastern side in-
 clines at present, give it two or three small curvatures
 in the fall. Having gained the bottom and made a ford
 over the river, the way did not proceed on, and climb
 the High Knolls. But, having deviated from the right
 course for Ribchester to avoid the stream of the Irwell,
 it had necessarily turned in the church-yard on the left
 in order to reach the Huntsbank. And it now, there-
 fore, turned again at the foot of the bank, and went
 off in a slanting line for Ribchester. It passed obliquely
 through the gardens and houses on the right of the
 present way, entered Strangeways-lane, and edged along
 the park of Francis Reynolds Esq. There it was dis-
 covered some years ago, in forming the present canal
 at the end of the park. And from this point it stretched
 away in the track of the present lane, having the chain P. 120.
 of the High Knolls gradually approaching it on the
 right. And, about two miles from the station, it was
 directly intersected by them.

This range of hills is particularly denominated the
 Stony Knolls, and consists of three parallel ridges, that
 commence from the extremity of the High Knolls on the
 east, and extend to the Irwell on the west. Ascending
 the long slope of these heights in the lane, we begin to
 see the traces of the road again, and observe the gravel
 of it distinguished from the natural sand, and appearing
 in

Sect. I. in considerable quantities. And these appearances increase as we proceed. At the upper end of the lane, it enters the inclosures which are the summits of the hills, and peculiarly called the Stony Knolls; and is there reported to be the effect of supernatural agency. In the entrance of the first close it is seen at once in pretty good preservation, being a strong thick gravel, three yards in width, and lying upon the natural bed of clay and marle. Rising up the side of the ridge, it is four yards broad, but upon the crest is reduced again to three; and points in a right line and in equal preservation over the next inclosure, or the Higher Stony Knoll. And, as it descends the one, and ascends the other, it winds a little on the right to the bottom, and then curves as much on the left to the top^r. In the second field it equally dilates into four yards in width, and equally contracts into three afterwards, having a fall from it on both sides. And it then enters a narrow lane, the line of gravel continuing, especially on the left-hand side of it, and the road advancing up the third hill, the lesser knoll of the Broken Bank.

Here it issues into the highway that leads from Broughton-ford to Kerfall-moor, and instantly becomes invisible. But the line of it is obliquely across the way, obliquely down the sandy bank, then not broken
 P. 121. into an abrupt precipice, and along the course of the foot-way to Kerfall-moor. And in this track Tradition asserts it to have gone, leaving the highway and a cottage on the right, and avoiding the boggy declivities below on the left. But, on the turning of the foot-way to reach the moor, the road deserted it, ascended the little steep
 in

in front, and ranged about two hundred yards from the hedge of the common. And, soon afterwards leaving the parish, it pushed through Prestwich and Ratcliffe, and to the east of Blackburne², to the ford which is a little on one side of Ribchester. Sect. I.

From the epithet of Stony, which the Roman way has affixed to the above-mentioned knolls, it may very reasonably be inferred to have been paved. And we have previously seen the same name of Stany-street giving the same intimation concerning the road to Blackrode. In the first and second inclosure of the knolls are many large stones, disjoined from each other, but still appearing in the surface of the way. In the lane leading up to them, are even several detached and broken appearances of a regular causey. And in the second garden near Castle-field, and on the site of Mr. Philips's house, the pavement was actually dug up, consisting of the largest boulders, and having two layers of stones upon a bed of gravel.

This gravel appears from the road upon the knolls to be light-coloured and full of stones. But from what quarter of the country could the Romans derive it? All that is near the track lies upon Dole-field, St. Mary's Church-yard, and one or two other places, and is all invariably, I think, of a red-brown colour; and no large pits appear in any of them. And, along the rest of the course, the soil is clay for a little way at first, and light red sand continually afterwards. All the resources for gravel at present, along the whole line of the way, are placed in the attending channel of the river. And from that did the Romans furnish themselves with the materials of their road within the parish. P. 122.

Sect. I. parish. They collected them from those inexhaustible shoals in the Medlock and Irwell, which were at the ford of Knot-mill, and are now below the bridge of Salford, at Bolton-weel near Strangeways, and at Scar-weel above Broughton-ford. And the broad stem of the two roads to Kinderton and Slack appears to have been equally made of water-gravel, as the fragments of rock, which have been occasionally discovered in it, sufficiently prove. These facts plainly refute the wild opinions, that at present prevail against the construction of our roads with such materials; as the compactness of the way under Mr. Philips's house, and the firmness of the avenue in Castle-field, demonstrates them to be equally binding as the land-gravel. But, to give them this quality, something more is required than the layers of our northern roads take the trouble to practise. The gravel should not be used in the state in which it is left by the river, deprived of its sand and loam by the filtering waters, and thereby rendered incapable of binding. For, being laid upon the road in this condition, the stones and pebbles are violently ground against each other by the strong pressure on the whole, and soon powdered into dirt. But the Romans suggest to us a very different procedure, and advise prudence to add what the water has washed away. This we see exemplified upon Stony Knolls. And it was discovered to have been practised in the road along Castle-field, and in the way under Mr. Philips's house.

Thus constructed, the causey extended to the current of the Ribble, and the elegant site of Ribchester beyond it. This village the numerous remains of ruined magnificence,

nificence, and the great multiplicity of Roman urns, Sect. I.
 coins, and inscriptions, have long shewn to have been
 a considerable city of the Romans. And those relics of P. 113.
 time have been carefully collected by Camden, Leigh,
 Gale, and Horfeley. But the greater curiosities of Rib-
 chester have been entirely overlooked by these criticks,
 and now strongly invite the curious eye and descriptive
 hand of antiquarianism.

The Portus Sifuntiorum or *Σεβαστηίων λιμην* is mentioned
 equally by Richard and Ptolemy. But the site of it is
 yet unsettled. Baxter supposes it to be the mouth of
 the Mersey, Horfeley the opening of the Ribble, and
 Stukeley the entrance of the Lune³. And, to decide
 amid this variety of opinions, let us endeavour to as-
 certain what position is really given it by Ptolemy's
 Geography and Richard's Itinerary. If they differ, we
 are not entirely without a guide. Remains may make
 that probable which both leave uncertain. But, if the
 two first agree in one testimony, we can have little
 doubt. And, if all concur, we are certain.

The absolute positions of the towns in Ptolemy are well
 known to be extremely erroneous. And his relative I
 have shewn to be little better⁴. But, in his coasting
 along the shores of the island, this Geographer appears
 to be pretty accurate. And the progressive particularity
 of a description of the coast, and the striking and per-
 manent nature of the marks in it, as I have already ob-
 served, will necessarily give it a sufficient exactness⁴.
 This then is our standard. And let us now make use
 of it.

Taking

Sect. I.

Taking Ptolemy's account of the western shore, but inverting his order, let us begin with the æstuary of Sabriana, certainly and confessedly the Severn. And from this point the coast goes directly to the west for an hundred and eighty miles, to the promontory Octopitarum; plainly skirting all the southern shore of Glamorganshire and Caermarthenshire, and the southern and south-western of Pembrokehire to St. David's Head. In advancing ninety miles to the north of this, he goes first sixty to the east and then twenty to the west, to the promontory of the Cangani; plainly winding along the deep recess which is formed by St. David's Head on one side and Brachy-pult Point on the other, and which is denominated Cardigan Bay. So far we are certain. And the remarkable nature of the shore precludes all mistake.

P. 124.

From Brachy-pult Point, in eighty miles more to the north, the Geographer goes an hundred and fifty to the east, as in twenty-five more he turns and goes ten to the west. In the hundred and fifty he passes through the strait of Menai to the bottom of the bay, which is formed to the north and north-east of the Point. And, in the ten afterwards, he comes out of it. But here let us follow him gradually.

In the first twenty miles to the north of the Point, he goes forty to the east, to the river Toisobius. This appears at first sight to be the Conway. And, as both Richard's and Antonine's Itineraries place the town of Conovium hereabouts, and the former expressly calls the current by the two names of Tosibus and Conovius, it is undoubtedly that river.

From

From the Conway, in forty miles to the north, we proceed eighty to the east, to the æstuary Seteia. This is the opening of the Dee, as that could not be missed by a person ranging up the coast, and, if not missed, would come next in succession. And Ptolemy's distance of forty miles right north and south, from the Toisobius to the Deva, corresponds with great exactness to the more indirect distance on the road, at which the Itineraries concur to set the town of Deva from Conovium; Richard's fixing this at fifty miles from that, and Antonine's at fifty-one⁶. Both arguments together form an irrefragable proof, that the Seteia of the Geography cannot be any other æstuary, than the Deva of the Itineraries and the present Dee. And this is the more particularly insisted upon, as it is of importance in itself, and has been mistaken even by our learned collector from the antients⁷.

Advancing twenty miles to the north of Seteia, Pto-^{P. 125.}lemy goes thirty to the east, to the æstuary Belifama. This is plainly the Mersey, because it is at the distance of that from the Dee, and such a considerable object could not be overlooked any more than the Dee. And thus far we are certain of our conclusions.

But the Geographer, proceeding along the coast of Lancashire for twenty-five miles from the Mersey, turns with the shore, and goes ten to the west, to the harbour of the Siftuntii. This demonstrates the latter not to be at the mouth of the Mersey. And this equally argues it not to be at the entrance of the Lune. The former is evidently too southerly, and the latter too northerly, for it. Twenty-five miles to the north of the Mersey
can

Sect. I. can carry us only to one place convenient for an harbour, the mouth of the Ribble. And the opening of this river would necessarily be the next great particular after the Mersey, which would challenge the notice of the coasting Geographer; as, like the Mersey and the Dee, it is too considerable an object to be either missed by inattention or omitted by design. Here, then, Ptolemy has fixed the harbour. And here the course of Richard's Itinerary, and the present remains of antiquity, concur to establish the station*.

Upon Fullwood-moor near Preston are the evident remains of a Roman road, which is popularly denominated the Watling-street. It ranges from east to west. And tradition asserts and traces demonstrate it to have extended across the island. Along this therefore does **P. 126.** the seventh Iter of Richard proceed. And that is thus given us:

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM

Eboracum usque sic;

RERIGONIO m. p. 23.

Ad Alpes Peninas — 8

Alicana — — 10

Ifurio — — — 18

Eboraco — — — 16.

* And thus the immediately succeeding æstuary of Moricambé in Ptolemy, which means The Great Bend or Haven, was the large opening into the land of Lancashire which is formed by the shores of Lancaster, Cartmel, Ulverston, and Walney Island, and into which the rivers Ken and Lune discharge their waters; as this is the only Great Bend before we come to the æstuary of Ituna, which is next mentioned by Ptolemy, and is confessedly and clearly the mouth of the Eden.

From this name of the Ribble-mouth, *Portus Siftuntiorum*, ^{Sect. L} the æstuary appears to have been employed by the Romans as an harbour for their vessels. But it was then a much more considerable one than it is at present. This is plain from the preference which they gave it before the Mersey and the Lune, though it now affords a much worse harbour than either of them, admits ships only at the tide of flood, and even then has only a navigable channel of an hundred yards in breadth. And with this observation agree the present appearances of the river, the popular tradition concerning it, and the more recent discoveries about a particular part of it.

From Ribchester to the sea, the singular margin of the current is formed by a level of sand, and bordered by a steep bank of earth; the latter of which is evidently the original boundary, and the former the original strand, of the tide. And, thus banked with high lands upon both sides, the natural channel gradually widens, till at the mouth it even stretches into the ample extent of eight or nine miles in breadth. At such an opening, unobstructed by the present sands, the tide would enter with a vast body of water, and flow up even to Ribchester, as it now reaches within six or seven miles off it. And, that it once came up to this ancient village, is intimated by the popular tradition which asserts the river to have been formerly navigated, and by the many anchors, rings, and nails of small vessels, that have been discovered near the area of the church^s. These indeed P. 127. may be supposed to have been wrought at a Roman foundery

Seft. I. foundery there, in order to have been afterwards transported by land to the vessels at the Ribble-mouth. But such a supposition would be as frivolous in itself, as it is unsupported by evidence. Ribchester has no mines of iron in its neighbourhood. Every stationary site had then a sufficiency of fuel about it. And the trouble of the conveyance, and expence of the carriage, would be equally great and superfluous. These implements therefore belonged to the vessels of the garrison; and the large cut, still remaining at the place where they were discovered, plainly confirms the notion. That extends for two hundred yards from the river to the north, and is for part of its course three or four in depth and eight or nine in breadth. And it could not have been designed for a military trench, because it has no fosses or traces of fosses corresponding with it. It could have been calculated only for the dock of the garrison, as the channel of it falls with a gradual descent to the river. And it was clearly a slip, by which at high water a new boat was launched into the Ribble, or an old one brought up from it for reparation. The ground adjoining to it on the east was originally the dock-yard of the town. And here were constructed and refitted the many flats and barges, in which the Romans made voyages on the river, warping up the channel with the tide, and laden with the contents of the ships that lay at anchor in the harbour.

Thus does the Ribblé appear to have been navigated by the Romans, from the mouth of its current to Ribchester. And the great difference, which is now found in the flow of the tide up the river, could never have been

been occasioned by the pressure of the interior ocean, ^{Sect. I.} as the Romans denominated St. George's Channel ¹⁰, P. 128. and by the gradual settlement of the sands at the mouth of the harbour. Had this been the reason of it, the Mersey upon one side and the Lune on the other would have partaken of the same fate, and been blocked up by the same sands: It was produced by a cause as partial as the effects appear to be, and confined, like them, to the stream of the Ribble. And tradition, the faithful preserver of many a fact which history has overlooked or forgotten, speaks confidently of such a cause, ascribing the final ruin of Ribchester to the overwhelming violence of an earthquake. And nothing but such an incident, I think, could have originally changed the nature of this, once, the most remarkable æstuary in the county, and have thrown up that large and broad barrier of sand which crosses the entrance into it, almost choaks the inlet of the tide, and contracts the original breadth of the navigable channel, from its majestick extent of eight or nine miles, to the narrow span of an hundred yards:

Such was the æstuary of the Ribble, when it was employed as an harbour by the Romans. And from the great singularity of the name which they conferred upon it, THE PORT OF LANCASHIRE, it appears to have been the only river in the county that was so employed by them. Passing through the center of the Sittantian country, and opening with the largest mouth into the sea, the Romans naturally preferred it to the Mersey or the Lune, and made it the one port for the county of Lancaster ¹¹.

Sect. I.

The station, which was called by the same appellation of the Siftuntian Harbour, was therefore erected upon the margin of it, and consequently within the mouth of the present Ribble. And we shall not wander long in search of its site. It was placed at the termination of the above-mentioned road, as the line is directed across Fullwood-moor to the west. But this can never be carried to the mouth of the Ribble. It will abut somewhere upon the channel, at the distance of several miles from the mouth. And in fact it points towards the famous Neb of the Nese, the extremity of the nose, or high promontory of land, which projects into the course of the channel. Near the conclusion of that part of the way which is denominated Watling-street, looking along the track of the road to the west, in a clear day one sees the Neb of the Nese directly in a line beyond it.

And the specified distances in the Itinerary concur exactly with the course of the road. Thus, as Rerigonium is obviously Ribchester, from the harbour of the Siftuntians to this station are twenty-three Roman or about twenty-one English miles and an half. And this necessarily leads us up the channel of the river. Thus advancing, about ten miles from the mouth we come to the above-mentioned Neb of the Nese on the left, which is nearly nine from Preston by the road over the marshes, and eleven by the circuit of the higher grounds; as Preston is about twelve from Ribchester. And, in the line which the Roman road took, keeping on the heights, but not curving on the right to reach Preston, and not making a return on the left to recover itself, that

point of land is about twenty-one from Ribchester, and therefore at the requisite distance from it. Sect. I.

These two arguments concur to fix the Roman station about a mile to the west of Freckleton, and at the well-known Neb of the Nese. And here is even now a tolerably commodious harbour. The Ribble forms a large half-moon facing the south, and receiving a small back-water into it from the north. This is secured from the violence of the wind by the high lands which skirt it, is screened from the force of the tide by the projection of the Nese, and has a breadth of a quarter of mile, and a depth of fifteen feet, upon the ebb. And here is even now the little port of Preston, a large warehouse being erected upon a mole in the channel, and several vessels coming to it from London, Wales, and Ireland. P. 130.

On the high grounds of the Nese, then, was the Roman station which guarded the harbour of the Ribble. And on the very Neb, the sharp extremity of them, did the station most probably stand, as there the lofty banks of the Nese would form a barrier upon three sides. But, though the name is retained, the Neb has been long washed away. And the fact appears plain upon an attentive survey of the land which is the western horn, as the height at the mouth of the Savok is the eastern, of the large semicircle of rising grounds that curves along the channel of the river. This was once assuredly the capacious basin of the Roman harbour, a beautiful crescent formed by these two headlands, and about four miles over at the mouth. But of these the western has no Neb existing at present, the land at the Nese running nearly in a right line from east to west. And that con-

Sect. I. spicuous point has lost nearly two statute-acres within these forty years, and, from the broken mouldering condition of the banks both on the east and south, appears to be losing every day. As the Roman station therefore stood on the extremity of this promontory, the site of it and all its remains have long since melted away into the channel below. And there, secured by its natural banks of fifteen or twenty yards in height upon three sides, and defended by a ditch on the fourth, it would fully command the course of the Ribble, which then perhaps did not at low water spread out a long beach of gravel on the north-west, which winded, as now, round the west and south, and extended into the safe and ample harbour on the east.

From this station a road goes away along the high grounds, and is visible (as I have mentioned before) upon Fullwood-moor, leaving the town of Preston about a mile on the right. It crosses the present way to Lancaster, just before the latter makes an angle to leave the common. And, going visibly along the moor for a quarter of a mile, it then assumes the name of Watling-street, and retains it for a whole one; appearing at first a sharp broken ridge, afterwards widening, and at last rising two or three feet above the natural soil, and spreading fourteen and twenty yards in breadth. And it terminates in a large elevation at the hedge of the closes, pointing fully to the village of Ribchester, and ending at Anchor-hill near the town¹².

Rerigonium, the name of this station and of the previous British fortress, seems compounded of the words RE RIGON, denoting the peculiar site of both,
and

and signifying to the north of the current. Re in its primary import means the position Before. And Is, Below, is the term of opposition to it. Thus Yorkshire as well as Lancashire having been first inhabited from the south, the two towns, which were raised upon the sites of Ribchester and Aldborough, seem therefore to have assumed the names of Rerigonium and Isurium¹³. And Rigon is the plural of Rig, as Avon is of Av; and, like it, signifies a body of water.

The current of the Ribble appears to have always formed a curve at this place, which did not, as now, face the south, but opened to the north. Great have been the encroachments which the river has made upon the town, within these sixty years only. One whole street of houses, and a range of orchards and gardens, have been carried away by the stream. The earth daily crumbles and falls into the channel. And the church itself, raised as it is upon an eminence and placed a little distant from the margin of it, is likely to be swept away in sixty years more. But, while this has been the case P. 132. with the bolder bank of the town, the ground immediately to the east of it, too low to have been ravaged by the floods, now extends as far as ever into the channel; and the lively brook betwixt both must always have fallen into the Ribble, at the point of its present conjunction with it. Passing over the Roman ford at the bridge, and running directly under the southern side, the river is thrown by a shelve of it directly towards the town, and joins the brook at the point where the lofty site of it commences. And, in this disposition of the current, every projection of the northern bank be-

Sect. I.

yond the immediate line of the conjunction, would form a crook in the channel; and the Ribble must, even within these hundred years, have curved facing to the north. The large cut that is carried from Anchor-hill to the river, by its continuance even at present no less than thirty or forty yards more southerly than the above-mentioned line, shews the bank to have extended as many at least to the south of it. For, if the river had been so much nearer to the Dockyard, the slip would have stretched away directly for it. And the great encroachments, which the current has so lately made upon the town, still prove the projection to have been more considerable formerly. The bank of Ribchester must have come so far forward, as to range in a straight line with the headland immediately below it, which now thrusts itself a considerable way into the valley, and remains an evidence of the original projection of the whole. A promontory of land, which till these sixty years had wittingly withstood the fury of a current directly beating upon it for a long succession of ages, must have been originally continued with the headland more than half way over the valley. And the Ribble, pushing its stream immediately against the base of the whole, was constrained to carry its broken waters all along the eastern and southern sides of it, in order to reach the channel in which it now moves, immediately below the town.

P, 133.

Upon this great curve in the current of the Ribble, and at the prominent point of the whole, upon the extremity of a bank that slopes gently in one regular decline from the neighbouring hills to the channel,
did

did the Lancashire Britons place the town of Rerigionium. The river was a natural barrier upon two sides. A foss would be carried across the isthmus. And a forest swept extensively round it upon all ¹⁴.

Such was the site of Rerigionium in the time of the Britons. And such it was in that of the Romans also. What originally changed the nature of the ground, tore away the angular projection, and opened a way for the river to gain as much upon the bank, as the bank had before usurped upon the river; it may seem impossible to ascertain at this distant period. But, as I have mentioned above, tradition refers the destruction of the town to the ravages of an earthquake. And such an awful convulsion was probably the original cause; at once perhaps choaked up the channel of the river on the east and south, by the falling in of the banks; and, loosening the soil of the remainder, rendered it less able to sustain the weight of waters that now rushed upon it. The more pointed part of the prominence, perhaps, was swept away immediately, and the right line of the bank left to be preyed upon by the current. And, since these depredations have continued from age to age, the river has acquired new force as it obtained more advantages, all the arts of preventive industry have been hitherto ineffectual, and the stream bears every day more forcibly on the site of the town.

By this remarkable event in the history of Rerigionium, the town of the Britons and station of the Romans were totally carried away, and the remains of both buried, where some have been discovered, under the bed of sand which forms the meadows on the southern bank
of

Sect. I. of the Ribble. And in consequence of it the river, having formed a bay in the northern bank, now winds along the funken streets of the Roman-British town, and rolls over the levelled remains of the houses. And, near the foot of the little street that leads down to the river, has been formerly seen in a dry summer a long extent of a thick wall, composed of regularly squared stones, and forming the basis of a great building; as about this part of the river in general whole pillars, broken capitals and bases, and Roman coins and inscriptions, have been frequently discovered in the channel.

P. 134.

From this town, besides the continued road of the seventh Iter, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and among the smaller ways to Lancaster, Overborough, and Manchester, one passes through Whalley and points to Colne¹⁵. And the British appellation of the latter, the probable concurrence of a Roman road from Cambodunum at it, the voice of tradition, and the appellation of Caster, evince it to have been the site of a station. The road from Cambodunum stretches visibly over Stainland-moor, passes through the townships of Barkisland and Rishworth, crosses the Devil's Causeway, and the Roman road from Manchester to Ilkley¹⁶, and must therefore, I suppose, have terminated at Colne. A considerable quantity of Roman coins has been discovered near this place, at Wheatley-lane, and by Emmet¹⁷. And the station was fixed where tradition fixes it, about a mile from the town, and upon the eminence of Caster-cliff. There is seen the skeleton of a Roman camp at present, a regular rampart

rampart encircled by a foss. And, standing on the summit of a lofty cliff, it commands an extensive view of the country round it ¹⁸. Sect. I.

This station appears from the present name of the town, to have been distinguished by the British appellation of Colania or Colne among the Romans; as the British name of the latter could have resulted only from that of the former. And accordingly we find the anonymous Chorography placing a camp of such a denomination among these hills; mentioning it next to one which was certainly among them, the Cambodunum of Antoninus, and giving it in different MSS. the title of Calunium and Colanea ¹⁹. P. 135.

And this seems to have been derived from the same name of the river upon which it stands, the Colne Water of the present times. That river enjoys the appellation in common with many others in the island, particularly the Colnes of Colchester and St. Albans. Nor were the names of the latter, as has been frequently supposed ²⁰, borrowed from the Roman colony of Camulodunum on the one and of Verulamium on the other. They were given, not only to these which once had colonies upon them, but also to others which never had any at all, to our own in Lancashire, the Colnes of Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, and the Calne of Wiltshire. And the names of all are derived from the British language, Col-aun in Celtick signifying a current of waters. Thus we have the Cole in Warwickshire, the Calder in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the Collan within the county of Kilkenny in Ireland, and the Colun or Clun in Shropshire; Avon being changed into Aun, An, or Un, as Alauna, Lan, and Lun

Sect. I. Lun is the varying appellation of the same river within our own county. And the Colaun of Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, and Lancashire was gradually abbreviated into Colne, just as the same Alauna has been contracted into Alne in the Warwickshire Alnecester or Alcester²¹.

¹ See the same in another Roman road, Horfeley p. 451. — ² Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII. p. 228. — ³ Stukeley on Richard, p. 50, 68, and 88. — ⁴ B. I. ch. iv. f. 3. — ⁵ P. 23. — ⁶ Richard's Iter 1. and Antonine's 11. — ⁷ P. 27, Richard calls the Mersey, and not the Dee, Seteia. And so he does likewise in his Map. The etymology of this name is nothing more than Se and Teia or Deia, The Dee (see b. I. ch. vii. f. 4); as the Britons of Anandale are called equally Elgovæ and Selgovæ by the same P. 136. Ptolemy, &c. — ⁸ Leigh's N. H. of Lancashire b. iii. p. 2. and 6. — ⁹ Leigh b. iii. p. 2. and 7. unwittingly argues against the former navigableness of the river by barges, because it could not be navigated by ships. And see a draught of one of the rings in Tab. I. N^o 21. and of one of the nails in N^o 24. — ¹⁰ Richard p. 21 and 43. — ¹¹ See b. I. ch. ix. f. 5. and ch. xi. f. 2. — ¹² See Leigh b. iii. p. 6. — ¹³ See mistakes therefore in Baxter under Regulbium and Robogdium, and in Gale on Isurium. Thus Cæsar speaks of the *southern* or *inferiour* point of Britain (p. 89); and Ptolemy constantly uses the preposition *ὑπο* or Under to signify the south, and *ὑπερ* or Above to indicate the north. — ¹⁴ This forest is described in an old boundary record as two in name and one

one in effect, beginning at the bridge of the Ribble, going to Steop-clough, betwixt Ribchester and Haderfal, —betwixt Chippin and Gofnaig,—to the water of Lond or Laund,—by the demesne of Hornby,—to the water of the Lone or Lune,—and the current of the Ken or Kent, down the Kent to the sea, along the coast of the sea to the foot of the Wire—and the Ribble, and up the Ribble to Ribble-bridge.—A verdict of 9 Hen. III. p. 237. of Kuerden, folio, a MS. in the library at Manchester Arch. A. 18, 5, and a rude, ill-arranged, and half-illegible Common-place-book for the Antiquities of Lancashire. — ¹⁵ Mr. Percival in Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII. And see next section. — ¹⁶ See b. I. ch. iv. f. 1. — ¹⁷ Leigh b. iii. p. 10. — ¹⁸ This account I received in a letter from the reverend Mr. Wilson of Colne.—The late bishop of Carlisle and myself were both at Colne very nearly at the same time, and both failed of success in our searches, though the name, the remains, and the tradition are all so striking.— ¹⁹ Gallunium, the immediately succeeding name in Ravennas, has been fondly supposed to be Whalley (Gale in Ravennas and Percival in Phil. Transf.). But none of Ravennas's names can with any propriety be applied to a place, till it has been previously proved to be a station. Whalley has never been proved, and certainly was not one. It has not the only determinate signature of a station, the Roman appellation of Caster or the concurrence of Roman roads at it. And Gallunium indeed is nothing else (I apprehend) than a repetition of the same name, Calunium and Gallunium being the same word. Nor are such repetitions un-

common

Sect. I. continued in this inaccurate Chorography. — ²⁰ Particularly by Leigh, Gibson, and Baxter. — ²¹ Camden's Ireland c. 1354 and Shropshire c. 646, and Richard Iter 14. — One of the two rivers at Alcester is still called the Alne, and the town which now stands on the Arrow was formerly upon it: See Leland vol. IV. p. 54. Hearne.

In the volume published this winter * by the Antiquarian Society of London, we have the two Lancashire antiquarians, Mr. Watson and Mr. Percival, employed as the latter had been before in the Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII, in fixing a Roman station at the town of Bury, and about nine statute-miles from Manchester. But the one great reason made use of by both, I think, is very incompetent to the occasion. The name of Bury, says Mr. Watson p. 69, denotes it to have been Roman; and Mr. Percival went upon this principle, or he went upon none at all, in asserting Bury to be Roman (Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII). The latter may stand excused for the assertion. He knew too little of the Saxon to be capable of judging. But what shall I say for my learned friend, a critick in the language? Bury carries no Roman signature at all with it. It merely signifies either a castle or market-town. And "the visible marks of a station," which both imagine themselves to have discovered at Bury (Archæologia p. 69. and Phil. Transf. vol. XLVII), are only the remains of a more modern castle. This is mentioned in our Mancunian records; and tradition derives all the stones of the present church at Bury from it. And the town lies

* The winter of the first Edition, that of 1770-71:

more than a mile on the right of the road to Ribchester. Sta. I.
 The not attending to the one only determinate character
 of a station, has seduced the generality of our anti-
 quarians into a wilderness of error. And, on the ap-
 plication of this useful test, we see Bury, Blackburne
 (*Archæologia*, Mr. Percival's Essay, p. 64), and a P. 138.
 thousand other stations, all instantly vanish,

And, like the baseless fabrick of a vision,

Leave not a wreck behind.

II.

ANOTHER road of the Romans appears to have
 been laid from the camp at Manchester, and to have
 proceeded into Yorkshire. Branching probably from
 the way to Cambodunum about Ancoats-lane, and
 traversing the township obliquely, it passed by Street-
 fold in Moston, Street-bridge in Chatterton, and
 Street-gate in Ryton, and pointed evidently for Little-
 borough and Ilkley. And these three appellations
 ascertain the general direction of its course, and supply
 the want of any actual remains, or even of any tradi-
 tional notices concerning it.

Leaving Street-fold and the parish, it advanced by
 Street-bridge and Street-gate, and was lately dug up
 near Rochdale. About a quarter of a mile to the
 right of the town, and near the road from Oldham, it
 was cut through in making a marble-pit, and appeared
 several yards in breadth and deeply gravelled. And upon
 Black-

Sect. II. Blackstone-edge it is intersected, as I have mentioned before¹, by the way from Cambodunum to Colania. Having crossed the edge, it ranges nearly from north to south, and is discovered in this direction along the eastern side of the mountains. Leaving Halifax considerably on the right and Ellinworth a little on the left, the line passes through Dinham-park, and runs to the west of Cullingworth. And betwixt Cullingworth and Hainworth it is visible, a paved way more than twelve feet broad, and neatly set with the stones of the country. It is found in several places upon Harding-moor, crossing the height of the common, and pointing on the Moor-house above Morton. And it is again visible on Rumbles-moor². Upon this wild heath it appears (as I am informed) a raised, paved road, overgrown with turf; keeping upon the shelve of the hills, to avoid the cliffs on one side and the morasses on the other; and pointing directly to the valley of the Wharf and the village of Ilkley within it.

The town of Olicana or Alicana is utterly unnoticed by Antoninus, but mentioned equally by Ptolemy and Richard. The present remains at Ilkley shew it to have been a stationary town. And the seventh Iter of Richard argues it to have been denominated Alicana. It lies at the distance of more than forty miles from Manchester; and had probably therefore, as I shall shew hereafter, a lesser station about mid-way betwixt both³.

This village is placed upon the great post-road that runs from Kendal to York, but is almost barred up by trackless

trackless wastes and impracticable ways on every other quarter. And it is equally dirty and insignificant, known only to the antiquarian for some curious inscriptions that have been discovered at it, and to the invalid for a fine spring of mineral water which has been found about a mile from it. But it was more remarkable formerly, though it seems not to have been ever considerable. It stands upon an agreeable site, having a gentle descent to the north, and the Wharf flowing briskly in the front of it. This river, one of the three great streams by which the West-riding of Yorkshire is so usefully watered for cultivation and divided for commerce, rises among the hills a little to the west of the town, and washes the gentle eminence on which it is erected; being denominated Verb, Guerf, or Wharf[†]. And it appears to have been particularly formed into a divinity by the Britons; a large handsome altar having been found near the bank of it, consecrated by a Roman officer to Verb-eia, the Goddess-Nymph of the current[‡].

Sect. II.

P. 140.

In this village center several roads of the Romans. That which comes from Manchester, and appears upon Rumbles-moor, is found again upon Middleton and Blueburgh-house commons beyond the town; being, as before, paved with stones uncommonly large, and edged with still larger; and leads, I suppose, to Catarick. And another stretches over the hills from the west, and is evidently the same which is traversed by the seventh Iter of Richard. This is traceable for three miles together from Ilkley westward, and then appears very conspicuous for a whole one, lying upon a large moor in the

Sect. II. township of Old Addingham. Here it is parallel with and a few yards to the south of the present way to Skipton, and crossed nearly at right angles by the road to Colne; which falls afterwards into another nearly parallel with both, though a good deal more southerly than either. And from this line it appears to have not been directed to Colne at all. It plainly points some miles to the north of that town and some to the south of Skipton, and bears upon Broughton; a small village in Yorkshire about six statute-miles to the north of the former, and four or five to the south-west of the latter, and lying upon the bank of a rivulet in a valley. And Broughton therefore was the station, which is here denominated in Richard Ad Alpes Peninas. The whole range of hills that runs from Derbyshire into Scotland was naturally called by the Britons, as some of the mountains of Switserland are to the present day, Alp Penin, the Penine or Apennine Alps, the high heads or lofty hills⁶. And this part of them in some measure retains the general appellation at present. An abrupt peak to the south-west is still denominated Pen-hull, Pendle, or the head-eminence, and has been lately found to be 1568 yards in perpendicular height. A lofty moor, still nearer to Broughton, is called Pen-how, Pennow, or the head-hill. And a great mountain, a few miles to the north of Broughton, and 1740 yards in height, is named Peni-guent, Penigent, or the principal head⁷. The road from Broughton, like the seventh

P. 141. Iter of Richard, is also carried through Alicana to Ilurium. Passing along the fields near Ilkley, it traverses Banks's-croft, crosses the lane denominated the Town-

gate; enters Scafe-croft, and has been found among the Sec. II. inclosures for nearly a mile, going to the town of Aldborough.

Thus decisively is Ilkley shewn to have been a station of the Romans. And the area of the camp may be ascertained with equal decisiveness. It is pointed out by the appellation of Castle-hill, the nature of the site, and the remains of the rampart. And the ground is admirably defended by the Wharf on the north and two brooks at the sides; looking down upon the former from a precipice of twenty or thirty yards in height. The western brook has had half its waters diverted into another channel; must therefore have been a very lively current before, and given additional strength to a brow naturally steep, and rising about ten or fifteen yards above it. But the eastern is remarkably brisk; and runs about twenty below the crest of the eminence. And both of them discharge their waters into the Wharf immediately below the station. The camp was about a hundred yards by a hundred and sixty, the northern barrier (I suppose) ranging along the course of the present lane, and parallel with, and about twenty yards to the north of, the Roman road from Broughton to Aldborough. And the whole contained about four acres of ground, encompassing a building called the Castle, and including the church and its coemetry. The wall of the station presents itself to the eye at the north-western angle, and is easily discovered under the turf along the whole verge of the brows; being the rough flag-stones of the country, cemented together with indissoluble mortar. And it was this nature of the ground,

© 2

which

Sect. II. which originally gave denomination to the fortrefs. Being seated upon an eminence, it naturally received the appellation of Al-i-can, or the fortrefs on the height*.

