

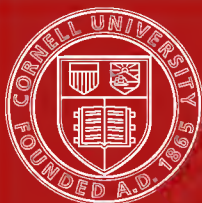
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BALLAUGH OLD CHURCH

ISLAND HERITAGE

DEALING
WITH SOME PHASES OF
MANX HISTORY

BY
WILLIAM CUBBON
R.I.St.O.O. (Norway); M.A.
Compiler of
"A Bibliography of the Literature of the Isle of Man."

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This book
is dedicated with heartfelt thanks
to the
REV. FRED M. CUBBON
whose active sympathy and generosity
have made its publication
possible

FOREWORD

THE MEMBERS of the Manx Museum and National Trust view with the greatest interest the publication of this book by Mr. William Cubbon, Knight of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olaf, M.A.

Mr. Cubbon has been associated with the Manx Museum from its foundation, and was for many years its esteemed Director. He brings to the work an unrivalled knowledge of his native Island and an intense patriotism. His zeal has not flagged with the passing of over eighty years, and he is not hide-bound by any convention.

Mr. Cubbon advances his own well-thought-out views, backed by close study and deep scholarship. It is not necessary to agree with all Mr. Cubbon's conclusions to follow his work with the greatest interest and delight.

The Trustees welcome this opportunity of acknowledging the generosity of the Rev. Fred M. Cubbon, who has arranged to hand over the proceeds of the sale of ISLAND HERITAGE to the Trustees to form the nuclei of a fund from which assistance may be given to the publication of original literary work of a national character, including the fruits of research into the archives in the Museum and elsewhere.

The Trustees welcome the publication of ISLAND HERITAGE and are assured that it will take its place among the classics which tell the story of MANNIN VEG VEEN.

RAMSEY B. MOORE

*Chairman
Manx Museum and National Trust*

*Mona ! I sing, the favourite of Heaven ;
That happy spot that was of old ordained
To be the seat of modern bliss ; where peace
For ever dwells, and fair prosperity,
Enthroned, sits smiling on her golden shore.*

—ANONYMOUS.

P R E F A C E

IN this volume we have purposely avoided dealing at length with archaeology and natural history in its various forms. These subjects have been treated exhaustively by authorities more ably qualified for that task. To be frank this book has not been written with an eye on the summer visitor, although it is hoped it may make an appeal to him. It has been written by a Manxman for the edification—if he dare use such a word—of his own folk, and particularly for the student of things Manx. It is his aim

To unlock the treasures of the Island heart ;
With loving feet to trace each hill and glen,
And find the ore that is not for the mart of commerce.

This is, unfortunately, a prosaic age, and we have deliberately made some attempt to draw a picture of the religion and customs of our early ancestors, the Celt and the Norseman, and in doing so we own to have been guilty of giving the book a lopsided character. In some measure too, we have gathered the remnants of a mythology romantic in conception and vivid in colour—a good quarry from which the poet may hew rich material.

It is one of the missions of this book to advocate the cultivation of love of country. Patriotism is perhaps the purest and most disinterested emotion of which the average man is capable. It is a spiritual conception. There are two units in society that matter—the family and the nation. The Manx nation is as much a national entity as any other, no matter how powerful. It has produced great patriots, and their efforts have been an inspiration to us in these days. The lessons of history, wisely learned, are valuable pointers for the future ; they strengthen and

ennoble the national character, so that in taking pride in our past we are aided to meet the challenge of the future.

One can be patriotic to his fatherland, no matter how small its area ; but one cannot be patriotic to a powerful political federation. Only too well do we know that the larger European governments have frequently striven to be all-powerful in the military sense.

Bigness is not everything. The big building can be a big blunder : but a carved jewel, a tiny poem, or a few square inches of canvas in colour and design, can possess beauty. A huge country which has given itself up to the quest of power is not superior, but inferior, to a small nation which has spiritual ideals. There is always a revolt against the tyranny of mere might. Stubborn persistence and virility have ever been the character of the small nations constituting the Celtic race. We say, *Quocunqve Jeceris Stabit* : ' Throw him where you will, he will stand.'

In order that we can fully and unselfishly love our country we must be familiar with its every feature—its hills and glens, its rivers and bays, at all periods of the year, its people and their institutions, and the story of their lives. But what could we know of the territory embraced in the wider bounds of huge countries, or of their occupants ? This contrast was eloquently expressed by a Ballasalla youth when he went to India as a civil servant :

Ah, little Mona, native land of mine,
That fostered me between thy hills and bays,
I render thanks to God
That I was born in thee.

Not in some larger land whose wide domains
Could never all be known and loved by me
As old familiar scenes :
But thou art all my own.

There came a short time ago to the Manx Museum a letter from a scholar of standing in Cleveland, U.S.A., in which he expressed his regret that the teachers of his class in a local school gave him no knowledge of the outlines of Manx history. He was taught French, he said, but he never got to know of the historic background of Tynwald, and that the number of members of the House of Keys was twenty-four, and why.

Declaring that he had felt the lack of this knowledge ever after, he on the other hand could not but observe that each of his Scottish, Irish and Welsh friends in the States was never weary of exhibiting his familiarity with his country's story. That this correspondent's experience is similar to that of many another scholar is unfortunately only too true. And there are men in Douglas occupying public positions who have the same story to tell of their early education. The remedy rests not entirely with the teacher ; it rests chiefly with those officially at a higher level. It is admitted that the Manx side of education has been too long in the shadow, and that for the sake of the future there should be an improvement.

Something practical might be done if Tynwald, through its Board of Education, could arrange for the appointment of a qualified person, not only to undertake research work himself, but to give talks to student teachers, lecture on certain phases of Manx history and kindred subjects, the illustrations of the Celtic and Norse crosses in the Museum, etc., and generally advise and co-operate with the central Education Authority and its staff, as well as that of the Manx Museum.

As a matter of convenience, the Adviser of Manx Studies—that might be an appropriate title—could be a member of the staff of the Museum, but specially appointed. There is in the Museum Library a mass of manuscript and other material ready for service ; and there are multitudes of antiquarian and historical objects as illustrations.

It would be within the scope of duty of such a man to bring young students to inspect places of historical interest in their own area. Not far from each parish school are archaeological monuments, early Christian chapels, Celtic and Norse slabs, grave mounds, and so on. Young people would thus be taught to feel an interest in such matters in their own home surroundings. And there should not be lacking a Manx flag at each parish school. The scheme outlined is being followed in Wales, where a body of skilled teachers is regularly engaged in such work.

The modern utilitarian spirit has little reverence for things merely venerable for age and devoid of practical use. Just over fifty years ago an old church in Douglas was dismantled in order to make room for a market. The original Saint Mary's

Church of Castletown, erected about 1230, was, not long ago, in serious danger of destruction by the local authority. Before the end of the seventeenth century it became the Academy, and later the place was used as the Grammar School. After 1930 it was unoccupied and the building was allowed to deteriorate, and would have fallen into ruin but for the Museum Trustees, who (under the wise provisions of an Act of Tynwald) took possession and thus saved a unique relic of ancient days. But this only became possible through the generosity of friends, including old scholars, who contributed sufficient to save the roof. An eminent figure* writing fifty years ago, declared: 'It should surely be the business of those who love their country, and are proud of its treasured independence, to seize every opportunity of preserving the fading records of the past, just as it should be their business, in the fine language of the poet,'

' to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet.'

The final chapter of *Island Heritage* is devoted to a brief account of the *Manninee Dooie*† with whom the author, in the course of his business life, had the privilege of being on more or less intimate terms. It has been a constant source of wonderment to him how Arthur Moore, in his short life of fifty-four years, accomplished so much of real value. It could only have been done by concentration of energy and self-sacrifice.

Philip Kermode is another instance of one who devoted his life to certain high ideals, and in spite of difficulties attained much success in pioneer work. No Celtic scholar excelled John J. Kneen in the field of philological research. In spite of ill-health he courageously carried out a great deal of what he had planned to do. Then there were Sir James Gell, the foremost authority in the realm of law; Doctor Clague and W. H. Gill in that of music and folklore; Nicholson and Knox in the field of art. And to these the names of our beloved Josephine Kermode ('Cushag') and her fellow-worker Sophia Morrison must be added.

* Sir Spencer Walpole in *The Manx Note Book*.

† *Manninee Dooie* = 'True Manx Folk.'

Here was a group of talented patriotic *Manninee* living contemporaneously, and working in friendly sympathy with each other, as the author well knew. When such folk pass on we lose treasures which can never be regained. It is not right that lives like theirs—so rich in blessing, so self-sacrificing, and so closely woven into ours—should be unrecognised and unrewarded by their fellows and by high authority.

. And here it is seriously suggested that a scheme for the proper recognition of such people should be inaugurated. It is respectfully suggested that Tynwald would be sympathetic to a proposal coming from the right quarter to found, say, an Order, as a mark of distinction to be bestowed upon those such as have been named. We could not then charge ourselves with lack of appreciation.

It may be that the initial proposal for such a distinction might well come from a committee appointed by our cultural societies. The funds necessary to establish the Order and furnish the appropriate insignia would be comparatively little, while the ultimate benefit would be beyond measure.

One friend well versed in the subject has urged that such a distinction ought to take the title of the Order of Saint German. His reason is that what are known in history as the Seven Champions of Christendom were all saints, namely St. George, St. Patrick, St. Andrew, and St. David in the British Isles, St. Denis for France, St. James for Spain and St. Anthony for Italy. Apart from St. Patrick, the saint most closely associated with Man is St. German, to whom the cathedral on St. Patrick's Isle was dedicated, and it would be appropriate that his name should be so used. The insignia would have some sort of illustration on its face, such as a picture of the Tynwald mound.

It is the author's chief duty to express his gratitude to the Rev. Fred Cubbon for his active and kindly encouragement in the project of creating this book and for his generous offer of ample financial assistance in printing it in so handsome a form. His wish that all the income derived from the sales should go to a fund to help publish other literary work of a national character is certain to be welcomed by the Trustees of the Manx Museum.

It is also his pleasing duty to acknowledge the chief sources from which he has drawn. He has relied upon the various writings of Speaker Arthur William Moore. From the works of Professor Marstrander of Oslo University valuable assistance has been received, relating chiefly to the Scandinavian period. It seems almost superfluous to refer to the work of Philip Kermode: he has been an inspiration when describing the Manx crosses. To Mr. Walter Gill and Mr. Basil Megaw the author is indebted for information in the earlier chapters.

To Mr David Craine he is deeply grateful for going through the proofs and for making valuable suggestions which have enhanced the value of the book. And also, on the literary side, his old friend Mr. Philip Caine has freely given of his store of information. To the artistic skill of Mr. Alec C. Quayle are due a large number of most interesting pictures, and Mr. Marshall Cubbon, too, has helped on the artistic side. Mr. T. G. Hodgson, the secretary of the Rev. Fred Cubbon, has been kind in typing all the chapters, which has facilitated the labours of the printers.

The fact that a good Manxman is the managing director of the firm which has printed and published *Island Heritage* has been a boon and a blessing. He is Mr. W. R. Cannell, a scion of the Ballawillyn family of Baldwin. Being an old friend, he has helped in numerous directions, technical and otherwise, so that as a specimen of the art of typography, the book is flawless.

The author would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Trustees of the Manx Museum, and particularly of their chairman, who honours the book by contributing a Foreword. Finally, Mr. Megaw, the Director of the Museum, and his staff, have laid themselves out to facilitate the work in various ways, in verifying sources, in providing illustrations, and in smoothing difficult situations at all stages.

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CHAPTER I

*It's clad in purple mist, my land,
In regal robe it is apparelled,
A crown is set upon its head,
And on its breast a golden band.*—T. E. BROWN.

THE CELTIC TWILIGHT

MAN is one of the oldest place-names in the British Isles. Its meaning has long been the subject of speculation among scholars, but in the opinion of the most recent writers on the subject—J. J. Kneen and Professor Marstrander of Oslo—it is of pre-Celtic origin; and its various early forms, *Mona*, *Monapia*, *Monacæda*, *Menavia*, *Eubonia*, *Manann*, *Manaw*, *Mön*, *Maun*, all spring from a stem, *Mon* : hilly or mountain land.

Old Irish literature contains many references to the Isle of Man under the names of *Manann* and *Manand*. A passage in 'The Sons of Tuireann' reminds us that the great Celtic deity Lug was believed to have dwelt in the Isle of Man under the ægis of Manannan, whose blissful domain was imagined as *Flaunys*, the Paradise; *Tir na n'Og*, the Country of the Young; *Tir na Sorcha*, the Land of Brightness; *Tir Suthain*, the Everlasting Land; *Tir Tairnngire*, the Promised Land, and *Tir Subha*, the Isle of Joy.

Another name was *Eamhain Abhlach* (pron. Avvon Ooloch), and distinguished, in poetry and romance, in association with Manannan: an elysium whither the noble in rank and deeds fared at their death.

In the Land of the Everliving these chosen guests found their bygone Kings and Queens, poets and heroes, dwelling in endless delight under boughs bearing at once a cloud of white blossom and a fruitage of magic apples, 'with the gentle Manannan in *Eamhain Abhlach*.'

It is related that the third century King Cormac, the son of Art, while walking on the Green of Tara, saw coming towards him a fair-haired stately youth bearing a silver-shining branch hung with three red-gold apples shaped like bells. When the youth waved it a music sweeter than this world's music was

breathed from the apple-bells, and it drew Cormac, forgetful of his kingdom and his family, away into the Everlasting Country of Manannan the Son of Lir.

'The Enduring Abode of Eamhain's Fairy-mound' is a panegyric on Reginald, son of Godred, King of Man and the Isles, who succeeded his father in 1187. In his eloquent allegory the poet apostrophises the royal residence there as Eamhain Abhlach.

'Eamhain the verdant' is 'a fair rampart excelling every fort, many its bright-branched apple-trees . . . Eamhain the cool delightful dwelling-place . . . bright Eamhain of the fresh grass . . . Eamhain of the fragrant apples, the Tara of Manann . . . Eamhain of the river mouths (or harbours) . . . Eamhain Abhlach of the yews, a new abode under the black-thorn, where Lug was fostered, descendant of the poet . . . Eamhain of the son of Lir, son of Midir.'

Eamhain then, as a name of this Island, appears to have been favoured chiefly by imaginative writers who must have received it from oral tradition.

INIS FALGA, 'THE NOBLE ISLE'

A poetic title used in Early Gaelic literature, probably as far back as the fifth century, was *Inis Falga*, the Noble Isle. Nutt, in his notes on *The Voyage of Bran* says, 'The Land of Falga is a synonym of the Land of Promise. Falga seems to have been an old name for the Isle of Man . . . which is also traditionally placed under the headship of Manannan, Lord of the Happy Otherworld in other stories. It is possible that it dates back to a period when the Goidels inhabited Britain and when Man was *par excellence* the Western Isle, the home of the Lord of the Otherworld.'

The vernacular literature of ancient Ireland is the most primitive and original among the literatures of Western Europe, says Kuno Meyer. During the Viking invasions in the eighth century many MSS. were destroyed, but their contents have been preserved in Continental manuscripts. In *The Voyage of Bran*, for instance, 'which was written down in the eighth century,' are references to *Eamhain Abhlach* (Man):

A branch I bear from an apple-tree,
 Such as in Emain's land there be,
 With twigs of silver and blossoms white,
 Like gleaming clusters of crystal bright.
 There lieth an island far away,
 Round it the wild sea-horses play ;
 Rising foam-crested from the deep,
 Tossing their manes to the shore they leap.
 Emain, the isle round which surges swell,
 Is it near ? Is it distant ? Who can tell ?
 Isle on which Druid enchantments shower,
 Changing its aspect from hour to hour.

In a list of Heroic Tales named in the *Book of Leinster* there is one entitled *Forbhas Fer Falga*, namely, 'The Siege of the Men of Falga' ; Falga, as we have seen, being a poetical name for Manann. The 'Siege' against *Falga* was 'by the men of Ulster with *Cuchulainn* a Knight of the Royal Branch of Ulster at their head.'

In the story of 'The Death of Curoi,' which is the sequel to 'The Siege of the Men of Falga,' the heroine Blathnaid (pron. Blaunad—'little flower') is described as 'the daughter of the King of the island of Fer Falga.'

One of the two great figures in the story is the heroic Curoi, the son of Daire. His mother was Morann Mhanannach, namely Moran the Manxwoman.

Though the surviving legends of Curoi are few, they suffice to show him as one of the most impressive figures in old Irish literature.

There are various translations of the story, but the following from Keating is probably the most literal :

THE SIEGE OF THE MEN OF FALGA

Tidings came to the champions of the Red Branch at Eamhain Macha of an island rich in gold, silver, jewels and other treasures, of which not the least desirable was the daughter of the country's ruler ; for she was rumoured to be more beautiful than any of the women of Ireland. Her name was Blathnaid, and her home was with the Men of Falga or Manann, a sea-girt land not far from the coast of Alba.

The Ulstermen therefore decided to fit out an expedition, with Cuchulainn at its head, for the purpose of reiving both the treasure and the lady.

Now when Curoi, the arch-magician of Munster, heard of their intention he resolved to join the raiding-party and make use of it for his own benefit, so he disguised himself as a rustic-looking fellow in a gray cloak, and unobtrusively slipped in among them.

On reaching the island they sent a small party of men ashore in the guise of jugglers to spy out the land. By this stratagem they learned that the inhabitants had been forewarned of their coming, and that the ruler had removed his daughter and his other valuables, under a strong guard, into a fortress believed to be impregnable, not only by its natural advantages but still more by the spells which he had laid upon it.

The strength of the fort was proved by the Ulstermen in several abortive attacks, and they were on the point of giving up their project when Curoi, still disguised, made them an offer. If, he said, they would give him his choice of any of the valuable articles in the fortress, he would undertake to lead them past its defences. To this Cuchulainn agreed, and promised on his honour that Curoi should have first pick when the booty came to be shared out.

Curoi then brought his powers of counter-enchantment into action, and succeeded in stopping the motion of a magic wheel which by its incessant whirling barred the only entrance. The Ulstermen, rushing in at his heels, slew most of the defenders and carried off Blathnaid and the bullion to their ships waiting below. Having stowed everything snugly away, they set sail and returned in triumph to Dundealgan (Dundalk), Cuchulainn's home.

Then came the delicate business of sharing out the plunder. As his reward, the clown in gray garb claimed Blathnaid. His demand was stoutly resisted by Cuchulainn, who wanted her for himself.

'Anything else you like to choose, but not Blathnaid!'

'No other payment will I accept,' replied the man in gray. And watching his opportunity, while the rest were busied in dividing the spoils, he took her away 'under a disguise of concealment of sorcery' to his stronghold in the far South West.

The continuation, in another tale, shows Cuchulainn overtaking them on their way South, but suffering defeat at the hands of Curoi. There can be detected the presence of the fairy cows which Curoi is elsewhere said to have taken from Falga.

Having defeated Cuchulainn he resumes his journey with Blathnaid. This is the first act of the drama; the second results in the slaying of Curoi at the hands of Cuchulainn by Blathnaid's agency. The third is the slaying of Blathnaid herself in Antrim by Curoi's bard, Ferceirtne, who avenged his master by seizing her and flinging her and himself over a cliff.

Arising out of these events follow the slaying, years later, of Cuchulainn by Lughaid, son of Blathnaid and Curoi; the slaying of Lughaid by Conall Cearnach, Cuchulainn's foster-brother; and, finally, the slaying of Conall himself at Cruachan in Connaught. And of all these tragedies the raid on the Isle of Man as 'Falga' was the seed.

Cuchulainn's heroic deeds were done in the first years of the Christian era. He was a Knight of the Royal Branch of Ulster. According to O'Curry, 'the beauty and symmetry of his person were in full accordance with his noble carriage and bearing.' So that when he voyaged to Man in search of a wife there is little wonder that his prowess was rewarded.

MORAN THE MANX WOMAN

It is difficult in our time to realise that far back in the misty ages in our land, the Conall Cearnach referred to above, who had married a great grand-daughter of Morann Mhanannach ('Moran the Manxwoman') had a descendant named Bivaidu, who, strange to say, is commemorated in a Manx Ogam inscription found at Ballaqueeney in the parish of Rushen, and by Mr. Kermode placed in the Manx Museum. The inscription reads: ('this stone was erected over) Bivaidu of the tribe of Conall.' (Fig. 1). Professor Marstrander believes that Bivaidu, as was then the custom, worshipped Conall Cearnach, the hero of the Red Branch, as the progenitor of the Conall tribe. The Ballaqueeney inscription, he says, may be described as one of the rarest historical monuments any people possesses, being an original document, removed in time by only a few generations from the great events that made the Isle of Man a Celtic community, and older by far than Fergus Mor's conquest of Scotland.

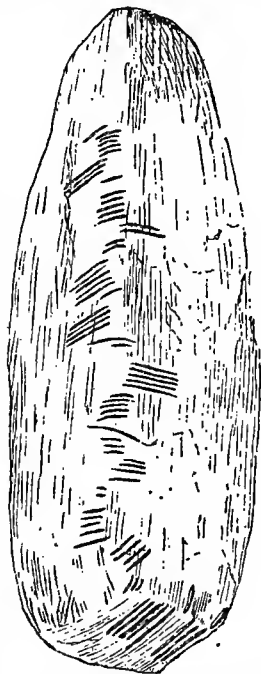


FIG. 1. The Bivaidu Ogam Stone found at Ballaqueeney.

MANANNAN OUR FIRST RULER

In the legends of the heroic period in Ireland, Manannan Mac Lir, that is, 'the Son of the Sea,' is undoubtedly our greatest traditional figure. Cormac, in the ninth century, describes him as 'a celebrated merchant who was in the Isle of Man (Manand). He was the best pilot that was in the west of Europe. He used to know, by studying the heavens, the periods which would be the fine weather and the bad weather, and when each of these two times would change.'

Manannan was a magnificent deity. He wore invulnerable mail and breastplate; he had a helmet on which two jewels shone like the sun; and a mantle that made him, or others, invisible at will. Besides this, he possessed many famous weapons: two spears called 'Yellowshaft' and 'Red Javelin,' a sword called 'The Answerer' that never failed to kill, and two smaller swords, 'Great Fury' and 'Little Fury.'

His magic coracle was called 'Wave Sweeper,' and could glide by volition wherever the owner willed, besides having the additional advantage of expanding or contracting to any size. His steed was called 'Enbarr of the Flowing Mane.' The animal was swifter than the cold clear wind of spring, and could travel equally well over the land or across the ocean waves.

One of his interesting possessions was a herd of pigs. These could renew themselves however fast they were cooked and eaten: moreover the flesh of the celestial animals endowed the eaters with immortality, so that those who ate them never grew old. Thus the Celtic gods kept their youth through the years.

Manannan generally lived on the sea around Inis Falga, riding in his chariot at the head of his followers. He is in his glory on a stormy night, and on such a night, when you look over the waste of water, there before your eyes, in the dim gloom, are myriads of Manannan's white steeds careering along after their great chief's chariot.

Dr. Douglas Hyde sent the writer an excerpt which he had come across in one of the early epics:

When Bran went forth over the sea to discover the delectable island Falga, he was met by Manannan, the Ocean God in his chariot. The bard, by a fine conception makes Manannan the author of a lay, which contrasts the faculties of the Mortal with those of the Immortal :

The sea is clear,
So thinks Bran when sailing here ;
I in car with purer powers
Know the happy Plain of Flowers.

Manannan's wife was named Fand. When she visited the Island she would come over a calm sea, and her hair was visible in the breaking white wavelets which moved as she travelled

WHAT OUR OWN ARCHIVES SAY OF MANANNAN

In our own Rolls Office there is only one really ancient record of Manannan. How old is not known. It begins :

1. Mananan Mac Ler, the first Man that had Mann, or ever was Ruler of Mann, and the Land was named after him, and he reigned many years and was a Paynim And kept by Necromancy the Land of Mann under Mists. And if he dreaded any Enemies, he would make of One Man to seem an Hundred by his Art Magick.

And he never had any Farm (*i.e.*, Rent) of the Commons, but each one to bring a certain quantity of Green Rushes on Midsummer Eve, some to a Place called Warfield, and some to a place called Man, and yet is so called.


2. And long afterwards Saint Patrick disturbed him the said Mananan, and put Christian Folks into the said Land, and left a Bishop to govern all and to keep it. And so from Bishop to Bishop they did keep it many years.

3. And then there came a Son of the King of Denmark. He conquered the Land, and was the First that was called King Orrye. And after him remained Twelve of the Stock that were called King Orryes . . .

CHAPTER 2

'Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground.'

THE COMING OF PATRICK'S MISSION

 **S**AIN**T** Patrick, the Patron Saint of Ireland and of Man, the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of whose mission was celebrated in Man in 1947, is a mysterious and elusive figure. It is a characteristic of our age to doubt the historical reality of many of the eminent figures that hover in the background of the past. Such a doubt has extended even to Saint Patrick, while against this negative attitude there is the positive voice of history and tradition. For instance, there is in Ireland a mass of material written of him and his mission by reliable scholars, and their conclusions are bound to be respected.

Did the Blessed Patrick himself set foot on the shores of Inis Falga, as the Isle was known up to his day? There is no parchment record upon which to form a judgment; but it is certain that Saint Patrick's name has always been honoured by Manx people as the one who first lit the lamp of Christ in their land. His name has been used for two Parish Churches and for nine Early Celtic Chapels, as well as for sacred wells and other objects of hoary antiquity.



FIG. 2. From Andreas Cross

Patrick laboured thirty years chiefly in the north of Ireland where a Gaelic dialect closely allied to the Manx was spoken, and, seeing that his home was not far away and he evidently was not averse from travelling, it seems more than likely that he would bring the Isle of Man within the sphere of his action. It is not only tradition that can be brought to support this view: there is weighty early documentary evidence, more or less worthy of trust, available to us. These archives, which



Plate 1. Cronk ny Irree Laa from the Niarbyl. The site of the Keell is below the summit of the Cronk, almost overlooking the sea. Raclay is the cove in the centre.

By J. M. Nicholson

[See page 8]



Plate 2A

Keeill Pherick, Ballafreer, Kirk Marown.

Photo by H. M. Rogers.

[See page 12]



Plate 2B

The Holy Well, Chibbyr Unjin, Kirk Malew.

From sketch by High-Bailiff Jeffcott in 1873.

[See page 22]

have not been brought together in this way before, are set out in what is believed to correspond with the date of the original script.

[a]

The first document in which the name of Saint Patrick is recorded in history is the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 798. It records an invasion of the Isle of Man by the Vikings, and concisely reads :

The burning of Inis Patrick by the Gentiles, and the Shrine of Dachonna was broken by them.

The important point in this is the record that Peel islet was called *Saint Patrick's Isle* eleven hundred and fifty years ago, and only three hundred and thirty-five years after the death of the saint.

[b]

In *Jocelin's Life of Saint Patrick*, the author writes 'Of Man and the Other Islands Converted to God, A.D. 444' :

Saint Patrick beholding in Ireland that the harvest was great but the labourers few, passed over into Britain to obtain coadjutors and assistants in the field of the Lord. And forasmuch as the Pest of the Pelagian heresy and the Aridu faithlessness had in many places defiled the confines of Britain, he by his preaching and working of many miracles recalled the people to the Way of Truth . . . He collected many learned religious men and brought them with him, thirty of whom he afterwards raised to the Episcopal office.

Returning to Ireland he touched at the Islands of the Sea, one of which, Eubonia, that is Man, by his miracles and preaching he converted to Christ . . .

Saint Patrick placed as Bishop over the new church of this nation one of his disciples, a wise and holy man named Germanus, as Bishop. He placed him at the head of the new church of that people, and established the episcopal See in a certain promontory which is yet called Patrick's Isle, because he used to reside there from time to time.

This quotation is from *Jocelin's Vita Sancti Patricii*, and is quoted by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 86. It is certain that St. Patrick's Isle—the Tara of Manann—according to a 13th century Irish author—was the early centre of the Manx Church, probably from the first days of Christianity—certainly long before A.D. 1134, when the islet became the seat of the Diocese of Man and the Hebrides.

Jocelin may be said to have had special qualifications for writing Saint Patrick's life. As a very young man, before 1112, he became a monk of Furness. He afterwards went to Ireland to organise the Cistercian Abbey of Inch at Downpatrick through the influence of John de Courcy, Lord of Down, who had married Aufrica, the sister of the Manx King Reginald. It was de Courcy, it is said, who induced Jocelin to write the life of St. Patrick. Aufrica and her husband founded the Cistercian Abbeys at Grey and Inch, in Down, and revived the faded fame of Patrick, Bridget and Columba.

Jocelin, in his old age, attained the high distinction of Abbot of Rushen. He would therefore have, while in Ireland, not only the story of the saint in that country, but he would, while at Rushen Abbey, learn all the details of Patrick's experiences while here. He would thus be able to record what was common knowledge on both sides of the Irish Sea.

At that time tradition had a value almost equivalent to historical documents. It is worth noting that while he was Abbot of Rushen, in 1188, Jocelin signed a deed in which King Reginald, son of Godred II, confirmed the grants to Furness which his grandfather, King Olaf I, had made.

[c]

At the end of the *Chronicle of Man and the Isles*, written before the close of the thirteenth century by the Monks of Rushen, there is a list of the Bishops who occupied the Episcopal See in Man and the Isles. The original in Latin reads :

Multi quidem a tempore beati Patricii, qui primus fidem catholicam prædicasse fertur Mannensibus.

'There were, indeed, many bishops from the time of the blessed Patrick, who is said to have been the first to preach the catholic faith to the Manx men.'

[d]

The Supposed True Chronicle of the Isle of Man is a document attached to the oldest copy of the MS. Book of Statutes in the Rolls Office. It is of a date at least as early as the sixteenth century. After a reference to 'The First Ruler that had Man, Manannan Mac Ler,' it reads :

THE COMING OF PATRICK'S MISSION

And Saint Patrick disturbed him the said Manannan, and put Christian folks into the said land, and left a Bishop to govern all and to keep it, and so from Bishop to Bishop they did keep it many years.

[e]

As for *The Traditionary Ballad*, first printed in 1778, in the Manx language, there are sufficient internal grounds for believing that this chronicle-poem was composed before 1523; but the earlier stanzas are probably much older. The translation of J. J. Kneen is used. Those relating to Saint Patrick only are quoted :

Then came Patrick the gentle,
A strong man full of nobility ;
And he drove Manannan on the wave
And his evil and unrighteous servants.
Did he not drive them and put to death
Each one of them who withstood him ;
And on them he made no grace,
Who belonged to the children of the conjurors.
Did he not bless the land from end to end,
He left no idolator in it,
Who was as high as a little child,
That refused to become a Christian.
That is how the first faith came to Mann
By Holy Patrick brought to us ;
Jesus Christ assisted us,
And also our children.
Patrick blessed Holy German,
And left him a Bishop in it,
To increase the faith more and more,
And he built all the Chapels.
In each Treen Balley he raised one,
For the people to come and pray ;
He built German's Church also,
Which is still a-sitting in Peel.

[f]

A manuscript of 1573 in the British Museum reads :

Be it remembrid that one Manaman Mack Clere, a Paynim, was the first ruler of the Ysle of Man, who, by his Necromancy, kept the same.

. . . . The which Manaman was after conquer'd by Saint Patryke of Irelande, who slew all of that Ysle which forsooke not their sorcery, and christened the rest.

All the documents referred to above were written between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries. They are presumably not borrowed from each other, and are in all probability from more or less independent sources.

SAINT PATRICK COMES TO KIRK MAROWN

The Parish of Kirk Marown is rich in Patrician lore. Its patron Saint Ronan is said to have flourished about the beginning of the ninth century after Christ, and he is described in the Calendar of Oengus as 'Bishop Ronan the Kingly.' A Kirk Marown document, *The Book of Ballafreer*, was written about 1760. Its author was the Rev. John Kewley, one of the first Chaplains of St. Matthew's, Douglas, a member of the scholarly family of Ballafreer, whose roots go back in Kirk Marown to the earliest records. The following particulars, under the heading of 'Tradition' are quoted :

As Saint Patrick pass^d through the Flat of our Farm East side of the Haggard it is said that a Briar caught hold of his Foot, so that he was a little passionate and said, Let not this Field produce any Kind of Grain that will make a man Drunk ; that he may be sober to avoid thy Briars and to take care to keep his feet from thy Dented Prickles.

This was about the year 444. He at that time was going with his Disciple Saint Jerman to appoint a place to build a Chappel therein : which s^d Chappel was built there, and the Ruins of it remains to this day. (See Plate 2A).

Not far from the ancient Keeill Pherick, believed by Kermodé to be of the seventh century, is a huge flat-surfaced stone called *Lhiabbee Pherick*, or 'Saint Patrick's Bed.' It is the Kewley family tradition that Saint Patrick, being sorry that he had shown his passion, repented. That night, therefore, he passed his time recumbent on this slab, with another stone for his pillow. This 'pillow,' a white quartz boulder, is still near by.

Saint Patrick had a humble spirit and a human heart. The Ballafreer self-inflicted penance is matched by a similar punishment recorded in the *Tripartite Life*, of his toasting his big toe as a penance for an indiscreet criticism that he believed he had uttered about a virtuous woman. Not many yards away from the *Lhiabbee*, is *Chibbyr Pherick*. It was the custom at

THE COMING OF PATRICK'S MISSION

Ballafreer for the housewife to make use of this holy water in the cleansing of the farm butter. Esther Nelson, who often visited her Kewley relatives at Ballafreer, gives in 1830 this fanciful picture :

And there, where lowing kine now meekly browse
O'er that old pasturage, St. Patrick stray'd,
With pious mission charg'd to Trolaby—
Sweet Ballafreer ! ev'n to thy hallow'd shades
St. Patrick came. Alas ! that even saint
Walks not this world unpiercèd of its thorns !
That brambles should deform a saintly toe !
Yea, even Patrick's toe an envious thorn
Pierced most malignantly, and drew the blood
The gen'rous blood, from Patrick's honest heart.

THE WHITE LADY OF BALLAFREER

The White Lady of Ballafreer has been an object of reverence, of wonderment, of admonition and of fear for many,



FIG. 3. The White Lady of Ballafreer, from a sketch by Muriel Corrin.

many centuries. In view of the fact that Ballafreer was reckoned holy ground—the genesis of the name is ‘the home of the brethren’—it may have had a blessed significance: there was certainly a belief that it shed especial protection over women folk.

There is nothing elsewhere in the Island like this white quartz pillar, about six to seven feet high.

A girl about to be wed would fill her mouth with the water from Chibbyr Pherick, ‘St. Patrick’s well,’ which flowed only a few yards away. Then she would walk three times around the pillar, and this must be done *jesh*-wise, or sun-wise, and then swallow the sacred water, saying in Manx: *Ayns yn Ennym Yee, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo*, ‘In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.’ Child-bearing women also did this ritual. And, in order to be effective, it must be performed before sunrising.

MANANNAN AND SAINT PATRICK CONFUSED

The names of Saint Patrick and Manannan have frequently been confused in tradition. Some of the super-human deeds of Manannan have often been credited to the Saint. Old Alice Crellin, of the Garth farm, in Kirk Marown repeated the following story to the writer while standing by the ancient mound called ‘Saint Patrick’s Chair,’ on the summit of which stand two fifth century carved cross slabs.

‘Wasn’ it Saint Patrick who came from Ireland on a white horse?’ ‘An’ didn’ the white horse in its flight touch on Peel hill? An’ a holy well spring up where the horse’s hooves touched?’ ‘An’ wasn’ it called Chibbyr Pherick, and does cures to this day?’ ‘But Saint Patrick and his horse didn’ ‘let’ on Peel hill, at all. He came down here, and took res’ on Saint Patrick’s chair.’

Some especial virtue must have been attributed to this earthen mound on the Garth. Kermode thinks it may have been an early moot-hill. He says the stone crosses appear to stand where they had originally been set up: they are not sepulchral, but probably commemorative, erected perhaps or carved with the cross by an early missionary who here first preached the Gospel to the people. (*Fig. 4.*)

THE COMING OF PATRICK'S MISSION

The writer's mother, who died when she was nearly 96 years old, told him that once, when she was a girl well up in her teens, she had this curious experience. She, along with a girl companion of her own age, was walking from Kirk Arbory to Peel to see what was going on at Peel Fair on the 24th of July, 1850. She was told by her grandmother to travel by way of Kirk Marown so that she would see St. Patrick's Chair. She was told that 'if she would take rest on the chair, her back would never be weary.'



FIG. 4. St. Patrick's Chair, at the Garth, Kirk Marown.

It is natural that Saint Patrick would be more familiar with the west side of the Isle, being nearer his County Down home. On a certain Sabbath morning, the Saint, crossing the sea and having been troubled during the night with a bank of Manannan's thick mist, was led to the strand by hearing the call of the curlew. He, blessing the bird, said, 'Let no one ever find the nest of the curlew.' He came ashore at the little cove of Raclay in the parish of Rushen, close to the border of the parish of Kirk Patrick. (The spot is the dip in the skyline in the middle of Plate 1). Along with his unnamed disciple, he patiently climbed to the top of the Carnane bearing the name of Speeicken Pherick. It was now clear, and the sun shone brightly. He saw below him to the south a round low hill shining in the sunshine. Here, he said, he would dedicate a chapel. It was called Cronk y Doonee, 'the hill of Sunday,' and the chapel became known as Keeill Pherick, and the Treen land became known as Ballakilpherick.

The ancient road that leads to Tynwald from Bishopscourt, passes southwards over *Baare ny Maynaghyn*, 'the road of Manannan.'* It was on this road, so it is related, that the great fight took place between Saint Patrick and Manannan. What is now known as the remains of 'Manannan's Chair' are visible on the Abbey Lands of Ballavaish near by, while the chapel of *Keeill Pherick y Drumma* still stands higher up on the roadway at Scaresdaile, symbolic of the Saint's victory in the conflict.

THE COMING OF ST. MAUGHOLD

As we have seen, 'the wise and holy man named Germanus' † was given to us by St. Patrick. And not long after, one Mac Cuill, of Mahee Island, County Down, was brought into the fold, and he in time became our St. Maughold. According to *Loca Patriciana* it happened in this wise :

In Saint Patrick's time there dwelt a certain wicked chieftain named Mac Cuill. Impious he was : he used to slay the congregations. On a certain day Patrick with his companions went past him, and he desired to slay Patrick.

Mac Cuill said to his people : 'This is the falsifier who is deceiving everyone. Let us go and make an attack upon him to see whether his God will help him.'

They got a man of his household to feign as if he were dead to be brought to life by Patrick. And they put a mantle over his body.

'Heal for us our comrade,' they say to Patrick, 'and make prayer to the Lord that he may raise him out of death.'

'By God's doom,' saith Patrick, ''tis not strange to me that he should be dead.' His people cast the mantle from his face and found him dead. Then they were silent and said : 'Truly this man Patrick is a man of God.'

Mac Cuill, throwing himself on his knees before Saint Patrick, besought him to intercede for his comrade's restoration. The Apostle knelt by the dead body and did not cease to pray till the breath of life entered it again.

All the band vowed to embrace the faith, and Mac Cuill besought the imposition of rigorous penance on himself.

* Tradition says that the monks of Rushen Abbey used this road when going to the Abbey Lands of Lezayre.

† Generally assumed to be the Latinised form of a Celtic saint's name, Carmane.

Patrick conducted him to the Boyne and taking a chain from a boat he flung it around Mac Cuill, secured the ends by a padlock, and threw the key into the river. He then made him get into the boat and trust his course to Providence. 'Loose not your chain,' said he, 'till the key which now lies at the bottom of this river is found and delivered to you. Strive to maintain (with God's help) a spirit of true sorrow; pray without ceasing.' He then unmoored the coracle; it drifted down the river and so out to sea.

In twenty hours it was lying by a little harbour in Man, and those who assembled wondered much at the robust form of the navigator, his dejected appearance, and the chain that bound his body.

On making enquiry for the abode of a Christian Priest, he found two wonderful men in the Isle before him. And it is they that preached God's Word in Man, and through their preaching the men of that Island were baptised. Conindrus and Romulus were their names.

Feeling a strong vocation for the clerical office, he studied unremittingly, and at last came to the eve of the day on which he was to receive holy orders.

On that evening the cook, suddenly entering the room in which the Bishop and postulant were conferring, cried out: 'Behold, O my Master, what I have taken from the belly of a fish just brought in.'

Mac Cuill, catching sight of the Key in the cook's hand, recognised it as the one with which Saint Patrick had secured his chain. It was at once applied to its proper use, and he had the happiness of being ordained next day unencumbered by spiritual or material bonds.

He learnt the divine rule with Conindrus and Romulus, and he took the Bishopric after them. He is said to have been Bishop of Man for fifty-six years, and died the 25th of April, A.D. 554.

Shearman in a foot-note to the story of Mac Cuill, says the Saint's natale is April 25th, and is variously called Mac Fail, McGuil, Maccaldus and Maughold, the name by which he is best known in Man. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth lines in the *Trias Thaumaturga* give his history. His memory was held in veneration in Ireland; a church at Clonsilla near Dublin was dedicated to him; his principal church in Man was in the parish of St. Maughold. He was consecrated Bishop of Man circa 498. He is called Macutus in the story told of him in *The Chronicon Manniæ*, A.D. 1135.

CHAPTER 3

*There, too, I've mused, when moonbeams gemm'd the lea,
O'er wondrous legends of our fairy isle.—ESTHER NELSON.*

MAN BECOMES ELLAN SHIANT

FOLLOWING the planting of the Christian Faith in Man through the labours of Saints Patrick, German and Maughold, and also their coadjutors, there took place a great religious revolution. It was no little matter for the people to give up worshipping the pagan gods who had formed the chief deities of the Celtic world, and to accept and practise the Gospel of Christ as it was now proclaimed. It was a test of sacrifice.

In the sixth and seventh centuries, Man was by blood and language closely linked with Ireland, which had then become the chief seat of Latin learning in the West. The great Irish missionary movement, which lasted for some centuries, and in which religion, learning and economic improvement, went hand in hand, began with the foundation of the famous Monastery on the island of Iona by Saint Columba (Colum Cille) in A.D. 563. He was an Irishman, having been born in Donegal in 521.

We do not know if Columba or those who were associated with him had personally preached the Gospel in Man; but that they may have done so is suggested by the fact that important churches have been named after some of them, namely Sanctan (Santan), Malua (Malew), Cairbre (Arbory), Brendan (Braddan), Maronan (Marown), Conchenn (Conchan).

But the measure of practical religion prevailing in the centuries immediately following the change of Faith is proved by the building of a very remarkable number of Keeills, or chapels, with their accompanying graveyards. Probably every important family had one for the use of its own household. There seems little wonder that Man became known as Ellan Shiant—'the Holy Isle.' This title comes into the first stanza of the *Traditionary Ballad*; and Bishop Phillips, as late as

1628, when passing sentence of excommunication, referred to it as 'an Holy Island or Blessed, witness the ancient name Ellan Shiant.'

THE CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE OF THE KEEILL

It is significant that many of the Keeills were built upon pre-Christian sacred sites, as is proved by the presence of Bronze Age finds in their foundations. This illustrates the respect for tradition which was a marked characteristic of early Christian converts. The burial ground of many of them stands upon artificially raised ground.

The Keeills were simple structures, quite small, about thirteen feet by eight-and-a-half feet. The length generally was one-and-a-half times that of its breadth. Preaching, as we know it, was not practised in these little edifices: they were primarily for prayer and such offices as baptism, marriage and burial. About one hundred and eighty Keeill sites are known, and most of them have been described by Kermode in his Reports to the Ancient Monuments Trustees.

As regards structure the walls were of weathered slabs picked up from the surrounding surface, and, in the north of the Island, from shore boulders. The walls were usually protected by embankments of earth with stones, which reached to the level of the window sills. Sometimes these walls at the base were from eight to ten feet wide. The floor was paved; the roof would be thatched with rushes, bent, or ling, according to the locality.

The average width of the doorway was twenty-one inches. There was a step down from the door to the floor inside. Remains of windows are more rare than of doorways. In ten cases Kermode found on excavation, the remains of an altar always set against the east gable. The average size of seven of these was three feet eight inches by two feet four. In one case at Knock y Doonee, Andreas, the altar was so far perfect as to have the top stone in position, its height above the floor being only two feet. In two instances there was a carefully built recess in the east wall behind the altar about eighteen

inches deep, sixteen inches high and twelve inches wide, which might have been intended for a safe concealment of a 'reliquary' or for the sacred vessels. The presence of socket stones and pierced lintels show that they had wooden doors. Cresset stones and stone lamps found may have been used for burning on the altars, and the mode of kindling is shown by a fine, polished, flint strike-a-light found in the Ballaquinney Keeill, Kirk Marown.

It is evident that a good number of Keeills were re-built even as far back as the seventh or eighth century. In the case of Sulbrick, Kirk Santan, there are the remains of five lintel graves extending under the walls suggesting that the present ruin must represent a rebuilding or enlargement of the original structure. A feature in the majority of cases is the great number of white shore pebbles that are found on the floor and around the altar. White pebbles are frequently associated with pre-Christian sites.

THE LAG NY KEEILLEE CULDEE

From about the end of the seventh century the Monastic system had developed a class of clerics known as Culdees. 'Companions of God' they were called. They lived alone as anchorites, praying, working, fasting and going through all the daily round in the solitude of some little cell near the Keeill. Men came to them for spiritual help and they thus exercised a real ministry. Besides this, they studied and wrote and worked at useful handicrafts and helped their near neighbours. At Lag ny Keeillee, where the original boundaries of the cemetery are almost perfect, there were found the foundations of a cell which measured inside about nine feet by six feet. There had been a paved floor, a door looking northwards, and a window in the south wall. It was the dwelling of the Culdee who served the Keeill. Near by in this remote rugged spot was a separate enclosure, drained, fenced and levelled, evidently for cultivation. Several Keeill sites have not yet been properly examined. That called Keeill Pherick in Kirk Marown 'has never felt a spade,' as the owner once said proudly.

From many points of view the Keill at Lag ny Keeillee is one of the most captivating. It is set on a ledge forming a small natural platform near the foot of the *Lag* on the almost vertical western face of Cronk ny Irree Laa. Almost the exact spot where the ruins lie can be seen on the sun-lit narrow ledge on Plate I, a couple of hundred feet above sea-level and directly beneath the highest point of the Cronk. It may be reached

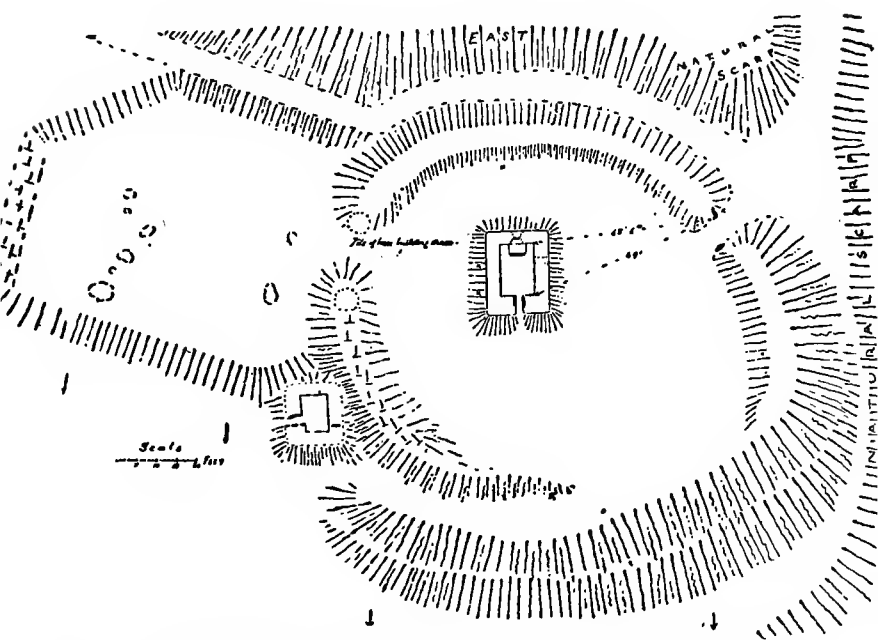


FIG. 5. Lag ny Keeillee, on the slope of Cronk ny Irree Laa. The Keill is surrounded by the Burial Ground. On the outer edge of this is the Culdee's Cell, near the edge of the cliff.

by boat at a certain stage of the tide, but only on a calm day, and the upward climb is very steep. Raclay, the little cove where St. Patrick is said to have landed, is not far away to the right. Plate I is from a painting by J. M. Nicholson.

The proper mode of access is by the old pack-horse road through Eary Cushlin, which passes on to the Sloc by foot

track. This is the best example of a pack-horse track existing in the south of the Island. A walk along it—just over three-quarters of a mile from the old farmstead—calls up a picture of its peaceful solitude in the centuries long ago.

The romantic scenery as one wends his way southwards towards the Keeill may well be described as grand. The silence is impressive. To the left is the steep ling-covered height of the Cronk above, and on his right are the rugged fern-covered cliffs dropping sharply to the sea two hundred feet below. If the sky be clear the mountains of *Eireann*, our motherland, will be visible. The view as may be seen to-day cannot be very different from that which met the eye of the Culdee thirteen centuries ago.

There is a record that the latest funeral to pass this way was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The body, which was that of one of the ancient family of the Quirks of Dalby, was wrapped in a winding-sheet and strapped on the back of an old mare, supported by the *burliagh*, or bundle of straw which served for a saddle. The horse was led down the long track, and the interment fittingly took place in the little burial-ground alongside the ruined Keeill.

HOMAGE TO THE HOLY WELL

Almost invariably there was a spring or a gentle stream near by every Keeill. It served the purpose of baptism and retained the respect associated with it in pagan times. We have many records of these holy wells in all districts. It is regrettable that so many of them, linked for long ages with the religious aspirations of our people, should have been wantonly destroyed.

Chibbyr Unjin, 'the well of the ash', is not many yards away from the site of a sixth century Keeill. (*Plate 2B.*)

We, to-day, can hardly imagine the extent of the influence upon our ancestors of these holy wells. So much were they treasured that even parish boundaries have been so formed as to capture the blessing that they shed, and saints' names were given to them. The boundary between Begoade in Conchan and Cooilroi in Lonan is a stream. In order to secure a much-

MAN BECOMES ELLAN SHIANT

desired well on the Conchan side of the stream, Lonan has taken a small bite from her neighbour.

There are other instances of this keenness to obtain the virtues of the sacred waters. A curious example is that of *Chibbyr Roney* which was captured from Braddan by Marown, crossing the little stream of the Rheyn in order to do so.



FIG. 6

The plan shows how the Parish Boundary (which at this point is the Rheyn stream) is departed from in order to secure to Marown the sacred well.

This *chibbyr*—'Ronan's well'—was the traditional well from which the water for baptisms was drawn for Marown Church. It was much relied upon by Baldwin people for cures, and was considered especially effective if the water were taken 'when the Books were open,' *i.e.*, during the celebration of

Mass. People in sore straits for a remedy, it was affirmed, ' would put in the well a chosen stone with a spit.' By so doing it was believed that they transferred their ailments to the care of the holy well.

There is a story that in these times, the primitive altar piece belonging to the chapel, if it were not too large, ' the stone of the church,' would sometimes accompany the *saggart*, or priest, when he went to a dying man to administer extreme unction.

Certain holy wells had the reputation of being of comfort and consolation at the time when they sorely needed these. The writer knows of more than one case in which old dying men had appealed for ' a drink of the water from *Farrane Fing*,' and another for a draught from *Chibbyr yn Noe* in Lezayre, before their peaceful passing. It was looked upon as a blessed sacrament.

Keeill Pherick in Kirk Michael, possesses the ruins of a Culdee's Cell, very similar to that at Lag ny Keeillee, and is thought to be of about the same date—seventh century. It is not many yards away from Spooyt Vane waterfall, which drops steeply towards the Keeill in the glen below.

It is told that the last Priest who officiated in Keeill Pherick was guilty of mending his *carranes* on a Sunday and thereby met with a sudden and dreadful end. According to the story, the Priest was so intent on the business that he did not notice people passing by.

His housekeeper said ' Are you not ashamed to be doing work on the Sabbath and the people waiting at the chapel for you ? ' ' What art thou talking of, woman ? ' he said, ' go and count the eggs and see how many are in the nest.' For the priest had a hen which laid an egg every day and they were collected once a week, and that is how he knew what day it would be. So the woman went, and came back and said, ' Seven eggs there are.'

Then the priest threw down his tools and ran. He had waxed the long laces of his *carranes* and in his hurry failed to tie them. When near the Spooyt he tripped, fell over and was swept away.

OUR CELTIC FOREFATHERS

Although we now have in our veins a large measure of Viking blood, it is important that we should realise our debt to the Celtic culture of past ages : that we are descendants—like

those of Ireland, Scotland and Wales—of a people who had been speaking the Celtic language for about 1,500 years.

All these countries shared a common stock of heathen mythology, romantic stories, poetry, magic, classical and Christian learning. Although we have now no parchment archives of the Early Celtic period as Ireland has, we must have had a share in the Irish culture of the past, the evidence of which has since been destroyed during the barbarian invasions.

The great Irish monastic scholar saints have left us heavily in their debt for their copying and preserving manuscripts of the writers of the past and the foundation of their great schools of learning.