P. 142. The town was constructed very near to the station, and along the course of the road from Broughton, in Banks's-croft, Scafe-croft, and some adjoining closes. And there fragments of bricks remarkably red have been frequently dug up, and foundations of houses remain very visible at present. No new inscriptions have been lately discovered. But many of the old have in all probability been buried within the walls of the present church. A stone appears actually built up in the south-eastern corner of it, and exhibits upon the outer face an inscription, that was once copied by Camden and Horfeley, but is now illegible¹⁰. And on the northern side of the belfrey within is a couple of stones, one of which was plainly a Roman altar, a patera appearing embossed on the edge of it; and the other exhibits a woman wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head, and grasping a snake in either hand, which raise their heads considerably over her shoulders¹¹.

¹ B. I. ch. iv. sect. 1, and ch. v. sect. 1. — ² Dr. Richardson in Leland's Itin. Hearne, vol. IX. p. 146, and Mr. Angier in Horfeley, p. 413. Mr. Horfeley, p. 373, has mistakenly carried this road south as far as the Roman way from Tadcaster to Manchester. —

³ Richard's seventh Iter; Rerigonium, Ad Alpes Peninas, Alieana, Hurium. And see b. I. ch. vi. sect. 2. —

⁴ See Camden p. 567. — ⁵ Camden p. 568. — ⁶ Ri- Sect. II.
chard p. 27. And in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expli-*
quée tom. II. p. 419. is an Alpine Inscription to Jupi-
ter, by the title of Deo Pennino Optimo Maximo. —
⁷ So Pendleton and Pendlebury, near Manchester, are
written in all our old records Pen-hull-ton and Pen-hull-
bury. Pendleton near Clitherow is also called Penhul-
ton in an antient record of Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I.
p. 789. And another eminence not far from Penigent,
and in Wensley-dale, is also called Pen-hill. — ⁸ See
also Gale p. 17, Horseley p. 373, and Richard's seventh
Iter for this road. — ⁹ Ad for Ar, Upon; see Baxter
in *Ibelnium* and Lhuyd in p. 31. Hence Alicana and
Ariconium are the same in import. — The specified dis-
tances in the seventh Iter, from *Rerigonium* to Ad P. 143.
Alpes Peninas and *Alicana*, are certainly corrupted.
Only eighteen horizontal Roman or about twenty-one
English road miles are given us betwixt Ribshelter and
Ilkley, when the real distance by Colne or Broughton
measures nearly forty. — ¹⁰ See Camden p. 568, and
Horseley in *Yorkshire Inscriptions*, Ilkley. — ¹¹ It is
surprizing that these monuments escaped the notice of
Camden, who particularly examined the inside of the
church for Roman remains (p. 569). And at Brough
in Derbyshire, which was equally a town of the Ro-
mans, in 1767 I saw a stone exhibiting a somewhat
similar figure. It was large and rough, had been dis-
covered in a field a little distant from the Gritstone
water, and then lay in one of the hedges. And in the
bending hollow of one side it presented the half-length
of

Sec. II. of a woman, crossing her hands on her breast, and wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head. But there were no snakes.

III.

IT has never been supposed by the antiquarians, that the Romans had a station at Buxton. But, that they had a bath, is confessed by the criticks and demonstrated by remains^r. And they could not have had the one without the other; as a Roman bath must have been erected by a Roman garrison. In these the wildest parts of the wildest region in England, the neighbourhood of a garrison only could have caused the medicinal virtues of these little springs to be even known to the Romans. And nothing but the vicinity of a station could have occasioned the waters, after they were known, to be collected into a reservoir and covered with a building.

P. 144. The Romans therefore had a regular camp at Buxton. And this is equally demonstrated by the concurrence of their roads at it. One proceeds to it from Manchester; another comes over the moors from Brough; and a third advances by Middle-street and Over-street in the way to Brassington. And the station must have been contiguous to the bath. The latter, as I shall soon shew, was by St. Anne's well and at the bottom of the hill. The former was therefore immediately above it, and along the plane of the eminence. And the ground

is

is defended by a steep ascent upon two sides, and the little Wye clamouring at the foot of it. Sect. III.

The Roman road from Brough appears a long and narrow streak of green upon the heath about four miles from it, and pushes by Smalldale-fold to Buxton. The way from Brassington runs broad over Brassington-moor for several miles together, giving denomination to Over-street a little on this side of Hurdlow, and to Middle-street a little beyond it. And that from our own to this station commenced at the eastern extremity of the Castle-field, and betwixt the roads of Kinderton and Slack. Crossing the present highway, it entered the opposite inclosures, and slanted along them, not in a line for Stockport, but at first in a direction for Garret-lane, then in another for the Medlock, and afterwards in a third for the Cornebrook. And the nature of the ground, and the direction of the line in Longsight, sufficiently shew this to have been the original track of the road.

Passing along the border of Gathernes-field, and crossing the brook beyond it, the Roman way ascended the eminence of Calley-banks, and continued upon the edge of it into Garret-lane. This was the course of a publick road even within the present century; and therefore no appearances of the Roman construction can be expected along it. And, having now obtained a proper line for the ford over the Medlock, it made a considerable angle, winded along the descent to Garret-hall, left Garret-bridge immediately on the right, and passed P. 145. along the bank of the river to the Old Ford over it. So the passage across this point of the Medlock is still denominated. And the track continues in some measure,

Sect. III. and for part of its course, a publick way to the present moment.

It then deserted the lane, entered the left-hand fields, reached Cornbrook and the present road at the bridge, and fell into the commencing line of Longsight, And the whole range of the present way to Stockport, from this point to the Mersey, is popularly denominated High-street, and thereby sufficiently bespeaks itself to be Roman. But the first half-mile of it, being remarkably direct, has obtained the significative appellation of Longsight. Thus passing along the present highway, the road crossed the Mersey at the ford, which from the steep, stop, or steep upon either side of it, received the appellation of Stopford among the Saxons, and was about two hundred yards above the present bridge of Stockport, and about sixty below the union of the Mersey and the Tame. And it then mounted the brow of the Castle-hill to the market-place, and traversed the site of the town to Buxton.

The medicinal waters of this village first occasioned the Romans to form a settlement at it; as the springs that rose hot at the foot of the downs, and smoked in currents along the valley at Bath, induced them also to fix their residence there. And, had not such an object invited them, they would neither have placed a station upon a sloping hill and a single brook at the one, nor have planted a colony within the morassy hollow of a close dale, and upon the margin of a muddy stream, at the other,

The Romans, on their settlement in Britain, immediately marked and collected the mineral springs of the island,

island, which had rilled on for ages either utterly un-
 noticed by the natives, or wasting their waters on the Sect. III.
 solitary wilds of the country³. And accordingly we
 find the warm baths of Britain, in general, mentioned
 as early as the year 61, within 18 years only after the
 first wintering of the Romans in the kingdom⁴. And we
 see those of Somersetsshire, in particular, noticed within
 a century afterwards. They are spoken of by the
 title of *υδατα Σεπμα* in Ptolemy, *Thermæ* in Richard,
 and *Aquæ Solis* both in Richard and Antoninus⁵. And,
 as we meet with *Aquæ* in Richard for the designation
 equally of Bath and Wells⁶, so have we *Aquæ* in Ra-
 vennas for the title of a town which lies somewhere be-
 tween Lindum or Lincoln on one side and Camulodu-
 lum or Slack on the other, and which, for the ex-
 pressive particularity of the name, is in all probability
 Buxton⁷.

These towns the Roman Britons probably distinguished
 by the denomination of Batham-Chesters, and the
 Saxons afterwards by the similar appellation of Baths.
 And the *Aquæ Solis* of the Romans is denominated
 Batham-chester, as early even as the sixth century⁸. The
 Roman road also, which goes along the moors from the
 neighbouring Brough to Buxton⁹, is popularly stiled
 Batham-gate among the Peakrills. And even the
 village of Buxton is frequently denominated the Bath,
 among the inferior orders of people in the adjoining
 counties.

P. 147.

The Roman bagnio at this place was plainly discernible
 by its ruins within the present century. The dimensions
 were then traceable by the eye. And the wall of it was
 brick,

Sect. III. brick, still rising about a yard in height upon three sides, and covered with a red coat of Roman cement, hard as brick and resembling tile¹⁰. The bason was floored with stone, and supplied, not by any of the springs which feed the present bath immediately above, but by that finer source of water which is now denominated St. Anne's well, and was then inclosed within it. And this continued the very curious and only remains of the Roman baths in the kingdom, so late as the year 1709; when Sir Thomas Delves with a gothick generosity of spirit destroyed the whole, in order to cover the spring with the stone-alcove that is over it at present. But about fifty yards to the east of this, on driving a level from the present bath to the river in 1697, was found an appendage probably to the Roman bagnio, a bason about four yards square, but made with sheets of lead, that were spread upon large beams of timber, and had broken ledges all along the borders. This additional bath was replenished from another spring, which is about fourteen yards to the south of it, and called Bingham well. And both the springs, and all the others of Buxton, are only of a blood-warm heat, and must therefore have been more congenial to the state and more friendly to the health of the human frame, in the constant use of them among the Romans, than the boiling waters of the sun at Bath¹¹.

But let us turn from these notices, to survey the general condition of this part of the country in the days of the Britons.

There appear to have been two nations in the island, distinguished by the one denomination of Uiccii, Uices, or Vices. And the name signifies a brave people¹².

This

This therefore was naturally a popular appellation among the military tribes of the Celts. And we find the Auleri Ebu-ro-Vices, the Auleri Branno-Vices, and the Lemo-Vices, in Gaul; and meet with the Huiccii or Vices, and the Ord-Vices or Ordo-Vices, in Britain¹³. Sect. III.

The Huiccii of Bede are evidently the Jugantes of Tacitus, the appellation of the tribe being Huicc-ii and Guicc-ii in the singular, or Jug-ant-es in the plural¹⁴. These inhabited all Worcester-shire¹⁵, and possessed probably the whole of Warwickshire and the north of Gloucestershire. And Brannogenium or Worcester seems to have been their capital. The name is compounded of the two words, Bran or Bren, and Genion or Cenion. The latter, as I have already shewn in our own Mancenion, signifies simply a fortress or town. And the former, importing a head or king, seems strongly to mark it for the principal city¹⁶.

The Ordo-vices were distinct from the Jugantes, and are actually distinguished from them by Tacitus¹⁷. And they were settled at first, perhaps, immediately to the north of the others, inhabited only the county of Shrewsbury, and acknowledged Uriconium for their capital. This county they certainly possessed, the town of Mediolanum in the north of it being particularly ascribed to them by Ptolemy and Richard¹⁸. And they extended their dominions afterwards over all the mountains of North-Wales, and probably carried them over the woods of Staffordshire and the plains of East-Cheshire. The last were certainly not inhabited at first by the Carnabii; that tribe, as I have already shewn, being originally

Sett. III. originally planted upon the banks of the Dee and along the western side of the county. And North-Wales, Staffordshire, and East-Cheshire were in all probability first peopled at this period; the spreading numbers of the Ordovices filing gradually into those solitary countries, and edging closely to the south and east upon the Carnabii.

Having thus enlarged their possessions over all the uninhabited districts around them, and their numbers perhaps increasing, the irruptions of war would commence as the range of population was confined. They accordingly appear to have attacked the neighbouring Huiccii on the south, to have seized their capital, and subdued their country ¹⁹. And, being masters of North-Wales, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and East-Cheshire, and becoming afterward the conquerors of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and North-Gloucestershire, probably at the former period, more probably at the latter, they assumed or received the distinguishing appellation of Ord-uices or Ordo-vices, the Great Huiccii or Honourable Vices.

Such was the wide extent of their empire. But such it did not long remain. The Dobuni assailed it on the south, and cut off from it the north of Gloucestershire, the south-west of Warwickshire, and the whole of Worcestershire ²⁰. The Carnabii attacked it on the north and west, and reduced all Staffordshire, nearly all Warwickshire, the north and east of Shropshire, the east of Cheshire, and the little detached district of Flintshire ²¹. And the Silures marched into the center of their dominions, subdued their remaining possessions in Shropshire and North-Wales, and put a final period to their empire ²².

These were the British inhabitants of East-Cheshire. Sect. III.
 But those of Derbyshire were the Iceni, who under the conduct of their injured princess, and with the assistance of two other tribes, cut seventy thousand of the Romans and Romanized Britons to pieces, and destroyed their three towns of Verulam, Colchester, and London²³. And these consisted of two nations²⁴.

One of them was the Proper Iceni, and is denominated Iceni by Antoninus, Cenimagni by Cæsar, Cenomes by Ravennas, and both Cenomanni and Cenimanni by Richard²⁵. The genuine and proper name therefore was Cen-i, Y-cen-i, or Cen-om-es; the head ones; and the appellations of Cenimagni, Cenimanni, or Cenomanni signify only the head men, Man being equally a British and Saxon word, and retained to this day in the Erse²⁶. But both the denominations were coeval with the first settlement of the tribe in Britain. And they were both derived, together with the first colonists of it, from the Cenomanni of the continent²⁷.

Several nations of the aboriginal Britons appear to have retained the names of the states, of which they were antiently members, and from which they migrated in colonies to Britain. Such were the Hædri of Somersetshire, descended from those of Gaul, and subdued by the Belgæ of Hampshire. Such were the Bibroces or Rhemi, who were evidently a tribe of the old inhabitants, because they attacked and subdued (as I have shewed before²⁸) the Belgick Regni of the south. And the Atrebatæ were the same; being as evidently a nation of the genuine Britons, because they actually lay to the north of the Bibroces²⁹. The Ancalites
 also,

Sect. III. also, descended from the Caletés of Gaul; were clearly the ancient natives of the island; having both the Atrebatés and Bibroces to the south of them²⁹. And P. 150. the Icení or Cenomanni were equally aborigines with all; as the Belgæ had never penetrated so far into the land, and as the Cassii, the great enemies of the Belgæ and the conquerors of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay immediately to the south of them.

The other nation of the Icení is called Coritani by Ptolemy, Corii by Ravennas; and Corii and Coitanni by Richard³⁰. The Itineraries of the first and last mention a city belonging to this people, and call it Ratis-Corsori, exhibiting the name Corii in the possessive case plural; and writing it with the Greek termination Κορσων. And terminations of a similar nature occur in Antobintis and in both; Ptorotone and Cantiopolis in Richard, Cataractoni and Glebon in him and Antoninus; and a large variety in Ravennas³¹. The name of this nation; therefore, appears plainly to have been Corii, Coritani, and Coitanni. The last appellation of them; which literally signifies the woodlanders, is derived from the Coit-en or woods which more particularly covered the surface of their country³². And the two others are borrowed from that one remarkable circumstance in their condition, of which the woodiness of their country is a sufficient argument, the fewness of their numbers and the insignificancy of their kingdom. The Corii mean the Little People³³, and Cori-tan imports the country of them. Their large dominions being very nearly one extensive forest, the people must have been certainly few and the state insignificant.

Thus

Thus denominated, they were originally distinct from the Iceni, and independent of them ³⁴. And they were subject only to their metropolis, and governed merely by their own monarch. Their capital is denominated *Ratæ* in the *Itinera* of Richard, Antoninus, and Ravennas, *Ragæ* in all the copies nearly of Ptolemy's *Geography*, and *Ragæ*, only, in Richard's Roman description of Britain ³⁵. The real name, therefore, was equally both; the former implying only the town or fortress ³⁶, and the latter importing it to be the metropolis of the kingdom. But, in the great weakness of the Coritanian state, the dispersed inhabitants of the country would be greatly exposed to the dangers of invasion, and lie an easy prey to any enterprising nation about them. Such, very particularly, were the Iceni on their southern border. And these had accordingly invaded their kingdom and subdued it before the coming of the Romans, and given the mixed and expressive appellation of *Iceni Coritani* to the conquered inhabitants of it ³⁷.

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¹ Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42. — ² So *Lean*, *Loan* — *Beald*, *Bold* — *Neaght*, *Nought* — *Eald*, *Old* — and *Sheaw*, *Show*. And we have a *Steop-clough* betwixt *Ribchester* and *Hadersal*, in an old record, *Kuerden*, folio, p. 237. — ³ Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xxi, *Balnea*. — ⁴ Dio p. 1007. — ⁵ *Iter* 10th of Richard and 14th of Antoninus, and Richard p. 51. — ⁶ *Iter* 10th, 11th, and 12th. — ⁷ So the Roman town, which was constructed at the hot wells of *Provence* in France,

was

Sect. III. was denominated Aquæ (Aquæ Sextiæ) by the Romans, and is now called Aix. And there were, I doubt not, some medicinal springs at Wells as well as at Aix; however those are unnoticed at present, as these were to the present century. — ⁸ Sax. Chron. p. 22. — ⁹ See Mr. Pegge's Roman roads through the country of the Coritani, 1769, p. 12. — ¹⁰ Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42, and Short's Hist. of Mineral Waters, 1734, p. 23 and 44. — ¹¹ Short *ibid.* — The Nat. Hist. of Lancashire &c. very gravely informs us b. iii. p. 42, That Buxton is mentioned by Lucan. And this wild assertion has been carefully copied from it by almost all the topographers since. — ¹² Baxter in Icenii. — ¹³ Cæsar p. 172, Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2, Ptolemy, and Tacitus Agric. c. xviii. — ¹⁴ Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. — ¹⁵ Bede p. 765, 766, P. 152. 767, and 769. — ¹⁶ Branogena in Richard p. 24. is the same with Brannogenion, one having the Roman and the other the British plural. — ¹⁷ Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. and Agric. Vit. c. xviii. — ¹⁸ Richard p. 22. — ¹⁹ Ptolemy and Richard p. 22. in Brannogenium. — ²⁰ Richard p. 24, Salinæ, Branogena, and Alauna. — ²¹ Richard p. 24, Etocetum, Banchorium, Uriconium, and Benonæ;—and p. 26, Carnabiis vicini Coitanni. — ²² Richard p. 22. — ²³ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32 and 33. — ²⁴ Richard p. 26. — ²⁵ Antonine's Iter 9, Cæsar p. 92, and Richard p. 26 and 3d Iter. — ²⁶ So Marco-manni in Cæsar &c. — ²⁷ Cæsar p. 172. — ²⁸ B. I. ch. iii. f. 2. — ²⁹ Cæsar p. 172 &c. — ³⁰ Richard Iter 14. and p. 26. — Coritavi stands for Coritani, as Bovium for Banchorium, Calleva for Wallen (or Wallingford), and Cornoninorum in Ravennas for Cornavium. —

viorum. — ³² Richard Iter 4, 9, 10, 14, and 15, and Antoninus Iter 1 and 2. And Ravennas has a number of such words, Ravennatone, Melarnoni, Termonin, Omire, Ardaoneon, Cimetzone, Metambala, Macatonion, Utriconion, &c. See a mistake therefore in Mr. Pegge's Dissertation on the Coritani, annexed to his Coins of Cunobeline, p. 119. — ³² Richard p. 26. — ³³ Baxter. — ³⁴ Ptolemy. — ³⁵ Richard Iter 14, and Antoninus Iter 6 and 8, and Richard p. 26 and 36. — ³⁶ Rath signifies a fortress in Irish at present, and is the Irish appellation of Charleville and (with the addition of Cuirc) of Cashel at present, and the Irish and English name for Rathdowne, &c. And perhaps the British name of Leicester was compounded of both, and was Rageu-Rath originally, as Riogh-Rath is used in Irish to this day for a King's Seat; and was afterwards broken into two, as Cocci is used without the prefix Caer, and Rigod-dunum will appear hereafter (b. II. ch. 2. f. 4.) abbreviated into Reged. — ³⁷ Richard p. 26.

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IV.

THERE is one more station which was immediately connected with Manchester. That is the present Warrington. And its right to the character of a Roman town is proved by the concurrence of Roman roads at it, one from Condate, another from Coccium, and a third from Mancunium. The approach of the first to Warrington is clearly marked by the name of Stretton and Stretton-chapel, betwixt the third and fourth measured

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mile

Sect. IV. mile from the town. And the last issued out of the road from Manchester to Blackrode about the termination of Hodge-lane, passed by Eccles, and ranged through Barton to Warrington. Within the compass even of the present century, Hodge-lane remained the one great way to Old Trafford and Manchester from this quarter of the country. And, near the bridge of Barton, the Roman road has consigned the appellation of the Streets or Street-fields to four meadows, that range successively along the northern margin of the Irwell; at once the memorial of its existence, and the indication of its course. The way from Coccium coursed, I suppose, by Strangeways in the township of Hindley^r. And just beyond the village of Ashton and close to the hall of Haydock, on a slight deviation of the present road to the right, it very plainly appears. Entering the paddock at a large ash, it continues along it about six hundred yards, and then regains the rectified line of the present road. Running about three hundred along the edge of the paddock, it crosses the back-avenue to the house, and is levelled to admit the plane of it. And about as many yards of it are very perfect, and a hundred and fifty in the middle as complete almost as they were originally. For this space it is very fairly rounded, and has a sharp slope of nine or ten yards on either side from the crown to the borders. And it was found again a few years ago at Warrington, and immediately from its appearance adjudged to be Roman. In 1756, on digging into the ground in Sankey-lane, where all the neighbouring fields had been a heath within these thirty or forty years, in order to form

form the cistern of Mr. Robert Patten's great sugar-house there; the workmen, at the depth of a yard, found a regular pavement of three feet in breadth, coming from Dallam, and pointing towards the angle of the lane and the Horse-market. And it was equally discovered at the angle in 1752, on opening the ground to lay the foundation of Mr. Patten's house; being at the same depth and of the same breadth, pointing obliquely across the street, and having a direction towards the old ford over the Mersey. Sect. IV.

There all these roads must have met. There the northern and southern always joined, and there was the regular way into the town from Cheshire, even to the days of our seventh Henry and the erection of the present bridge. And the above-mentioned Stretton, which points out the course of the southern road near Warrington, lies directly in the line betwixt the old ford, P. 154. and the angle that is now described in order to reach the bridge. Here therefore, just upon the ford, was a Roman station, though equally overlooked by antiquarians and forgotten by tradition.

This pass over the Mersey was at the extremity of some flat pastures that are called the Broad Howley, and led directly into a village which from it is denominated Latchford. It was formed by a shoal of gravel on a bed of marle, was about thirty yards in width, and had frequently in a dry summer not more than two feet of water upon it. And here the wildly varying hand of nature had planted one of the most remarkable sites for a fortress, that imagination can conceive. Immediately below the present dam of the river, the current, proceeding

Sect. IV. ing hastily to the south-west, was suddenly diverted to the east, was soon turned again to the south, and as soon compelled to flow over the old ford to the west; thus concluding the beautiful curve within a few yards from its commencement. And within the compass of it, I apprehend, was the station of the Romans. This its vicinity to the river, its position upon the ford, and the remarkable defensibility of its site, all concur to suggest. And the nature of the ground contiguous strongly coincides with the notion, as this crook is the only defensible site in the neighbourhood of the river and the ford.

Upon a stream, whose largeness has made it frequently the boundary of kingdoms, and whose rapidity and deepness must ever have made it formidable to passing armies, this ford, then (as it seems) the only passage over the river from the mouth of its channel to the shallow at Thelwall, would necessarily be a post of considerable importance in war. And on a bank which, from the lowness of its level surface, could afford no convenient position for a fortress, such a site, marked out by the plainest characters for the area of one, and placed directly at the end of the ford, must have been of equal importance for guarding it. So would the Sifuntii naturally think, when, on the irruption of the Carnabii into the provinces of their neighbours, they resolved to provide for their own security by the fortification of their southern border. Surveying the banks of their liminary stream, and the ford at Warrington necessarily attracting their attention, they would eagerly seize this remarkable area, and instantly settle a sufficient garrison within

within it. And the ground of it was about eighteen statute-acres in compass. The isthmus in its narrowest point was only about four or five yards in width at the height of the tide, and about ten at its recess, and would easily be secured by a rampart and ditch. And a rampart of only three or four feet in height, entered as that at Manchester appears to have been, not by openings in the line of the wall, but by ascents to the crest of it, would effectually prevent all those accidental overflowings of the land-floods, to which the ground must have been previously subject, and by which it is now covered once or twice in a winter. Sect. IV:

When Agricola began to secure his new conquests in Lancashire by the construction of several stations, the same reasons, which had previously impelled the Britons to select, would equally induce the Romans to retain, this little peninsula of sand for the area of a regular fortress. The extent of it indeed was larger, than what they generally chose for a station. But such a choice was merely founded upon a principle of military œconomy, and only calculated to prevent expences by precluding the necessity of more numerous defendants. And the number could never have been larger for this station, than for that at Manchester; as the soldiers needed to defend only the breadth of thirty yards at the ford, and the width of ten at the isthmus. The river was a sufficient security on every other side, carrying in all parts a depth of three or four yards, and having probably, as even the present appearances of the channel concur to suggest, those deep holes in some which have long given to the site the popular denomination of

Sec. IV. P. 156. Hell-holes. And the Roman road from Coccium to Condate, passing along the narrow isthmus and approaching the western rampart, would gently curve on the right by the south-western angle of the latter, and edge along the side of the station and just below the southern barrier. The passage of the river could not be attempted but during the absence of the tide; and then this road might have been safely travelled, extending along the lower bank of the river, and leading over the shallow to Latchford.

Such was the site on which the ancient camp of the Romans, and the more ancient town of the Britons, were constructed. But so it is not now. The greatest strength of the isthmus, and the point most directly opposed to the current, was about thirty yards in breadth. Thus broad was it, after it had been for ages silently corroded and violently plundered by the stream and tides. And about thirty-seven years ago, the river bringing down an extraordinary body of waters from its hills, and discharging the fury of it directly against the isthmus, the whole substance of the mound began to shake, opened, and disappeared. The Mersey, having now obtained a direct way, immediately deserted its rounding one, and transferred the site of the fortress from the northern to the southern bank; leaving its old important ford to become merely a way into a pasture, and giving up its channel to be planted with poplars and grazed upon by cattle.

This station is evidently the same that Ravennas fixes somewhere near Chester, and to which he gives the name of Veratinum, Vara-tin, or Ford-town^s. The certainty of a camp at Warrington, and the great similarity in the

the name of Veratunum to it, sufficiently intimate the former to be meant by the latter. And in popular pronunciation the similarity is still greater, Warrington being pronounced Warratin even at present. In the records of Doomſday, indeed, it is written Wallintun; but is ſo written from the cuſtomary ſubſtitution of an L for an R in the language of our Saxon anceſtors, by which the name of the Wiltſhire Ambreſbury is changed in the ſame records into Amblesbury, and the appellation of Sarum, the Searobyrig of the Saxon chronicle, has long ſince been altered into Salifbury³.

At the diſtance of a few miles from this ſtation, but on the ſouthern bank of the Merſey, were formerly diſcovered more than twenty oblong pieces of lead, ſome of which were ſaid to be inſcribed

IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V.;

COSS.

And others

IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE.

CEANG.

The diſcovery is ſufficiently authenticated. And the inſcriptions are intereſtingly curious. The venerable father of our Britiſh antiquarians has conſidered them, as the memorial of ſome victory which the Romans obtained over the Ceangi, or inhabitants of the north-weſtern region of Cheſhire⁴. And this is certainly the light, in which the firſt reflection preſents them to the mind. But the late learned antiquarian of Greſham College has queſtioned the juſtneſs of Mr. Camden's opinion, and advanced a very different one of his own. He

Sect. IV. considers them merely as common pieces of lead, licensed only for the market by one inscription of the name of the emperor, secured to the proprietor by another of the name of his nation, and thrown by an accidental wreck upon the shore of Cheshire⁵. And this account of them is adopted with commendations by Dr. Stukeley⁶. But the hypothesis is assuredly wrong, and will appear to be so from this one argument only.

The Cheshire are not the only pieces of lead, which have been discovered of a similar form and with a similar inscription. In the reign of our eighth Henry, an oblong plate of the same metal was thrown up by the plough near Ochyhole in Somersetshire, bearing these words, TI. CLAUDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN^a. In the present century another was found at Bruton in the same county, having this inscription, IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI ET VERI ARMENIACORVM⁷. And a third was dug up about thirty-eight years ago in Yorkshire, exhibiting this, IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. COS. VII.

BRIG⁸,

Of these, the first was plainly a trophy. This the words DE BRITANNIS would assure us of themselves. And the remarkable impression upon a particular coin proves it. The words are too general for the purposes of Dr. Ward's supposition. And the coin exhibits the

^a Leland in his *Affertio Arthurii*, p. 33. edit. 1544, gives it us thus, TI. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITANNIS. But see Camden p. 168.

same

same legend, together with a triumphal arch, the figure Sect. IV.
of a horseman at full speed, and two trophies⁹. This
plate of lead therefore was erected as a military trophy ;
and the inscription upon it DE BRITANNIS was the
memorial of a victory, which the Romans gained over
the Hædui, the Britons of these parts of Somersethire.
And such the Professor, with an ingenuous inconsistency,
acknowledges them to be¹⁰. Such therefore were also
the Cheshire plates, and the writing DE CEANGIS
upon them. And every principle of analogy proclaims
them to be so. Molded exactly in the same sort of
figure, and presenting exactly the same kind of in-
scription, they must both have been formed with the
same design, and inscribed for the same end.

The piece of lead which was discovered in the more
southerly parts of Somersethire, equally oblong as the
last, was equally erected as the record of a victory over
the inhabitants of it. This the same principles of ana-
logy assert. And this the Professor inconsistently acknow-
ledges again¹¹. In the joint reign of Aurelius Antoninus
and L. Verus, an insurrection of the Hædui had been
suppressed by the Romans. And the monument was
erected in memory of the fact. This therefore was also
the case with the Brigantes. Subdued by Cerealis in
the year 72 or 73, they attempted to throw off the yoke
in the seventh consulate of Domitian or the year 81¹² ;
but attempted in vain. The Romans reduced the in-
surgents, and erected the usual monument of their vic-
tories, the leaden plate and the triumphal inscription¹³. P. 159.
And the latter naturally varied in its manner, and the
former in its weight ; the name of the conquered nation
being

SECT. IV. being sometimes impressed upon the plate, as in the two first and the last, and sometimes explained only by the place of its erection, as in the third; and the weight being either a hundred pounds, as in the last, only fifty, as in the third, or much less, as in both the first probably ¹⁴.

The Cheshire pieces of lead, then, were originally designed by the Romans as a monument of triumph and the record of a victory over the Ceangi. And this design of them ascertains at once the position of that people. Being the servants of the Carnabii and the attendants upon their cattle, they lived in the northern woods of their country, that skirted the marshy grounds which still extend for many miles by Norton, Runchorne, and Frodsham along the shore of the Mersey. Here the pieces were dug up, and here was the victory obtained. And the Ceangi, over whom it was gained, were very distinct from the three bodies of herdsmen with whom they have been often confounded. They were different from the Cangii, who bordered immediately on the country of the Iceni, and therefore inhabited in all probability the wild extent of Cannock forest in Staffordshire; it then running assuredly up to Needwood forest and the banks of the Dove, and its Cangii being as well as these the servants of the Carnabii¹⁵. And they were equally different from the Cangani, whose habitations stretched along the western shore of Caernarvonshire, and from the Cangii, who dwelt amid the southern hills of Westmoreland¹⁶. Separated from the first by the interposing Carnabii, and from the second by them and the Ordovices together, they were also divided

divided from the last by the whole intermediate region Sect. IV.
of the Siltuntii.

But the dates of these inscriptions are obviously different, referring to two victories, one in the reign of Vespasian, and the other in that of Domitian. And the former legend, like those of North-Somersetshire, points without question to the original reduction of the country; and the latter, like those of South-Somersetshire and Yorkshire, to the suppression of a subsequent insurrection. The former, however, has been so negligently copied by the persons who transmitted it to Camden, that it cannot be depended upon with regard to the year of its date. This appears from the glaring absurdity of it, I think, in giving the appellation of Emperor to Vespasian and Titus in the same instant¹². And it equally appears from the consideration of a certain fact, That in the year 76, to which it refers, the Ceangi of Cheshire had not yet been attacked by the Romans. In the summer of 78, when Agricola assumed the command of the troops in the island, the whole range of our north-eastern coast, including North-Wales and extending to Scotland, was yet unsubdued by the Roman arms. The most southerly of these Britons, the Ordovices of North-Wales, had been previously attempted by Paulinus; but all the more northerly were first attacked by Agricola. And, having totally conquered the former in the autumn of 78, Agricola equally conquered the latter in the summer of 79. This therefore is the highest date to which any Cheshire inscription can refer, as the county was first invaded and first conquered in that year. This is also
the

Sect. IV. the lowest to which any inscription concerning Vespasian can be reduced, as he died upon the twenty-fourth of June in it. And to this therefore the original probably referred, and was thus written, IMP. VESP. VIII. T. VESP. VII. COSS.

Early then in the campaign of '79, when Agricola led his troops to the reduction of Lancashire, the main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington¹⁸. The inhabitants of the north-western region of Cheshire, the hardy Ceangi or herdsmen of the Carnabii, were secure in the protection of their bogs and forests, and had not yet submitted to the Roman arms. But Agricola pursued them to the last retreat of their marshes and the banks of the Mersey, there attacked and defeated them near Norton, and subdued the whole country.

This being successfully performed, the army would naturally ford the Mersey at the shallow near Warrington, enter the country of the Sifuntii, and take the fortrefs of P. 161. Veratinum. That was intended to guard the ford, and in all probability was then skirted on every side by the great wood, which was afterwards denominated the forest of Derbyshire¹⁹. And the detachment, which had been probably sent over the Mersey at Stretford, and had taken the fortrefs at Manchester, as probably continued its route directly to Ribchester and Overborough, seized the fortresses of Rerigonium and Bremetonacæ, and reunited with the army in the county of Cumberland.

In each of these British towns the detachments, acting upon the same principles with the main body, would successively leave a competent garrison. And on each of them

them did Agricola, at the end of the campaign, construct Sect. IV.
 a regular station and establish a regular garrison. This was
 the case of Bremetonacæ and Veratinum in particular,
 though the one is first mentioned by the late Itinerary of
 Antoninus, and the other by the later Chorography of
 Ravennas. Both of them appear from their British
 names to have been originally British fortresses. And
 neither could have retained those names, if they had
 not immediately been converted into Roman stations.
 Veratinum was not upon the course of the great road
 from Carlisle to the south, and is therefore unnoticed in
 the earlier Itineraries. This road, passing from Carlisle to
 Blackrode, did not proceed from the latter to Kinderton
 in a straight direction and the line of the present way;
 but, turning to the left, rounded by Manchester to it.
 And such, from the Itinerary of Antoninus, appears to
 have been its direction for two ages afterwards.

In the fourth century however, some time after the
 date of Antonine's and before the period of Ravennas's
 Itinerary, the course of the road was changed. As it
 circled by Manchester, the distance betwixt Blackrode
 and Kinderton was about forty measured miles. But,
 if the one was laid directly through Warrington, the
 other could be only about thirty. The line was there-
 fore diverted from that town to this. And we have P. 162.]
 other instances of the same nature in Italy and Britain,
 new roads constructed by the Romans of the later ages,
 because the old took a considerable round²⁰. In con-
 sequence of our own particularly, the station of War-
 rington, which before perhaps had only two subordinate
 ways to it, and a connection by them with Manchester
 and

Sect. IV. and Chester only, was placed upon the course of a great road, was necessarily inserted in the later Itineraries, and necessarily engaged the notice of the transcribing Chorographer. And the present appearance of the way at Haydock confirms the opinion. Constructed entirely with the red earth and red rock which form the natural soil, it still retains all the convexity which was originally given it, and was therefore constructed by the Romans of the later ages, and speedily deserted in this particular part of it by the Britons or Saxons after them. And the direction of our great north-western road was now first diverted from Manchester, by which it had hitherto gone, and now first carried through Warrington, through which it continues to go at present. At the same period in all probability the other part of the road, which had previously curved from Condate by Mediolanum and Uriconium to Wall near Litchfield²¹, was laid directly, as it now tends, over the hills of Talk and Newcastle, and by the stations of Chesterton and Berry-Bank. Chesterton is about two miles to the north of Newcastle, and Berry-Bank about one to the south of Stone. The former is sufficiently characterized as a station by its common name, and the latter by that of Wulfere-cester which it bears in an antient record. And the latter is additionally marked by a camp upon a lofty hill, extending about two hundred yards in diameter, and secured by a double rampart and deep entrenchments²².