The Celts have taught us to develop the spiritual side of our nature, the value of respect for the past, and given us a sense of continuity even throughout a period of destructive barbarism.

THE VALUE OF TRADITION

The traditions and legends of a nation illuminate its time history in a light of their own that often throws into strong relief facets of bygone life which might otherwise be forgotten or unknown. Tradition may not always be true in literal fact, but it is true in the sense that it reveals the actual beliefs and thoughts of our ancestors, and also that poetic sense and vivid imagination of the common man which is the ultimate root of all great works of art. A nation which has forgotten its legendary tales is poor indeed, and it is good that we should sometimes be reminded of our own rich and varied store. For this reason we should be grateful to our ancestors for the preservation of the wealth of traditional tales that we possess.

CHAPTER 4

To be ignorant of what happened before you were born is to be ever a child. For what is man's lifetime unless the memory of present events is woven with those of earlier times ?—CICERO.

THE ELUSIVE WORD 'TREEN': WHAT WAS ITS MEANING ?

IT is certain that the word 'Treen' was colloquially used by all Manx officials centuries before it came to be written down by an official scribe. The Treen, as an administrative unit, was in existence in the earliest stage of the founding of the Christian Church. Nowadays this ancient division has ceased to have any practical significance, and even Treen names are scarcely remembered.

The first mention of the word 'Treen' in a public document, as far as is known, is in the Ballaugh Parish Register under date 1st October, 1600. It gives instructions as to who was responsible for the repair of the Churchyard ditch (namely, the fence), 'beginning at the entrance in and going about Sun-way as every Treen is appointed in their course.' The Treen is first mentioned in an Act of Tynwald passed in 1665. It gives us the interesting information that the Parish Pinfolds had to be kept in repair 'in like manner as churchyard walls . . . which is done by the Tennants of every Treene or division.' It was claimed by the Maddrells of Ballamaddrell that they could be responsible only for the repair of that portion of the wall that was allotted to the family. There were in Kirk Arbory ten Treens of four quarterlands each, and they would only be responsible for one-fortieth of the wall.

Treen and Keeill have always been associated by historians. The Keeill and its story we know fairly well ; but what do we know about the genesis, the purposes, and the significance of this important ancient division of land called the Treen ?

In the ballad of *Manannan Beg Mac y Leirr* it is said that Saint German built a chapel in every *Treen Balley* that the people might come there to pray. The tradition to which the ballad gives expression can be traced back to the beginning of the twelfth century, the verse being only a version of what

Jocelin, the well-known Monk of Furness and later the Abbot of Rushen, tells of Patrick granting German authority over Man, enjoining him to build chapels and confirm the people in the Faith.

It can hardly be accidental that the number of Treens and the number of Keeills are almost the same. There are 175 Treens mentioned in the Manorial Rolls of 1511-15, and we know of 174 Keeill sites. This helps to confirm the belief that originally there was a Keeill in every Treen. In our study we are led to the following conclusions :

1. The Keeill is as old as the sixth century. This is proved by a long series of primitive stone crosses and cross-fragments of the sixth, probably even of the fifth, century.

2. The Treen is older than the Keeill. It might have originated in pre-Christian times as a family unit.

3. The Vikings, when they came here in the ninth century utilised the Treen for their fiscal purposes, as the Church had before used it for its special needs—an ecclesiastical unit with a Keeill, or oratory, as its centre.

4. Even in later times each Treen formed a fiscal unit on which was paid a fixed annual tax, alterable only by Act of Tynwald. This tax was levied on the four farms or Quarterlands of which the Treen consisted. Every entry in the Manorial Roll was invariably written by the King's scribe under the name of the Treen. The average rent amounted to about 71s. 4d. a Treen, and 17s. 10d. a Quarterland.

5. The Treen is our smallest administrative unit. It is an area of cultivable land bounded by natural borders such as glens, mires, or streams, and varying in size from less than 200 to more than 600 acres.

THE WORD 'TREEN' EXPLAINED

Both Cregeen's and Kelly's Dictionaries suggest that the Treen was 'an Ecclesiastical area of land divisible by three.' Unfortunately, students of the subject could not get away from the Latin *Tres*, 'three' in this connection.

Recent authorities, however, have advanced, with much more probability, the explanation that the word Treen is

derived from *Tir* or *cheer*, 'land,' and *unga*, 'ounce'; whence comes the Hebridean *Tirunga*, or ounceland, and *Eyriland* in Norway and in the Orkneys. The Hebridean ounceland was divided into Quarterlands as our Treen was; and, like our Treen, was subject to the *skatt*.

The Lord's rent (*skatt* in Norway) was a land-tax paid to the King, or Lord, in money, malt, meal, or flesh-meat, and was adjudged to each King on his succession by the Tynwald. This was a statutory tax which could not be increased without the authority of the popular Assembly or Tynwald.

The names *Sheading* and *Treen* bear witness to the old *leidang* or taxing system in use in Western Norway from whence the Vikings came during the ninth and tenth centuries. *Sheading* is derived from Old Norse *Settungr*, a sixth part, a Thing-district on which would rest the obligation to provide and equip one or more longships—hence the Manx equivalent of the Norse *leidang*. The essence of the scheme was the provision of a fleet of longships adequately manned and equipped; and, as the King himself had no revenues available for such a project, the obligation was properly imposed on his subjects.

A COMPARISON WITH ORKNEY

Judging from the number of Treens in each Sheading, it would appear that the war vessel to be fitted out by each Sheading could only have been what was called a thirteen *sesser* or vessel of twenty-six oars. Dr. Marwick, of Orkney, a proficient authority in regard to this matter, notes that a charter of King Robert the Bruce, of the year 1313, conveyed the Isle of Man to his henchman, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and that one of the conditions of this grant was that Randolph should place annually at Bruce's disposal 'six ships of twenty-six oars.' And Professor Marstrander very naturally argued that this was nothing but the old Manx *leidang*, or levy, transferred to the King of Scotland.

No two Sheadings, Parishes, or Treens paid the same *leidang*, or Lord's Rent; in some cases the difference is only a few pence. One can only come to the conclusion that the original planner or surveyor had, in fixing the *leidang*, to take many

facts into consideration—the value of access to the sea or a river, presence of turf or timber, the quantity and quality of pasture or corn-land, and so on.

In the Middle Ages actual money was scarce, and the *leidang*, or *skatt* or tax, or Lord's rent—whatever term may be used—was paid in farm produce, generally in barley meal and butter—a quantum of food calculated as sufficient for one man for a month. This unit became general as a land-valuation term—otherwise an 'unciata'—an ounce-land or *Tirung*.

In the course of time this payment of 'bord-leding' (table-leding) gradually ceased to be a personal burden, and became an annual charge on the quarterland or farm; in other words it became an annual payment known as 'Lord's Rent.'

Scholars have been helped in their discovery that the meaning of our *Treen*, of the Hebridean *Tirung*, and of the *Eyriland* of the Norse-inhabited Orkneys are all the same, by the fact that corroborative evidence is available from the islands of the Hebrides, which were, for centuries, politically and ecclesiastically, within the sphere of influence of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles. *Treen* and *Tirung* are also the same philological term.

It seems quite clear that, in its genesis, the Lord's rent was to provide for the upkeep of the King's services; and that the 'tenant' or holder of land, when annually paying his *skatt*, was making a contribution to the national service, and not a personal one to the King. This is an important distinction.

THE PARISH OF CONCHAN GIVES AN ILLUSTRATION

Among the precious archives in our Rolls Office there are continuous records, covering more than four centuries, of what are called 'the Setting of Lands and Tenements' and of the rents paid to the King of Man. The earliest Book is dated 1511, but there exist fragments of earlier date.

There are two sets of Books; one, that of the South-side division, is called *Liber Assed*, Rushen; and that of the Northside, *Liber Assed*, Peel. The former was compiled at Castle Rushen, where the chief officers of the King resided; while the latter entries were, for the convenience of the 'tenants,' made at Castle Peel.

Parish of Saint Conchan.

A.D. 1511. Liber Assed.

John Cristalson
Gibbon M^cTere
William Cristalson
John Kent } Jurors.

Treen of Douglas.

From the Wife of Gibbon Aghton with Thomas, Son, and Reginald Skylycorne for one tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to them and assigns as above	<i>Balla kermean & Balla brooie</i>	29s.
From Gibbon M ^c Fayle for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him for the term of his life	<i>Balla Quayle</i>	28s.
From John Kent for 1 tenement and half a quarter of land demised to him for term of 7 years	<i>The Hills</i>	7s. 8d.
Sum 64s. 8d.		

Treen of Tremott.

From John Cristalson with mother for 2 tenements and 1 quarter of land demised to them as above.	<i>Sten Cuggery</i>	15s. 4d.
From Mark M ^c Kewley by Surety of Michal M ^c Kewley, clerk, for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>B'ward</i>	16s. 4d.
From James M ^c Crayne for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>Balla meanagh & Cronky berry</i>	13s. 4d.
From Gibbon M ^c Gillowe with Mold, Son, for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to them and their assigns as above	<i>Tromode</i>	13s. 4d.
Sum 58s. 4d.		

Treen of Tremsare.

From Edmund M ^c Corkell for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>Bemahague</i>	12s. 6d.
From Thomas M ^c Gawne for 1 quarter of land demised to him as above		12s.
From Edmund M ^c Gawne for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>The Hague & Ballaury</i>	14s.
From Richard M ^c Tere for 1 tenement and half a quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>Balla finch</i>	5s. 6d.
Sum 44s.		

Treen of Begod.

From Doncan Ireshman for 1 tenement and half a quarter of land lately in the tenure of Thomas M ^c Fynlo and his Son for term of 7 years as above	<i>Balla kaighen</i>	5s. 8d.
From Gilcrist M ^c Kerron 6s., Thomas M ^c Quyrke 6s. for 2 tenements and 1 quarter of land demised to them and their assigns as above		12s.
From Fynlo M ^c Kerron for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>Begode</i> <i>Balla kilvartin</i>	11s. 4d.
From William Cristall Junr. for 1 tenement and 1 quarter of land demised to him as above	<i>Begode</i>	9s.
From John M ^c Cowne and John M ^c Corryn for 2 tenements and 1 quarter of land demised to them and assigns as above	<i>Begode</i>	7s.
Sum 45s.		

The order in which each Parish is set down, it is interesting to note, followed an ancient custom. The Rushen *Liber* starts with the most southern parish, Rushen, and goes northwards to Kirk Maughold. It includes Kirk Marown, of course. The Peel *Liber* commences at Kirk Patrick and proceeds northwards to Lezayre. Each *Liber* includes three sheadings.

A much-reduced plan on the scale of two inches to the mile (*Plate 3*) gives some idea of the size of the Treen in relation to that of the parish. It shows clearly the nine Treens and in addition the Abbey Lands which had belonged to the Monastery of Rushen.

It is considered that additional interest would be added to the subject of the Treen Division if a single page of the *Liber Assed* of 1511 were printed, giving the holders of four of the nine Treens in Conchan Parish. (*Fig. 7*).

In Conchan there were thirty-two and a quarter Quarterlands, or farms, comprised in the nine Treens, with thirty-eight tenements, or decent-sized dwellings. There were fifty-five tenants (forty-eight men and seven women).

The thirty-two and a quarter Quarterland farms brought in to the King in Lord's rent the sum of £22 2s. 0d; the cottages, £3 16s. 2d.; the mills, 16s. 6d.; the breweries, 4s. 2d.; and the fines and amercements the large sum of 18s. 3d. These made £30 9s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., which was the King's total revenue from the Parish. His revenue from the same sources got from the other sixteen parishes brought a grand total income to Earl Thomas, King of Man, for the year 1511 of £603 17s. 9d.

The name Conchan is fully explained on page 42. The parish is by far the most populous in the Island for the greater part of the town of Douglas lies within its borders. It also contains the growing and important village now erroneously called Onchan, but formerly *Kione Droghad*, meaning 'Bridge End.' The parish reaches almost as far north as the foot of Snaefell, five miles from Douglas, and holds over 7,800 acres.

The Abbot of Rushen from the beginning of the twelfth century held extensive lands in the parish, part of which is

still known as the Abbey Lands. Many old place-names have disappeared during the last century, being replaced by meaningless English ones, such as Highton for Ballanard, Willaston for Tromode.

The name of the Treen called Douglas is the only one in the parish which is derived from the Gaelic—all the others are Norse. Its Gaelic form is *Dubhglais*, 'Doolish,' the 'black stream.'

When Douglas was a scattered hamlet clinging to the river mouth underneath the Carnane, the scribe of the Rushen Abbey *Chronicle*, under date 1192, wrote that the Abbey of St. Mary of Russin was removed to *Dufglas* for the space of four years. Douglas is again referred to when the scribe wrote on the 18th May 1313, that Robert Bruce went *ad Moniales de Dufglas*, where he stayed the night. Munch translates *Moniales* into 'Nunnery,' but would not 'Monastery' be more apt?

It can safely be assumed that in 1192, when the monks of Rushen removed from the Abbey, and in 1313 when Robert Bruce spent the night *ad Moniales de Dufglas*, it was not to the present Nunnery they came. The sacred building which received them may have been that called 'The Monastery of the Blessed Mary of Douglas,' referred to in a document of 1511 in the Manx Museum. The site of this is believed to be near the old St. Matthew's Chapel, now covered by the modern car-park. 'St. Mary's Rock' (Conister) was connected with it.

When the Monastery in Braddan became a Nunnery is not known, but it certainly was a Nunnery in 1511 when, according to the Kirk Braddan section of the Manorial Roll of that date 'The Prioress of Douglas and Robert Calcote (who was the Lord's Receiver) were entered for the fresh-water fishing of Douglas, as in the preceding year,' the sum payable being 4s. 2d. Further references to the Nunnery will be found in a succeeding chapter.

The Treen name Tremott, according to Professor Mars-trander, means 'The Mot of the Treens,' a gathering place,

an artificial mound, or *Thing*, as our Tynwald, perhaps, in miniature. Reference to this problem of the Mót will be made in Chapter 13.

Every one of the Conchan Treens, and the farms incorporated in them, has a long and varied history, as the archives in our Rolls Office show. They are particularly fascinating to the genealogist, for to the diligent searcher, centuries of long-lived families continuously on the same soil, are found. The Quayles of Ballaquayle, for instance; the Kewleys of Ballanard, the Corkills of Begode, the Christians of Ballakilmerton, and the Christians of the Clypse and of Bemahague.

The holder of Bemahague which, by the way, is now our Government House, was, in the year 1511, Edmund McCorkell. He was appointed by the Keys to be one of the Four Merchants who were sworn to make bargains with the foreign and other traders who landed at Douglas port with their goods for sale. A hundred years later Bemahague was in the holding of Edward Christian, one of the Glencrutchery 'Christalsons' and it remained in that family until it was sold in 1790 to Robert Heywood, Water Bailiff, who was the founder, in 1764, of the 'Royal and Ancient Order of Bucks.' His son, John Joseph Heywood, Deemster, followed, and what is now known as 'Governor's Bridge' is properly 'Heywood's Bridge,' from the name of the builder.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Bemahague was let by the Heywoods to Josiah Fuller Farrer, a member of the family of the Earl of Sandwich. He was a private in 'The Loyal Douglas Strangers' Volunteer Company,' the first lieutenant of which was Thomas Whaley, the 'Buck' Whaley who about 1792 built Fort Anne on Douglas Head. During the period of Farrer's occupation of Bemahague, it was enlarged and beautified. The present representative of the Farrer family is Lord Farrer of Surrey.

The adjoining old house at the Hague was in the ownership of the well-known Bridson, early eighteenth century family of Douglas shipping circles. Many were named Paul, one of whom was the first secretary of the Manx Society from 1858,

the date of its first publication. It was often visited by Feltham while he was on his 'Tour' in 1796.

In 1769 the Hague was in the ownership of Richard Betham, the first English Customs officer to take charge of the Manx Customs. His daughter, Elizabeth Betham, was married in Kirk Conchan on the 4th February, 1781, to that historic figure, Captain William Bligh of the 'Bounty Mutiny' fame. And Captain Bligh is known to have resided for a brief period with his wife and father-in-law at The Hague. In 1790, at the death of Betham, the Hague became the property of another English figure, Captain Alexander Cook, whose somewhat impertinent letters to the 1792 Commissioners of Enquiry created some discussion at the time.

The Hague old house had many attractive features, but is now reduced to a shocking degree of shabbiness.

The family name Christian as far as Conchan parish only is concerned, is derived from names variously spelled Cristal, Cristalson and Cristory, all of which later became Christian, and were probably associated with the ancient patronal Saint Christopher. Glencruggery, or Glencrutchery, was originally Glen Christory, now with the commonplace title of Summerhill Glen.

WAS THE BALLAQUAYLE CHIEFTAIN A PLUNDERER ?

The Treen of Douglas, judged by its extent, its position on the margin of a sandy bay suitable for handling boats, and bounded by the river Glass, must have been looked upon as the most important Treen in the parish in remote times.

Ballaquayle Quarterland was one of the best-situated family estates on its side of the Isle from Maughold to Rushen. The members of the family of McFayle, which in the seventeenth century became Quayle, have from time to time held high positions. Gybbon McFayle was one of the Twenty-Four in 1408. Another Gybbon McFayle was one of the 'Four Merchants of the Countrey' who were sworn to deal with 'stranger merchants' in 1502; he was probably the same Gibbon who is set down in the Manorial Roll for 1511, for the farm of Ballaquayle under the heading of the 'Treen of Douglas.'

The above details are very interesting as an introduction to the story of an amazing find of a hoard of silver coins in the grounds of what was in all probability the chief dwelling on Ballaquayle estate. The house must have been near the existing eighteenth-century Woodbourne House, adjoining the Masonic Temple at the top of Derby-road.

The find took place in 1894, when workmen were excavating for the site of a new house. It consisted of over nine hundred Anglo-Saxon silver coins and over twenty silver rings, bracelets, torcs, and a delicately-worked bracelet of gold.

A remarkable feature was that they all were of the date A.D. 925 to 952, from Kings Athelstan to Anlaf. The treasure must have been buried after the year 960, since no coins of reigns subsequent were present. Grueber, the coin expert at the British Museum, where they were sent, made an official report on the find. He said the hoard should be connected with the famous occasion in A.D. 973 when Eadgar 'King of all Britain,' was rowed upon the river Dee by eight tributary Kings and Princes, who included Maccus, King of Man, who is described as 'King of very many islands.' Maccus was the figure who had held the 'steering board.'

Grueber claimed that it was quite possible that the Ballaquayle hoard was the property of one of the retinue of Maccus.

It may be argued that numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins of approximately this date have been found in other parts of the Island, in Rushen and in Andreas, and as far afield as Ireland and the Orkneys; but on the other hand there has never been so rich a find as that at Ballaquayle. The treasure was buried either by its owner or under his direction in his own ground.

The ornaments are of a rich character and appropriate only to the use of people of high degree. This, added to the almost positive date of the burial, and its significant site, seems to support the belief that the owner of the treasure was either the King himself or one of his nearest retainers.

We do not know where the residence of King Maccus was; it might have been near the site of the hoard, which is close to what is now known as Derby Road, a very striking position.

The mile-long strip of sandy shore, so well protected by the headlands, was suitable for the handling of the Viking ships, and the tidal harbour lent itself to naval activities. Whatever may be imagined as to the site having been used by King Maccus in 973, we can be almost certain that the holder of Ballaquayle at that period must have been a man of power, a *toshiagh* who accompanied his royal master on his historic mission.

Clinging to the Douglas river-mouth in 1511, were a good number of what were described as 'Cotages,' 'chambers'—to be exact, there were thirteen 'cotages,' sixty-five 'chambers' one 'brewhouse,' and one 'garden,' divided between fifty-six men and four women, and bringing in as revenue to Thomas, Earl of Derby, King of Man, a total of 76s. 2d. These were the beginnings of the town of Douglas.

There were four corn mills in the parish. The most important was at 'Tremott'—be it remembered that Tromode was in Conchan and not in Braddan, as is commonly supposed. The others were at 'Horaldre,' (on the upper Groudle river) 'Crawdale' (Groudle) and Hawstrake. The rents came to 16s. 6d.

There were fourteen breweries throughout the parish of Conchan, chiefly in the hands of quarterland owners, for which they paid 'for their Leads' from 2d. to 8d., bringing in a total of 4s. 2d. per annum. It should be stated that they brewed, not for sale, but for their own families and servants.

The list of 'Fines and Amercements' for such offences as 'drawing blood' shows that in the parish they were not without quarrels; the man for drawing blood on a woman was generally fined 12d., but for the same offence a woman was only fined 6d. This is not the only instance of the custom to treat women with chivalry; there are several in the spheres of law and of history. There is the outstanding instance in 1700 when women property-owners had the same privilege as men of the same class to vote for a political representative.

A side-light on the life of the time is thrown by the case of 'Dionysius the Chaplain' who was fined 12d. 'for drawing blood on William Mores.' This is our only record of Dionysius the Chaplain. Was he a vicar of the Parish Church or was he

attached to the ' Monastery of the Blessed Mary of Douglas ' ? The latter is referred to in a Latin MS. in the Manx Museum, as having existed in 1511. But there were two other chapels to which he could have been attached. There is a reference in the Episcopal Register to ' *Capella Dooglishe*, Henrie Cowley vicr, and Willm Brewe, Clerke.' In the *Liber Causarum*, 1685, *St. Mary's of Douglas* is mentioned ; and a drawing of a Chapel with a spire is to be seen as standing near Heywood Place on the North-quay in the year 1651. So that it would appear there were several sacred fanes to which Dionysius might have been attached.



The Cushag

CHAPTER 5

Man is the Pearl of the Celtic World.

—SIR JOHN RHYS.

THE ART OF THE CROSSES

DATING from the introduction of Christianity to the beginning of the thirteenth century, our engraved and sculptured stones form a continuous series of monuments. They undoubtedly show that the Isle of Man in those days shared in the artistic development and culture of Western Europe.

They constitute, according to our supreme authority, Philip Kermode, 'a connecting link between the early sepulchral stones of Wales, the inscribed stones of Ireland, the cross-slabs of Scotland, and the Celtic, Anglian, and Scandinavian stones of the North of England, and, as such, cannot be neglected by students.'

They are contemporary records of the time when the British Isles were occupied by Celtic people. They are also records of the four centuries when the Kingdom of Man was subject to Norwegian influence. They mark the spread and development of Christian Art, and—this is stressed by Kermode—they have a practical value in suggesting how their peculiar mode of decorative ornamentation may be developed and applied to modern purposes.

There is, in these unappreciative days, he says significantly, no present-day evidence to show that the Isle of Man had in past years 'produced a local form of decorative art equal in originality, in purity of feeling, and skill in execution, to any Celtic, Hiberno-Saxon, or other similar art to be met with in the surrounding lands.' 'There is nothing left,' he sadly remarks, 'but these neglected and perishing monuments of the past.'

Soon after the people of Man had embraced the Christian Faith, the Brethren commenced to build their tiny oratories or Keeills. In time they spread all over the country. When some venerated member of the fraternity died it would seem

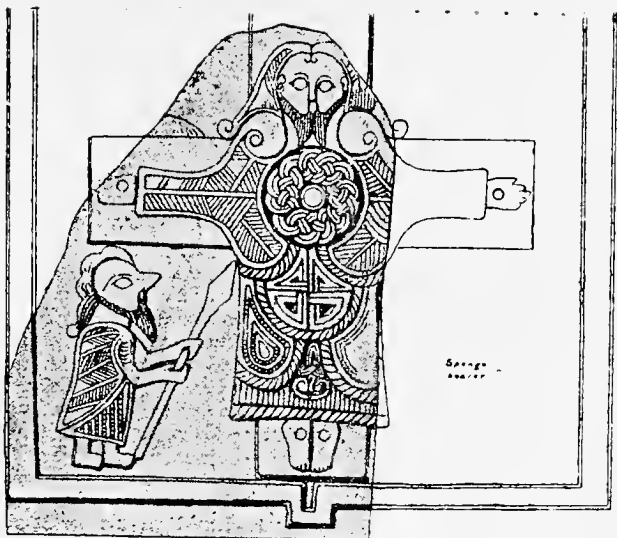


Plate 4A

Beautiful Eighth Century Crucifix from the site of a
Keeill on the Calf of Man.

[See page 39]



Plate 4B

The remote Calf Isle in which the Crucifixion slab was found

[See page 39]

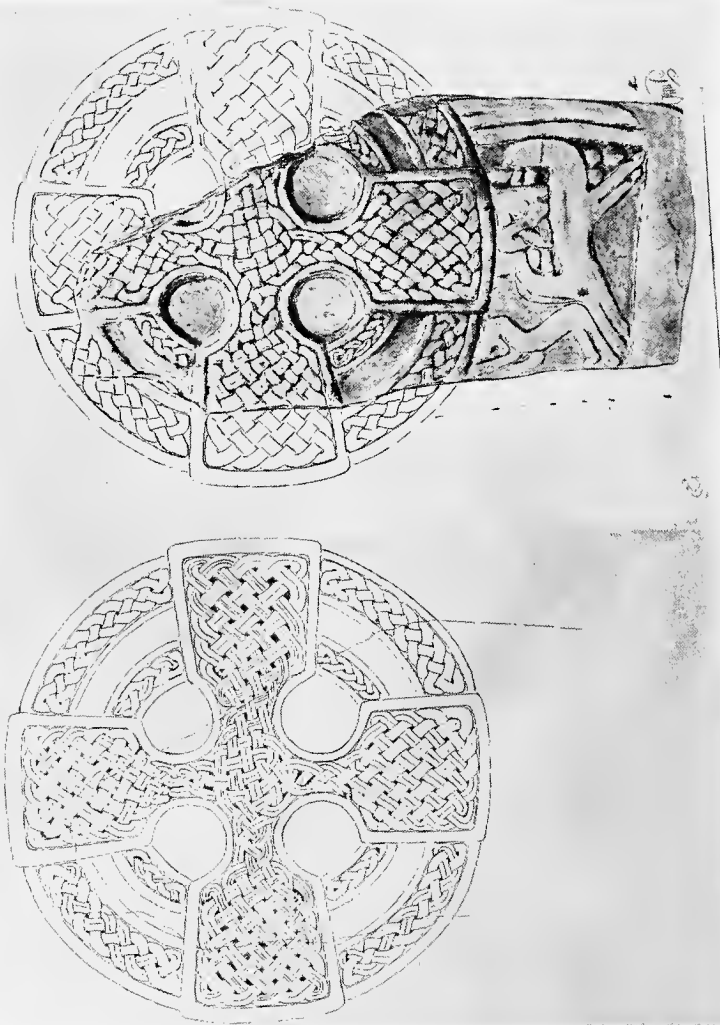


Plate 5.

Wheel-headed Celtic Cross at Conchan, broken. Fine interlaced work. Panel with dog-headed figures.
Also Kermodé's Index to the plait.

[See p. 22, 42]

to have become the custom to erect over his grave a stone carved, more or less rudely, with the Cross of our Saviour. These are called linear crosses, such as those shown as standing at St. Patrick's Chair on the Garth. (*Fig. 4*)

It is believed some of these simple linear crosses go back to the fifth century.

Built into the gable of St. Luke's Chapel, on the ridge between East and West Baldwin, which is on the site of the ancient Keeill Abban, is a smooth boulder about eighteen inches square. The exposed face shows a linear cross (*fig. 8*) within a roughly-formed square, the horizontal limbs having bulbous terminations.

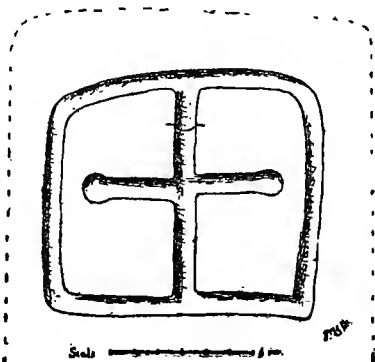


FIG. 8

Seventh century Linear Cross from a Keeill now destroyed. It is fixed in the east gable of the chapel at Keeill Abban.

Later it became the custom to enclose the outlined cross within a circle, the emblem of eternity.

A BRILLIANT EXAMPLE OF CELTIC ART

Perhaps the outstanding example of the figure-sculptured crosses is a representation of the Crucifixion upon a slab of slate found at the site of a Keeill on the Calf of Man about a hundred years ago. It differs in character and design from any other monument found here or elsewhere. It is a unique example of the Byzantine treatment of this subject on stone, and looks as if it might have been copied from an ancient manuscript. (*See Plate 4A*).

The scale of the carving is small, and, according to Romilly Allen, is executed with a delicacy excelling that to be found on any other piece of sculpture of the same period. The style of the art is purely Celtic, the noticeable feature being the great beauty of the ornamental detail. Unlike those to be found on the Continent, the whole of the body and arms of the Saviour

are clothed in a tunic covered with the most elaborate ornament, while below to the left stands the soldier with the spear, to correspond, no doubt, with another soldier holding the sponge, which was probably portrayed on the portion now broken away. This beautifully carved cross is thought to belong to the remote eighth century.

THE RICHLY-ENGRAVED CELTIC CROSSES

A great advance upon the linear cross was what is called the Celtic form of cross, that is to say one having hollow, curved recesses at the junction of the limbs, and dating from the seventh century. A few of the older Celtic pieces bear Scriptural pictures, for instance there is on a fine wheel-headed stone at Kirk Braddan a striking figure of Daniel in the Lion's Den. (*Fig. 10.*)

There are three at Kirk Conchan Church of the same character of work, all of them showing quaint representations of Saint Conchenn, the patron saint of the parish, and each showing him with a hound's head.

In the picture shown on Plate 4 the hound-headed saint is shown on a broken slab, with the hound. Alongside is seen Kermode's index to the exquisite Celtic plait design. This fifth century saint was Christopher, but in Ireland and Man he was called Conchenn from *Con*, 'hound,' and *chenn*, 'head,'



FIG. 9. Fylfot or Swastika, Conchan.

for he had belonged to an Eastern tribe called the cynocephalic, or dog-headed. The Fylfot, or Swastika, which appears on one of these Conchan slabs, was used as a decorative form of a cross in Early Christian art in MSS. and in metal work. Our example is probably of the eighth century. It was a sign of good wishes, and it appears on a Trojan whorl and a Roman tessellated pavement.

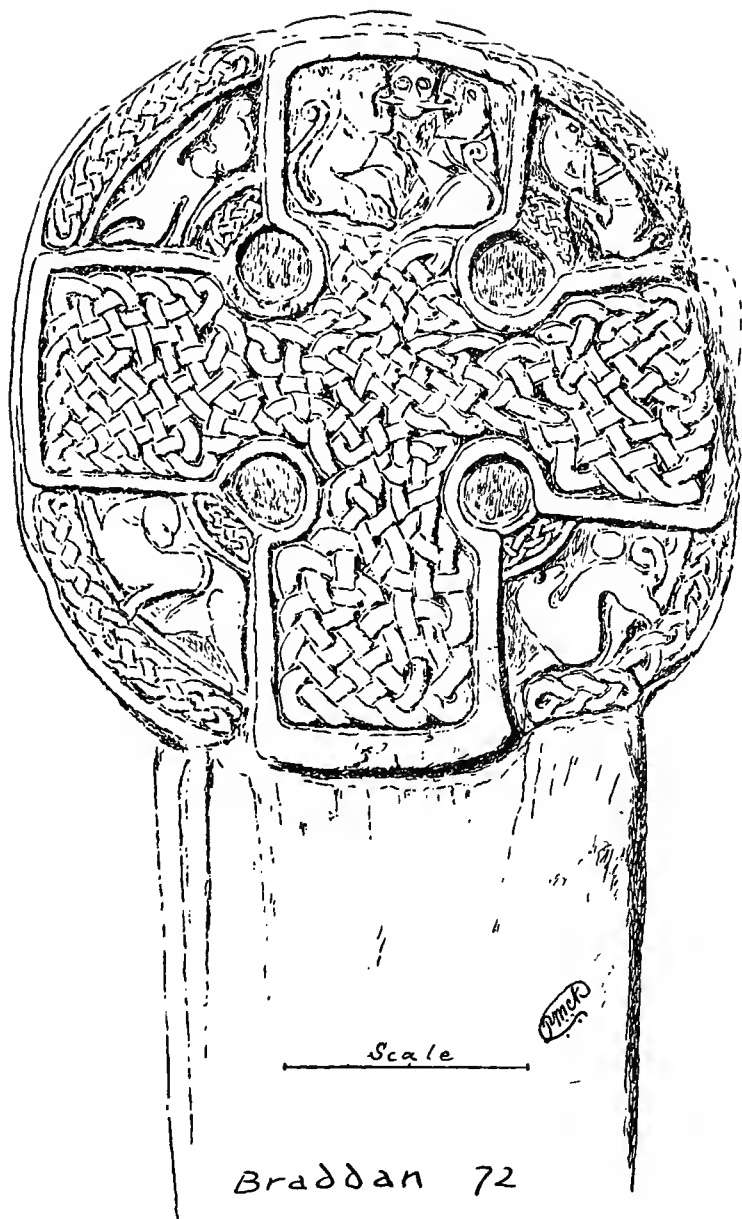


FIG. 10
Cleverly carved Interlaced Work. Upper panel has representation of Daniel
in the Lions' Den.

THE DOG-HEADED SAINT CONCHAN

Why was the parish of Conchan so called? The reason was a mystery until quite recently, when that able scholar J. J. Kneen drew attention to the three eighth-century cross-slabs in the parish church. On each are depicted dog-like monsters.

In the Greek Churches, Saint Christopher was usually depicted with the head of a dog or wolf, like an Egyptian divinity, but why is not known. It had, probably, a symbolic meaning.

The only early details are given in the *Calendar of Oengus of Church Festivals*, published by the Royal Irish Academy. The original MS. is attributed to Oengus the Culdee, who is said to have flourished about the beginning of the ninth century.

Oengus's brief reference to St. Christopher is irritatingly brief. Translated from the Old Irish, it reads:

Christopher, i.e., a doghead was he and under Decius he suffered; He was a cleric with purity; He was the pious Christian; Before the call without reproach over sea; His proper name was Christopher; A doghead was he.

We have three remarkable illustrations of the dog-head on separate 8th century slabs now resting in the west doorway of Conchan Parish Church.

Christopher was reputed to be a giant who, when he became converted, gave himself up to the service of carrying people across a turbulent river. Once the infant Christ came to him. The giant picked up the child and strode into the stream, and then found himself crushed beneath such a weight as even he could scarcely bear. When he had placed the child on the other side, he said: 'You seem to weigh as heavy as the whole world.'

'Well said, Christover,' answered the child. 'I created the world, I redeemed the world, I bear the sins of the world.' And he vanished. Thus Christopher saw that he had borne Christ over the stream; and thus he got his name.

We are not aware that, apart from these three ancient carved slabs at Conchan and one found at Bishops court, now in Kirk Michael churchyard, the Saint has been figured in Ireland or elsewhere with the head of a hound.

It was Kneen in his great work on our Place-Names who drew attention for the first time to the remarkable series of Conchan cross-slabs, and their evident connection with the name of the parish: 'Conchan' = 'Dog-head.' After discussing his theory with Kermodé, the latter was at once convinced that Kneen had made a discovery; that the figures were certainly intended to be symbolical of St. Christopher.

It is thought that it is quite possible that the three original slabs were carved by the same clever sculptor round about the middle of the 8th century. They are very beautiful Celtic designs, rich in the wonderful interlacing of the period. How thankful we should be that Kermodé recovered the slabs and put them under cover in the church.

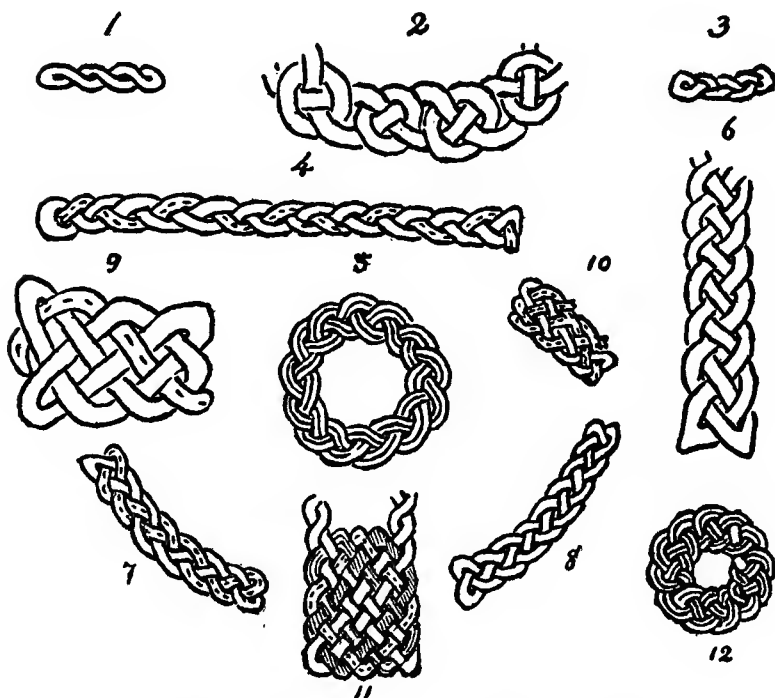


FIG. 11. Some examples of the Decoration on the Crosses.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORNAMENT

As the skill of the sculptor developed, examples of decoration were produced in the form of circles, crosslets, pellets, or bosses. Loop-plaits delicately traced by skilled native artists appear on many slabs in the Northern parishes. (*Fig. 11*)

As has been indicated, the art of carving on stone had already made great strides among the Manx before the Norsemen arrived; in fact there yet remains a relatively larger number of such crosses here than elsewhere. Then as the Norsemen and Manx women intermarried, there developed, after a few generations, a series of sepulchral crosses which exhibit the Viking spirit.

THE VIKING SPIRIT ILLUSTRATED

Dr. Shetelig is confident that the bulk of the Runic crosses may safely be dated to the middle of the tenth century. What points to this is the fact that although the form of the Cross is carved on the stones, yet the Saga figures are the chief feature of them all. When the stones were carved the Vikings had not become Christian; whereas they were all nominally Christian before the year 1000.

Gaut was the first and greatest of our Norse sculptors. It was he who originated the peculiar Manx decorative treatment of the head of the cross. An inscription carved by him on a fine Michael cross says 'Gaut made this and all in Man.' Kermode does not accept Gaut's claim that he carved all the crosses in Man. He introduced a new pattern—the Ring-chain—which became such a favourite that it is met with eighteen times, and may be considered a characteristic of the local art, as it is seldom found elsewhere.

The Ring-chain of Gaut consists of a series of circular rings linked together.

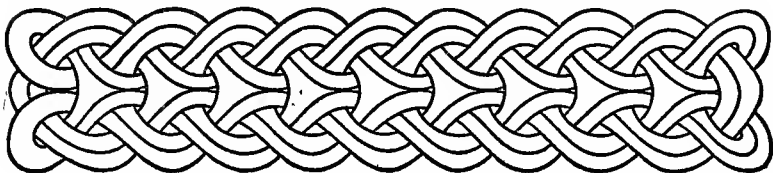


FIG. 12. The Ring-Chain of Gaut.

On the Scandinavian slabs are graceful spirals and triquetra designs, notably on those in Maughold, Kirk Andreas and other Northern parishes. Not only are they artistic in conception, but they provide evidence that the sculptor was able to handle his tools with deftness and patience.

The representation of the Dragon-figure is a favourite theme of the Norse sculptors. It appears on all the Sigurd pieces, the fine Michael Dragon Cross (*Fig. 13*) and on the pair of exquisite pillar crosses at Kirk Braddan.

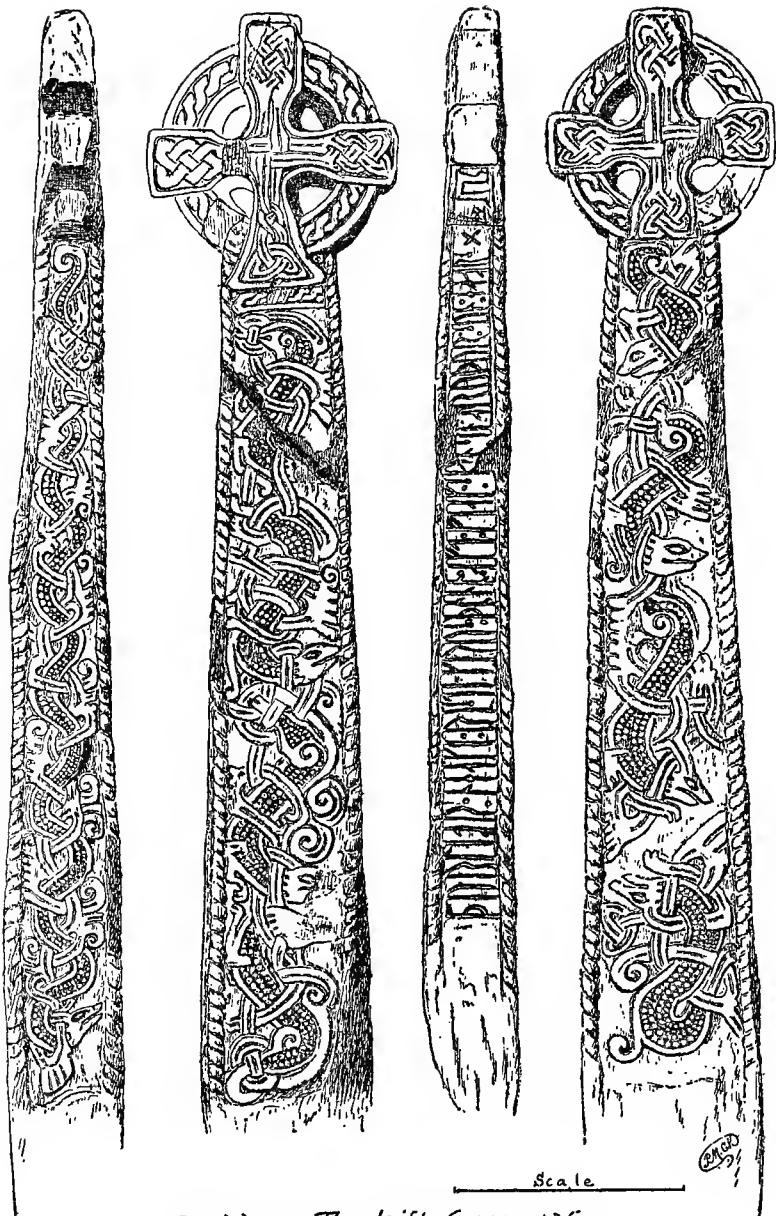
What is popularly known as the 'Thorleif Cross,' at Kirk Braddan is probably admired by more people than any other. It stands in a position where all these ancient relics should stand, within the church walls, protected from the elements. The material is a fine blue slate, probably from Spanish Head, which shows that present-day stone cutters, if they only had the enterprise to seek good material locally, would not need to import from abroad.



FIG. 13. The Dragon Cross, Kirk Michael.

Two faces of the shaft of the cross are decorated with four dragons, exquisitely chiselled. One of the narrow edges is deeply carved by a single dragon undulating in graceful curves, ornamented with scores of small spirals. Although the interlacing and loops are Norse in character the main features are Celtic.

The Runes on the other edge record that 'Thorleif Hnakkri erected this Cross to the memory of Fiacc his son.' And in a corner partly in Roman characters the word 'Jesus.'



Braddan. Thorleif's Cross. 135

FIG. 14.

The talented poet Eliza Craven Green, the author of *Ellan Vannin*, just over one hundred years ago, resided at Ballaughton, not far away from Braddan Church : she would, of course, see the striking Thorleif cross standing in the graveyard as she passed it by to her worship. The figures of the dragon would impress her, but she was unable to master the mystery of the runes. She could not know that the inscription had both Norse and Manx Gaelic names, showing that the Viking father had married a Manx wife and had christened his son *Fiacca*, to whose memory the cross was carved and set up. She wrote :

Oh, dark and nameless ! I have gazed on thee
 Until the silent dweller in thy shrine
 Was to my heart no more a mystery,
 And in each wildly traced and fading sign
 There was a spell for spirits such as mine.

.

Did'st thou come proudly o'er the ocean foam
 To the lone Island of the storms, to reign
 A northern Sea-king in thy distant home ?
 Or woke thy spirit in this lovely Isle
 First to the light ?

The fact that this fine pillar cross is Christian in character, and that it has the significant key word *Jesus* carved with the inscription, shows that Thorleif had adopted the faith : perhaps his father before him had been buried in the sacred graveyard as a parish landholder.

On no less than twenty crosses are figured birds, including Odin's wonderful news-bearing Raven.

As the experience of the Norse sculptors matured, Kermode says that less formality and stiffness is evident, and a bolder treatment and greater freedom are shown. This is seen in the illustrations of the carved animal figures in Valhalla, including the wonderful Boar which afforded the champions sport by day and food at night.



PICTURES OF THE GODS, THE PRIESTS AND MORTALS

Not the least interesting is the series of about three dozen human figures of various types—gods, ecclesiastics, warriors, hunters and others. We see the women and the ecclesiastics arrayed in long robes, the former, according to one figure, wearing the hair in long braids.



Warriors and hunters wear tight-fitting hose and tunics reaching to the knees. The priest carries a curious tau-headed staff. The warrior,

helmed, carries a spear and short sword. There is Heimdall blowing his long horn. The Harper shows that the charms of music were not unknown, while the mythological scenes testify that poetry and romance were features of the period.

We have in these primitive pictures what is rare elsewhere, in the British Isles or abroad, figures and



scenes illustrative of the Old Norse and Viking mythology. Odin, Thor, and Heimdall, the Fenris Wolf and the Midgardsorm.



So also the characters in the romantic story of Sigurd and the Dragon Fafni with his gold hoard, among whom we recognise Loki and the Otter, Sigurd and Fafni, Gunnar in the Worm-pit, the Steed Grani with the treasure-chest, and the Talking Birds. Thor slaying the World-dragon, and Odin, Raven on shoulder, spearing the Fenris-wolf, are, like most of the others, met with in Man for the first time, and are as spirited as they are original.

PHILIP KERMODE OUR GREATEST EXPONENT

Regarding the whole series of our monuments, Celtic and Scandinavian, from the point of view of their decorative art, Kermode tells us that our Manx pieces exhibit a distinct local individuality; their execution compares favourably with that of similar work elsewhere; while true artistic feeling is shown in their decorative treatment.

In view of this, it might be reasonable to ask: Should it not be the aim of our professional men engaged in the schoolroom



PHILIP MOORE CALLOW KERMODE, M.A.
From a photograph taken by Patterson in 1880,
when aged 31. He is engaged examining the Bind
Rune Slab, newly found by him at Kirk Andreas
Churchyard.

Plate 6

JOSEPHINE KERMODE ('Cushag')
She devoted her life to her much-admired brother
Philip. She accompanied, drove his pony-car and
helped him on his excavation work, and regulated
his domestic life till he died in 1932.

[See page 48]

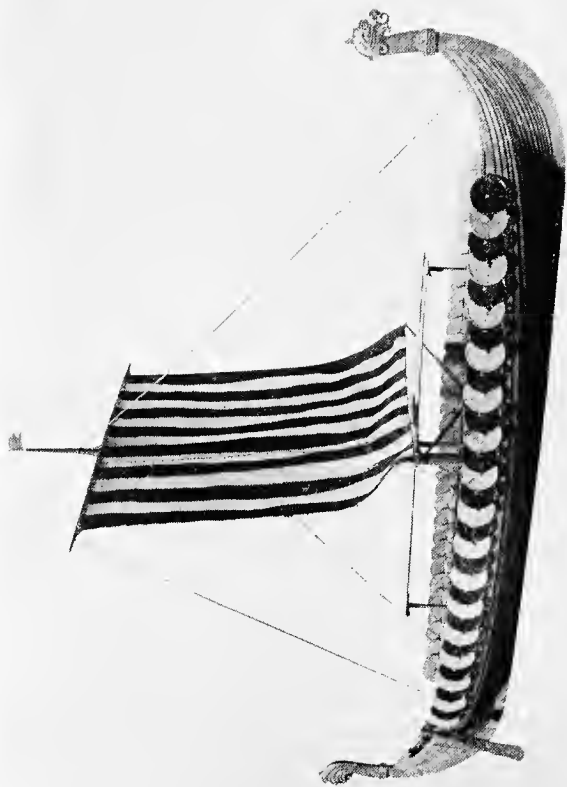


Plate 7

Model of thousand-year-old Viking Ship made by Fr. Johannessen of Oslo, for the Manx Museum. Unveiled on Tynwald Day, 1939, by the Norwegian Minister in London.

[See page 74]

and in the workshop to use these patterns and designs for decorative work generally, whether in architecture, in metal and woodwork, in illuminated documents, or in glass.

And now that professionals and amateurs alike have the necessary illustrations in the galleries of our 'treasure-house,' the Manx Museum, it is easy for them to study how that art which flourished among our ancestors a thousand years ago, might be perpetuated, developed and applied to modern decoration.

The writer cannot close this chapter on the Art of the Crosses without saying something on Philip Kermode's great book. *Manx Crosses* was printed in 1907, but it was 'on the stocks' for nearly twenty years before that date. There are 250 quarto pages of letterpress and sixty-six illustrations on plate paper. All the crosses had been drawn in full size, and reproduced by photography. The volume is the most handsomely printed book relating to the Isle of Man.

With immense skill and patience he drew hundreds of illustrations to show the art of the sculptor in detail. Kermode, be it noted, dedicated his great work to the Manx People. Surely the day has come when the Manx People will reckon this act of dedication an honour; much more an honour in that the author was one of themselves, and in act and thought so loyal to his country. His portrait is on *Plate 6*.

It is evident to the merest observer that this book is the result of a life devoted, and, one might say, sacrificed to one subject; only with the reservation that the achievement is ample justification of the sacrifice. Kermode has passed from the ranks of ordinary students as it were to occupy a place and status among the scholars of world-wide reputation.

Professor Marstrander has told the writer that in the Universities of Oslo, Bergen, Stockholm and Copenhagen, Kermode and his book are highly esteemed; the volume is in constant use among the students. It would indeed be gratifying to know that this work is being both studied and used by the teachers of art in our own schools.

A MANX GAMING BOARD OF THE VIKING AGE

A most unexpected discovery was made in a crannog, or lake dwelling, at Ballinderry, County Westmeath, Ireland, in 1932. During excavation work carried out on behalf of

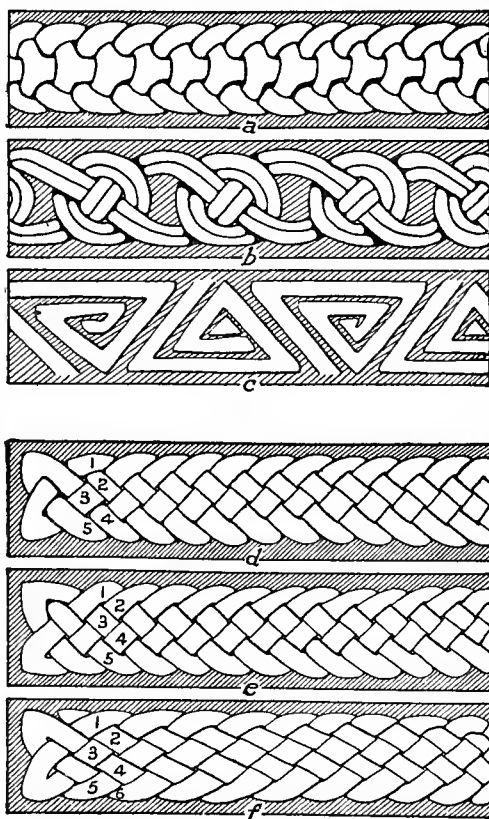


FIG. 16. Manx Patterns on the Ballinderry Gaming Board.

Harvard University, U.S.A., there was found a remarkable gaming board made of yew, about nine inches square. The board had regular holes at intervals for pegging, which were part of the game. A cast is now in the Manx Museum. Mr. O'Neill

Hencken, who had charge of the excavation, came to the conclusion that the place of its manufacture was the Isle of Man, and that the time was the third quarter of the tenth century, say 970.

Hencken says that (1) all the Norse and Celtic patterns on the frame of the gaming board were to be found on the cross-slabs in Man and nowhere else ; and (2) that the four forms of ornament that are rarest elsewhere are more numerous in Man than in other places. All the types of ornament on the gaming board are on the Thor Cross in Bride (*Fig. 18*) and the Sandulf Cross, Andreas (*Fig. 17*).

Shetelig, the Norwegian authority, agrees that the work is identical with that of Gaut, and that it is without doubt a Norse piece of work, possibly made in Man, and certainly not in Ireland, where this type of ornament is not found. A Viking sword had been found in the bog near by. Those readers with imagination may visualise our Viking ancestors whiling away the time by playing a game and pegging in their play pieces.

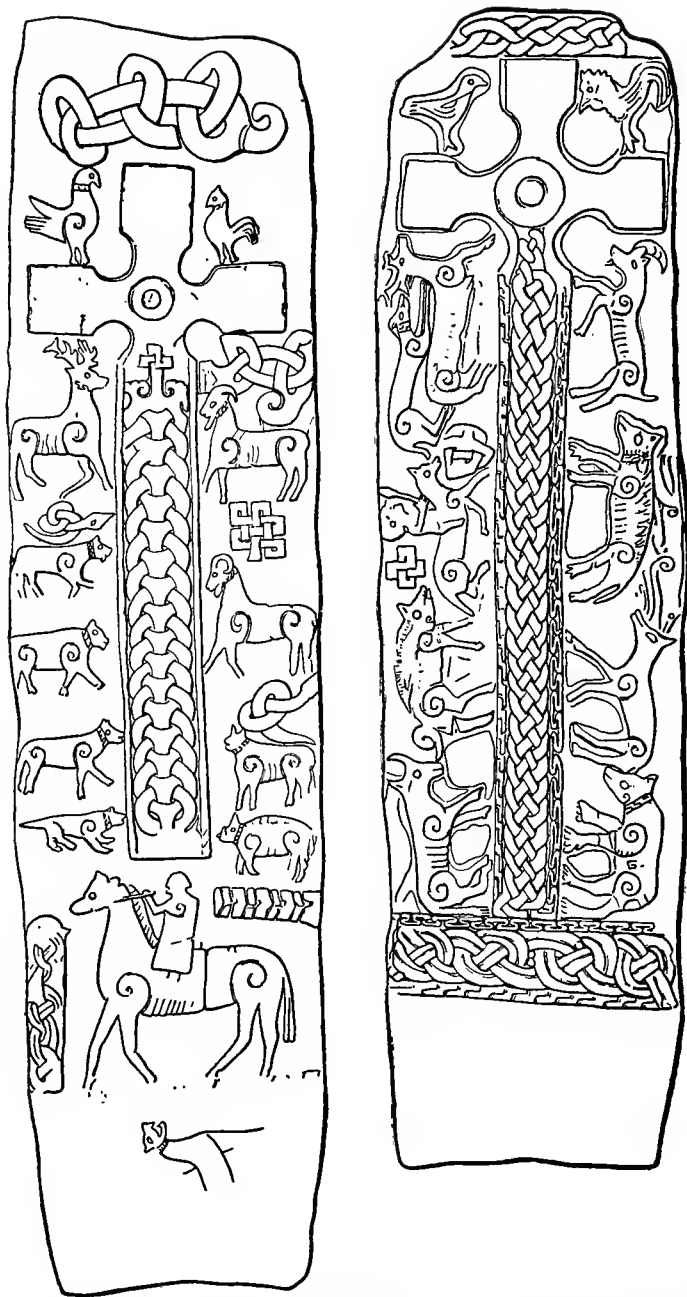


FIG. 17
 The Sandulf Cross, Kirk Andreas. This and the Thor Cross show all the types
 of ornament on the gaming board.

CHAPTER 6

*Dear Countrymen, whate'er is left to us
Of ancient heritage—
Of manners, speech, of humours, polity,
The limited horizon of our stage—
Old love, hope, fear,
All this I fain would fix upon the page ;
That so the coming age,
Lost in the empire's mass,
Yet haply longing for their fathers, here
May see as in a glass
What they held dear.*—T. E. BROWN.

THE NORSE GODS AND HEROES AND THEIR VALHALLA

BEFORE the Norsemen became Christians they believed in many gods and goddesses. They had gods of the sky and of the sea, of spring and of summer, of thunder and lightning, of frost and of storm.

Odin was supreme among the gods. He was associated with wisdom and victory and was the friend of heroes. He was spoken of as tall and strong, with long flowing hair and beard. On his shoulders sat two ravens, called *Hugin* and *Munin*, 'Thought' and 'Memory.' They roamed over the world every day, and came back at night to whisper in his ear all they had seen and heard. At his feet crouched two wolves which he fed with his own hand.

Odin had three palaces in Asgard. One of these was Valhalla, the home of heroes ; and hither came at their death all the brave men Odin loved so well. He sent forth beautiful maidens, known as Valkyries, to hover over every field of battle, and to carry home to Valhalla those who fought well and fell in the fight.

In Valhalla the brave lived for ever. They spent their days in fighting ; but every evening they returned to the hall of feasting, unhurt, and the best of friends. They feasted with Odin, the while the Valkyries handed round the drinking horns of mead. Such was the Norsemen's idea of the heaven for heroes. On one Kirk Michael large cross-slab, Kermodé draws

attention to 'a glimpse of the Viking faith and the joys of Valhalla.' Bird-headed figures represent gods and heroes; one fighter appears feet uppermost to show he is dead. There is, too, the Boar which is chased and slain in the day-time and roasted for eating at night. There is the great Fish in the stream which runs through Valhalla; there is Odin himself with his spear. But all these pagan figures on this striking sepulchral monument are overshadowed by the presence of a carved representation of Christ, and above all the Christian Cross.

Thor was the God of Thunder; he was the champion of the gods, and defended Asgard against the giants. Thor wore a crown of stars upon his head, and rode in a chariot drawn by two goats, from whose hoofs and teeth flashed sparks of fire. To Thor belonged some very precious things. The first was his mighty Hammer with which he fought the giants. The second was his Belt of Strength; when he girded himself with this his strength was doubled. The third was his Iron Gauntlet; with this he grasped the famous Hammer, which he made red-hot when he fought the giants; and finally, there was his Red Beard from which flashed lightning.

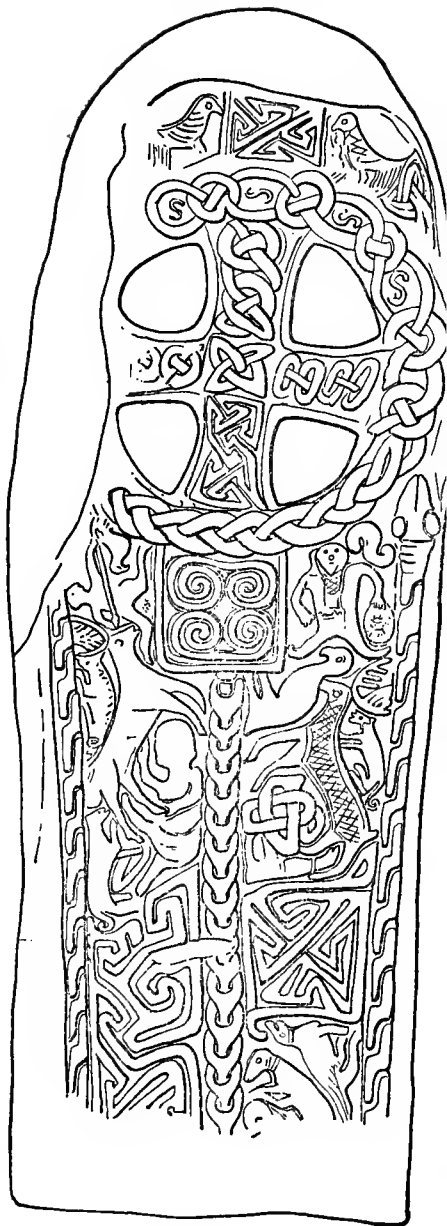
When Thor throws his Hammer it returns to him. He is the deadly enemy of Loki and his fearful brood. In the Day of Doom, called Ragnarok, he slays the world-dragon Midgardsorm, a sea-serpent which encircles the earth, being able to hold its tail in its mouth.

The most remarkable carved stone in the British Isles figuring Thor is at Kirk Bride. He is shown in one of his most famous adventures. The story is that he went a-fishing, taking with him an ox's head for bait; and our sculptor shows him bearded, with his Strength Belt on, in the act of setting off to his boat. And on the other face of the cross is Rungnir, Lord of the giants, awaiting Thor's attack with his Hammer. (*Fig. 18*)

Four days of the week are named after the gods, Tuesday from *Tyr*, or *Ty*, the God of War, Wednesday from *Odin*, Thursday from *Thor*, and Friday from *Freya*, Odin's wife. The name Thor comes into several Manx personal names, such as Cormode (*Mac Thor Mod*), Corkill (*Mac Thor Ketil*), Corlett (*Mac Thor Leot*), Corrin (*Mac Thor Fin*), etc.



B



A

FIG. 18. The Thor Cross, Kirk Bride.

Sculptures on stone monuments figuring the Gods and the Heroes of the Old Norse Mythology are more numerous in Man than in any other country in Europe. There are three main sorts of Sagas according to Sir George Dasent. There are first the mythical Sagas, in which the wondrous deeds of heroes of old time, half gods and half men, as Sigurd and Fafni, of Thor and Odin, are told as they were handed down from skald to skald, from father to son, in the traditions of the Northern race.

Then there are Sagas recounting the history of the kings of Norway, and of the great line of Orkney Jarls. And, again, there are Sagas relating to Iceland narrating the lives and feuds of mighty chiefs, such as the Story of Burnt Njal. The Sagas that are recorded on the Manx crosses belong to the earliest of the series.

When the Norsemen came, they carried with them the cult of the Runes and skilled Skalds who preserved the Sagas of their homeland. They were also clever sculptors who immortalised these stories on stone slabs. So that we have in the Isle of Man illustrations of stories carved on stone which were a couple of centuries afterwards written down for the first time in Iceland, a thousand miles away. It is as if the pictures in a book were drawn before the author had written his story.

The date of the Saga carvings is believed by antiquaries with special knowledge, such for instance as Professor Shetelig of Bergen, to be from about the year 950 to the last quarter of the eleventh century, while the Icelandic Sagas, telling us of the same incidents, could hardly have been written before the middle of the thirteenth century.

THE SAGA OF SIGURD FAFNISBANE

The Saga of Sigurd Fafnisbane is one of the earliest and one of the finest in the whole of Northern literature. It has had a marked effect upon the literature and art of later generations. In the Middle Ages the story reappears in Germany in the *Nibelungenlied*. It inspired Wagner to compose his music-drama of *The Ring*, which contains four of the Sigurd tales. It is the foundation of the epic of William Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*

Before the beginning of the tenth century Man was the settled home of the Norsemen. The story of Sigurd had been brought with them from the west of Norway. In the long winter nights here in Man they sat by the turf fires, and, while the men made nets or gear and the women wove or spun, the Skalds would graphically repeat the stories.

And the children listened and learned them by heart ; and when they were grown, they too told them to their children. And sculptors who had skill with tools and ripe imagination, carved the outstanding incidents upon the right kind of stone.

It is not too much to claim that many of the sagas were ' rounded and polished ' and hardened into correct form by the Skalds in Man. What other explanation can there be for such literary and artistic co-incident in Norway and Man, the one being complement to the other ? Kermode had the not unreasonable opinion that the Sigurd sepulchral monuments were put up in memory of Princes who were related to the Norse Royal line which claimed descent from the hero. Those that have come down to us are found in four different parishes—Malew, Andreas, Jurby, and Maughold. The two first Shetelig dates about 950, Jurby about 1000, and Maughold about 1050.

SIGURD'S DRAMATIC FEAT

The Saga tells us how King Sigmund, the father of Sigurd, was slain in battle, the god Odin having himself interposed and broken the sword Gram (' the Wrath ') which he had formerly given to him. At night came Hjordis, his wife, seeking for him on the battlefield, and found him about to die. Sigmund directed her to take the fragments of the sword, Gram, and to keep them for the son she should bear him, who would become the greatest of his race. (It is interesting to note that our name Shimmin comes from Sigmund).

At the day-dawning he died, and Hjordis was carried off by Alf, son of Hjalprek, King of Denmark, who was sailing with his power along the land.

After the birth of her son Sigurd, Hjordis was married to Alf, and Sigurd was brought up in King Hjalprek's house. He was fostered by Regin, the clever and subtle Dwarf-smith,

by whom he was taught all manner of arts, the chess-play, the lore of runes, and the talking of many tongues, even as the wont was with kings' sons in those days.

At Regin's instigation, Sigurd, upon coming to manhood, asked a horse of the King. The King allowed him to choose one from his stud, and, by the direct advice of Odin, he took Grani, 'the grey one' of the kin of Sleipner, the eight-footed steed of Odin.

But Regin kept egging him on to some great deed, and especially that he should go in quest of the Dragon Fafni's ancient gold-hoard, and thereto he told him this tale:—

REGIN'S TALE

'Hreidmar had three sons, Fafni, Otter and Regin himself. Otter was a great fisher, and in the likeness of an otter, dwelt ever in the river; but Fafni was by far the greatest and grimmest.

'Otter was wont to fish in Andwari's Foss, and, on a day, Odin, Loki and Hænir, passing by, spied him slumbering on the river bank. Loki cast a stone and killed Otter. And the gods, well pleased, took the skin to Hreidmar's house.'

On looking at the Maughold slab (Fig. 19) we see the figure of Loki in the act of heaving a stone at the Otter. And we see also that the Otter is eating the fish which he has just caught in the Foss.

'Hreidmar,' so the Saga goes on, 'laid hands on the gods, and doomed them for *weregild* to fill and cover the Otter's skin with gold. So they sent Loki, and he came to Ran, Goddess of the Sea and got her net and went to the Foss and caught Andwari in the form of a Pike. Loki compelled Andwari to give up his gold and when he had but one Ring left, that also Loki took from him.

'Then the Dwarf Andwari banned the Ring and all the gold, which would ever prove the bane of the possessor.

'Now when the gods had filled and covered the Otter's skin with gold, Hreidmar, the covetous, espied one of the muzzle hairs, and bade them cover that. Then Odin drew the Ring and covered up the hair, Loki warning them of the curse.

'Thereafter Fafni slew his father, seized the gold, and became the worst of all worms.'

After Regin had told this story, Sigurd got from his mother the shards of his father Sigmund's sword, and Regin forged therewith a sword, so finely tempered that it would cut through floating wool and cleave an anvil in twain.

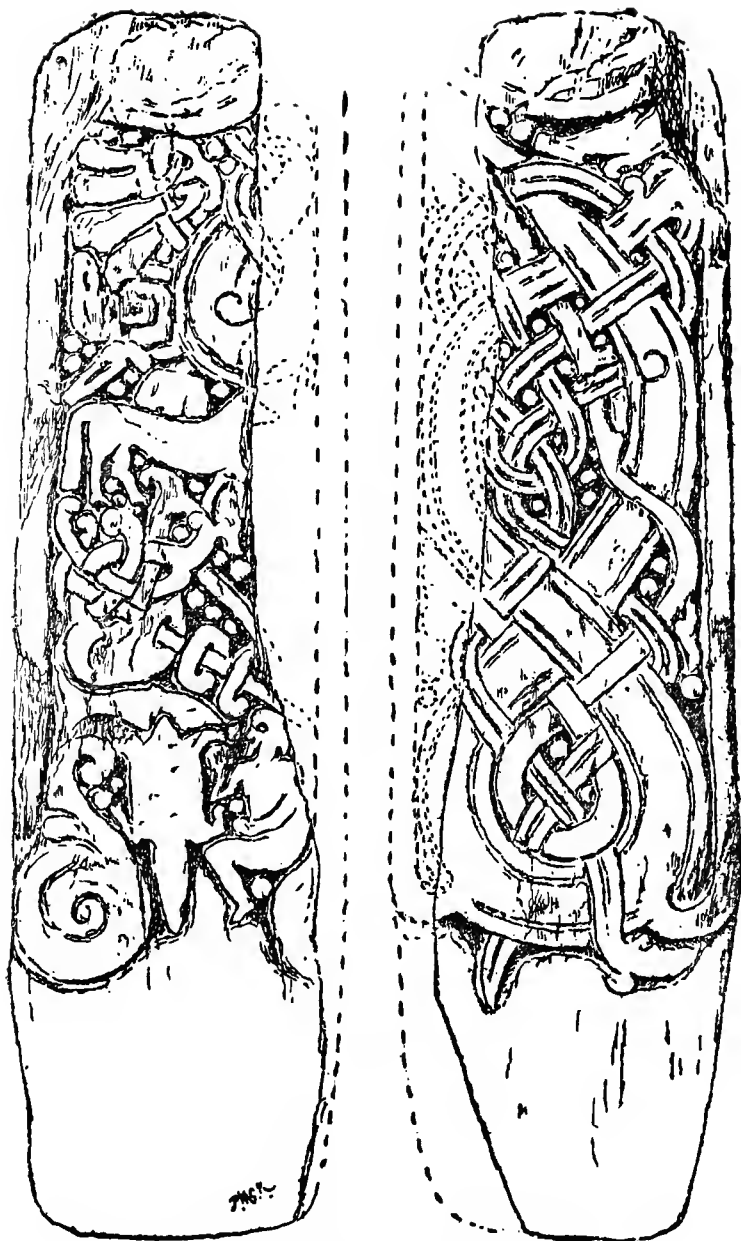


FIG. 19. The Maughold Sigurd Slab.

With the object of avenging his father's death and gaining wealth and honour, Sigurd went with Regin to slay the Dragon Fafni. Odin met him in disguise on Gnita-Heath 'the Glittering Heath,' and advised him to dig 'many pits and let the blood run therein; but sit thee down in one thereof, and so thrust the worm's heart through.'

And as Fafni trailed over the pits Sigurd thrust his sword into him and slew him. So Fafni handed on the curse and died.

The act of Sigurd slaying the Dragon, while in the pit beneath, is shown on the Jurby, Malew and Andreas slabs. The Jurby one graphically shows Fafni 'snorting venom' and lashing out in the agony of death as he turns to discover his destroyer and heap maledictions on his head. The scales are represented by scores across the body.

Here is an extract from William Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*:
Then all sank into silence, and the son of Sigmund stood
On the torn and furrowed desert by the pool of Fafni's blood,
And the Serpent lay before him, dead, chilly, dull and grey;
And over the Glittering Heath fair shone the sun and the day.

In the meantime Regin, in fear, had concealed himself under a heather-bush, but now called upon Sigurd to cut out the Dragon's heart, roast it over the fire, and give him to eat. So Sigurd made a fire and roasted the heart on a rod, and trying if it were fully done, he burnt his fingers and put them into his mouth to cool. But when the heart's blood of the dragon touched his tongue he straightway knew and understood the voice of all birds.

So he reached his hand to the roast to see if the cooking be o'er;
But the blood and the fat seethed from it and scalded his finger sore,
And he set his hand to his mouth to quench the fleshly smart,
And he tasted the flesh of the Serpent and the blood of Fafni's

heart:

Then there came a change upon him, for the speech of fowl he knew.*

Sigurd's act of cooking the heart upon a spit and the burning of his fingers is seen on the Jurby (Fig. 20), Malew (Fig. 21) and Andreas (Fig. 22), crosses.

And the birds, the Saga proceeds, had gathered around and were talking of him. They told of the guile of Regin, who was

* William Morris: *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung*.

For details of the size of cross-slabs and the ornamentation, see Kermodé's *Manx Crosses*, pp. 170-180.



FIG. 20
Jurby Sigurd.



FIG. 21
Malew Sigurd.

minded to slay him and to carry off the booty, and advised that Sigurd should smite off his head. So Sigurd's wrath was kindled, and he struck off Regin's head. Then he ate of the dragon's heart, gathered up the hoard, and loaded his steed, Grani. The horse, however, would not move till he had leaped into the saddle. And so they rode to Hindfell and through the Ring of Fire to find and awaken Brynhild.

The steed Grani is figured on the Jurby, Andreas and Maughold slabs. On the latter is shown on Grani's back the chest containing the hoard won by Sigurd.

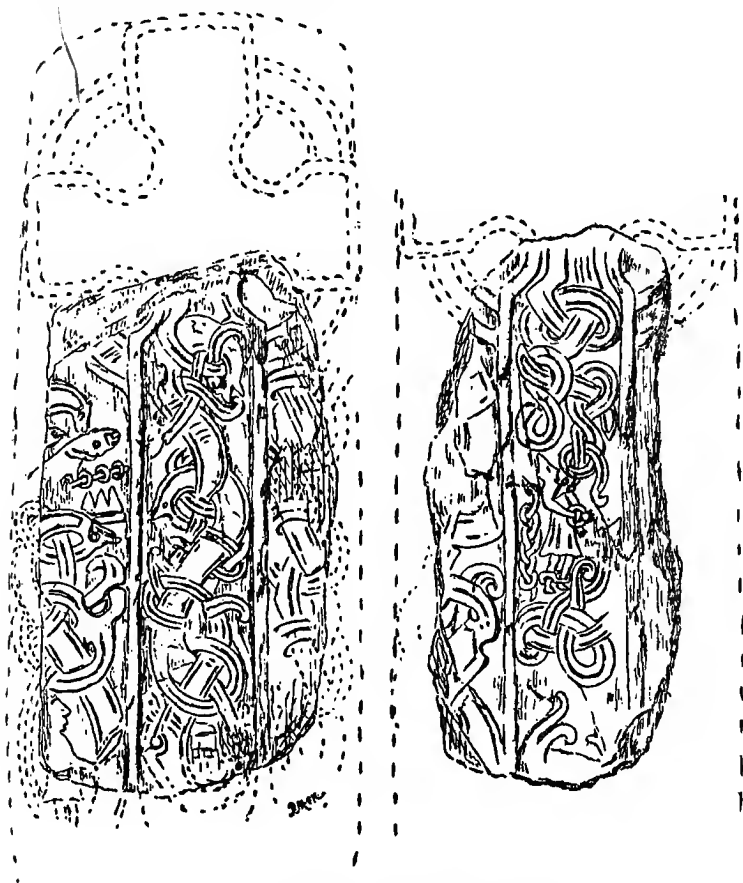


FIG. 22. Andreas Sigurd Slab.

The Saga goes on to tell of Sigurd's adventures riding through the Ring of Fire in his search for Brynhild; of Sigurd's warfaring in the company of the Niblungs and of his great fame and glory; of the Cup of Evil drink that Grimhild the Wise-wife gave to Sigurd; of the marriage of Sigurd with Gudrun the Maid of the Niblungs; of Sigurd wooing Brynhild for Gunnar the King of the Niblungs, and of the Wedding; the slaying of Sigurd by Gunnar and the Niblungs, who capture the ancient treasure of Fafni; the struggle of various Chieftains and their Thralls to possess the ill-fated treasure from Gunnar; and finally the casting of Gunnar by Atli into the Worm-pit—'the pit of Serpents'—until he should tell where the gold-hoard was hidden; and the Curse that followed to the possessors of the gold.

On the Andreas slab (*Fig. 22*) there is the picture of that part of the story in which Gunnar is placed in a 'snake-pit with his hands bound, but so skilful is he with his harp that he plays on it with his toes, and the music keeps the serpents spell-bound until the old mother of Atli, in the form of an adder, creeps up and bites into his heart, and he dies.' On examination of Kermodé's drawing of the Andreas slab, it will be agreed that the sculptor, considering his resources, did his work well.

It is almost certain that other Sigurd scenes had been cut on three of the slabs, but have been broken off.

THE SIGURD SAGA ON NORWEGIAN WOOD CARVINGS

In Scandinavia there are a number of illustrations from the story of Sigurd carved in wood, all of which were done centuries before the existing manuscripts. But none are so old as those carved on the Manx slabs. The most convincing of these wood carvings are on the church pillars from Hyllestad, Norway, which the writer has studied in the Oslo National Museum. Their approximate date is 1150.

To carve on wood is easier and more effective than to work on stone with primitive tools. Therefore the panels from Hyllestad (*Fig. 23*) enable us to make out the purpose of the scenes more easily. For instance on the pillar to the right



FIG. 23

Church Portals, Hyllestad, Norway, picturing the same Sigurd Saga.

there are carved two well-defined scenes in a smithy ; in one a bearded man is hammering on an anvil, while a younger man works the bellows. These are, of course, Regin the smith and Sigurd, who helps as his assistant. In the other scene the same two figures are at work forging a sword. In the main panel, above the smithy scene, is a particularly spirited representation of Sigurd stabbing the dragon from below, which reminds us of the same act on the Jurby slab.

On the pillar to the left, at the foot of the panel, Sigurd is seen as on the Jurby, Malew and Andreas stones, roasting the dragon's heart, burning his thumb and putting it in his mouth. Opposite Sigurd stands Regin, leaning on the hilt of his sword, watching for his opportunity to slay Sigurd. The two talking birds are above, as on the Andreas slab. A dragon's tail forms an artistic background to the picture.

Above is the horse Grani with his pack of gold on its back. Above again is the sanguinary scene where Sigurd, in his pointed cap, is slaying Regin, and streams of blood are seen to be issuing from the victim's mouth.

At the top of this panel is an illustration of Gunnar, bound, in the 'worm-pit,' skilfully playing the harp with his toes, to draw away the attention of the dragons that are ready to bite him, a fellow to that shown on the Andreas slab carved, perhaps, a hundred years earlier.

To students of primitive art this vivid picturing of the same Saga incidents, in parts of the world a thousand miles from each other, is remarkable. The comparison is very interesting. The earlier artists in Man, working on slabs with rude tools, and the one in Norway carving upon chosen wood at a later date, strangely focussed upon the essential features of the Saga, and both were equally successful. And, to conclude, this primitive Saga of Sigurd preaches a convincing and wholesome gospel, appropriate to all ages.

CHAPTER 7

*Then hail to thee, happy home ! Land of my fathers :
Proud nest of famed chieftains ; blest Isle of the fair !
The hills, the wild hills, where the fairy mist gathers—
O, Mannin, my graih machree, Mannin Mac Lear !*

—ESTHER NELSON.

THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS

DURING the long and eventful history of the Manx Nation no political and social changes have ever taken place to rank with those of the early part of the ninth century. We can scarcely imagine the shock and the terror that the peaceful natives experienced when the feared Viking galleys appeared off our shores at Ramsey, or the Lhen, or in the Bays of Douglas or Kentraugh.

Sheer plunder was the object of the Vikings when they first came into these seas, but it was not long before they realised the attractions of the Island as a place to which to emigrate and as a centre for maritime operations.

The incident of the first visit of the Norsemen and the plundering of Saint Patrick's Isle in 798 was followed by numerous piratical expeditions to the Hebrides, Ireland, and Man, and there was much fear of the 'devastations of the Gentiles.'

To the Norwegian, accustomed to a hardy life and brought up to wring a scanty livelihood almost out of the barren cliff itself, the sight of the green hills and rich pasture land of Man must have proved attractive.

Often in crossing the stormy sea the adventurous crews found a watery grave, but on the whole these hardy seamen passed over the North Sea with a frequency that is surprising, especially when we remember that their single-sailed boats were open, covered in only at the stem or stern.

HARALD FAIRHAIR'S OATH AND ITS RESULTS

During the later years of Alfred the Great of England, an impetus was given to the settlement of the Norsemen in the British Isles by the coming to the throne of Norway of the first king who reigned over the whole country, Harald Fairhair.

He established a new form of rule which became very unpopular among his great lords and landowners, and the consequence of this was that a large number of his most powerful earls or jarls left the country with their families and possessions, and betook themselves to the Isle of Man, and to the Hebrides, and settled there.

They did not come as marauders, like their predecessors, but to settle, and establish new homes for themselves where they would be free from what they considered to be the King's repressive laws. Before Harald's time each of these jarls had been his own master, ruling his own district as an independent lord, but paying a loose allegiance to the prince who chanced at the time to be the most powerful. From time to time some more ambitious leader arose, who tried to subdue to his authority the men of consequence in his own part of the country, but hitherto it had not come into the mind of any one to try to make himself king over the whole of Norway. The idea of great kingdoms was not then a common one. In England no king had been supreme over the whole country ; sometimes as many as seven kings were reigning at the same time.

The story of the ambition of Harald Fairhair's family is a romantic one. His mother, as the result of her dreams, foretold the future greatness of her son. She dreamt she was in her herb-garden, and her shift fastened with a thorn. She drew out the thorn with her hand and held it steadily while it began to grow downward, until it finally rooted itself firmly in the earth. The other end of it shot upward and became a great tree, blood-red about the root, but at the top branching white as snow. It spread until all Norway was covered by the branches. The dream became true when Harald, who was born soon afterwards, subdued all Norway to himself.

When he was old enough to marry, he set his affections on a girl of good position named Gyda, and sent messengers to ask her to be his wife. But she was a proud and ambitious girl, and declared that she would not marry any man who had no greater kingdom than a few lordships. ' Tell Harald,' she said, ' that when he has made himself sole King of Norway, then he may come and claim my hand.' Haughty Harald, when he got

her pert message, said, ' I think she has said well, for she has put into my mind what it is wonderful that I had never thought of before. And now I solemnly vow, and I take God to witness, that never will I clip or comb my hair until I have subdued Norway, with *skat*, dues and dominions to myself ; or if I succeed not, I will die in the attempt.'

After this, Harald set about raising an army and ravaging the country, so that the jarls were forced to sue for peace or to submit to him. But many of the chiefs of Norway preferred death to subjection, and emigrated to Man and the Hebrides and had their freedom. Thus Harald established for the first time in Norway a feudal system similar to that introduced into England by William the Conqueror. In time the whole country came under his dominion, and he won his bride.

It was at this time that Iceland and the Faroe Islands were colonised by the people driven out of Norway, and others went to Shetland and the Orkneys and Hebrides and joined their countrymen there ; others settled in Ireland, and others, again, lived a roving life, marauding on the coasts of their own country Norway in the summer, and in other lands in the winter season ; so that Norway itself was not free from their ravages. Probably some of the longships from Man took part.

King Harald determined, once for all, to punish them. He fitted out a great fleet and searched all the islands to clear them of the Vikings. This he did during three summers, and wherever he came the Vikings took to flight, steering out into the open sea ; but no sooner was the King gone home again than they gathered as thickly as before, devastating up into the heart of Norway to the north, until Harald grew tired of it. One summer he sailed out into the western ocean, following them to Shetland and the Orkneys, and slaying every Viking who could not save himself by flight. Then he pushed his way southward to the Hebrides, which were then called the Sudreys, slew many Vikings who had been great lords in their time at home in Norway, and pursued the survivors down to the Isle of Man. This was about 870.

The *Ynglinga Saga*, continuing the story, makes the remarkable statement that ' the inhabitants of Man, having heard

what devastation he had made, fled to Scotland, and he found the country quite deserted. The inhabitants had also carried with them all their wealth and possessions which could be taken, so that when King Harald and his followers landed they obtained no booty.' The statement in the *Saga* is, of course, exaggerated. Some of the prominent Norwegian chiefs probably did flee to Galloway for a time, but they would naturally soon return. Harald appointed the Jarl Tryggvi as his deputy to rule Man and the Sudreys.

When the King had returned home again, and was feasting one day, he went to a bath and had his hair combed and dressed in fulfilment of his vow. For ten years his hair had been uncut, so that the people called him Lufa, or 'shockhead'; but when he showed himself to his friends they called him Harfager, or 'Fair Hair,' and it clung to him henceforward.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE VIKINGS

It will not be out of place to quote from the Irish Annals accounts of the earliest appearance of the Vikings. It is in the *Annals of Ulster*, under date 794, that their actual descent in these seas is recorded. It is very brief: 'Devastation of all the islands of Britain by the Gentiles.' *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* of the same date (794) repeat the story, and add: 'This was their first footing.'

According to the *Annals of Ulster*, under date 798, 'Patrick's Island was burned by the Gentiles; and they took away tribute from the provinces, and Dochonna's* shrine was broken by them, and other great incursions were made by them both in Ireland and Scotland'.†

Recording the same grave event, the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* tell us: 'The island of St. Patrick was burnt by the Danes; they taxed the lands with great taxations; they took the relics of St. Dochonna, and made many invasions to this kingdom, and took many rich and great booties, as well from Ireland as from Scotland.'

* According to Dr. Todd, Dochonna was a Bishop of Man. (*Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, page xxv, note).

† *Sources of Scottish History*, page 257.

This rude beginning was only a foretaste of what was to follow. The *Annals of Ulster*, under date 851, say: 'Black Gentiles came to Dublin, and they made great slaughter . . . they plundered the fortress both of men and treasure.'

This looks as if they had already used Man as a stepping-off point. The strategic importance of the Isle was evident, and it was bound to become the natural centre for all operations in the Irish Sea. The Kingdom of Man and the Isles was founded essentially on naval power, and, as if in recognition of the fact, its rulers sealed their charters with the figure of a Viking Ship.

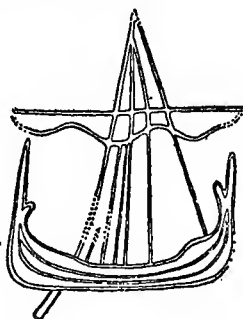


FIG. 24
Viking Ship, Hedin
Cross, Maughold.

The true Vikings came here from the south-west of Norway, particularly from the Bergen, Hardanger, Sogn, and Trondhjem fjords. These were the breed that came to and settled in Man. In the veins of some of these settlers, who became our own ancestors, ran the noblest blood of the Norse race.

THE FIRST VIKING RULERS

The first mention of a 'Lord of the Isles' is in the *Annals of the Four Masters* which record the death in 853 of Godfrey (Godred) the son of Fergus. In the original he is described as *Toiseach Innsi Gall*, the 'Prince or chieftain of the foreigners.' This must, of course, have meant Man and the Isles.

Ketil Flatnef is said by some authorities to have been a representative of Harald Fairhair, and by others to have established himself as an independent ruler against the wishes of the King of Norway. At any rate he seems to have established himself as the ruler of Man and the Isles about the middle of the ninth century. Ketil is an interesting figure. He was the son of the mighty baron Bjorn Buna, from Sogn, as Munch tells us.*

* Munch's notes to the *Chronicle*, Manx Society, iii.

It is clear that he had been in the Sudreys, and enjoyed a great reputation long before. From the fact that his celebrated daughter Aud, 'the deep-minded,' had married Olaf the White, the Norwegian King of Dublin, we conclude that a close connection existed between Ketil and his supporters in Man and the powerful Norwegian colonies then dwelling in Ireland.

WHEN WAS OUR TYNWALD SET UP ?

This raises the important question as to when our Tynwald was first set up. It is recorded that in the year 853, Olaf the White, set up a *Thing*, a popular assembly, on the banks of the Liffey in Dublin. We may be sure that his father-in-law Ketil Flatnef, who ruled in Man and the Isles at the same time, would have done the same thing here. We have therefore, grounds for believing that our Tynwald was in being during the period of Ketil Flatnef (circa 852).

There are many good reasons for this belief, based upon definite historical grounds. One of these is the knowledge of the setting-up in Iceland of the Al-Thing in the year 930. We know, too, that Iceland was first colonised by Norsemen from the Hebrides and Man, and Ireland, to the number of about 400.*

Ketil himself did not emigrate to Iceland, but five of his children, with his kinsfolk who made their home in Man, did go to Iceland. His son Helgi Bjola went in the early land-settling period, about 870. Ketil Flatnef's nephew Orlygg the Old, was brought up by Bishop Patrick in Sodor, according to Professor Magnusson. On breaking the news to the Bishop that he wished to go to Iceland with his relatives, the Bishop provided him with timber to build a church, and an iron bell, a plenary and hallowed earth to put under each of the corner-pillars. Orlygg sailed to Iceland along with a number of Christian friends and settled within the landtake of his cousin Helgi Bjola and built a church at his homestead.

* Prof. Erik Magnusson, *The Conversion of Iceland to Christianity*, A.D. 1000—Saga Book of the Viking Club, 1900.

The constitution of the Icelandic *Al-Thing* was in all likelihood modelled on that in Man, of which these early settlers had full knowledge.

From the middle of the ninth century till 940, there were several notable figures who dominated Man and the Isles. Tryggvi, who succeeded Ketil Flatnef, one of the jarls of King Harald Fairhair, was about 870 entrusted with Man and the Isles. He was succeeded by Asbjorn Skerjablesi by King Harald's authority; but he was killed soon after by the kinsmen of Ketil Flatnef, after which event King Harald does not appear to have appointed another jarl.

Man was closely linked up to the Norse Kingdom in Dublin in the years that followed. Ragnall (Reginald) the son of Ivar, who had been King in Dublin, was all-powerful, and ruled in York for a period, as well as in Man until 921. He possessed a strong navy and was master of the seas, winning a great naval battle in 913.

'THE ROCK OF THE MANXMAN'

Archibald Brown in his many stories of the battles between the men of the Lochlannaich (Norsemen) and the men of Argyle at Otter, tells of stirring battles and of single combats. One of them is of 'a Manx hero, who, when his followers were routed, defended himself against a rock, on which, it is said, he left the print of his back. The rock is still called *Sgeir-amhanannaich*.' But, asks the author, what were Manxmen doing in Otter? 'It is a curious coincidence,' he says, 'that the Isle of Man was the headquarters of the Norse dynasty at this time.' Four years previous to this occasion, we find Reginald (King of Man) fighting a naval battle there with another of the same race.

The author suggests that the hero of the 'rock of the Manxman' was on the side of Reginald, quoting the following record from *Celto-Normanica*, p. 77, under date 'Anno 914: *Acris pugna navalis prope Manniam Insulam inter Baredum et Reginaldum O' Hivar Danos commissam est in qua Reginaldus Barredo et suis occisis victoriam reportavit*. TRANSLATION: 'In the year 914, a fierce naval battle near the Man Island took

place between the Danes Baredus and Reginald O'Hivar, in which Reginald claimed the victory, Baredus and his men having been killed.'

Mac Ragnall, probably the son of the above-mentioned Reginald, appears to have been ruler in 940 when he is mentioned in the *Four Masters*.

In 973, one of the leaders of the Limerick Norsemen, Maccus Mac Harald, a grandson of Sitric, King of Dublin, was styled in the Irish annals 'Lord of the Isles.' Three years before this he devastated Anglesey, and in 973 he sailed round Iceland with a numerous fleet. On this occasion he was accompanied by 'the Lagmanns of the Islands' (*Annals of the Four Masters*), which shows that he, as chief of the Isles, was making his circuit with the 'lawmen,' or deemsters, according to custom, to dispense justice. His brother, Godred Mac Harald, succeeded him as ruler, being called 'King of *Insi Gall*, or 'Islands of the Strangers,' by the Irish annalists. Three years later a new power appeared on the scene in the person of Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who, in 982, attacked Man and extorted a heavy penalty as the price of his departure.

In 985, Man received a visit from its suzerain, Olaf Tryggvasson, King of Norway, who, 'to dissipate his grief for the loss of his queen,' went on a Viking expedition, in the course of which, after plundering in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides, 'he sailed southwards to Man where he also fought.'

In 1014 Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, was killed at the battle of Clontarf, to which he had come with his Islesmen and 'the foreigners of Manann.' This battle was the culminating effort of Brian Boru, who, during the whole of his long life, had been struggling against the Norwegians. It is not recorded who was Sigurd's successor in Man. It may have been Godred Mac Ragnall, who was its ruler in 1060, when his brother Eachmarcach, who had been king of Dublin, took refuge there.

After another brief period under Dublin rule, Godred Mac Sytric was ruling in Man in 1066. According to the *Chronicon Manniae*, which begins about this date, he received 'Godred, called Crovan, son of Harald the Black of Ysland.' He is the greatest figure in Manx history.

More than one writer believes that among the chief causes of the Norse movement of invasion was the development of a particularly suitable style of ship-building ; the building of long undecked ships of light draught and very strong construction, very seaworthy, in which during a sea-fight, every man could take a hand.

They were clinker-built and so light of draught that they could be run ashore at the Lhen, at Ramsey, Douglas, or Peel or Kentraugh beaches with safety. Ramsey was the favourite landing-place ; the boats, when the tide was full, could reach the Baare Dhowin and even Ballakillingan. Plate 7 gives a good picture of the model of the Gokstad ship made for the Manx Museum by Mr. Fr. Johannessen of Oslo, Norway, in 1939. During the period of the ninth and tenth centuries vessels similar to that from Gokstad, near the Oslo fjord, must have frequented Manx harbours.

Archæologically Mr. Johannessen's model has much interest for us, since the celebrated Knock y Doonee ship-burial dates

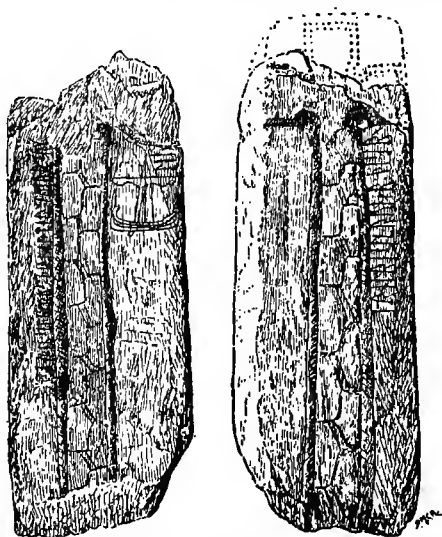


FIG. 25
Hedinn's Cross, Maughold, showing a figure
of a Viking ship.

from the same time as the Gokstad ship. Evidence of our Knock y Doonee vessel had perished but for its iron rivets and the Viking chieftain's equipment ; while in Mr. Johannessen's model the technical details of Viking ship-building may be studied with the greatest confidence.

The Gokstad ship was a large open boat adapted for both rowing and sailing. The original vessel measured about seventy-seven feet in extreme length, so that the model six feet long is one-twelfth of the size of the original. The Museum model is an exact copy of the ancient vessel which was found preserved in a mound near the Oslo fjord. The sail, rigging, and the carved figure-head and tail-piece are reconstructions based on archæological discoveries and on evidence contained in Old Norse literature.

The only ancient carving of a Viking ship appears on what is called 'The Hedin Cross,' Maughold. Its date will probably be about the time of Olaf II (1226—36).

Kermode suggests the cross was set up for one who descended, on his father or mother's side, from Godred Crovan, from whom both the Kings of Man and the Lords of the Isles had derived the Ship as an Armorial bearing.

CHAPTER 8

*This royal throne of kings, this sceptered Isle ; . . .
This happy breed of men, this little world ;
This precious stone set in a silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall.*—SHAKESPEARE.

THE KINGDOM OF MAN AND THE ISLES

THERE were no fewer than ten rulers of Man from the time of Ketil Flatnef, at the middle of the ninth century, to the time of Godred Crovan in 1079, a period of 220 years.

The leading figures were more or less connected by blood according to Munch.*

About 973 there appears in the *Chronicle of Melrose* the name of a Manx king, written Maccus. He is described as having supported 'Edgar the Peaceful of the English.' When Edgar landed at the city of Chester, after a cruise around northern Britain with a huge fleet, eight under-kings met him and swore they would stand by him as his vassals, both on land and on sea.

They were Kenneth, King of Scots, Malcolm, King of the Cumbrians, and Maccus. There were five other kings of various parts of England and Scotland. Maccus held the steering oar.

This Maccus, 'king of very many islands,' as the chronicler described him, was, according to Munch, really Magnus Mac Harold, King of Man, who conquered Anglesey in the previous year, 972†.

The *Four Masters* refer to the same king (Maccus‡) when they say that in 974 plundering took place at Iniscathy by Magnus Mac Harold, along with 'the Lawmen of the Islands.'

The Lawmen or *Lagmen* mentioned might have been either the Deemsters or the Keys. The Gaelic term used was *col-Lagmannaibh na n-innsedh imbi*.

It seems possible that this Maccus or Magnus Mac Harold might have had sufficient military and naval power at his

* Munch's notes to the *Chronicle of Man*, p. 132.

† *Early Sources of Scottish History*, p. 479.

‡ According to the Welsh Annals 'Mact, Harold's son' had invaded Anglesey a few years before. According to Alan Orr Anderson, the compiler of *Early Sources of Scottish History*, Mact seems to have been a brother of Godred, Harold's son, who invaded Anglesey in 972. *Brut y Tywysogion* in *Myvyrian Archaeology*, quoted in *Early Sources of Scottish History*, p. 478.

command to set up the Kingdom of Man and the Isles ; but we have no evidence that he succeeded in welding together the Isles with a central *Al-Thing*. Collingwood in his *Scandinavian Britain* says that ' with him we find the first fairly ascertained dynasty of Man and the Isles.' He died about 977.

A long while after Maccus and his brother Godred Mac Harold (who succeeded him) came the great Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who was killed at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. The Jarl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son, followed, and he like his father, must have held sway over Man, as he had over nearly all of Scotland and the Isles. Munch holds that from 989 to 1079 ' Man must have been an appanage of the Norwegian kingdom of Dublin.'

If there existed a Kingdom of Man and the Isles from the date of Maccus Mac Harold and during the time of Sigurd and Thorfinn, it must have been of a nebulous character. There could hardly have been a system of centralized government.

GODRED CROVAN, FOUNDER OF THE ROYAL DYNASTY OF MAN

We now come to the most dramatic period in Manx history ; our Golden Age, in fact.

King Godred, the son of Sytric was King of Man. Sytric belonged to the dynasty of the Dublin Kings, perhaps he himself was King of Dublin. Godred had in 1066 sent his aid to Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, in his invasion of England. Of Harold's ambitious expedition and his reverse at the battle of Stamford Bridge (25th September, 1066) little needs to be said, excepting that among the few of the leaders in Norway's army who escaped was Godred Crovan, son of Harold the Black of *Ysland*.

Munch, who calls Godred Crovan ' the founder of the Royal dynasty of Man,' says that ' when he aspired to the crown with its appendages of the Isles, he vindicated only what he regarded as his hereditary right.' ' If,' says Munch, ' he had not belonged to a royal line, or if his ancestors had not enjoyed the title of king, it would have been almost impossible, according to the feelings or opinions of those days, that he should have ventured to assume it.'

Taking it for granted that Godred Crovan was descended from the royal family, and that his ancestors were kings of Man, Munch says that it was almost certain that his grandfather was no other than Godred Mac Harald, who was killed in 989, and was a brother of Maccus previously mentioned.

In supporting this view, Munch makes the interesting remark that in the remote times we are dealing with, it was a rule pretty generally observed among the Northern peoples that the grandson got the name of the grandfather, and that this fact affords very often a clue to the determination of genealogies. Now this custom of giving the grandson the Christian name of the grandfather was very common in Man in all periods of our history. If Munch is right in claiming Godred Crovan to have been a grandson of Godred Mac Harald, that would account for his courage and persistence in making his claim.

Readers' attention might be called to the fact that Harald, the father of Godred Crovan is called *Haraldus niger de Ysland* in the *Chronicle*. This name, *Ysland*, has been construed by some to be a blunder for 'Ireland,' but Ireland in the *Chronicle* was called *Ybernia*. *Iceland* may have been meant, but Munch thinks the monkish writer meant the island of *Isla*, which in other places of the book is called *Yle*. And it is not to be overlooked that Godred died in *Isla*, which of course was an important part of the Kingdom of the Isles.

After Godred Crovan became King of Man, he soon, by virtue of his great military prowess and force of character, became ruler of the whole of the Hebrides. The *Chronicle* says in a concise, vigorous sentence: 'He then subdued Dublin and a great part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such subjection that no one who built a vessel dared to insert more than three bolts. He reigned sixteen years, and died in the island called *Yle*,' (Islay).

That is all our own *Chronicle* says about one of the greatest and most remarkable figures in Manx history. During the sixteen years of the reign of Godred Crovan we can be fairly certain that his was the honour and glory of firmly knitting together the Isles as one compact whole, with Norway the

mother country, with the title of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles. From this time, for nearly 200 years Man was ruled almost without interruption by his descendants.

It is somewhat strange that the first mention of the title of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles occurs in our *Chronicle* so late as 1077 (Munch's date is 1097), two years after Godred Crovan's death. The sentence in which it occurs also discloses the summoning of a Tynwald. 'In the year 1077,' it records, 'one Ingemund was sent by the King of Norway to take possession of the Kingdom of the Isles. When he arrived at the island of Lewis he sent messengers to all the chiefs of the Isles (*omnes principes insularum*) to summon them and declare him King.'

This election and declaration would of course take place at a Tynwald. We have no record of any such popular assembly in the isle of Lewis. We can hardly conceive that such an event could have taken place outside Man. We have made extracts from all the references to the Hebrides, to the Sudreys and to *Innsi-Gall* which occur in the various medieval Annals and Sagas, and have failed to find one that definitely bears upon the actual setting up of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, until we come to the time of Godred Crovan.

After the death of King Lagman, Godred Crovan's eldest son, an event happened which confirms without any doubt the fact that the Kingdom of Man and the Isles was already in being during Godred Crovan's reign (1079-95).

The *Chronicle of Man* under date 1075 (Munch 1095) says: 'all the chiefs of the Isles (*principes insularum*), hearing of the death of Lagman, sent messengers to Murrough O'Brien, King of Ireland, begging him to send some competent person of the royal race, to be their King till Olaf, son of Godred (Crovan) should have grown up.'

King Murrough consented and sent one Donald, son of Teige, 'admonishing him to govern with all mildness and moderation a kingdom which was not his. Donald, however, abusing his power very tyrannically, and committing many enormities, reigned as a monster for three years, after which time all the chiefs of the Isles conspired, and rising in a body

drove him from their territory.' The scribe concludes by saying: 'he fled to Ireland and never returned.' Not only is that a good, wholesome story, but it conclusively shows that the leaders had developed strong feelings of freedom and of loyalty to young Prince Olaf.

There is another interesting reference to an historic meeting of Tynwald in the *Chronicle* under date 1153: 'All the chiefs of the Isles (*principes insularum*) assembled together and unanimously elected Godred, son of Olaf I, for their king.' It may be safely assumed that in both these cases the inauguration would be at our Tynwald at St. John's. There would most certainly have been an inauguration stone, suitable to such an occasion. It may yet be discovered.

With the accession of Godred Crovan, Manx history becomes a continuous story. The *Chronicle* compiled at Rushen Abbey is aggravating in its wilful omissions, as when it remarks of Godred II that 'many things might be related of him which we have omitted for the sake of brevity.' The *Chronicle* omits to say where the kings of Godred's dynasty resided: such matters would be common knowledge at the time. Yet the chronicler is careful to say where each king met his death, and this provides an important clue to the location of the royal stronghold.

Godred Crovan himself died in Islay, and some of his descendants died in the Hebridean part of their kingdom or were drowned at sea. Three Kings met their deaths in the Isle of Man, one at the Tynwald Hill, a second at a conference at Ramsey, the third assassinated in a meadow near Rushen Parish Church.

Only three of Godred's successors died peacefully at home. These were Godred II, who died at St. Patrick's Isle in A.D. 1237; while his son Magnus, the last of the dynasty, died in 1265 at Castle Rushen, which he or his brother seem to have built, and which subsequently became the principal seat of the Lords or Governors of Man.

It may be concluded that before that time the palace or stronghold of Godred's dynasty was situated on St. Patrick's Isle alongside the venerable buildings of the Celtic saints. Here, then, was the royal residence of Reginald, son of Godred II,

King of Man and the Isles (1187-1226) to which Arthurius, an Irish bard of the day, referred in a memorable phrase as 'The Tara of the Isle of Man.'

At St. Patrick's Isle in 1228 King Olaf's ships were wintering 'with those of all the chiefs of Man,' when Reginald, who was then in exile, stealthily attacked them with fire. Here also, in 1098, landed the famous Magnus Barefoot, of Norway, when,

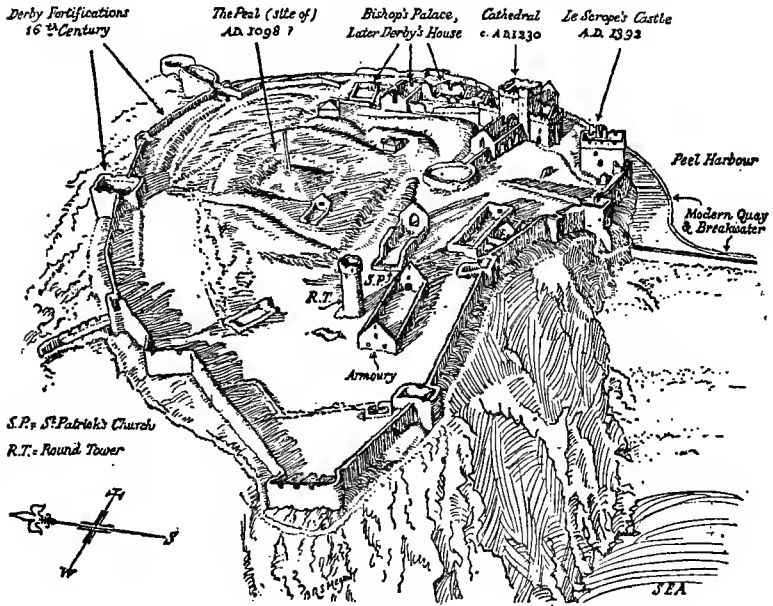


FIG. 26

Sketch of St. Patrick's Isle, by Basil Megaw, showing probable site of Magnus Barefoot's Pile 'Fort,' built in 1098, which afterwards became 'Peel,' and gave its name to the town. It also shows the Church of St. Patrick, the Round Tower, both probably built in the eleventh century, and other interesting historical features.

after expelling Godred Crovan's governors from the Hebrides, he named his own son Sigurd, the future Crusader and King of Norway, as the ruler of the Isles. And at Saint Patrick's Isle, almost certainly, Magnus would build the chief of the three wooden castles with which he immediately fortified his newly-acquired island base, with an eye to future operations against the Kingdom of Ireland and perhaps Scotland.

CHAPTER 9

*Mountains divide us, and the waste of seas :
Yet still the blood is strong
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.*

THE WESTERN ISLES AND THE CREATION OF TYNWALD

HEBRIDEANS and Manxmen are fundamentally one and the same people, whose traditional life is a unique example of the fusion of Viking and Gaelic culture. Scotsmen often ignore the fact that the Western Isles did not become a part of the Scottish Kingdom until long after the middle of the thirteenth century, and that they had for nearly four centuries before been a part of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles.