¹ So our own Strangeways was named from the Roman road that went by it. — ² See Gale's Antoninus p. 123, where he justly asserts the British Vara to be the present Ferry; and Lhuyd's Etymol. Diſt. p. 5. P. 163. Bamborough in Northumberland was called *Din-Guayrh* or *War-town* by the Britons of the sixth century (Nennius c. 64). — ³ Thus we have Bullium or Burrium for the same town among the Britons (see Richard and Antoninus); Cælia and Ceria for the same liquor among the Spaniards (see b. I. ch. vii. f. 3.); *λεπριον* Liliūm, Cerebrum Cerebellum, Liber Libellus, and many others, among the Romans; and Marmor Marble, Purpura Purple, and Harry, Mary, &c. popularly softened into Hal, Molly, &c., among ourselves. — ⁴ P. 463. — ⁵ Phil. Trans. A. D. 1755 and 1756. p. 696 and 697. — ⁶ Carausius vol. I. p. 177. — ⁷ Itin. Curios. p. 143. — ⁸ Phil. Trans. ibid. p. 687. — ⁹ Camden ibid. — ¹⁰ P. 699. — ¹¹ P. 698. — ¹² See Phil. Trans. p. 695. — ¹³ And this insurrection seems alluded to in Juv. 4 Sat.

Dirue Maurorum attegias & castra Brigantum.

— ¹⁴ That the Romans frequently made inscriptions upon leaden plates, appears from Dio p. 475 and 867. — ¹⁵ Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 32. — ¹⁶ See the mistakes in Brit. Romana p. 34, Carausius p. 177. vol. I, and Reinesius p. 302. — ¹⁷ Mr. Horsey p. 316. has proposed this objection, but has mis-stated it. His argument supposes both sets of inscriptions to be upon plates of the same date. And Dr. Ward has endeavoured to remove the objection, but has mistaken it (p. 697 and 698). The title of Emperor is not given to Vespasian,

Sect. IV. **pafian**, Titus, and Domitian on the fame pieces of lead, or to Vefpafian upon one piece and Titus on another. It is given to Vefpafian and Titus upon the fame, and to Domitian on different pieces. — ¹⁸ *Loca castris ipse* [Agricola] capere, *æftuaria ac fylvas ipse* prætentare: nihil *interim* apud hoftes quietum pati quò minùs fubitis *excursibus* popularetur; Tacitus Vit. Agric. — ¹⁹ A record of perambulation fays thus of it: It begins where Sonkey Water falls into the Merfey; afcends the water through the middle of the townships of Par, Windlue, and Rainford; paffes through the middle of Bickerftath to Crowthagh brook; goes to Romesbrook in Aghton, to Cockbeck, and Alt; goes beyond the mofs of Downholland to Barton pull; ranges beyond the mofs in Hanglowe to the fea; follows the line of the fea to Liverpool; and purfues the line of the Merfey to Sankey Water: 9 H. III. Kuerden folio p. 238. — ²⁰ Galen l. ix. c. 8. Methodi, for Italy, and Horfeley p. 144, for Britain. — ²¹ Richard's 1ft and 2d, and Antonine's 2d, Iter. — ²² Plot's Staffordshire p. 407 and Leland's Collectanea vol. I. p. 1.

C H A P. VI.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ROADS OF THE ROMANS

— THREE NEW SORTS OF THEIR STATIONS

DISCOVERED ABOUT MANCHESTER —

THEIR SUMMER-CAMP THERE —

AND THEIR FORCES THERE

AND IN THE

ISLAND.

I.

THESSE are the Roman ways, that went from P. 165.
 Manchester to the neighbouring stations. And, such as they are, they must share in the high commendation and praise, which the antiquarians have bestowed on the roads of the Romans in general. But surely these gentlemen have been too lavish in their eulogiums upon them. Antiquarianism is merely the younger sister of History, less sedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of Time by looking so frequently upon it. Let not this, however, be the conduct of her soberer disciples. Let not the historical critick disgrace himself and his profession, by admiring
 VOL. I. Q greatly

Sect. I. greatly what is merely antient and applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of Age may justly be allowed to throw a shade of respectableness, and to diffuse even a venerable air, over the productions of very antient Art. And we may appeal to the feelings of every sensible beholder, for the truth of the observation. But this is all that can be allowed to the influence of Time. And the writer, that oversteps this reasonable limit, sacrifices sentiment to conceits, and gives up the realities of History for the dreams of Imagination.

The chief excellence of the Roman roads is the directness of their course. Being constructed at a period when the laws of property were superseded by the rights of conquest, they were naturally laid in the straightest lines from place to place. From these they could not be diverted, like many of our modern roads, and thrown into obliquities and angles, by the bias of private interest. And nothing could divert them, but the interposition of a hill which could not be directly ascended, the interruption of a river which could not be immediately forded, or the intervention of a moss that could not be crossed at all. Thus, to adduce only a single instance, the Roman road to Slack courses in one regular right line from the Castle-field to Hollinwood, while the modern and nearly parallel way to Huthersfield, one of the straightest that we have in the vicinity of Manchester, runs curving all the way at a little distance from it, and has no less than twelve or thirteen considerable angles betwixt Hollinwood and the town.

But

But the Roman roads appear not to have been constructed upon the most sensible principles in general. That over Newton-heath is a mere coat of sand and gravel, the sand very copious and the gravel weak, and not compacted together with any incorporated cement. And that at Haydock is only a heap of loose earth and rock laid together in a beautiful convexity, and ready to yield and open on any sharp compression from the surface. Such could never have been designed for the passage of the cart and waggon; as they must soon have been furrowed to the bottom by the wheels or crushed into the ground by the load, and rendered absolutely impassable by either. But for these rough services they were not intended. This the sharp convexity of the road at Haydock most clearly proves, which scarcely leaves the level of a yard at the crown, and throws all the rest of the surface into a brisk descent. And the aspect of the more flattened road over Failsworth moss concurs to demonstrate it; being even now, when it has naturally spread out into a broader extent, not more than three yards and a half in width. Both of them, though the one was constructed for the great western way into the north, and the other was the line of communication betwixt Chester and York, were plainly intended merely for the walker, the rider, and the beast of burden¹.

The only roads, that seem to have been designed for the waggon and the cart, are such as were regularly paved with boulders. And of this nature appear to have been the ways from Manchester to Blackrode and Ribchester, and from Ribchester to Overborough². But,

Sect. I. as this alleviates not the censure upon the narrowness of the roads, so the paving of them is obviously an awkward expedient at the best. And this appears sufficiently from those boasted remains of the Romans, the Appian and Flaminian ways in Italy; which are so intolerably rough and hard, that the travellers, as often as they can, turn off from them, and journey along the tracks at their borders³.

Many of the Roman roads, indeed, have continued under all the injuries of time and the inclemencies of climate to the present period, and some few in excellent preservation. And the Romans, having the whole power of the country at their command, and nations of subjects to be their labourers in the work, were not frugal of toil in discovering the materials, and conveying them to a considerable distance. Thus, as little or no gravel was to be found along the track of the way from Hollinwood to the end of Street-lane, they dug up a great quantity of it along the sides of the present Millbrook on the former, and constructed with it all the road to the latter. The long and broad hollow, which still remains upon Hollinwood common, intimates to us the one fact; and the peculiar redness of the gravel along the road evidences the other. And, what is much more remarkable, the Stane-street in Suffex, ten and seven yards in breadth and one and a half in depth, is composed entirely of flints and pebbles, though no flints are to be found within seven miles of its course⁴. The Romans also laid their roads, not sunk, like ours, many feet below the level of the ground about them, but rising with a rounded ridge considerably above the surface;

face; unless they were obliged to climb obliquely up the side of a steep hill, or descend obliquely down it. And by this means the water never settled upon their ways, silently sapped the foundations, and effectually demolished the works. But the continuance of many to the present moment, and the peculiar preservation of some, result very little from these general circumstances, and are principally the effect of accidents. That the former have not given them such a lasting duration, is evident from the above-mentioned structure of all of them within, and from the remarkable roundness of some of them without. And the fact arises chiefly from the early desertion of particular roads by the Britons and Saxons; new ways being laid for new reasons to the same towns, or the towns being destroyed and the ways unfrequented. Such assuredly was the case with the smartly rounded road at Haydock. And so it will hereafter appear to have been with the remaining one upon Stony Knolls ⁵.

But had they been always laid in right lines, always constructed with a sufficient breadth, and never paved with stone; had the materials been bound together by some incorporated cement; and had they been all calculated to receive carts and bear waggons; they must still be acknowledged to have one essential defect in them. They almost constantly crossed the rivers of the island, not at bridges, but at shallows or fords, some of which nature had planted and others art supplied ⁶. And in this state of the roads the travelling upon them must have been infinitely precarious, regulated by the rains, and controuled by the floods. Such would cer-

Sect. I. tainly be the consequence at the fords of Ribchester and Penwortham over the Ribble, at those of Warrington, Stretford, and Stockport upon the Mersey, and even at those across the Medlock and Irwell, the Irke, and the Cornebrook. One of the very rainy nights, which are so common in our Manchester winters, would raise a considerable depth of water upon the fords, and fix an absolute bar to the progress of travelling. And, for want of a few bridges, the Roman roads would be often rendered impassable during the winter, and sometimes for a considerable part of it together; the military communication between the several parts of the island must have been frequently suspended, and the Roman empire within it continually exposed to danger¹.

P. 169.

¹ From some barrows in the roads, Dr. Stukeley infers both the Herman and Watling Streets to have never been travelled even by horses; Itin. Curios. p. 82, 104, and 106. — ² Rauthmell's Overborough p. 20. — ³ Horace lib. i. sat. 5. shews the Appian way to have been as rough in the Augustan age, as it is in the present:

Hoc iter ignavi divifimus, altiùs ac nos
Præcinctis unum; minùs est gravis Appia tardis.

—⁴ Camden c. 199. Salmon's observation, p. 111. of his Surrey, extends not to Suffex.—⁵ See b. II. ch. ii. f. 2.—

⁶ The Romans had very few stations in the island, at which they had constructed bridges. Only two are mentioned

mentioned by Antoninus, *Ad Pontem* and *Pontibus*. Sect. I.
 And a third is specified by the *Notitia*, *Pons Ælii*. —

Dr. Stukeley, in the genuine spirit of an antiquarian, commends the wisdom of the Romans for preferring durable fords to perishing bridges: *Itin. Cur.* p. 72. And see a similarly awkward expedient for crossing the rills of vallies, mentioned p. 82.

II.

THERE are three forts of little camps constructed by the Romans in Britain, none of which have been observed by our historical writers. The investigation of them will open to us a new field of notices, and compleat our view of the stationary oeconomy of the Romans. And Manchester appears to have had nine of them, three of one species, two of another, and four of another.

The first three were all upon the roads from it to P. 170.
 Ilkley, Buxton, and Slack. And one of them was at Littleborough, the second at Castleshaw, and the third at Hanford. The little station at Castleshaw is very evident on the present track of the way to Slack. A second was fixed at Hanford. And these necessarily lead us to expect another upon the remaining road, a fortress constructed on a similar site, and calculated for a similar purpose. Fact convinces us of the one. And analogy requires the other.—The camp at Castleshaw is seated directly at the foot of Stanedge, and within a couple of furlongs from the course of the Roman road. This I

Q 4

have

Sect. II. have shewn before to have been probably a fortress of the Sittuntii, but to have extended along the area which rises over the rest of the ground, and is all equally denominated the Hus-steads and all defined by the Castle-hills. But the Roman station on the site seems to have been contracted into a narrower compass, and to have been inclosed within the foss, that still appears encircling a rounded eminence near the center, and encompassing about three-fourths of a statute-acre.—And the camp at Little-borough gave denomination to the village, and seems to have been fixed upon the ground which is about half a mile to the east of it, immediately on the left of the new road, and popularly denominated Castle. This is directly under the steep of Blackstone-Edge, nearly adjoining to the course of the Roman road, and upon the margin of a brisk stream. And the fortification, which gave name to the ground, is of so antient a date, that the remains of it have vanished from the eye, and tradition has forgotten its existence.—But we have better evidences of a little camp at Hanford. The Roman road from Manchester to Buxton runs considerably to the west of its general direction from Stockport, in order to touch at some intermediate station. It proceeds by Pepper-street fold in Bramhall, and passes over Street-fields beyond it, pointing towards Hanford-mill on the Bollen. And Hanford appears to have had three or four roads of the Romans converging to it. One crossed the present highway to Macclesfield about half a mile to the north of Adlington-hall, a long lane on the left still bearing its appellation of Street-lane; and in two or three miles

P. 171.

miles would coincide with the other about Hanford-
mill. This is the continuation of the road from Man-
chester, as it leaves the station at Hanford, and bears
directly for Buxton. And two others appear to have
reached it from two opposite quarters, having bequeathed
their names of Street to a lane in Alderley for three
quarters of a mile, and to one in Cheadle for more than
a mile together.

But, situated as all three were directly in a line under
the ridge of our eastern hills, they could never be con-
structed for the purposes of exploration. And they
could be calculated, I think, for two purposes only;
that of securing the roads, just entering the wild region
of the hills; and the more important one of being the
necessary bairing-places for the soldiers, just mounting
the cliffs of the British Alps.

Six other castellets were fixed in the nearer neigh-
bourhood of Manchester, and for the more immediate
convenience of the garrison at it. They were designed
to protect their cattle in the pastures, and secure their
convoys on the roads. And the Romans appear to have
had such fortresses generally, in the vicinity of their
greater stations². Such therefore are equally ob-
vious in the precincts of others within the kingdom,
though they have never been noticed by any of our
local historians. One of these indeed has been previ-
ously mentioned by a Manchester antiquarian, and with-
out hesitation pronounced to be a camp for the summer².
But, constructed as all of them are in the same manner,
they cannot be all camps for the summer, any more than
they can be forts for exploration. They are sufficiently
distinguished

Sec. II. distinguished from the latter by the height of their sites, too low to be those of speculative castles. And they are equally discriminated from the former by the extent of their areas, too small to be those of summer-stations. Evinced to be Roman by the express mention of one of them in the Itinerary of Richard, by the appellation of *Caster* which is given to another in an antient record, by the concurrence of several Roman roads at a third, and the great uniformity in the aspect of all; they appear to have been six of those tumultuary forts, as *Vegetius* calls them, which the Romans generally made at a little distance from their camps, and for the greater security of their cattle and convoys³. And they fixed them, as these are fixed, in the most advantageous sites that the places afforded; fortified them, as these are fortified, not with a rampart of stone or even of earth, but only with large ditches; and lodged a small garrison in them³.

P. 172.

One of them is specified by *Richard* in his sixth *Iter*, and called from its position *Fines Maximæ & Flavixæ*. And it was placed on the southerly side of the *Mersey*, on the right hand of the road, and about musquet-shot from the bridge. This the nature of the ground along the banks of the *Mersey* points out of itself, that being the only spot in the neighbourhood of the road and on the margin of the river, which the Romans could have selected for the site of a station. And the voice of Tradition remarkably confirms it; asserting in its own wild way of detailing the circumstances of a fact, That the stones of the castle at *Manchester* were once transported to that part of the ground which is now denominated *Scholes's-field*, in order

der to construct a church with them, and were afterwards removed away in a supernatural manner and a single night. The site is a small eminence of gravel and marle, now divided into two closes; and was once denominated, as the nearer of them is still called, the Rie or river field ⁴. It is bounded by a long, deep, and broad ditch upon one side, the natural hollow having been greatly widened by the Romans, and now running in a regular line more than twenty yards in breadth and three in depth. And it was formerly bounded by the Red or Read brook, which flowed directly along the hollow, but is now intercepted by the new canal; by the river Mersey, which received the current of the Read at the angle, Sect. II. P. 173. and ran directly under the second side; by a large ditch, I suppose, crossing the middle of Scholes's-field, on the third; and by a narrow foss, which is now formed into a lane, on the fourth. But, in one of those wild floods to which the Mersey is peculiarly subject, the river opened the soft bank of Lancashire, and now flows many yards within the county; having deserted its antient bridge of three arches, and its antient channel under the Roman camp.—Such was the site of the little station *Fines Maximæ & Flaviæ*, being about four Roman miles and a half from the principal one, and containing more than two statute-acres within it. Placed near to the ford of the Mersey and nearer to the course of the road, it was well calculated to guard them both, to secure the convoys of provisions that passed along the one and the other, and to receive them into its area when the floods prevented a passage across the channel ⁵. And a Roman road appears advancing towards

Sect. II. towards it from the south-east, traversing the whole breadth of the parish on the south, and still carrying a considerable ridge in several parts of it. It is particularly conspicuous at Birch, is popularly represented as a breast-work thrown up against the Danes, and denominated Nico (or Devil's) Ditch. The ravages of the Danes, in their plundering expeditions through the island, were so strongly impressed upon the feelings and fancies of our ancestors, that the memory of them has generally superseded all the other traditions of the island, and the chronicles of the vulgar refer almost every remarkable monument to the Danes. And the road is noticed in a record of 1422, as actually travelled to that late period; some land being described as abutting upon a certain gate, or antient highway, which led from Gorton-green to Reddish⁶.

P. 174. Another station was seated equally on the course of a Roman road and the margin of the Mersey. It was settled at Stockport. And the town appears to be a common center to three or four very variously directed ways of the Romans. The High-street advances to it from Manchester, and the Pepper-street from Hanford⁷. And in the parish of Asheton and near the foot of Staley-bridge is a third road, commonly denominated Staley-street for a mile together. A branch of this was the above-mentioned way to Stretford. And the main line lies pointing from Castleshaw to Stockport. These are sure signatures of a station here. And the general sameness in the position of this and the former fort, this being placed, like that, upon the limits of the two provinces and the banks of the limitary stream,
and

and settled, like that, in the road betwixt two considerable stations, demonstrates a sameness in the design and requires a similarity in the nature of both. It was therefore fixed upon the plane of the castle-hill at Stockport. That is exactly such a position, as the Romans would instantly select for the station. It is a small area, about half a statute-acre in extent, projecting from the side of the market-place, and connected with it only by an isthmus. And it is a square knoll, which looks down upon a rocky bank, equally long and steep, and is guarded by the Mersey at the foot of it. This was the site of a fortress in the earliest period of the Saxons, as a port or castle originally communicated its name to the town; and was denominated Stock-port from the woods around it. And the hill is still incomparably strong in itself, and the position happily fitted for the ford. The station had a steep of a hundred yards in descent on three sides of it, and would naturally be fortified by a foss across the isthmus. And the Roman road into East-Cheshire was effectually commanded by it, being obliged by the winding current of the Mersey to approach very near P. 175. to the castle, and from the remaining steepness in the other parts of the bank appearing to have actually advanced up to it, and to have ascended the brow in a hollow immediately below the eastern side of it.

Such was the position of the two camps on the borders of the two provinces. But that of the four others is very different.

One of them was on the right hand of the road to Bury, immediately beyond Singleton-brook, and upon the first field in the parish of Prestwich. This ground was

Sect. II. was formerly denominated Low-cafter⁹, and is now called sometimes How-castle field, but more popularly, thought to the same purport, Castle-hill. And it is a rising point of land, having a plane of half an acre, and a fine spring of water under an aged oak. On one side, the ground falls away from it briskly near the road and gently at a distance from it, and had probably a small ditch at the foot of the fall. On another was a second foss, the traces of it still plainly appearing, and the hedge of the field being now placed in the channel of it. And the remaining sides form a very sharp slope from twenty to forty yards in length; and the ditch is still very evident below, now extending along the whole of one of them, and lately curving round the angle and proceeding for several yards along the other. At the termination of the foss was the entrance into the camp, which still appears ascending the bank obliquely, and distinguished to the eye by the hollow of it. And, fixed as this tumultuary fort was at the distance nearly of a mile from the course of the road to Ribchester, it could never be intended to have any particular relation to it. The garrison in the one could not be a security to the convoys on the other. And the fort was therefore constructed with a different view. It was designed only for the protection of the cattle, which pastured along the adjoining fields on the west. And the Romans commonly established a tumultuary fort for this purpose¹⁰. The one township of Broughton and Kerfall was in their

P. 176. time all covered with wood, as so it remained to the period of the Norman conquest. And the cattle, which they kept within it, were in all probability their hogs.

These

These generally composed the camp-provision of the Romans¹¹. Two or three fields, that are near to Kerfall-moor and close to the present bowling-green, are still denominated the Hog-heys. And a right of pannage, even along the unwooded extent of the present common, was about a century ago contested in a court of justice; the township of Salford asserting a claim, and the lords of Kerfall opposing it. Lowcafter, then, was designed to protect the cattle of the Romans that fed in the wood of Broughton. And the moor of Kerfall, which now annually receives at the races the gathering thousands of the town and its populous precincts, was in the time of the Romans, perhaps in that of the Britons before them, and for many ages after both, a thicket of oaks and a pasture for hogs; and the little knolls which so remarkably diversify the plain, and are annually covered with mingled crouds rising in ranks over ranks to the top, were once the occasional seats of the herdsmen that superintended these droves in the woods.

But, settled as the fort of Lowcafter was at one extremity of this long thicket, it pretty plainly required a correspondent station at the other. And such was the high mount of gravel and sand, which rises tapering from its base, overlooks the whole extent of the original wood, and is now denominated Raineshow. Tradition asserts it to be the site of an antient camp: and, as it has but an irregular plane of an acre and a half at the top, it can only have been an Agrarian one. And it carries exactly the same general appearances with Lowcafter, having a steep ascent on every side, ditches

encircling P. 177.

Sect. II. encircling the hill, and a brook flowing at the bottom. The banks, however, are much steeper and higher than those of Low-caster, having a sharp fall of a hundred yards upon one part, a sharper of eighty on another, and a still sharper of fifty on a third. The ditches, which are very visible on one side, and may be easily traced along the others, are not at the bottom of the slope, but considerably above the middle of it, and from fifteen to twenty-five yards in depth. And the entrance is the present road of access from the moor, coming up the lane from the brook, and ascending the hill directly.

Another little station was placed within the valley of Broughton, in the township of Pendleton, and near the conclusion of the lane that passes through New-hall fold to the river. It is an oblong hillock of sand, and popularly denominated Hyle or Hill Wood. It has an uneven surface about half an acre in extent; had its entrance, as it still has, on the south-west, and another opening behind to the river; and is surrounded in every part by deep ditches, steep ascents, or both, that sink from fifteen to forty yards below the level of the hill. And amid the beautiful valley in which it is placed, surrounded by the sloping heights of Salford, Pendleton, and Broughton, and remote from every stationary road, it could have only one object in view. That was the protection of the cattle, which grazed along the valley. For such business the ground is particularly suited, as the hazel-coloured mold of it is remarkably rich, and the site was sufficiently near to the great station. And the stream of the Irwell courses thrice through
the

the whole extent of it. Some stationary area therefore ^{Sect. II.} was necessary, that should rise over the rest of the ^{P. 178.} ground, and command the valley about it: But, as none presented its useful elevation within the whole circuit of the vale, art supplied the omission of nature; raising the present mount of Hill-wood, and fetching the materials from the bed of the Irwell. This appears from the particular nature of its situation, placed as it is in the narrow point betwixt two reaches of the river, and securing the avenue into the ample and beautiful horse-shoe which is described by them. And the nature of the soil confirms it, very different from the natural mold of the fields, and merely a collection of water-sand chequered with fragments of red rock.

Closely connected with it was a similar fortress in its neighbourhood. This is a rounded knoll, which is denominated Castle-hill, and appears at a little distance upon the side of the Kerfall-heights. And the soil is gravel and sand, having an area of half an acre, boggy grounds round three parts of it, and steep banks from ten to twenty yards in height. Upon the fourth side, which had not the advantage of a descent from it, and had even the disadvantage of a gentle one towards it, are two large ditches, an outer and an inner, which are from six to twelve yards in depth, and from ten to twenty in breadth. And, where these terminate, was the road of entrance into the fort. Such is the little station upon the shelf of the hill, very near to Bentsh use on Kerfall-moor, but nearer to the Grand Stand: and it has a strong spring of water breaking out a little above, and descending along the side of it. And the

Sect. II. Romans must have formed it with the same views as the station upon Hillwood, and for the same protection of their cattle. The latter being fixed in the narrow opening into the curve which is described on the eastern side of the valley, and separated by the river from the large extent of meadows on the western, northern, and north-western; it could be designed to guard the cattle, only, that ranged within the compass of the peninsula. But those in the divided pastures would equally want a protection. And the garrison on the mount could not afford it; as the intervention of the river would render their communication uncertain, and their assistance precarious. Observing this, the Romans were obliged to form another Agrarian fortress. But they were not compelled to raise another artificial mount. They were forced only to fix a station on the northern side of the valley, as this great curve of the meadows opened to the north. And they fixed it on a convenient projection from the side of the north-western hills. For a connection with the fort at Hillwood and a defence of their cattle in the valley, the site was as properly calculated as it was almost necessarily chosen. For such purposes only was it properly calculated at all; being a good way upon the descent from the height, and much below the level of the moor. And the connection is still asserted by tradition, which fixes an army in both the castles, and sets the one in opposition to the other¹².

This, then, was the design of the six little fortresses, that we find in the immediate neighbourhood of Manchester. Three of them demonstratively Roman, and all

all equally Romanized in their general aspect, they were the Agrarian forts appendant to the station on the Medlock. And, two of them being established merely for the protection of the convoys on the roads, the others were constructed for the security of the cattle in the pastures. The latter therefore were all fixed in the same quarter of our Mancunian precincts. Settled there by pairs, each of the two evidently carries a particular relation to its fellow. And each of the pairs as evidently bears a general affinity to the other. The dry grounds of the hills, and the moist meadows of the vale, were successively and alternately the pastures of the Roman cattle. The Romans had a similar change for their shepherds in Italy, confining their cattle to the marshes during the summer, and driving them up into the hills at the return of winter¹³. And the Roman Britons equally appear, though they are not equally known, to have adopted the same practice. Britain, says Gildas, abounds in hills that are very convenient for the alternate pastures of our flocks and herds, *montibus alternandis animalium pastibus magnè convenientibus*¹⁴. And these low meadows are generally overflowed every winter from the many curves of the Irwell along them, and present a striking scenery to the eye, a large expanse of water tumbling round the valley. In winter, therefore, they would be totally deserted by the garrison, and the Romans would behold the floods securely from the hills above. And thus the two Broughtons, the valley and the township, concurred to form the great nursery of the Roman cattle, and regularly supplied the

P. 180.

Sect. II. subordinate one at the confluence of the Medlock and the Irwell.

¹ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. — ² Mr. Percival in Phil. Transf. — ³ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. — ⁴ See b. I. c. iv. f. 3. for another station upon a field called Rie-hey.—
⁵ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8, Subvectio frumenti cæterarumque specierum. — ⁶ Quendam Portam quâ itur a Gorton-grene usque Redich ex parte australi; a deed in the chest of the collegiate chapter at Manchester, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntingdon Warden. — ⁷ See b. I. ch. v. f. 3. — ⁸ And hence we have Portwood near it at present. — ⁹ In a record of 1322, entitled Perquisitæ Curiaë [de Manchester], and mentioning *viam regiam inter Manchester et P. 181. Burghton usque le Low-cafter* (Kuerden fol. p. 279).—
¹⁰ Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. *Animalium Pascua*. — ¹¹ For preparation of a siege, says Vegetius, *non solum porcinum*, sed et omne animalium genus, should be killed, and kept in the larder; 1. iv. c. 7. — ¹² It makes the army on Raineshow to be Danes, and therefore sometimes vainly fancies the name to be Daineshow. —
¹³ Justin lib. viii. c. 5. — ¹⁴ Hist. c. i.

III.

THE stations in Britain being generally fixed upon the southerly slope of a hill or bank, they were well calculated for our winters, and as ill for our summers.

mers. The Romans, therefore, naturally constructed another camp for their residence in the latter. And their castra æstiva are an addition to the regular fortresses, which has been long noticed in general, though it has been seldom pointed out in particular. For this they necessarily selected some advantageous site, that was in the neighbourhood of the station, and fully open to the north. And every fortress in the kingdom which has a southerly aspect in itself, and any convenient ground near it with a northerly one, must have regularly enjoyed the pleasing appendage of a summer-camp.

The station of Mancunium, having both the former, would equally have the latter. And such a camp was peculiarly necessary at Manchester, as the beams of summer are uncommonly scorching upon the slope of the Castle-field. But where would the Romans most probably settle it? The high grounds of Mr. Reynolds's park, or those immediately to the north of them, the heights of the Stony Knolls, or the hills of Broughton, would each afford a sufficient elevation and a defensible site. And these would be near or upon the road to Ribchester. But they are some of them too remote from the winter-station, others too distant from a supply of water, and all without any traces of a camp upon them. Shall we then pitch upon Howcastle-field or Hill-wood, for the site of this additional station? One of the very few antiquarians, that Manchester or its environs have hitherto produced, did fondly suppose the former to be the actual site¹. But, as the latter is much too low and both too small, so is the former as much too remote

Sec. III. from the bank of the Medlock, being more than three measured miles and a half from it.

The real ground appears to have been pretty near to the regular station, and about a mile to the north of it; and is now the site of the old church, the college, and many other buildings. And this is indeed the only position in the vicinity of the town and station, that could pretend to attract the notice of the examining Romans. In the earliest period of the Saxon history of Manchester, selected for the seat of its lord, as I shall shew hereafter², and accordingly denominated Baron's Hull and Baron's Yard; it is exactly such a situation as the exigences of the Romans required. It is banked on two sides by rocks, that are either very steep or absolutely perpendicular; and looks down from a lofty summit upon the waters of the Irke passing along it on one side, and upon the stream of the Irwell breaking against it on the other. It spreads its area of compacted sand, gently leaning to the north and west; and from the lowness of the ground about it on the south-west, west, north-west, and north-east, and from the constant ventilations of the air by the briskness of the currents below, peculiarly feels in the summer a succession of refreshing breezes. And, thus admirably fitted for a camp by its formidable barriers on two sides, and incomparably adapted for a summer one by its position on

P. 183. two concurrent streams, its overlooking all the low grounds of Salford and Strangeways, and commanding a distant view of the country even as far as Horwich-moor; it had the Roman road to Ribchester stretching across the western side of it, it still shews the striking rema in

mains of an antient ditch along the south and east, and ^{Sect. III.} just contains within its limits the requisite number of acres for a summer-camp. The area, surrounded by the ditch and rivers, is exactly twelve statute-acres and a half in compass.

Commencing from the lofty margin of the Irke, and from that point of it where the common sewer now discharges itself into the river, the foss was not carried in a right line through the ridge that directly opposed its course; but curved along the ground, which therefore was somewhat lower than the rest, and now forms the streets of Toad-lane and Hanging-ditch. And the names of the streets point out the general direction, as the aspect of them shews the particular nature, of the foss. The line of both still curves as the ditch curved. And the level of both exhibits the hollow of a channel, bounded on each side by a ridge. In the narrow street of Toad-lane the breadth of the foss, commensurate nearly with that of the street, appears to have been only four or five yards at the margin. In the larger of Hanging-ditch, it appears to have opened into eight or ten. And at the western termination of the latter, making a considerable curve on the right, in order to avoid the knoll at the end of Cateaton-street, and to sweep along the lower ground to the right of it, it runs very deep and broad to the Irwell. The northern line of the houses in this street, and all the buildings of the Hanging-bridge, are seated within the channel. And the road to the church is carried over it upon a lofty bridge of two arches. For the greater security of a station, which had in all pro-

Sec. III. bability no rampart either of stone or earth about it, the Romans naturally trenched through the whole width of the ground from the Irke to the Irwell. And, for **P. 184.** the greater coolness of a camp, which was certainly designed only for the heats of summer, the Romans as naturally diverted the waters of the Irke into the trench. An opening was made in the bank of the river, which remains very visible to the present period; the angles of the rock appearing rounded away, the chasm extending four or five yards in width, and a sewer of the town being now laid into the cavity. And, three or four yards lower in the channel, the marks of the dam remain equally visible. The rock appears cut away for five or six in breadth and three quarters in depth, in order to receive one end of the frame into it, and to fix the whole secure against the violence of the obstructed current. And the channel of the fofs was sunk considerably below its present level, even in its deepest part about the western termination; the ground a little to the west of the Hanging-bridge having been recently found to be merely adventitious, for no less than nine or ten yards; and the plane of the rock below appearing furrowed with the wheels of the carts, that in some later ages have passed by this duct from Salford to the Hanging-ditch.

This was the pleasing and impregnable site of the summer-camp of the Romans; guarded with impracticable precipices behind, covered with a fofs enormously deep and broad before, and insulated by three lively currents of water. And the two great gateways of it **P. 185.** would naturally be along the road from Castle-field to Ribchester,

Ribchester, where it entered and where it deserted the area, and at the foot of the Deanſgate and Huntſbank. The road muſt have entered the ſummer ſtation, as it communicated before with the winter, by the uſeful intervention of a bridge; becauſe it croſſed the deepeſt part of the ſoſs. But juſt at the north-westerly extremity of the area, and taking in a good compaſs of ground about it, appears to have been the citadel of the fortrefs, the fortified ſite of the Prætorium. This is the part, which has been more recently denominated Baron's Yard and Baron's Hull. It is neceſſarily from its ſituation, being at the angle of the two precipices, and overhanging the concurrent point of the two ſtreams, by much the cooleſt and moſt defenſible part of the ſtation^s. And it has been actually ſecured by an interior ſoſs. On opening the ground of the new burying-place, and of the adjoining land on the eaſt, in the months of Auguſt 1766 and of July and Auguſt 1767, appeared evidently the hollow of a broad deep ditch, filled up with rubbiſh; the northern border ranging nearly in a line with the ſouthern wall of the burying-ground, and the ſouthern extending, I ſuppoſe, up to the church-yard. And the black earth reached above three yards in depth below the level of the ſtreet, and lay upon the natural ſand. Commencing at the edge of the Roman road to Ribcheſter, and near the beginning-deſcent of the Huntſbank, it ranged along the Half-ſtreet to the end, and deſcended the Long-Millgate to the School. There, under the ſecond houſe to the eaſt of the ſchool, was it likewiſe diſcovered in the year 1765 on ſinking the cellar; and appeared a channel cut through

Sect. III.

Sec. III. through the solid rock, two yards in depth, about
P. 186. three in breadth, and four or five in length, terminating at one end upon the edge of the precipice, and pointing at the other up the line of the Millgate. And in this part of its course it is expressly mentioned as a channel even in a late record of 1422, and expressly carried up the Millgate to the top⁴.

Such was the summer-camp for the garrison at Manchester! Thither the Frisians removed in the beginning of our summer. And there they resided during the continuance of it. Not that the whole body of them ever removed. Some undoubtedly remained in the winter-station, as many as were sufficient to secure it; and these were the more commodiously lodged in the absence of the rest. The number of these, however, was necessarily the smaller, as the camp of the summer was so near to that of the winter. And the area of the former was covered, I suppose, not with structures of timber and stone, but with tents. These would be taken down at the conclusion of summer, and after the return of the Frisians to Castle-field; and be laid up in the little arsenal there. And the aspect of this would be nearly the same as that of the other station: the tents of the soldiers being ranged in the same lines; the colours of the centuries and ensigns of the decads waving over them; and the pavilion of the commandant, the standard of the cohort, and the temple of the garrison, rising all equally together, and towering gracefully over the whole.

² Mr. Percival in Phil. Transf. — ³ B. II. ch. iii. Sect. III. f. 2. — ³ So at the station of Brough in Derbyshire. There, as here, the Prætorium was upon one side, and along the lofty margin of the river-bank. — ⁴ In a record kept at the collegiate church of Manchester, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntington warden.

IV.

IT is supposed by the sensible and accurate Mr. Horse- P. 187.
 ley, that the Roman garrison in Britain during the second, third, and fourth centuries amounted only to three legions, the sixth Victorious, the twentieth Valerian and Victorious, and the second Augustan, and the auxiliaries regularly attendant upon them ¹. And with this supposition the History of Dio, Ptolemy's Geography, and Antonine's Itinerary seem all to concur; as they all mention these, and only these, to be resident in the island ². This number, as appears from the complement of a single legion during the very same ages, which was six thousand one hundred foot and seven hundred and twenty-six horse ³; and from the stated proportion of the auxiliary to the legionary troops, which was equal in the infantry and double in the cavalry ⁴; must have contained about thirty-six thousand six hundred foot and six thousand five hundred horse. Such would be the greatest amount of them, even if every corps had its just complement of men. And we can have little doubt, but among a nation which was extremely numerous,

Sect. IV. metous', and in a country which was only in part subdued, the legions and their auxiliaries were constantly supplied with fresh recruits, and maintained in their full force.

But, even thus considered, three are insufficient for the purposes of garrisoning the island. And the long list, which the two Itineraries give us of the stations in Britain, shews them to be so. That presents us with a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty fortresses, even after the Romans had retired to the wall of Antoninus, and abandoned the stations that extended from Inverness to the Friths. Those were all of them designed to be, and were all actually, garrisoned by the Romans; as otherwise they would neither have been constructed at first, nor recited in the Itineraries afterwards. And I have shewn each of them to have been attended with various castellets, which would require garrisons nearly equal in their amount to the complement of the principal station. But it would be evidently ridiculous to distribute a body of forty-three thousand men into a hundred and forty principal forts; as such a scheme could allot only about three hundred and seven for a station and its subordinate chesters.

The garrison of every station in the Itinerary with its appendages, except five or six that were merely constructed Ad Fines, could not have been less than four hundred effective men. A greater number would have been requisite for most, and a smaller could not be sufficient for any. And, even in this disposition, the total amount of troops requisite for a hundred and forty garrisons would be fifty-six thousand men. This is apparently the smallest number, that we can suppose to have

have resided in the kingdom. But a much greater was resident in it; as, during the dispersion of the rest, some more considerable bodies would be kept together, the more effectually to overawe the conquered Britons within the walls and the unconquered without. And such actually appear together; one large corps being quartered at York, another at Chester, and a third at Caerleon in Monmouthshire. Sect. IV

This being the case, there were necessarily more than three legions in the island. The positive testimony of Josephus assures us, that there were four during the reign of Vespasian⁶. And the accounts of Richard, and the discovered inscriptions of the Romans, prove that there were more afterwards.—Several bricks have been found at Caer Rhun or the antient Conovium in Wales, which clearly exhibited the name of the tenth legion. And the fact is very particularly authenticated, having the united attestation of the reverend Mr. Brickdale and Dr. Gale, each (as far as appears) unknown to the other, and both concurring in the same testimony⁷. Hence the tenth legion appears to have been quartered among the Ordovices, and at the station of Conovium. P. 189, And it remained there a long time; because the name of a neighbouring hill, Mynydh Caer Lheion or the mountain of the city of the legion⁸, shews the town to have obtained the same name among the neighbouring Britons, that Deva, the seat of the sixth legion for three centuries, acquired on one side, and Isca Silurum, the residence of the second for as long a period, still retains on the other⁹.—To this we may add the Claudian legion, as the seventh was peculiarly called; having obtained that

particular

Sect. IV. particular honour from the senate, because of its signal attachment to Claudius during the short-lived but alarming rebellion of 42⁹. It was settled at Gloucester in the reign of Claudius¹⁰. And at Gloucester it continued a considerable time; as, in the historical monuments of the Romans which Richard of Cirencester inspected, the town was denominated from it *Legio Claudia*, and in our own annals frequently bears the similar appellation of *Claudio-cestria*¹¹.

Thus have we found five legions resident for a long time in the island, two additional to the number supposed by Mr. Horfeley, and seemingly fixed by Ptolemy, Dio, and Antoninus. But the legionary lists in these authors are very defective. That of Dio, which is the fullest, mentions only thirty-one in the whole; that of Antoninus only twenty-six; and Ptolemy's only seventeen. And, as the two last of them appear particularly defective upon a collation merely with the first, so is this expressly declared to be the list of such legions only as consisted of Roman citizens¹². The many that were composed of volunteers from the subject nations, and which were very distinct from the bodies of auxiliaries supplied by the national authority of each; as the fifth of the Gauls, the tenth of the Batavians¹³, and the twelve others that are recited in the following catalogue; all these are professedly omitted by Dio¹⁴. The authentick records of inscriptions demonstrate the number of both to have been fifty or sixty at least¹⁵. And the suggestions of common-sense, still more authentick than they, evince the necessity of as many (independently of the national auxiliaries) to secure

cure the extended dominions of the Roman empire. Sect. IV.
 The express number of the legions appears indeed }
 from Dio, to have been only about twenty-three or
 twenty-five from the reign of Augustus to that of Alex-
 ander Severus ¹⁶; and from inscriptions, I think, to
 have never exceeded thirty-six afterwards. And this
 has been generally supposed by our antiquarians, to be
 absolutely the whole of the Roman legions. But, as
 several of these were bodies of foreign volunteers, so
 each of the others, except perhaps the eighth, the
 eleventh, the fourteenth, and the thirtieth, had several
 extraordinary brigades of citizens or foreigners belong-
 ing to them; every one of which had equally the com-
 plement and denomination of a legion, and was distin-
 guished from each other and the original brigade by
 some additional title. And this was sometimes derived
 from the name of the emperor, under whom they had
 been originally raised, or by whom they had been par-
 ticularly favoured; but was generally assumed from the
 kingdoms of their first or longest residence. Hence, in
 Dio's catalogue of purely Roman legions, we find so
 many of them distinguished by the denominations of
 Gallick, Cyrenean, Scythian, Macedonian, Egyptian,
 Germanick, and Parthian ¹⁷. And the tenth Twin le-
 gion, being long stationed in Germany, and the second
 Augustan, being longer settled in Britain, appear under
 the particular appellation of the tenth Germanick and
 the second Britanick legions in Ptolemy and the Notitia.
 But the original and additional battalions can seldom be
 distinguished from each other by their names. And
 yet they may by the catalogue of Dio. Thus the se-
 venth

Sect. IV. **Seventh legion** had the several brigades, which were called the seventh Claudian and the seventh Galban legions, both consisting of Romans, and therefore specified by Dio; and the seventh Twin, seventh Twin Claudian, and seventh Twin Antonian, all three composed of foreigners, and therefore omitted by him ¹⁸. And the tenth had the tenth Fretan and tenth Twin, two enumerated battalions of Romans, and the tenth Antonian Augustan and tenth Batavian, two unnoticed ones of foreigners ¹⁹.

The tenth legion is mentioned by Dio, and placed by him in Judæa; and Josephus had previously fixed it at Jerusalem ²⁰. And the brigade intended by both appears from the Notitia, to have been equally denominated the tenth Fretan ²¹. It was settled in Judæa by Titus: and in Judæa it continued to the period of the Notitia. But the legion which was stationed in Wales, and which appears from the above-mentioned inscription to have been certainly a battalion of the tenth, appears pretty clearly from a coin, which was discovered in that country and inscribed with the following name, to have been the tenth Antonian Augustan ²².— And many of the legionary brigades were denominated Gemellæ, Geminæ, or Twins, because they were compounded of two, and had a double complement of men ²³. Such was one of the tenth, of the thirteenth, and of the fourteenth ²⁴. And such, as appears above, were three of the five in the seventh. One of these, the Twin Claudian legion, was that which was stationed at Gloucester. It could not have been, as Dr. Stukeley supposes, the brigade which was denominated more simply

simply the seventh Claudian, which accompanied Cæsar Sect. IV.
 in his first expedition into Britain, and from the days
 of Dio to the period of the Notitia was constantly
 stationed in the Higher Mœsia²⁵. Our Claudian legion
 appears to have been continued in the island after the
 time of Dio, and even to that of Carausius²⁶. And
 it was therefore the only other brigade of the seventh
 which bore the title of Claudian, and had the discrimi- P. 192
 native appellation of Twin Claudian²⁷.

The troops then, which the Romans maintained in the
 island, were five legions, one of them being double, and
 all having their attendant auxiliaries; or about seventy-
 three thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse. And
 the head-quarters of another, the twentieth, were
 in all probability fixed at Chester by the direction of
 Agricola, and at the termination of his war; as it cer-
 tainly resided there within seventy years afterwards²⁸.
 We have also the positive authority of Malmesbury,
 perhaps the vehicle of tradition, but probably the copier
 of history, that one or more of the Julian legions,
 those commanded by Julius Agricola, were actually set-
 tled at Chester²⁹; and the better and more express at-
 testation of Richard, that Chester was constructed by
 the soldiers of the twentieth³⁰. And the Frisians,
 who resided at Manchester, were in all probability a part
 of its auxiliaries; one of the eight cohorts which were
 annexed to the ten of the legion, and which ordinarily
 accompanied it upon expeditions in war, and were ordi-
 narily disposed within the stations that lay nearest to it
 in peace.

Sect. IV. But the whole of this cohort, as I have previously mentioned, was not lodged in the camp on the Medlock. Six detachments from it were constantly kept in the six fortresses of Stretford and Stockport, of Low-caster and Raineslow, and of Castle-hill and Hill-wood, And the first would require about nine Contubernia, or a hundred men, for a garrison; the third and fourth about a hundred and thirty; and the fifth, sixth, and second about a hundred and twenty³¹. Thus about three hundred and fifty of the Mancunian Frisians were constantly detached upon duty to these six subordinate camps. Each corps would be under the regulation of the same discipline as the main body. And each would be speedily recalled to the duties of the principal station, and succeeded by a new draught from the principal garrison³².

P, 193.

³ B. I. ch. vi. — ² Dio p. 794 and 795. — ³ Vegetius l. ii. c. 6. and 7, where he speaks expressly of ordinatio legionis antiquæ. — ⁴ See Horfeley p. 87. — ⁵ Cæsar p. 88, Hominum est infinita multitudo. — ⁶ De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. — ⁷ Camden col. 801. and Gale p. 122. — See therefore a mistake in Horfeley concerning this legion. — And see Camden col. 802, for this hill. — ⁸ See a mistake therefore in Dr. Gale p. 123. — ⁹ Dio p. 795 and Ursatus. — ¹⁰ Richard p. 24, 36, and 51. — ¹¹ Richard p. 36, Higden p. 198. Gale, Giraldus's Itin. Cambriæ p. 839, &c. &c. — ¹² Dio p. 794, στρατοπέδα Πολίταια, and p. 797, των εκ της Καταλογης στρα-

σπαρτομαχων. — ¹³ Suetonius in Cæsar cap. 24, and Gruter p. 514. — ¹⁴ Dio p. 797. — ¹⁵ See Urfatus. — ¹⁶ Dio p. 794. and Urfatus. — ¹⁷ P. 794 and 797. — ¹⁸ Dio p. 795 and 796, the two legionary pillars in Gruter p. 513, and Urfatus. — ¹⁹ Dio p. 795, Notitia in Judæa, Gruter p. 514, and Gale p. 122. And see the annexed list. — ²⁰ Josephus p. 1297. Hudson. — ²¹ P. 91. Pancirollus. — ²² Gale p. 122. See b. 1. ch. ix. f. 1. — ²³ Dio p. 796 and Urfatus, and Cæsar p. 284. — ²⁴ Dio p. 795 and 796. — ²⁵ Dio p. 795 and Notitia p. 104. — ²⁶ Stukeley's Carausius v. I. p. 175. — ²⁷ And the additional title of Gemina to this legion is omitted in Dr. Stukeley's coins, as the appellation of Fretensis to the tenth is omitted in Dio and Josephus; as the epithet of Gemina to the fourteenth is never mentioned by Tacitus, though the legion appears from Richard to have had it while it remained in Britain; and as the titles of V. V. or Valerian Victorious to the twentieth are dropt in the inscription upon an altar at Wroxeter (Phil. Transf. 1755. p. 196). See also the annexed list. — ²⁸ Horfeley's Cheshire N^o 3. — ²⁹ Malmesbury f. 164. So the Appian Way in Italy from Appius Claudius; Cohors Ælia, Pons Ælii, &c. in Britain from Ælius Hadrianus; and the Julian Way in Wales from Julius Frontinus. — Sir H. Saville has altered Julianarum into Militarum, without assigning a single reason. The on-P. 194. ly one, I suppose, was the remark of Leland p. 56. vol. ix. edit. 1769. And Mr. Selden has justly blamed Sir Henry for the alteration. The MSS. in Leland's time read Julianarum. And Mr. Selden's, one very

Sect. IV. near in date to Malmesbury's time, and formerly belonging to the priory of St. Austin at Canterbury, read the same (Poly-Olbion p. 182. Part. I). — ³⁰ Romanorum colonia Deva, opus vicesimæ legionis ; Richard p. 24. — ³¹ Vegetius lib. ii. c. 13. — ³² Vegetius lib. ii. c. 19.

A L I S T

Sec. IV.
P. 195.

OF THE

ROMAN LEGIONS;

Collected from Ptolemy, Dio, and Antoninus. Such as were composed of Roman citizens I have noted accordingly. Such as were embodied in or before the reign of Augustus, I have noticed by subjoining his name to them. And those, which were afterwards raised, I have referred to their proper Emperors by a similar note.

PTOLEMY.	DIO.	ANTONINUS.	
Berrius: P. 53. LEG. 1. L. Germany	P. 794—796. LEG. 1. MI- NERVIA L. Germ. Domitian	Berrius.	CITIZENS.
P. 63: LEG. 1. ADJUT. H. Pannonia	LEG. 1. ADJ. L. Pannonia Galba	P. 15. LEG. 1. ADJ. Pannonia	CITIZENS.
P. 88. LEG. 1. ITAL. L. Moesia	LEG. 1. ITAL. L. Moesia Nero	P. 14. LEG. 1. ITAL. Lower Moesia	CITIZENS.
P. 159. LEG. on the Euphrates	LEG. 1. PAR- THIC; Mesopotamia Severus		CITIZENS.
P. 37. LEG. 2. AUG. Britain	LEG. 2. AUG. Britain Augustus	P. 14. LEG. 1. JOVIA L. Moesia P. 31. LEG. 2. AUG. Britain	FOREIGN- ERS. CITIZENS:

Sect. IV.	PTOLEMY.	DIO.	ANTONINUS.	
P. 196.	—	LEG. 2. ADJ. L. Pannonia Vespasian	—	CITIZENS.
			P. 14. LEG. 2. HER- CULEA Scythia	FOREIGN- ERS.
	P. 53. LEG. TRAJAN. L. Germany	LEG. 2. EGYPT. TRAJ. L. Germany Trajan		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 2. ITALICA Noricum M. Antoninus		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 2. MEDIA Italy Severus		CITIZENS.
	P. 111. LEG. 3 AUG. Numidia	LEG. 3 AUG. Numidia Augustus		CITIZENS.
	P. 163. LEG. Arabia	LEG. 3 CYREN. Arabia Augustus		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 3 GAL- LICA Phœnicia Augustus		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 3 ITAL. Rætia M. Antoninus		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 3 PAR- THICA Mesopotamia Severus		CITIZENS.
		LEG. 4 SCYTH. Syria Augustus		CITIZENS.

PTOLEMY:	DIO.	ANTONINUS.	CITIZENS. P. 197.
	LEG. 4 FLAVIA Syria Veipafian		
P. 64. LEG. L. Pannonia	LEG. 5 MACED. Dacia Augustus	P. 14. LEG. MACED. L. Mœfia	CITIZENS:
P. 37. LEG. 6. VICT. Britain	LEG. 6 VICT. Britain Augustus	P. 14. LEG. 6 VICT. Britain	CITIZENS:
	LEG. 6 FERREA Judæa Augustus		CITIZENS:
P. 44. LEG. 7 GER- MAN.—Spain P. 86. LEGIO . . . H. Mœfia	LEG. 7 Spain Galba LEG. 7 CLAUD. H. Mœfia Augustus	P. 25. LEG. 7 GE- MINA Spain	CITIZENS: CITIZENS:
P. 53. LEG. 8 AUG. H. Germany	LEG. 8 AUG. H. Germany Augustus	P. 11. LEG. 7. Mesopotamia P. 23. LEG. 8. Germany	FOREIGN- ERS. CITIZENS:
P. 63. LEG. 10. GER. H. Pannonia	LEG. 10 GE- MINA Pannonia Augustus	P. 15. LEG. 10 GE- MINA Pannonia	CITIZENS:

Sect. IV.	PTOLEMY.	DIO.	ANTONINUS.	
P. 198.	---	LEG. 10. Judæa Augustus	P. 22 and 23 LEG. 10. Germ. and Gaul	CITIZENS.
	---			FOREIGN-ERS.
	---	LEG. 11. CLAUD. L. Mœsia Augustus	P. 14. LEG. 11. CLAUD. L. Mœsia	CITIZENS.
	---	LEG. 12 FUL- MINANS Cappadocia Augustus		CITIZENS.
	---		P. 23. LEG. 12. Germ. and Gaul	FOREIGN-ERS.
	---		P. 15 and 22. LEG. 13. Germ. and Gaul	FOREIGN-ERS.
	---	LEG. 13. GE- MINA Dacia Augustus		CITIZENS.
	P. 63. LEG. 14. GERM. H. Pannonia.	LEG. 14. GE- MINA H. Pannonia Augustus	P. 14. LEG. 14. GE- MINA H. Mœsia	CITIZENS.
	---	LEG. 15 APOL- LIN. Cappadocia Augustus		CITIZENS.

PTOLEMY.	DIO.	ANTONINUS.	Sect. IV.
		P. 23. LEG. 15. Germany	FOREIGN- ERS. P. 199.
		P. 22 and 23 LEG. 16. Gaul and Germ.	FOREIGN- ERS.
P. 14. LEGIO Gaul		P. 22. LEG. 18. Gaul	FOREIGN- ERS.
P. 37. LEG. 20 VICT. Britain	LEG. 20 VAL. VICT. Britain Augustus	P. 29. LEG. 20 VICT. Britain	CITIZENS.
	LEG. 20 VAL. H. Germ. Augustus	P. 23 and 14. LEG. 20. or LEG. VALER. Germ. and L. Mæria	CITIZENS.
		P. 23. LEG. 22. Germ. and Gaul	FOREIGN- ERS.
		P. 23. LEG. 23. Germany	FOREIGN- ERS.
		P. 23. LEG. 24. Germany	FOREIGN- ERS.

Sect. IV.

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PTOLEMY.

DIO.

ANTONINUS.

P. 23.

LEG. 25.
Germany

FOREIGN-
ERS.

P. 53.

LEG. 30 UI PIA
L. Germany

LEG. 30 GER.
ULPIA
Trajan

P. 15.

LEG. 30 ULP.
Germany

CITIZENS.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

A REGULAR TOWN BUILT AT MANCHESTER, AND
 WHERE—THE MODE OF LIVING BEFORE—AGRI-
 CULTURE INTRODUCED—THE BRITISH NAMES
 GIVEN TO OBJECTS ABOUT MANCHESTER —
 THE DRESS OF THE BRITONS — AND
 A VIEW OF THE COUNTRY
 AROUND MANCHESTER AT
 THIS PERIOD.

I.

REGULARLY as the Romans extended their set-P. 201.
 tlements in the island, they appear to have equally
 erected stations for themselves and cities for the Britons.
 Thus the towns of Gloucester, Colchester, London,
 and Verulam were constructed by Claudius, and imme-
 diately after the first permanent conquest which the
 Romans had made amongst us¹. And, as many infe-
 rior cities would be equally laid out at the same period,
 so remains demonstrate Chichester and tradition asserts
 Cirencester, in particular, to have been both erected
 at it². Such was the practice of the Romans on their
 first reduction of the Britons. And such therefore was
 equally their conduct afterwards. By this means, the
 success of their arms was distinctly marked by the pro-
 gress

Sect. I. greſs of cultivation; and the face of the iſland gradually brightened up as the line of their conqueſts was advanced. And, when Agricola invaded Lancaſhire, the country upon one ſide of the line, under the refining government of the Romans, exhibited a pleaſing picture of cities and corn-fields in the boſoms of woods, and that on the other one uniformly dreary ſcene of moſſes, thickets, and marſhes, brown heaths, and ſolitary manſions.

This was not long the general aſpect of Lancaſhire: The Romans advanced into the county, and brought in all the arts of civil life. They introduced them indeed, not merely with the deſign of ſoftening the rough genius of Lancaſhire, and diffuſing the ſweets of ſocial happineſs among its inhabitants, but P. 202. to promote the purpoſes of their own ſelfiſh policy. That æternal wiſdom however, which gave all the central regions of the globe to the Romans, and for reaſons worthy the great Father of man, directed their cunning to his own ends, the higher cultivation of the rational powers, and the better propagation of the ſyſtem of redemption, among the Britons of Mancheſter and Lancaſhire.

Agricola ſubdued the county in his remarkable campaign of 79. And in the autumn of that year he ordered the ſtationary forts to be erected. This was neceſſarily the firſt object of his attention. But his ſecond had a deeper reach and more permanent conſequences. Actuated by the ſame principles of prudence as had influenced the conduct of the preceding legates, he adopted the ſame political meaſures. If

the Britons of Lancashire adhered to their original mode of living, and dwelt dispersed amid their forests and marshes, they would keep alive in their breasts their original spirit of independency, and be ever ready for insurrections. Agricola therefore exerted all his address, by private encouragements and publick assistances, by praises and remonstrances, to invite the Siftuntii from their habitations in one or the other to a common residence in towns. And his address prevailed. Many of the Siftuntii deserted their woods and swamps, and formed themselves into the communities of cities ^{Sect. 1.} 3.

Such was the first and original commencement of the present towns of Lancashire. And in the autumn of 79 arose Overborough, Freckleton, Lancaster, and Blackrode, Ribchester, Colne, Warrington, and Manchester. The erection of the towns, in general, is expressly asserted by Tacitus. And the construction of these, in particular, is attested by that Itinerary which was composed about sixty years only after the conquest of Lancashire. Six of them are specially mentioned in it, and not merely as stations but cities, as cities adjoining to the stations, P. 203. and included in the same names and forming the same towns with them. And hence, only, could some of the forts in the Itinerary be recorded by history, as enjoying the honourable title of Colonies, more of them as possessing the Freedom of Italy, and still more as being merely Stipendiary 4.

Thus was the autumn of 79 the very remarkable epoch of the origin of our towns in Lancashire. And they were placed in the neighbourhood of the Roman stations.

Sect. I. tions. So were all, that had been previously constructed in the south; such only excepted as were formed into colonies from the beginning, and had therefore no stations attendant upon them. The city of London in particular, which even in the reign of Nero was famous for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce, but was not then converted into a colony, was settled near the station on St. Paul's Church-yard, and carried along the line of the present Watling-street and Cheapside^s. And the towns of Lancashire would naturally be erected upon similar sites. So situated, they best answered the policy of the legate and the accommodation of the garrison. And such a position all the Roman accounts of the island plainly shew them to have had; almost every station in them being connected with one or other of our present towns, and antiquarianism being greatly employed in ascertaining the particular connection.

The town of *Rerigonium* or Ribchester was erected immediately to the north of the fortress, spreading from the influx of a brook into the Ribble up to the foss of the camp. And at that point, which now forms the northern margin of the river, the channel of its waters, and some meadow-ground to the south of both, have been found the most considerable remains. The Ribble has been almost the only discoverer of antiquities. And as it yearly bears down the bank of the town, and transfers a part of the site to the southern margin of its current, the floorings and foundations of houses have been visible in the face of the bank, and about two or three feet below the surface of it.—The town of *Coccium* or

Ilackrode,

Blackrode, as the regular tradition there asserts, was erected along the slope of the present hill, and continued within a few yards off the station, the barrow called Hafty-knoll, and the river Douglas.—And Veratinum or Warrington was built upon the humble elevation of the ground, which terminates the level of Broad Howley on the north-east. This was the nearest site to the camp, that was raised above the reach of the floods. There the antient church and parsonage continue to the present period. And Warrington remained there to the conclusion of the fifteenth century; even till the passage over the antient ford was deserted, a bridge was thrown across the Mersey below it, and the road was diverted from one to the other.

The town of Manchester was erected, not as the old and central parts of it are now placed, at the distance nearly of a mile from the Castle-field, but in the nearer and more immediate vicinity of the station. No tradition, however, ascertains the particular site. And, in the neighbourhood of a great town and a multiplicity of commercial avocations, little attention is paid to the remains of antiquity or the whispers of tradition concerning them. But there is a small region which encompasses the Castle-field on every side, is very frequently mentioned in our records, and denominated ALDPORT or Old Borough. Somewhere therefore within the compass of this district did the town originally stand. And a little fold of houses remains in it to the present period, which in all the deeds of the place carries the actual appellation of ALDPORTON or Old Borough Town. The town therefore was settled on the ground immediately

Sect. I. ately contiguous to these buildings. And betwixt them and the Castle-field is an area of sixteen or seventeen acres, now converted chiefly into gardens, and the genuine ground-plot of the antient Manchester. This lies immediately to the north of the station, and extends up to the new houses and new church in the Camp-field. Being in the immediate skirts of the town, the plough must have long and frequently ransacked the ground. And the many antiquities, which it called into light, would either be never attended to at all, or be seen, admired, and forgotten. But the soil of the southern part is merely a body of adventitious earth, fragments of bricks, pieces of hewn stones, and remnants of urns. Huge blocks of a millstone-grit, such as I have previously noticed in the Roman foundations of Castle-field, and had, I suppose, been brought down with them by the floods of the Medlock, have been recently dug up there with their mortar adhering to them. And the whole level appears to have been traversed with streets of regular pavement, in a variety of directions across it.

Upon that particular site then, which is terminated by a high bank and a morass below it on the west, by the great foss of the station on the south, the present highway or Aldport-lane on the east, and Tickle-street or Camp-field on the north, was the TOWN OF MANCHESTER originally erected. And upon this plat, then in the depth of the wood of Arden, were the Sifuntii of this region induced by Agricola to erect a town. They felled the trees, which from the first habitation of the island had been the only occupants of the soil. They laid open the area, then first laid open,

to

to the influence of the sun and winds. And they constructed their houses with the timber. The town would naturally be erected along the course of the way to Ribchester; commencing at first near the trench of the station, extending in one direct street along the road, and afterwards forking off into others. And the ways of our towns originally received the Roman appellation of streets, because our houses were constructed along the line, and the passages between them were carried upon the ridge, of the Roman highways or streets.

Such was the spot which Agricola selected for the position of THE TOWN OF MANCHESTER. And such was the commencement of a city, that was to become so conspicuous afterwards, to lengthen into fair streets and open into graceful squares, to contain assembled thousands within her circuit, and extend her commerce beyond the bounds of the ocean. It was founded very early in the reign of Titus, about the time of the first famous eruption from Vesuvius and the destruction of Herculaneum, and the months of September and October in the ever-memorable year 79.

¹ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. and lib. xii. c. 32, and Richard p. 24. — ² Richard p. 24, and Stukeley's Itin. Curios. p. 195. — ³ Ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates affuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes, &c.; Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21. These and the subsequent words have hitherto been strangely applied to

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the

Sect. I. the conquered Britons at large. But, as I have here shewed, towns had been erected in the south before. —
⁴ Richard p. 36, &c. — ⁵ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, and Wren's Parentalia p. 265. — ⁶ From some constructions made here many years ago by a gentleman of the name of Hooper, the old appellation has been popularly altered into Hooper-ton. And so Aldport itself, being once made a park, has the name of Aldparc in Camden. But in all the deeds the one is invariably denominated Aldport, and the other Aldporton.

P. 207.

II.

TO this period the Siftuntii of the neighbouring region had lived, as the Britons of the southern counties lived before, and as those of Ireland and the Highlands have continued to these modern times. They were divided into clans or families; and each acknowledged the authority of its proper regulus or lord. The number of clients in each was different in different clans, and naturally greater or lesser according to the wealth of the chiefs. And the retainer always attended the car of his lord to war, and was always settled about his habitation in peace ¹.

This was sometimes fixed conspicuously on the summit of a hill, peeping over the tops of the surrounding trees, and commanding all the neighbouring country ². More commonly it was placed in the hollow of a valley, and either upon the margin of one stream or the confluence of two, for the conveniency of water and security from winds ³.

winds³. And, in both cases, the followers lived immediately about the person of their chief, or in little booths along the windings of the valley; the latter being always within reach of the usual signals from the house, the striking the shield or blowing the horn of the lord⁴.

Sect. II.

The houses of the Britons, as I have formerly observed, were roomy buildings of a round form, and covered with a convex roof. And two edifices exactly of this shape were preserved as monuments of antiquity, in the shire of Ros, within these two centuries and a half; being, as the cotemporary relater of the fact expresses himself, *rotundâ figurâ, in formam campanæ facta*⁵. The lord's mansion was, as our superiour houses generally remained to the last century, all constructed of wood on a foundation of stone; was one ground-story; and composed a large, oblong, and squarish court⁵. A considerable portion of it was taken up by the apartments of such, as were retained more immediately in the service of the seignior. And the rest, which was more particularly his own habitation, consisted of one great and several little rooms⁶. In the great one was his armoury; the weapons of his fathers, the gifts of friends and spoils of enemies, being disposed in order along the walls⁷. And there he sat with his children and guests^{P. 208.} about him, listening to the song and the harp of his bards or daughters, and drinking from cups of shell⁸.

The venison of the Britons was prepared in a manner equally curious and artful. It was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and covered with a layer of smooth flat stones and another of fern above it⁹. And their ordinary

T 2

liquors

Sect. II. liquors were only water, milk, or metheglin ¹⁰. But on all festival occasions they drank what was then denominated Curmi, and is now called Curw by the Welsh and Ale by the English ¹¹. This liquor, the natural substitute of wine in such countries as could not produce the grape, was originally made in Egypt, the first planted kingdom in the dispersion from the east, that was supposed unable to produce it ¹². And, as the Noachian colonies pierced further into the west, they found or thought they found the same defect, and supplied it in the same manner. Thus the natives of Spain, the inhabitants of France, and the aborigines of Britain, all used an infusion of barley for their ordinary liquor. And it was called by the various names of Cælia and Ceria in the first country, Cervisia in the second, and Curmi in the last; all literally importing only the strong water ¹³.

With this every chief seems to have been sufficiently provided, the barley being probably brought into Lancashire from the more southerly parts of the island, and regularly exchanged with the Sifuntians for their cattle. And a commerce appears to have been actually carried on, even after the arrival of the Romans, to the extreme boundaries of the north ¹⁴. Each chief, therefore, would be furnished with the implements of a brewery, and prepare his own liquor. But, as the implements could only be few and the preparation simple, so the liquor seems to have been very strong, and both in colour and flavour little inferior to wine ¹⁵.

In this state of rural magnificence did the chiefs of the Mancunians live, when Agricola first urged them to reside near the station. - And from this did Agricola induce

duce one of them to depart, and build the town of Manchester. Attended by his train of followers, he relinquished his abode upon the heights or the valleys around us. And he settled with his clan on the northern bank of the Medlock. } Sect. II.

¹ Cæsar p. 120 and Diodorus p. 352 for the Gauls; and Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 36. regis clientelis, Agric. Vit. c. xii. clientes propugnant, and Ossian vol. I. p. 136 &c., for the Britons. — ² Ossian vol. I. p. 157 &c. — ³ Ossian vol. I. p. 99, 129, &c. and vol. II. p. 183. — Cæsar gives us this curious account of the Gallick houses: *Ædificio circumdato silvâ, ut sunt ferè domicilia Gallorum, qui, vitandi æstûs causâ, plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates*; p. 126. — ⁴ Ossian vol. I. p. 136 and Vol. II. p. 71. — ⁵ See ch. I. f. 3, and Boetius Scot. Reg. Descrip. fol. 4. 1575. Paris; and Ossian vol. II. p. 36, and Mona p. 89 and 246. And Dio calls the British houses *σκηναί*; and Zonaras (Basil, 1557, p. 185) makes Caractacus call them *σκηναίδιαι*. — ⁶ Ossian vol. I. p. 110. — ⁷ Ossian vol. I. p. 99, 165, and vol. II. p. 222. — ⁸ Ossian vol. I. p. 72, 240, 16, and 27, and Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline 4 — 1 and 3. — ⁹ Ossian vol. I. p. 15 for Caledonia. The same mode of cookery was practised in Ireland, and is still in some measure retained by the present Highlanders on their hunting parties; see Critical Diff. p. 132. — ¹⁰ Cæsar p. 89, Diodorus p. 353 of the Gauls and 357 of the Spaniards, and Strabo p. 305. — ¹¹ Vossius de Vitis Serm. in Curmi, and Camden p. 419. — ¹² Dio-

Sect. II. dorus p. 24. — ¹³ Diodorus p. 350, Strabo p. 233, and Vossius and Camden ibid. See also the note below.—

¹⁴ Ossian p. 116. vol. I. and Richard p. 32.

Mr. Macpherson vol. I. p. 74 is inclined to think, that the Britons of Caledonia generally drank wine in the time of Fingal. But this is utterly incredible; and p. 116. P. 210. vol. I. entirely refutes the notion. Speaking of cups studded with gems, the translation says thus, “*The BLUE Water trembles on their stars and seems to be sparkling Wine.*” This proves the Caledonians to have been acquainted with wine, but to have generally drunk a different liquor. What idea, however, the ingenious translator annexed to the words *Blue Water*, it is not easy to conceive. Curmi, the British word for Ale, may signify also Blue Water, Curm meaning Blue and Ui Water. And, as Blue is said to be the popular term for Ale in Somersetshire, so Curme is now the Highland word for a great feast (Crit. Diff. p. 329). This therefore, I take it for granted, was the word in the original; and Mr. Macpherson, not adverting perhaps to the particular meaning of his author, or not acquainted with the explaining passages of the antients, has put down one signification for the other. And this among other reasons induces one strongly to wish, that the truly spirited translator would either publish the originals, or deposit them in some publick library. See preface to vol. I.

The true word for Ale (as appears from the names Cæl-ia, Cer-ia, Cer-visia, and Cur-mi or Cur-w) is compounded of Ui or Uis Water, and of Cæl, Cer, and Cur, all one and the same word, and importing Strong. Gar, Ger, or A-ker signify lite-

rally Sharp or Rough: see Baxter in *Garionenum*, and Sect. II.
 Catalogue under Eager in b. II. ch. vi. f. 2.

²⁵ Diodorus p. 4, 41, 242, and 248, and Ofsian
 vol. I. p. 74 and 116.

III.

UPON the establishment of the Siftuntii in the vicinity of the station, such parts of the wood of Arden, as skirted the site of the town, would instantly be cleared away. And this was an employ, for which the Britons were sufficiently provided with instruments; as I shall shew them hereafter to have had large forges, and many artists employed in them^r. Furnished therefore with the requisite weapons from the storehouse of their chieftain, the Mancunians would proceed to the necessary business of destroying the woods immediately about them, and of opening a sufficient area. P. 211.