During four centuries of Norse rule the Celtic folk of these islands intermarried with the Vikings, persuaded them to adopt their Christian faith (while their brethren in Norway were still pagans) and introduced them to the rich artistic, literary and musical heritage, they shared with the Irish.

The Norsemen, on the other hand, created a strategically important commonwealth out of what had been isolated island communities ; and established an elaborate military system. They brought with them a genius for seamanship, and boat-building, and a passion for adventure and colonisation. The sea between Man and Norway would appear to have had a psychological value.

THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF THE HEBRIDES

In the distant past the Isle of Man and the Hebrides together were officially reckoned as thirty-two islands. The evidence for this reckoning is the following statement made by the Bishop of the Sudreys (i.e. Man and the Isles) in the year 1166 :

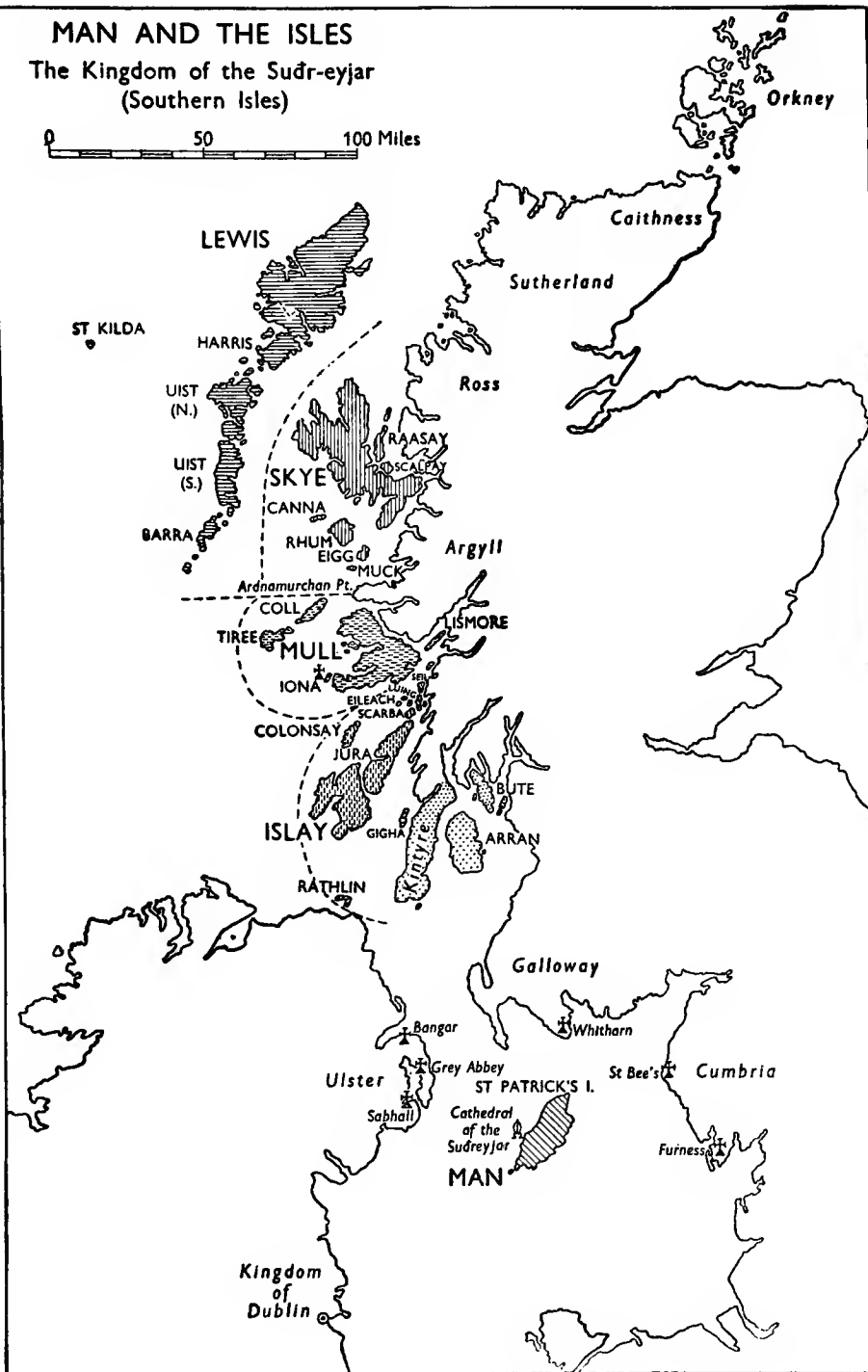
*The King of the Isles holds Man and Thirty-one other Isles under the King of Norway on condition of the payment of ten gold marks to every new King. No other payment is made during the life of the King, or until the appointment of a successor.**

* The relations between Norway and the Isles in the second half of the 12th Century (after Somerled's death) are specified by Robert of Torigny, who was present at Mont St. Michael in 1166, when Michael Bishop of Man appeared before Henry II as ambassador of Godred II, ' King of Man and thirty-one other isles.'

MAN AND THE ISLES

The Kingdom of the Sudr-eyjar
(Southern Isles)

0 50 100 Miles



In an official survey of the Hebridean Isles compiled before the end of the sixteenth century, there is disclosed the fact that the Four Divisions were already becoming out of use, but that internal evidence implied that they had existed in the period in which the Isles were united to the Manx Kingdom.

Here, then, are the administrative units which must have appointed Sixteen Hebridean members of the Keys.

The whole Isles of Scotland were divided into Four Parts of old, namely, LEWIS, SKYE, MULL and ISLAY, and the remaining whole isles were reckoned but as Appertainances and Appendages of the said Four Isles, and were divided amongst these Four Isles, and annexed thereto in this manner :

THE LEWIS GROUP

(i) First, to the Isle of LEWIS were annexed the isles of Uist, Barra, Harris, Rona, Bernara*, Pabba, Helsker, Collsmon and Hirt (the Gaelic name of St. Kilda).

THE SKYE GROUP

(ii) To the Isle of SKYE were annexed Raasay, Eigg, Rum, Canna, Muck and Scalpa.

THE MULL GROUP

(iii) Pertaining to the Isle of MULL were Lismore, Tuahannais, Ulva, Gometra, InchKenneth, St. Colm's Inch (*i.e.* Iona), Tirree and Coll.

THE ISLAY GROUP

(iv) And to the Fourth Isle, of ISLAY, were conjoined the isles of Jura, Colonsay, Seill, Luing, Scarba, Gigha, Rathlin, Arran*, and Bute. . .

But now (continues the account), the Four Isles are become under sundry men's dominions wherethro' they answer not to the said Four Principal Isles ; yet, they keep the laws and uses of the same for the most part, and especially of their yearly duties. . .

Besides these isles aforesaid there are many islands and ' inches ' (*i.e.* small islands) in Scotland. There is also a ' Ness ' (*i.e.* promontory) passing south-west from the lands of Ardnamurchan, which ' ness ' . . . divides these whole Isles in two ; namely into South Isles and North Isles : the Isles of ISLAY and MULL with their said Pertinents lying from the said ' Ness ' to the South, and the Isles of LEWIS and of SKYE to the North.

* These isles are not included in this part of the text, but appear in a second version of the list in the same document, and Arran and Bute are specifically mentioned as pertaining to the Four Groups of the Isles.

This quaint sixteenth century document gives a fairly accurate description of the Four Groups of the Western Isles that were for centuries an integral part of the Manx Kingdom. Each Group elected Four members, making a total of Sixteen for the Four Hebridean Groups. Megaw's plan at page 83 shows how strikingly Ardnamurchan 'Ness,' or point, divided the North isles of Lewis and Skye from the South Isles of Mull and Islay; and how natural it was that they became politically asunder.

The remainder of the sixteenth century document is a detailed record of the numbers of fighting men which custom required each island to supply in the event of war. The whole arrangement is unmistakably Norse in origin and affords interesting parallels to the military levies of the Isle of Man. For instance the document states in broad terms that :

The whole of these Isles above written . . . the common custom of raising their men is 6,000 men, whereof the third part (extending to 2,000 men) ought and should be clad with actons (leathern jackets), habergeons (coats of mail) and knapskull bonnets (steel caps) as their laws be.*

This specially-equipped force was maintained, one man by each 'merkland' (a Highland estate corresponding in some respects to our Quarterland), and only the men comprising it could take part in military ventures beyond the seas.

In a valuable contribution by Megaw to the *Journal of the Manx Museum*, he reminds us that in 1650 the eighteen companies of the Manx militia were said to include 'about 1,500 ready upon any occasion, and in case of necessity they might arm 5, or 6,000 men.' This is a statement made by Governor Chaloner in 1656. These figures are so like the two given for the Hebrides that (although they are clearly maximum estimates) they may well indicate the theoretical scale of the two-fold army of the Sudreys. They also provide a good reason for supposing that the Hebrides would originally send at least as many representatives as Man did to the Tynwald of the Isles.

* A Jack (leathern jacket) and a Sallet (a steel cap), Bows and Arrows, Sword and Buckler, were inalienable heirlooms, according to a Manx statute of 1419. Such equipment is clearly represented in Hebridean carved memorials of the close of the Middle Ages.

Referring once more to the list of the Isles as given on page 84, it is interesting to find that thirty-six are named—a total sufficiently near the figure of thirty-two, given by the Bishop of the Sudreys in the year 1166, to suggest that the document is based on the same system of reckoning. Four of the largest isles in each group gave to the Bishop of Sodor a Third of their Tithes.

Another, and still more ancient document, bearing upon our subject of the Four Divisions of the Isles is the Bull of Pope Gregory IX, dated 30th July, 1231, in the reign of King Olaf I of Man, a seventeenth century copy of which is in the Manx Museum. The Bull is addressed to Bishop Simon (1226–1247) as *Episcopes Sodorensi*, not as Bishop of Sodor and Man, which is a more recent title. The Sodor Diocese was constituted in 1154, in the reign of our Godred II and Man was, of course, the centre of it. The Metropolitan was Drontheim in Norway, until 1458, when it was placed under York.

The Bull enumerates the various possessions of the Bishop of Sodor, and primarily the Bishop's Third Part of all Tithes, not only of all the churches in Man, but of fifteen of the larger isles in the Sudreys. The list in the Bull covers the same Four Groups named above.

This consistency cannot be accidental; it goes to show that, throughout many centuries, Lewis, Skye, Mull and Islay, with their 'Pertinents and Pendants' had been separate entities, quite unconnected with Scotland, and were sometimes within and sometimes detached from the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, as far back as the time of Maccus Mac Harold in the tenth century.

The map printed on page 83 (*Fig. 27*) shows the division of the Hebrides into the four administrative groups. These groups were a survival from the Norse regime and the basis of the Hebridean participation in the medieval Tynwald assemblies.

THE POSITION OF KINTYRE

Kintyre has an ancient association with the Manx Kingdom, and at one period was considered as part of the Islay group. How it became part of this group is told in the story of King Magnus Barefoot, when King of Man in the 11th century,

causing his men to draw a galley across the neck of the isthmus which divides Kintyre from the Scottish mainland. By this deed it was agreed that Magnus should possess all the islands on the west between which and the mainland a ship could sail with its rudder in place. And so it was that Kintyre became a part of the Manx Kingdom; and Kintyre was, according to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, 'better than the best isle in the southern isles save Man.'

FURTHER PROOF FROM THE HEBRIDES

In the transactions of the Iona Club, 1839, there is an account of Macdonald of Islay, in very early times, having his Council at Finlaggan, in Islay, long before their connection with Scotland. It was composed of Sixteen, and embraced the Four Groups as already described. It would appear that Macdonald's Council of Sixteen preserved the Hebridean part of the ancient Parliament of the Sudreys as the House of Keys had done in the fifteenth century. So that there can be no doubt that the original *Al-Thing* or Parliament of the Sudreys included Sixteen representatives from the Hebrides as well as Sixteen representatives from Man—a combined council of Thirty-Two elected members, which, eight centuries ago, on each Midsummer Day, assembled at St. John's.

HOW THE THIRTY-TWO BECAME TWENTY-FOUR

Readers will naturally enquire how those Thirty-Two became our Twenty-Four Keys. The reason is found in the result of an important naval battle which took place off Colonsay in the year 1156. The struggle was between our King Godred II (grandson of Godred Crovan) and his brother-in-law Somerled, the ruler of Argyll.

Somerled, whose wife was Ragnhild, daughter of Olaf I, King of Man (1103-53) claimed a portion of the Isles; and, as a result of the battle, Somerled compelled Godred to surrender to him the Two Groups South of Ardnamurchan Point, namely those of Mull and Islay; while the Two Northern Groups of Lewis and Skye remained under the government of the Kings of Man—who also retained the title of Kings of the Isles. Thus the Eight 'law-men' of those

Northern isles Lewis and Skye would continue to attend the Tynwald in Man until the overthrow of the Kingdom a century later, in 1266. This made the total of the historic Twenty-Four.

The well-known Declaration of the Keys in 1422 that 'there was never xxiiij Keys in certaintie since they were first that were called *Taxiaksi*, those were xxiiij free houlders, viz., viij in the Out Isles, and xvj in your Land of Mann,' is a verification of what we have already set forth.

The reference to the Somerled event in the *Chronicle* is of sufficient importance to quote: its date is 1156: 'A naval battle was fought between Godred and Somerled during the night of the Epiphany of our Lord, with great slaughter on both sides. But when daylight came they made peace, and shared between them the Kingdom of the Isles, and from that day to this the Kingdom has remained divided . . . 'Thus,' mournfully records the scribe, 'was the Kingdom of the Isles ruined from the time that Somerled got possession of it.'

It must be apparent, of course, that the division of the Isles into two parts must have seriously affected the dominion of King Godred II and his successors. Somerled really interposed a sovereignty between Man and the Outer Hebrides, composed of the Lewis and the Skye groups. Man was nearly three hundred miles away from its most distant dependency. The determination with which the Manx kings clung to the remotest of the Isles, Lewis and Skye, is of peculiar interest, since they are neither of them remarkable for fertility. Their importance must have lain partly in their geographical relation to the busy trade routes between Norway, Iceland, and the great ports around the Irish Sea.

The contact must have been difficult to preserve during the century which intervened between the time of the Somerled incident and the date of the Battle of Largs in 1263.

But we have no reason to doubt that during this period the Outer Isles kept in close touch with Man, and that at each Midsummer their Eight *Toshee*, or representatives, would deliberate with our Sixteen, as they had done during fully two centuries. As a matter of fact we have several accounts in the

Chronicle of visits made to and from the Isles by our Kings and Princes after the Somerled incident. For instance :

After the death of Godred II in 1187, the Manxmen sent their messengers to the Isles for Reginald, his eldest son and made him king.

Under date 1210 the *Chronicle* records the absence from Man of King Reginald I and his nobles (*optimates*) in the Isles.

When Harald I commenced to reign in 1237, the *Chronicle* records that 'he passed over with all his chiefs (*optimatibus*) to the Isles, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who paid him every honour.'

In 1217 King Reginald gave to his brother (who later became Olaf II) the Isle of Lewis. The *Chronicle* says 'it is more extensive than the other islands, but thinly peopled, because it is mountainous and rocky and almost totally unfit for cultivation.' But Olaf took possession, living, however, very scantily. 'Finding that the island could not support himself and his followers, he went frankly to his brother Reginald, asking him for some other place, and it would appear that he got the island of Skye.'

In 1223 the *Chronicle* says Olaf 'taking hostages from all the chiefs of the Isles, came to Man with a large fleet of thirty-two ships and put into the port of Ronaldsway.' But a compromise was came to between the brothers. Man, with the title of King of Man and the Isles, was retained by Reginald. Olaf, the chronicler says, 'having received provisions from the people of Man, returned with his followers to the islands which formed his portion.' But in 1226, Olaf II recovered his inheritance as eldest legitimate son of his father Godred II and became King of Man and the Isles.

Two years after, in 1228, says our *Chronicle*, 'one midnight during winter, King Reginald, his brother, came unexpectedly from Galloway, with five ships. He burnt all the ships of his brother Olaf and those of all the chiefs of Man (*Optimum Manniæ*) at the island of Saint Patrick (Peel), and going round the country seeking to make terms with his brother, remaining nearly forty days at Ronaldsway.' Reginald must have been a popular hero, for 'he won over and gathered round himself

all the Islanders in the South of Man, some of them swearing that they were ready to expose their lives in his cause, till he should be put in possession of half the Kingdom of the Isles.'

King Olaf on the other hand, had gathered together all the Northern Manxmen, and 'acquired by his words such influence over them that their souls were but one with his.'

This dramatic situation ended on the 14th February 1229, in a battle which took place at Tynwald, in which Reginald was slain.

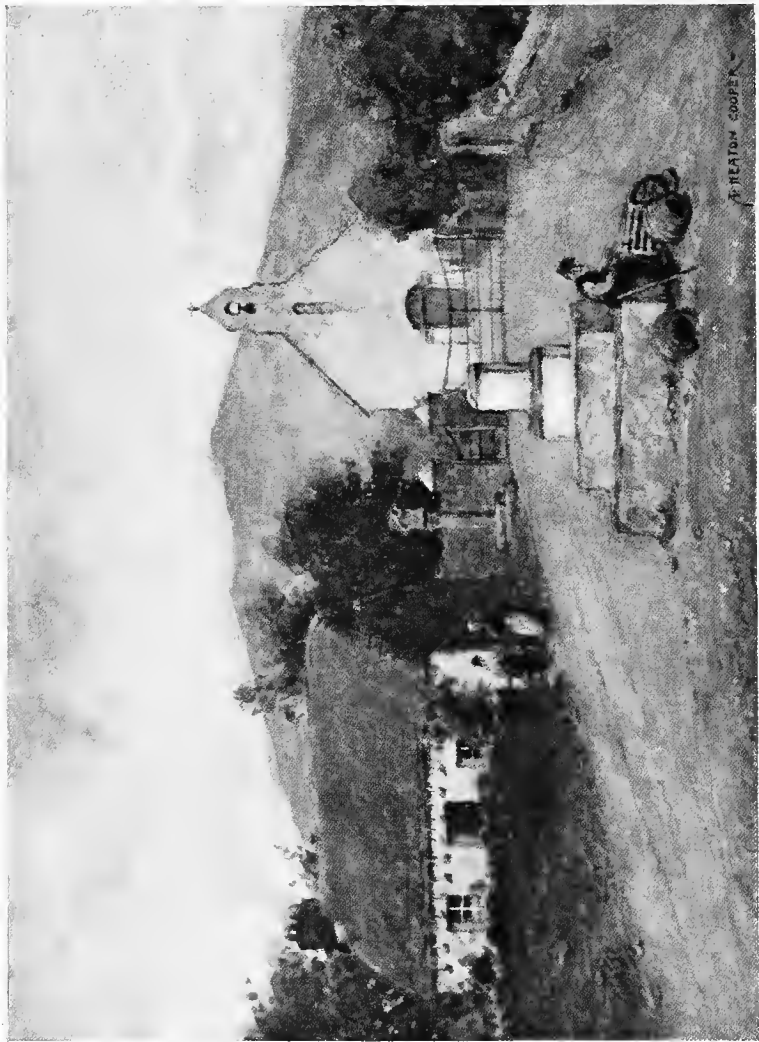
There is little to add to the story. The battle of Largs in 1263, the death at Castle Rushen of Magnus, the last of the royal line of Godred, and the cession of the Isles to the Crown of Scotland in 1266, left only the Sixteen* Manxmen in the Keys. The Eight from the Out Isles ceased finally to appear.

The times were difficult for our people. Perhaps they cherished a hope that they would regain their old territory. To judge from past records, our 'wisest and ancientest men' made few mistakes when deciding national issues. They wisely resolved that the places of the Eight men from the Out Isles should be maintained. They appointed eight additional men from Man, thus continuing to retain the traditional number Twenty-Four. In doing so, however, they appear to have upset the parochial basis of representation, and chose them from the Sheadings instead.

To us Manx people it is a source of great pride that our ancestors have been able, in the face of great difficulties and through turbulent times, to preserve for us our separate national existence. This remarkable achievement is due to the fine spirit of freedom and characteristic persistence under trials which our ancestors have shown. It should be our object in these latter days to preserve the heritage which has been handed down to us and, may we add, 'to make the bounds of freedom wider yet.'

* It was of course in those days necessary for military reasons that each parish district should have access to the sea. There can be little doubt that Kirk Marown and Kirk Santan were one, making sixteen parishes, and not seventeen as now.





From a painting by A. Heaton Cooper by permission of A. & C. Black Ltd.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF SAINT MAUGHOLD

It was in these sacred precincts, in 1169, that Somerled's follower Gillocolum was slain by the Pastoral Staff of Saint Maughold.

CHAPTER 10

*Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude :
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath be rude.*

—SHAKESPEARE.

SOMERLED'S DISLOYALTY TO THE KING AND ITS DISASTROUS RESULTS

SOMERLED BRINGS DISASTER TO THE KINGDOM OF THE ISLES

THE constitutional framework of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles set up by Godred Crovan in 1079 was seriously impaired by his grand-daughter's husband Somerled, less than a century later.

Soon after the accession of Olaf I, son of Godred Crovan (1113-1153) we hear of this military figure called Somerled who dwelt on the mainland of Argyllshire. Olaf had a daughter named Ragnhild, who married Somerled, which event, according to the *Chronicle*, 'proved the total ruin of the Kingdom of the Isles . . . For she bore him four sons, Dugal, Reginald, Angus and Olaf.'

A deal of fanciful romance has been woven by Scottish storytellers about Somerled, his supposed ancestry and descendants ; but probably the first authentic event known about his life was his fateful marriage. He was ambitious and had a strong personality, and, by his persistence, he became ruler of Argyll. To judge from his name he was of Norse descent from *sumarlidi* ; 'summer sailors,' a name applied to Vikings who marauded in the summertime.

The fact that Somerled had, in 1140, married Ragnhild, would appear to have encouraged him in his predatory design on capturing a portion of his father-in-law's kingdom ; and, after some treacherous actions, he eventually succeeded in securing Mull and Islay, and eventually in usurping the throne of Man for the space of six years—from 1158 to 1164.

Following a peaceful reign of forty years, our King Olaf I was murdered at Ramsey by his nephews, the sons of Harald his brother, who had been brought up in Dublin. The story of the murder is graphically told by the *Chronicle*. It appeared the youths demanded from Olaf no less than half the kingdom of the Isles. They were encouraged and helped, too, by several disaffected Manx chieftains. Olaf, wishing to appease them, said he would consider their claim, and agreed to meet them with his advisers.

On the day appointed both parties met at the port called Ramsa, and sat down one by one, the king with his followers on one side, and they with their accomplices on the other. Reginald, who was to give the fatal blow, stood in the middle, talking to one of the *principibus terrae*, 'chiefs of the land.' When called to come to the King, he turned as if to salute him, and lifting high his gleaming battle axe, with one stroke cut off the King's head.

The murderers had sufficient military force with them to hold their own for a time. While this tragic incident occurred at Ramsey, Prince Godred, the eldest son and heir to Olaf, was at Oslo in Norway, doing homage on behalf of his father to King Ingi. He returned home without delay, and being received with joy by the Manxmen as their rightful King, he promptly apprehended and executed his own cousins.

These events occurred in 1152, when Godred began to reign. The Chronicler makes the rather irritating remark 'We could narrate many worthy things of him, which brevity compels us to omit,' and then goes on to say that in the third year of his reign 'the people of Dublin invited him to become their King.' He was thus led into wars in Ireland, in which he was very successful. He was so proud of his military exploits that when he returned to Man he dismissed all the chiefs (*principes*) of the Isles who had accompanied him in the expedition.

'Seeing himself now secure in his Kingdom,' says the *Chronicle*, 'and none able to oppose him, he began to be 'tyrannical to his army and to his chiefs.' Among the most powerful of these was Thorfin, the son of Otter, and he secretly set about creating a plot with Somerled which ultimately altered the future of Manx history. Thorfin proposed to Somerled that he should place his

eldest son Dugald, whose mother was Ragnhild, King Godred's sister, on the throne of the Isles.

Somerled gladly embraced the treacherous proposal and delivered up Dugald to Thorfin's care. Thorfin accordingly took the young prince, and conducting him through certain of the Isles, induced the people to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and to give hostages for their allegiance. A powerful chieftain named Paul hurried to Godred and acquainted him with the intended revolution. Godred instantly got ready his ships and sailed to meet the enemy.

In the meantime Somerled was not idle. He collected a fleet of eighty galleys and prepared for the combat. A sea battle was fought between Godred and Somerled during the night of Epiphany, 1156, with great slaughter on both sides. Next morning, however, they came to a compromise, and, as is said in a previous chapter, Somerled was given the two groups of the isles of Islay and Mull, those that were nearest Argyll, Somerled's headquarters.

Not content with this amicable arrangement, Somerled, two years later, invaded Man—presumably at Ramsey—with a large fleet of fifty-three ships, gave battle to Godred, and defeated him. After saying that Godred passed over to Norway for help, the *Chronicle* tells us that he 'also besought assistance against Somerled from Saint Maughold.'

HOW ST. MAUGHOLD'S STAFF PERFORMED A MIRACLE

The longest story in the *Chronicle* tells of the wonderful miracle performed by virtue of the staff of Saint Maughold, the patron saint of the parish, who had laboured there some seven centuries before, and whose pastoral staff seems to have survived to this time.

It would appear that Somerled was with his troops at Ramsey and was bent upon further depredations in the vicinity. He had been informed that Maughold church was 'well replenished with money,' and was filled with people seeking refuge. One of his chiefs, Gilocolum, suggested to Somerled that they should invade the church and get the treasure. 'No,' said Somerled, 'let it be between thee and the saint; I and my army will have no share in your booty.'

Gilocolum assembled his three sons and his men ; and, while they were climbing the hill, word was brought to the church that the enemy was coming. Those present had spent the night in supplicating God through the merits of St. Maughold. The women, with dishevelled locks, ran around the church walls crying ' Where art thou gone, Macutus ; where are the miracles which in ancient times thou wroughtest in this place ? '

St. Maughold heard their prayers and assigned their enemy to death. He appeared to Gilocolum in his tent, ' arrayed in shining garments, and holding a pastoral staff in his hand, and addressed him, ' Why, Gilocolum, shouldst thou seek to plunder what is deposited within my sanctuary ? ' Whereupon, raising on high the staff that he held in his hand, he stabbed him, transfixing him through the heart. The wretched man, uttering a hideous cry, awoke all who were sleeping in their tents around him ; but the Saint stabbed him a second and a third time, causing him to shriek fearfully.

His son and followers ran to him, but he said with a groan, ' St. Macutus has been here and has thrice mortally stabbed me with his staff ' . . . When the priests, clerks, and people heard this they were filled with great joy . . . And soon after a multitude of great flies began buzzing and flying about the plunderer's face and mouth, that neither himself nor his attendants were able to drive them away. Thus he expired, about the sixth hour of the day, in great and excruciating torture.

His death filled Somerled and his army with such dismay, that as soon as the tide had risen and floated their ships, they left Ramsey port and returned with great haste to their own country.

The next entry in the *Chronicle* tells of the ambitious Somerled collecting, in 1164, a big fleet of a hundred and sixty ships, intending to reduce the whole of Scotland to his dominion. But ' divine wrath at length overtook him and he was routed by a handful of men, and he with his son with a great number of men, were slain.' It is interesting to note that Somerled's second son Reginald had a son named Donald. From him the Macdonalds of the Isles sprang. They called themselves ' Lords of the Isles,' but they were not recognised by the people of Lewis nor Skye, which were the ' Out-Isles ' of Man, and which continued to send eight members to the House of Keys.

THE HEBRIDES LOSES ITS INDIVIDUALITY

No prince in the Hebrides has made such a political revolution in this area as Somerled. Man "has" providentially

preserved its political freedom. The Hebrides, on the contrary, although they have preserved the Gaelic language and folklore to a great extent, have lost their independence with the downfall of the lordship of the Isles in 1494 and the remainder of their local freedom in 1746. And it was Somerled that initiated the downfall.

The Orkneys and Shetlands, which are akin to us, were pledged as securities for the dowry of Princess Margaret of Denmark in 1468. They were then entirely Norse in language and law, and their institutions were respected by the kings of Scotland until 1564. Then came a period of exploitation and oppression by Scotland that ended only with the passage of the Crofters' Act as late as 1886—the Magna Carta alike of the Western Highlands and Islands and the Shetlands and Orkneys. These islands had to endure misgovernment for far longer than the Highlands and Islands, but they were spared, at any rate, the depopulation of the Highland Clearances.

CHAPTER II

*Oh, lament for the days that are past and gone,
When the sun of glory bright
On the fairest Isle of the ocean shone
With Freedom's holy light ;
When the golden ship on a field of red
Beamed forth on the flag of the free,
And the King of the Green Land bowed his head
To the King of the Ocean Sea.*

—Prof. ED. FORBES.

THE HERITAGE OF THE VIKINGS

IT is of interest to note the beginnings and mark the progress and the consequences of any great historical movement like the migration of the Norsemen to the British Isles. It has already been shown that the true Viking Age began in the beginning of the ninth century. The hope of plunder was originally the chief motive: a mixture of raiding and trading. From Trondhjem to Scotland was only two days' sail. The summer was chosen for their excursions, and *sumarlidi*, 'summer-sailor,' was synonymous with 'pirate.' New adventures, new fields and more spoiling was the salt of life to them.

There were two phases. In the first the islands and the coast of Scotland and Ireland were fiercely devastated, with Man used as a stepping-off place. The second phase developed through Harald Fairhair's ambition to become supreme king in Norway, which created dissatisfaction among the princes and jarls throughout south-western Norway. It was from this area that a nobler type of emigrant succeeded the casual adventurer; and it was chiefly from thence that the Viking settler came. These consolidated the settlements begun by the humbler folk, and it was out of these that the Kingdom of Man and the Isles eventually grew. The true unit was not the land area, but the sea. The sea was the highway. Intercourse between Man and the Irish and Scottish coasts was carried on with comparative ease.

There is a saying that the country is happy which has no history. It is certainly true that Man, which has recorded history long over a thousand years, has experienced during that period fierce struggles with nature, on land and on sea, with tranquil

pastoral intervals, religious missionary zeal, the fear of stronger neighbours, warlike terrors, bitter struggles for national and economic existence, perilous adventures in trading, and has suffered, even down to recent times, oppressions by powerful neighbours. But throughout these varied vicissitudes, it has continued to preserve a measure of national self-respect and independence. This fact that in blood we are half Celtic and half Norse may have had something to do with our ability to overcome our troubles and our perils.

THE GALL-GAEL OF MAN AND THE ISLES

Students will have noticed that the Danes were, in the Viking time, called *Dhoo-Gael*, 'Black Foreigners,' while the Norwegians were called *Fin-Gael*, 'Fair Strangers.' It has usually been supposed that this was a distinction made on account of a difference in complexion and colour of the hair in the two races. But the Danes were not dark, but fair and ruddy, as were the Norwegians. The reason probably is that the Danes were so called on account of the dark metal coats of mail they wore. The personal names Dougal and Fingal arose from the distinction.

The people of Man and of the Isles in these times were said to belong to the *Innsi-Gael*, or *Gall-Gael*, the name used exclusively to denote the race springing from intermarriages between people of the two nations, after Man and the Isles became largely inhabited by the Norse.

WHAT HIGHLAND LIFE OWES TO MAN AND THE ISLES

The influence of the union of the Norse and the Gaels through the close contact between Man and the Sudreys was far-reaching. The union of the two peoples and their civilizations was responsible for the birth of what is called 'Highland' culture. The significance of this fact can hardly be over-stressed since most historians—and Scottish ones in particular—have ignored it altogether. 'Highland culture' developed mainly in the Sudreys and the adjacent 'nesses' and glens of the western coast of Scotland where the Norsemen settled, and not in the sparsely-inhabited interior.

The 'Highland' is essentially a Gall-Gael culture, and some of its most individual features will be found to be of Norse-Manx origin. It is by no means insignificant that two of the principal families, the MacLeods and the MacDonalds of the Isles, are descended from our Royal families. On the other hand, the pure survival of Gaelic features such as the language is entirely typical of a mixed culture: certain characteristics, inherited from both the Galls and Gaels, are handed down practically unchanged.

THE BUILDING-UP OF OUR PLACE-NAMES

The bulk of our place-names, according to Marstrander and Kneen, belong to the period subsequent to Norse times. This raises a debatable point; did the Norsemen rename the natural features? Possibly the truth is that the Island was so sparsely populated owing to the unwelcome attention of the earlier Norse immigrants that much of the country would be nameless, and would perforce have to be renamed. When the Norsemen settled in any part containing a Gaelic population, it is possible that they may have adopted the Gaelic names in use, but there is little evidence that this occurred; a few names however, survive which indicate bilinguality in the 11th and 12th centuries.

We have many names, not only round the coast, but in the remotest inland spots, showing how thorough was the Norse influence. Irishmen called the Manx people *Gall-Gael*, who spoke Gaelic and Norwegian. We have a singular confirmation of this bilinguality in many place-names. Thus we find the mountain with the Norwegian name Sartfell and a farm on its slope called Cronk Doo, both 'Black Hill.' And in the parish of Rushen we have two farm names adjoining each other, Kentraugh and Strandhall, both meaning 'Strand end.'

Marstrander has pointed out that of the 178 Treen names written in our earliest archives, 118 are Norse and only 58 Gaelic. The lowland and best farms were held by the chieftains. When a farm, in course of time, was partitioned into several smaller farms, it often became a village. We have several such *By*-farms which became villages of this type—Sulby, Dalby, Crosby, and Colby. For instance Sulby had as many as thirty-eight families in the

sixteenth century. Other *By*-names were Scholaby, Kirkby (Kirby), Grenaby, Raby, Regaby. Others have the *By*, ('farm'), prefixed, showing Gaelic influence, such as *Billown*, *Begoade*, and *Bemahague*.

The vocabulary of the Manx language has been enriched in no small degree with words bequeathed to it by the seafarers from the Northlands. A very familiar coast name termination is 'wick,' which occurs no less than thirty times around the coast. A *vik* means a creek or bay, as in *Soderick*, *Garwick*, *Greenwik*, *Fleshwick*, and *Perwick*, all named on account of the creeks being frequented by the Norsemen, who were called *Vikings*, or '*wiking*' as the Norsemen pronounced it.

Ramsey was called, in *The Chronicle*, *Ramsa*, from the Norwegian *Hramns-á*, meaning 'the Raven's river.' This river is the boundary between *Lezayre* and *Maughold*. Ramsey Bay was to the Norsemen the most important landing place, for, when the tide was in, the longships could run far inland up the *Sulby* river. Next to Ramsey came *Peel Bay*, on account of the importance of *St. Patrick's Isle* fortress; *Holm-tún* as it was called.

The most used bay, however, was what is now called *Derbyhaven*. Its oldest name was *Comsary* from the Gaelic *Camus ny Ree*, 'the Bay of the Kings.' When the Norsemen came they called it *Rognald's vagr*, or 'Reginald's Bay.' It is undoubtedly the memory of King *Reginald* (1187-1228) that is preserved in the present *Ronaldsway*. He dwelt at *Castle Rushen*, and probably built the old chapel which afterwards became the *Academy*.

When the *Derbys* became *Lords of Man*, the port became *Derbyhaven*. Thus we have three distinct names bearing the impress of royalty: the Gaelic *Camus ny Ree*, 'the Royal bay,' the Norse *Rognald's vagr*, 'King Reginald's Bay'; and *Derby Haven*, after the *Earls of Derby*. Why was *Derby Haven* a royal port? The answer is that it was the gateway to the *Castle of Rushen*. In Norse times there was a *tarbert* across the narrow neck of *Langness*, providing access to the inner and safe waters of *Castletown Bay*, as the entrance to the latter was dangerous, as it is to this day; while on the other hand *Derbyhaven* is one of our most natural harbours. A *tarbert* means a narrow isthmus,

where the flat-bottomed galleys of the Norsemen could easily be dragged over, and launched on the other side, and rowed then in safety to the Castle of Rushen. Guarding the southern entrance to Derbyhaven is the little island of *Inis Michel*, or St. Michael's Island, now called Fort Island, after the fort built there by the Seventh Earl of Derby about 1640, but near by is the site of a much earlier fortress. The name of the peninsula, Langness, is Norse, meaning Long Nose.

Our Norse place-names often illustrate a wealth of past history. The ancestral family farm of our Norse ancestors with its place of worship, often raised on a Celtic site and the saint's name duly preserved, reflects as in a mirror an old-world society with its various strata of aristocrats, freemen and thralls—a society which with its admixture of Celtic blood has become the basis of the nation.

HOW OUR PERSONAL NAMES HAVE BEEN AFFECTED

The best authorities are of the opinion that family names in the British Isles were first fixed in Ireland. The great bulk of the old Irish patronymics were assumed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. O-surnames—meaning derived from the grandfather—are among the oldest in Ireland; in our records we have only a few, *i.e.*, O Fayle, O Morgan, O Barron, O Lyn, O Moore, and O Quyllan. The period at which Manx patronymics were crystallized can only be approximately determined. We have in the *Chronicle* the names of chieftains (*principes*), Macmarus in 1098, Maclotlen 1166, Thorfin 1150, Mackerthac 1238, Mactoryn 1293, Macdowal 1313, Macoter 1334.

Marstrander holds that our Runic crosses of the tenth to the thirteenth century entirely refute the view so often put forward that the Norwegians decimated the Gaelic population. On the contrary they testify to the most intimate and peaceful relations. Of the forty personal names which occur on these crosses, twenty-nine are Norwegian and eleven Gaelic. Many are hybrid names, so that it is almost impossible to judge whether a family is of Gaelic or Norse descent. Here are some which are assumed to be Norse: Callow, Caley and Cowley from Mac Olaf; Casement from Mac Asmund; Castell from Mac Asketil; Christian from Mac Kristin

(this was a by-name used by the pagan Norsemen to describe the converts to Christianity); Corkill from Mac Thorketil; Cormode from Mac Thormod; Corrin from Mac Thorfinn; Cottier from Mac Oter; Corlett from Mac Thorliot; Costain from Mac Thorstein; Crennell from Mac Reginald; Shimmin from Sigmund; Kinnish from Mac Engus; Cooil from Mac Dugall; Callan and Allan from Mac Alan; Kneale from Mac Nel; Kerruish from Mac Fergus.

Many of these surnames are of royal origin, borne by descendants of our kings and princes and their connections.

One of the most interesting in this list is Corlett. The name from which it was derived was Thorliot, found on several monuments. Prefixed by *Mac* it eventually became Mac Corleod, and finally Corlett. Early in the period of the existence of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles one branch of this family emigrated to Dunvegan in Skye, and another to Lewis. There the name was abbreviated to Mac Leod, the prefix Thor being left out. They claim they descend from Olaf II. Proof of this connection with Man is the fact that both the MacLeods quarter the Manx Three Legs and also the same motto.

While Manx names were well established at the beginning of the 15th century, most Scottish surnames did not become common in the country until the 16th and 17th centuries; the oldest Highland surnames as Mac Dougall and Mac Donald date from the 13th century. In regard to Wales, surnames were of comparatively late introduction, say until the 16th or 17th century. The same might be said of England generally.

PERSONAL NAMES

Students of our personal names will be interested to know that people possessing patronymics of a clerical nature were often associated with Church lands and chapels in early Christian times; and in many cases they continued for hundreds of years in their original holdings. For instance the Treen marking the eastern boundary of the Maughold Church lands has the significant name of Ballatersyn, which means 'the farm of the cross or crozier.' The land would, of course, be freehold, the tenants having the responsibility of the custody of St. Maughold's Staff,

which has been referred to on p. 93. Our earliest record of the holders of the Treen is that they were of the McCristen family, one Duncan and the other Gilcrist.

In the same Treen of Ballatersyn is the quarterland of Ballakilly, 'the farm of the Keeill,' of which portions were held in 1511 by a McJoghen (Joughin) and by a McHelly (Kelly). The former comes from 'the son of the deacon,' and it is likely the latter comes from 'the son of the keeper of the keeill.' It is significant that the McHellys were in 1511-15 holders of land in or adjoining no less than seven Treens in other parishes in which a chapel existed; the McJoghens four; and the Clerks (Cleragh) five.

THE PERSONAL NAME 'ORRY' IN PLACE-NAMES

The 'King Orry' of ancient tradition can hardly have been Godred Crovan whose advent was in 1079. The Gaelic form of Godred was pronounced Gorree; it could not lose its initial G, unless it was influenced by the preceding word 'King.' We have evidence, however, that a prominent figure of the name of Orry really existed. The northside story is that when Orry came to Man he landed at the Lhen on a bright starry night. Those who gathered on the shore asked him whence he had come, and pointing upwards to the Milky Way, he said, 'Yonder is the road whence I came, and along that star-spangled dome is the way that leads to my country.' Ever since that time the Milky Way has been called in Manx *Raad mooar Ree Orry*, or 'the great road of King Orry.'

There must have been a dominating figure in the obscure period at the end of the tenth century, called King Orry. The name became part of the important Treen in Kirk Michael, alongside Bishopscourt, that of Orrysdale; and also of an ancient quarterland named Orestal in the parish of Kirk Christ Rushen. A Day Watch was held in 1627 on a hill of a Kirk Patrick farm, above Dalby, called Orestal.

These three place-names are all recorded in our archives without the initial G. And, finally, there is an Orrestad, which is equivalent to our Orestal, in Norway.



Plate 9.

Tynwald in 1774. From an original painting by Godfrey in the Manx Museum. The view is taken from the East.

[See page 103]

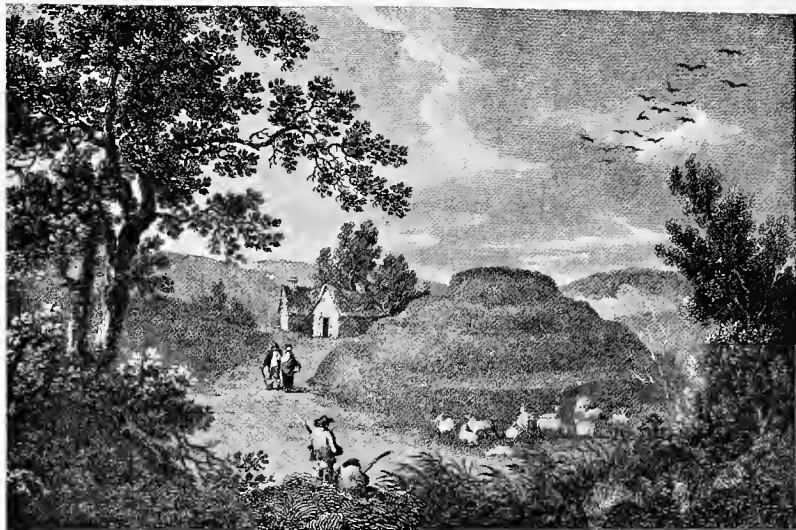


Plate 10A.

From a sketch of Tynwald made in 1780 by George Cooke. This view is from the West, showing the Old Chapel in the distance.

[See page 103]

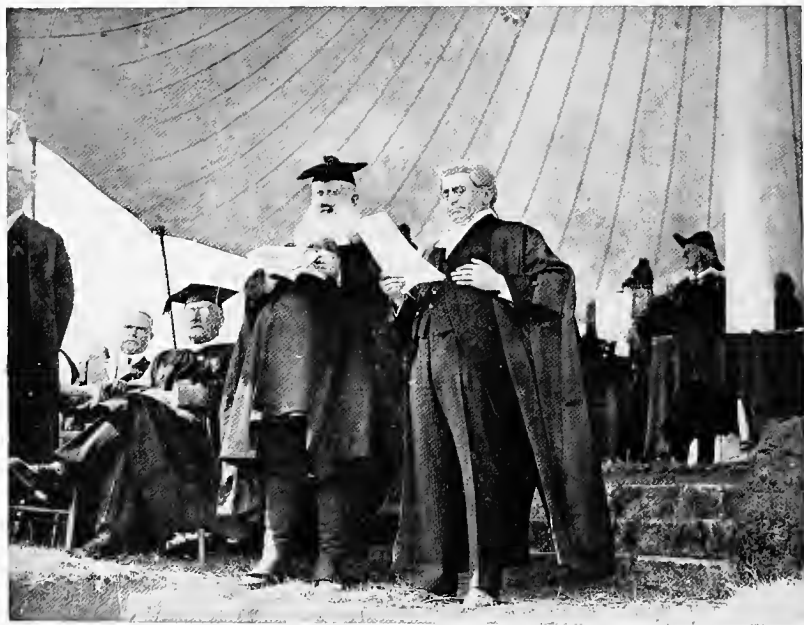


Plate 10B.

The Tynwald Ceremony in 1937, showing Archdeacon Kewley and First Deemster Farrant reading the Laws in Manx and English.

[See page 103]

CHAPTER 12

*Once on the top of TYNWALD'S formal mound
(Still marked with green turf's circles narrowing
Stage above stage) would sit this Island's King,
The laws to promulgate, enrobed and crowned ;
While, compassing the little mound around
Degrees and orders stood, each under each.*

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH
(written when on a visit in 1833.)

THE AL-THING : THE GREATEST GIFT OF THE VIKINGS

TYNWALD is the greatest monument that the Norsemen have left us. The ceremony which is seen at *Cronk y Keeill Eoin*, 'the Mound of the Church of St. John,' on each Midsummer Day, is an event of no common interest from whatever point we contemplate it. Long over a thousand years have passed since 'the Worthiest of the Land' first met at the Tynwald to consider with the King and his Law-men the affairs of the nation, while the great body of the people stood around and signified their assent or dissent by voice and clash of arms. Over a thousand years ago the *Toshee*, or chiefs, called in the *Chronicle* by the Latin titles *Optimates*, *Nobiles*, and *Principes Insularum*, were the source of all political authority and power. They elected their kings and deposed them at pleasure. They obeyed them implicitly in war, because they were their own choice, and because they trusted them ; and in times of peace they rendered them the respect due to their actions and characters. But they carried themselves as free men with a high spirit, and their obedience was neither abject nor servile.

The first parliament of England was called by Simon de Montfort in 1265, but whatever legislative assemblies or Althings may have been set up by the Vikings in England in the ninth century, they were content to surrender them to the English within two or three generations. On the other hand the Royal line of Man retained, with interruptions, its often precarious sway over the archipelago of the Isles for three centuries, and outlasted the great families of all the other Viking states in the west.

Tynwald must have had something to do with this continuity : its political astuteness, besides the prowess of the kings and princes

and chieftains, is implied by this achievement. It is worthy of note that in the height of the Middle Ages the Manx Kings still bore something of the proud spirit and ability of the great leaders of early Viking times. Our national assembly was called the *Thing*, a word which forms the first part of the term Tynwald. The second half is Norse for 'field' or meeting place; so that Tynwald (or *Thingwald*) was originally the place where the assembly of freemen met.

Before the present church of St. John was built in 1849, an old chapel existed of peculiar architecture, the chief feature of which was that it was built in the form of an equal-limbed cross within a more or less circular grass-covered earthen fence, and roughly similar to the fence surrounding the mound. So that there were two earthen circles, one to the east and one to the west, connected by a rush-strewn pathway.

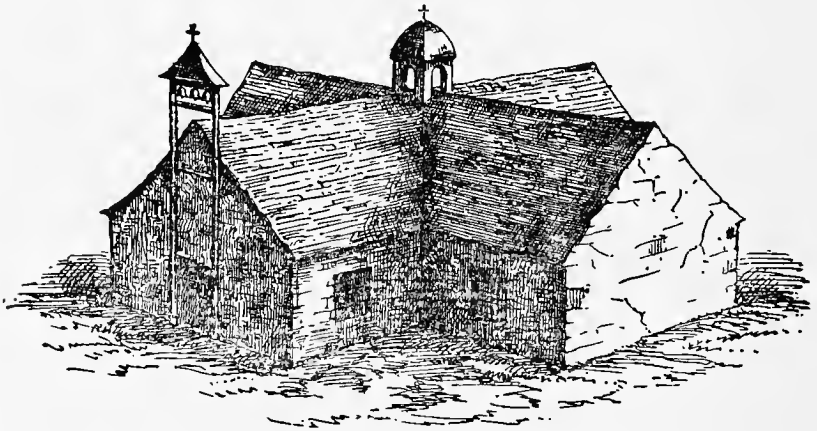


FIG. 28. The Old Church, St. John's.

St. John's Old Church before it was taken down in 1847, taken from Slieauwhallian Beg, in the south.

When the observant George Borrow visited Tynwald in 1855 he was much impressed by the two circles connected by the pathway. In his diary, 'written on the top of the Tynwald the 3rd September, 1855,' he recorded: 'I never saw anything more beautiful than the double cross. The Hill on the West and the Church on the East—what a union of Divine and human law.'

When the walls of the old chapel were taken down in 1848, there was discovered in the south wall a broken shaft of a Runic cross-slab of a date about 950. It had carved on it the well-known ring-chain pattern associated with the Norse period. An illustration of the pattern will be found on page 44.

This implies that there had been an even earlier chapel on the site used in connection with the ceremony on the hill. Hill and Temple appeared to be, as it were, twins. Discussions and enactments of laws took place in the Temple, but the proclamations and inaugurations took place on the Hill in the presence of the people.

Our Tynwald is said to be composed of earth taken from all the parishes, but it is almost certain to have been erected upon a Bronze Age site. The Hill is circular in form, and consists of four terraces, the lowest of which is eight feet broad, the next six feet, the third four feet, and the topmost six feet, each terrace being three feet high. To the west of the mound is an ancient track called *Follagh y Vannin* going to the north. When widening this track there was exposed a burial cist of Late Bronze Age.

It was on Midsummer Day that Manannan, the mythical ruler of Man, received his tribute of rushes, and it is curious that the pathway leading from the chapel to the hill is still on these days, covered with rushes supplied by a farm near by, which was held in olden times on the tenure of doing this service.

COMPARISON WITH THE ICELANDIC AL-THING

According to Dr. Vigfusson our Tynwald and the Icelandic *Al-Thing* correspond in very many points. While we claim that our assembly is the model upon which the Icelandic one is based, and is older by perhaps half a century, Iceland had its thousandth anniversary in 1930. Philip Kermode, our foremost Icelandic scholar, had the honour of being present by invitation, and on the morning of his death, a message came announcing that the Government of Iceland had made him a Knight of the Order of the Falcon. The Icelandic *Al-Thing* did not exist continuously like ours; it was abolished by Denmark in 1800, and was only re-established forty years ago.

Our Tynwald is equal to the Icelandic *Log-borg*, 'the law hill.' The House of Keys answers to the Icelandic *Log-retta*, 'the

Court.' Our chapel corresponds to the *Temple* of heathen days. The Midsummer Day procession answers to the Icelandic *Logbergis-ganga*, 'the procession to the law-hill.' The Deemsters answer to the Icelandic *Lag-man*, 'law-man.'

To judge from the *Al-Thing* in Iceland, the Temple at St. John's consisted of a pillared hall with fires burning along the centre. At the end was a partition sufficiently low to give a view of the sanctuary beyond, with its iron-bound altar, on which lay the bracelet used for the swearing of oaths, and with the images of Thor and Odin and other gods around.*

After the religious rites had been completed, the king, chiefs, and chosen men held Court in the Hall, seated on benches ranged along the walls, the high-seat of the king conspicuous with its carved posts. Having discussed the business before them, and come to decisions, they moved in procession to the sacred Hill. There the chief Lawman, or Deemster, recited the ancient law, and announced proposed enactments to the whole assembly for their approval.

The Lord sat in royal state on the top of the hill, facing the east, his sword held point upward before him. His barons (of whom the Bishop alone survives) were beside him. Before him sat the Deemsters and high Officers. On the platforms below were the Four and Twenty, the clergy, and, lastly, the esquires and yeomen, represented since the sixteenth century by the parish captains. Outside the fenced enclosure were gathered the commoners of Man. Near the Lord stood three 'Clarks' in white surplices bearing the Three Relics of Man. What these venerated objects were no one knows. But it is likely that two of them were the Staffs of St. Patrick and of St. Maughold, the only trace of which is now to be found in the two estates called 'Staff-land' in the respective parishes of Patrick and Maughold.

RECORDS OF OTHER MOOT HILLS

Besides the revered Tynwald at *Cronk y Keeill Eoin*, St. John's, we have a record of two others, one in Kirk Michael in the sheading of Michael, and the other in Kirk Braddan, in the

* Pamphlet on St. John's by D. Craine, 1949.

sheading of Middle. It has been suggested that the former was for the North and the latter for the South. In 1422, according to our records, an open-air assembly was held 'at Kirk Michael upon the Hill of Reneurling on Tuesday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew' (24th August, locally called *Laa'l Parlane*).

This is the only record of a Tynwald here. It was at this court that Hawley McIssacke with his men 'feloniously rose upon John Walton the Governor, and did misuse his men in Kirk Michael Church and churchyard.' It must have been a serious insurrection, for McIssacke was sentenced 'to be drawne with Horses, and after, hanged and headed.'

What is presumed to be the site of the Reneurling Tynwald is the hill called Cronk Urley on the north side of the road from Michael to Castletown, a mile south-east of the parish church. It is of purely natural formation without any evidence of human treatment. There is little about it which would lead one to suppose it to have been used as a national place of assembly.