Loud sounds the axe, redoubling strokes on strokes;
 On all sides round the forest hurls her oaks
 Headlong; deep-echoing groan the thickets brown,
 Then rustling, crackling, crashing, thunder down.

POPE.

The whole site of the present Manchester would now be first cleared of its trees, and it and the land about it for the first time feel the hand of cultivation. And both, as we may easily conceive, soon presented to the eye a gay scene of pastures, meadows, and corn-fields,

T 4

finely

Sect. III. finely contrasted by the gloom of the woods around them.

The arts of agriculture were studiously prosecuted among the Romans. This appears from the variety of their writers on the subject. And they were equally pursued by all the tribes of the Gallick, and many of the British, Celtæ. Of this the numerous particulars, which the antients have mentioned concerning both, are a sufficient evidence². But, as the Celtæ varied from the Italians in some parts of their conduct, the different modes of management composed two systems of agriculture. And, though the Britons of Manchester might naturally be expected to have adopted the Roman, they actually preferred the Celtick. The latter had been long tried in these northern climates, and long approved by their brethren of Gaul and South-Britain; and would therefore be supposed the best adapted to the northern latitude of Lancashire.

Among the various manures with which the Roman farmers enriched their lands, they were totally unacquainted with the use of marle. The Celtæ of Britain and Gaul were the first that had marked this fertilizing clay in the earth, and had applied it to the purposes of agriculture. And they found it the most forcible and lasting of all manures, and therefore gave it the honourable appellation of marrow, Marg, Margil, or Marle³. They had even the credit of recommending it to the Greeks, who had a communication with both through the colonists of Marseilles, residing in the country of the one and trading to that of the other⁴. And it was distinguished into two sorts, the rough and the

P. 212.

the rich; which were easily discriminated in the handling, ^{Sect. III.} and were very useful either for corn-fields or grafs-lands⁵. And many others were classed under both: the white sand-stone, and the red, under the former; and the white, the pidgeon, and the sandy, under the latter⁶. — The first of these was reckoned infinitely fruitful upon corn-fields, if gathered from a springy soil; and was thought to burn the ground, if laid upon it in a large quantity⁷. And this is the same probably with the marle of Derbyshire; which has a great quantity of sand in its composition, and is of a hotter nature than the generality of our marles are⁷. The red was mingled with gravel-stones, and thought to be impregnated with salt; but was not half so heavy in the carriage as the others, and was spread in a thin coat upon the ground⁸. This is perhaps the red marle of Suffex, which has frequently a mixture of gravel in it⁸. And both retained their influence for fifty years together upon corn-fields, meadows, or pastures⁹. — The white was the principal of the rich marles, and subdivided into several sorts, the very biting, the silvery, and the fat. The silvery was the favourite of the Britons, and the soft chalk of our Kentish farmers at present; and lasted eighty years upon the ground¹⁰. And the fat was particularly used for grafs-lands; often producing a good crop of grafs upon corn-fields betwixt the end of harvest and commencement of seed-time, and lasting thirty years¹¹. The pidgeon marle was collected at first in hard and stone-like masses, but was dissolved by the force of the sun and frost, and became equally useful as the other¹². And this

Sect. III. this is plainly the stone-marle of Cheshire and Bamfshire, which is a kind of soft slate, bluish in the former county, and blue, pale-brown, and reddish in the latter; and is still laid in large masses on the ground, dissolves slowly with the frost, sun, and rains, and is reckoned a very durable marle¹². The sandy was used only for swampy ground, if any other could be got, and was preferred to all the rest for that; and sand is used both in Cheshire and Ireland for the improvement of their mosses and bogs at present, and it or gravel are esteemed the most effectual manure for the latter¹³.—And, as the dry was laid upon moist lands, the fat upon dry, and either the silvery or pidgeon on those of a proper temperature; so was every species ploughed into the ground, and mingled with a little dung¹⁴.

P. 213. This curious account of the Celtick manure clearly shews us the minute researches and accurate knowledge of the Celtick farmers. And the British, particularly, appear to have had considerable skill in their profession, as they chiefly had marked the superiour excellence of the silvery marle¹⁵. Both the British and Gallick had made the discovery of several of these sorts, just a little before the conquest of Lancashire¹⁶. And the knowledge of all, which the Britons of the midland regions had previously borrowed from the southern, were now communicated by them to the northern. The Mancunians now opened their inexhaustible treasures of marle, and pursued the spreading veins of it in the ground; not following them, as their brethren of the southern counties were obliged to follow them, and as we now trace the veins of coal, by sinking their quarries from a
narrow

narrow mouth above to a large cavity below¹⁷. In France, Sect. III. where the marle generally runs eighty or ninety feet below the surface, and in South-Britain, where the soft chalk was denominated the silvery marle, a mining process would be necessary, and is still pursued in both. But the genuine marle of Britain lies much nearer the surface, seldom more than seven or eight feet below it, and commonly about three or four only. In our own county, it is generally found about two or three below the ground; and must therefore have been always followed, as it is still dug, to the depth of as many yards only. And the marle-pits which were now made, and were for ages probably the common ones of our Manchester precincts, were as probably those large cavities at the extremity of Shudehill and Marketstreet-lane, which are called at present, and have (I believe) been for centuries denominated, THE DAUB-HOLES. The original pits were certainly near to the town, because the precincts at that time extended but a little way from it. And the Daub-holes remained very lately in their original condition of marle-pits, and from the emphaticness of their name appear to P. 214. have been always the most remarkable about the town.

This manure was peculiarly adapted to the strangely varying nature of the Mancunian soil, which is a compact clay or a light morass, a strong gravel, or a deep sand. And the use of it was now first introduced into the parish, where it is still the one principal manure of the lands, and the one operative cause of their great fertility; where, and in the adjoining Cheshire, the ap-
plication

Sect. III. plication of it is better understood than in any other part of the kingdom, and has changed their barren heaths and mosses into some of the best lands within them.

There were two sorts of scythes used in Europe at this period, the Italick or Roman, and the Gallick or Celtick. The former was a short one, like our present sickle; and, like it, was managed by the right hand alone. And the latter was a large one, like our present scythe¹⁸. The Britons of Manchester preferred the Celtick to the Roman, and first introduced it among us at this period. And here, as all over the kingdom, it has continued to the present moment; our farmers still continuing to act upon the model of the Gallick, to cut the herbage at a distance from the ground, and leave a considerable remainder behind¹⁹.

These are two distinguishing particulars, which the Mancunians adopted from their brethren of the south. And they seem also to have derived from them the knowledge of the flail and whetstone.

The only methods practised among the Romans for separating the grain from the straw, in the reign of Augustus, were either to trample the corn with cattle or press it with the tribulum²⁰. And the use of the flail was first introduced into Italy, about the period of the first Roman conquest in the island²¹. The colonies of the Belgæ, and the tribes of the neighbouring Britons, had therefore borrowed the Gallick instrument of threshing already. And, whatever they had adopted in general, their more northerly brethren appear to have copied from

from them. This instrument, however, was probably the flail ; and it was as probably introduced into Italy from Gaul. The Romans had considerable connections with that country in matters of agriculture ^{Sect. III.}²². Such an implement was the more likely to be invented there, as the Gallick farmers generally cropped only the ears of their corn, and the tribulum or cattle were found less effectual upon these than the flail ²³. And, when the latter was first introduced among the Romans, it was used only as the Gauls would have used it, upon such corn as had been reaped in the Gallick manner ²⁴.

The Romans had formerly imported their whetstones at a considerable expence from Crete, Laconia, and other equally distant places. And, as they were of no efficacy without the assistance of oil, the Italian haymaker was obliged to carry a horn of it constantly by his side. But, a little time before the reduction of Lancashire, Italy was found to produce very excellent whetstones, which were equal to a file for the purposes of sharpening, and required only the assistance of water. Such, however, had been long used by the Gauls, and were denominated Passernices among them ²⁵. And therefore they had been equally used by both the ruder and more civilized Britons, for sharpening their axes, daggers, and swords, and giving a finer edge to their razors ²⁶. These the Mancunians might easily have procured in the vicinity of the town. And one of them was discovered about sixty years ago at Craven in Yorkshire, as another was found about seventy in a moss within our own county. The latter was accompanied by an axe-head of copper, and the former by one of polished

Sect. III. polished marble, and some broken instruments of pointed bone; sufficient indications of their British original. The hone of Lancashire was a stone of a very uncommon P. 216. species. And that which was discovered in Yorkshire was a blue-grey one, three inches in length, nearly one in breadth, and an eighth of an inch in thickness²⁷.

Thus the Gallick system of husbandry, which would be originally pursued by the Belgæ of the southern shores, be successively transmitted from them to all the civilized tribes of the Britons, and therefore before the year 79 be extended into Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, was now brought from thence into Lancashire. And the sorts of grain, which were introduced with it, would naturally be such only as the farmers of Gaul, and the southern and midland natives of Britain, had previously known. Barley, long familiar to all the tribes of the Celtæ, and previously brought in for the use of the Lancashire breweries, would now be raised as these were continued. And the wheat was not of the Italian sort, white and heavy, but red and light, like the Gallick. This was originally the peculiar produce of Gaul, and continues to this day the only wheat of Lancashire. It was denominated by the Gauls *Brace*, *Brac*, or red coloured²⁸. And *Brace* is a word yet in use among the Bretoons for a species of grain, and *Breachtan* among the Irish to signify wheat particularly.

The flour of this would be first refined by the horse-hair sieves, which the Gauls originally invented, and our Mancunians continued to use within these fifty years; and then be kneaded into bread²⁹. That lightest

and

and properest aliment for the human body, in all probability, had never been tasted hitherto by the Lancashire Britons, and was now first introduced into the parish of Manchester; as a wild part of Argyleshire is said, even lately, to have been equally unacquainted with bread ³⁰. And the Brace was remarkable for the neatness of its grain; and for yielding near a fourth more of flour from any common quantity, than any other species of wheat ³⁰.

About the time of Agricola's entrance into Lancashire, a new sort of loaf had been introduced at Rome; which was formed only of water and flour, and much esteemed for its lightness. And it was called the water-cake from its simple composition, and the Parthian roll from its original inventors. But even this was not comparable to the French or Spanish bread for its lightness. The use of Curmi and the knowledge of brewing had acquainted the Celtes with an ingredient for their bread, which was much better calculated to render it light and pleasing, than the leaven, the eggs, the milk, or the wine and honey, of other nations. This was the spume which arose on the surface of their Curw in fermentation, and which the Welsh denominate *Burm* and we *Barm*. The Celtes of Gaul, of Spain, and most probably therefore of South-Britain, had long used it. And their bread was, in consequence of this, superiour in lightness to that of any other nation in the world ³¹.

³ B.

Sect. III. ¹ B. I. c. ix. f. 2. — ² Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15. and lib. xviii. c. 30, and Palladius lib. vii. c. 2. — ³ Pliny lib. xvii. c. 6. It is called Margil in Gallick (Baluzius tom. ii. C. 188), Marla in Irish, and Marle in Welsh. — ⁴ Pliny c. 6, Gallia et Britannia invenere, and c. 7. — ⁵ Pliny c. 7. — ⁶ Pliny c. 7 and c. 8. — ⁷ C. 7, and Mortimer's Husbandry, 1716, v. I. p. 88. — ⁸ Ibid. and Mortimer p. 89. — ⁹ Ibid. — ¹⁰ See some of these quarries of the silvery marle in Camden p. 236 (Kent) and in p. 318 (Effex). The latter are large and several (Salmon's Effex p. 297). And the former were dug for marle, even in the opinion of the inhabitants near two centuries ago (Lambard's Kent, 1596, p. 445). — ¹¹ C. 8. — ¹² Ibid. and Mortimer p. 87 and Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 126. — ¹³ Ibid. and Mortimer vol. II. p. 16 - 18. — ¹⁴ Ibid. — ¹⁵ Ibid. Hac maximè Britannia utitur. — ¹⁶ C. 7, Duo genera fuerant, plura nuper exerceri cœpta proficientibus ingeniis. — ¹⁷ C. 8. — ¹⁸ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. — ¹⁹ Ibid. — ²⁰ Virgil's Georg. lib. i. 164, and Varro de Re Rustica lib. i. c. 52. — ²¹ Columella lib. ii. c. 21, Baculis excuti, and meliùs fustibus tunduntur, and Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30, Peticis flagellatur. This however had been long used in the East (Isaiah xxviii. 27. &c.). — ²² See Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15, lib. xviii. c. 30, &c. — ²³ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30, Palladius lib. vii. c. 2, and Columella lib. ii. c. 21, *ipse* autem *spicæ* meliùs fustibus tunduntur. — ²⁴ Columella lib. ii. c. 21. — ²⁵ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. and lib. xxxvi. c. 22. — ²⁶ Cæsar p. 89. — ²⁷ Differt. prefixed to Hearne's

Hearne's Leland vol. iv, Leigh's Lancashire b. i. p. 18. Sect. III.
 and b. iii. p. 181, and Montfaucon's L'Antiquité Ex-
 pliquée tom. v. p. 195 for some weapons of sharpened
 bone, discovered in a Gallick sepulcher and among Gal-
 lick weapons on the continent. See also a draught of
 the Lancashire whetstone in Tab. iv. N° 2 of Leigh.
 It was found in a moss at Sawick, about nine miles
 from Marton Mere. — ²⁸ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7, Gallix
 quoque suum genus farris dedere, quod illic Brace vo-
 cant, apud nos Sandalum. The Romans called it by a
 Latin name exactly similar to the Gallick, Sandalum
 being the same in import as Brac, and both naming the
 wheat from its similitude in colour to the brogues or
 red shoes of the Celtæ. — ²⁹ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11. —
³⁰ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7. And see Birt's Letters on the
 Highlanders, v. II. p. 278—279, 1754. — ³¹ Pliny lib.
 xviii. c. 7 and 11.

IV.

THE town of Manchester being now erected in our
 Arden, and the woody circuit of it laid open, the se-
 veral parts of the latter would begin to assume their
 denominations. What these were we know but imper-
 fectly, few of the British names having descended to us.
 The appellations of our places have been all lost.
 But those of our rivers are generally preserved. The
 former are confined to a small extent of region, and
 known only to a few. But rivers flow through a length
 of country, and communicate their names and waters to
 different districts and various associations of men. While
 those therefore are easily lost, these are pretty faithfully
 retained.

Sect. IV. retained. And most of our rivers in the kingdom preserve to the present hour, the names which were imposed upon them two thousand years ago; and, still as they flow, refer us by their titles to that remarkable æra in our history, when the British stag took shelter in their streams from the chace, or the British warriors were mustered on their banks for fight. Such are the Avons, the Cams, the Tynes, and the Edens of other counties, and the Ribble, Douglas, and Calder of our own. And most of our Mancunian currents received at or before this period the very same denominations, with which we distinguish them at present.

P. 219.

That which rises in the hills of Oldham, divides Droylsden and Failsworth, Clayton and Newton, and at last winds along the foot of the Castle-field, was called Medlock or the River by the Britons. Med or Mat and Lug or Loc equally signify water; and in composition imply a quantity of it, either a river or a lake. The former constitutes half the name in the famous Med-way or the Roman Mad-us; the Roman Met-aris or Boston-deep in Lincolnshire; the Met-aurus of Gallia Togata, and also of Brutium, in antient Italy; the Med-uacus of the Veneti in Gallia Transalpina; and the Mode-wy, Mothe-way, or Methe-wic of Caermarthenshire. And the latter forms the whole of it in the Loxa of Scotland and the Logia of Ireland, the Lug of Herefordshire, the Luc-us of Liguria in antient Italy, the Loche of Somersetshire, and the great variety of Lochs in Ireland and Scotland.

There is also a little brook, that is now nearly lost in its own insignificance and fortune, but was once important enough

enough to claim the notice of the Britons, and to give ^{Sect. IV.} name to a street of the present town: From the Britons it received a denomination, which no lapse of time and no revolutions of history have been able to take away. And it retains to the present moment its primitive appellation of the Tib. Oozing from a small collection of water, which stagnates in Newton-lane and is fed by the drainings of the neighbouring fields, and having almost all its stream diverted into the great reservoir on Shude-hill; it scarcely continues its current along the borders of the town, but crosses the upper end of Market-street and Tib lanes, and communicates its name to the latter. And a little below Calley-banks it terminates its short course in the Medlock. The British denominations of our rivers have been strangely explained, in general, by all the interpreters of P. 210 them. And the characteristick genius of the British language, I think, has been little consulted in the explanations. I have previously shewn the word Avon to have been frequently contracted into Aun, An, or Un^s. And, as D-avon and T-avon are both the same with it, so are they contracted in the same manner. The former is abbreviated into Dane, the popular name of the Daven at Middlewich; into Danus, Don, or Dun, the ancient and present appellation of the current at Doncaster; into Done, the title of a stream in the county of Mar; and into Deen, the popular appellation of Ptolemy's Devana at Aberdeen. And the latter is reduced into Tayne, the name of a frith in Scotland; into Taune or Tone, that of a river in Somersetshire; and into Teyne, that of a current in Staffordshire. The

Sect. IV. name of Tib actually occurs in the eleventh Iter of Richard, the ancient denomination of the river at Cardiff in Wales. And like the Tavee, the Daff, and the Diff, the present varying appellation for the Tibia of Richard; like the ancient Tavus and Tobius; and like the Teivi, the Towey, the Dove, or the Dee, at present; it is merely an appellative, and signifies merely the Water³.

The stream which bursts in many springs from a wild heath under the greater ridge of the Yorkshire hills, passes by the town of Ashton, and issues into the Mersey below Portwood-bridge, was distinguished by a name equally indiscriminate and exactly the same. Various are the substitutions of one letter for another in the flexible language of the Britons. And Tib, Tav, or Tam are one and the same word. Thus did a petty rill receive the same appellation from the Britons as the mighty Tay. And a short mountain-torrent shares the title of the majestick Thames.

¶. 221.

These are all of them general and uncharacteristick names. And such are also the following; the Britons naturally marking their rivers by the simple denomination of Water, and only distinguishing one from the other by a different appellative. Thus the current which rises in the township of Gorton, crosses the roads to Stockport and Stretford, and then loses itself in the Irwell, was denominated Corin, Corne, or Waters. And the same title was originally given to the rivulet that named the ancient Corin-ium, Duro-cornov-ium, or Ciren-ester; as it is still continued in the present half-softened appellation of the Ciren or Churn⁴. Thus also the brisk stream,

stream, that springs at the foot of a hill in the chapelry of Shaw, pushes its hasty current by Ryton, Chatherton, and Blakeley, and falls into the Irwell at Huntbank, was denominated the Irke. And the greater one, that rises from a double fountain in Rossendale, and wheels nearly in one large circle about the township of Salford, assumed the similar appellation of the Irwill or Irwell ^{Sect. IV.} 5. The latter is like the Yr-wis or Ere-wash of Nottinghamshire 3, and the Ire-wer that falls into the Tay; the Wyles of Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and the Char-well of Oxfordshire: as the former is like the Arecha of Brutium in antient Italy, the Arche of France, the Arke of Yorkshire and the West-highlands, the Herke of Flanners, the Girch of Caernavonshire, and the Eärke or Irke of the same county. And both equally with Corne signify only Waters.

But some of our rivers would receive their names before or during the existence of the British fortress, and long before the construction of the Roman-British town. And the large important current of the Mersey, which ranges along the confines of the parish for many miles together, must have had one as early as the first population of Lancashire. Issuing from the wastes of Woodhead and the moors of Mottram, and successively receiving the Goit, the Tame, and the Irwell; it becomes equally rapid and deep, superiour to all the neighbouring rivers, and the natural boundary of kingdoms and provinces in every period; and yet was distinguished by a name of the same import only with the Irwel^l, and called Beli-sama ^{P. 222.} 6 or the Current of Waters. Thus we have the

Sect. IV. Beale and the Bawl in Kent, the Beile in Lancashire, the Below in Yorkshire, the Bellow in Westmoreland, and the Bily in Suffex; the Somer-gill in Shropshire, the Some-gill in Radnorshire, the Seamer in Yorkshire, the Sambre in Flanders, and the Somme in France. And in a later age, while the Siftuntii resided in the Castle-field, they could not but have given an appellation to the river, which led its stream directly against the site of their woodland fortress, and is made to sweep round the front of it in a large curve. They must likewise have given names to most of the more remarkable objects around them, the current of Cornebrook and the eminence of Huntsbank, the valley of Broughton, the Irke, the Irwell, and the High Knolls. This would naturally be the case with the precincts of the original Manchester. And it serves to clear up a considerable difficulty to us, with regard to the primæval fortresses of the Britons in the north.

As the rivers Eden and Irthing divided the Volantii from the Gadeni and Selgovæ, and the Tyne and Tappal separated the Brigantes from the Ottadini; when encroachments were attempted and jealousies entertained by these northern powers, the four rivers would naturally be secured with a chain of fortresses. The Gadeni seem to have erected Aballaba upon the Irthing and against the Volantii; and the Ottadini Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum, along the stream of the Tyne, and against their more dangerous enemies the Brigantes. The Volantii raised Axelodunum and Luguvallium upon the Eden, against the Selgovæ and Gadeni; and the Brigantes constructed Gallava upon

East

East-Allon river and against the Ottadini. And these ^{Sect. IV.} appear distinguished from the fortresses about them that carry British appellations, by their vicinity to the bounding currents and the peculiar significancy of their names. They are almost all of them planted directly upon the margin of the rivers. And they are all evinced by their appellations to have been actually the stations of the Britons'. Such or similar, I suppose, was the state of the boundaries, about a century before Agricola invaded the north. And the confines of other tribes in the island were assuredly fortified for the same reason, and lined with stations in the same manner. But the more numerous construction of Roman forts in these than other parts of the kingdom, and the preservation of their names in the Imperial Notitia and two Itineraries, have accidentally given us a more particular account of the previous fortresses of the Britons in them.

And, in the fortified state of these extensive frontiers, P. 224. the precincts of the several towns would have their particular objects distinguished by particular names. Thus the Voluntian garrison of Axelodunum, I suppose, gave the appellation of Goats-head to a remarkable eminence near them, on which the Romans afterwards constructed the station of Gabro-centum. The Gadeni of Aballaba, or some nearer fortress, would give the names of Con-gavata and Ambo-glanna, the shelving or the rounded dale, to two remarkable vallies in their neighbourhood. And the Ottadini of Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum conferred the denominations

Sect. IV. of *Æfca* or *Water* upon an adjoining rivulet, and of *Cilurnum* or *Creek* upon a bay in an adjoining stream; and those of *Hunnum* or the *Green*, and of *Condercum* or the *Height* upon the water, to two neighbouring places^a. In this or some such manner would the striking objects, in the vicinity of the British forts, be all particularly denominated among the Britons. They imposed the names upon the places, before the Romans invaded their country; and would naturally continue them, when they settled in towns under the protection of the stations. And the Romans as naturally retained the one, when they constructed their little camps on the other^b.

For want of the same notices, as they have thus transmitted to us concerning the British fortresses in one particular region of the north, the names of the principal objects in the vicinity of the original Manchester are most of them lost. And the *Irwell*, the *Medlock*, the *Cornebrook*, and the *Irke* are almost the only remainder of them. What the others were, however, we may pretty nearly conjecture, in general, from the above-mentioned names in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned fortresses. The valley of the Roman cattle, being nearly encircled with a sweep of hills, might have received the peculiarly apposite denomination of *Amboglanna*; the eminence of *Huntsbank* have assumed the title of *Condercum*; and the *High Knolls* have borne the name of *Gabrocentum*. And, so conferred, would all the appellations be transmitted from the soldiers of the old to the citizens of the new town; receive

P. 225.

receive an addition of others from the latter; and be all regularly continued among the Britons of Manchester, to the last sad period of the Sifuntian possessions and the last sad close of the Sifuntian name¹⁰. Sect. IV.

² Richard Iter 15, Ptolemy in Ireland and Scotland, and Richard in Scotland p. 32. — ³ B. I. ch. v. f. 1. — ³ So Dun-dee, a town upon the Tay, Lan-daff and Caer-diff, towns upon the Tavee, &c. And see a variety of errors in Baxter, Camden, and others, under Veratinum, &c. — ⁴ See Baxter's strange etymology for Corn or Corinium; which makes it signify a great or principal river, in opposition at once to the true principles of etymology and to real fact. There are other rivers in England so called, but all mean and trifling; as the Corne near Ludlow, &c. — ⁵ The name is now universally written Irwell, but is oftener Irwill in our ancient records. And for the Yrwis see Thorton's Nottinghamshire p. 205. — ⁶ See b. I. ch. v. f. 1, which proves the Mersey of the present times to be the Belifama of Ptolemy. — ⁷ Vindo-lan-a and Vindo-bal-a P. 226. signify the forts on the Vents or heights; and Lugu-vallium, Gal-av-a, and A-ball-ab-a, those on the water. Gual, a rampart, is formed into Wall, Val, Bal, and Ual or Al. Hence Bala remains to this day the Welsh and Irish appellation of a town; and we have Bano-val-um, the fort on the Bane, in Ravennas, and Bal-clutha and Al-cluid, the fortrefs on the Clyde, for the same place in Ossian and Bede. And, as Sege-dunum and Axela-dunum carry the same meaning, the high and dry town,

so

Sect. IV. *fo* Pro-colitia seems to mean the fort in the woodlands. See also Al-nechmaft in b I. ch. xii. f. 4, Baxter's various mistakes under these and similar names, and Horfeley for the sites of these towns. — ⁸ See Baxter for these names and Macpherson in *Ossian* for Inis-huna. I have here chosen to produce the etymons of others rather than my own. — ⁹ Magnis, Borcovicus, Petriana, Corstopitum, and Pons *Ælii* have all, I suppose, merely Roman names. See Baxter for Borcovicus and Corstopitum. — ¹⁰ In this section I have interpreted some of the names of our Manchester rivulets, a little differently from what I had in the first edition. I have, since that, had occasion to take more comprehensive survey of the general appellations of our rivers. And I hope, in some future work, to enter fully into this subject, to bring all the coincident names in the island and on the continent into one view, and to make them reciprocally illustrate and explain each other.

V.

WHEN Agricola made his application to the chiefs of Lancashire, and urged them to unite with their clans in towns, and settle in the neighbourhood of the Roman stations; the prejudices which they had received from education, and the pride which they took in their solitary dignity, would naturally prevail upon them at first to resist his solicitations and neglect his remonstrances. But some did not long either resist or neglect. By the happy address of the legate and his sensible application

plication to their passions, the scheme of erecting towns Sect. V.
 was made the mark of politeness, and the desire of immediately settling in them a subject of æmulation ¹. And a spirit was excited by Agricola, which of itself soon executed all his political designs. The new citizens P. 227.
 quickly passed from the conveniences of a rural life, to the refinements and luxuries of a town one. And when once the old associations of ideas are broken, and the sudden adherence to revered customs is overcome, the natural impotence of the mind generally transports it into the rage of innovation and the violences of excess.

The dress of the Lancashire chiefs, to this period, must have been the same with that of the British in general, and of the Celtick in France and Spain. And this is the curious delineation of it.

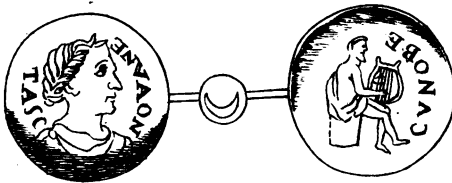
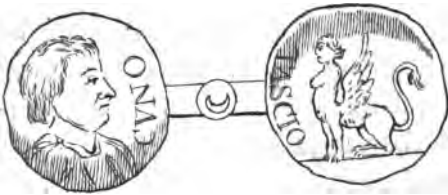
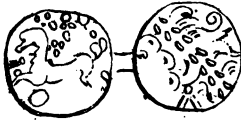
Tacitus, with two strokes of his lively pencil, seems to have given us a compleat head of a Lancashire Briton. His words are these; and they have never yet been noticed, because they have not been understood. *Rutila Caledoniam habitantium comæ — ; Silurum colorat vultus et torti plerumque crines* ². The red hair generally prevailed among the more northerly Britons; as, I think, it does to this day. And the Britons of Wales were distinguished, as the mountaineers of it and of Lancashire are at present, by their curled hair, which is generally black, and their fresh-coloured countenances, — This hair, equally in the lord and client, was turned back upon the crown of the head; and fell down, as it did among the Irish within these two centuries, in long bushy curls behind ³. And the beard of both was suffered to grow to a considerable length; but, as equally among

Sect. V. among the Irish, was confined to the upper lip³. Both of them appeared naked in battle: and the Highlanders retained the practice in part to the present times; as late as the battle of Killicranky throwing off their plaids and short coats, and fighting in their shirts. And this rude custom was attended with two others, the painting of their bodies for the fight, and the wearing of a ring round their middles. On all other occasions, the common people (as I shall shew hereafter⁴) were clothed in skins; and their lords appeared in this, the one fanciful uniform of the chiefs through all the Celtick regions of Europe⁵.

The trunk of the body was covered with a jacket, which the Britons called a Cota and we denominate a Waist-coat. It was plaided, and open before, had long sleeves extending to the hands, and reached itself to the middle⁶. And below this began the trowsers, which were called Braccæ, Brages, or Breeches by the Britons, wrapped loosely round the thighs and legs, and terminated at the ancles⁷. These also were plaided, as their name intimates; Brac signifying a parti-coloured object, and the upper garment of the Highlanders being therefore denominated Breac and Breacan to this day⁷. And trowsers were equally worn by the Batavi of Holland and the Vangiones of Germany, the Sarmatæ, and the Persians⁸.

Over these was a looser garment, denominated formerly by the Gauls a sack, and by the Irish lately a mantle. This was equally plaided, and was of a thick strong contexture. And it was fastened upon the body with buttons, and bound round the belly with a girdle. The former appear to have been placed one upon either

either shoulder, where the Highlanders use a fort of ^{Sect. V.} pins at present; and are seen distinctly on these three coins of some British monarchs.



And the latter, which is frequently used to this day by the Highlanders, and also appears upon the following coin,



seems to have been particularly ornamented; as some of the Gauls bound their garments with belts that were decorated

Sect. V. decorated with gold and silver, and as in the Roman triumph over Caractacus his phaleræ made a part of the splendid show⁹.

Round the naked neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the naked breast; and on the middle or second finger of both hands was a ring. The ornamental chains of Caractacus were exhibited with his phaleræ in the procession at Rome. And both were made of gold among the chiefs, and of iron among their followers¹⁰. They had shoes upon their feet, which were the same assuredly with the buskins, that were used within these five centuries in Wales; and with the light flat brogues that are worn to this day by some of the Irish and Highlanders; and, like them, were made of a raw cow-hide that had the hair turned outwards¹¹. And they wore round bonnets on their heads¹².

This remarkable dress of our British ancestors, which continued very nearly the same to the commencement of the last century among the natives of Ireland¹³, and has actually descended to the present among the mountaineers of Scotland, and is therefore rendered very familiar to our ideas; carried in it an astonishing appearance to the Romans¹³. And it seems to have been equally the dress of the men and women, among the nobles of Britain¹⁴. But, in a few years after the erection of the Roman-British towns in the north, and in the progress of refinement among them, this ancient habit began to be disesteemed by the chiefs of the cities, and looked upon as the badge of ancient barbarism. And the growing prejudices were soon so greatly improved, that, within twenty years only after the

the construction of the towns, the British Sagum was ^{Sect. V.} actually resigned and the Roman Toga assumed by many of them ¹⁵.

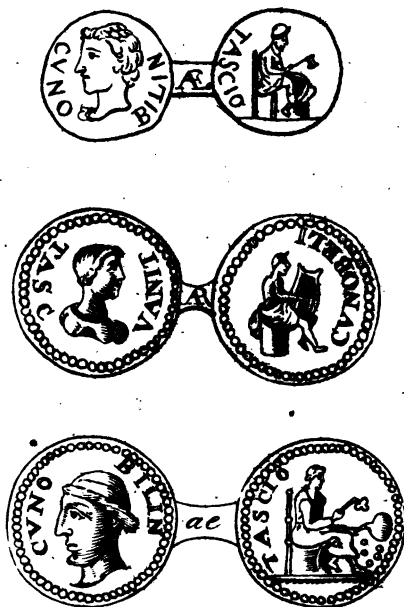
The gown, however, never became universal in Britain. And it seems to have been adopted only by the barons of the cities and the officers of the crown; and has therefore been transmitted to us as the robe of reverence, the ensign of literature and the mantle of magistracy. The wollen and plaided garments of the chiefs having naturally superseded the leathern vestures of their ^{P. 229} clients, the former were still worn by the generality of the Britons. And they were retained by the gentlemen of the country, and by the commonalty both in country and city. That this was the case, appears evident from the correspondent conduct of the Gauls and Britons; who kept their Virgata Sagula to the last, and communicated them to the Franks and Saxons ¹⁶. The plaided drapery of the Britons still appeared general in the streets of Manchester; and must have formed a striking contrast to the gown of the chief, the dark mantle of Italy. And it, and the ornamented buttons on the shoulder, are preserved among us even to the present moment, in the particoloured cloathing and the tasselled shoulder-knots of our footmen ¹⁷.

The Romans, therefore, appear plainly not to have fostered any prejudices in the Britons against the habits of their fathers; and did not endeavour, with the policy of the Tartar conquerors of China, to assimilate the natives to themselves in the distinguishing exteriors of dress. And the general drapery of the nation was British, improved only with some additions from the Roman wardrobe.

The

Sect. V.

The British gentlemen, like the Gallick, retained their antient ornament of chains¹⁸. And the Britons in general did not adopt the Roman Pileus or Petasus as a covering for the head; but continued their own Kappan, Hata, or Boined in use, as they have transmitted them and their appellations to us¹⁹. We have a variety of caps delineated upon their antient coins, as,

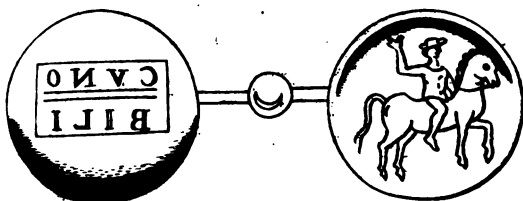
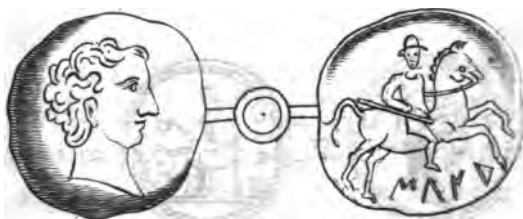


And these are apparently the same, that are used by our meaner Mancunians at present. We have also a Highland bonnet on another piece, and such as is still worne

worne in our Bluecoat-Hospital at Manchester, and by Sect. V.
 some of the Lowland peasants in Scotland:



And the following hats were engraved above 1700 years ago, and yet correspond pretty well to the form and appearance of the modern ¹⁹.



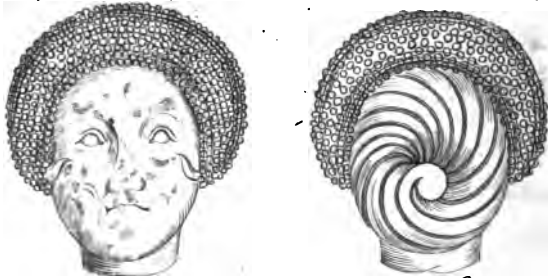
Seft. V. The Britons seem to have equally retained the tunic of their ancestors; the long-sleeved waist-coat having remained among us nearly to the present period as the general undress of the nation, and continuing the ordinary habit of our Mancunian rusticks at present ²⁰. They seem also, like the Gauls, to have preferred the structure of their own shoes to that of the Roman; still making them of hides, and in the form of our present half-boots and present pumps; still denominating them, as the Bretons and Irish still call their shoes, *Betais* or *Boots* and *Buimpis* or *Pumps*; and leaving the names and the shoes to their brethren of *Armorica* and *Wales*, and to their conquerors the Saxons of *England* ²¹. And they plainly kept their antient trowsers; as they afterwards communicated to the Saxons their own appellation of *Breeches* for them, and as our sailors continue to wear them at present.