Some scholars do not think this is really the hill mentioned in the statutes; indeed the context renders it improbable. It is more likely to have been *Cronk y Croghee*, on the treen of Nerlogh, at Whitehouse, which is very close to the Church of Kirk Michael, in which the governor and his men took refuge. The name occurs in the Bull dated 1231 of Pope Gregory IX as *Knok Croker*, meaning 'the hill of hanging.' It is a Bronze Age site, urns having been found there. Unfortunately the greater part of the summit of the mound was taken away in 1889 by the owner. Miss A. M. Crellin of Orrysdale, near by, says that the entire remains of the tumulus had been carted away, disclosing six cinerary urns.

'Reneurling' is written but once in our ancient records, and may easily have been distorted in later times. The Treen name on which stands Cronk y Croghee, in 1515 was spelt 'Nerlough,' which is not far removed from that of 'Reneurling' given in the records. The treen has a strategic position. Kneen suggests that the Irish *Urlaidhe* occurs in the name meaning 'the place of encounter—strangely like Knock y Troddan, 'hill of the contest,' in Braddan, which is also suggested to be a moot-hill.

THE KEEILL ABBAN MOOT HILL

In the statute book there is a record, under date 1429, of a Tynwald having taken place at 'Killabane,' in the north of Kirk Braddan parish, presumably on St. Abban's Day (March 16th). One of the decisions promulgated at Killabane was 'that all disputes shall be determined by God and the country and not by prowess.' The site is believed to be in the third field north of an ancient ecclesiastical edifice once called Keeill Abban, and the Manx Museum Trustees have marked the spot by the erection of a ring of stones. This dedication to St. Abban carries us back to a period anterior to the coming of the Norsemen, and it is probable that the usage of the site for ceremonial purposes predates Christianity itself.

Kelly, the compiler of the *Manx Dictionary*, who was born at Algare, near by, says 'the seats of the twenty-four Keys are still pointed out.' But there is no evidence of this today. The site of this Tynwald was on the brow of the lower slope of the mountain of Carraghyn, and giving a glorious view of the valleys of the two Baldwins below. It also adjoins the ancient *Via Regia*, 'the royal way,' which in Norse times commenced at Scacafel (Skyhill) and finished at Castle Rushen. Baldwin Fair, on Ash Wednesday, which was held on the old Tynwald site, continued up to 1834. The modern St. Luke's Chapel was built in 1836 upon the site of the early keeill dedicated to St. Abban.

THE SPIRIT OF TYNWALD

The twentieth century has begotten the critic ; and the Manxman who loves to look upon Tynwald as the outward and visible sign of his country's independence, has sometimes had to resent the supercilious criticism of the stranger. So many people think that we ought to be ever copying England and accepting laws ready-made by its parliament.

The Isle of Man must not, as T. E. Brown says, 'become lost in the empire's mass.' Man is a distinct, if little, nation, self-reliant, and cultured, we hope, with its own language and traditions, a country with its own soul. We get wonderful material in the 'amber of history' at our Tynwald. Its simple but dignified pageantry, hoary with age, but living in sentiment, speaks to us, we hope, as it did to our forefathers.

There are those who wish to 'improve' upon the details of the ceremony, by introducing commentaries on the history and conduct of the pageant ; but if this sort of thing is done it should be done only by competent and discreet people. The ceremony is not for the display and glorification of robed and uniformed dignitaries out of harmony with ancient custom, nor even for showmanship or publicity value. Our Tynwald should always be conducted with simplicity and propriety. It is the embodiment of our nationhood, and tampering with its simple dignity should not be allowed. A hundred years ago, one of the greatest of Continental savants, Professor Worsaae of Denmark wrote these inspiring words :

It is indeed highly remarkable that the last remains of the old Scandinavian *Thing* which, for the protection of public liberty, was held in the open air, in the presence of the assembled people, and conducted by the people's chiefs and representatives, are to be met with, not in the North itself, but in a little island far towards the west. The history of the Manx *Thing* Court remarkably illustrates the spirit of freedom and the political ability which animated the men who in ancient times emigrated from Norway.

We Manx people have reason to thank our ancestors, through whose efforts we have been enabled to retain throughout the centuries our organised separate national existence as embodied in our Tynwald.

The oldest known form of fencing Tynwald was as follows :—

I doe fence the King of Man and his Officers, that noe manner of man do brawle or quarrell, nor molest the audience, lying, leaning, or sitting, and to show their accord, and answer when they are called, by lycense of the King of Man and his Officers. I doe witness to the whole audience that this Court is fenced.

Seventy years ago, the Coroner of Glenfaba fenced the Court in these terms in the Manx language :—

Ta mee cur yn Whail fo harey, ayns ennym Ree Vannin, nagh jean pagh erbee troiddey, baggyrt, ny boiranys, agh dy jean dy chooilley pagh freggyrt tra t'eh er ny eam. Ta mee cur recortys er yn eanish dy vel yn Whail fo harey.

CHAPTER I 3

*Come round us, spirits of the dead—
Come to your mist-clad Island home ;
And all a spirit's blessing shed
On your loved dwelling 'mid the foam ;
The glorious host of warriors gone—
They who fought bravely and died well*

—ESTHER NELSON.

THE MANX LIA FAIL, OR STONE OF DESTINY

A MONARCHY under a feudal system was a political machine from which the element of free choice was as far as possible eliminated. A ruler, whether king or lord, ruled by right of primogeniture, where all authority passed to the eldest son, and those subordinate were bound to him and his heirs.

On the other hand, in Celtic law, as well as in Norse law, the ruler was chosen by election from a number of persons eligible by right of birth, and could be deposed by lawful choice. In the Early Celtic period in Ireland, and almost certainly in Man, Kingship was heritable. All the 'true family,' of the reigning king or *jarroo-firrinagh*, as it was spoken in the Manx tongue, became potential heirs to the kingship and capable of succession. When the king died the vacancy was filled by election.

THE TANIST INAUGURATION STONE

Our Tynwald was not originally a place of legislation ; it was a place of promulgation and inauguration of the king or of the ruling chieftains. On the place of inauguration was the Tanist stone. Tanistry was both the Celtic and the Norse mode of tenure according to which the king or chieftain was chosen from the family. For instance Tullyhogue, in County Tyrone in Ulster, was the place of the inauguration of the O'Neills ; and the rock of Donne, in Donegal, the place of the inauguration of the O'Donnells. The rite lapsed in Ireland under James I in the sixteenth century. The Tanist was always inaugurated during the king's or chieftain's lifetime. He was not always the king's eldest son, but a member of the family within a defined degree. In Queen Elizabeth's time, when the O'Neill power was suppressed, the English soldiery were ordered to break in pieces the Tanist stone at Tullyhogue.



Plate 11

The Mound of Castleward, believed to have been a Mót Hill.

[See page 113]



Plate 12.

The 'Swearing Stone' found at Castleward Earthwork 100 years ago.
May have been used as an Inauguration Stone.

[See page 114]

That our own Tynwald mound was both the place of inauguration of the Kings of Man, and that of the Tanist, on which the heir-apparent was inaugurated, may be inferred from two conspicuous incidents in connection with the Scropes and the Stanleys on their becoming Kings of Man.

We have a record of a Tynwald held at St. John's in 1392, the year Sir William Scrope became King of Man by purchase of the regality from William de Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury. On that occasion Sir William Scrope was not only proclaimed and accepted as sovereign, but also his younger brother Sir Stephen le Scrope, the heir, was accepted as successor.

Again in 1505 when the first Sir John Stanley was proclaimed king, his son, the second Sir John, was acknowledged as heir-apparent by the barons, worthiest men and commons. And the *Chronicle* evidently refers to such an instance in the twelfth century :

Godred during his life had appointed Olaf to succeed to the kingdom, for the inheritance belonged to him by right, because he was born of lawful wedlock ; and he had commanded all the people of Man to appoint Olaf king after his own death, and to preserve inviolate their oath of allegiance.

From these instances the Tynwald would appear to have been not only a place of Proclamation of the new king but also the place of Inauguration of the Heir-Apparent ; and this in its essentials was the Tanist system—surviving in the Isle of Man in the fifteenth century.

A SWEARING STONE IN THE OUT-ISLES

There must have been in those far-off times a customary formal ceremony of initiation, or swearing upon a stone, on the part of the chosen one. It is natural to look to the records of the Out-Isles, so closely associated with Man, for any evidence of this custom there. The Macdonalds of the Isles, claiming to be descended from Somerled, son-in-law of Olaf I, King of Man and the Isles, 1103-1153, clung to the custom of what they termed 'the inauguration of the Lordship of the Isles.' The solemn ceremony is described by Martin in his *Description of the Western Isles*, published in 1703. It took place in the islet of Finlaggan, which is in a loch in the isle of Islay. Islay, it will be remembered,

was the chief of the Islay group of the South Isles, which sent four members to Tynwald. (*See page 84.*)

At Finlaggan, says Martin, Macdonald had his Court of Sixteen chieftains, presumably in the open-air.

There was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Macdonald ; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing in this stone ; and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands . . . The Bishop of the Isles and seven priests anointed him king, and a white rod was put in his hand.

Another Macdonald family account says that on the stone was cut ' the tract of a man's foot.' Although the actual Lordship of the Isles had nominally ceased over two hundred years prior to the date at which Martin wrote, yet the custom of his day was in all probability modelled upon the time-honoured ceremony of the crowning of the ancient Lords of the Isles at Tynwald.

The custom of crowning the king upon a stone was recognised by the Scandinavians. ' Near the city of Upsala there is a large stone on the field which they call Morasten. The senators used to meet here to choose and crown the king, who stood on the stone.'

Professor Marstrander states that according to a tenth century MS. a certain Prince is recorded to have sworn an oath, having first placed his foot ' within *the accustomed stone.*' The *Icelandic Saga of Hen Thorir* quotes : ' Herstein the bridegroom leapt up to where there was a certain stone : then he set his one foot upon the stone and spake : This oath I swear hereby that before the Al-thing is over . . . ' etc.

THE TREMOTT ASSEMBLY HILL

Discussing the problem of the Conchan Treen ' Tremott ' (1511), and its modern spelling Tromode, Marstrander says the name means the *Treen-mót*, ' the place where the folk met to discuss their interests.' The only mound which could by any stretch of the imagination be claimed as a possible moot-hill in that or the adjoining parish is the one marked on the Ordnance Plan of 1867 as ' Castleward fort.' Anciently it was called in Manx *Knock y Troddan*, ' hill of the contest.' This place-name

is not now used. In the 1511 Manorial Roll the name of the Treen in which it stands was written Castell ny Ward.

The name is from the same root as the Norse *Mót*, 'a meeting,' which we find in the Treen name Tremott. To talk of a scheme being mooted has the same meaning. The Manx Gaelic translation would be *Cashtal yn Vód* 'the castle of the assembly place.'

The earthwork has never been examined by archæologists, but it is believed to be, like the hill at St. John's, of the Bronze Age. There is a story that while Tromode men were once looking for the traditional 'crock of goold' a cinerary urn was taken from it. The story was told to the writer in 1895 by the manager of the sailcloth factory near by. John Kaneen, the owner of the farm, told the writer that in ploughing-time he had found in the field below the mound what appeared to be stone graves, probably Early Christian.

Castleward is the most interesting ancient monument in the sheadings of Middle or Garff. As a *Thing-mote* it is imposing, and far more primitive-looking than that at St. John's. If Marstrander is right in assuming that Tremott Treen got its name from its association with a *Mót* hill, Castleward is in all probability its site. The fact that it is in Kirk Braddan and not in Conchan parish would make no difference at the period of its use. G. H. Wood, a local poet, wrote in 1827 :

'Tis said that native chiefs, in olden time,
Have oft assembled here their chosen bands.

THE FINDING OF AN INAUGURATION OR SWEARING STONE

The absence of any detailed information of the ritual observed locally in the ceremony of the swearing-in of the new king or lord has already been remarked upon. There must, however, have been, on such occasions, a prescribed sacred rite, as we know was the case in the Out-Isles.

The finding of what may reasonably be called an 'inauguration' or 'swearing' stone at Castleward not only adds support to the belief that it was a *mót*, but also that it was the actual place of the swearing-in of the king or lord. The stone is here illustrated. It was found, so John Kaneen, the owner, told the

writer, over a hundred years ago by Colonel Mark Wilks of Kirby, who had been the landlord of the farm from 1828. He had bought the property from Paule Gellen, in whose family it had been for upwards of three centuries. Wilks did not take the stone to his residence at Kirby, but left it on a sod fence close to the site of the keeill, near the farm street. It was for many years used by the Kaneens to give 'feed' to the poultry. It was

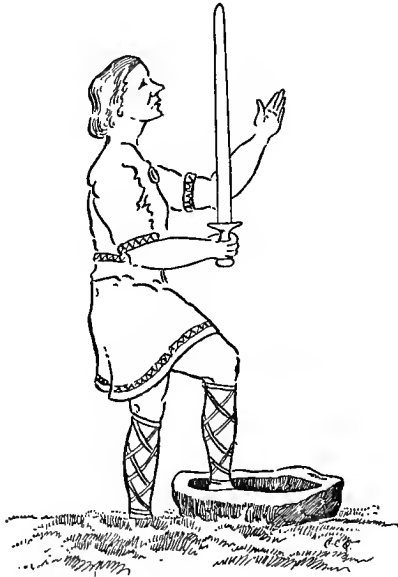


FIG. 29

In all probability the Castleward 'Swearing Stone' was used in this manner in the Inauguration Ceremony.

re-discovered by the writer in 1916, and after the founding of the Manx Museum, it was placed there. On examining it for the first time, Director Philip Kermode said: 'It looks very like a swearing stone,' and it was so labelled. In his description he recorded it as having been

patiently hollowed out of a well-chosen boulder of basalt. Its length is twenty-four inches by ten to thirteen inches wide and eight to nine inches high. The cavity is carefully carved out, and has all the appearance of having been formed to comfortably take a human right foot. The space for the foot is eighteen inches long

by six-and-a-half inches wide, and is smoothly etched by the carver to a depth of three-and-a-half inches.

Its date, according to Kermodé, is probably the eleventh century.

More than one British archæologist of repute has studied and admired the object. One, Professor McAlister of Dublin University, after examining the chiselling, said, ' You have obviously a counterpart of the famous *Lia Fail*, or ' Stone of Destiny,' on which the *Ard Ree*, or ' High King ' of Ireland stood when he was being crowned.* But your example is certainly more fitting and more impressive than the one that came from Scone.'

DESCRIPTION OF CASTLEWARD EARTHWORK

Little has been printed about Castleward earthwork. It was erected upon a natural rock base, the western side of which is precipitous. Train in his History, published in 1845, says it is ' one of the most entire remains of a Norwegian station that has reached our times ' and he prints a plan of the face and summit of the mound (*Fig. 30*). It shows on the summit a more or less circular flat area with an earthen protective wall, and below are roomy and well-formed terraces, the whole being enclosed by an earthen fence. There is a distinct series of steps giving access from the meadow below to the summit. These steps face the East like those at the St. John's mound.

Dr. Oliver, the editor of some of the Manx Society volumes, wrote a letter to the Ordnance Surveyor in 1867, stating it to be ' the remains of a Cromwellian fort, and that large stone cannon balls had been picked up in the vicinity.' A note by the Ordnance officer adds that tradition asserts that it was built by Fairfax in Cromwell's day.

There is not a shred of corroboration in history to support either of these opinions. We know it could never have been a place of

* *Lia Fail*. This was the ' Stone of Destiny ' on which the Irish Kings stood at their coronation. It was removed by Fergus, a Scottish king (513) from Ireland to Dunstaffnage ; by Kenneth II to Scone (840) ; and by Edward I, to London (1296). It now forms a part of the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey.

[It ought to be recorded that since this note was written, the stone was stolen from its place in the Abbey on Christmas Day, 1950. Four months afterwards it was mysteriously returned.]

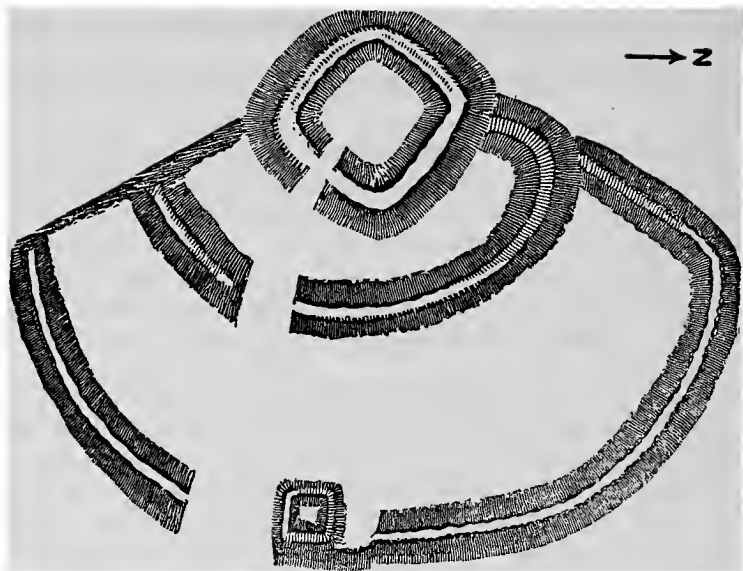


FIG. 30. Plan in Train's History, 1845.

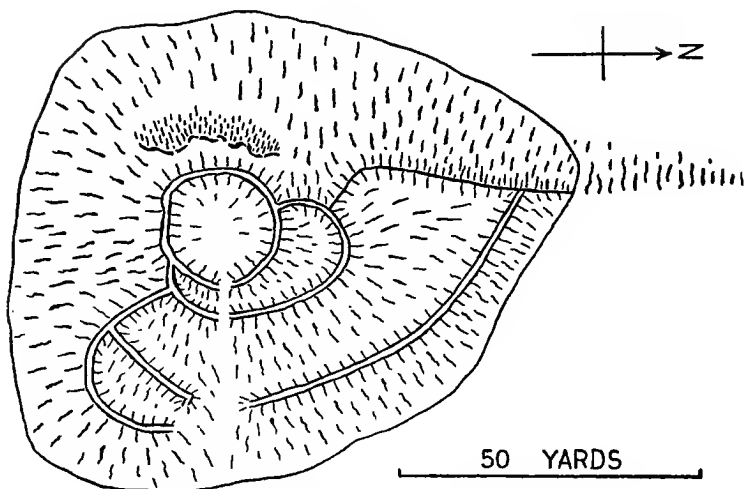


FIG. 31. Ordnance Survey Plan of 1869.

defence in historic times. The fact that it is overlooked by the near-by ridge to the west would make it untenable.

On the other hand it lies snugly folded in a secluded valley, sheltered by the hills around and embraced by the parish boundary river flowing by. It could not have been of military service in the time of bows and arrows, still less in the middle ages, when missiles could be thrown from the higher land around.

Fig. 31 is based on that prepared in 1869 by Captain Melville of the Ordnance Survey, twenty-four years after Train. Both figures roughly correspond, and go to prove the importance of its human treatment for some definite purpose we have not yet discovered.

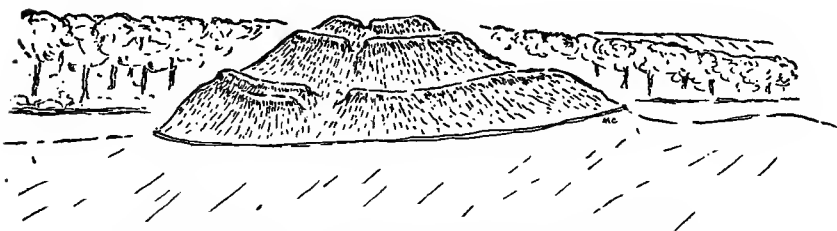


FIG. 32. Sketch showing the three terraces and the entrance from the East, as seen today.

Fig. 32 gives only a partial sketch of the outline and proportions of the hill. The view is from the east showing the entrance up to the summit. The dignified general appearance and detail of the work have been modified by the presence of trees planted within the last fifty years. Its Manx name *Knock y Troddan*, 'hill of the contest,' is significant. It may have been given to it in the days of long ago, for some outstanding conflict of opinion at the *Thing*; and the occasion may have been marked by a sanguinary result.

It is very possible that in pre-Norse times, before the unification of the Island under one king, there were two governments, the North and the South; each with its own place of inauguration. The St. John's *Thing* may have been that for the north, and, shall we say, Castell ny Ward may have been that for the south. It is worthy of note that in the same quarterland further up the river and not far away can be seen the site of an Early Celtic Christian Keill and burial ground, with its holy well.

CHAPTER 14

*Good now, sit down, and tell me, he that knows,
Why this same strict and most observant Watch
So nightly toils the subject of our land.*

—HAMLET.

THE VIGIL: WATCH AND WARD AND THE CROSH VUSHTA

IN the period between the death of King Magnus in 1265 and the coming of the Stanleys in 1405 covering nearly a century and a half, the Manx people must have had a trying time. There was an anarchic state of administration inherited from the turbulent barons and viceroys of the medieval Kingdom of Man and the Isles. This was certainly the case in the happily brief period of Scottish rule, from 1268 to 1333. Hardship and unrest had increased a hundred fold after the Norse authority had left the Island defenceless under the misgovernance of its nefarious neighbours.

In Norse times there was, of course, universal military service, and all freemen had to bear their share in the protection of their shores. 'Watch and Ward' was then an obligation, both by day and night. The proof of the existence of this defensive organisation is shown in the number of place-names which indicate that there were look-out stations on various points of vantage from which the earliest information of the approach of an enemy could be gained. For example, Cronk y Watch at Pooilvash, Cronk yn Arrey at Cregneash, and Cronk ny Arrey Laa, 'hill of the day watch,' in Rushen, and the same name in Jurby and Bride, 'the Beacons' on Skyhill, and 'The Wart' at Peel. At some of these sites remain the mounds on which the beacon-pyres were raised.

The Watch and Ward was organised parish by parish. The night watch stations in all probability originated from the landing places where the *leidang* ship was searched, the aim being to protect ships against such surprise night attacks as that at Peel in the winter of 1229, when King Ragnvald set fire to the entire Manx fleet.



Plate 13A. Knockaloe, the station for the Day Watch for Patrick and German. Peel Harbour (Holmtown) was the Night Watch Station for German.

[*See page 120*]



Plate 13B. Orestall, Dalby, the station for the Night Watch for Patrick. Both sketches dated 1825.

[*See page 120*]



Plate 14A Laxey Harbour, the station for the Night Watch for Lonan.
[See page 120]



Plate 14B Scacafel (Skyhill), from the Plen of Ballacowle, Lezayre, the station for the Day Watch.

Both sketches dated 1825.

[See page 120]

It is assumed by some writers, including Marstrander, that South and North Barrule (*Wardfell*) were so named because, when beacons were lighted on them, the whole country around would be warned within a few moments. The system was certainly of Norse origin. We are reminded that Jarl Thorfin Sigurdson (d. 1064) ordered a similar watch system in the Orkneys. There was no corresponding system at any time in English history.

At the time of the coming of the first Stanley in 1405, the custom was declared by the Deemsters that it was one of the 'constitutions of old time' that every man had to perform the duties of 'the vigil.'

The Deemsters and the Twenty-Four, in 1417 declared to Sir John Stanley that watch and ward was to be kept 'upon pain of lyfe and lyme; for whosoever faileth any night in his ward, forfeiteth a wether to the warden; and a second night a cowe; and the third night lyfe and lyme to the Lord.'

Throughout our archives there are many references to the necessity of keeping watch. In 1594 the Deemsters and Twenty-Four declare that

'if any party faile, and doe not come to his watch, and the warden do appoint another in his room, to forfeit accordinge to the statute. It is ordered that all watches and wardes upon the ports and coasts of the sea be well and duly kept; and whosoever faileth forfeits all his Goodes and Body at the Lord's will. And if the party be in the place wheratt he should watch, and then after the watch is set doe goe away before the ordinary time without the consent of the warden, then to forfeit body and goodes.'

AN EARLY LIST OF WARDENS OF THE WATCH

The wardens of the watch were chosen from the freeholders. A list of these in 1498 has been extracted by David Craine from *Liber Scacc*, in the Rolls Office. All the parishes except Kirk Marown, which has no seaboard, are included. The parishes are given in the ancient order:

Patrick: Quirk, McQuelyn; *German*: Crosse, Rykeby; *Michael*: Wright (Teare), McAloe (Callow); *Ballaugh*: Corleot, McAloe; *Jurby*: Cayne; *Andreas*: McMartyr, McCurry; *Bride*: McCowle, Goldsmith; *Lezayre*: McKerd (Garrett), McQuark; *Maughold*: McCristen, McCorkell; *Lonan*: McKelly (Kelly), McFaden (Cojeen); *Conchan*: Joyner, McGawne; *Braddan*: McAghton, Gellen; *Sanctan*: McQuyn, McFelis (Quilleash); *Malew*: Moore, Vondy; *Arbory*: Stevenson, Norres; *Rushen*: Nelson, Taylor.

There were three or four watch hills that were considered to be of more importance than others. They were Scacafell (Skyhill) near Ramsey, Knockaloe near Peel, and Bradda. In *Lib. Scacc* 1610, it is recorded that

'Hugh Waterson, late warden of the day watch at Braddoe for taking a reward to supplie ye watch, and sent thither but a boy, who was sent for afterwards to worke : and would have preferred him to swears to ye contrarie, fined 13s. 4d. The watch of the night beginneth at the sun setting and continueth till the sun rising : the watch of the day is from the sun rising unto the sun setting.'

THE EARLIEST LIST OF WATCH-HILLS AND PORTS

It may be that other documents about watch and ward may come to light, but the one dated 1627, found by the author among the Bridge House papers is so far the oldest giving the list of the wardens and the places in each parish where the watches were kept. The list is of sufficient interest to copy, and the map made by Basil Megaw showing the positions of the day and night watches adds to its value (page 121).

The most complete and intelligible account of the system is given by William Blundell, who had the opportunity of observing it during the troubles of civil war in 1648, and his account should be studied. His closing sentence is well worth quoting :

'But in my judgement the strength of the Island doth not soe much consist in its walls of water, castles, forts, watches, etc., as in that I observed the whole Island to bee unanimously united. Every man there is satisfied with that he possesseth : none factious; all willingly and submissively obedient to the Law and to his officers as if all Man were one man !'

According to a document dated 1498 already quoted each parish had its warden, who was no doubt directly responsible to the king or governor for the efficiency of the watch kept within the bounds of his parish and to give the order when the beacons were to be lighted.

It is very likely that the warden would have to act as captain of the armed yeomen force obliged to muster when the beacons were ablaze. It is obvious, if this were so, that the warden was the official who later became known as the captain of the parish.

It is significant that in the 1627 list quoted on p. 122 seven of the wardens were also parish captains. As further evidence of this connection, the Four Parish Horsemen—those aristocratic

THE VIGIL : WATCH AND WARD

WATCH & WARD

hills and ports

A.D. 1627

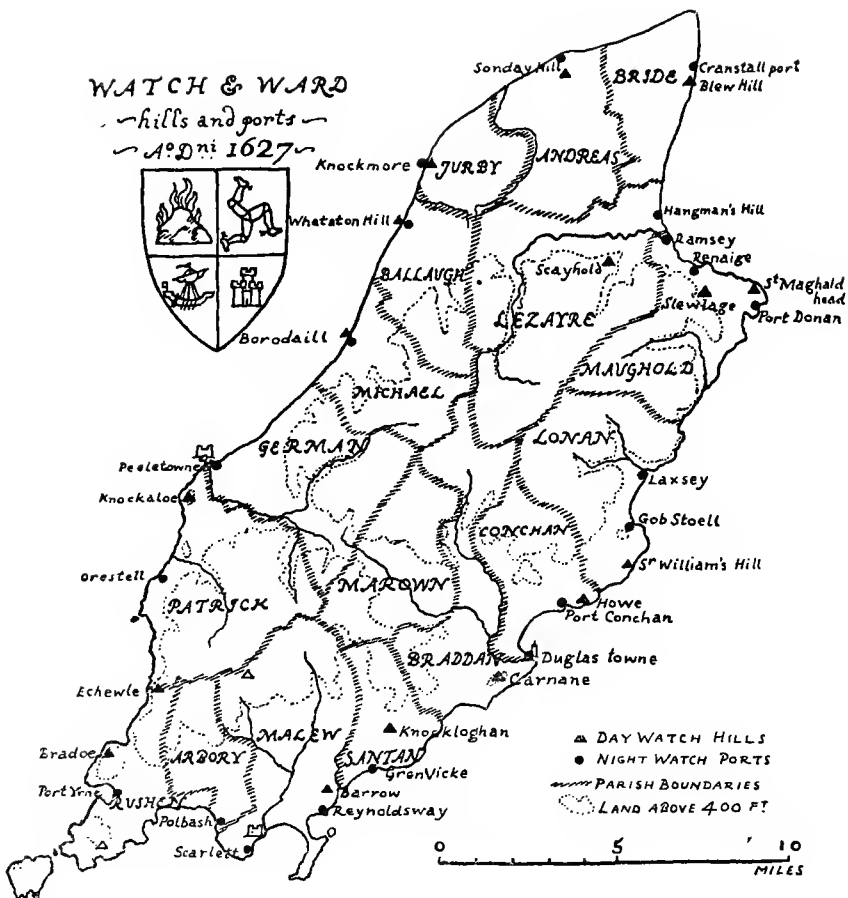


FIG. 33.

Map showing the positions of the Day and Night Watch Stations in 1627. The coat of arms, which shows a beacon hill ablaze, the legs of Man and the galley of the Lord of the Isles, was borne by the family of MacLeod of Cadboll (Cromarty) who claimed to be descended from the Kings of Man and the Isles.

A pfect Remembrance conteynyng all the names of the Wardens both of the Day and Night Watches throughout the Isle of Man together wth the names of evry Pische and Place where the Watches are kept. Ao Dni 1627.

Pishes	Wardens for Day Watch	Hills for Day Watch	Wardens for Night Watch	Hills and Ports for Night Watch
Patr.	Jo: Crosse	Knockaloe	Henry Ratclif	Orestall
German	Wm. Bridson	Knockaloe	Wm. Bridson	Peeletowne
Michaell	Jo: Cayne	Borodaill	Jo: Cannon	Borodaill
Ballal	Sr. Nich: Thompson	Whetston hill	Phill Corleod	Whetston hill
Jurby	Wm. Clarke	Knockmore	Wm. Clarke	Knockemore
Andreas	ffinlo Martin	Sonday hill	ffinlo Martin	Sonday hill
Bryde	Wm. Cowle	Ballihane	David Xpin	(Knock y Doonee)
K: Christ Ayre	Jo: Curghie	Blew hill	(Christian)	Cranstall port
Maghald	Ro: Xptin Jn.	Scayhold	Demster Xpin	Dease-hill
Maghald	Ro: Christin	Slewlage	Ro: Xpin Jn.	Hangman's hill
Lonan	Phill Moore	St. Maghalds head	Ro: Xpin sen.	Renaige
Conchan (Bradán)	Tho: Bancks	Sr Wms hill	Tho: Xpin	Port Donan
Sanctan	Ric Scaresbreck	Howe	Phill Moore	Ramsey
Mallew	Xpher Brew	Carnane	James Kermod	Gob Stoell
Mallew	nil	Knockloghan	Tho: Bancks	Laxsey
Arbery	Jo: Cubon	Barrow	Ric Scaresbreck	Port Conchan
K: Christ Russhen	Danold Duke	Echewle	Jo: Moore	Duglas towne
		Bradoe	Demst Xpin	Gren Vicke
			Wm. Pickard	Reynoldsway
			Geo: Symen	Scarlett
			Gilbt: Nelson	Polbash
				Port Yrne

members of the parish militia who used to accompany their captain to Tynwald to form a guard for the King or his lieutenant—were obliged to ‘search the watch.’

CASTLE RUSHEN AND CASTLE PEELE

Besides the day watch on the hills and the night watch at the ports, the soldiers attending in Castle Rushen and Castle Peele were also under rigid rules. As far back as 1428 it is recorded that

‘because he had not searched the watch but twice in a twelve-month’ he was ‘found to be a traytor to the King.’ Another of the charges against a soldier was that he had ‘entertained two Scotts in the garrison without their having been sworn,’ and, making them ‘sport as he list.’ The same document quotes the Great Enquest saying that ‘John the porter and his son should watch from the time that the watch bell began to ring at mid-day until the time that the first supper be done in the hall.’

The soldiers in the two castles had to lie therein the night before their warding day ; but those of the ‘Castle Peele’ were forced to ‘lye in the night before and ye night after, in respect of ye tyde falling out uncertainly, and for more safeguard of the Castle, being nearer our enemies ye Red Shankes.’* This was in 1610.

THE DOUGLAS WATCH-HOUSE OR FORT

The day watch for Kirk Braddan was the Carnane on Douglas Head, and the night watch was situate near the rocks at the base of what is now the Victoria Pier. Blundell tells us that the watch-house was strongly made of hard stone, round in form, upon which was a mounted tower, and four pieces of ordnance.



FIG. 34. Watch-house, Douglas, in 1798, from Feltham's Tour.

* The Redshanks were so called from a *buskin*—a boot reaching above the calf—formerly worn by them, made of undressed deer hide with the hair outside.

' It is commanded by a constable and a lieutenant. The constable and two soldiers are bound to lye in the fort every night, and four of the townsmen are bound to keep watch and ward upon the rampart, where there is another great piece of ordnance, (soe yf a ship do rashly sail up directly before the mouth of the cannon,) cover'd from discovery, on the sea shore side betwixt the fort and the towne. I could not learn that there were more than nine or ten soldiers at ye most in Douglas yt had pay, neither was it necessary to be at ye expense of waging more, seeing if danger discovered itself the whole country thereabouts are bound to repair thither uppon paine of life and limb.'

For 'leaving naked' the watch-house in Douglas towne on the night of the 18th January, 1720, three Kirk Braddan men were found guilty, thus 'forfeiting bodey and goodes to the Lord.'

Practically all men from sixteen to sixty were liable for service. Only 'the captain, lieutenant, ensign, the Twenty-Four, the moares and their runners, the coroners and their lockmen, the Customers and searchers of every port, one head smith, the chief miller in every parish, have their freedom from the watch.'

THE MUSTERING CROSS, or *Crosh Vushta*

The *Crosh Vushta* or mustering cross was the means by which the country was raised to defend it, and stern were the rules that governed its use. The assembling token was in the form

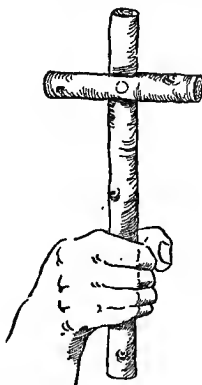


FIG. 35. The Mustering Cross or *Crosh Vushta*.

of a wooden cross, and is referred to both in the old laws of Norway and in the Icelandic laws in the time of the Norse kings of Man. It was made from two chosen pieces of the cuirn,

or mountain ash, about half a cubit in length, mortised together and fastened by a dowel. There was a handle for easy carrying. In the Sagas it is called the *War-Arrow*. It was used, too, for calling freemen to meetings of the *Thing* or parliament. The *Heimskringler* tells us that

‘ Each householder had to pass it on to his neighbours. If the house was shut up, it was stuck in the door. If the door was unlocked, but no one in the house, it was stuck in the house-father’s great chair in the fireside.’

In 1497 the warden in charge of the night watch at Douglas declared that Patrick McKerron had not kept his watch according to the custom of the country, but had kept the cross in his house for nine days. He would be at the mercy of the King, for his ‘ lyfe and lymbe.’

Thomas Moore of the Milnes in Kirk Malew, for neglecting the Watch and keeping the Watch Cross two days, was in 1611 ordered to be fined severely.

From various fines which are recorded in the Exchequer Books at different periods, we learn that Watch and Ward was enforced as late as 1815.

Dr. Clague in his *Manx Reminiscences* says that the Manx *Crosh losht*, or what was called the ‘ Fiery cross in Scotland, was about two feet in length, and the end was burnt.’ Each quarterland owner in every parish had to carry it to the house of his next neighbour, and so on until the parish freemen had all been notified.

THE ILLIAM DHONE CROSS

The most famous occasion in which the Cross played a part was in the Manx Rebellion led by Illiam Dhone in 1651. At the Court proceedings which afterwards took place, a number of captains of the parish and wardens gave evidence, and many frankly acknowledged their taking part in sending forth the crosses.

In the spring of 1793, just before the coming of the first Duke of Athol, Castle Rushen was guarded night and day by twenty men, who the *Manks Mercury* says ‘ were relieved every twenty-four hours by each parish in rotation ; and they are summoned by the ancient mode of fixing a wooden cross over their door every night.’

The circumstances attending what is believed to be the last public appearance of the Cross in the Isle of Man was told to the writer by the late Richard Quirk of Raby, Captain of Kirk Patrick. It was in 1843, when his grandfather Richard also was captain.

It appeared that a vacancy at the parish school had been filled by the vicar and wardens by one who was considered not fully competent compared with a man named Gill who had offered himself. Parish dissatisfaction was expressed to Captain Quirk, who commissioned a carpenter to make a mustering cross after the customary fashion. This he sent out with all speed by a man-servant on horseback, calling a parish vestry meeting to decide the matter in democratic fashion. There ensued a great gathering in Patrick church, and the more qualified candidate in the opinion of those present was appointed.

The Drum Vushta OR MUSTERING DRUM

For the orderly summoning of the coast watches and for parish musters such as in 1730, for example when the captains were ordered to raise the country for the capture of escaped prisoners, the wooden *Crosk Vushta* was useful, being passed from house to house. Its efficacy was gravely impaired however, if one person failed to hand it on. Sudden dangers from the sea, to which the Island was liable, called for a quicker means of rallying the garrison and assembling the militia. Both Drum and Bell are named in the fifteenth century regulations governing Castles Rushen and Peel, and in times of crisis the drum provided the usual summons to arms.

David Craine tells a story of a picturesque incident which took place in 1610.

On a fine day in May in that year Richard Stevenson, who was probably one of the Balladoole family, set off from Douglas with a drum, got in all likelihood for the Kirk Arbory company. With him went George Crayne, whom he had commissioned to play it. Enraptured by his new musical instrument the thoughtless George lightheartedly drummed his way from Douglas Bridge to Deemster Sansbury's house at Castletown.

As he with his companion rode by the ill-omened gallows near the Castle, still beating a lively march with his pair of drum-sticks, another horseman in their company reminded them that they were in the lion's mouth and gave warning to desist. But it was too late—Castle, town and country had been roused, and the two music lovers answered for their indiscretion in the next High Court.

In 1715, when there were rumours of invasion by the Old Pretender, a Ballaugh man, Dan Bodaugh, was accused of playing the parish drum one Sunday evening, to the scandal of the Church and the great alarm of the parishioners who rushed to arms. But he was found innocent of the charge, and the ecclesiastical court came to the conclusion that the Sulby drum was the culprit. The tradition of the drum was maintained during the Napoleonic wars, and, no Manx company of volunteers was considered to be suitably equipped unless it had its drums and drummers.

EARLY MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

Before 1600 there is little documentary evidence of the weapons possessed by the militia, who had to provide their own arms. A customary law recorded in 1419 states that the eldest son was entitled among other things, to receive the following as *corbes* or heirlooms:—a jack (sleeveless leather tunic) and sallet (steel cap), bow and arrows, sword and buckler. In the seventeenth century the jack and sallet disappeared from the inventories. The bow and arrows persist as *corbes* until the end of the century—evidently as a concession to tradition. The Manx, however, were fond of archery, and parish competitions were still in vogue during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Lists of weapons in the hands of substantial members of the community, made by David Craine from inventories in the Rolls Office, show the variety in equipment:—

‘ Robert Parr, Clerk of Kk. Arbory (1645), a sword and dagger ; Robert Calcot, the Nunnery (1645), a sword and hangers, bow and arrows, halberd ; William Christian, Knock Rushen (1653), a sword and buckler ; John Garret, Ballabrooie, Sulby (1673), two old muskets, a sword ; John Barry, Kirk Malew (1691), a cross bow, two swords ; Richard Stevenson, Balladoole (1698), swords, a gun, bow and arrows ; — Quayle, Ballamore, Kk. Patrick (1644), had a varied armament : a sword and buckler, fowling-piece, crossbow, halberd, caliver, musket ; Dollin Caine, the East Nappin, Jurby (1694) had a fowling-piece and two swords ; Robert Quayle, Captain of Douglas in 1679, two swords, a dagger, a bow and arrows.’

The sword was the commonest arm, but daggers also appear to have been widely carried in the first part of the seventeenth

century as a normal addition to every day dress. Even clergymen wore them in their girdles. In 1601 a woman parishioner of Kirk Maughold complained that the Vicar, John Christian, had threatened her with his dagger, but did not strike.

During the Civil War and after his retirement to the Island, James, Earl of Derby, made strenuous efforts to increase the efficiency of the militia by the provision of arms of the simplest type—dirks and half-pikes—which could be made in the Island smithies.

The first Manx munition works, a powder mill, was set up near Castletown in 1644, and the stores of gunpowder were increased by supplies bought from the Dutch in 1650. Instructors were engaged for the Companies called up to the Northside and Southside training camps, and the traditional Horsemen, four from each parish, were embodied for regular service.

In 1640 a volunteer force of ten men from each parish was formed and this became the nucleus of the body of soldiers which the Earl led into Lancashire in 1651. Ill-armed, outnumbered, and outmanœuvred they went down, fighting bravely, in the battle of Wigan Lane. Their epitaphs are sometimes to be found in the ecclesiastical records, *e.g.*,

John Christrie of (Ballachristory) Jurby : ' went for England, a souldier with the Earle of derbie in August 1651 '—and did not return.

The general method by which Earl James financed his military measures was in agreement with his unscrupulous technique. Describing his way of managing the Manx people he wrote to his son Charles, ' If in anything you are obliged to be harsh, of that let another bear a share ; and when you deny or afflict, let another's mouth pronounce it.'

Thus the Officers and Keys were prevailed upon to order a forced loan in 1649, and other numerous levies of money and food, before and after that date ; and four men in each parish, chosen by the Keys, had the extremely disagreeable task of assessing individual contributions and collecting the money. This is proved by the order, made in 1645 that

' A thousand dirkes or skaynes (Manx Gaelic *Skynn* = a knife) be forthwith provided, and the same to be apportioned in every parish,

and that four honest men be appointed and sworn in every parish to Levy and Collect from their parishioners, according to their abilities, 2s. 6d. for every skayne and scabbard ; and that the smiths that make them be sworn by the Governor or Deemsters to make good work, and to put four ounces of steele to every skayne.'

And in the following year (1646) :

' The Twenty-Four Keys with the advise of the officers do conclude and agree that for the better defence of the Island there shall be a thousand half-pikes made and provided with all convenient speed, and for the doing thereof the sum of £75 is ordered to be Levied upon the countrey . . .

' And that the ministers and clergy shall for their temporaltys be also assessed according to proportions in this case.

' And the Lord licensed Thomas Moore to erect a miln . . . " provided he keep the miln and water course in good repayre as long as his Lordship shall have occasion to use it for the making of powder." '

THE FOUR HORSEMEN FROM EACH PARISH

Reference has been made in this chapter to the traditional Horsemen. From time immemorial each parish provided Four Horsemen who, with the Parish Captain, rode armed to Castle Rushen to form an escort for the Lord of the Isle when he went with his entourage in annual procession to the Tynwald Hill. Watchers on the hills signalled the progress of the glittering cavalcade as it passed northwards, with colours flying, with jingle of harness and ring of steel, to the sacred hill where the Deemsters and Keys, the Bishop and the people, awaited it.

Another essential duty of the Horsemen was to provide a quick means of communication between the Governor and the parishes. They were required, too, to exercise some supervision over the equipment and efficiency of the watch and ward, since in 1628 the Horsemen were arraigned for failing to ' search ' the watch (*i.e.*, to examine their arms). They provided their own horses and accoutrements, including helmets. They were not officered except in unusual circumstances, and extended service was sometimes paid for by a levy on the parishes.

THE FOUR HORSEMEN IN 1634

The earliest list of the ' Four Horsemen of every Parish ' has been found by David Craine in *Liber Scacc.*, 1634. It is but a

fragment, but is given for its interest in the family names. Those for Rushen sheading were omitted. The occasion was when the Horsemen were commanded to attend the Governor, Ewan Christian of Milntown, at Tynwald.

Michael : Capt. Thomas Cayne (Berk ?), John Cannell and John, Junr. (Ballacrenane), Donald Cayne, William Quayle (Ballagawne).

Ballaugh : Capt. John Crayne (Ballabeg), Fynlo Cowley (Squeen), Wm. Curleod (Ballacurne), John Curleod (Ballakinnag), William Crayne (Glaick).

Jurby : Capt. William Cayne (East Nappin), William Christian, Thos. Mc Fayle (Knock y Dowan).

Andreas : Capt. William Radcliffe (Ballaradcliffe), John Kee (Kiondroghad), William Brewe (Guilcagh), William Kneale (Regaby), John Kneale (Ballavarry).

Bryde : Capt. David Christian, John Christian (Ballafayle).

Ayre : Capt. John Curghie (Ballakillingan), John Quayle, Patoon Goldsmythe (Balladoole).

Maughold : Capt. Robert Christian (Ballure), Donald Corkill (Cardall), William Caloe (Ballaskeg), William Corkill (Folieu).

Lonan : Capt. Phill Moore (Baldromma), William Cowin (Ballagawne), Jo: Cotteen (Ballacotteen).

Conchan : Capt. Edward Christian (Bemahague), Donald and Jo: Mclewne (Ballergey), Jo: Xpin (Christian).

Braddan : Capt. Robert Moore (Pulroish), Paul Gellen (Knock y Troddan), Don. Cowley, Wm. Kermode (Middle).

Santan : Capt. Thomas Woods (Mill),.

Marown : Capt. John Moore (Cooilinjil), Gilbert Cottier (Ballayemmy), Ehos. Kelly (Ballavitchal), Nich Killey (Ballawilleykilley).

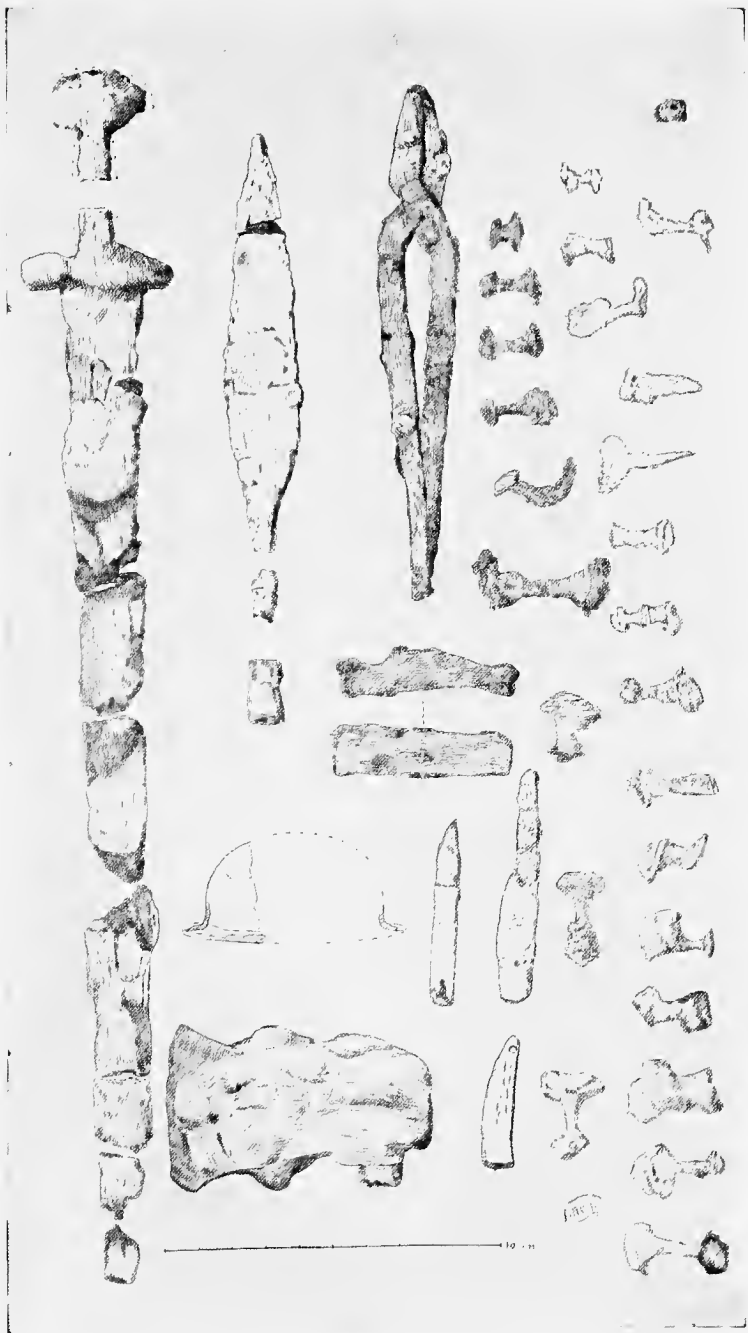
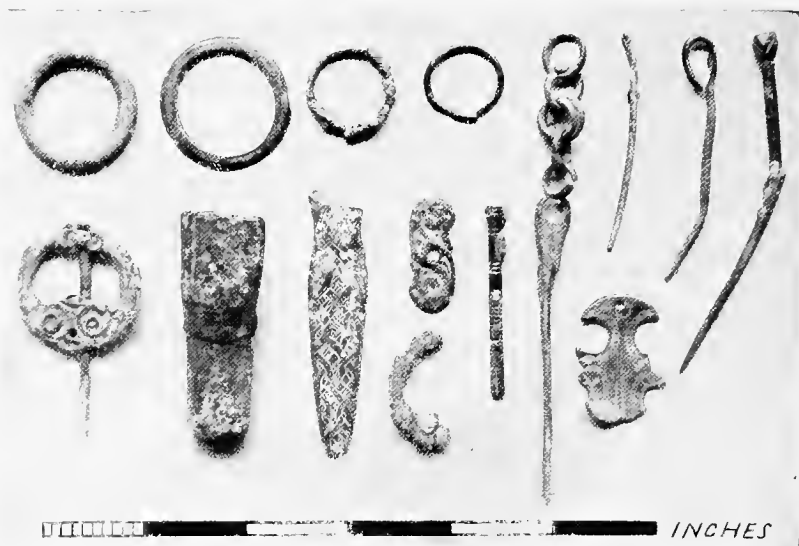


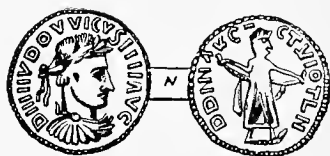
Plate 15. The Sword, Spear, Axe, Hammer and Tongs, Fishing Weight, Rivets, etc., found at Knock y Doonee.



(1)



(2)



(3)

Plate 16. (1) Valuable Objects found in the Ronaldsway Viking Grave.
 (2) Viking Bead found at Cronk yn How.
 (3) Maughold Gold Con.

[See page 138]

CHAPTER 15

*Ah, little Mona, native land of mine,
That fostered me between thy hills and bays,
I render thanks to God
That I was born in Thee !*

*Not in some larger land whose wide domains
Could never all be known and loved by me ;
But thou art all my own !*

—A. A. PATTERSON.

VIKING SHIP BURIALS OF A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

ALTHOUGH we do not possess any script of the events of the Ninth or Tenth century, yet Philip Kermode and Dr. Bersu, by means of their painstaking excavations and their unequalled knowledge, have disclosed for us strange and unexpected secrets in the lives of the Vikings who dwelt and were buried here in that period of our Island's history.

What is known as the Earlier Viking, or land-taking, period covers about a hundred years, say from c. 830 to 930, and was, of course, Pagan. The Later Viking Age, during which the descendants of the settlers had accepted Christianity, would be from c. 930 to 1050. The grave finds shown on Fig. 36, are assigned to the Earlier period, for the obvious reason that Christians would not be buried in prepared mounds but in churchyards.

It is to the credit of our own archæologist, Kermode, that when he examined the Knock y Doonee tumulus in Kirk Andreas, in 1927, he realised that, for the first time in the Isle of Man, he was examining a Viking Boat Burial. What led him to suspect this was the presence of several hundred iron rivets in such a position as to mark out a one-time ship of thirty feet from stem to stern. The diameter of the mound, which overlooked the sea near Rue Point, was fifty-one feet and it was about eight feet in height. To judge from the contents of the grave the man interred was of importance among his fellows. A small buckle with a cloak-pin of bronze, which had borne enamel

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and bits of leather straps, showed that the warrior had been belted and wrapped in his cloak.