P. 230.

But they borrowed some additions to their original dress from the fuller wardrobe of the Romans. The *Subucula* or *Shirt* of the latter, at the beginning of their residence among us, was not composed of linen, but was merely a jacket of flannel ²². And this appears to have been generally worn in the nation, as it remains to this day the shirt of some peasants in the more northerly parts of *England*, and of most of the common people in *Wales*. But, as the Roman ladies always wore *subuculæ* of linen ²³, their conduct would naturally be followed at last by the gentlemen; and a garment so promotive of bodily elegance be common to both.

both. Those at Rome had accordingly adopted it before Sect. V.
 the close of the third century; and at the commence-
 ment of the fourth it was become universal among
 them²⁴. And, familiar in the island before the departure
 of the Romans, it was retained by the Britons of the
 tenth century, and communicated to the Saxons and
 us²⁵. Stockens are also another article in the dress of
 the Britons, which was derived from the Romans. The
 use of them was introduced among the latter about the
 conclusion of the commonwealth, and Augustus is the
 first person in history that is mentioned to have worn
 stockens²⁶. It was late before they were contrived,
 and it was long before they were universally adopted.
 And, in consequence of them, the trowsers would nat-
 urally be abridged of their customary length, and re-
 duced to the form of our present breeches²⁶. But
 stockens were not ordinarily worn by the commonalty
 of the provinces; as may plainly be collected from the
 mode subsisting four or five centuries ago among the
 Welsh, and kept up by the lower ranks of them
 within these two; still retained among the populace of
 the Scotch Lowlands, and even occasionally followed by
 the peasants of Manchester at present²⁶.

And some of the British ladies probably dressed
 their heads, as several of the Roman in Britain did,
 exactly in the high style of the present fashion. This is
 the curious representation of a Roman lady's head,
 which was found some years ago at Bath; the hair
 dressed in flat open buckles, and mounting upwards
 to a peak.



By a Scale of one-fourth.

The fashion commenced about the middle of the first century in Italy; and, what seems very surprising to a speculatist on the quick revolutions in our modern fashions, it continued to the close of it, gradually growing all the time. It then fell into discredit, and disappears on the coins of the Romans. But its disappearance was only temporary. And this part of its history is pretty similar among the Romans and ourselves. Like the high commodes of King William's days, revived with variations in the present head-dress; it returned at Rome about the same distance of time from its banishment, and once more asserted its empire over the caps of the ladies²⁷. And it seems from the bust above to have even returned with that small appendage to the head-dress of the present times, the side or ear lock. One appears in the plate; a little different in the form, but the same in reality and design.

And with this miscellaneous dress, partly Roman and partly British, the provincials preserved the distinguishing custom

custom of their ancestors, and still coloured all the naked Sect. V.
 parts of their bodies with paint. The whole united
 corps of historians and antiquarians have indeed sup-
 posed and asserted the direct contrary: but they have
 supposed it without authority, and asserted it against
 proof. We shall hereafter find the Saxons retaining this
 extraordinary custom in the highest advances of their
 civil refinements, and to the final period of their empire.
 They could not have imported it with their colonies
 from the banks of the Elbe, this Indian fashion being
 unknown to all but the Arians in Germany. And they
 must therefore have received it, and are expressly de-
 clared to have borrowed it, with many other modes of
 personal decoration, from those Britons over whom
 they triumphed and among whom they settled in the
 island²³.

A body of men, just emerging from a state of real or
 supposed barbarism, and adopting the refinements of
 their neighbours, will scarcely ever proceed with a sober
 and sensible discrimination. The association of vicious
 with refined manners is easily avoidable in speculation.
 And yet it was never escaped in practice. The city-
 chiefs, copying the politeness of the Romans, copied
 also those wretched accompaniments of it, indulgences
 which unbraced the body and softnesses that unmanned
 the mind. The robust and hardy Briton, whose nerves
 had been strung by the healthful energy of toil, now
 repaired to the springs of Buxton or Bath, and stewed
 in the relaxing waters. And that frivolous spirit of
 gallantry and indolence, which annually crowds both those
 places at present, had its commencement at this period.

Sect. V. He, whose blood had been purified by a healthful simplicity of diet, now imitated the elegance of the Roman tables. And he, whose range was the forest and the mountain; constructed porticos on pillars, and affected the luxury of an airy saunter in a walk of state?¹.

P. 232.

These, however, are striking evidences of the speedy growth of civility, and the rapid progress of politeness, among the natives of the north; of a civility, which must have been more and more widely diffused, and of a politeness, which must have been considerably refined, through the long course of the subsequent ages. And in all these improvements the mind would necessarily share. The sons of the chiefs were now taught to expand their views, beyond the circle of a hunting life and the details of traditionary history; and to enlarge their minds with acquisitions of knowledge. Their connection with the Romans put into their hands the great volume of human literature, the history of man and the assemblage of the sciences. And they determined to read it. The difficulties of the Roman language gradually sunk before them, and the unknown worlds of science lay open to their view. They entered, seized the literary treasures of antiquity, and, for the first time, introduced them into the regions of the north. Nor did they rest here. The luxury of study, and the pride of intellect, soon led the new votaries of learning from the useful and instructive, to the ornamental and pleasing, branches of literature. They invaded the fairy regions of classical taste. They studied the purity of the
Roman

Roman language. And they cultivated the graces of Seft. V.
the Roman compositions ³⁰.

¹ Honoris emulatio pro necessitate erat, Agric. Vit. c. 21. — ² Agric. Vit. c. 11. — ³ Strabo p. 305, Dio p. 1003, Diodorus p. 351, and Cæsar p. 89; Harris's Ware p. 60 and 176, Davies p. 185, and Camden p. 792, for the modern Irish; and Camden p. 707 for the Highlanders. — ⁴ B. I. ch. xi. f. 1. — ⁵ Cæsar p. 89; Diodorus p. 353, speaking of some Gauls that still continued to fight naked; the general account of historians reduced to a consistency; and Herodian lib. iii c. 47. For the battle of Killicranky see Macpherson's Crit. Diff. p. 164. — ⁶ This is called *Χίτων* P. 233. by Dio p. 1003, speaking of Bunduica, and by Diodorus p. 353, speaking of the Gauls; is said by the former to be *παραποικίλος* or all variegated, and declared by the latter to be *Χρῆμασι παρ' ὁδοῦσιν διαγλισμένον* or flowered with various colours in divisions. And see Strabo p. 300. — ⁷ Martial lib. xi. E. 21. of the Britons, Diodorus and Strabo (ibid.) of the Gauls, and Himerius in Photius's Bibliotheca c. 1135. Rothom.— See also Critic. Diff. p. 166. — ⁸ Vossius de Vitiis Serm. in Braccæ. — ⁹ Dio p. 1003 and 1004, Diodorus and Himerius ibid., Strabo p. 233 *αὐθιγός*, p. 265, and p. 300, and Camden p. 793 for the modern Irish. Sagum (says Varro) is a Celtick word; and Saic signifies in Celtick a Skin or Hyde, the original name probably of the antient

Sept. V. drefs (Critical Diff. p. 166).—These coins are Borlase 14, Stukeley 21—7 and 6—4, and Pegge 5—3; see ch. ix. f. 1.—See also Diodorus p. 353 for the Gallick belts, and Tacitus Ann. lib. xiii. c. 36. for the British. — ¹⁰ Dio of Bunduica p. 1003, Tacitus *ibid.* of Caractacus, Diodorus p. 351. of the Gauls, Herodian lib. iii. c. 47, and Pliny lib. xxxiii. c. 1.—¹¹ See Ware's Ireland, Harris, p. 178, and Birt's Let. from Scot. v. II. p. 115, 185, and 186; and Giraldus's Cambriæ Desc. p. 887. Camden. — ¹² See the figure of a North-Briton upon a Roman monument in Horfeley N^o 3 of Scotland. — ¹³ See Camden p. 707. and Diodorus p. 353.—And yet Mons. Voltaire, and others of our historical writers, have most ridiculously asserted this drefs to be the remarkable remains of the Roman. — ¹⁴ Dio for Bunduica, and Camden p. 793 for the Irish women. — ¹⁵ *Inde habitus postri honor & frequens toga* (Tacitus c. 21). — ¹⁶ See an old author in Baluzii Capitularia c. 741. tom. II. And see b. II. ch. vi. f. 1.—¹⁷ Martial l. xiv. E. 129,

Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis.

From this passage, as well as from the secondary sense of the word Brac or Brog, signifying rufus or red in the brace or red wheat mentioned before; the red, and not the blue, appears to have been the predominating colour in the Celtick garments. Dr. Macpherson's tradition therefore (Crit. Diff. p. 166) is as wrong, as his application of Claudian is unjust. *Cæruleus* or blue (as Cæsar assures us p. 89) was the favourite colour, not of the British cloaths, but of the paintings on their bodies.

bodies. And for that reason Claudian gives Britannia Sect. V.
a Cærulus or blue garment,

Cujus vestigia verrit

Cærulus, oceanique æstum mentitur, amictus.

— ¹⁸ Evans's Welsh Poems 1765 p. 72, Eurdorchawd, and p. 78. — ¹⁹ See Suetonius p. 82, Solis—ne hiberni quidem patiens, [Augustus] domi quoque non nisi P. 234
petasatus sub djo spatiabatur; and Montfaucon plate 15. tom. III. L'Ant. Expliquée,—And these coins are Pegge 3—9, 4—3, and Camden 1—2; Stukeley 1—10; and Pegge 5—3, Stukeley 4—8 and 14—6: and see ch. ix. f. 1. — ²⁰ And see Montfaucon ibid. c. 17. He there mentions some antient representations of Roman Gauls discovered in France, the sleeves even of whose gowns thus reached to the hands. — ²¹ So the Welsh near the close of the 12th century were pedibus—corio crudo confutis, barbaris pro calciamento *peronibus* utentes, Giraldus's Cambriæ Def. p. 887. So the shoes of the Gauls in plate 47 and 48 of Montfaucon tom. III. all cover the foot entirely, and reach up to the calf. And see Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5, and Birt's Letters v. I. p. 86. — ²² Hieme Augustus—subuculæ thorace Janco—muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82), and Horace lib. i. Ep. 1. — ²³ Pliny lib. xix. c. 1. — ²⁴ Hist. Aug. Scrip. p. 128, *Boni* linteaminis appetitor fuit [Alexander Severus], dicens, Si linteï idcirco sunt *ut nihil asperum habeant*,—quid opus &c. Here the expression, *Ut nihil asperum habeant*, plainly determines these linen garments to be worn the next to the skin, and shews Montfaucon and others to be wrong, who date the original
of

Sect. V. of linen shirts lower than this period. — ²⁵ Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5, where the breeches even of the court-apparitor are mentioned to have been of linen; and, if these were, the shirt must be presumed to have been so. And see Baluzius in Capit. tom. II. c. 741. — ²⁶ Augustus — hieme — tibialibus — muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82). — And see Howel Dha l. i. c. 39. A. 5. — In Giraldus's Cambriæ Descr. p. 887, the lower ranks of the Welsh *nudis pedibus* ambulant vel &c., even when going to war. And within these two centuries they used commonly to travel bare-legged, carrying their stockings “on their neck, to save their feet from wearing, because they had no change” (D. of B. in Hollingshead, 1586, p. 181). — ²⁷ Musgrave's Belgium Britannicum v. I. p. 217 — 220, Itin. Curios. p. 149, and Horfeley p. 329 and Somersetshire Fig. 11. This drawing is taken from Musgrave, and is one fourth of his. — ²⁸ See b. II. ch. 6. f. 1. — Malmesbury f. 57 (Saville's edit.) asserts the Saxons to have been *Picturatis stigmatibus* *cutem insigniti*. — ²⁹ *Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, balnea, & conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur* (Tacitus c. 21). — ³⁰ *Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire —, ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent* (Agric. Vit. c. 21); Martial,

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus;

and the Romans appear in Dio p. 1007 to have early introduced the submitting Britons to an acquaintance with general history.

VI. WHILE

VI.

WHILE the northern Britons were thus happily P. 235. adopting the elegant refinements of Italian politeness, and catching the ingenuous spirit of Roman literature; the precincts of Manchester would be divided into farms. These assuredly were large and extensive, as such were those of the Gallick husbandmen¹. And buildings would necessarily be erected for the management of them, the first farm-houses that arose in the neighbourhood of Manchester. These must have been generally raised upon the convenient border of a stream, on the edge of Shooter's brook, the bank of the Irke, and the margin of the Medlock. And in them and their offices would all the concerns of the farm be transacted.

The milk of the Britons had not only furnished them with a pleasant liquor, but had long been formed into an agreeable food². This was butter, an article of provision for the table that was utterly unknown to the Romans. And, to a mind delighted with the history of human manners, it is curious to observe the terms in which one of their writers describes it. He says, that it is the spume of the milk, that it is more concreted than what is denominated the butter-milk, and that it has the nature of oil in it³. Butter was highly esteemed by the tribes of the Celtæ, and the use of it was confined to their chiefs⁴. And the process in making it was essentially the same, as it remains to the present moment⁵.

Sect. VI. To these the Mancunians would now add a third species of milky food, and for the first time understand the art of making cheese⁶. And those, which were most in estimation among the Romans of this period, were the Gallick, and particularly such of them, as were produced at Nismes and two villages of the Gevaudan. These were calculated only for immediate use⁷. And such assuredly were those of the Britons, which the Belgick colonists had been long accustomed to make, and many of the nearer Aborigines instructed to make after them⁸.

P. 236.

The Britons had hives in all probability, before, near the mansions of their chiefs; bees having been brought in colonies with their queens from the woods, and metheglin made of their honey⁹. And they assuredly had them near their farm-houses at present; and constructed these as well as other implements of that neat contexture of willows, for which they were peculiarly famous, and to which they gave its present appellation of Bascaud or Basket work¹⁰. Such a hive was found about eighteen years ago in Chatmofs, six feet below the surface, and in sinking a turf-pit. It was a cone two yards and a half in height, and one in diameter at the base; consisted not of a single chamber, but of four stories, one hive taking up the whole of one story. It was made of unpeeled willows, and had doors large enough to admit a full-grown hand into the hives. And it contained compleat combs and perfect bees within, which soon mouldered into dust upon the introduction of the air to them¹¹.

The

The British chieftains had kept poultry about their ^{Sect. VI.} seats before; not for the purposes of food, but merely for the satisfaction which they had in their social aspect, and the pleasure that they received from their domestick notes ¹². And those of the southerly counties had equally laid out gardens near their houses before ¹³. But at this period, and for many centuries afterwards, the flower-garden, the orchard, and the kitchen-garden of the present times were all united in one. The first would be little cultivated at the beginning. And the ^{P. 237.} few native flowers of the island were easily collected, as they skirted our woods or checkered our slopes. But the kitchen-garden and orchard must have been more carefully attended. And the wild fruits and woodland vegetables, which had frequently afforded an occasional repast to the hunter or the traveller, would now be gathered, and transplanted into the precincts of the town. The carrot shoots naturally wild in Britain and France, was originally carried into Italy from the latter, and is only altered by manure and meliorated by care ¹⁴. And the turnip was particularly used in Gaul, and even dispensed as a food to the Gallick cattle in winter ¹⁵; an application of roots, which has been vainly esteemed the result of modern genius, and is one of the greatest improvements in modern agriculture.

The rabbit was not yet an inhabitant of the island; and therefore there is not any to this day in all the north of Scotland ¹⁶. But the hare had always been. This animal the Britons made use of for the purposes of divination ¹⁷. And they never killed it for the table ¹⁸. But, from the delight which they took in breeding it, they

Sect. VI. they kept numbers about the courts of their chiefs¹⁹. And the idea of a hare-warren, and the model of a park, were originally derived to us from the primæval Britons.

The boar would be often pursued into the toils, removed alive to the farm-house, and made a serviceable animal for the uses of the table. And the discipline of the knife would reduce the wild ranger of the woods into a peaceful inhabitant of the farm-yard. But the Britons of Lancashire must now at least have done more, as those of the south certainly had²⁰; and seizing the litter in the den, and transferring them to the domesticating diet and confinement of the farm-house in their tender years, have softened their tempers with greater success, and provided for the table with greater certainty; the original stock being perpetuated by a regular succession, and the original nature lost in a few descents.

P. 238.

On every side about the town, and spreading from it to the skirt of the neighbouring woods, would be the meadows, corn-fields, and pastures; the first enriched with the foreign trefoil, the only artificial grass of the Romans at this period²¹; and all three enlivened with the sweepings of the town and marle of the Daubholes. The pastures would be replenished with sheep and kine; and here and there probably have little hovels among them, in which some of the peasants watched with their mastiffs, for the nightly protection of both against the inroads of wild beasts from Arden. And we may easily represent to ourselves the general state and scenery of things at this period, the flocks and herds ranging over
the

the site of the present town, grazing in the Market-street. Sect. VI.
 lane, and pasturing along the Smithy-door; and the
 bleatings of the one and lowings of the other returned
 in eddying echos from the woods around them.

¹ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 6. and 29. — ² Pliny lib. xi. c. 41.
 They made curds as well as butter of their milk; den-
 santes in acoem jucundum et pingue butyrum. It is
 plain from Pliny's account compared with Cæsar's p.
 122, that the Germans are not meant by Pliny among
 the barbarians, that were acquainted with butter and un-
 acquainted with cheese; as it is from Herodotus (lib.
 iv) that the Scythians, and from Strabo (p. 233) that
 the Celtæ, were. The Spaniards (says Strabo) use but-
 ter instead of oil. — ³ Pliny *ibid.* — ⁴ Pliny lib. xxviii.
 c. 9. — ⁵ *Ibid.* And see also Columella lib. vii. 8.
 Longa vasa angusto foramine, in Pliny, are evidently
 churns. And Pliny absurdly derives the word buty-
 rum or butter from the Greek *βουτυρον* and *υπος* ox-cheese. P. 239.
 It is in all probability Celtick, and adopted by
 the Romans from their Celtick neighbours. And it
 seems nothing more than Buyd Ur, the chief or excel-
 lent food, being appropriated (as I have observed
 above) to their chiefs. — ⁶ Strabo p. 305. — ⁷ Pliny
 lib xi. c. 42. — ⁸ Strabo p. 305. — ⁹ Diodorus p. 350,
 and Ofsian vol. I. p. 147. and vol. II. p. 62. Solinus
 c. 22. asserts the Britons of Ireland to have had no bees
 in his time. But the Caledonians appear from Ofsian
 to have had them. — ¹⁰ So Kaulh, a hamper or large
 basket in Welsh, is a beehive in Cornish (Lhuyd's Com-
 par.

Sect. VI. par. Etym. p. 3).—¹¹ Another such hive was found about forty or fifty years ago in the neighbouring Linyshaw Moss. — ¹² Cæsar p. 89, Gallinam et anferem gustare, fas non putant: hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causâ. — ¹³ Strabo p. 306. — ¹⁴ Pliny lib. xix. c. 5. — ¹⁵ Columella lib. ii. c. 10. — ¹⁶ Varro c. 12. lib. iii, and Birt's Letters vol. I. p. 315. — ¹⁷ Dio p. 1006. — ¹⁸ Cæsar p. 89. — ¹⁹ Leporem alunt animi voluptatisque causâ (Cæsar p. 89). — ²⁰ Wise's Nummi Bodleiani, 1750, p. 95 and 227, for a sow and pigs described upon a British coin. And see Strabo p. 301, in whose time the Gallick sows ranged abroad in the fields, very large, strong, and swift, and as dangerous to be approached by a stranger even as a wolf. And there is to this day a small mountain-kind of swine, called Purs, in the isle of Man, which are admirable meat; Sacheverel's Isle of Man, London, 1702, p. 4. And in Cathness, Scotland, are reared great numbers of swine, which are short, high-backed, and long-bristled, sharp, slender, and long-nosed, and have long erect ears and most savage looks; Pennant's Tour p. 156. — ²¹ Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. And this is mentioned in the tenth century, and in the laws of Howel Dha lib. iii. c. 2. A. 49, as then cultivated in Wales.

C H A P. VIII.

THE NUMBER OF REGULAR TOWNS IN ROMAN BRITAIN,
 AND THEIR POLITY—THE MODE OF GOVERNMENT
 IN THE BRITISH KINGDOMS — THE ESTATES
 IN EACH — THE ORIGIN OF HUNDREDS,
 TOWNSHIPS, AND BARONIES—AND
 THE BRITISH COURTS OF
 LAW, AND ADMINIS-
 TRATION OF
 JUSTICE.

I.

WHEN the Romans had seen their little village of P. 240.
 hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and began to extend her dominions into those of the neighbouring powers; they did not model their new conquests, as they had previously modelled their old. They instituted a new platform of polity for them, and distinguished them by a new denomination. They now divided them into districts, gave them the appellation of provinces, and subjected them to prætors and quæstors. The island of Sicily was the earliest conquest of the Romans beyond the limits of Italy, was therefore the first of all their provinces, and received the first model of their provincial regimen. And this

VOL. I.

Y

and

Sect. I. and every other was governed by its own prætor and quæstor. The former officer was charged with the whole administration of the government, and the latter deputed to manage the finances under him¹. And this was equally the conduct of the Romans in our own island particularly. The conquered regions of Britain were divided into six provinces, and governed by six prætors and six quæstors. Each province formed a distinct government of itself. And they all acknowledged one head within the island, and were all subject to the authority of the proconsul, the legate, or the vicar, of Britain².

P. 241. In our own province of Maxima, the prætor constantly resided at York. There, in the capital, was his mansion-house, denominated Palatium or Domus Palatina by the Romans³. In this was assembled the principal court of justice, judicial determinations were made by the prætor, and the imperial decrees and prætorial edicts promulged by his ministers. And other courts were opened under his commission in the other towns of the province, in which his deputies presided, inferior causes were determined, and the decrees and edicts equally promulged. Each prætor had many of these deputies under him, as each province had many of these towns. Britannia Prima comprized about forty, Britannia Secunda fifteen, Flavia fifty, Valentia ten, and our own Maxima twenty-five. And Britain from the southern sea to the friths of Forth and Cluyd, at the close of the first century, had a hundred and forty towns in all. Of these the neighbouring Cheshire had four or five, Kinderton, Hanford, Chester, and others⁴.

And

And Lancashire (as I have previously shewn) had eight, Sect. I.
 Blackrode, Freckleton, Ribchester, and Colne, Overbo-
 rough, Warrington, Lancaster, and Manchester ⁵.

These towns were of different degrees. They varied greatly from themselves, not merely in the rank of their civil estimation, but even in the nature of their constitutions. They were particularly distinguished into the four orders of towns municipal and stipendiary, colonies, and cities invested with the Latin privileges ⁶. And, as there would necessarily be many stipendiaries in every conquered kingdom, so were there no less than two municipia, nine colonies, and ten Latin towns, in our own ⁷. The generality of the British cities, therefore, was merely stipendiary. Such were Winchester, Canterbury, Exeter, and Leicester, in particular ⁸. And such also was Manchester; and, like them, was subject to all the provincial regimen. It was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, and a merely annual officer. ⁹ This præfect acted as an ædile, P. 242. and therefore had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its vicinity delegated to him. But the garrison in the station, we may be sure, was independent of him, and subject immediately to the prætorial authority. And, like the prætor, he had his quæstor with him, appointed pretty certainly by the provincial quæstor, and authorised to receive the taxes of Manchester ¹⁰. These were officers now first introduced among us, and necessarily introduced with our towns by the Romans. By the former was all the discipline of the Mancunian polity regulated. And all the œconomy of the Mancunian taxes was adjusted by the latter.

Sect. I.

The payments, assessed upon the provincial Britons, consisted of four or five different articles. One was an imposition upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the spirited Boadicia¹¹. Another was a capitation-tax, which is likewise insisted upon by that British heroine¹². A third was a cess upon lands; which amounted to two shillings in the pound, or a tenth of the annual produce, in every thing that was raised from seed, and to four shillings or a fifth in all that was raised from plants¹³. A fourth was an imposition upon cattle¹⁴. And all the commercial imports and exports were subject to particular charges¹⁵. Such, in general, were the taxes of our British ancestors under the government of the Romans. And, as they were the badges of the Roman dominion over them, they were naturally disliked by a newly conquered people. As they were embittered to their minds by the never-failing haughtiness of a victorious soldiery in general, and of the Roman in particular; they were as naturally hated by a gallant one. But they were not oppressive in themselves. They were merely an equivalent, in all probability, to the duties which they had formerly rendered to their own sovereigns. The amount of them was scarcely sufficient to answer the expences of the civil and military establishments in the island¹⁶. And the weight was certainly light; as the smallness of the collections at last stimulated the policy of avarice to abolish all the provincial taxes, and substitute even the Roman in their stead¹⁷.

P. 243.

In this general condition of our towns, some were raised above the common rank by the communication of the Jus Latii or Latin privilege¹⁸. This was an exemption

exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor ^{19.} Sect. I.

And the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and foreign quæstor, but by a quæstor and præfect elected among themselves ^{20.}

A Briton was their president, a Briton was their justiciary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer. And every inhabitant of such a town, that had borne the offices of prætor or quæstor, was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman citizen ^{21.} These rights the Romans first communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the Italians. Cæsar seems to have been the first that carried them beyond the bounds of Italy, and conferred them upon a provincial town. Novum Comum certainly, and most probably Nemaufis, in Gaul received this distinction from him; and were perhaps the first provincial towns that received it ^{22.} And it was afterwards bestowed upon several of our cities in Britain, Durnomagus or Caster near Peterborough, Ptoroton or Inverness, Victoria or Perth; Theodosia or Dunbarton, Lugubalia or Carlisle, and Sorbiodunum or Salisbury; Corinium or Cirencester, Cataracton or Catarick in Yorkshire, Cambodunum or Slack in Longwood, and Coccium or Blackrode in our own county ^{23.}

These were the names, and these the constitutions, of the towns which were inhabited principally by the Britons. But there were others which were chiefly possessed by the Romans, and had therefore a very different polity. These were colonies and municipies.

The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly cœval with that of the Roman conquests. But the

Sect. I. first, that was planted in any of the provinces, was projected by the genius of the celebrated Caius Gracchus, and settled upon the site of the memorable Carthage²⁴.

P. 244. And others were established on the same principle in Britain; Claudius settling a strong body of legionary veterans at Camulodunum or Colchester, the first of all the Roman colonies in Britain; and he and the succeeding legates fixing no less than eight others, in other quarters of the island, at Richborough, London, Gloucester, and Bath, at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, Chesterford near Cambridge, Lincoln, and Chester²⁵.

That colony was esteemed as the head-quarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were lodged, the eagle was repositèd, and the commander was resident. Such was Deva for the twentieth Valerian Victorious, Eboracum for the sixth Victorious, Caerleon for the second Augustan, and Glevum for the seventh Twin Claudian²⁶. And the rest were peopled by the other cohorts of these legions; as we shall hereafter see Caerleon, London, and Richborough all peopled by those of the second Augustan²⁷; and the tenth Antonian was lodged in the common stations, as the tenth legion had three, the twelfth five, and the twenty-second six, in Germany and Gaul²⁸. Thus were large bodies of the soldiery kept together by the Romans, at Richborough, London, Colchester, Chesterford, Lincoln, and York, along the eastern side of the island, and at Bath, Gloucester, Caerleon, and Chester, upon the western; ready at once to suppress any insurrection at home, and repel any invasion from abroad. And the Roman legionaries lived together without any great intermixture

intermixture of the natives; allowing few probably to reside with them, but the useful traders and necessary servants²⁹. Sect. I.

As their government was partly civil, the legionary colonists were subject to the Roman laws, were governed by their own senators or decuriones, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens³⁰. And, as it was equally military, they strengthened their towns with regular fortifications and guarded them with regular watches, had their names retained upon the quartermaster's roll, and were obliged to march at the general's P. 245. command³¹. But, as in a series of years, the number of males in the colonies would necessarily increase, and as they were all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigence a draught would be made out of the colonists, and such a number levied as was requisite to the occasion. And these towns naturally assumed the names of the legions to which the colonists belonged, frequently in accompaniment, and sometimes in supersedence, of their own British appellations. Thus we have Camulodunum and Glevum mentioned with the additional titles of Gemina Martia, Colonia Victricenſis, and Claudia³². And we have Isca Legio Secunda Augusta, Isca Legio Augusta, Isca Secunda, Isca Augusta, and Londinium Augusta; Deva Legio Vicesima Victrix, Deva Victrix, and Deva Getica; and Eboracum Legio Sexta Victrix, Colonia nomine Sextæ, and Sexta³³.

It was happy for our Mancunian ancestors, that their Manchester was not, like the neighbouring Deva or distant Camulodunum, converted into a colony. If it had been by Agricola in 85, by Lollius afterwards, or

Sect. I. any of the succeeding legates; it might perhaps have stood more distinguished in the pages of our national history, or have appeared with greater lustre in the fragments of our island antiquities. It might have enjoyed the satisfaction, to gaze upon the initials of its own name glittering fairly on a Roman coin; or to catch the whole of it just fading into obscurity upon a Roman stone. And it might have had the felicity of being classed by the antiquarian among the cities that had possessed the privilege of a mint, and of being ranked by the medallist among the towns that had contributed to enrich his collection. But the houses which our fathers had built, and the lands which they had cultivated, would probably have been seized by the rapacious legionaries, and they and their families obliged to abandon Manchester for ever³⁴,

Nor would the condition of the citizens have been bettered, if the town had even obtained the highest degree in the scale of civil privileges, and been modelled like Verulam and York³⁵ into a municipium. The latter was certainly a military one: and so assuredly were both. This appears from the treatment which the inhabitants of the former received from the revolted Britons under Boadicia, and which was shewn only to Colchester, a colony of Roman citizens, and to London, the residence of Roman-Belgick traders³⁶. Verulam, as well as York, was a colony before it became a municipium³⁷; and it, as well as the other, was therefore inhabited by Roman legionaries. And both enjoyed a privilege which none of the colonies possessed, the right
of

of exemption from the imperial statutes, and the liberty Sect. I.
of enacting their own laws ³⁸.

But Manchester soon enjoyed all the advantages of a colony, without feeling the least inconveniences of it. And the privilege of Roman citizenship was frequently communicated to individuals among the Britons, and at last bestowed upon all of them. In the towns distinguished by the Latin liberties, as I have previously mentioned, it became the common right of all that had borne the offices of *ædile* or *quæstor* in them. But, when philosophy and Antoninus Pius were invested with the imperial authority, these narrow restraints were taken away; and the Roman citizenship was extended to every Briton of property and worth ³⁹. It ought to have been extended to all. This *Mæcenas* particularly recommended to Augustus ⁴⁰. This humanity dictated and policy prescribed. And the cunning avarice of *Caracalla* communicated, what the virtuous wisdom of Pius should have bestowed ⁴¹. By this act, the lower rank of the *Mancunians* was freed from a disgraceful punishment, and no longer liable to be scourged with rods ⁴². The higher was delivered from a disgraceful exclusion, and admitted to a participation of marriages and a communion of honours with the Romans ⁴³. And all the inhabitants of Manchester, now created citizens of Rome, were raised to a footing of equality with their Roman masters, empowered to elect their own officers, and at liberty to be governed by their own townsmen,

³ Cicero

Sect. E

P. 247. ¹ Cicero contra Verrem p. 272. tom. IV. Olivet, prima omnium provincia est appellata,—and Strabo p. 1197. — ² Tacitus and Notitia. — ³ Spartian's Severus c. 22. — ⁴ See before and b. I. ch. xi. f. 1. hereafter. — ⁵ Richard p. 17—29 and Itinerary. — ⁶ Richard p. 36. — ⁷ Ibid. — ⁸ Richard p. 36. — ⁹ *Καὶ ἔτος* in Appian p. 443, Stephanus, 1592. — ¹⁰ *Ἀγορευόμενος* in Strabo p. 285, *ἡρχοῦ* in Appian ibid., and *τοῦτοῦτος* in Strabo ibid. — ¹¹ Dio p. 1004. — ¹² Ibid. — ¹³ Ibid.—and Appian p. 353 and 516. — ¹⁴ Ibid. ibid. — ¹⁵ Strabo p. 306. — ¹⁶ Appian in Preface p. 3. — ¹⁷ See below. — ¹⁸ Richard p. 36. and Pliny's N. H. lib. iii. c. 3. — ¹⁹ Strabo p. 285. — ²⁰ Ibid. — ²¹ Appian p. 443, *καὶ ἔτος*, and Strabo p. 285. — ²² Ibid. ibid. — ²³ Richard p. 36. — ²⁴ Velleius Paterculus lib. i. c. 15. — ²⁵ Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 32 and Richard p. 25 and 36. — ²⁶ B. I. ch. xi. f. 4. and ch. xii. f. 1. — ²⁷ Antoninus p. 22 and 23, Bertius. — ²⁸ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. — ²⁹ Colonia—jura constitutaque omnia populi Romani habent (Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13), and Horfeley in Bath. — ³⁰ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31 and Horfeley b. I. ch. vi. So a number of the legionaries at Camulodanum had been draughted out for service, just before the insurrection of Boadicia: *Inerat modica militum manus, tutelâ templi freti,* says Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32. — ³¹ Richard p. 36, and Camden p. 323. — ³² Richard p. 27 and 36, Ptolemy, Antonine, Ravennas, and Notitia compared with its own rude map. See a great mistake in Horfeley p. 362. — ³³ Tacitus Ann.

lib. xiv. c. 31 of Camulodunum, Pellebant domibus, turbabant agris.—³⁵ Richard p. 36. — ³⁶ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, Sociorum, — ³⁷ Agricolaë Vit. c. v, In-censæ coloniae.—³⁸ Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13. — ³⁹ Gruter p. 408. N^o 1. — ⁴⁰ Dio p. 674. — ⁴¹ Ρωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτῆς—ἀπεδείχθη, Dio p. 1295. — ⁴² Appian p. 443, and Acts of the Apostles chap. xxii.—⁴³ Gruter p. 408, N^o 1.

II.

THE immediate descendants of the first great pair were all necessarily born under the controul of a monarchical government. The power of the father, being P. 248. amefnable to no superiour authority, was the prerogative of the sovereign; and the obedience of the son, being challenged by no superiour jurisdiction, was the submission of a subject. And their remoter descendants were equally born under the same government. The establishment of the primogeniture provided for the descent of the power, and instituted monarchy immediately succeeded to natural¹. This, therefore, was the first polity of the first nations which history holds up to our view. And it was particularly the original œconomy of all the tribes of the Britons. The various nations, that had planted the whole compass of our island, were all distinct communities governed by distinct kings².

Many of these sovereigns were allowed by the Romans to continue in possession of their thrones, and enjoy the full extent of their antient authority. They were

Sect. II. were considered as allies, and their dominions were not reduced into provinces. Such was Prasutagus, the monarch of the Iceni³; Venutius, the king of the Jugantes⁴; and Cartimandua, the sovereign of the Brigantes⁵. But this indulgence was merely the result of temporary policy. Detached for the present from the general interests of the nation, these monarchs became the unconcerned spectators of the Roman progress. And, having contributed to enlarge the power of their enemies by the desertion of their friends, they all fell in succession after them, justly sacrificed to that desertion, and equally reduced by that authority.