Placed in his own boat, his sword* and spear, his shield and great axe were set ready to his hand ; his fishing gear and leaden

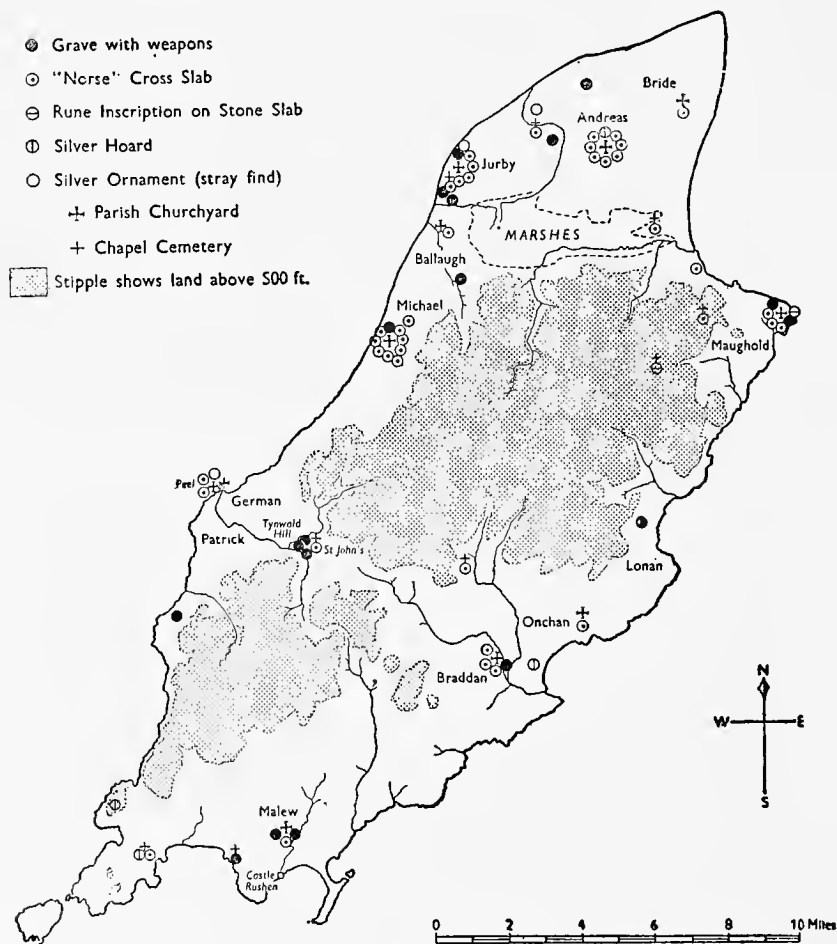


FIG. 36. Distribution of Norse Finds, including Graves and Rune-inscribed Cross-slabs.

* Partial cleaning of the sword has since revealed a silver-inlaid guard like the fine Frankish sword from Ballinderry, Ireland, said to be dated about 845, which corresponds to the date of the burial at Knock y Doonee.

VIKING SHIP BURIALS

weight were put in ; and, because of his renown as a smith, his hammer and typical pair of tongs were added. (*See Plate 15*) Prior to the burial, his favourite horse would be harnessed to

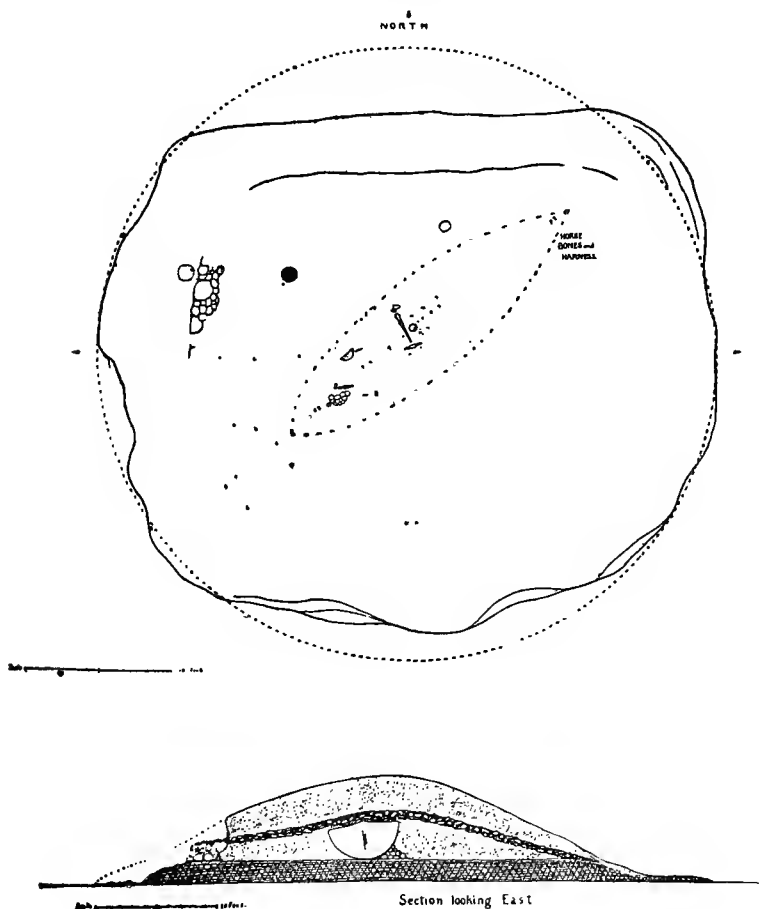


FIG. 37. Section of the Ship Burial Mound, Knock y Doonee.

the boat and, having drawn it to the top of the hill, was sacrificed as an acceptable offering to Odin, the father of the gods, its blood being collected in the iron bowl, and placed within the boat ; his faithful dog being laid alongside him. One of

the knives lying by the bowl may have been used as the sacrificial knife. The final stage in the pagan ceremony was the covering over the remains with a vaulted layer of earth and boulders, (*Fig. 37*), the whole being raised to a huge cairn which would be seen from a long distance.

WHO WAS THE SMITH OF KNOCK Y DOONEE ?

Kermode, the archæologist, was never a romancer, and his suggestion that Athakan the Smith—whose memory is preserved on a cross-slab in Kirk Michael churchyard not far away—was the Viking buried at Knock y Doonee, is certainly within the bounds of possibility. The translated inscription—dated not later than 950 A.D. runs: ‘Mael Brigdi, son of Athakan the Smith, erected this cross for his own soul (and that of) his brother’s wife.’ Here we have, on the one slab, a Gaelic and a Norse name. They later became, according to Kneen, the surname *Mylevreeshey* (Bridson) and Keggan. The Manx patronymic Mylevreeshey—‘the son of the servant of Bridget’—would in all likelihood have been given by his mother.

The inscription tells us that Athakan was a smith, the most important craft in Man at the time. The Norse for smith was *Smidr*, and had a wide interpretation, meaning a blacksmith, a carpenter, a craftsman in either metal or wood. The Manx Gaelic was *Gawe*, now Gawne. *Mac y Teyir*, ‘son of the craftsman,’ was almost identical in meaning; and from these, later on, the surnames Mac Gawne and Mac Teare were evolved. The adjoining Treen name Smeale, Marstrander says, is a worn-down form of the Norse *Smidaból*, ‘the smith’s homestead.’ Equally as interesting as the place-name is the fact that, in our archives of the year 1515, we find that Patric Gawe held the quarterland of Smeale, six hundred years after the burial of the Viking; so that a thing, hard to realise, the family had persisted in the same place all those years.

THE VIKING BURIAL AT CRONK MOAR, JURBY

Dr. Bersu made excavations in Jurby, in 1945 and 1946, of grave mounds belonging to those he described as ‘farmer-warriors, or the first generation of Norsemen who came to settle

in the ninth century.' These mounds in the north, Bersu says, 'are the witnesses of an historical event, and the first reliable records of the Norse Kingdom of Man.' He excavated Cronk Moar, close to Jurby Parish Church.

In the centre of the mound were found the remains of a wood coffin. In it a dead warrior had been buried. He had been laid on his back with his head to the west. At his left side was his sword. On his chest was found an iron knife, a ring-headed bronze pin, and a small harness of bronze, consisting of a ring to which a buckle and two clasps are attached. Near to it was a bronze strap-end. The spear of the warrior was evidently too long to be put into the coffin, and had been laid on top of it with the spear-head at the feet. For the same reason the shield had been put on top of the head-end of the coffin. The decay of metal objects on the dead man's breast had preserved a portion of some of the woollen fabric.

The ring-headed pin had fibres of the woollen fabric attached to it. It is a simple type useful for dating the finds. Next to it was the little harness, a rare piece of jewellery of which there is no parallel known in the British Isles. The knob in the middle of the ring has an inset of glass. To the ring are attached two clasps also decorated which held leather straps going round the neck of the warrior. One of these straps ended in a decorated bronze strap-end. The interlacing on this richly-decorated object is different on both sides. On one side is an interlacing of the ring-and-knot type so common on Manx Runic Crosses, which is regarded as a design originating here, and is seldom met elsewhere.

An interesting point is that a strap-end of unknown provenance in the National Museum at Dublin is almost identical with ours and probably comes from the same workshop, if not from the same mould. This points to the close connection between the Vikings on Man and the Viking workshops in Ireland. The shield-boss has the usual globular shape. The shield, most likely round, was made of two-ply oak and was painted.

Of the iron objects, the small knife is remarkable for its long handle of wood and for the leather sheath so well preserved.

The spear-head was eighteen inches long, while the sword was of a design common at the end of the ninth century. The scabbard, to judge from the remnants preserved, was a remarkable piece of handicraft. Two pieces of wood cover the flat sides of the sword, one-tenth of an inch thick and thirty-nine inches long. The leather of the scabbard was embossed. It is the first scabbard to be found in the British Isles on which the metal and leather and fabric details are preserved.

The woollen fabric associated with the scabbard has been examined by a specialist. It is a plain weave of wool, similar to that from the Loughtan sheep, an ancient native breed of sheep still preserved in Man. These fragments are parts of the woollen cloak worn by the warrior. It is the oldest example of that type of cloak called 'shaggy,' worn also in later times by the Irish. The finds date the Cronk Moar burial to about 900 A.D.

The amount of work required to raise a mound of forty-five feet diameter and nine feet in height indicates that the man buried here was of some social standing. It is the burial of the normal freeman, as we know it in many cases from the Norwegian homeland. To judge from what we know there must have been many such Viking colonists already settled in the north of the Island at the date when this burial took place. We have in these mounds evidence of an intensive colonization by warrior-farmers of the first-settled generation.

In view of the frequency of these mounds in such a relatively small area, the estates of these warrior-farmers cannot have been extensive. But the land was rich and fertile. That was obvious to the newcomers. That the early colonization should have been of such an intensive type is a fact hitherto not known. It agrees well with the general historical situation. As their superior boats gave them control of the sea they could use the Island as a safe and well-provisioned base for exploits on the coasts of Britain and Ireland.

This security provided by the Isle of Man is the chief reason why the Kingdom of Man and the Sudreys was able to establish itself solidly, and why Man in spite of its outlying position

became the centre of a stable Kingdom lasting for two hundred years. It does not require much imagination to realise that the blood of the Norwegian settlers of the ninth and tenth centuries runs in the veins of the Manx people of today.

A VIKING BURIAL AND A SACRIFICE AT BALLATEARE

The excavation at Cronk Moar showed features which led to the examination of the Ballateare mound in Jurby situated in the middle of a farmyard on a height overlooking the sea. When the mound was dug away sixteen pre-historic burials were discovered only five inches under the surface of the yard. In seven cases the calcined bones of the dead had been deposited in upright standing cinerary urns, the others put in shallow holes in the sand. Both types had been covered with small slate slabs. The urns had been made by hand of burnt clay, with a decorated overhanging rim, cylindrical body and rounded bottom. This suggests a burial ground of a people of the Stone Age civilization, before 1000 B.C. Perhaps some lingering tradition of the sacredness of the site had caused it to be again used for burials about 2000 years later.

In the second half of the ninth century a Viking warrior found his last resting-place on this slight rise of the ground with the view of the distant mountains and over the Irish Sea ; and it was then that the mound was built over the new grave in the ancient burial ground. The dead warrior had been buried outstretched in a wooden coffin of thin oak planks oriented east to west (head to the west). The coffin had been covered with a woollen fabric of coarse weave and put into a pit three feet deep, which was afterwards filled up with sand. In accordance with the deep-rooted belief of the Norse that the dead needed all their belongings in the other world, his armour had been deposited in the grave with him. On the shoulder of the skeleton a ring-headed bronze pin was found.

Above the Viking grave, and with it as centre, a circular mound, forty-five feet in diameter and seven feet high, with a flat surface of some sixty square feet, had been heaped up. In the middle of the platform of the mound there had once been dug in a big wooden post, and towards its western edge the

outstretched corpse of a young person, possibly female, had been laid on its back with arms upraised. This sacrifice to the dead man and the whole platform around the post had been spread with a solid layer of calcined bones, three inches thick. Ox, horse, sheep and dog were represented among these bones, symbolising the live stock of this farmer-warrior.

Quite a dozen or more mounds such as Ballateare remain in the vicinity to be excavated. They are about half a mile from each other. All of them are probably the burials of farmer-warriors of the first or second generation of Norsemen who came here to settle in the ninth century. These first generations of Norse still observed the old burial customs of their ancestors. Each one was buried on his estate, with all the paraphernalia of their pagan creed and tradition. These mounds are the witnesses of an historical event hitherto unknown, for the first reliable written records of the Norse Kingdom of Man date from much later times.

A JARL'S SHIP BURIAL AT BALLADOOLE

This ship burial was on a hill-fort at Balladoole, Kirk Arbory, a mile and a half N.W. of Castletown. It is somewhat earlier than the Cronk Moar Viking burial at Jurby, and dates to the second half of the ninth century. It was undisturbed. At the head of the dead man the harness of his horse had been deposited. There remains of it a fine set of bronze mountings decorated with animal heads, interlacing ornaments, and decorated bronze buttons which had been mounted on the leather straps. (*Plate 17*). They are of excellent craftsmanship, and by their style products of Irish make. From Irish workshops also came the two enamelled buttons which were lying among the bronzes and formed part of the harness. They are made of a golden-coloured bronze and the enamel is applied in the typical Celtic *champlevé* technique. One button shows a geometrical ornament (*Plate 17*), very similar to one from Ireland in the National Museum at Dublin. The second has as an ornament the Celtic *triquetrum*. It looks as if a Viking craftsman in one of the Viking towns was emulating the intricate Celtic pattern. Near the shoulder lay the iron bit, and the bronze-studded iron mountings of the bridle.



Plate 17 The Balladoole Viking Boat Burial. Some of the precious Finds.
Jewellery : (a) Silver-gilt Buckle and strap-end with Carolingian Ornament.
(b) Two enamelled Bronze Buttons with Irish ornament.

[See page 138]



Plate 18. St German's Cathedral
[See page 147]

At the feet of the skeleton the heavy iron buckle of a horse's belly-band was found, The stirrups were of the usual Viking type with heavy footrest, and are fine products of the smith's art. To this equestrian equipment belong also two simple but typical iron spurs found near the foot of the dead man. The spur straps were adjusted by fine bronze buckles, and the straps ended in bronze strap-ends. (*Plate 17*).

The bronze buckles are ornamented by carve-chipping in the typical Norse style. The carved-out parts are gilded, the plain parts are coated with silver or a white metal, so that these pieces of jewellery produced, like the buttons, a two-colour effect. They certainly came from Norway and were produced in one of the Viking towns where moulds for such jewellery have been found. Their ornament is in striking contrast to another piece of jewellery, the massive silver buckle and strap-end from the dead man's belt. The ornamented parts had originally been gilded, the plain parts left silvery and the little dots inlaid with black *niello*.

Besides this jewellery we have as grave-goods a small iron knife ; a ring-headed pin of bronze, likely used for a cloak ; a hone, and a flint for striking light. There was also a large iron cauldron with iron handle, broken into many fragments. Of the shield, fragments of a boss of a very unusual form, and an iron decorated grip are alone preserved. They are of a type of which only one other example is known—found at Colonsay, at that time part of the Kingdom of Man.

Thus, well-equipped with all these belongings, and certainly many more of organic substance which have decayed, this knight was, in his boat, launched for his journey into another world. This boat was brought up to the top of the hill from the seas, at Pooyll Bash. Scarcely anything more remains of this boat than some 300 iron rivets and nails used in its construction. By carefully mapping the position of each rivet it was ascertained that the boat was thirty feet long, clinker built, and of the flat-bottomed rowing type. It is interesting to note that this same place was, at a not much later time, during the rule of the Christian Vikings, again used for Christian

burials, and a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael was built in a nearby enclosure. It is significant that the pagan boat-burial remained undisturbed in this early medieval Christian cemetery. Apparently the Christian Viking settlers, or the mixed Viking-Celtic people, so respected their pagan ancestors.

The Balladoole boat-burial is the grave of a Viking chieftain drawn from those Jarls who, impatient of regal control, went abroad with their followers in their own boats to conquer either independently or in the retinue of their kings. So we get here a representative of the ruling class, as Cronk Moar at Jurby provided us with a burial of the Colonist class. The Viking warrior of Balladoole at the time he was buried was already domiciled as a native with an estate, possibly the Treen land of Balladoole itself, and although the date is one thousand years ago his descendants may not be far away today.

Following on the highly important excavations of Celtic house-sites in the Isle of Man, Dr. Bersu's Viking discoveries increase the debt of gratitude which Manx people owe to this masterly excavator. It is hoped that the lessons which we have learned from him in regard to modern technique of excavation will bear fruit in the years to come.

RECENT DISCOVERY AT KIRK BRIDE

A remarkable archaeological find was recently made in Kirk Bride church-yard by the gravedigger there. It was a small circular bronze mount ornamented, in low relief, with a skilfully executed Romanesque lion, and a bearded human head appears in the centre of the design. The Director of the British Museum attributes it to the Viking period, and considers it the most interesting discovery of the kind made during the past twenty years.

CHAPTER 16

*The natural bravery of your Isle which stands,
As Neptune's park ribbed and paled
With rocks unscalable, and roaring waters.*

—CYMBELINE.

A CENTURY AND A HALF OF MISRULE

THE support which the Manx people gave to Olaf II was extended to his son Harald, whose reign (1237-48) was influenced by the gradual rise in power of England. Notwithstanding King Henry III in a letter of protection for King Olaf in 1236 calls him 'King of Man and the Islands,' he and his court had thrown wistful if not covetous eyes at Man; and in 1247 young Harald was summoned to London and had conferred on him an English Knighthood, and was loaded with presents. The Norwegian Court also welcomed him, and he received the King's daughter in marriage and 'a promise that the King would greatly exalt him and raise the throne of his Kingdom above all that had been in the days of his predecessors.*' But Harald, when returning from Norway was caught by a storm off the Shetland Isles; the vessels were wrecked; and he, with his young wife and all his company, perished.

After this tragedy there was an evident anxiety on the part of the courts both of Norway and England to secure the favour of the King of the Isles. The Cathedral of St. German, our chief ecclesiastical ornament, was commenced in the reign of Harald, and its founder, Bishop Simon, died in the year in which Harald was drowned.

Reginald, Harald's younger brother, came into the kingdom by right of inheritance, but within a few weeks he was murdered by 'the Knight Ivar' (one of the Royal family) in a meadow near the church of the Holy Trinity in Rushen. He was buried at Rushen Abbey. Reginald left behind him a daughter, Mary, a mere child, whose name appears later in the story of the Island. Reginald's throne was at once usurped by another Harald, son of Godred Don, who had a brief reign for a couple

* Chronicon Manniae.

of years, until Magnus was urged by his chieftains to take the helm of state. He was a younger son of King Olaf II and reigned as the last King of Man and the Isles from 1252 to 1265.

In 1253 Magnus went to the Court in Norway where he was 'received with great distinction and remained a year,' at the end of which King Haakon appointed him King over 'all the islands held by his predecessors, and confirmed the grant under the royal seal to him and to his successors by inheritance.' And, further, in 1256, Magnus was 'very graciously received' at the English court, 'made a Knight and loaded with splendid gifts on his departure.'*

But Magnus, though personally popular, was destined soon to be under a cloud, and eventually to be overwhelmed in the struggle between Scotland and Norway.

The battle of Largs in October, 1263, and the misadventures of his fleet, and the defection of some of the Hebridean chiefs, convinced Haakon that he must return to Norway and come again the next year with a stronger expedition. When he reached the Orkneys he fell sick and died. With the death of Haakon the Norwegian suzerainty over the Hebrides and the grip held on them by Man came to an end. It terminated in the cession of the Hebrides to the Scottish King Alexander, and Magnus retained Man only. According to the *Scotichronicon*, Magnus did homage to Alexander, and received in return a charter by which he held the Island under the Scottish throne. Magnus did not survive the new conditions long, for on November 24th, 1265, he died at Castle Rushen and was buried in the Abbey of St. Mary of Rushen.

The death of Magnus terminated for a long period the democratic freedom of the Manx people, a freedom which they had enjoyed for over three hundred years. Their Norse ancestors had raised the Isle of Man as well as islands of the Hebrides to a position which is almost unique in history; they had made them a power, but the greater kingdoms around had become covetous and planned for the opportunity to possess them.

* Chronicon Manniae.

Jealousies eventually arose between the Kings and the courts of England and Scotland. They were feudal monarchs, and were envious of any smaller and independent nations around. Aggression was then the key-note of both the feudal courts of England and Scotland, and Man had to suffer for a century both the predatory invasions from Scotland and the cruel impositions of England.

The death of Alexander III of Scotland in 1285 introduced a new era. Bruce and Baliol both claimed the Scottish throne, and Edward I of England was invited to decide between them. In 1292 he fixed on Baliol, giving him paramountcy over Man, and reserving his own rights as Lord Paramount. Thus, through the influence of the English monarch, Man was again reduced to subjection. Disputes between Edward and Baliol ended in the imprisonment of the latter.

In 1298, Antony Bek, the warlike Bishop of Durham, being then a favourite of King Edward I, was put into possession. Man had now no military power and Edward had no compunction about taking full advantage of this. Bek was a fierce prelate, and is said to have gone to fight the Scots at the head of 120 knights, 500 horse, and a thousand foot, and there were no fewer than twenty-six standard bearers of his own kin.

In 1313 Robert Bruce was made king of Scotland, and in the same year he cast his covetous eyes southwards to Man. He invaded it with a large fleet. Our *Chronicle*, in one of its final pages, says he put in at Ramsey, and on the following Sunday went *ad Moniales de Dufglas*, (which has been translated 'the Nunnery at Douglas,') where he spent the night.*

On the Monday he laid siege to the Castle of Rushen, which was defended by the Lord Dungali Mac Dowyle until the Tuesday after the Feast of St. Barnabas (June 21st) on which day

* It is very unlikely that King Bruce would in those days, when on a predatory excursion, have had the temerity to enter a Nunnery. It was probably another religious house then existing in Douglas in which he took hospitality, namely the Monastery of St. Mary, founded by King Reginald nearly a hundred years before.

Bruce took the castle. Thomas Randolph, one of his henchmen, was given charge of the Island.

Prior to Bek's death in 1310, there had been in the field for the throne of Man, two notable claimants. In July, 1291, Lady Mary, daughter of Reginald II, king of Man, did homage to Edward I at Perth. The other claimant was Aufrica, daughter of Olav the Black and a sister and heiress of Magnus the last King of Man. The union of the two claims in the person of Sir William Montacute—who was a descendant of both ladies—simplified the problem, and eventually Edward made the grant to him.

Sir William Montacute, who was in power from 1344 to 1393, sold his kingdom 'with the title of being crowned with a golden crown' to Sir William le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, for, according to Capgrave, 'he that is lord of this yle may were a crowne.' He continued in power to 1399, when he was beheaded by Henry IV for having taken King Richard's side in the civil war.

Moniales has usually been assumed to mean the Nunnery, for the reason that no other ecclesiastical house was known to the translators. But the word to a layman would appear to mean simply a monastery, a house of religious retirement especially for monks.

This view is supported by reference to one of the Castle Rushen manuscripts in the Manx Museum which came to light recently. It is a brief note in Latin written in 1511. P. G. Ralfe translates it as follows:

Antony (Bek) Bishop of Durham and Lord of Man, gave the Church of Saint Conchan to the Monastery of the Blessed Mary of Douglas in full jurisdiction . . . and that it was founded by Reginald King of Man, who died in the year of the Lord 1226.

This monastery of St. Mary of Douglas was, like Rushen Abbey, of the Cistercian order. Antony Bek was Lord of Man from 1298, and only died in 1310, three years before Bruce's visit. Another document in the Museum, as yet unpublished, says there was a Convocation of the Clergy 'held in St. Mary's of Douglas' in 1685, so that the building which was once the Monastery of St. Mary's was in being at a comparatively recent date, not long before the erection of St. Matthew's in 1708.

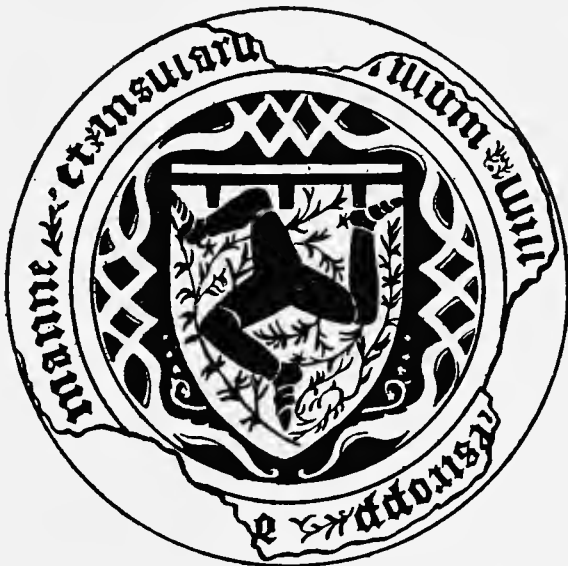
It is interesting in this connection that before St. Matthew's was erected there are recorded in the archives of the Museum (a) 'the Chappell' and (b) 'the old Chappell,' shows there were two in existence contemporaneously prior to St. Matthew's. One of these is shown in an old sketch, thought to have been made about 1652. This is shown on a subsequent page.

It might be noted that our earliest reference to 'the Nunnery of Douglas' is dated 1610, when the tenants of the farms belonging to it were ordered to perform their watches.

Fifth Report Arch. Survey, 1935.

There is a portrait of Scrope, done in the time of Elizabeth, so it is said, showing him wearing a golden crown.

Sir William le Scrope, in 1396, was one of the signatories to a treaty of peace, to last for twenty-eight years, made between France and England on the marriage of Richard II of England and Isabel of France. He signed the ordinance as one of the allies of the English King, and *pour la Seignourie de Man*. The original seal is in Paris appended to the document. Here is an engraving of the cast of the seal, which is in the British Museum.



Legend : (sig)illum : Will(elmi:L)escropp : d(omini :)Manne :
 et : insular (um) _____
 FIG. 38

Scottish and English jealousies had their repercussion on the Island, and the seas around were frequently the scenes of bitter struggles. But after 1346 conditions became more settled, for the English, now under Edward III, dealt the Scots a decisive blow at the battle of Neville's Cross, and they assumed arbitrary power over Man from that time onwards.

After Scrope's death, all opposing claims having expired, King Henry granted the Island to Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, subject to the service of carrying, 'on the coronation days of us and our heirs,' the sword called the 'Lancaster sword.'

In 1403, the Percys rebelled, and were defeated at the battle of Shrewsbury, and King Henry, in the following year gave the Island, 'with its castles and royalties and with the patronage of the bishopric,' to Sir John Stanley, his heirs and assigns, 'on the service of rendering two falcons on paying homage, and two falcons to all future kings of England on the day of their coronation.'

The most distinguished lawyer who ever sat in Tynwald—and he had his place for thirty-nine long years—was Sir James Gell. Whatever he wrote in the sphere of law, history, or custom, was always accepted, and there was more than one occasion when he confounded the English Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in their reading of the law affecting the relations between England and Man, and particularly in the instance of their attitude as to the power of the Tynwald to pass an Act for the re-arranging of the revenue of the See of Sodor and Man. He comments :

'The ancient laws and constitution of the Isle of Man have continued from the earliest time of which there is any account, without any change having been effected by any conqueror of the country.'

'In the various and frequent changes in the sovereignty from the time of our own king Magnus in 1265, there is no instance known (historically or otherwise) of any change in the law or constitution having been ordained by any person who may have been in a position of a conqueror,' until the time of the interfering Revesting Act of 1765.

During all that long period appeared no loveable or popular ruler, or even a sympathetic one, to whom the people of the nation could bind their hearts. 'In 1765,' says Sir James in cold legal phraseology, 'the rule of the feudatory sovereigns ceased, and the direct rule of the Sovereigns of England commenced ; the sovereign rights of the feudatory sovereign merged in those of the Sovereign paramount ; but otherwise no change took place in the government of the Island as a separate Kingdom.'*

* Sir J. Gell in Sherwood's Land Tenures, p. 150.

Man was at a remote date known as Ellan Shiant, 'Holy Island,' as evidenced by a rescript of Pope Pius II, 1459.

THE DIOCESE OF SODOR AND MAN

IT is evident that in the Irish Sea Man was a natural cultural focal point, and that it was bound to share with Ireland in that country's early Christianity, its learning and its scholarship. The Celtic mode of Christianity was embraced by the Manx Vikings from the time of their conversion around A.D. 900. The first recorded Bishop of Man, Roolwer, a Norwegian, officiated about 1050, followed by William in 1080, the next being Hamond son of Iole (Joalf).

During the long and settled reign of Olaf I, which occupied the first half of the twelfth century, the Diocese of the Isles was permanently established, and from the end of the tenth century until far into the fifteenth century formed part of the archdiocese of Trondhjem, by whom the *Episcopi Sodorenses* were always consecrated.

The Bishop of the Hebrides had jurisdiction throughout the Western Isles, and his Cathedral was established on St. Patrick's Isle, where the kings may have had a stronghold as early as the eleventh century. The importance of Iona—which was included in his baronial jurisdiction—is shown by the continuation of royal burials there. A Benedictine monastery was erected at Iona, possibly by the Manx bishop, and in 1203 the Pope took over its protection ; but it was still regarded as forming part of the Diocese of the Sudreys.

The Manx bishops continued to exercise jurisdiction over the Hebrides until about 1400. Thereafter a Scottish bishop was appointed over the Isles, but no definite division of the diocese appears to have taken place. Just as the hereditary Lords of Man continued to include the Isles in their official title until 1765, so to this day the Bishop's title of 'Sodor and Man' reminds us of the historical unity of Man and the Isles.

RUSHEN ABBEY FOUNDED BY KING OLAF I

The most important event in the history of the medieval Manx Church was the foundation of Rushen Abbey, which

took place in 1134, at which date King Olaf I (1113-1153) granted lands for the purpose. He does this, he writes, 'with the advice and the assent of the good men.' (*sapientium Consilio et honorum assensu decrevi et statui ut in meo regno*). It may well be, Canon Quine says, that this quotation from the *Chronicon* records a decision of the Commons in Tynwald. 'I am resolved,' he declares, 'that the Christian religion in my kingdom shall be preserved entire under its own Bishop, rather than be rendered desolate under strangers, and as it were, mercenaries, who seek their own and not the Lord's advantage.'

Olaf was generous and gave rich tracts of land to the Abbey in several parishes. The Abbey owned practically all the good land in Kirk Malew and is computed to have possessed about one hundred farms, seventy-seven cottages and many corn mills. The Order stressed the importance of doing manual work in addition to their religious duties. They took a special interest in work on the land, and doubtless brethren at Rushen Abbey helped to improve the methods of farming of their neighbours.

The first act of Olaf's son, Godred II (1153-1187), on his accession, was to confirm this grant.

In 1176, the abbot of the English abbey of Rivaulx acquired, through Godred's gift, a large piece of land near the Curragh of Kirk Christ Lezayre, then called 'Mirescogh,' where, it is said, a 'monastery' was built. But the place was abandoned, and came into the charge of Rushen.

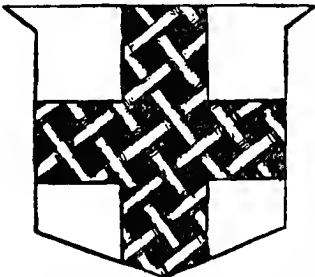


FIG. 39.

Seal of the Abbot of Rushen.

The tithe, which in early times, had to be paid to the church, covered all produce—grain, beer, animals, geese, poultry, eggs, butter, cheese, and even fish. The collection of the tithes was carried out either by the cleric himself, or his agent the proctor. One third of the tithe went to the Bishop; one third to the Abbey for the education and relief of the poor, and the remaining third was divided among the clergy.

Rushen Abbey in its early years was a centre of importance, and its Abbot had great influence. An unusual number of roads focussed on it. Its importance may be judged from the fact that a number of our Kings were buried there.

THE GREATEST MONUMENT OF THE MONKS

In preceding chapters we have freely quoted from the *Chronicon Manniae*, or, to use the full translated title, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Isles*. It is the earliest regularly digested account of any portion of the history of the Island, and as such it is of historic value. It was composed by a series of writers, monks of the Monastery, some of whom were contemporary with the events they narrate. It covers the most important period of the history of Man as a distinct kingdom, when its territory, including the Western Isles, was most extensive, and the share it took in the transactions of the day was considerable. The document is a veritable monument to the industry, knowledge and scholarship of the monks.

Though commencing its record from the year 1000, the *Chronicle* does not make mention of the affairs of Man until the date of the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066, when the great figure of Godred Crovan is named. The annals of the civil history in the *Chronicle* close in 1316, when the male line of Godred had disappeared. In order to bring the light of contemporary historical documents to bear upon the *Chronicle*, Professor Andreas Munch, the historian of Norway, a scholar eminently qualified for the work, undertook in 1859 the task of gathering up the fragments of the *Chronicle* and piecing them into a continuous picture of the period.

Very little is known about the history of this national document. By some unknown means it was taken from Rushen Abbey, and the first that we know of its subsequent history is that it belonged to the library of Sir Robert Cotton, in 1620. It is now part of the Cottonian collection in the British Museum. Its size is quarto and it covers forty-eight pages. There are four distinct scribes. The hand-writing in the first finishes with the year 1257; the second scribe commences at 1257, the third at 1300, and finally a fourth with the entry 1313. It is

very likely that other and similar compilations have been written by the monks and been lost.

THE NUNNERY, THE FRIARY, AND ST. NINIANS

Besides the Abbey of Rushen there was the Nunnery near Douglas, whose Prioress was a baroness of the Isle and was bound to do fealty to the Lord in like manner as the Abbot and

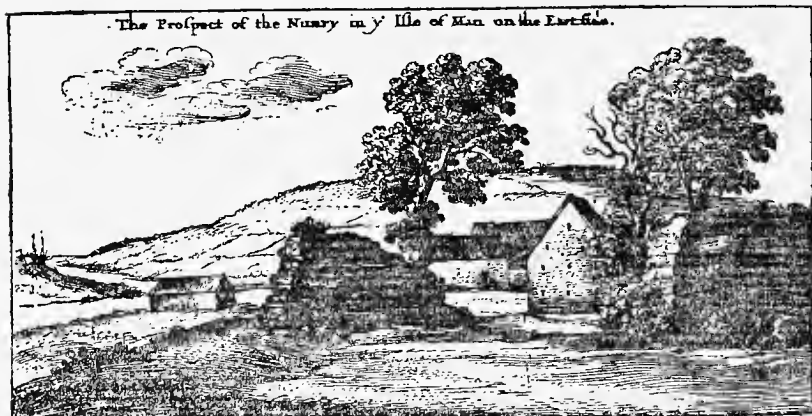


FIG. 40. 'The Prospect of the Nunry' from a sketch by Daniel King about 1650. The background is the Carnane, the Day Watch Hill on Douglas Head, and the river mouth is seen to the left.

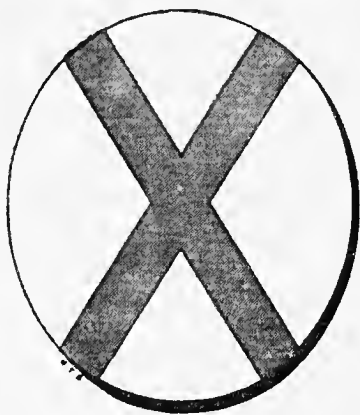


FIG. 41. Seal of the Prioress of the Nunnery, of the date 1408.

the Bishop. There is no satisfactory account of the origin of this priory. Its temporalities were in Conchan parish as well as in Braddan.

The arms of the Nunnery of St. Bridget are a cross saltire something like the St. Andrew's cross. The arms of 'Cristina, prioress of Douglas,' are attached to a document, dated 1408, opposing the claim of Sir Stephen Le Strop (Scrope) to the crown of Man.

Among the signatures were the Deemsters and Keys, and the Bishop.

The Friary of Bymacan in Kirk Arbory is said to have been founded in 1373 in consequence of a petition presented to Pope Urban V from the priors and friars of the Order of Friars Minor in Ireland, and William de Montacute, King of the Isle in 1367, stating that in the diocese of Sodor there was no place for the use of the Order. He therefore assigned ground for their use at the village of St. Columba, Kirk Arbory, now called the Friary. A strange thing is that a rental of 20s. was paid to the Lord each year. The friars were Franciscans and therefore had little connexion with the Monks of Rushen Abbey who were Cistercians.

The Priory of Whithorn had a barony of land under tribute. It was situated in the shelter of Greeba mountain, where a church was built dedicated to St. Ninian. The period of this grant to Whithorn is a matter of conjecture, but it was in early times. The present ruined church of St. Trinian's is probably older than the constitution of our parishes.

Similarly the Irish Abbeys of Bangor and Sabal had, from very early times, the land between Glenmaye and Dalby, with a chapel, the traditional site of which is in a field at Balleby. The Priory of St. Bees' had lands in Kirk Maughold and at Groudale. The ruins of the Barony Chapel still remain. In every case these 'religious houses' provided a chapel and the offices of religion for the occupiers of their lands. They were independent estates, and were practically autonomous, instituting an *imperium in imperio*, in things ecclesiastical.

We must not overlook the fact that our parish churches occupy ancient sacred sites, the chapels in which our Norse ancestors saw the Christians worship and learnt the Christian faith. They mostly stand on the very ground pressed by the feet of those who first taught the Christian faith.

THE REFORMATION A PEACEFUL PROCESS

During the period of Edward the third Earl of Derby's lordship, the religious change known as the Reformation was

taking place in England. The break with Rome then occurred, and the ambition of Henry VIII to become the supreme head of the church was satisfied in 1534, while shortly afterwards the monasteries were suppressed. The English Act of 1539, by which the lands of the religious houses were confiscated, did not mention Man. Nevertheless, our religious houses were suppressed, and all the property belonging to Rushen Abbey, the Nunnery of Douglas, and the Friary of Bymacan in Kirk Arbory, was seized by the Crown, while the buildings gradually fell into ruin.

P. W. Caine has made a study of the ecclesiastical baronies, and of what became of them at the time of the Dissolution*. He points out that the eviction of the Abbey was performed on behalf of King Henry VIII by Robert Calcott, an officer of Edward, Earl of Derby, and it is noteworthy that when Furness Abbey surrendered its possessions the King made the Earl his steward. Earl Edward's son Henry, the fourth Earl, secured a lease of the lands of Rushen Abbey in 1582, subject to a certain payment. Together with the lands of Rushen Abbey went those of the Nunnery at Douglas. When this was dissolved, the Prioress and four nuns were evicted. One of the nuns was Elena Lewin, a Manxwoman.

The last Roman Catholic Bishop was Thomas Stanley who was deposed by Henry VIII in 1545, restored by Queen Mary in 1555, and died in 1570. The Reformation was a very slow process in the Island, one great obstacle being the language difficulty.

The seizure of the religious houses and their estates proved a crushing blow to the Manx people. The Cistercians of Rushen had been large employers of labour, in addition to being public almoners. By their knowledge of agriculture, drainage systems, fisheries, building, and other crafts, they had bestowed benefits on the people. The monks were beneficent and more amiable than the officials who took their place. Their expulsion ushered in a period of poverty, because the source of benevolence was

* 'Notes on the Manx Monasteries,' *Proc. Antiq. Soc.*, V., 1942.

dried up ; and a period of illiteracy, because the schools were closed and the teachers robbed of their avocation.

The progress of the Reformation in England was swift and definite. The Island silently adopted the tenets of the new religion, but Tynwald took but little part. The power of the Church was slowly but surely declining and the growth of Puritan principles was evident in the attitude of the Bishops.

There is in the Manx Museum a portion of the original rood-screen from the pre-Reformation Chapel of the Nunnery. The fragment now measures six feet five inches long by about four inches wide, and is made of oak. The lower edge is decorated with fleur-de-lys, and carved with precision are the words : SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA. As . thou . art . god . reate . h(y)m).

In Kirk Arbory Church there is part of a carved oak rood-screen, probably brought from the Friary at the Reformation. Its Gothic characters read : -TYLL HYS TYM GOD HAS HYM GEFYN SICH GRACE HE LABORETH BESALY HO . . . BLOVD THE BEST CUYN OF THE CHYLDE FVN IN THE EGLE NEST THOMAS RADCLYF ABBOT.

This is surely an intriguing reference to the Stanley legend of ' the best scion of the child found in the eagle's nest ' described in the opening pages of chapter 20.



CHAPTER 18

*Let the world run round, let the world run round,
And knowe neither end nor station
Our glory is the test of a merry merry breast,
In this quiet little nation.
Gold, and the troubled strife for gold,
Are evils unto us unknown :
Our clothing's neither gay nor cold,
It covers us and its our own.*

BISHOP RUTTER 1641, trans. from the Manx.

THE BISHOP AND HIS BARONY

HOWEVER great the power of the Abbot was, it was less than that of the Bishop of Man and the Isles. His lordship had the right of appointing two judges of his own, the Vicars-General, and he himself had a seat in the Council of the Lord. The Bishop had his own gallows and jurisdiction of life and limb, and he had his own prison on Peel island. In fact, during the absence of the King or Lord, the Bishop had become the most important official.

The outstanding Bishop of Sodor and Man in medieval times was Simon, who held office from 1227 until about 1247. He was consecrated at Nidaros (Trondhjem). According to the *Chronicle* he was a man of 'great prudence and learned in the holy scriptures.' It was he who began to build St. German's on Peel islet as the cathedral church of the Sudreys about the year 1230. There had already been two churches there. One was St. Patrick's, probably built in the eleventh century, the other being an early parish church of Kirk German on the site now occupied by the cathedral.

Simon selected this site because of its association with Saint German the first Bishop. He was unable to complete the scheme, and only finished the chancel, the tower and transepts. The nave was built some years later by Bishop Richard. Simon was buried in his own cathedral, which continued to be in use until the middle of the eighteenth century. His palace was at

Bishopscourt. Bishop Simon held a synod at Kirk Braddan in 1229, when certain regulations were written down.

Pope Gregory the Ninth, in a Bull of importance dated 1231, gave to the Bishop and his successors a yearly revenue. It was based on a grant by the Pope of a Third of the Tithe on certain properties then belonging to the Manx Church, not only in Man, but in the Isles. The Bull shows more than any other early document how closely linked the Hebrides were with the Isle of Man. The *Episcopi Soderenses*—the Bishops of Sodor and not of Sodor and Man—are seen to depend upon the Isles for a proportion of their income.

'We,' says the Pope, in his Bull, 'take under our protection and that of the Blessed Peter the Cathedral Church of Saint German of Sodor in the Isle called Eubonia now Mannia which by the authority of God Thou hast been chosen to rule . . . granting the Third part of all Tithes of all Churches established in the Isle . . .'

He also embraces in the gift the tithe of about twenty isles in the Sudreys, all the names of which he sets down in the Bull. The full list of the Western Isles that gave yearly tithe to the Bishop is given, with many interesting details, in chapter nine, on the Western Isles. The details go to show that through many centuries, Lewis, Skye, Mull, and Islay had been separate entities, unconnected with Scotland, and were more or less attached to Man as far back as the eleventh century.

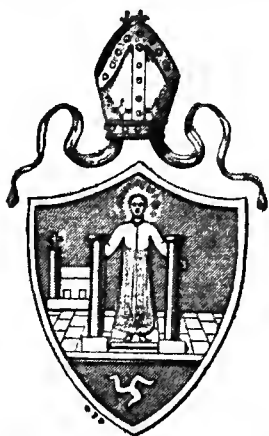


FIG. 42. Arms of the Bishopric

THE ARMS OF THE BISHOPRIC

The ancient sign armorial of the See of Sodor and Man was 'Azure, St. Columba at sea in a cockboat, all proper in chief, pointing to a blazing star or.' A representation of this is in the Manx Museum on loan from Bishopscourt. The present arms of the Bishopric are 'on three ascents the Virgin Mary, her arms extended between two pillars; on the dexter a church; in base the present arms of the Island; ground shield surmounted by a bishop's mitre.'

THE BISHOP'S BOOKS

In the Rolls Office there is a series of the *Libri Episcopi* (the Bishops' Books) from 1580 to 1780. In these records we have details of altogether 330 ecclesiastical courts, held in May and October in each year. The earliest one recorded—that held in 1580—was at Bishops court, presided over by Bishop Meryck; but most of the courts were held at what was called Holmetown, or Peeltown, in the house of the Cosnahan family. A few early courts were held at Kirk Braddan, most probably in the old Kirby house. On two occasions they took place at 'St Columba,' Kirk Arbory, a dozen times at 'Duglasse,' once at the Nunnery; and as far away as Castle Rushen. There was always one of the Deemsters or the Clerk of the Rolls present and their fee of six shillings and eightpence was a perquisite.

The tenants' annual 'customs' would have to be conveyed in their own horse creels or sledges for there were then no wheel cars. For instance, Ballacregga, in Braddan, paid a firlet of barley and one of rye*, a mutton, a lamb, a goose, and a hen. They had also to give three 'boon days,' which meant personal labour at Bishops court, and 'four carriages.' One farm (Kirby) did not pay 'custom.' An ancient record says: 'Hee payes noe custome: for this only: to Intertaine ye Bopp at his landinge or goeing away: or els to paye Xs. per ann.'

In the whole of the Barony there were only eighteen quarterlands or farms. There were six in Jurby and six in Braddan. In Kirk Marown there were two farms, Ballakilly and Cooil-injil. The name of the former has unfortunately been changed to an alien name, Ellerslie. In Kirk Patrick there were Ballabrooie and Ballaspick (meaning the Bishop's estate). In Kirk German there was Ballakilmoirrey, the farm of the church of St. Mary. The total rent of all the properties mentioned was only £11 15s. 8d. per annum, the customs being additional. The tenants held their estates by virtue of the ancient custom of the tenure of the straw, under the Baron and not under the Lord of the Isle.

* A firlet of barley and of oats consisted of three bushels.

The coming of a new bishop was always a disturbing event for the tenants, for, according to ancient custom, they had to furnish Bishops court, at every change, with an ox out of every quarterland. They had to do this in 1600 when Bishop Lloyd came ; and five years later, they were expected to do the same on the coming of Bishop Phillips. Phillips had merits which appealed to the Manx people. He was a scholar, too, and was probably the first who wrote in Manx Gaelic. He translated into Manx in 1610, the Book of Common Prayer, the copy written by his own hand being in the Manx Museum. Phillips's first court, 'called by poale,' was a great gathering at Bishops court on 18th October, 1605. He died in 1633 and was honoured by burial in St. German's Cathedral. He overshadowed his successor Bishop Foster, a narrow-minded Puritan of the Commonwealth type, who, happily, stayed only two years.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TURF

All the tenants had to provide Bishops court with a number of car-loads of turf. Constant quarrels took place between the Bishop's steward and the farmers as to the quality and size of the turves, and as to the time of delivery, which was Hollantide. The Great Enquest tersely declared that

' There is due to the Lord Bishop thirtie of the sodd turves from the Bishop's Turbarry, and fiftie of the black turves in the mountaynes. The sodd turves are to be a cubitt longe, and the black turves are to be halfe a cubitt longe, and four inches broade.'

But even this did not finally settle the vexed question. Bishop Wilson was unusually caustic in his comment on his Jurby tenants :

' They have of late neglected to cutt my turff and begin to think themselves obliged only to carry it for me . . .' But later he had occasion to be more severe on the Kirk Braddan men : ' The Sargeant of the Southside (Christopher Stoale) declares to me that some of the Tenants having not given bad enough, but have borrowed worse than their own to pay in.'

After the time of Bishop Parr, who died in 1643, and was buried in St. German's, the See was vacant for seventeen years during the time of the Commonwealth, 1644-1661.

The year 1660 was an important one for the Manx nation. The Commonwealth had ceased. Fairfax had ended his Lordship. The Stanleys were restored as the rulers of Man. There had been no Bishop for seventeen years, and Earl Charles gave the office to Samuel Rutter, who had been chaplain to his father at Castle Rushen.

It is not commonly known that Rutter was Rector of Kirk Andreas in 1646. The Bishop's grave is conspicuous in St. German's Cathedral. To judge from the Latin inscription on his tomb he was a witty prelate. It runs :

' In this house which I have accepted from my companions, the little worms, I, Sam, by Divine permission Bishop of this Isle, lie in a hope of a resurrection to life. Stop, reader! Look and laugh at the Bishop's palace. Died 30th May, 1662.'

THE BISHOP'S ' CHOICE ' OX

The greatest source of trouble between the Baron and his tenants was the continuation of the custom of giving a ' benevolence ' of an ox to every new Bishop upon his consecration. Although Bishops were then very powerful, it was with difficulty that new Bishops could enforce the custom, especially as the prelates did not usually have a long tenure of office. At Bishop Barrow's second court at Peeltown all the tenants were summoned and got a stern lecture on the subject of the ' benevolence,' and they were ordered by the court to deliver the beast within a month. There was no response to this and no fines were paid.

In 1683, twenty years after, the vexed question again arose. Deemster Edward Christian was appealed to, but before giving judgment he wanted the opinion of the Keys. This was given at a Tynwald at Castle Rushen. It ran :

' The Bishop ought to have an ox out of every quarter of land . . . unlesse the tenant please to pay fourty shillings ; it beinge in their choice which to give '

Bishop Lake came in 1682 and Bishop Levinz in 1684. Clearly there was a grievance, and Levinz offered to take half an ox. This was accepted, and the ' benevolence ' was paid in cash. There was always a question of what the farmer would do. In one case the Bishop demanded the ox, and the tenant gave

forty shillings. Another Bishop demanded the money and got the ox. The tenant, with Manx independence, always liked to exercise his privilege.

FOSTER, THE BISHOP WHO ENCOURAGED TALE-BEARING

Following upon Bishop Phillips, the scholarly Welshman, there came in 1633, William Foster. He had imbibed much of the unpleasant aggressiveness of the Puritans in England, and, during the two years he officiated at Bishops court he did his best to eradicate any remains of Popish practices here. He sent out to the clergy and churchwardens a number of searching questions—thirty-two altogether—some of which today would appear impertinent. At this period the English language was being used more and more by the vicars. The churchwardens of Kirk Malew were unusually frank when they told the Bishop that ‘they want the unspeakable comfort of hearing God’s word and wonderful works in their mother’s tongue; but now the vicar doth not so much edifie them in their own language, either in divine service or sermon.’ Foster was eager to eradicate Sunday pastimes, the burning of candles, the worshipping of crosses, praying for the dead, and ringing of bells in time of service. Some of the replies of the churchwardens throw curious sidelights on those far-off times. The Lezayre wardens, for instance, ‘let the cat out of the bag’ when they divulged that ‘at the feast of St. John’s the whole cuntry use to bourn candles at the chapel.’ The divination customs indulged in on Oie’l Eoin, at the Cabbal Ballameanagh in Glen Auldyn was probably what was referred to. In any event, Bishop Foster directed that ‘an *Injunction Publique* bee published throughout the whole Island to curse and restrayne this superstition.’

Sidelights are thrown on holy wells. One of the best known was *Chibbyr Undin*, in Kirk Malew. The wardens would not commit themselves but reported that ‘we heare that many from other parishes doe repaire and resort unto a well, (*Plate 2b*) to what intent we know not.’ They knew very well. ‘Also there is a crosse in ye midst of ye Four-ways at which we heare that some use to lay their sick children.’

The wardens of Conchan excel their fellows in whispering a secret in the ears of the prelate.

'Somethinge we muste say concerning our Vicar, and he himself will not have us to learne it. He has lyved this xi yeare without his wyfe: and he was enjoyned (by the previous Bishop Phillips) to build a bridge upon the burne in our parishe which he is now aboute: for he hath bought some timber for it: which will be as good a deede as ever was done in these partes. We knowe xls. will not doe it.'

There were many cases in which influential figures compounded for their sins in this way. But this case is of particular interest, for the bridge referred to is that at the top of Groudle Glen near the village of Conchan. The vicar's guilt had to be cleansed by a sacrifice. The making of the bridge was to be his means of approach to heaven, the Whitening of his Soul. Its modern counterpart is situate at the foot of Whitebridge hill.

The Bishop's Barony customary rents continued until the opening years of the twentieth century, when an Act of Tynwald was passed buying out the Lord's rents and those of the Abbey and Bishop's Barony, and thus the venerable custom, which had continued for at least seven hundred years, ceased to operate.

THE MANX CHURCH PLATE

It is not generally known that we have in our parish churches some very interesting and valuable church plate. Prior to the Dissolution, Rushen Abbey owned a rich display of silver plate which found its way into the hands of Edward, Earl of Derby. It consisted of four chalices, one abbot's pastoral staff, one censer, a cross, two little headless crosses, one incense 'ship' a bishop's head and hand, four cruets, eleven spoons, two standing cups, two ale pots and covers, a drinking cup, one salt, two mazers (cups), and one pix.

So that the contents of the Abbey included not only the necessary ecclesiastical vessels for the services of the church, but also purely domestic plate—the 'salt' of the Middle Ages. The Earl of Derby, who was a Catholic, is said to have purchased all the above for the sum of £34 8s. 8d. And, sad to say, the treasure was melted down, in the time of James the Seventh



*Plate 19. The Pre-Reformation Silver Chalice of St. Patrick of Jurby.
[See page 161]*

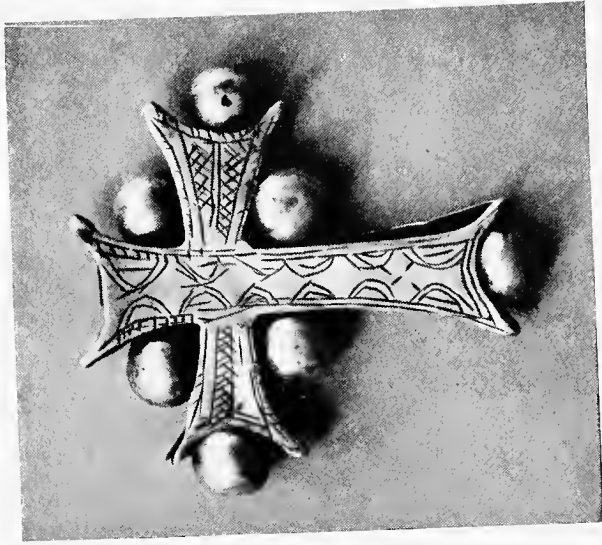


Plate 20. The Myltecharaine Silver Pectoral Cross in the Manx Museum. Since it was figured in 1870 by William Harrison, it has lost the uppermost ornamental ball. Actual size.

[See page 162]

Earl, to provide King Charles I with money in the time of the Civil War.

THE JURBY CHALICE

The Pre-Reformation Chalice of St. Patrick of Jurby is our oldest piece of silver. It bears the London date letter for 1521-2. It has a plain conical bowl, with plain hexagonal stem, divided by a large ornate knob, decorated with six angel faces. An engraved representation of the Crucifixion appears on the foot, which is sexfoil in form and has a border of delicately chased foliage. (*Plate 19*) The Chalice was probably provided when the Bishop of Sodor and Man was Hugh Hesketh. It has been purchased from the Vicar and Wardens of Jurby by Tynwald and now stands in an appropriate position in the Manx National Museum.

KIRK MALEW SILVER PATEN

The medieval silver paten at Kirk Malew has the date *circa* 1525. Engraved on the rim is the legend—'Sancte Lupe Ora pro Nobis' now faint with long usage. The Versicle, or face of our Lord, enclosed in a glory of long rays, is engraved in the sunk sexfoil centre. The inscription, 'Sancte Lupe' etc., is said to connect Kirk Malew with St. Lupus, a pupil of St. German. Among the precious plate at Kirk Malew is a medieval silver paten filled with a rudely engraved versicle or face of the Saviour, surrounded by long, straight-sided rays. The flat rim is inscribed in small black-letter characters, the words 'Sancte Lupe ora pro NOBIS.' Its date is *circa* 1525. Kirk Malew also contains portions of two medieval relics, namely, a Crucifix and the top of a thurible, or censer top.

Our Diocese possesses a fine beaker of 1591-2, preserved with other valuable plate at Kirk German. It is engraved with a plain intersecting band filled with conventional foliage. It was made during the episcopate of the first Bishop of the Reformed Church, John Meryck, who possibly bestowed it as a gift to the parish in which the Cathedral stood.

THE MANX-MADE SANTAN BEAKER

A unique old silver beaker, was wrought by a Douglas craftsman. It is inscribed in rude Roman capitals, 'Kk. St. Anne

1758.' On the flat bottom is engraved this inscription : ' THOs APPLEBY Faecit DUGLIS.' The beaker, being made by a Douglas craftsman, is of high value and interest. All attempts at discovering Appleby's trade or history unfortunately have proved unsuccessful.

THE MYLECHARAINE SILVER CROSS

This is supposed to have been a part of the treasure dug up in the curraghs by one of the early Mylecharaines, who was said to have been an illegitimate son of one of the Christians of Milntown. The family name derives from the Gaelic MacGuilley Charaine (' son or servant of St. Ciaran ').

If, as was assumed by the British Museum authorities, the cross is to be attributed to the fifteenth century, it may have belonged to Rushen Abbey. A figure is carved on one of the faces which looks as if a monk was intended to be shown. It is called ' pectoral,' because it was used as an ornamental breastplate worn by a high priest. The bishop in the middle of the fifteenth century was Thomas Kirkham, who was a Cistercian like the Abbot of Rushen. (*See Plate 20*).



CHAPTER 19

*Ta ynsagh coamrey stoamey yn dooinney berçhagh,
As t'eh berçhys yn dooinney boght.*

*Learning is an ornament of the rich man,
And it is the riches of the poor man.*

OLD MANX PROVERB.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARSHIP

THE first period in the literary history of Man is prior to the seventh century, when there was no political separation between Ireland and Man. The divisions of the Gaelic people of Ireland, Alban, and Man were then regulated by race rather than by the accident of geographical position. The Gael everywhere were united by common origin and ties of race, until the coming of the Norsemen in the ninth and tenth centuries. By the middle of the sixth century Ireland had been amply supplied with schools and monasteries belonging to the Christian community, and books had multiplied, while, through the influence of St. Columba, Iona (which later was included in the diocese of Sodor and Man), had won for itself a unique place in the world of scholarship.

The earliest piece of testimony extant showing the close kinship of the Irish and Manx people is in the seventh century story related by Cormac in his Glossary about a visit paid to Man by Senchan Torpeist, who was Head *Ollamh* or Chief Poet of Ireland from A.D. 649 to 662. Senchan, it is stated, was accompanied on this visit by fifty poets as his retinue, besides students. On their arrival in Man the first person they saw was an old woman gathering seaweed, who asked them who they were. After receiving their reply she gave them a couplet of verse and challenged them to cap it with a corresponding couplet, which one of their number did.

THE COMING OF THE NORSEMEN

In the ninth century Ireland and Man were shaken from shore to shore with ever-recurring alarms by the coming of the

Vikings, and the people lived in a state of terror. Numbers of invaluable documents and sacred relics were destroyed by them, and learning was made well-nigh impossible. In the tenth century the influence of Ireland as a Christian civilizing power was paralysed, while the indigenious and native Christian church in Man and the Hebrides must have been almost wiped out.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE MANX

Every monastery in the Middle Ages was more or less a place in which reading and writing were cultivated, and was an active centre of literary work. Oral literature, handed down by many generations of bards and storytellers, was first committed to writing in the monasteries; and we have in the *Chronicle of Man and the Isles* an example of this, the only one of many books which has escaped destruction. This precious *Chronicle* is clear evidence that the monks of Rushen Abbey were scholars. We have sufficient evidence to believe that there was a school of learning there, where the scholars were taught Latin and the rules of Christianity, in addition to the arts of peace as applied to agriculture.

The men who designed and wrought the beautiful stone monuments in Man were, of course, scholars. It was not until the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries that the ancient Scandinavian legends came to be written in Iceland, a country far removed from ours; but we have clear evidence that some of these great Northern stories were pictured upon the Manx stone monuments hundreds of years before. This astonishing fact throws a significant light upon the development of the prose epic among people who were kin but in two widely separated countries.

From the time of the death of King Magnus of Man, in 1265, to the grant of the Island to Sir John Stanley in 1405, was a dismal period in Manx history. Although it was frequently plundered, there were still some treasures in the form of writings left, for Bishop Russell, in the synodal ordinances issued by him in 1350, ordained that 'the altars must be properly furnished with books, a chalice of silver or gold . . . But the church and all its books must be kept clean and decent.'

THE PERIOD OF THE STANLEYS

The first mention of the word 'scholar' is in an order by the King of Man, in the year 1403, recording the grant to 'Luke Macquyn scholar' of certain portions of land called 'Particles,' which lands were appropriated to the use of 'certain poor scholars, and which were given, confirmed and conceded perpetually to the scholars by our predecessors . . . to have and to hold to the said Luke . . . as long as he shall remain a scholar, for the benefit of the church.* 'The Particles' set apart by the Kings of Man, probably by Olaf I in the twelfth century and his successors, were tracts of land adjacent to churches, where the scholars could subsist while they were students.

This long-continued educational foundation—for such it must have been—was cruelly destroyed by the second Sir John Stanley. He it was, who in 1418, caused the Prior of Whithorn, the Abbot of Furness, the Abbot of Bangor and Sabal, and the Prior of St. Bede in Copeland, to lose their temporalities. In 1429 he defrauded 'the poor schollars,' and the lands called 'Particles' were 'dealt into other uses;' in other words he took the revenues himself. This Stanley, by modern standards, behaved badly but according to the canons of the day his conduct was perhaps normal. How the 'poor schollars' fared after their patrimony was taken into the Lord's hands we do not know, but it can be certain that from 1403 to the foundation of the Academy in Castletown, there must have existed more than one school in which were trained the clerics of the church, and in which, with difficulty, was kept burning the lamp of learning. There were schools kept in Castle Rushen and Castle Peel at the close of the sixteenth century. About this time, 1610, Bishop Phillips, a Welshman, translated, for the first time, the *Book of Common Prayer* into the 'Mannish' tongue.

Bishop Phillips it was who frequently referred to the Island in his discourses as *Ellan Shiant*, 'The sacred Isle.' A century and a half before Phillips's time, Thomas Stanley, Lord of Man, in a letter to the Pope, mentions that Man 'had from the remotest

* Manx Society, Vol. vii, p.225

times been honoured by the relics of certain saints, and that it has been commonly called down to the present day the Holy Island.' That was in 1458.

THE ANCIENT ACADEMY AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It has been generally believed that our first school was started in 1668, when Bishop Barrow created the Academic foundation in Castletown and which ultimately ended in the creation of King William's College.

But the Academy of Barrow and, later, the Free Grammar School of Castletown were maintained in the Old Chapel of Castletown which was erected about 1230 by the same masons who built the church of Rushen Abbey, long since demolished. Here is an extract from the *Chronicle* of the Monks of Rushen Abbey :

' In the year 1257 the Church of St. Mary of Rushen was dedicated by the Venerable Lord and Father Richard, Bishop of the Isles, in the fifth year of his episcopacy, in presence of the Lord Magnus, King of Man and the Isles, in the fifth year of his reign ; (and) while Lord Simon was Abbot (of Rushen).'

It may seem strange to say, but it can be certain that the Church of St. Mary, which later became the Castletown Grammar School, was originally maintained by the Monks of Rushen. It was, like their own monastic church at Ballasalla, dedicated to St. Mary, the patroness of the Cistercian Order. There is a direct reference to the building in the *Manorial Roll* of 1584, where it is called '*Chamb. beatæ Mariæ Vocat Scole house,*' (i.e., the Chamber of the Blessed Mary called School house').

So that we know that by the year 1584 a part of the chapel premises was already a school. One of the greatest scholars of Ireland, Archbishop Hugh MacCawell, who is known to have received his education in Man just at this time, may well have been a pupil there.

The educational traditions of the Cistercian monks had doubtless survived at the chapel-school at Castletown after the dissolution of the neighbouring Abbey. However, the uprooting of the old order in the sixteenth century, and the confusion of civil war in the next, made necessary the reforms



Plate 21.

The Main Wing, erected more than 700 years ago as the original St. Mary's Church of Castletown.



Plate 22. The School Room, showing medieval Arches and Roof Timbers.
[See page 166]

introduced by Bishop Barrow (1663-1671). He not only established the Grammar School on a regular basis, but has also to his credit the foundation of the Academic School—the Island's chief educational establishment. It is of interest that the lands wherewith it was endowed—Hango Hill and Ballagilley—had formed part of the Demesne seized by the Stanleys from Rushen Abbey.

Both schools—the Academy and the Free Grammar School—which long continued together under the roof of the Old St. Mary's Chapel—must have preserved for the Manx people some of the educational traditions which would otherwise have lapsed with the destruction of the Monasteries. An interesting reference to the early stage when the two schools shared the Chapel with the Church-going townsfolk is to be found in the diary of a visitor named Denton, whose original MS., dated 1681, is in the Manx Museum :

'There is a large Chappel in the town, and a school at the end thereof. The Schoolmaster has £60 a year sallery allowed by the Earl of Derby for reading prayers every morning at 11 of ye clock and teaching a Grammar School, and for reading logick and phylosophy to four Accademick Scollars, who are habited in black wide-sleeved goons and square caps and have lodging in the castle and a salary of £10 a year a piece by a new foundation of the present Earl and Lord of Man.'

The Kirk Malew Parish Vestry had the right to put an assessment on the owners of property in Castletown for the upkeep of the school. What proves this is the following document found by David Craine in the Rolls Office :

Whereas the Grammar School House of Castletown was, about two years ago, repair'd, glas'd and made much more commodious with a chimney in it, for the use of the scholars that are or shall hereafter be, educated at that school.

And forasmuch as the voluntary contributions towards that work have not extended to discharge the expenses of it . . . the churchwardens are ordered to collect an assessment from the inhabitants in and bordering on the town to clear off the arrears due to the several workmen.

Voluntary contributors to be exempted. The churchwardens to be allowed 1s. a piece for their trouble.

For the next 150 years, up to the time of the erection of King William's College in 1833, nearly all leading Manxmen in the

civil or ecclesiastical life of the Island were educated in this ancient building. T. E. Brown writes of his father, the Rev. Robert Brown :

‘ He was educated chiefly in Castletown under the auspices of the Academic Fund. He never went to a University, and, in the literary culture to which he attained, he was a conspicuous example of what could be done here.’

Even after 1833, the Grammar School continued to flourish in the original building until 1930, and many of the present generation received at least part of their education within its ancient walls. This venerable building, which has served the community through so many centuries of Island life, from the time of the native Manx Kings, to the twentieth century, the nursery of so many Manxmen notable in their day in Church and State, having been no longer needed for school purposes, was sold by its owners, the Trustees of King William’s College, to the Castletown Town Commissioners. The Trustees of the College, although they well knew there was a scheme for the destruction of the old building, ‘ in the interests of town improvement,’ strange to say, made no stipulation for its preservation. The building deteriorated, and would have fallen into ruin but for the Museum Trustees, who took possession of it under an Act of Tynwald, as an ‘ ancient monument.’ Thus the building has been saved, and will eventually be restored.

Going back to Bishop Barrow. He was a strong-minded prelate, and after he had become aware of the existence of an old scholastic foundation in the shadow of Castle Rushen, he conceived the idea of developing it, and creating an Academy for the teaching of the youth in theology, so that they might be ordained to serve the Manx Church. A noble object, but he had recourse to ignoble methods in order to secure the attainment of his aim. He had the ready ear of Earl Charles (1660-1672) who, in order to allow him ‘ rope ’ made him Governor as well as Bishop. To finance his Academy Trust Fund he ‘ colloqued ’ the Earl to transfer to his name a farm which had once belonged to Rushen Abbey, called Ballagilley and Hango Hill near Castletown. A spirited farmer named John Lace was set down in the official records as its rightful holder, a right

confirmed on two occasions by the Deemsters and Keys. In the role of Governor, Barrow ejected Lace and his family, and captured the amount of the rent. The records in the Rolls Office testify that Lace was, for his insistence in claiming his rightful heritage, committed by Barrow, as the 'sword-bishop,' to the dungeon at Peel Castle.

It is curious to remember that the very lands which Edward, the Third Earl of Derby (1521-72), grasped from the Monastery of Rushen in the sixteenth century—were equally wrongfully taken in the seventeenth century by Bishop Barrow, and the revenues applied to endow the Academy.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COUNTRY SCHOOLS

One of the earliest records of a school relates to the founding of the Clothworkers' school, in Peel. In 1652, Phillip Christian, Clothworker, devised two houses in Paternoster Square, London, in trust to pay £18 to the schoolmaster annually, 'and 40s. in providing books, pens, ink and paper for poor scholars.' Nine years after the date of the Peel foundation there are records of schools in Douglas and in all of the parishes.

The Clergy at the Convocation of 1685 distributed among twelve of their low-salaried brethren a sum which gave them a minimum of £17 per annum, the acceptance of which made them responsible to keep a school in their respective parishes. Was there ever such an instance of unselfishness in the cause of education as this? This historic meeting of the clergy was responsible for creating schools in most of the parishes.

DUKE OF ATHOLL'S EVICTION OF THE CLERGY AND SCHOOLMASTERS

Before the Monastery of Rushen was dissolved, in 1540, the Abbey tithe, which was considerable, was divided into three portions, one of which went to the Bishop, another to the Abbey for the cause of education and the relief of the poor, and the third to the parochial Clergy. The Abbey tithe had been granted by Henry VIII and his successors to various persons; but James I transferred it, in 1634, to James, Earl of Derby, and his successors.

On the application of Bishop Barrow, this tithe of Rushen Abbey, afterward known as the Improprate Tithe, was, in 1666, purchased from Charles, Earl of Derby. The purpose was the augmentation of the salaries of the clergy, the maintenance of schoolmasters, and the erection of schools. The price was to be £1,000, and a fine of £130 every thirtieth year. Bishop Barrow raised the £1,000, paid it over to the Earl, and fortunately got a collateral security for its 'quiet enjoyment.'

In the year 1735 there was a failure of male issue to James, the tenth Earl of Derby; and the Duke of Atholl (as great-grandson and heir-at-law of James, the seventh Earl) claimed and took possession of the Improprate Tithes, notwithstanding the bargain which had been made in 1634 between Bishop Barrow and Charles, Earl of Derby.

The Duke's claim *in law* was incontestable; but it was questionable in morality. He evicted the Manx clergy and schoolmasters from their revenues, and for years they were literally starving as the result. The Manx clergy and schoolmasters had, perforce, in 1743, to bring a suit against Edward, the then Earl of Derby, who had come into possession of the English Derby estates, for compensation out of the collateral security given to Bishop Barrow by his ancestor three generations before; and, in 1757, after protracted and painful delays, lasting 22 years, the clergy and schoolmasters won their case and secured their rights.

The average salary of the clergy was less than £17 per annum, and the schoolmasters £8, and the Duke of Atholl attempted to take this amount from them. In a few cases he lent them their salaries at five per cent interest. The action of the Duke of Atholl in evicting the clergy from their livings for 22 years, is not a creditable one.

However cruel and grasping some of the Derbys had been, the Atholls proved to be more so. Spencer Walpole says: 'If this verdict be true of the Stanleys it is still more true of the Atholls. If they are not deserving of the reproach which still clings to their memory, they cannot be commended for any great action.'

The four Seasons of the year
wherein Marriages are forbidden &
without the License or Dispensation of
the Church in these following
Verses or Disticks.

Advent bids thee to refrain
Hillary bids thee free again
Septuagesima bids thee stay
Six dayes from Easter sayes thou may
Ascension pleads thy Chastity;
But thou mayst wed at Trinity.



Plate 23 Specimen of the Script written by Vicar-General William Walker, who was in 1692 a scholar in the Academy at Castletown.

[See page 171]



*Plate 24. (A) Oak Treasure Chest of the 15th Century from
Castle Rushen.*

(Both now in Manx Museum)



*(B) Oak Press for Archives from the Rolls Office in
Castle Rushen 16th century.*

[See page 179]

ROMANTIC STORY OF DR. WALKER

The earliest educational endowment in Douglas is that of a sum of £250 Irish, given in the year 1706, by the Trustees of the Academic Fund. The amount was 'for and towards the maintenance of a chaplain and schoolmaster in the town of Douglas.' The first master was William Walker. Perhaps a few particulars of the career of this figure in Manx religious life will be interesting. He was the son of a poor widow living in Castletown, though he was born in Ballaugh in 1679. He became one of the first students of the Academy through a peculiar and fortuitous accident. When he was twelve or thirteen years of age he was employed as a lad on Balladoole farm. By some means, he had already learned to read. In the harvest time it was the boy's job to drive a horse and *carr* (sledge) to the corn-field. One day, while sitting on his empty sledge, he took his book out of his pocket and began to read with such profound absorption that the horse, taking advantage of the inattention of the driver, ran furiously down the lawn before Balladoole House. Mr. Stevenson, who was a member of the House of Keys and afterwards Speaker, saw the whole incident, and stopped the runaway horse. The little reader still had the book in his hand. The master, instead of rebuking the boy for neglect, said: 'Since thou art so fond of reading, thou shalt have enough of it.' Accordingly, the next day he sent the boy to the Academic School. This was in the year 1692.

Young Walker made remarkable progress in classical and academic learning, and eight years after, in 1700, he was ordained and made first master of the Douglas Grammar School, although he was two years below canonical age. In 1712 he became Vicar-General and was chief confidant of Bishop Wilson. He, along with the Bishop and Vicar-General Curghey, was imprisoned illegally by Governor Horne for nine weeks, and spent his time in the cells in Castle Rushen translating the scriptures with them into the Manx language. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in London. He died Rector of Ballaugh, and in his will, dated 1729, he remembered the cause of education. He bought four acres of land for the use of the schoolmaster of the parish in perpetuity and gave a sum towards

the building of a dwelling house. A fine new church-hall was, in 1910, erected in Ballaugh village with monies partly derived from Dr. Walker's benefaction ; but it is regretted that no indication is given on the building that it was made possible by the charity of the Doctor.

In 1645 it was humorously suggested, by one of the jurors in a Sheading Court in Rushen, that a copy of Æsop's Fables (which he produced) be used to swear witnesses upon, in the stead of a copy of the Scriptures. And for his temerity he was in danger of a fine. This rare book had only just been published in Heidelberg.

THE FIRST EDUCATION ACT IN 1703

In an age when the advantages of education had obtained no public and little private recognition in other parts of the British Isles, Tynwald established schools in every parish. At the early date of 1703 it passed a statute providing for compulsory education, long before England did. This law provided that for the promoting of religion, learning, and good manners, all persons shall be obliged to send their children as soon as they are capable of receiving instruction to some petty school . . . and that such persons who neglect . . . shall . . . be fined in one shilling per quarter to the use of the schoolmaster.

The clergy continued to be responsible for the organising of the schools, and they were bound to visit them every quarter and take an account of the improvement of every child. The hand of Bishop Wilson can be seen through all this. He was the life and soul of the educational movement, and he inspired the clergy with his own enthusiasm. He even regulated the school hours which began at seven in the summer and eight in the winter. There were prayers every morning and evening, with the Collects. Every evening the master gave the children a short charge to be sure to say their prayers before they went to bed and as soon as they rose ; to be dutiful to their parents, civil and respectful to all they met ; to be careful not to tell any manner of lie, nor to take God's name in vain. The Act of 1703 was promptly put into operation, and we have knowledge that many parents were fined for neglecting to send their children to school.

THE OLD PUBLIC LIBRARIES

This sketch would not be complete without some reference to the old Public Libraries. The first record of a public library is in the year 1669, when the trustees of the Academic Fund gave the sum of £4 8s. 8½d. towards fitting up a new library in Castletown. Records as to this library are scanty. In 1693 Governor Sacheverell wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury stating there was £200 in hand for the building of a library ; mentioning further that they required ' convenient lodgings for the Academic youths, who are forced to diet in public houses in the town.'

About the year 1705, Bishop Wilson made an agreement with the House of Keys to erect a new library in what is now known as Parliament Square, Castletown. There were to be two floors, the lower floor to be used by the House of Keys as a chamber, and the upper floor to house the library.

Within recent years a full and interesting record of the building of the library and a statement of its cost have come to light ; and also a complete and most interesting catalogue of the library. These documents bear evidence that an earlier library had existed in Castletown, the site and date of the founding of which are unknown. When the new library building was erected, in 1706, the Keys contributed £20, and took the ground floor as a meeting chamber.

A hundred years after the building of the new library, viz., in 1818, the roof was in a bad state of repair, and the books were in danger. The House of Keys, in consideration of a further payment of £20, took possession of the whole building, and the library was transferred to the Castletown Grammar School, which was the old Academy. The books—then reduced to the number of 1,100 volumes—were in a bad state, and £20 was expended by the direction of the Bishop in re-binding. When King William's College was erected, in 1833, the library was removed to the new building. The great fire which occurred at the College in 1844, unfortunately destroyed the library, and the whole of the valuable books which had been gathered together nearly a century and a half before.

Another considerable library was founded at Douglas by Bishop Wilson about the year 1700. It was added to by Bishop Hildesley and the Rev. Philip Moore, the Chaplain of St. Matthew's, who was also the Grammar School master. There is in the Museum a catalogue, made in 1722 by Philip Moore, of this library, amounting to about 250 volumes. One entry in the catalogue is worth a reference here. It reads: 'Five bundles of original MS. of the Manx Scriptures corrected per M. C. and P. M. to be preserved in case of another edition.' M. C. and P. M. were Matthias Curghey and Philip Moore, who were largely responsible for the translation and publication of the first complete Scriptures in 'Manks' in 1722. Following on the founding of a library at the Douglas Grammar School, about 1710, Bishop Wilson organised libraries in every parish, under the control of the Clergy. Catalogues of most of them are to be found in the Museum.

This review of Early Schools and Scholarship must close at the opening of the nineteenth century, when elementary education became the privilege of all Manx children, long before it became general in England. To the enthusiasts who made this possible, the ill-paid clergy and schoolmasters of the time, our homage is long overdue.



The Cushag

CHAPTER 20

*And he called to him Sir John Stanley,
To take his pledge of cattle and goods.
'Because thou hast served me well,
And gained booty for me and thyselF,
Take for thy portion the Isle of Man,
To be for thee and thine for ever.*

16TH CENT. BALLAD.

THE COMING OF THE STANLEYS IN 1405

LITTLE is known of Manx affairs during the fourteenth century except what concerned the wars between the English and Scots. After Edward III won Man it was held as an English base from about 1330. Its independent status was, however, recognised, as Sir James Gell reminds us. The great English nobles to whom the Island was entrusted had the title and insignia of kings. They even signed treaties with foreign powers as allies of their overlord.

SIR JOHN STANLEY I, 1405-14

In 1405 the kingdom was given by Henry IV to Sir John Stanley on condition of 'rendering to our heirs the future kings of England, two falcons on the days of their coronation.' The oldest documents of the Stanley era testify to the survival of the constitution of the Norse dynasty, and in particular the meetings of the Commons at Tynwald. With the coming of the Stanleys a new and profound change took place in our history. It marked the beginning of what proved to be a better era, for peace and stable government replaced the anarchy of the preceding period. Sir John Stanley's descendants were destined to be rulers of Man, under the title of 'King' or 'Lord' for over three hundred years. The greatest house in the north of England was Knowsley, and the Stanleys themselves have figured in English history for many centuries. Tradition, it is hoped, counts for something, and in all the past centuries the family has more frequently been honoured by Kings and Princes than any other.

THE STORY OF THE EAGLE AND CHILD

Sir John Stanley's marriage with the heiress of Lathom had increased his influence and wealth, and he stood very high in the estimation of King Henry IV. How two families—the Stanleys and the Lathoms—joined and the results of such combination offer a romance which is worth the telling. Here is the story handed down by Seacome.

Sir Thomas Lathom and his Lady were taking their usual walk in the park. They drew near to a deserted and wild situation, where, it was commonly reported an eagle usually built her nest. Upon their near approach, they heard cries of a young child, which they ordered their servants to look for. They reported it was in the eagle's nest. They directed the nest to be taken down, and to their great surprise they saw in it a male infant, dressed in rich swaddling clothes.

Having no male issue, they looked upon the child as a gift sent from heaven and that it was the will of God that they should take him into their care, which they did. They had him carefully nursed,



FIG. 43. Eagle and Child.

baptised by the name of Lathom, and he became possessed of the wealthy Lathom estate. At his death he left an only daughter named Isabel. This is the child that Sir John Stanley married: and in memory of this event, he took the Eagle and Child for his crest, and it has ever since been used by his successors the Earls of Derby.

Seacome frankly tells us that the affair was a well-planned plot, with the aid of a confederate. Sir Thomas had a male child of his own, as the result of a love intrigue, and this was the one that occupied the nest.

SIR JOHN STANLEY II, 1414-37

The historian reaches firmer ground from the time of the accession of the house of Stanley. The written records commence, and the statutes are reduced to writing. The first Sir John is not recorded as ever coming to the Island. He was too busy at the court of Henry IV, and he spent much time on duty in Ireland, where he died while he was Lord Lieutenant.

His son and heir, another Sir John, crossed over to Man in 1417, when a serious rising against his Lieutenant Governor, John Litherland, required his presence. On his arrival he proceeded to hold a Tynwald at St. John's, to which the 'Barons, Deemsters, Officers, Tenants and Commons of the Land' were summoned according to ancient custom. It was to this Sir John II that the Deemsters and Twenty-four laid down the minute and memorable regulations as to how the King was to comport himself at Tynwald.

He was to come thither in royal array as a King ought to do. He was to sit upon the Hill of Tynwald on a chair covered with a royal cloth and cushions, with his visage unto the east, his sword before him, holden with the point upward. The Barons who had not already done so were to make their 'faith and fealtie'; and the commoners were to show their charters.

In 1422 the Governor, John Walton, was so unpopular that a rebellion on a large scale broke out in the North Side. He had held a Tynwald in the parish of Kirk Michael (exactly where is not stated), on 'Tuesday next after the Feast of Corpus Christi,' namely 4th June. Led by Hawley McIssacke, Finlo McCowley, William McCurghey and Finlo McCaighen, Walton and his men were severely handled, and they had to flee to the church and churchyard to save themselves being beaten to death. The Tynwald site therefore could not have been far from the church.

Learning of the trouble, Sir John Stanley arrived in Man, and summoned a Tynwald to be held 'upon the Hill of Reneurling on Tuesday next after the Feast of Bartholomew' namely on the 24th August, 1422. A score of the rebels were found guilty by the Deemsters, and they were sentenced to 'be drawn by horses, then hanged, drawn and quartered, one quarter to be set upon the castle tower over the burne, another at Holme towne, and a third to be set at Ramsey, and a fourth at Douglas.'

Sir John attended a Tynwald held 'on the Vigill of our Lady St. Mary' (24th March) 1422, at Castle Rushen, 'betwixt the butts.*' There were several regulations as to the conduct of

* Gill's Edition, p.23, says 'betwixt the gates.'

aliens who had not sworn fealty. If one such was indicted he had choice of three things 'First, to rest in prison a year and a day, eating bread consisting of one part meal, another part chaff, and another part ashes, and 'to drink of the water next the prisson doore'; the second choice was to 'forswear the king and all his land'; or else, for the third choice, 'to pay the king three pounds.'

In 1428 Henry Byron was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and in the same year was held a Tynwald at Killabbane in the parish of Kirk Braddan, at which it was decided 'that Prowesse be put down, saving in the Lord's causes.' This decision to settle all disputes by peaceful means and not by force, is surely a noteworthy one for five centuries ago.

Among the many Stanley Lords of the feudal type, Sir John II stands out as one who took a pride in taking his part in the government. He may, as A. W. Moore points out, be considered an enlightened ruler, much in advance of his time. He caused the ancient laws to be put into writing, and he conceded a representative form of government which, unfortunately, was afterwards lost, through the usurpation of Sir John's successors.

OUR EARLY ARCHIVES

The most useful of our archivists was John Quayle who, in 1725, was Clerk of the Rolls (*Clericus Rotulorum*). He compiled what he called a 'Book of Precedents' in which he set down very briefly, particulars of the earliest parchments in the Rolls Office, then housed in Castle Rushen. Explaining the reason for the paucity of very ancient archives, he tells us that Mary, the daughter of our King Reginald, was disturbed as Queen by Alexander, King of Scotland, and that she fled to King Edward of England for protection and brought with her 'all her charters and deeds.' A short time after she died and all the writings were lost.

THE TWENTY-FOUR 'WORTHIEST' MEN

The Twenty-four 'worthiest' men—the members of the Keys—at the beginning of the fifteenth century had interesting and honoured names, which are well worth recording :

THE COMING OF THE STANLEYS

William de Yvenowe (Kennah?)	John McWhaltragh (Qualtrough)
Gilbert (Gibbon) McIssak	William McAlisandre
(Kissack).	(Callister)
Gilcrist McComis (Comish)	John McScaly (Skelly)
Peter McQuiggin (Quiggin)	William Skerff (Scarff)
Finlo McQuay (Quaye)	John Neleson (Kneale and Nelson)
Germot McMartin (Martin)	William McCrystyn (Christian)
Patrick McHelly (Kelly)	Juan McQuirk (Quirk)
Jenkin McNyven (Kneen)	Patrick McTere (Teare)
Reginald Stevenson	Gibbon McAwley (Cowley)
Patrick McGylle (Gill and	Donald McCorrane (Craine and
Gale)	Karran)
Gilbert McWanty (Vondy)	Richard McGawen (Gawne)
Patrick McKane (Caine)	Nicholas McGibbon (Cubbon)

In order that uniformity should be observed in matters of law and custom, one Nicholas Blundell, who acted under the first Sir John Stanley, in 1405, ordained that all legal decisions be written down.

That the Clarke of the Rowles write all things plain with full letters and the Judgement thereof in parchment, that if any cause come another time it may be found in the Treasury.

That the Bookes be put into the Treasury and locked with iii Keyes, the Lieutenant to have one Key, the Receiver a Key, and the Comptroller a Key.'

It is of intense interest to realise that the 'treasury chest' referred to in this quotation from the 1422 statutes actually still exists and can be seen at our National Museum.* What dramatic episodes have been witnessed by this venerable coffer! for we know that after the dissolution of the monastery, the Derbys possessed some of its treasures, and it may too have embraced one or more of the 'three reliques of Man.' (*Plate 24.*)

THOMAS the FIRST LORD STANLEY, 1437-59

After the death of the second Sir John Stanley in 1437 the Isle of Man almost disappears from history for a century. Sir John's successors, being highly placed in government favour had important work elsewhere. His son, Sir Thomas, the first Lord Stanley, was employed in Ireland and France. For nine years he was a member of Parliament for Lancashire.

* The chest is of oak, plain and strong, twenty inches high by four feet two inches long, and sixteen inches wide. There is evidence that three separate keys had been used.

In 1456 he became a member of the House of Peers as Lord Stanley, and a privy councillor. There is no record of his ever visiting Man. He died in 1459 after reigning twenty-two years. It is believed that it was during his time that the huge curtain wall at Peel Castle was erected. It is interesting to note that his Comptroller was William de Mylnetown, who was a Christian of Milntown, Lezayre.

THE SCOTTISH INVASION OF MAN IN 1456

The history of the Island during the three centuries which followed the downfall of its native kings in 1266 is very inadequately known, owing to the dearth of local records ; but following the researches of a Scottish historian, Mrs. Dunlop, a new chapter regarding the relations between Scotland and Man five hundred years ago has come to light in her book on *James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews*.

When the young James II became King of Scotland in fact as well as in name, about the year 1450, Scottish claims to the suzerainty of Man, precarious at best, had lapsed for more than a hundred years. James nevertheless tried to convert what was no more than a shadowy title into actual dominion, and in 1455 the King of Scots had the temerity to invest his son in the political Lordship of Man. When hostilities again broke out between England and Scotland, he assembled ships and an army at the Galloway seaport of Kirkcudbright and attacked Man in sufficient strength to provoke the retaliation of Thomas I Stanley Lord of the Island, and to incur the threat of Papal excommunication at his instance.* What the Scots achieved is not on record, but the Galloway accounts for 1456 mention ' a ship that was sent to Man to explore when the King's army was there,' and compensation was paid the following year for the wreck of a vessel while at the Island in the King's service.

Thomas I Lord Stanley took immediate steps to avenge the Scots invasion. He placed his eldest son Thomas II, but then in his early twenties, in command of an expedition which was to attack Galloway. A document preserved in the Scottish Register House speaks of Stanley's invasion of ' Kirkcudbright by sea with his accomplices to the number of five or six hundred men, who plundered and burned the town and committed riefs upon the Marches.'

* The rescript of Pope Pius II, 20th January, 1459, granted Thomas Stanley's plea ' that all those who molest the Island ' should incur excommunication. (Manx Soc. XXII, 414-421.)

P. W. Caine has pointed out that Thomas Stanley's raid on Kirkcudbright in 1457 must be the incident referred to in the following passage translated from our *Manannan Ballad*. In view of the fact that Talbot and other critics were fond of casting doubt on the antiquity and veracity of the *Ballad*, it is pleasing to observe that this incident is no figment of the imagination.

Then came Thomas Derby, born King,
'Twas he that wore the golden garter ;

On Scotchmen he revenged himself,
And he went over to Kirkcudbright,
And there made such havoc of houses,
That some of them are yet unroofed.
Was not that pretty in a young man
To revenge himself while he was but young,
Before his beard had grown round his mouth,
And to carry his men home with him whole.

THE PEEL CASTLE CURTAIN WALL 500 YEARS OLD

Now we know that the Scottish King attempted to gain control of Man between 1455 and the time of his accidental death in 1460 ; and we can understand the reason, hitherto obscure, which impelled the Stanleys to erect the 'extraordinary and massive' curtain wall at Peel Castle whereby for the first time virtually the whole islet was enclosed within the fortress walls. From at least as early as the fourteenth century, Peel Castle was the military strong point and administrative centre of that part of the Island which lay nearest to the unfriendly Scots. It had suffered from a Scottish attack in or about 1388, and can hardly have escaped in 1456. We now know that its massive strengthening by the erection of what is called the 'Green Curtain' (to distinguish it from the older red sandstone wall) was the work of Thomas Stanley.

In 1428, thirty-four years before the incident at Kirkcudbright, there was a customary law that 'all Scotts avoid the land with the next vessel that goeth unto Scotland.' And at a later date the soldiers of the Castle Peel were 'forced to lye in the night before and the night after' their watch and ward, because the Castle was 'nearer our enemies the Red Shanks.'

THOMAS II, FIRST EARL OF DERBY, 1459-1504

Thomas II, the son and successor of Thomas I, was the statesman who is said to have turned the tide at the field of Bosworth, and who—married to the mother of Henry VII—became one of the foremost figures at the English court. He was raised to the Earldom of Derby in 1485. He was the builder of Lathom House, which became famous through its defence by the Seventh Earl's noble consort Charlotte 150 years later. He died in 1504. There is no record of his visiting Man and during his reign our statute book is a blank. Among his Manx officials were the Abbot of Rushen, John Farker the Governor; William Parr, Comptroller; John Moore and John Christian, Deemsters. It was in Earl Thomas's time that the first Manorial Roll which survives in the Rolls Office was written.

THOMAS III, SECOND EARL OF DERBY, 1504-21

On Lord Derby's death in 1504, he was succeeded by his grandson Thomas III the second Earl. He it was who deemed it politic to drop the rank of King, by which his ancestors had been distinguished. He believed that to be a great Lord was a more honourable title than a petty King, so that he assumed the title of Lord of Man. But he gave up no rights or privileges. He was as aggressive as any of his breed. He died in 1521. No legislation of any importance is recorded during his reign. Among the officials of this period were Sir John Ireland, the Captain; Henry Halsall, Steward; Henry Gawne (of Ballagawne) Attorney. Robert Calcote, the Lord's Receiver, had a 'hawke-house' in Castletown. One of the Deemsters was Thomas Norres of Vausetown, near Castletown.

CHAPTER 2 I

There is a Nobility without Heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his Desert, and pre-eminence of his good parts.

—RELIGIO MEDICI.

IN THE GLORY OF PETTY KINGSHIP

EDWARD, THE THIRD EARL, 1521-72

AT the time of the death in 1521 of Thomas III, (the second Earl), his eldest son, Edward, who was in his eleventh year, became a ward of Cardinal Wolsey. During his minority his Manx affairs were in the guardianship of the Lord Bishop (who was the Abbot of Rushen, Thomas Ratcliff), Robert Calcott, Receiver, and William Parr, Clerk of the Rolls. During his very long reign of over fifty years he always appears as the head of a great house, the wielder of authority little less than royal. The establishment he maintained was little inferior in extent and splendour to that of his sovereign. The splendour of his funeral was in keeping with the magnificence in which he had lived. Although there is no record of his visiting Man he seems to have been anxious to know all of what was going on, and, at times, interfering even in matters of detail.

In 1542 he is said to have marched into Scotland with the Duke of Norfolk with 20,000 men, and committed great devastation.

DISPLAY OF THE BADGE OF THE THREE LEGS

The correspondence of Earl Edward includes a letter to his officers in Man urging them to defend the Isle against the Scots. Another is written in 1533 to the Abbot of Whalley stating that he is credibly informed by his officers that the Scots intend to attack Man with 'malyce.' He urges the Abbot to cause 'XX tall men and good archers . . . well harnessed . . . in whyt jacketts, with my Badge of the Leggs of Man of red clothe,

befor on the brest, or behynd on their backes, and in all haste possible to passe into my Isle for its defense.' There were to be a similarly equipped twenty in Man to assist them.

DRAMATIC STORY OF THE DEEMSTER'S YOUNG WIDOW

It is seldom one can meet in our archives with such an intimate story of human interest as the following. Twelve years after Thomas Norres was appointed southern Deemster he died in 1533. He was of the family that held an estate near Castletown called, in 1511, Vausetown, and situate to the west of the river Silverburn.

Norres left a young widow who was soon sought in marriage by a soldier, attached to Castle Peel, named John Kyghley. This young fellow was able, by some means, to secure the influence of Earl Edward. Having been born in 1510, the Earl was only twenty-five years old, but he was responsible for sending to the widow of the Deemster the following fatherly letter :*

Forasmoch as ye be my Wido, I dowt not but accordynge to your dutye ye will take myn advyse. And for so moche as John Kyghley, one of my Soldiors of the Pele in Man is right desirous to mary with you for the good Love and favor he berith to you . . . Wherefore in my hertywise I desire you to be contented to take the said John to your Husbande ; in which doing ye shall not only deserve my thankes but also for your so doing I will ye knowe that ye and he together shal have and hold the tenement late in the tenure of your husband, doing to me your dutye therefor accustomed . . . And thus fare ye well.

This order of the Earl was imperative and the Deemster's young widow became Mistress Kyghley.

HENRY, FOURTH EARL OF DERBY, 1572-93

Henry the Fourth Earl is known to have visited his kingdom at least three times, in 1577, 1583, and in 1588. On the first occasion in May of that year, he christened two pieces of ordnance which are now shown at Blair Castle in Scotland. One gun, curiously moulded with a dragon's head, is 5 ft. 8 ins. long and has the wording ' Henry Earle of Derby Lorde of

* Chatham Soc. Correspondence of Edward Third Earl of Derby, 1890.

this Isle of Man beying here in Maye 1577 named me William.' The other, 8 ft. 9 ins. long, had the arms of Man cast in relief, and was christened 'Dorothe.'

On Midsummer Day, 1577, he presided at Tynwald, when what was termed a 'Book of Rates' was compiled, setting out the Customs dues on goods exported and imported. At this early date the head of the Customs in Douglas—he was termed 'the Customer'—kept a record of all the transactions. The accounts were called 'Ingates and Outgates,' and they run from 1578 to the end of the eighteenth century.* They are a veritable mine of information about the adventurous maritime commerce in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There can be little doubt that at this early date there was a considerable traffic in spirituous liquors far beyond the local requirements. In one year, 1580, it is recorded that no less than forty-three tunnes, one pipe, thirteen hogsheads, two barrels, and two firkins of wine entered our ports, altogether forty consignments. They came from France, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, in both foreign and local barks.

We know that the duties on these goods in England were very much higher than they were here; but there was with us no question of smuggling. Smuggling occurred only when the goods were taken into England contrary to English law. The real smuggler was the Englishman who bought the goods from the Manx trader and landed them on his own shores. The trading was perfectly legitimate as far as the local trader was concerned. But the Manxman had to suffer the blame. It must not be forgotten that all the receipts from the customs dues went into the pocket of the Lord, and it was his aim to increase them. There is inserted in the book for 1575 an actual letter written by Earl Henry authorising his 'well-beloved servant William Crysten, from tyme to tyme as wyne come in . . . for choyse wyne for myselfe, my counsellors, and for my cozen Mrs. Mydeleton of Leighton.' This was Deemster Christian the ninth of Milntown, grandfather of Illiam Dhone.

* They are now in the Manx Museum. See W. Cubbon's paper on Maritime Commerce in Proc. IV. Antiq. Soc.

This wine business—for it evidently was a business—of the import and export of wines was engaged in by the Earl's high officers as well as by those of lower rank at Castle Rushen and Castle Peel. The captain himself, Richard Sherburne, the nephew of Earl Henry, the Comptroller, the Lord Bishop John Meryck; the constable of Rushen John Clarke, and the constable of Pele, Henry Townley, these all shipped wine to their friends.

Among the archives in the Rolls Office is the first civil list we have come across, dated 1575, three years after Earl Henry's accession. It is full of human interest. One entry shows the wife of John Kyghlei, once the Deemster's widow, to be the launderer, and the other that Richard Lucas was the 'Tayster' for the Lord. It was his duty to taste food and drink to ascertain their quality or to detect poison.* (*See Plate 25*)

At this period alien merchants who wanted to trade permanently in Man had to purchase their freedom. In 1583 David Conyngham, Scottishman, petitioned Earl Henry 'that he might become a free denizen to him and to the Isle and that he would accept of his faith and fidelitie by way of othe.' His freedom fee was 6s. 8d. and he was sworn by Deemster Samsbury.

A series of papers in the Rolls Office are called 'The Book of Charge.' In these there are details of the 'dues' which the Lord had, by some means not approved by the Keys, forced

* Here are the chief items in the Civil List of 1575 for Castle Rushen :

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Richard Sherborne, Governor	20	0	0	William Lucas, Receiver ..	6	13	4
Humphrey Scarisbreck,				Robert Christian and John			
Comptroller	4	0	0	Lucas, Deemsters, each		40	0
Peter Farrand, scolemaster..	4	0	0	William Fowler, surgeon ..		26	8
John Calcott, attorney.. ..		6	8	Richard Gladwin, gunner..		66	8
Richard Lucas as Taster for				John Clewin, falconer ..		26	8
the Lord	40	0	0	William Stolle, smith ..	1	13	4
William Corlett, brewer ..	20	0	0	Richard Faragher, milner		20	0
Patrick Cowne, slater	13	4		Richard Quaille, maltman		13	4
Charles Benson, butler.. ..	13	4		Bryan Bradshaw, couke ..		20	0
William Kenaig, almoner ..		6	8	Uxor John Kyghlei, launderer		13	4
Robert More, fether gatherer		5	0	John Shymen, butching boy		3	4
There were 40 soldiers in Castle				Six soldiers for the Watche			
Rushen at 20s. each the year	40	0	0	the year	10	0	0



Plate 25. Punch ' Taster from Castle Rushen used in the time of the Derbys now in the Manx Museum. A 1580 record says : ' My Lord's Taster, Reginald Lucas, for his wages as Taster for the Lord XI's. as well as a butte of sacke ' .

[See page 186]



Plate 26. Peel Castle and Cathedral about 1650 showing the Curtain Wall built in the fifteenth century.
[See page 181]

upon his tenants the task of ' victualling ' the officials and soldiers of the castles.* Five hundred beeves were carried off from the farms in order to feed the two garrisons.

Many of the regulations issued by Earl Henry appear to have sprung from the usage of the English medieval Manor with its traditions of servitude quite foreign to the Manxman.

At the root of Manorial practice was the ' Prerogative ' and the ' Profit ' of the Lord. Whatever indulgence the Stanley rulers were disposed to show to native customs, they clung to the prerogatives, perquisites, and monopolies of a Manorial proprietor ; and were not above displaying an arbitrary temper at times, as in 1577 when Earl Henry pardoned a felon and ordered him to ' wear an iron collar revetted about his neck for two years and two dayes ' or when, as we have seen, his father married the widow of Deemster Norris to a Soldier of the Peel, under a threat of loss of the Deemster's estate.

FERDINANDO, FIFTH EARL, 1593-4

Henry the late Earl had married the grand-daughter and co-heiress of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and his son, Ferdinando, fifth Earl, succeeded in 1593. He is said to have been urged to claim the throne of England in virtue of his descent from Henry VII ; and, on his refusal to have been poisoned by those who had instigated him to do so. In any case, he died unexpectedly in 1594, in the year following that in which he succeeded to the title.

Among the long line of the Stanleys there is only one besides the Great Earl who stands out as a literary figure, and that is Ferdinando. He was a friend of the English poets of his day and was himself a writer of verses. He had a company of dramatic players when he died in 1594, of whom Shakespeare is said to have been a member. Ferdinando, leaving only daughters, the baronies of Stanley and Strange fell into abeyance. His brother William succeeded as sixth Earl. Doubts arose as to the succession to the Manx crown, William and his

* Here are some instances : Wheat at 12d. per boll, barley 8d., beeves at 4s. each, muttuns 6d., hoggs 4d., lambs 1d., geese 1d. pair, hens three a penny, chickens four a penny.

nieces both urging their claims to it. The question was referred in 1595 to referees appointed by Queen Elizabeth; for she, 'well knowing that the English and Spanish refugees cast a longing eye on that Island'—to quote Camden—'took possession of it,' and in August 1595, re-appointed Sir Thomas Gerard as Governor.

The only connection the late Earl Ferdinando seems to have had with Man was a number of orders relating to the provisioning of Castles Rushen and Peel. His tenants were each to provide '52 turves of one cubit in length,' (the length of the forearm, about eighteen inches). The order made by his father, Henry, that quarterland holders must 'pay every yeare a Beeffe into the Castles, which is above six hundred beeves a yeare,' was re-affirmed by him. But these regulations were imposed by Sir Thomas Gerard, the Governor, and do not appear to have been approved of by the Keys. Gerard was always anxious to get what was called the 'Lord's profit.' As instances of this the following cases are copied from the records:

One fined for taking his own sheep after being a yeare and a day a stray. The sheep and her lamb left to the Lord.

A.B. versus C.D. for a hive of bees. The jury say that the plaintiff recovers nothing but do find that the hive of bees do properly belong to the Lord by his prerogative, for that no man can prove them to be their owne.

The Great Enquest present that the Forrester had not for seven weeks taken care to keep the Deer from the tennants corne. The Governor ordered this presentment to be void, being against the Lord's prerogative to confine his Game, for that they have free chase throughout the Island.

LORD VAUSE'S PLAYERS AT THE CASTLE

In the time when Captain Robert Molynieux was Governor of Man and when Queen Elizabeth had assumed the Lordship, a company of Players is recorded to have visited Castle Rushen. All we know of this intriguing incident is the following entry in the *Book of Charge* under date 1603:

Paid to my Lord Vause's Players in reward for a Plaie acted by them, xxs.

It is possible they were a travelling company under the patronage of Lord John Vaux, that came to entertain the court at the invitation of the high-born Molynieux, the Governor. Scholars have been tempted to aver that Lord Vause's Players may have had something to do with the companies of strolling players associated with Shakespeare, who had actually been playing at Blackfriars Theatre where 'Hamlet' was produced in 1602. As a matter of fact there was a Lord Vaux's Company playing at Coventry in 1603. They belonged to that order of players who travelled on foot and carried their costumes on their backs, and they probably attracted the attention of Governor Molynieux who brought them to Castle Rushen for his own and his officers' entertainment.

POPULAR ELECTION OF A DEEMSTER

It would appear that in very early times there was a custom that the Twenty-four Keys, along with a jury of two selected from each of the parishes, were to select four suitable men from whom the king or his governor might appoint a Deemster. In 1605 there was a vacancy for the Northside Deemster, and four men were put forward, from whom the governor selected Ewan Christian of Milntown. The others were Henry Radcliffe, William Bridson and Edward Christian.

WILLIAM I, SIXTH EARL, 1610-42

For a brief period, while the claims of Earl Ferdinando's three daughters were being considered, Queen Elizabeth and James I took over the lordship. Queen Elizabeth died in 1603 and it is said that during her period she presented to Castle Rushen the ancient clock which still adorns its walls. William I, the sixth Earl of Derby, brother of the late Ferdinando, assumed the Lordship in 1610. There is no trace in our records of Earl William acting officially as Lord of the Isle. From 1612 to 1627 it seems to have been ruled by his countess alone, assisted by her son, the young Lord Strange.

On the death of Earl William's wife, the young Strange, who became the potent seventh Earl, although he was only twenty-one years of age, assumed the rule.

CHAPTER 22

*Fame, which ploughs up the air and sows in the wind,
has often been dangerous to the living ; and what the
dead get by it let the dead tell. I and some others
who are almost dead have in the meantime some guess.*

JAMES, SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY

THE AMBITIOUS STANLAGH MOOAR

ALTHOUGH Earl William survived until 1642, his very talented and vigorous son, James (who became the seventh Earl on the death of his father) ruled in Man from 1627, when he was called Lord Strange. It is perhaps with the names and period of James, his wife the Countess Charlotte, and of William Christian (Illiam Dhone) that the most tragic and compelling incidents in our history are associated.

When a precocious youth of twenty, James was given authority by his father and mother to act as their proxy in Man. He even attended meetings of Tynwald and directed affairs of State. He was given the name of *Stanlagh Mooar*, the 'Great Stanley,' not because of any popularity he had secured, but because he was the most resourceful and powerful of all the family that preceded him : he was, in fact, the least loved and the most feared.

James the seventh Earl was returned to Parliament for the borough of Liverpool in 1625 when he was only nineteen, and he became Mayor in the following year. He was made a Knight of the Bath on the coronation of Charles I, and he married Charlotte de la Tremoille, daughter of the Duke of Thouars at the Hague in the same year, while he was still Lord Strange.