But even in this condition of the island, under all the rigour of the provincial regimen, the sovereigns of the tribes were allowed to remain in general. This our historians have never supposed before. And the reverse of it has been universally believed⁶. But the fact is sufficiently authenticated.

P. 249. Cogi-dunus or Cogi-dubnus appears from his name to have been originally the cogi or king of the Dobuni, and from the additional appellation of rex, which is given him by Tacitus, to have retained the same authority under the Romans⁷. Nor was this all. He was even invested by them with the sovereignty of some other states, which had probably lost the line of their princes in the prosecution of the war, and were now subjected to the sceptre of the Dobuni⁸. One of these was the Regni of Suffex and Surry⁹; and the rest were therefore the nations that lay betwixt the Dobuni and them, the intervening tribes of the Proper Belgæ (and their subjects the Hædui and Segontiaci), the Attre-

bates,

bates, and the Bibroces. And this extended empire Sect. II.
 over a part of Warwickshire, a considerable portion
 of Buckinghamshire and Somersetshire, nearly all Wilt-
 shire, and actually all Berkshire, Worcestershire, Ox-
 fordshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Surry, and
 Suffex, Cogidubnus retained to the days of Trajan¹⁰,
 when not only these counties, but the whole extent of
 England and Wales, had been long molded into the form
 of a province.

This then was allowed in the first and second cen-
 turies, and at the first modelling of the Roman conquests
 among us. And it must therefore be presumed to have
 been equally allowed, through all the period of the Ro-
 man government afterwards. Accordingly we find many
 monarchs in general within the conquered regions of the
 island, during the course of the third century¹¹. We
 meet with Cunedag also, reigning the king of the Otta-
 dini, and succeeding to the sovereignty of the Ordo-
 vices, in the fourth; though Ottadinia and Ordovicia
 had both been reduced into a province three ages be-
 fore, and though both continued members of one to the
 time of the Roman departure¹². And, at this re-
 markable æra, we see monarchs appear immediately
 in every quarter of the island; and the whole body of
 the Romanized Britons as much divided into distinct prin-
 cipalities as ever the primæval had been, and as much
 under the government of distinct princes¹³.

Hence, only, are the subject Britons represented by
 Tacitus, even in the reign of Trajan, as only brought
 into obedience, not reduced into slavery; Domiti ut P. 250.
 pareant, nondum ut serviant¹⁴. Hence, only, are the

Sec. II. colonies of the Belgæ, particularly, denominated by Tacitus the socii or allies of the Romans, in the reign of Nero; and even the whole country of the provincial Britons is mentioned by Dio, in the later days of Severus, as *ἡ φιλία* or the region of friends¹⁵. And the Britons are actually described by Suetonius Paulinus, the severest of all their conquerors, to be, even in their *δουλαίαι* or most abject submission to the Romans, still *ἐλευθεροί* or possessed of their antient freedom, and still *αὐτονομία* or governed by their antient laws¹⁶.

The British sovereigns, then, retained their dignities under the government of the Romans, and Lancashire yet enjoyed the privilege of its antient monarchy. A king continued to preside over our Mancunian ancestors: but he necessarily retained only a subordinate sway, and possessed a diminished authority. The great power of life and death was undoubtedly taken from him, and transferred to the provincial prætor. And, to guard against any exertions of this authority by the sovereign, was probably the principal design of the tax upon funerals.

But he was allowed to enjoy the whole extent of his civil power. And all the internal œconomy of the state was regulated, as it was before, by him. This appears clearly from the above-mentioned assertion concerning the subject Britons, that they were *αὐτονομία* or governed by their own laws. And it appears more clearly from the certain continuance of the British polity among all the Britons; being derived even to the Welsh of these later ages, and observed equally in the conquered king-
doms

doms of Britannia Secunda and the unconquered regions See H.
of Ireland ¹⁷.

The descent of the crown among the Britons of Lancashire would be, as it was among their brethren in general, in the course of an hereditary, lineal, and cognatick succession. Mandubratius succeeded his father Immanuentius in the throne of the Trinovantes; the son P. 251.
of Cuneda followed him regularly in the sovereignty of the Ordovices; and Trenmor, Trathal, Comhal, and Fingal, father, son, grand-son, and great-grand-son, successively inherited the monarchy of Morven for their patrimony ¹⁸. And it is expressly declared by the Britons of themselves, that they were used to be governed by women as well as men; and by the Romans concerning them, that their monarchies devolved equally in succession upon the daughters and sons of royalty ¹⁹. Thus was Boadicia the queen of the Iceni, and Cartimandua of the Brigantes; and both in their own right ²⁰.

But this hereditary succession appears plainly not to have been inviolable. It was defeasible among the Saxons, as I shall prove hereafter ²¹. It was defeasible, I apprehend, in all the earlier monarchies of the world. And it was equally so among the Britons. The law of succession, however, was not to be infringed by the general interposition of the people, but by the prerogative of the nobles or the authority of the king, or rather by the concurrence of the king and the nobles together. And such it appears in the earliest institutions of the Welsh, and the correspondent customs of the Irish. In that very remarkable compilation of laws which was
made

Sec. II. made by Howel Dha a little before the middle of the tenth century²², and which is principally composed of the usages existing previously among the Welsh Britons²³; we find the king's son, brother, or nephew to have been the customary inheritor of the crown, and the reigning monarch or nobles to have selected the particular person²⁴. And, in the most antient prescriptions of the Irish, we see the hereditary succession superseded by the rule of Tanistry; a member of the royal family being adopted at discretion by the nobles, and denominated by the law the Tanist or second in dignity²⁵.

The monarchies of Britain, therefore, acknowledged no indefeasible right of succession. And they were as little absolute and arbitrary in their nature. The Britons were not unacquainted, though history has never supposed them to be actually acquainted, with that properest restraint upon monarchical despotism, the rational, the manly, and the free institution of parliaments. No power but the royal could either make or abrogate a publick law²⁶. And fixed upon this necessary principle hangs the central balance of every monarchy. But even the king could not make or abrogate one without the consent of the country²⁷. And grounded upon the basis of this maxim stands all the fair structure of popular liberty. The most antient constitutions of Wales have expressly recorded the exception. The terms of it carry sufficiently a reference to parliamentary concurrence. And we have a decisive argument for the existence of British parliaments, in the prefaces to the laws of Howel Dha, the most authentick registers of the legislative authority

authority by which they were made. We there find Sect. II.
 six men summoned out of every commot or century in
 Wales, the most wise and most powerful persons in the
 kingdom, in order to meet and assist the king in the
 great work of legislation. The parliament being as-
 sembled, by common counsel and consent they examined
 the ancient laws, reformed and cancelled some; added
 others, and digested both into a regular code. And
 this they presented to the king. The monarch approved
 of it, and gave it the ratifying sanction of his own au-
 thority. And both he and the senators concurred to im-
 precate the wrath of God, the parliament, and all the
 country, upon such of the people as should violate, and
 such of the kings as should abrogate, any of these con-
 stitutions; unless they were annulled in a council, equally
 national as that in which they had been recently
 made²⁸;

In these laws of the Good Howel, the curious mind is
 presented with a remarkable delineation of a British
 court. The striking simplicity of the draught shews the
 great antiquity of the original. And upon this model
 were all courts; and our own in particular, formed at
 the beginning.

The royal mansion and its offices consisted merely of
 a Newadd or hall; an Yfdafell or parlour, and a Bwytty
 or buttery; an Yfdable or stable; a Cyn-hordy or dog-
 kennel, and an Ysgubawr or granary; an Odyn, oven,
 or bakehouse; a Ty Bychan or boghouse, and a Hundy
 or bedroom²⁹. The fire-pan was of iron, and the fuel
 of wood³⁰. And the bed was only of straw, as it even
 continued to be in the royal chambers of England as

Sect. II. late as the conclusion of the thirteenth century ²¹. The king's own dress was a mantle and tunick, both, I suppose, of woollen; a shirt and breeches, both pretty certainly of linen; shoes, stockings, and gloves ²²; and a cap of skins ²³. And the queen's was nearly the same, her majesty only wearing fillets under her cap ²⁴. The great officers of the court were the Pen-teulu or mayor of the palace, the Disdain or steward of the household, the Pen-hebogydd or master of the hawks, and the Brawdwr Llys or court-justiciary; the Pen-gwafdrawd or president of the grooms, the Gwas Ysfafell or lord chamberlain, the Bardh-teulu or court-poet, the Gofdegwr or king's serjeant, and the Pen-cenydd or master of the king's hounds; the Meddyd or king's cellarer, the Meddyg or physician to the household, the Trulliad or butler, the Drysawr or porter, the Cog or cook, and the Canhwyllyd or curator of the lights. And, in this establishment of a court, we see the head of the falconers and chief of the grooms, the poet-laureat, and the cook, all ranked immediately among the great officers of state. Such a precedence was naturally given them in a court generally devoted, as all originally were, and as all in illiterate ages will ever be, to the pleasures of the feast and diversions of the chace. And, among the officers of king Hardicnute's household, we have Stir his major domo, majorem domus, or mayor of the palace; Edric his butler; Thronð his butcher, suum carnificem; and other personages of great quality, & alios magnæ dignitatis viros; sent in a joint commission with Alfric archbishop of York and Godwin earl of Kent ²⁵.

P. 254.

These all executed their distinct offices in person. It Sect. II.
 was the business of the *Gofdegwr*, to command silence in the king's hall at dinner by striking upon a particular pillar; of the *Gwas Ydafell* to make the king's bed; and of the *Dryfawr* to provide straw for all the beds, and to kindle all the fires, in the court³⁶. And the same establishment prevailed exactly in the English, Irish, and Scottish courts. The house of Stuart and the family of Butler are sufficiently known to have derived their appellations, from their hereditary offices in the palaces of Scotland and Ireland. The duke of Hamilton is hereditary porter to the king of Scotland, and the dukes of St. Albans and Lancaster are hereditary chamberlain and falconer to that of England, at present. More than one manour is held at this day under our own crown, with the special obligation on the lord to attend and officiate in the king's kitchen at the coronation, and to present the sovereign with a dish of his own cooking. And the royal porter of England, as late as the thirteenth century, was expressly obliged to provide litter for the beds, and to light all the fires, in the palace³⁷.

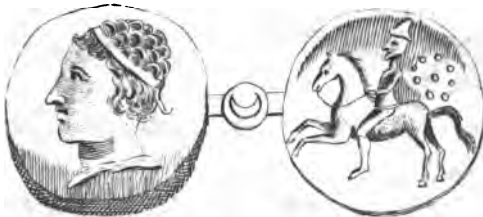
But the privileges of these British officers were particularly striking. They were all of them presented annually with a piece of linen and woolen by the king and queen³⁸, and regularly gratified besides with old cloaths from the royal wardrobe. The king's riding-coat was three times a year given away to the master of the mews; his caps, saddles, bits, and spurs became the perquisite of his master of the horse; and the chamberlain appropriated to himself his old cloaths

Sect. II. and old bed-quilts ³⁹. And the chamberlain of our own court, even in the reign of Edward the first, by antient custom received the king's old coverlets, curtains, and bedding; and to this day receives at a coronation the furniture of the chamber, the bed, and the bed-dress, in which the sovereign slept the night before ⁴⁰. But, in the palaces of the Britons, this principle was carried to so great a length, that even the wardrobe of the officers was in some cases inheritable by their inferiours; as the coat of the Pen-teulu devolved three times a year to the Trulliad, the Trulliad's descended to the Bardh, and the Bardh's was received by the Dryfawr ⁴¹. And these were not all their privileges. They had equally

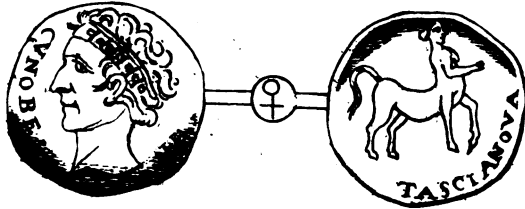
P. 255. a right to stated messes of meat, when they gave any entertainments in their private apartments; the president of the palace being impowered to command three dishes and three horns of the best liquor; and the master of the mews three horns and one dish ⁴². But the latter was cautiously required to bring his cup in person to the hall at every repletion of it, lest he should drink too much and neglect his birds ⁴³. The president might require the bardh to sing to him, whenever he pleased ⁴⁴. And if the master of the mews, in the king's presence, killed one of the three birds that were denominated noble, the king was bound to assist him in dismounting and remounting, and to hold his horse while he took the game ⁴⁵. But, if he killed it in the absence of the king, he was required to hasten to the palace, and present the game to his majesty; and, by the etiquette of the court, the king rose up in compliment to him, or else gave him the mantle which he was wearing ⁴⁶.

The

The customary ensign of royalty for the sovereigns Sect. II.
of the Britons was the imperial diadem, which was com-
mon to them and the eastern monarchs. This was some-
times only a plain fillet tied round the head, as it is still
worne occasionally by the lowest of our people at Man-
chester, and regularly by the young unmarried women
of the Highlands; and as it appears upon these two
coins of the Britons.



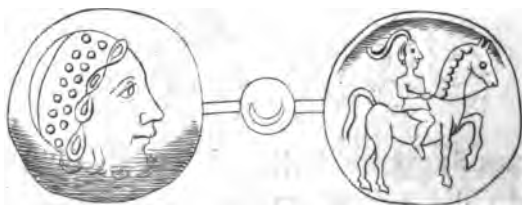
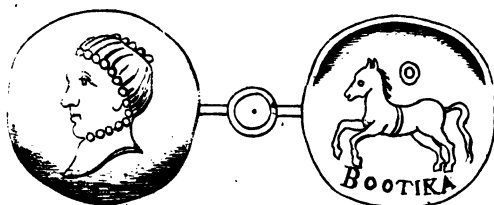
Sect. II. But at other times it was ornamented with the muscle pearls and sparry diamonds of the country; as in these.



It was frequently worn by the monarch immediately Sect. II.
 over his hair, which was raised in one, two, or three
 rows of curls above it;

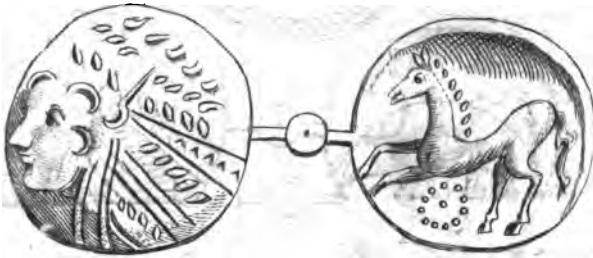


and frequently upon a small close cap, that just covered
 the head and was edged by the fillet⁴⁷.

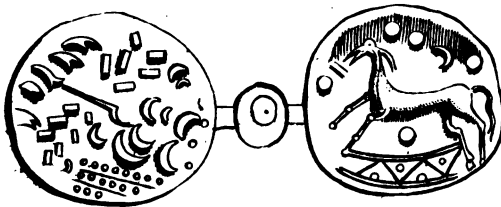
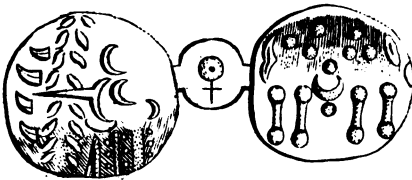


And it was often accompanied with an ornament, which has been taken by Dr. Borlase and myself for a cross fillet

fillet and a clasp, This appears upon two of the coins Sect. II.
above, and again upon these ;



and is engraved by itself upon the following.



Sect. II. These concur with others here,



to prove it a distinct and separate ornament, and something very different from a clasp and a fillet. And I take it to be a bodkin for the hair. It carries great resemblance to such an implement. And, what seems a strong confirmation of the conjecture, in a British sepulcher that was opened some years ago on Salisbury-plain, along with beads of earth, glass, and amber, and one even covered with a film of pure gold, was actually found a bodkin of silver⁴⁸.

But after the coming of the Romans, when the sovereignties of the island submitted to the authority of the empire, and the king and his subjects adopted the manners of Italy; the corona, koron, or crown, was introduced into the island, and worn by the monarchs of it. And we have a very curious delineation of an
 ancient

antient British crown, upon the tomb of a sovereign that Sect. II, reigned in the fifth century. The stone was discovered in the isle of Anglesey about the time of Charles the second, lying six feet under the ground. And, as the edge of it bears a remarkable inscription to the memory of Pabo, so the plane exhibits the figure of the king, dressed in his armour, grasping a scepter, and wearing p. 256, a crown; the former being a strong weapon of iron pointed in the form of a lily, and the latter a circlet studded with stars and decorated with flowers⁹.



¹ Genesis iv. 7. — ² Cæsar p. 92, Mela lib. iii. c. 6, Dio p. 957, Diodorus p. 347, Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 15, singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, and Richard p. 15. How inconsistent and mistaken therefore are Dio p. 1280 and Richard p. 7! — ³ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. — ⁴ Ibid. lib. xii. c. 40. — ⁵ Ibid. — ⁶ See Carte particularly vol. I. p. 133, 137, &c. — ⁷ Agric. Vit. c. 14, Cogiduno regi. And in Dio p. 957 we have Togidumnus,

Sect. II. nus, the son of Cunobeline, plainly appearing from the tenour of the history, as well as the import of his appellation, to have been the Togi or leader of the Dobuni, and dying in the defence of his dominions against the attacks of Plautius; p. 958. — ⁸ Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xiv, *Quædam civitates — donatæ.* — ⁹ See the Chichester inscription in Horseley. — ¹⁰ Agric. Vit. c. xiv. — ¹¹ Porphyry in that well-known but misapplied saying, that Britain was then *Fertilis provincia tyrannorum* (Hieron. Epist. ad Ctesiphontem); Richard p. 15; and Nennius c. 18. — ¹² Appendix to Nennius c. 64, and b. I. ch. xii. f. 5. Nennius brings Cunedag de regione — Guotadin into Ordovicia: the genealogists therefore are mistaken in deriving him from Cumberland (see Mona p. 146 and Carte p. 139). And Carte, who, like the other historians, verbally denies the existence of any British kings under the provincial government, virtually acknowledges it p. 139 and 163, mentioning the kings of the Ordovices. And see a great mistake in him p. 163 &c. — ¹³ See b. II. ch. i. f. 1. — ¹⁴ Agric. Vit. c. 13. — ¹⁵ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, and Dio p. 1282. And in Galgacus's speech (Agric. Vit. c. 31) the Romans are said to call themselves the *Amici* of the Britons. — ¹⁶ Dio p. 1010. — ¹⁷ Mona p. 130 &c. — ¹⁸ Cæsar p. 92, Nennius c. 64, and Ossian's poems. — ¹⁹ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35, and Agric. Vit. c. 16. — ²⁰ Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35. — ²¹ See b. II. ch. iv. f. 2. — ²² See the preface to Wotton's edition. — ²³ See the original preface or prefaces to the laws. — ²⁴ Lib. I. c. ix. art. 2, 7, and 8. — ²⁵ In Ireland (says Ware) the successor was appointed by

by the common votes of the people (Ant. Hib. c. viii). Sect. II.
 See also Davies p. 117. And see f. 3. here for all below the nobles having no power or weight in the affairs of government. — ²⁶ Howel Dha lib. iv. c. 65. a. 4. — ²⁷ Ibid. — ²⁸ See Wotton's edition. — ²⁹ Lib. i. c. 47. a. 8. And compare it with the accounts of the Letty or bedrooms of the great officers. In (or, as it ought to be translated, over) the Neuad was the bedroom of the royal heir. There, says c. 9, he shall sleep, attended by young nobles. Another great officer lay in, over, the granary, c. 15; another in, over, the odyn, c. 21; and a third in, over, the kitchen, c. 26. — ³⁰ Lib. ii. e. 1. a. 6. (In many houses it was of stone, p. 362), and lib. i. c. 42. — ³¹ Lib. i. c. 18. a. 9. And see an extract from Fleta in note to preface, and Camden c. 331. — ³² Lib. i. c. 17. a. 6. — ³³ Lib. i. c. 18. a. 7. and lib. i. c. 17. a. 8. — ³⁴ Lib. i. c. 32. a. 2. — ³⁵ Howel lib. c. 1, and Florence of Worcester p. 623, Frankfort edit. — ³⁶ Lib. i. c. 20, c. 18. a. 4, and c. 40. a. 15. — ³⁷ See extract from Fleta in note to preface to Howel Dha. — ³⁸ Lib. i. c. 2, &c. — ³⁹ Lib. i. c. 15, c. 17, and c. 18. — ⁴⁰ Extract from Fleta in preface to Howel Dha. — ⁴¹ Lib. i. c. 14. — ⁴² Lib. i. c. 12 and 15. — ⁴³ Lib. i. c. 15. — ⁴⁴ Lib. i. c. 12. — ⁴⁵ Lib. i. c. 15. — ⁴⁶ Ibid. — ⁴⁷ See Pennant's Tour p. 165. — Stukeley 2—3; and Stukeley 14—8, 1—5, and 1—6; and see ch. ix. f. 1. and Agric. Vit. c. xii: Borlase's Cornwall b. iii. ch. xii, 16 and 20; Pegge 1—5, and Stukeley 11—10 and 13—8. — ⁴⁸ Stukeley 3—10, 3—7, 1—2, 3—4, 15—10, and 20—5; and Stonehenge p. 45 and Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 174. This bodkin seems to have lost its crook-like or semi-lunar

Sect. II. lunar termination either by the fire which has injured the rest, by time, or by accident. And the crescent, which appears at the ears of several monarchs on the British coins, as in one of those exhibited above, Stukeley 14—8, and in Pegge 2—B, and Stukeley 6—10, 8—7, and 9—4, is nothing but the head of this bodkin projecting from the hair, while the body is buried in it; as appears from the same crescent appearing upon two of the coins above, Stukeley 3—10 and 15—10, with the body of the bodkin plainly connected to it. — 49
Mona p. 158.

III.

WHEN the great colony of the Sifuntii was first led into the plains of Lancashire, the commandant or sovereign of them, the younger son most probably of some of the more southerly kings, would take possession of the lands by the privilege of occupancy, and make them all his own. He would then grant them out to his principal followers, assigning each his particular proportion, and obliging them to particular returns for it. And these would continue obligatory upon the lands, and descend to the present proprietors under the Romans. Such remained among the Britons of Wales to the sixteenth century; and among those of Ireland to the seventeenth.

Immediately below the sovereign ranked the equites or knights, the Uchelwys, magnates, or high men; holding their lands immediately from the crown, and presiding as lords over their particular domains.

And,

And, as the immediate tenants of the crown, they were ^{Sect. III.} obliged by their tenures to certain services to it, the express conditions of their fees, and all honourable in their nature ². Some retained their lands under an obligation which strongly resembled the grand serjeanty of the Normans, the duty of attendance upon the king at dinner, and the obligation of personal services to him at it; to hold the king's feet in their bosom, and rub him with a flesh-brush ³. But most were bound upon summons to attend the sovereign in arms, and to follow him to the war ⁴. This was denominated the Gwaeth Milwyr or service of the soldier, being borne at their own expence whenever they were carried into the field within the limits of their own country, and once annually without them for the period of six weeks ⁵. And they were bound to engage always, at the call, in the construction or reparation of the royal castles ⁶. They were also assessed with rents either in money or kind, but stated in their value and gentle in their amount. For a fee containing about a thousand acres of land, the knight, immediately before the commencement of winter, remitted to the king's palace a horse-load of his best wheat reduced to flour, one ox, a barrel of mead nine palms in length and eighteen in breadth, or two of braget or four of common ale, and a hundred and sixty-eight equal threaves of oats for the stable; a sow three years old, a salted gammon three inches in thickness, and a pot of butter three palms long and three broad ⁷. But, if the provision was not furnished at ^{p. 259.} the time appointed, the chieftain paid in lieu of it a pound and twenty-four pence; the former payment being

Sect. III. being denominated the *Twaſt Paut* or Tributary Pounds, and the latter *Argant Y Gwynos* or Supper-silver⁹. Under the reserve of these services and payments, the *nchelwyr* had a full property in their lands, and could transmit them to their heirs¹⁰. The estates were originally ceded by the king under the limitation of these duties. The non-performance of them necessarily extinguished the title of the chief. And the lands reverted to the crown that gave them¹⁰.

Inferiour to these, and holding from them as lords in fee or like them immediately from the crown, was the great body of the people; being esteemed, as *Cæſar* declares the commonly in Gaul to have been reckoned, *penè ſervorum loco*, and all in a state of villainage¹¹. And these were divided into the two classes of *nativi liberi* or free, and of *puri nativi* or compleat, villains¹². The former were allowed to relinquish their lands, or remain upon them, at their own discretion; were privileged to buy and sell; and charged with services the most honourable of the menial kind, and all ascertainedly determined¹³. The latter were reckoned absolutely the property of the lord, disposable to any one at his will, and saleable as a part of his estate¹⁴. And these were bound to services the most servile and indeterminate, to construct and repair the lord's houses, and execute all his drudgeries of husbandry¹⁵. They were both subject, like the chiefs, to attendance in war, and to payments in money or returns in kind. And it strongly marks the great humanity and free genius of these villain tenures, that both had them generally as settled and ascertained as they. The villains

on

on a fee of a thousand acres made annually two large remittances to the lord ¹⁶. One was like the noble's, immediately before winter; and consisted of a sow three years old, a vessel of butter three palms long and three broad, a barrel of braget nine in length, and twenty-four equal threaves of oats for the horses; sixty-six loaves of the best wheat that grew, if any grew, P. 260. within the fee, six made of wheat purged from the bran; and, if no wheat was raised, six loaves of the coarser oatmeal, equal in breadth to the measure of the arm from the elbow to the wrist, and so thick as not to bend though they were held by the margin ¹⁷. And the other was made at the beginning of summer, and consisted of a wether three years old, a mass of butter as large as the largest dish in the fee, and a couple of the lesser palms in thickness; twenty-six such loaves as were remitted before; and a cheese composed of all the milk, that all the cows within the fee could furnish in one day ¹⁸.

But besides these payments, both of which were scarcely equivalent even to those of the knights, the villains were necessarily subject to additional impositions. The sovereign in particular retained a considerable portion of lands in his own possession, the appropriated demesne of the royalty, and denominated Loghty among the Irish ¹⁹. And the villains upon them were required every year to entertain the king, the queen, and some of the great officers of state, with their attendant trains. But they were obliged to receive them only by a certain cycle or rotation, and to maintain them merely for a certain period ²⁰. Some

Sect. III. were bound to entertain the king himself, to provide straw for his bed and wood for his fire, and furnish him with mutton, lamb, or kid, and butter, cheefe, or milk, as long as he continued with them²¹. The royal court was continually ambulatory and itinerant²². And the king's domesticks were annually divided into three bodies, some of the principal officers, all the huntsmen, and all the grooms; and each took its assigned quarters among the villains²³. And the same rights of supremacy, which were possessed by the king over the royal peasants, were equally enjoyed by the uchelwyr over his own²⁴. But this branch of the regimen under both was as gentle as it was determinate, being constantly settled in proportion to the estate of the villain²⁵. And the same sort of œconomy was actually retained in the modern feuds; the tenants of the lord of Manchester, in the fourteenth century, being obliged to furnish his sworn bailiff and the four deputies with bread, beer, and other necessaries, and with provision for their servants and horses, upon notice of their arrival among them²⁶.

P. 261.

These were the two only ranks of British citizens, the nobles and the villains²⁷. All below the latter were Caeths or slaves, made such by the voluntary sale or publick condemnation of their persons to servitude; were sometimes denominated Yddafellowgeu or cottagers, answering to the Bordarii and Cottarii of Doomsday Book; and, like the slaves of the Saxons, were possessed of some property²⁸. And both these ranks were obnoxious to the payment of a heriot upon the decease of the possessor, and to the imposition of a relief, or
fine

fine of renewal, on the succession of the heir²⁹. The Sect. III.
 estates of both discharged equally to their respective
 superiours the maritagium, or the fine for the marriage
 of a daughter³⁰. Both did homage to the lord for
 their land, and their infants in orphanage received a
 tutor and guardian from his appointment³¹. Both were
 obliged to attend their lord to the wars, or to pay him
 a Llyud, an escuage, or commutation for it³². And
 the fee of the former was forfeited to the crown on
 neglect of the services, and devolved to it upon failure
 of issue³³. But these payments were all, except the
 escuage, regularly ascertained by the law. The mar-
 riage-fine for an uchelwyr's daughter was a hundred and
 twenty pence, and for a villain's only twenty-four³⁴.
 The heriot and relief were combined together under one
 common appellation of Ebediw; as I shall hereafter
 shew both to have been denominated the Heriot among
 the Saxons, and the Relief among the Normans³⁵. And
 the ebediw of an uchelwyr was settled in general at a
 hundred and twenty pence, of an uchelwyr's villain at
 sixty, and of a king's at ninety³⁶. The royal villain
 enjoyed one third more advantage from his estate, than
 the private. And the British nobles paid much easier
 heriots than the Saxon³⁷.

Such were the tenures of the lands in Wales, before
 the English customs were transplanted into the country
 by the English arms. The discovery of the same holdings,
 even so early as the tenth century and in the laws of
 Howel Dha; holdings not formed by that great legislator
 of Wales, but referred by him to prior institutes and
 ascribed to the earlier Britons; proves the great and

Sect. III. striking antiquity of them. And the general appearance of the tenures, equally among the natives of Wales and the aborigines of Ireland, demonstrates the whole system of polity to have been derived from the common parents of both, the original tribes of the Britons³⁸.

This, then, was the nature of our tenures in Britain and Lancashire, at the close of the first century. And they appear to have been purely military in their design, and absolutely feudal in their essence. The institution of feuds is unanimously deduced by our historical and legal antiquarians from the northern invaders of the Roman empire; and the introduction of them into this island is, almost as unanimously, referred to the much recenter epocha of the Norman conquest. But they existed among us before, and even formed the primitive establishment of the Britons. By the feudal prescriptions only, could the lands of the British chiefs have been enjoyed under the king as the supreme proprietor of all, and possessed under a baron as the immediate lord of the fee, with the obligation of military service to him, or with the payment of a fine of commutation for it³⁹. This is the first great signature and highest characteristick of the feudal system, and is expressly declared, in some of the earliest institutes of the Britons, to have been the principal service of their fees⁴⁰. By the feudal prescriptions only, could the lands of the British chiefs and villains have been obnoxious to heriots, reliefs, and homage, to wardship, marriage-licences, and escheats. And, by them only, could the lord of the fee have acted as the British lords
acted

acted in the earliest ages; have taken the estate into his own hands upon the death of the occupant; have retained it in his own possession, till the heir came to request the right, or the survivor was capable of performing the service due to him for it; have then made a formal surrendery of it again to the heir⁴²; and have obliged him to pay an acknowledgment for the investiture or premier seizin of it⁴³. These were all the productions of that great principle of the feudal polity, which acknowledged the lands of a kingdom or a barony to have been originally held by the concession of the royal or private lord; which confessed the right of the primary donation to have been terminated by the death of the grantee; and received the continuation of the grant to each successive heir, as a new donation from the chief. The heriot therefore was paid upon the death of every possessor, as the lord's seizin of the whole; and other discharges were made at the renewal of the grant or the portioning of a daughter, as an acknowledgment of his primary right to the whole. And the same principle, gradually operating downwards, affected the villain estates in the same manner. The British peasant expressly held his land to the last, as the gentleman must have held his at first, dependant on the will of his lord. But, though the original tenure of villainage remained nominally the same, property gradually gained upon these precarious holdings in the villain as in the freehold estates; and the former had early begun, like the latter, to be continued for life and descend to the heirs among the Britons. The latter were become absolutely, and the former partially,

Sect. III. ally, hereditary before the age of Howel Dha; the house descending by law, and the lands devolving by allowance, to the posterity of the previous occupant⁴³. And hence, only, could the heriot and relief have been at all the equal incidents of the freehold and villain estates among the Britons.

P. 264. Such was the curious and original frame of the British tenures; a compleat system of feuds in miniature, and the same in effect with the more enlarged one of the Normans. The sameness is great enough, to shew the very near relation of the former to the latter and the common family of feuds. And the difference is sufficiently striking, to demonstrate the descent of the former by a line absolutely distinct from the latter. The British is plainly prior in its origin to the Norman, because it is much less complicated and diffusive than it. And, the tenures of pure and free villainage corresponding with great exactness to the same holdings of later ages, the knights-service among the Britons was compounded of the mixt tenures of the barony and free soccage among the Normans⁴⁴.

These feudal tenures seem to have been derived from a very antient and primitive origin, and to have existed coeval with the first plantation of the island. And they were plainly, I think, the joint result of a colonizing and a military spirit. The former providentially animated the first ages of the Noachidæ, was constantly prosecuted under the discipline of regular order and the controul of regal authority, and had whole regions to partition among the members of the colony. And the latter was excited by the frequent migrations of parties, and the numerous

numerous invasions of settlements, in the same ages; Sect. III.
 and naturally provided for the security of the infant
 plantation by the institution of a military establishment.
 Nearly all the lands in the kingdom, therefore, would
 be charged with the feudal observances; and the only
 allodial estates within it be such, as belonged to the re-
 lations of the royalty. The word Allod or Allodium
 has effectually baffled all the disquisitions of etymology
 to the present moment. Like many of the other terms of
 feudalism, it has been vainly explored, I apprehend, in
 languages to which it never bore any relation. And it
 is, I suspect, like many of them, neither Saxon nor
 Norman in its origin, but British. British seemingly is
 the characteristick term of the whole, Feod or Fee; oc-
 curring particularly in the language of the Irish, Fod
 and Fich, and signifying literally Glebe or Land ⁴⁵. Bri-
 tish certainly is the remarkable Heriot of the system,
 the Dæred of Howel Dha, the Hæred of Anglesey,
 and the pronounced Hared of Lancashire; as the plain
 unwrested import of the word, an obit or mortuary, P. 265,
 evinces of itself ⁴⁶. And British certainly is the famous
 Mercheta of the Scottish feuds in particular, which has
 given occasion to that fiction of folly in the best his-
 tories of Scotland, that the lord had a privilege to sleep
 with the bride of his vassal on her wedding-night;
 which has been explained by derivations equally obscene
 and stupid, and is apparently nothing more than the
 Merch-ed of Howel Dha, the daughter-hood, or the
 fine for the marriage of a daughter ⁴⁷. Equally British
 is the feudal appellation of Villain, appearing equally
 in the laws of the Britons, Bilain or Filein, and signi-
 fying

Sect. III. fying a husbandman or peasant ⁴⁸. And the two well-known and peculiarly feudal denominations of Baron and Manour are also British, though both have been appropriated to the Normans; and the former, like villain, so absolutely, that the appearance of it has been even adduced as a positive argument against the authenticity of some Saxon charters ⁴⁹. They both occur in the antient institutes of Wales, and Manour no less than a hundred and twenty years before the Conquest; are written Barwn and Maenawr, and signify a military man and a district ⁵⁰. And Allodium, I think, is derived from the same language. Allodial land is an estate discharged from all the feudal services, and, as I have observed already, must naturally have been such only as belonged to the relations of the crown. And the estates of the Ealodeu or members of the royal family, the children, nephews, or cousins of the reigning monarch, are all expressly exempted from the imposition of the Ebediw in the laws of Howel Dha, and are actually the only lands in the kingdom that are favoured with such an exemption ⁵¹.

The prescribed mode of descent for all the noble or freehold estates in the kingdom, at this period, was by the course of the custom which is denominated Gavelkind. And this antient usage appears equally in Ireland and Wales, is recorded as early as the tenth century in the laws of the latter, and existed for ages afterward the universal rule of inheritance in both ⁵². Familiar among the Saxons, it was then allowed to operate only

P. 266. upon a small portion of their estates, on censual lands or free soccages. But it extended its influence through

the whole circle of landed property among the Britons⁵². That, as I have already evinced, was formed merely of one species of tenures, at once military and censual. And it was naturally denominated among the Britons *Gafael Kinead*, or the family estate. *Gafael* or *Gavel* carrying exactly the same signification in the British as *Fich* and *Fod*, the addition of *Kinead* or *Kind* was necessary to restrain the generality of the expression, and to distinguish the legally hereditary estate of the *Uchelwyr* from the legally undescendible possession of the *Filein*. And both together import precisely what *Fee* and *Feud* signify at present, a free tenement and its appurtenance, a noble estate and the modal tenure of it⁵³. There were three particular prescriptions of this British institution; and all seem to have been intended as improvements upon the feudal system. The inheritance of the British baron, the only freeholder in the kingdom, was divided equally among the sons, and in failure of them among the next heirs that were males⁵⁴. This was calculated directly to multiply the number of the military tenants, and to provide against defects in the military services. The females of every degree were precluded from the inheritance, till the utter extinction of the males⁵⁵. They were unable to perform the services, and therefore esteemed unfit to receive the tenures. And, what was very extraordinary in itself, but naturally resulted from the same feudal principle of gavelkind, no distinction was made in the line of the males betwixt the spurious and legitimate⁵⁶. They were both qualified equally to execute

Sect. III. execute the services of their father, and admitted equally to a share in the patrimony ⁵⁶.

But, though the fee was divided among the sons, and though the spurious shared it with the legitimate, yet the legitimate and the eldest was considered by the law as the actual proprietor of the whole ⁵⁷. And under this useful restriction, which continued the several branches of the original family together, and kept them in due subordination to the Pen-cenedl, the head of the family or manour, and the eldest legitimate line of the barony ⁵⁸; this common law of inheritances seems to have been coæval with the commencement of the British feuds, as it evidently resulted from the same military precautions with them. Thus, if the survivor of a feudatory could not immediately discharge the services due to the king for the fee, it was regularly retained in the king's possession till he was able ⁵⁹. And, if the possessor of a feud left one son perfect and another imperfect in his bodily faculties, the former, whether he was legitimate or illegitimate, became the proprietor of the patrimony; because, as the law expressly subjoins, the latter could not perform the duties to the sovereign for the fee in the forum and the field ⁶⁰.

Founded upon these fixed principles of the feudal system, gavelkind continued universal in Wales and Ireland even nearly to the present period. In the latter, the usage was uniformly observed to the very recent and signal epocha in its civil history, the regular settlement of the whole frame of the English polity by the good-sense and authority of James the first ⁶¹. In the former, a law of the 12th of the first Edward permitted the antient stem

stem to continue in its native soil; but lopped its two principal branches away, the admission of bastards to the inheritance, and the preclusion of females from it. And a statute of the 34—35th of Henry the eighth for ever levelled the venerable trunk to the ground; all the lands in Wales being then required to be holden “as English tenure to all intents, according to the common laws of this realm of England.” } Sect. III.

The rule of gavelkind was confined to the descent of private inheritances. It did not mount up to the throne. It could not. The whole design of the institution being the better discharge of the military duties to the crown, the inheritance of the king could not be affected by it. And accordingly, in direct contradiction to a fundamental principle of it, I have shewn one of the royal family to have regularly succeeded in the throne by a peculiar and exclusive privilege. And it was never permitted, among P. 268. the Irish, to extend its influence to the estate even of the Tanist or immediate heir of the crown⁶². The lands of our Mancunian fathers devolved by the laws of gavelkind: but the impartible monarchy of Lancashire descended by hereditary right. And from this difference the crown must have derived a very considerable advantage, virtually creative of absolute authority and subversive of legal liberty. It could have been under no apprehension of danger, and even in no fear of opposition, from the greatness or exorbitancy of an accumulated fortune in any of the barons. The lands were parcelled out, at every fresh descent, into a fresh variety of inheritances. And the wealth of the chiefs, in a series

Sec. III. ries of fuceffions, would be broken into a thoufand fragments.

Such were the feudal tenures of the Britons. And, in the continuation of them under the Romans, the obligation of attendance upon the king in his wars would ftill be retained by the crown, but enforced only at the command of the conquerors. Prudence would induce them in this manner to continue the antient privilege of royalty, which could never be exercifed againft them, and might be fo ufefully exerted for them. It would enable them upon any emergency to raife a number of foldiers, and embody them with their own, with great facility and without expence. And, had fuch a power of the crown been taken away from it during all the long ſera of the Roman refidence, it would never have been recovered afterwards, and confequently could not have defcended to the Britifh fovereigns of Wales. And this feems to have been the only hardfhip of the Siftantians under the government of Rome, that; additional to the taxes of the empire, they were bound to the feudal payments and military fervices of the kingdom. But, for this, they were relieved by the Romans from all the fear of incursions and the danger of rapines. And for this they were equally difcharged from all the expences of maintaining their numerous garrifons, and engaging in their frequent wars.

P. 269. ¹ Cæfar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo funt numero atque honore genera funt duo;— alterum eft Druidum, alterum Equitum:— Howel lib. i.

c. 12. a. 1, lib. iii. c. 7, lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1, and p. 340^{Sect. III.} and 341. See also Mona p. 121, 132, and 133. —
² Lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, p. 340, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 7. and p. 337, and Mona p. 132 and 133. — ³ Lib. i. c. 37. a. 2 and 3. — ⁴ Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312 and 331, and Mona p. 127. — ⁵ Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 1. and Mona p. 128. — ⁶ Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 2. — ⁷ Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 2 and 3, and c. 19. a. 11. — ⁸ Ibid. and lib. ii. c. 23. a. 1. — ⁹ Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, Mona p. 124, and Ware's Ant. Hib. c. 13. — ¹⁰ P. 332, 337, and 348, and Mona p. 132. — ¹¹ Cæsar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore genera sunt duo; nam plebs pænè fervorum habetur loco: lib. i. c. 19, lib. ii. c. 18, and ibid. c. 21 — ¹² Lib. iii. c. 7, p. 450. a. 28, and lib. i. c. 3, and Mona p. 121. — ¹³ P. 450. a. 28, and Mona p. 122 and 126. — ¹⁴ P. 498, a. 4, and Mona p. 122. — ¹⁵ Lib. ii. c. 25, a. 8, and c. 26. a. 7. — ¹⁶ Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 4, and Mona p. 127. — ¹⁷ Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 5. — ¹⁸ Ibid. a. 6. See also Davies of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued, 1761, p. 189, for the villains in Ireland paying rents in butter, oatmeal, and the like, to the reign of James the first, when they were reduced to payments in money. — ¹⁹ Lib. i. c. 3. &c., Mona p. 130, and Ware c. 8. — ²⁰ Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23. and 24. — ²¹ Lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7. and c. 25. a. 3, and Davies p. 124. — ²² Lib. i. c. 12. a. 7. and Mona p. 128. — ²³ Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23 and 24, c. 15. a. 10, and c. 21. a. 8, 14, and 15, and Davies p. 124. — ²⁴ Lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1. — ²⁵ See lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7. — ²⁶ From a record of inquisition 15 Edw. II, 1322, in Kuerden folio p. 279. — ²⁷ Cæsar p. 118, lib. i. c. 9. a. 8, ibid. c. 19. a. 12,

Sect. III. a. 12, and lib. iii. c. 7. — ²⁸ Cæsar p. 119, and Howel p. 324, p. 217, and lib. ii. c. 21. a. 35 and 36. And see b. II. c. iv. f. 1. — ²⁹ Lib. i. c. 14. a. 29 &c., c. 38. a. 7, lib. ii. c. 1. a. 66, and note p. 12 and glossary. — ³⁰ P. 369 and 370, lib. ii. c. 1. a. 68 and 80, and lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, c. 17. a. 18, c. 18. a. 12, c. 21. a. 26, and c. 38. a. 7. — ³¹ Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8, lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5 — ³² Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312. a. 54, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 13 and Mona p. 123 and 128. — ³³ Lib. i. c. 47. a. 2 and 9, lib. ii. c. 12. a. 7, lib. ii. c. 30. a. 9, p. 337, lib. iii. c. 3. a. 27, and p. 343. — ³⁴ P. 369 and 370. — ³⁵ B. II. c. 4. f. 1. And see note p. 12 in Wotton. — ³⁶ Lib. ii. c. 21. a. 28 and 30 &c. — ³⁷ See b. II. c. 4. f. 1. — ³⁸ See Mona p. 130 &c., Ware c. 8 and 13, and Davies p. 124, &c. — ³⁹ Howel p. 337. And see before. — ⁴⁰ P. 331. — ⁴¹ P. 348 and 365 and lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6. — ⁴² Lib. ii. c. 22. a. 9. and p. 365. — ⁴³ Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11, and c. 18. a. 3. Though the law is express that the villain son should not succeed by right to his father's lands (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11), yet he certainly succeeded in fact at this period. The house is positively declared to be hereditary (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11); and the whole compass of the villain township was divided betwixt the sons and the other villains (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11. and lib. ii. c. 21. a. 7). Nay, the lands were so divided, that the sons were ordered by law to be left as much as possible upon their fathers grounds (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 12). And the son of an uchelwyr, bred up for a year and a day by a native villain with the permission of his lord, is declared to have a right to share the lands and goods of the villain, as if

he had been the villain's son (lib. ii. c. 26. a. 8). And Sect. III.
 a free villain became by law the proprietary of his
 lands in the course of four generations (lib. ii. c. 18.
 a. 2).—⁴⁴ See b. II. c. iv. f. 1.—⁴⁵ See an Irish-English
 Dictionary printed at Paris, quarto, 1768. So Tir or
 Land is used for a Feud in Howel Dha; see lib. i. c. 9.
 a. 14, lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 8 and 10, p.
 347, 348, 365, &c. — And Fich or Fioch, which is
 only Fiudhuc pronounced in the Celtick manner, by
 melting down the intermediate DH (see the Dictionary),
 is the origin, I think, of the Saxon Feoh and the Eng-
 lish Fee, as Beach, Irish, is of Beo and Bee. Fich or
 Fioch, accordingly, signifies either a portion of land or
 a fee-farm in Irish at present (see Dict.). And Fod,
 Fiudhuc, Fioch, Fich, and Fith, are all one and the
 same word most probably; as they all equally signify
 land, as Feud and Feod is now melted amongst our-
 selves into Feoh and Fee, and Feuders (or Feudatories)
 are called Feuers in Scotland to this day. — ⁴⁶ Lib. i.
 c. 13. a. 10, lib. i. c. 16. a. 12, and Mona p. 131. —
⁴⁷ See Merched, lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, &c.; and see also
 Macpherson's Crit. Diff. p. 192—198, who idly derives
 it from a mark or piece of money. And see Selden's
 Titles of Honour, Blackstone's Comment. v. II. p. 83,
 and a thousand others, who all assert the truth of the
 fable. — ⁴⁸ Lib. i. c. 3 and 9, &c. — ⁴⁹ Hickeys's Diff.
 Epist. p. 68, and Spelman in Manerium. — ⁵⁰ Lib. ii.
 c. 19. a. 9, 10, 11, p. 340. Barwn-jeid or barons, and
 Baxter in Garnia. — ⁵¹ Lib. i. c. 9 and 12. The Ealod
 was to render his hawks, horse, and dogs at death to
 the king: but then he received them previously from
 him.

Sect. III. him. And the Bradwr Llys or court-judge is the only person besides that seems to be exempted, being excepted in lib. i. c. 16. a. 42. But even he is obliged in P. 271. lib. i. c. 18. a. 12. — ⁵² Ware c. 8, Davies p. 93 and 117, Howel lib. ii. c. 17. a. 3, Mona p. 122, 12th of Edw. I., and 34—35th of Henry 8th, c. 26, item 91. — ⁵³ See Gafael for a Feud or Estate in Howel Dha, lib. i. c. 9. a. 14., &c.—Silas Taylor, the first critick who deduced the custom from the Britons, and the only one except Wotton, p. 149, and his prefacer, derives the word Gavelkind, as Wotton also derives it, from the Welsh Gavel Cenedl, a Noble Estate. But, as the Irish is much nearer than the Welsh to the old Celtick (see Lhuyd p. 1), so it furnishes the very word, Kinead or Kind. — ⁵⁴ Ware c. 8, Davies p. 117, 12 Edw. I., and 34—35 Hen. VIII.—⁵⁵ Howel l. ii. c. 17. a. 3. and p. 338, Ware c. 8, Davies p. 93, 12 Edw. I., and Howel p. 347 and 348.—⁵⁶ Ibid.—⁵⁷ Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 8 and p. 347.—⁵⁸ See lib. ii. c. 22. a. 6. compared with c. 20. a. 1.—⁵⁹ P. 348 — ⁶⁰ Ibid.—⁶¹ Ware c. 8 and Davies passim.—⁶² Ware c. 8, and Davies p. 117. And see a great mistake in Carte p. 179 &c., and in the sensible Silas Taylor p. 24 and 28, Powel's Hist. of Wales by Wynne, 1697, p. 22, Davis's Dictionary, &c. &c. Nor is Gavelkind, as is generally supposed, confined to Kent at present. It is equally retained in Yorkshire, and is the custom of Swaledale to this day: see Thoresby's Leeds p. 215.

IV.

IN this disposition of the lands of Lancashire, it was necessary to have the country cantoned into particular regions, and divided into lesser or greater districts. Such a partition of a kingdom is one of the earliest efforts of its civil polity. And the assignment of estates to each of the chiefs; at first, would produce such divisions very early in our own county; and Lancashire be parcelled into districts coævally with the first plantation of it.

These were similar to our present townships, and the actual origin of them. And the Tref or mansion of the lord and his more immediate attendants, the neighbouring though dispersed cotes of his retainers, and the lands immediately adjacent to both, would necessarily form one division or township. Such were the Vici of the Gauls, of which the Helvetii had four hundred though they had only twelve towns, and which were both considerable houses and particular districts². And such were in the earliest ages, and are at this period, the Trefs of the Welsh; deriving their denomination from *p*, 273; their origin; and declaring the one by the other².

Thus did the little divisions of our townships, in Lancashire, commence with the first colony that settled in it. The lands within the compass of one township were assigned to one chief, and became a lordship under him, the grazing-grounds undoubtedly of his domestick stock. The rest of his cattle were sent most probably, either

Sect. IV. into such of the neighbouring heaths and woods as afforded a common right of pasture, the fells of Furness and Westmoreland, or both. And the ordinary care and common guard of the forts, that were raised by the Sifuntians afterwards; raised in the depth of extensive woods, and consequently upon lands belonging to the crown, as having never been ceded to a feudatory³; was assigned by the king, perhaps, to a determinate number of the neighbouring townships.

These little districts could have subsisted by themselves, only for a short period after their appointment. And the more regular administration of justice, in the kingdom, would soon occasion the combination of several townships into one cymmwd or commot, and of many into one cantref or hundred. Such divisions we actually find among the Gauls, the Welsh, and the Irish; and in the earliest institutes of the Welsh referred to the primitive Britons⁴. And, as the denomination of Cantref was given to a region from the number of townships of which it consisted, the word signifying a hundred trefs; so the Helvetian Gauls had four hundred vici or townships, and just four pagi or cantrefs⁵.

Such was the beginning of those larger cantons in Lancashire, which we now denominate the Hundreds of it. Formed some time before the towns were constructed, they would borrow their appellations from the most remarkable objects of nature within them. And, as we may infer from the partition of the large country of Helveria into four cantrefs only; a country spreading about two hundred and twenty Roman miles in length and a hundred and eighty

eighty in breadth ⁶, but loaded with mountains in every part; Lancashire could not have been divided into many. Sect. IV.
P. 273.

The region, which lay to the south of the Ribble, would not be partitioned into more than two; one perhaps taking in the western side of the county, and the other the eastern. There could not have been more than two hundred townships to the south of the Ribble, at the period of this institution. And Lancashire in general must have been considerably populous, even in this disposition of the south; being divided at least into three cantrefs or hundreds, and comprizing at least three hundred trefs or townships. Very well inhabited, we are assured by Cæsar and Diodorus ⁷, was the whole compass of the island; and proportionably so must every kingdom of it have been. And the counties of Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster are expressly declared to have been uncommonly populous, even before the settlement of the Romans within them ⁸.

Nor was this interior œconomy of the county destroyed, as at first sight it may seem to have been, by the conquest of the Romans and the erection of their towns. When Agricola induced the chiefs to settle with their followers in cities, he did not prevail upon all. He prevailed upon few. And the greater number adhered to their original mode of living. This the fewness of the towns, which Agricola induced them to erect, very plainly demonstrates. The compass merely of eight small cities, and the narrow precincts of their cultivated areas, could have contained but a very insignificant number of the Britons of Lancashire. Only one of

Sect. IV. the nearest barons was persuaded to settle in the town of Manchester, attended by all his clan. And he would retain his old mansion and old township, keeping the former perhaps as a lodge for hunting, and still using the latter as a pasture for his cattle.

P. 274. This chieftain must have continued to be, as I shall shew his successors in the barony of Manchester to have invariably been, an hereditary member of the British parliament⁹. At that period and for several ages after it, the British councils were composed only of such members. And an elective estate of the legislature, that favourite branch of the constitution to every genuine Englishman, was entirely unknown. The commons of the Gallick kingdoms were of no consequence at all in the general estimate of polity, and allowed no suffrages in the national assemblies of the country¹⁰. And those of Britain, as I have already demonstrated, were all in a state of villainage. The constituent parts of the parliament in the days of Howel Dha, the only antient one among the Britons of which we have any records remaining at present, are expressly declared to have been the men of wisdom and the men of authority in the kingdom¹¹. And the feudatories of Britain, like those of Normandy, were obliged by the tenure of their fees to the performance of certain civil as well as military duties to the crown, expressly denominated the Services of the Forum, and in fact relating equally to acts of legislation as the administration of justice¹².

The cantrefs were equally kept up under the Roman government. And the continuance of them among the Britons of Wales abundantly proves it. They were originally

ginally used by those of Lancashire, probably, for Sect. IV. many purposes of a civil and military nature, the collection of taxes, the mustering of forces, and execution of the laws. And to these they would still be applied by both the Romans and Britons. The quæstor of Manchester, perhaps, was charged with the collection of all the Roman taxes; and the præfect at Manchester commissioned to sit upon all the capital offences, that arose within the compass of the eastern hundred.

But the institution of trefs, commots, and cantrefs would be particularly subservient to the administration of civil justice. The territorial judicatures of later feuds were all exemplified among the Britons. And every cantref, commot, and tref had a distinct court of justice, the appropriated tribunal of the district or the seignory. Thus the possessor of a villain estate, under a royal or private lord, was expressly bound to his appearance in the court of his own villain tref or township ¹³; An P. 275. uchelwyr is equally declared to have had a right of determining the causes, that arose within his own domain ¹⁴. And we find the courts of the commot and cantref to have been held, in virtue of their office, by the appointed governors of those extended districts ¹⁵. Every baron, in right of his fee, was at once an hereditary judge in the supreme court of justice, the parliament, and an hereditary justiciary in his own jurisdiction ¹⁶. The claimant of an estate was obliged to commence his action before the lord, who had the immediate seignory of the land ¹⁷. And a person, that had received the investiture of a fee from the king, was not upon any suit concerning it to answer in the Llys of a

Sect. IV. frehyr-jawl or private lord, but before the judge of the principal court ¹⁸.

In these, as well as in the superiour one of parliament, that great, that amiable principle of the feudal system, the limited necessity of a concurrence in the governed to render valid the acts of the governor, was fully reduced to practice. In the inferiour moot of the tref, the oeconomy of justice seems to have been conducted with the concurrence of the principal villains. And, in these later ages of the feuds and the same sort of baronial courts, the free socagers, I apprehend, were assessors with the mesne lord, and the villain socagers with the king's bailiff. But every owner of a noble fee, within the jurisdiction of a commot or cantref court, appears to have inherited a seat and suffrage in it ¹⁹. These were denominated the Seniors, and their decision was stiled the Verdict, of the Country. And they are retained by representation in the jury of the present times ²⁰.

Such was the establishment of courts in the kingdom of Britain, agreeing pretty exactly with the judicatures erected afterwards; that of the tref answering to the moot of the mesne lord, that of the commot to the leet of the superiour barony, and that of the cantref to the judicature of the hundred. Only the second was not among the Britons, as it was with the Normans, the private court of a feigniory. It was like the third among both, the publick judicature of the crown.

The disputes betwixt members of different trefs being referred to the court of the commot, and betwixt those

those of different commots to the moot of the cantref; the controversies between the inhabitants of different cantrefs were carried to a court, which was superiour to all, and therefore denominated the Principal one²¹. In this, the supreme judicature of the kingdom, were determined all the various suits that respected the fees of the royal feudatories, and such other causes as were too dubious to be decided in the inferiour courts²². And the king presided in person or by deputy, and was denominated the Judge of the Principal Court; and the feudatories of the kingdom were assessors with him²³. But besides these there were others, the regular and official judges of the kingdom, and by the nomination of the king the presidents in the courts of a commot or cantref²⁴. And these were called Brethons, Brehons, or Judges in Ireland and Caledonia, and invested with feuds that descended with their offices to their sons²⁵. This is a branch of polity, which has been universally supposed to be merely Celtick; the result of the Celtick genius untutored in judicial speculations, and vainly imagining the knowledge of the law to be as inheritable as the office and the feud. But it was founded upon as sensible principles as the baronial judicatures of the feudal nations, and was actually exemplified in the hereditary earldoms of the Normans. It was indeed an improvement upon the common judicial principles of feuds; the Brehon being of course not charged for his fee to any of the military services, and therefore at liberty to fix his whole attention and his son's upon the study of the law. And the same strain of polity, however it has been utterly unnoticed by our lawyers, is

Sect. IV. equally discoverable in the judicial system of these later ages. In a record of the 13th of John, the two lords of Whithington near Manchester are expressly declared to "hold one knight's fee under the baron of Manchester in antient manner, and finding one judge for the lord the king²⁶." And, in a record of the P. 277. same period, the lord of Pilkington near Manchester is equally mentioned to possess one fourth of a fee from the same baron, "in antient farm, and finding one judge for the king²⁷." These courts determined all the disputes emergent in the little empires of the Britons. But to the sovereign's own private determination were referred the causes that related to the crown, respected himself, or belonged to any of the royal family²⁸.

All these Gorsfeddau, or courts of judicature, were convened under the Romans, as they were assembled at first, in the open air, upon the summit or slope of a hill, and within some appointed circle of stones or some appropriated amphitheater of stones and turf. In the regions of Caledonia and Ireland, they were held for ages after this period on the side of a hill, and the judges were seated upon green banks of earth; the grounds being formerly denominated the Mute or Moot Hills in the former, and now entitled the Parle or Parling Hills in the latter²⁹. And, in the Romanized regions of Britannia Secunda or Wales, even the supreme judicature of the kingdom, which was frequently held by the king in person, was in all causes of inheritance convened in the open air as late as the tenth century³⁰. The judges were paid for their decisions by the gainer of the cause; and the rate of the pay-
ment

ment was settled by law ³¹. And they determined by Señ. IV. a Brawd-lyfr, a Cause-book, or code of laws, which appears to have been drawn up before the reign of Howel, was most probably compiled at this particular period, and contained all the antient institutes and authentick customs of the country, the common-law of Lancashire and Britain ³².

The casualties of wrecks and treasure-trove belonged to the king, who was necessarily, in all the feudal kingdoms, the general owner of such property as was challenged by no other claimant ³³. The half of the former, however, was resigned by the crown to the private lord of the domain, upon which it was accidentally thrown ³⁴. And the uninterrupted possession of an estate reasonably conferred an absolute right to it. But it was the possession of no less than a hundred and eighty years, a term rudely supposed to be commensurate with three generations ³⁵. Any proprietor in the kingdom might annually let out his land at his own discretion; but could not either sell or mortgage it, without a licence from his lord ³⁶. All the estates in the country were entailed, and could not be alienated from the line, unless the king and the relations of the possessor, his brother, cousins, and cousins sons, concurred in the act; and unless the alienation was made in order to pay the fine for murder, a payment in which the law considered the son as equally interested with the father ³⁷. And nothing could be bequeathed by a testament but debts ³⁸. The son was of age at fourteen, and the daughter at twelve; and, by a strange absurdity, the former had a just ground
of

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Sec. IV. of action against his father for any correction afterwards³⁹. And the general peace of the country was secured by that wise oeconomy of civil polity, which appears so greatly improved among the Saxons, the institution of Frank-pledges. The free-man or noble was responsible to the state for the conduct of his sons and villains, and obliged to satisfy the government for any offences which they committed; unless, as was very seldom the case, the punishment was the forfeiture of life and limb⁴⁰. Being entitled to receive satisfaction for any offences against them, he was naturally required to make it for any committed by them⁴¹.

The general jurisprudence of the country was regulated, as it seems to have been in all nations at first, and as it particularly was among the Germans⁴². No crimes were ordinarily capital. And they were punished only with an Eric or fine. Such was the case formerly in Scotland⁴³. Such was it equally in Ireland⁴⁴. And such it was also in Wales. These fines were of two appellations and degrees, the publick and the private⁴⁵. The former were twelve cows or three pounds, and the latter three cows or a hundred and eighty pence⁴⁶. And a theft, a rape, and a riot were generally punished by the former; as all other offences, except murder, were by the latter⁴⁷. In some circumstances, however, the criminal received personal corrections. The noble is expressly declared not to have been answerable for his villain, in any causes that affected either life or limb⁴⁸. And even robbery was sometimes punished with banishment, slavery, or hanging⁴⁹.

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The right of compurgation, which unjustly seems Sect. IV. so extraordinary a test to the judgment of these later ages, and was very familiar to the Saxons, appears to have been equally in use among the Britons. And the oath was administered probably upon some of their arms, as it seems to have been with all the nations of the North; being taken upon their military standards among the Gauls, by the Irish about two centuries ago upon their swords, among the Highlanders lately on their dirks, and by the Danes antiently upon the military bracelet of their monarch⁵⁰. The accused having thus asserted his own innocence, a number of his friends appeared in court, and swear equally to their belief of it. The rank of the witness was required among the Saxons and Britons to be the same with that of the accused⁵⁰. And the number varied with the nature of the charge. In all civil causes, the oaths of twenty-four men were required to take off the force of an accusation concerning the value of a hundred and twenty pence, and those of forty-eight for the value of two hundred and forty⁵¹.

In all the modes of a criminal process, the forms of proceeding in the British courts exactly coincide with the Saxon in some particulars, and are essentially distinguished from them in others. The three acts of murder, theft, and house-firing had each nine *Affaeth* or accessory parts of the crime, for which a person was equally responsible to the law as for the actual perpetration, and subjected to different degrees of punishment⁵². And the three first circumstantialia of murder, in particular, were to point out to the murderer the proper place for the

Sect. IV. the crime, to advise him about the execution, or encourage him to the fact; and each required, upon a denial of the charge, a compurgation of a hundred men, or was followed with a fine of a hundred and eighty pence, upon confession. The three next were to point out the person intended to be murdered, to accompany the murderer a little on the road, or attend him to the very scene of villainy; and if each accusation was not refuted by the oaths of two hundred men, each crime was punished with a mulct of three hundred and sixty pence. And the other three were actually to assist the murderer, detain the unhappy man till he came up, or stand by and behold the commission of the crime; and were each to be answered by three hundred men, or mulcted five hundred and forty pence⁵³. The fine for the perpetration of murder, the Werigild of the Saxons, was denominated Gwerth among the Britons, the worth or price of the murdered. Even the king had his gwerth, as among the Saxons; though the British law has not, like theirs, sufficiently told us the rate of it⁵⁴. And the gwerth of an uchelwyr was settled at sixty-three cows, or fifteen pounds fifteen shillings, in all; and that of an uchelwyr's villain at half the money⁵⁵. The fine was discharged to the lord and relations of the murdered. All the kindred of the murderer were obliged to contribute to it, in certain proportions ascertained by the law. And, if every penny was not paid, the former might put the murderer to death with impunity⁵⁶.

In

In civil processes, the British forms of proceeding stand entirely distinguished from the Saxon. Every cause that respected inheritances was referred to the principal court, to the examination of the king or his deputy, the official judges, and the barons⁵⁷. And the other courts were continually open: but this was occasionally shut. Its juridical year was divided into terms. These were only two in number; and in this, the infancy of civil polity, were naturally regulated by the season of sowing and the period of harvest⁵⁸. The former commenced upon the 9th of May, when the seed-time was concluded; and lasted to the 9th of August. And the latter began upon the 9th of November, when the harvest was compleated; and continued to the 9th of February⁵⁹. Though the suits in these courts respected the descent of inheritances, the most involved and perplexing causes, I think, that are brought before our present judicatures; yet the action was so generally decided within the compass of a single term, that, if it ever extended beyond the close of it, it was necessarily re-commenced at the beginning of the next⁶⁰. And every cause was prosecuted with the simplest forms, and consequently decided in a summary manner. At the commencement of the suit, the plaintiff and defendant were ordered to propound their pleas, and allowed three, nine, or fourteen days for producing their witnesses, according to the distances at which they asserted them to reside. Upon the day appointed, the judges repaired to the disputed estate, and each took his seat in the open air; the king or his deputy first placing

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Sec. IV. placing himself with his back to the sun or weather. The parties gave securities for their peaceable submission to the award of the court, securities that were actual hostages and lodged in a prison. Silence was proclaimed. The breach of it was severely fineable. And each party in person briefly stated the nature of his case, and offered to produce his witnesses. If they were present, the point was immediately determined. And, if they were absent, another interval of three, nine, or fourteen days was allowed. The second meeting was decisive. The hostages were brought into court. The witnesses delivered their testimonies. And the judges retired for consultation. The personal dignity, as well as number, of the witnesses influenced the decision. And contrary to all the principles of equity, which on an equality of evidence always determine in favour of the possessor, the defendant was nonsuited, unless his witnesses were not only equal, but even superior in number and dignity, to the plaintiff's⁶¹.

¹ Cæsar p. 3 and 114. And see below. — ² Howel lib. ii. c. 19. — ³ See Wotton's Glossary to Howel under *Diffaith Brenin*. — ⁴ Howel lib. iii. c. 27. 2. 25. And see lib. ii. c. 19, *Mona* p. 117; and *Davies* p. 84. — ⁵ Cæsar p. 3 and 7 and 117. — ⁶ Cæsar p. 2. — ⁷ *Diodorus* p. 347, *ἡ ἀπείραχτος ἰσότης*, and Cæsar p. 88, *Hominum est infinita multitudo*. — ⁸ Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 17, *Brigantes — civitas numerosissima totius provinciae*. —

⁹ See

• See b. II. ch. iv. f. 2.—¹⁰ Cæsar p. 118 concerning the Sect. IV.
 Gaals, Plebs penè fervorum habetur loco, quæ per se
 nihil audet, & nulli adhibetur concilio. — ¹¹ See the P. 282.
 Prefaces to the laws.—¹² Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 6 &c., p. 348;
 and Pref. to laws. — ¹³ P. 325, and lib. ii. c. 26. a. 1.
 — ¹⁴ Lib. i. c. 16. a. 30, lib. ii. c. 2. a. 3, and p. 325.
 c. 85. — ¹⁵ P. 389, 405, 468, lib. i. c. 6. a. 1 and 2,
 and lib. i. c. 16. a. 3. — ¹⁶ P. 93, 187, 307, 377, and
 403.—¹⁷ Lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1.—¹⁸ P. 325.—¹⁹ P. 187,
 121, 325, and 405, and Mona p. 121.—²⁰ Lib. ii. c. 10.
 a. 1. and lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1. — ²¹ P. 121 and 390. —
²² P. 325, lib. i. c. 16. a. 36, p. 19, and p. 27.—²³ P. 325,
 and lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12. — ²⁴ Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12, lib. i.
 c. 16. a. 35, and lib. iii. Pref. 2.—²⁵ Ware c. viii. and Crit.
 Diff. p. 186.—²⁶ So the Brehons in Ireland, within these
 two or three centuries, always brought up their children
 or relations to the same profession, and left one of them
 to succeed (Camden p. 788). — Kuerden folio p. 274.—
²⁷ Ibid. — ²⁸ Lib. i. c. 27. a. 10. — ²⁹ Ware c. viii,
 Stanyhurst's Def. of Ireland p. 45. in Hollinghead's
 Chron. 1586, Crit. Diff. p. 187, and Spelman in Par-
 liamentum. In Borlase's Cornwall p. 208 is an amphitheater,
 which I take to have been for this use. And so
 the Tinwald of the Manks, and the Stannary Parliaments
 of the Cornish, to this day.—³⁰ Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12.—
³¹ Lib. i. c. 16. and lib. ii. c. 27. a. 21. — ³² P. 186,
 300, and 408. And in Ireland (says Ware) they deter-
 mined from certain prescripts and customs of the king-
 dom (c. viii.)—³³ Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 12 and 13, c. 27. a.
 9, and c. 13.—³⁴ Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 14.—³⁵ Lib. ii. c. 17.
a. 7

Sect. IV. a. 7 and 8.—³⁶ Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 29.—³⁷ Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 1.—³⁸ Lib. ii. c. 1. a. 15.—³⁹ Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8 and 12.—⁴⁰ P. 325 and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5.—⁴¹ Lib. iii. c. 2. a. 32, &c. &c.—⁴² Tacitus c. 21.—⁴³ Crit. Diff. p. 187.—⁴⁴ Ware c. viii. and Davies p. 116.—⁴⁵ Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—⁴⁶ Ibid.—⁴⁷ Ibid.—⁴⁸ P. 325.—⁴⁹ P. 210, 217, and 325.—⁵⁰ Cæsar p. 135 for the Gauls, Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 244 for the Highlanders, Spencer's View of Ireland p. 220 of his works, 1679, for the Irish, and Affer p. 28, Wife, Spelman's Alfredus Oxonii p. 22, and Ethelward F. 480, for the Danes.—Lib. iii. c. 3. a. 49 and 54, and see b. II. ch. iii. f. 4.—⁵¹ Ibid. a. 51 and 52.—⁵² Lib. iii. Pref. 2.—⁵³ Lib. iii. c. 1.—⁵⁴ Lib. i. c. 4. and lib. iii. c. 2.—⁵⁵ Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 10, lib. iii. c. 2. a. 9, and lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—⁵⁶ Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 15, 16, and 20, 24, and 22.—⁵⁷ Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 11, and p. 325.—⁵⁸ Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 7.—⁵⁹ Ibid. a. 3—6.—⁶⁰ A. 10.—⁶¹ Lib. ii. c. 10.

The deductions, which I have made in this chapter from the collection of Welsh laws published by Dr. Wotton, are not formed, as the reader will remark, merely from the fourth and fifth books of them; which, like those of the Confessor in the Saxon code, are only commentaries upon the previous institutes; though, like them, as commentaries antient and sensible, they are at once useful in their notices and respectable for their authority. And they are not even made, as the reader will equally remark, merely from a few detached passages

passages in the three first books, which contain the laws ^{Sect. IV.} of Howel Dha in particular; but from the general and uniform tenour of his whole work. Those might be the production of that interpolating hand, which we clearly discern in some parts, and therefore suspect in others. But this cannot. It can flow only from the genuine and original source of the whole. The true idea of these deductions, therefore, is to be taken from a full and comprehensive view of them. And these evince one regular scheme of military and civil polity to be exhibited in the laws, incorporated into the frame, and the very life and spirit, of them. Such a scheme could as little be the creation of Howel, as the invention of any of the kings after him. He made insertions in the code existing before him, as the succeeding kings inserted in his. And the strong and striking agreement of the whole with the unwritten system of Ireland, fully proves the interpolations of all to have been only trifling and immaterial; and demonstrates the present code of Howel and his successors to be a fair and faithful exemplar of the municipal laws of the Britons.

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