It is recorded in our statute book that he attended a Tynwald held on Midsummer Day, 24th June, 1629, and he ratified at Lathom the Acts passed at the Tynwald in the following August. He was then only twenty-three years old. He seems to have been jealous that the Deemsters gave judgment from their knowledge of their 'breast laws,' and in an Act of Tynwald



Plate 27

JAMES STANLEY, SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY (1607-1651)

From an original painting in the Manx Museum

[See page 190]

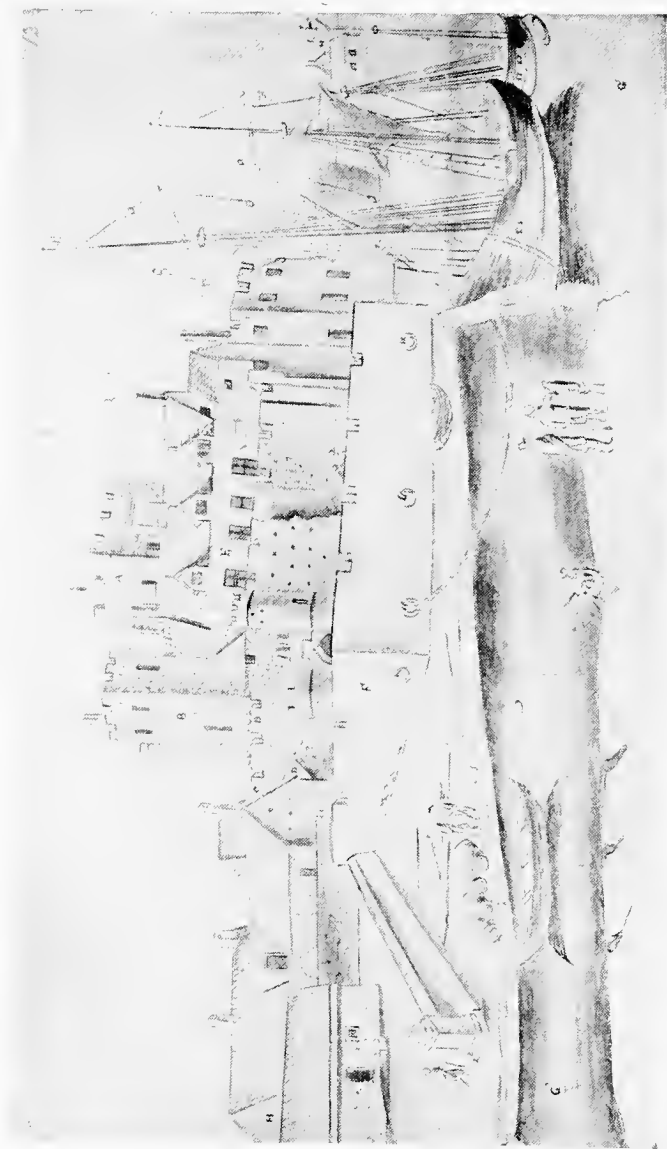


Plate 28. CASTLE RUSHEN; from a drawing by Daniel King, c 1650

The building marked E in the centre of the picture was erected by the Seventh Earl, as his residence.

The 'Masque' of 1643 may have been held in this building.

[See page 191]

signed by him in 1636, he wills that the 'breast laws' be set down in writing. He attended the Tynwald at St. John's on Midsummer Day, 1637; also in 1643, an account of which is given in his letters to his son Charles.

It would appear that the young Earl and his Countess spent some of their time in the amusements of the period. 'Masques' were then very popular among the ruling class, and Earl James and the Countess held one in Castle Rushen in 1643. All the officers, temporal and spiritual, were invited, as well as the Twenty-four, with their wives. The ladies of the household were 'most gloriously decked with silver and gould broidered workes and most costly ornaments, braceletts on their hands, chains on their necks, jewels on their forehead, and crownes on there heads.'

On more than one occasion he ordered the Governor of Castle Rushen to send him at Lathom House, some of the good things that he believed were available in the Isle of Man. Besides demanding forty oxen, a document in the Rolls Office says, he asked for 'wynes, proons, olives, and capers,' and, for the Lent time, salt herrings. He had a partiality for puffins from the Calf. The wines were brought from abroad by Manx vessels belonging to Douglas port.

Military preparedness was constantly in the Earl's mind, and, when only a comparative stripling, the Four Horsemen of the parishes caught his imagination. He issued an order in 1643 'with the advice of his officers and the Twenty-four that the Four Horsemen be allowed 3s. 6d. each per week to be collected by four honest men from all manner of persons.'

From 1644 to 1651, seven years, Earl James abstained from appointing a Bishop. The revenues of the Bishopric, which were considerable, were spent by him on his household and his garrisons. An illustration of his imperious demeanour is shown in a letter written to Deemster Ewan Christian in 1632, when he was only twenty-five. It relates to Christian's reluctance to take a case against a man named Colquitt. It began brusquely and peremptorily: 'Christian, if you cannot take up this case I know not the reason; for I have made you my Deemster and you must do your office,' and it was signed 'Your Master.'

In view of the trouble with the Scots, he induced the Council and Keys to order a thousand dirks or skaynes, and that the 'Deemsters insist on the smiths swearing to make a good job, putting four ounces of steel to every skayne. Also that four honest men in every parish collect from each landholder 2s. 6d. for every skayne and scabbard.'

HOW THE EARL MET HIS TROUBLES IN MAN

The Earl, on coming to attend a Tynwald in 1643, anticipated trouble, and he appointed a meeting to be held 'in the heart of the country'—surely the St. John's Tynwald—to hear the people's grievances. In a series of eighteen cleverly written letters to his son and successor Charles the eighth Earl he tells of his past experiences.

The letters, which are the work of a competent English scholar, are interspersed with much shrewd advice to his son for his guidance. The document is full of acute observation. He tells his son how coldly he was being received in the Island, and how discreetly in his opinion he comported himself at the meetings. Before the day of the gathering at Peel Castle, he tells that he had provided 'some informers who mixed with the people; thus the simple people spake as they believed. . . . Hereby my diligent informers could soon lead them by the nose.'

He frankly tells, in Machiavellian language, that when he came among the people at a meeting he was affable and kind to all but kept his own counsel. 'There were those who saucily behaved themselves and these I put out of countenance with austere looking on them. . . . Another sort, more dangerous, who said nothing openly, but instructed others and whispered behind the company. Some were pointed out to me by such as I had set to observe them and give me some private beck.' He committed to prison those who 'had given brags and vaunting speeches of getting laws and customs changed to their own minds. . . . They were the principal disturbers of the peace, and were deeply fined.'

At the end of the meeting, Edward Christian, (who had been given control of the militia) with the intention of rousing the patriotism of the people, rose and reminded them of some of the

grievances they had forgotten to refer to ; but the Earl called him to order for introducing new matter when the business of the Court was over. He assured the people that they needed no other advocate but himself. His next step was to put some of the agitators into prison, among whom was Edward Christian.

Throughout the eighteen chapters written to his son Charles regarding the points at issue between himself and his people it is singular that he only incidentally refers to the most important of them.

‘ There comes this very instant an occasion to me,’ he says, ‘ to acquaint you with a special matter . . . of a certain holding in this country called the tenure of the straw,* whereby men thinke their dwellings are their own auncient inheritances, and that they may passe the same to any, and dispose thereof . . . wherein they are much deceived.’ This was the key of the Earl’s subsequent actions and those of his successors until they were finally defeated by the passing of the Act of Settlement in 1704.

The Edward Christian referred to was one of the most patriotic men of his time, a man who had the greatest influence on his countrymen, He was a connection of the Milntown family, his father having been Vicar of Maughold. When quite young he went to sea, and having become the owner as well as the captain of a vessel sailing abroad, he amassed a fortune. He was given the command, in 1619, by the Duke of Buckingham, of the frigate *Bonaventure* of thirty-four guns. He attracted the notice of the young Lord Strange who made him Governor during his absence. This post he held until the Earl became suspicious of his political opinions ; for Christian, like the rest of the landholders, held strong views on the question of the tenure. His brother William Christian of Knockrushen had been also imprisoned, but was released on giving bond not to depart the Isle without licence.

Edward Christian had more than ordinary courage in opposing the Earl ; and for this he was cast into prison on a charge

* An explanation of the custom of holding land by the tenure of the straw is given on page 194.

of treason. He was alleged to be in favour of the Keys being elected by the people ; that the Deemsters should be chosen by the Twenty-four Keys ; that he had encouraged the people to resist the payment of tithes ; that he had endeavoured to get Peel Castle into his power ; and that he had urged the people to behave seditiously against the Lord. Most of these charges show him in the light of a good Manx patriot, and he also had precedents for his views. But to the Earl he was revolutionary, and he was fined in one thousand marks and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

He died in Peel Castle in 1661, and was buried in Kirk Maughold.

HE SEEKS TO DESTROY THE ANCIENT TENURE

Although there were many occasions in the sixteenth century when the ruling Lords had, on their own initiative imposed burdens on the land holders, it was not until the time of James that the most vital of all questions, that of the ancient tenure of the straw, became the predominant issue.

Centuries before the advent of the Stanleys in 1405, the system of land tenure had been firmly fixed. The tenants of the Kings of Man, subject to the customary rents, held their estates as estates of inheritance, descendable from ancestor to heir from generation to generation. It was anciently called 'the Tenure of the Straw.' It was so called because any tenant of the king who had sold or otherwise disposed of his land had to come into the Manorial Court, held half-yearly, and make resignation thereof by the delivery of a straw, the product of the estate, and thereupon a record was made by the presiding officer, which was all the proof the succeeding tenant had of his ownership, without any script.

Soon after the young Lord Strange came into power in 1627, he schemed to put into practice the system in vogue on his estates in Lancashire, which was for a term of years or for three lives. After the Earl's new practice of leasing had been in operation for a short time in the Isle of Man, doubts began to prevail as to their security of tenure. There were fears that the rents could be altered from time to time and a holder could

not be certain that his son would possess the land after him. This more than anything else, was the grievance which Illiam Dhone and his fellow conspirators wished to redress in their Rebellion of 1651.

After having dismissed Edward Christian and substituted Radcliffe Gerrard as Governor, Earl James on the outbreak of the Scottish rebellion, accompanied the army to Berwick-on-Tweed. On the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, he raised five thousand men for the royal service, it is said, providing them with arms and ammunition at his own expense, and he also gave King Charles £40,000 in order to assist in prosecuting the war in Scotland. He had been helped to make this gift by melting down the silver got from Rushen Abbey after the Reformation. In September, 1642, he was proclaimed a traitor by the House of Commons.

While the Earl was in Man in 1643, Lathom House was the only place in Lancashire holding out for the King, and in February, 1644, it was besieged. Charlotte, the Countess, defended it to the utmost, and said that she and her children would fire the place and perish in the flames rather than yield. She escaped to the Isle of Man, and returned to Lancashire at the Restoration, dying in 1664.

In reply to a command by General Ireton to Earl James to surrender the Isle of Man, there is the oft-quoted letter :

I scorn your proffers, disdain your favour, and abhor your treason; and am so far from delivering up this Island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction . . . If you trouble me with any more messages I will burn the paper and hang the bearer.

In August, 1651, the Earl being desirous of aiding Charles II took from the Island into England a company of three hundred volunteers, who joined a military force there. They were defeated in the fight at Wigan Lane. He then attended the King at the battle of Worcester, which was also lost. The Earl was taken prisoner, and, after a formal trial—for his execution had already been decided upon—was found guilty. The sentence of death was carried into effect on the 15th October, 1651, when he was beheaded at Bolton.

For much of his life Earl James was immersed in military and diplomatic calculations, all the while possessing a high sense of duty and responsibility to his sovereign, as his ancestors did before him. This compensated him for his unpopularity here.

Although he visited Man more frequently than any of his predecessors, he never got to know and appreciate the Manx people. Its material and social welfare was to him of little importance. In no instance did he give any evidence to the Manx people of possessing a generous spirit.

The character of the seventh Earl is evident from his actions. He aped the manners of the King of England and could not bear to have opposition. He had great political astuteness, but he suffered from ambitious desires, from egotism and the greed of power.



Detail of 11th c. Mal Lumkun Cross,
Kirk Michael.



Plate 29

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN, 'ILLIAM DHONE' 1608-1662

The creator of the Rebellion of 1651

From a drawing by J. M. Nicholson of the picture at Workington Hall, lately come to the Manx Museum.

(Manx Note Book 1886).

[See page 197]



Plate 30

A TYPICAL LADY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

She was a daughter of a Christian of Ballakilmerton, Conchan,
whose ancestor had held his farm since 1511.

CHAPTER 23

*Then oh, while great and simple still side by side are set,
In God's own Tynwald temple, let Manxmen ne'er forget,
That the red seal on a charter of freedom all our own
Is the life-blood of our martyr and monarch, Illiam Dhone.*

A. P. GRAVES.

ILLIAM DHONE'S SUCCESSFUL REBELLION

ONE of the most astonishing events in the course of our nation's long and varied history is what has been termed Illiam Dhone's Rebellion of 1651. A fairly full and interesting account of it is gleaned from original documents in the Rolls Office. It consists chiefly of reports of evidence taken at a court ordered by Charles the eighth Earl of Derby, the judges being nominated by himself. Notice of the court was given in each parish church 'in a discreete and patheticall maner both in English and Manske.'

Depositions were taken at Castle Rushen and Peel Castle, commencing early in October and ending at the close of November, 1662. From the notes of the depositions made by witnesses it would appear that soon after the departure of the seventh Earl from the Island on 15th August, 1651, on his mission to help King Charles of England, the numerous disaffected Manxmen felt free to express their opinions. It became known that the Countess had 'sent to make conditions with the Parliament . . . without their knowledge, contrary to her promise'; and so it was said, she would 'sell them for two pence or three pence a peece.'

MASS MEETING CALLED BY THE MUSTERING CROSS

On the 19th September the governor, John Greenhalgh, was buried, and a plot seems to have been then hatched, which was followed on the 19th October by a great meeting, called by the mustering cross, of some eight hundred men at Ronaldsway, the residence of Illiam Dhone. Here, before 'Sir' Robert Norres,

vicar, they took an oath ' that the people should withstand the Lady of Derby in her designs untill shee had yealded to their aggreavances.'



FIG. 44. Mustering Cross

The rebellion, once it started, was swiftly and orderly conducted, and obtained its object in about a month. The battle of Worcester had taken place on September 3rd, 1651. Governor Greenhalgh was buried on the 19th September; the Commonwealth fleet, under Duckenfield, had set out for the Isle on the 8th October; Earl James' farewell letter to his wife the Countess was written on the 12th, and he was executed on the 15th; the

Isle was surrendered to the Commonwealth on the 26th; and the fortress of Rushen was captured by Duckenfield on the 31st October.

After Earl James had been captured and put on his trial, William Christian made up his mind that the Countess must be prevented from risking the safety of the Isle by resisting the force which the Commonwealth was sending. Christian told the Countess of his determination, and a conference was held between three representatives of ' the countrey ' (i.e., Christian himself, Ewan Curghey, and John Caesar) and three commissioners of the Countess, the Governor (Sir Philip Musgrave), the Archdeacon and Chaplain (Samuel Rutter), and Richard Stevenson of Balladoole (who had married Christian's sister). Christian was Major-General of the Militia, and had command of the military situation.

They agreed on the conditions on which the Isle should be surrendered; and apparently there was an understanding that when the Commonwealth forces came, their commander, Duckenfield, should be met, and the conditions offered to him on behalf of the ' Ladey and the countrey.' But a day or two after, October 12th, Christian learned that the Countess had sent a messenger to Duckenfield's ship at Beaumaris, to treat with him. She had received her husband's letter advising her

that it was useless to resist, and that she had better make the best conditions she could with Duckenfield for her own safety, and regardless of the fate of the Manx people.

Christian did not know what was in the letter, but he guessed that she might be going back on the agreement. She might either be defying the Commonwealth or suggesting terms which included nothing about the Island's constitution and its ' laws and liberties.' She was, of course, trying to save her husband's life by offering to yield the Island peaceably.

On October 25th the head court should have been held at Castletown. It was not held, for on that day the invading fleet was in sight. But a number of the country's leaders were there, and Christian told them to go back to the parishes and raise their companies. The parishes of Santan, Rushen, Malew, Conchan, Marown, Lonan—Braddan is not mentioned, unless Philip Moore represented it—were to assemble at Ronaldsway that night. Others, called by the mustering cross, were to prepare for an assault on Peel Castle—under the leadership of Samsbury Radcliffe. Through messages delivered by William Mylecharaine and Thomas Christian of Jurby, others were to prepare for an assault on the Northern forts and Bishopscourt.

As the Commonwealth ships were expected to land at any time, Christian told Captain James Bancks of Howstrake, to ride to Douglas, and tell Hugh Moore to take a boat and meet the fleet before it reached Ramsey. It consisted of forty-four sail, and carrying three regiments of foot and two troops of horse. The sight was impressive, and must have convinced Christian and his fellows that it would be wise for them to make the best terms they could. Moore's boat reached the fleet at one o'clock in the morning. The Manx deputation consisted of Deemster John Christian of Milntown, Ewan Curghey of Ballakillingan, William Standish of Ellanbane, and John Caesar of Ballahick, who surrendered the Isle, making no other condition than that they ' might enjoy their own laws and liberties as formerly they had.' History has proved that Christian and his fellow compatriots had come to a wise decision.

During October 27th and 28th all the forts were taken by Christian except Castle Rushen. On the 29th Colonel

Duckenfield, arrived at Castletown, and sent a letter to the Countess demanding surrender. She sent an answer which he considered unacceptable; its tone was more suited to the winning than the losing party. On the last day of October, having set all his guns in position, he sent a final summons. That day the castle was entered from a sally port which had been opened partly from within and partly from without.

A parley was held and the castle was surrendered. Rushen Castle was formally delivered to the Commonwealth at eleven o'clock on November 1st, and Peel Castle on the 3rd. The Militia under Christian stood before the castles ready for any event that might happen. It seems astonishing that so strong a fortress as Castle Rushen could be captured after so brief an attack; it is almost certain that Christian's supporters among the garrison within had made it easy for the besiegers without.

ILLIAM DHONE SENDS FORTH THE MUSTERING CROSSES

There can be little doubt about the thorough and genuine patriotism and enthusiasm of those who took part in the rising. Every parish had its own leader and most of the important Manx families joined in the great national effort. Every district had its heroes; and it is pleasing to read the printed depositions made at the trial of William Christian in 1651—exactly three hundred years ago. A dramatic feature of the rising was the sending forth of the Crosses by the captain to raise the military strength of the parishes. The evidence of one witness, Sir Robert Norris, the Vicar of Kirk Arbory, quaintly refers to the dramatic fate of Earl James when he said that the 'Mankese Half Crownes were to be putt down.'

THE COMMONWEALTH AND LORD FAIRFAX

News of the taking over of the Island by Duckenfield in October, 1651, was sent to London and a letter of thanks was sent by the House of Commons to him. It granted the Isle, in 1652, to one of its most distinguished generals, Thomas Lord Fairfax, 'in as large and beneficial a manner as the late Earl of Derby had it.' Lord Fairfax continued in possession until the Restoration, but there is no record that he ever visited his little dominion.

There are several instances of liberal treatment of the clergy in Lord Fairfax's time. Edward Crowe, vicar of Lezayre had added to his salary ten pounds, and Charles Crowe, for looking after the chapel at Castletown thirtie pounds. And for the preaching of the gospel in 'either Mancks or English' he gave Vicar Robert Parr five pounds a year, and Hugh Cannell of Kirk Michael, fourteen pounds; the latter assisted Bishop Phillips in the translation of the Prayer Book into Manx.

William Christian was continued in his office of Receiver under Lord Fairfax, and, between 1656 and 1658, he also held the office of Governor. In 1659 Cromwell died and the Commonwealth ceased to exist in the year after. Charles II of England was proclaimed on the 28th May, 1660, and the restoration of the Stanleys immediately followed.

When Charles the eighth Earl was reinstated in his Lordship, he took measures to 'bring to justice' as he said, those whom he considered had been instrumental in the 'Rebellion.' He issued a mandate for the trial of William Christian on 12th September, 1661. Christian refused to plead to the indictment.

He was, on the 31st December, 1661, sentenced to be shot to death at Hango Hill, which sentence was carried into effect on 2nd January, 1662. An inventory of the goods of Christian was made in detail, a full list of which is in the Rolls Office. According to an ancient law, in a case such as this, the value of the goods was divided between the Lord of the Isle and the widow. Ronaldsway estate was forcibly taken by Earl Charles.

It remains to be added that William Christian's son George made a successful appeal to the Privy Council of King Charles II of England, which resulted in the estate of Ronaldsway and other properties being restored to the family. Those responsible for the bringing to death of Christian were removed from office, and they included the Governor Henry Nowell.

THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF CHRISTIAN OF MILNTOWN

Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P. (son of Canon Wilson the first principal of King William's College), when unveiling the T. E. Brown memorial in the Manx Museum in 1934, declared his opinion

that the Manx people, more than any other, had the right to possess pride of race. Remembering, he said, their descent from the ancient Celts, and, later, their Viking blood from the west of Norway, they came of princely stock.

Very many Manx people, tilling with their own hands estates which have come down to them from generation to generation, are able to trace their descent for over four hundred years and upwards. The most fervid democrat, if he has any reverence for the things that are past, cannot but feel a pang when an ancient stock such as the Milntowns passes out of remembrance. The last male survivor of the family having gone, a memorial tablet setting forth the tale of the twenty-one generations, representing the period from 1380 to 1918, has been placed in Lezayre parish church. If a statement made by Deemster John Christian in 1665 is to be relied upon, the Christians had been at Milntown since the middle of the fourteenth century. From generation to generation members of the Milntown main line and its branches had at one time or another occupied every important office from that of governorship downwards.

TWO OUTSTANDING MILNTOWN FIGURES

Two personalities were outstanding : Edward Christian of Maughold, the most democratic Manxman of his time, first in favour with Earl James, but later lost it because of his championship of the people's cause ; and secondly William Christian, ' Illiam Dhone,' the leader of the 1651 rebellion. Both died prematurely because they championed the rights of Manxmen and resisted the will of the Lord of the Isle.

' Illiam Dhone,' the popular name of William Christian, was born in 1608. In 1643 he became a member of the Keys, and in the same year his father, Deemster Ewan Christian—who was the tenth in succession to Milntown—gave him the estate of Ronaldsway. His tragic but courageous end made him more than ever the symbol of the age-long resistance of the Manx to the arbitrary actions of the Stanley Lords and their officials. His action in deserting the Countess of Derby and surrendering the Island to the Commonwealth fleet has sometimes been criticised ; but there is clear evidence that Lady Derby herself

negotiated in secret for the surrender of the Isle in exchange for the life of her husband, and without any regard for the rights of the people.

TRUE TO HIS FATHERLAND

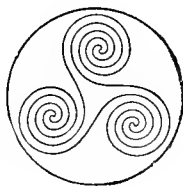
Looking back as we do to the struggle of three centuries ago, we cannot but come to the conclusion that William Christian was a great patriot. If he had ignored the political situation of his own people, and had resisted the force of the Commonwealth, there would have been a massacre and the country's liberties would assuredly have been taken away by headstrong military officials who had no sentiment about the rights of little nations. How thankful we should be that he acted so wisely. It is known that, at the instigation of Earl Charles at the time, the court that sentenced him was a packed one. And that was the reason in all probability that Christian refused to plead before it. By Manxmen his memory is held sacred as that of one who had given his life in the cause of popular liberty.

There can be no question about his courage, for, after he had made his dying speech, the soldiers wanted to bind him. He refused and pinning a piece of white paper on his breast, he directed the soldiers where to aim. He gave the signal by stretching his arms, and fell shot through the heart. He was buried in the chancel of Kirk Malew on 2nd January, 1662. In the Parish Register of Kirk Malew the Vicar records :

Mr. William Christian of Ronaldsway, late Receiver, was shot to death at Hango Hill, 2nd January, 1662. He died most penitently and most courageously, made a good end, prayed earnestly ; and next day was buried in the chancel of Kirk Malew.

Governor Robert Duckenfield was one of Lord Fairfax's righthand men. He was Governor only one year, 1651, being followed by Matthew Caldwell in 1652, and William Christian (Illiam Dhone) in 1656, at a time when Duckenfield was a member of Parliament for Cheshire. A subsequent Governor was James Chaloner who was a member of the Commonwealth Parliament. He was only a short period in office, from 1658 to 1660, when the Restoration in England took place. He had a company of one hundred soldiers at Castle Rushen.

Chaloner was the author of a treatise on the Isle of Man in King's *Vale Royal*, issued in 1656. It was dedicated to his master Lord Fairfax. He was present at the proclamation of the Restoration in May, 1660. Charles II was proclaimed in each of the four towns, he reports, 'with shouting, shooting of muskets, and ordnance, drinking of beer, with great rejoicing.' He attended each of these events 'with the officers, civil and spiritual, Twenty-four Keys, the captains of the parishes and above sixty horse . . . '



CHAPTER 24

*Our old Island Kingdom enthroned on the deep,
Our Celtic inheritance long may we keep ;
With customs and laws that our forefathers gave,
Unsullied, unblemished, and free as the wave.*

JOSEPHINE KERMODE (' CUSHAG ')

ANOTHER CENTURY OF STANLEY RULE

I

CHARLES, EIGHTH EARL OF DERBY, 1660-1672

THE Stanleys came again into their own at the Restoration in 1660, and Charles the eighth Earl, as his father's heir, reigned at Castle Rushen, the fortress of his ancestors. Notwithstanding the fact that King Charles II of England had sanctioned a general Act of Indemnity for all offences done under the Commonwealth, the new Earl of Derby took steps to take vengeance upon William Christian for having 'betrayed' his mother the Countess to the Parliamentary forces. Relying upon the King's amnesty, Christian—' Illiam Dhone '—had returned to his home at Ronaldsway in the summer of 1662. He was at once arrested by the direction of Earl Charles, and was soon put on his trial at Castle Rushen. Certain members of the Keys, who were to be his judges, were forcibly removed by Governor Nowell, and others were put in their place. Christian was convicted by a packed jury, and Deemster Norris, at the command of Governor Nowell, pronounced sentence of death, which took place as described in the last chapter.

But Illiam Dhone's son, George, did not forget the tragedy ; and he appealed to the Privy Council in London. Soon the news came that the King's Counsel, ' learned in the lawes,' decided that the Act of pardon did extend to the Isle of Man. Full restitution of William Christian's estate was directed to be made ; that the complainants should have their expenses paid ; that Deemsters Norris and Cannell should ' receive

condign punishment'; that Deemster Christian should be restored to his office, and that Governor Nowell should be discharged.

MORE TROUBLE OVER THE TENURE

Contrary to expectation Earl Charles continued the same rigid policy of cancelling the ancient tenure of the land-holders. There was popular disappointment and anger shown at this, and determined opposition arose. The first case brought forward for legal trial was of the greatest importance. It was that of John Lace, who claimed the Monastery estate of Hango Hill, of which he had been dispossessed by James, the seventh Earl, through the influence of the Bishop Isaac Barrow, who intended to apply the rents to his Academy at Castletown.

The case was referred to the Keys, who decided in Lace's favour. He was deprived of it again in 1664, when it was illegally granted by Earl Charles to the 'Governor-Bishop' Barrow; and again the Keys supported Lace. The Earl was indignant, and wrote in this aggressive spirit:

Having too great an evidence of the unquiet and factious humour that rules in several of my Twenty-four Keys . . . it is my will and command to all my officers that the estates of the foresaid persons be, at the expiration of their leases, seized upon for my use and none of them be admitted to compound for their estates . . . and I also require that the foresaid persons shall be put out of all places of office and command in the Island.

This extraordinary threat forced a majority to sign a certificate transferring the estate of Hango Hill to Bishop Barrow.

HE PERSECUTES THE QUAKERS

In the middle of the seventeenth century there was a colony of the religious body called Quakers in the Isle, the chief of whom was William Callow of Ballafayle, and Ewan Christian, both of Kirk Maughold. They were imprisoned for neglecting to come to church and to pay their tithe. At the instigation of the 'Governor-Bishop' Barrow, the men with their wives were confined for a fortnight in the crypt of St. German's Cathedral, where they lay 'without fire, candle, or bedding.'*

* Details from *Liber Mon.* in Rolls Office, from Besse's work on the Quakers, 1753, and from Hodgkin's *Friends Quarterly*, 1908.

The Bishop's master, Earl Charles, also had a special antipathy to the Quakers, and he sent Governor Nowell on the 15th June, 1665, to Peel Castle, to tell the Quakers that 'they must be transported to some other land.' They were marched down to Douglas under a guard of soldiers, and put aboard a ship, but the sailors went ashore and would not sail. Another ship took Callow and his sister and Ewan Christian and his wife on to Dublin, and back to England, and then on to Ramsey. Their property was confiscated to the Earl's use. But Callow was carried away again. Prince Rupert, a connection of the Stanleys, interested himself in Callow's fate, and wrote a letter to Earl Charles asking him to restore to Callow and his friends their 'ancient possessions.' Here is the Earl's reply :

I have the honour to receive a letter from your Highness by the hands of a Manx Quaker, wherein you intimate that he should be permitted to return to the Isle of Man from where he stands banished with others who are Quakers. I make bold to inform you that there is now in the Isle not one Quaker or dissenting person from the Church of England . . . I would not have that place infected with Schism and Heresy, which it might be liable to if Quakers be permitted to reside there.

There is in the Manx Museum a black-letter Bible printed in 1630, with the following memorandum written on a blank page. It throws a light upon the Quakers' story :

I, William Callow, of Ballafayle, a Manxman, who have been banished out of the Isle of Man by Bishops and Priests for conscience towards God, above two years and three months, from my dear wife and tender children, have bought this book, rate eight shillings and ten pence, in London, where I am now this fourth day of the 11th month of the year 1667.

'THE DERBY' HORSE RACE

It was Earl Charles who was the creator of the great racing event now called 'The Derby.' Our first knowledge of the race, which was run at Langness, is in a document in the Manx Museum dated 11th October, 1670, which says that Charles

Out of the good affection that I have to every of my tenants, and the wish that they have a good breed of horses, it is my pleasure to allow the sum of five pounds yearly to be paid out of the revenues of the Island, to be Run for, the 18th of March ; and that every person who puts in a Horse for the same shall give ix s. towards the enlarging of a Plate, which the winer shall oblige himselfe to buy within a yeare, with the Motto as formerly.

The reference to the 'motto' is to the engraving upon the race-cup, which comprises the Legs of Man and a jockey on a horse and the legend *Pro Gloria Patriæ Curro*. The earliest example of the cup which has survived is at Knowsley, and is dated 1701. The race was held during the last hundred years or more of Derby rule.

II

WILLIAM, NINTH EARL OF DERBY, 1672-1702

William the ninth Earl succeeded his father Charles in 1672. He was in residence for a time in Castle Rushen in 1686, and again in 1691, being present at the Midsummer Tynwald in that year. Seacome describes him as being a man of 'strong capacity,' and, although he was at variance with the Manx people on the land question, he did more for them than most of his family.

Previous to the time of Earl William the wages of artisans and labourers were very low, and the conditions exacting. Ordinary labourers got twopence a day with meat and drink, and fourpence without. Artisans such as weavers, masons, carpenters, shipwrights, hoopers, thatchers, and mowers, got fourpence with meat and drink and eightpence without meat and drink per day. A gross injustice had grown up at the instance of the Lords and their Governors that those who worked for the Lord had half wages only. This continued up to the time of Earl William, when it was stopped. The working hours were twelve in the summer, from six to six, and from sunrise to sunset in winter, quite enough in all conscience.

These and other restraints upon the freedom of Manx workers encouraged them to take up the craft of the sailor; many emigrated, and the time came when an Act of Tynwald was passed discouraging them from leaving the Isle without a permit. 'Of late years,' the Act said, 'the servants, both men and women, as soon as they reach the age of sixteen or seventeen years, do, under the notion of necessity or other pretence, serve their whole lives in other countreys . . . whereby this Isle is no better than a nursery for other places.'

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, wages improved, and for a whole year men got thirty shillings and girls twenty shillings, with 'keep.' Artisans got as high as 1s. 6d. per day without 'keep.'

Denton, writing in 1681, says that in Castle Rushen, the Earl keeps a garrison of soldiers there in constant pay, within which he hath a small armory of pikes, musquets, halberds, etc. There are also Drakes, fieldpieces and canons of various size. The ledges of the batteries are laden with loose coble stones to pour upon the Enemy in case of any attempt to storm the place. There are but two files of musqueteers who constantly keep guard under Captain Calcott.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY RECORD OF TYNWALD

Among the accounts of the ancient ceremony at Tynwald on Midsummer Day, written by early observers, the one found among the Kenyon Family MSS. and printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, is most graphic. It describes in fine detail Earl William's early morning departure from Castle Rushen and his arrival at the greensward of St. John's. It is dated on 30th July, 1691.

William, the ninth Earl was the ruler, and Roger Kenyon was the Governor. The account says there were 'a thousand firelocks.' The Four-and-Twenty were in 'decent coates' and the Deemsters were 'in gownes.' On arriving on the hill his Lordship sat on 'the chaire of State' with 'his face to the East, the Sword of State holden before him with the point upward.'

Earl William's later Governor, Sankey, was not nearly so popular, and we find him in 1698 expressing his opinion about the people of Douglas. 'They were so stubborn and refractory that he had more trouble and vexation with them than any others,' but, he said, 'he would be a scourge to them.'

One of the Museum staff recently picked up on the Calf Island a rough piece of slate signed by William, ninth Earl of Derby and his steward Ferdinando Calcott. The signatures were dated 20th August, 1673. Whether this is to be regarded as a slate 'token' for the execution of some command, or merely a record of a seventeenth century picnic, it is an intriguing and unusual find.

FINAL STRUGGLE OVER THE TENURE

The struggle of the Manx people against the feudal system which the Stanleys strove to impose came to a head at the end of the seventeenth century. Earl William endeavoured in 1693 to establish leasehold tenure by Act of Tynwald, but the opposition proved too strong for him. Several members of the Keys, supported by the mass of farmers, in 1700 sent to the Earl a long petition claiming the restoration of the ancient tenure. One of the paragraphs in the petition claimed that

all Books of History, Geography, or Law which take notice of the Isle of Man doe say that it has been a Kingdome, having Lawes, Customes, and Usages peculiar within itself by which it has been and is governed ; and that all Controversies arising within the Isle are determined by its own peculiar Lawes . . . and that the Commons were free-holders, Customary heirs, long before the coming of the first Sir John Stanley.

THE ULTIMATE ACHIEVEMENT OF HARMONY

The passage of time has contributed to the verdict that in the list of the ten Earls of Derby who ruled our people, Earl William stands high. He had in 1698 appointed Thomas Wilson as Lord Bishop, and after he had been in harness for a year the prelate detected the cause which was ruining the people, and he had the courage to bring it to the notice of the Earl. At the end of 1699 Lord Derby was persuaded to come to the Isle and see matters for himself. It is almost certain that it was on the Bishop's advice that he issued this important document to the Coroners of the Sheadings :

My will and pleasure is that upon receipt of this order, you signify to all my tenants that I am come amongst them on purpose to settle them in their several holdings and tenures ; that I am ready to do this, and to receive their several proposals ; that I am sensible of the great loss and inconvenience it hath been both to myself and to them to have things left so long under uncertainties ; that therefore I now give them liberty to make immediate application ; to which purpose I have appointed the Lord Bishop to receive their several proposals.

Unhappily, Earl William did not live to carry out his sagacious policy. He died in 1702, and was succeeded by his brother James.

A COMPASSIONATE ACT OF A STANLEY

Earl William was possessed of an urbanity not generally associated with the family. His coming over in 1699, in connection with his declaration about the land tenure, must have had something to do with the gracious act which is expressed in the following pardon, read in all the churches, (taken from *Liber Scacc.* in the Rolls Office) :

Insula Monaë. It is my will and pleasure that all fines and Punishments inflicted on Offenders this present year 1699 be remitted. And I doe Order my Comrs. of my Revenew to signifie the same unto the respective Moares. And if any fines be already collected, that they be returned : and that noe Punishments against any Offenders now in charge be inflicted. Given under my hand and seal at Castle Rushen this 22nd day of November, 1699.

DERBY.

III

JAMES II, THE TENTH AND LAST EARL, 1702-1736

Following upon the time of the late Earl William, his brother, the newly-created Earl James II, was a distinct failure as an administrator. He had been a brigadier in the army in Flanders and in Ireland and was a gallant soldier. His behaviour to his Manx subjects prove him to have been both arbitrary and narrow-minded. Dying without issue, he was the last lord of the House of Stanley. But it is to his credit to have finally settled the question of the tenure. Fortunately the new Lord saw the advantage of continuing the negotiations wisely begun by his brother ; for, as he put it, ' the sooner the Isle can be settled on a good bottom, the better it will be both for the Isle and for myself.'

Astonishingly little is known as to how the Act of Settlement came about, and of the brave men who negotiated it. Bishop Wilson, who had been appointed the year before, consulted with the Keys, who at that time were led by a strong figure, Ewan Christian of Milntown (1644-1712). Three members of the Keys, with the Bishop, were deputed to make terms with Earl James ; and their success was hailed as a great political victory.

The three men, travelling to Knowsley on divers occasions had incurred expenses amounting to £160, and as the Keys had then

no funds at their disposal, an Act of Tynwald had to be passed to recoup them. In those days to be a member of the Twenty-Four meant a sacrifice. For that reason we ought to record their names :

Thomas Stevenson, *Balladoole, Arbory, chairman*. Ewan Christian, *Milntown, Lezayre*. John Wattleworth, *Ballawattleworth, Lezayre*. Silvester Radcliffe, *Knockaloe, Patrick*. John Oates, *Byballo, Conchan*. Robert Christian, *Ballatersyn, Maughold*. Robert Curghey, *The Carrick, Lezayre*. Thomas Corlett, *Ballakeog, Ballaugh*. James Oates, *Begoade, Conchan*. Charles Moore, *Billown, Malew*. Nicholas Christian, *Ballastole, Maughold*. Thomas Christian, *Ballamoar, Jurby*. John Bridson, *Santan*. Robert Moore, *Pulroish, Braddan*. Daniel Lace, *Ballavoddan, Andreas*. John Harrison, *Ballacrink, Malew*. John Wattleworth, *German*. John Curghey, *Ballakillingan, Lezayre*.

The joy with which the passing of the Act of Settlement was hailed has won for it the name of the Great Charter. Such a piece of legislation, Spencer Walpole remarks, was perhaps never accomplished by any other nation in the world. The 'tenant' became in reality once again the owner of his land, possessing the rights of inheritance and of sale, and paying only the fixed Lord's rent. In recent years, as the result of an Act of Tynwald in 1913 the Lord's rent has been bought out by the payment by Tynwald of a lump sum. The British Crown has also been bought out, and Tynwald, on behalf of the people, once again owns its own Commons, or mountain land, the minerals under the soil, and now charges a royalty to those who lease or work the mines and quarries.

WOMEN PIONEERS IN POLITICS

A document of more than ordinary interest has come to light,* showing that as far back as 1700 meetings of the freeholders were held in various parishes to appoint a deputation to interview Earl William. A list is given of the electors in the Sheading of Garff, who voted on the 6th June, 1700, for Ewan Christian of Lewaige to represent them. The other two were Ewan Christian of Unerigg (a Milntown Christian who had an estate in Cumberland) and John Stevenson of Balladoole

* Journal of the Manx Museum, ii, p. 17.

The astonishing thing about this document is that in the list of freeholders are the names of four women. The fact that these were, at the opening of the eighteenth century, exercising the full privilege of citizenship equal with men, shows that democratic ideas, which originated with our Norse ancestors, were strongly developed in the Manx people at that early date. The names of the women are worthy to be recorded, for no other British woman had the vote until more than two hundred years had passed. Their names are Joney Cottiman, whose father had owned Ballanabarna, Maughold, a married woman; Margaret Cowne, a spinster, who owned Ballacannell in Lonan; Margaret Callister, and Mrs. Jeane Allin, of Maughold.

It is refreshing to realise that the principle of equal rights for women was accepted in Man more than two hundred years before it was put into practice elsewhere. Manx women were never placed in the same position of dependence and subordination as in other countries. In Roman law woman was completely dependent: she could not exercise any civic nor public office. Our history in the sixteenth to nineteenth century has many instances of the performance by women of important public duties, such as membership of juries. There are cases in the *Lex Scripta* of juries of matrons settling the troubles of husbands and wives. One cannot easily put aside the perplexing dilemma of the wronged unmarried woman who, according to the law, was given by the Deemster a rope, a sword, and a ring, so that she might have her choice to hang the man with the rope, cut off his head with the sword, or marry him with the ring.*

THE MANX COINAGE

Until the time of Earl William there had been no official coinage, and most of the coins in use were of Irish origin, being known by such names as 'St. Patrick's pence.' In 1668, John Murrey, the enterprising merchant of Ronaldsway, had issued the first copper coinage, and bearing his own name. The first coins issued by the Derbys were the pence and half-pence of 1709, and they were not struck, but cast, in Castle Rushen. One of the most beautiful coins in the British Isles is the 1733

* A Customary Law 'allowed before writing.'

Eagle and Child. These were both issued in the time of Earl James II, but, according to the statutes, at the request of Tynwald. Of the Atholl coinage there was one issue only, in



FIG. 45.

Penny of James, tenth Earl of Derby,
cast in Castle Rushen in 1709

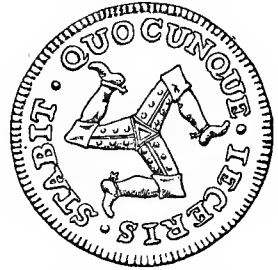


FIG. 46.

The Three Legs taken from
the 1733 Penny.

1758. In 1786 the first regal coins were issued in the time of George III. The only issue afterwards was in the time of Queen Victoria in 1839.

Mr. P. W. Caine has found in the Knowsley MSS. at Preston that somewhere about the date 1700, Richard Macguire and Josiah Poole, who were farming the Manx Customs in 1722, made a proposal to Tynwald for the issue of Manx copper coinage. It was to coin £500 in pence and halfpence; and they went so far as to prepare a specimen with the Eagle and Child on the obverse and the Three Legs on the reverse with the usual motto thereto belonging! But it was 1709 before it was minted and the 'adventurers' appeared not to be concerned.

IV

THE CHURCH'S GREAT STRUGGLE WITH THE STATE

It is remarkable that in what is termed 'the final struggle between the State and the Church,' the Keys and the great majority of the people supported Bishop Wilson and the Church on the one hand; and the Lord of the Isle, Earl James, with his paid officials headed by Governor Horne, and a very small minority of the people, on the other.

The Keys, instead of being passive instruments in the power of the Governor, were active adherents of the Church and constitution. One reason for this was the evident desire on the part of Earl James and his Governor to diminish the power of the Keys.

The conflict was precipitated in 1716, when an unfortunate woman, Mary Hendricks, the wife of a Douglas publican, declined to perform penance, and was consequently excommunicated, as was usual in such cases. She appealed to Earl James, and her appeal was allowed by Governor Horne. Bishop Wilson, having been summoned to appear before Lord Derby, for a hearing of the appeal, declined to do so, and he was consequently fined ten pounds. The Bishop protested and the fine was remitted.

Governor Horne soon after renewed his opposition to Church discipline by refusing the services of a soldier to take offenders who had been committed by the Ecclesiastical Court to St. German's prison at Peel Castle. And in 1721 he imprisoned and fined the Rev. John Woods, Episcopal Registrar, for having omitted to read a precept in church because it had not been seen by the Bishop. Finally the Earl summoned the Bishop and the Vicars-General to answer a number of charges that they had acted outside their own jurisdiction.

The Bishop and Vicars-General declined to answer the summons until it was determined by the Deemsters and Keys that the charges were in accordance with the statute.

More fuel was added to the fire when one of the soldiers of the garrison at Rushen had sinned in a way which would subject him to penance, and, though his deed had not come before the court, he submitted himself to this penalty voluntarily. For doing this, he was tried by the officers of the garrison of Castle Rushen. He was imprisoned by Governor Horne and afterwards drummed out of the garrison.

The contest was soon renewed round more prominent personages. Lord Derby had taken the unusual course of appointing a Robert Horrobin, of Warrington, as the Archdeacon of Man. He does not appear to have been in sympathy with the

Bishop, and preached sermons not in line with the accepted orthodoxy. He had refused a Mrs. Puller taking the Sacrament for some words she had spoken of him. Mrs. Puller took the matter up with the Bishop, who summoned both parties to a formal hearing at Bishopscourt. The Archdeacon backed his case by charging Mrs. Puller (on the authority of Mrs. Horne, the wife of the Governor) with undue familiarity with Sir James Poole, a Liverpool alderman residing in Castletown.

Mrs. Horne's testimony was not corroborated, and Poole and Mrs. Puller denied their guilt, swearing 'on the Holy Evangelists on their knees.' The court declared that Mrs. Horne had, by her gross slander, rendered herself liable to public penance; but if she would acknowledge her offence publicly in St. Mary's Chapel, asking forgiveness of those she had wronged, she would be relieved from the sentence of penance and imprisonment to which she was liable. In the meantime she was excluded from taking part in the communion.

Here was the wife of Governor Horne placed in a shocking position. The quarrel had been carried into his own household. She declined to make an apology, and was soon after admitted to the sacrament by Archdeacon Horrobin. For this, 'and for some unorthodox doctrines' in his sermons, the Archdeacon was called to account by the Bishop, and since he failed to defend himself satisfactorily, he was suspended at a Convocation in 1722.

Instead of appealing to the Archbishop of York, as was the correct procedure, he threw himself into the hands of Governor Horne, who held that the Lord's or Governor's household—which included Horrobin—and the officials and garrison were exempt from ecclesiastical discipline.

HORNE IMPRISONS BISHOP WILSON AND HIS VICARS-GENERAL

The Governor was much annoyed at what he believed was a personal attack on himself and his wife. He got his council to draw up an 'Impeachment' in which he charged the Bishop with holding Convocations without authority, and claiming that the Lord's household was exempt from the spiritual discipline. The impeachment was sent to the Bishop, who was invited to

a Tynwald at Castle Rushen, to reply to them. The Keys—having at this stage, departed from the Tynwald without having been consulted—the Governor and his Council proceeded to fine the Bishop fifty pounds and the Vicars-General twenty pounds each 'for their contempt.' This, being without the knowledge and approval of the Keys, was, of course, quite illegal. They refused to pay the fines, and were imprisoned in Castle Rushen on 29th June, 1722. On this day the Bishop writes in his diary, 'I and my two Vicars were carried to prison by three soldiers for not paying a fine of £90, most arbitrarily imposed on us.'

When they arrived at Castle Rushen there was a great commotion; the countryside was aroused to indignation. They believed the Bishop to be not only their faithful pastor, but the champion of their political rights and liberties. It is said that people from all over the Island assembled in crowds at the Castle, and it was with difficulty they were restrained from pulling down the Governor's house, by the persuasion of the Bishop, who was permitted only to speak to them through a grated window. His words were translated into Manx by Parson Walker.

With the advice of the Archbishop of York, the prisoners successfully brought their case before the Privy Council in London, and they were discharged on the 31st August after nine weeks' confinement. Their letters and friends were kept from them, and they were, at Governor Horne's direction, treated with harshness and disrespect.

The day of the Bishop's release was a day of general jubilee. People from all parts gathered and formed a procession covering miles of roadway. Farmers, their wives, and workpeople lined the road to Bishops court, and demonstrated their pleasure at the release of the three prisoners.

The cause took a long time before it was judged, and it was on the 4th of July, 1724—two years after his imprisonment—that news came that the judgment of the Governor and his Council was reversed on the ground that they had no jurisdiction. The fines imposed had to be restored. The arrest of

Governor Horne, who had either resigned or been dismissed in 1723, was ordered, but does not seem to have been carried out.

V

MALICIOUS ATTACKS ON THE KEYS

In the *Knowsley Papers* at Preston there is a remarkable document* which was intended for the study of Earl James, the tenth and last of the Derby Lords of Man. It is obviously written by one of the highest and best informed government officials—and in all probability by Governor Horne during the period of the prosecution of Bishop Wilson and his Vicars-General. Its purpose was to inform Earl James who were the members of the Keys who took sides in the struggle which had been going on between the Governor and his officers on the one hand and Bishop Wilson and the Church and the Keys on the other hand.

The document is undated but one can easily fix the date as soon after Wilson and his companions had been released on 31st August, 1722, and when sympathisers were engaged in collecting £300 with which to pay Bishop Wilson's expenses in placing his case before the Privy Council in London. One seldom can get an example at this early date of epistolary correspondence of such an intimate and frank nature as this; but it is obviously bitterly biased. According to the scribe, all but four of the Keys were 'in the priest-ridden majority,' and only four could be reckoned on the side of 'the Lord and the Countrey.' The four were John Wattleworth, Captain of Ramsey Fort; John Harrison, Ballacrink, Malew; John Faragher, Shen Valley; and Robert Maddrell of Ballamaddrell.

Nearly all excepting these four were loyal to the Bishops' interest, and certainly against Governor Horne. Being representatives of old landed families their names are worth recording:

Silvester Radcliffe, Knockaloe; John Oates, Bibaloe; James Banks, Howstrake; James Christian, the Forester; Robert Curghey, Ballakillingan; Daniel Lace, Ballavodan; John Curghey, Carrick;

* Reported by David Craine to the Museum Trustees.

Edmund Corlett, Parish Clerk, Lezayre ; John Garrett, Ballabrooie ; Philip Moore, The Hills ; Thomas Stevenson, Lhergy Dhoo ; and John Christian, Parish Clerk, Maughold.

The scribe calls John Stevenson of Balladoole the *premier* of the House :

‘He is of a self-conceited, haughty, and ambitious disposition which talent he zealously on all occasions employs in the Bishop’s interest against the Lord and not for the country. In 1715 in the time of the Rebellion he would not consent to put the country in a posture of defence, but gave for reason that the Tory’s shilling was as good as a Whigg’s shilling. He writ a letter to the Lord so full of contumacy and scurrility as Man cannot parralel.

Tho. Corlett of Ballakeog, the General Sumner or Apparitor of the Bishops court. Biggoted in that interest, and said to be an evidence finder whenever a Whigg is to be crushed.

Tho. Christian Junior, is a hot-headed priestridden Biggot, attached to the Bishop’s interest. Tool to him and Stevenson. Censured and made penance oftener than once.

John and William Murrey are described as ‘the great Douglas merchants, priest-ridden and solely in the Bishop’s interest. John is reported to have contributed fifty pounds, and William thirty pounds.

John Tubman of the Nunnery who afterward became a leading figure of the Keys, is described as ‘A young fellow, moderate and good natured in himself, but misled by priestcraft.’

It is worthy of note that the bell on the southern tower turret of Castle Rushen bears the name of James, Earl of Derby, and the date 1729.

*Tossed between stronger nations, still we keep
 Our own secure, and hold no man our kin
 Save him who feels our sea-blood in him leap,
 And shares the hardships and the home within
 Our Isle, and dreams our dreams, and has his sleep
 Broken by storms and by the seagull's din.*

—MONA DOUGLAS

THE STORY OF EARLY MARITIME TRADE

WE have some very old records of primitive trading. In our earliest *Liber Assed.*, that of 1511, there is a record that John Mac Creere, of Naryween, Kirk Braddan, forfeited a consignment of wool that he had set out to sell to 'foreigners.' And two Kirk Lonan brothers, William and Patrick MacStoile, of Ballacannell, 'were fined 2s. because they sailed with wool beyond the country contrary to the statute.' The King of Man was then Thomas the second Earl of Derby.

Bishop Meyrick declared in 1577 that 'Man not only produces sufficient for its own requirements but exports a great deal.'

The story of our early maritime trading is told in a valuable collection of papers in the Manx Museum, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, called *The Ingates and Outgates*. They record the details of the vessels trading, their masters, the ports they sailed to and from, their cargoes, and also the dues paid to the Manx Customs and even their anchorage fees. There was, we know, a Customs tariff at least as far back as 1577, regulating the import and export duties.

We have many records of our men trading in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the continental ports of Bordeaux, Rotterdam, Copenhagen, Gottenburg, and the Low Countries, the Mediterranean, and later even as far as the West Indies and North America; importing wines, brandy, tobacco, tea, fruits, vinegar, and exporting in return wool, skins, tallow and salted herrings.

Writers on Manx history dealing with early maritime trade have frequently grossly exaggerated what they call the 'smuggling' practices of our ancestors. Much of what has been given us as history has been got up as reminiscences, much exaggerated, and written from the English official point of view, which is, very naturally, far from being impartial.

WHAT WAS SMUGGLING ?

Smuggling was the conveying of goods subject to duty across the border without the cognizance of the revenue officer appointed to collect such duties. A long coastline like that around Great Britain and Ireland made the suppression difficult. There was little smuggling into Man during the rule of the Lords of the Isle, for the reason that Insular Customs duties were low. Smuggling became common in Britain when the tariff was increased there. The greatest deterrent from smuggling was of course, a reduced tariff, for it was not then profitable to smuggle, while the risk of punishment was great.

Until quite recently ordinary readers had not the advantage of having an authoritative account of what has been officially called 'the illicit and contraband' trade of the period. But Mr. Rupert C. Jarvis,* whose professional occupation has been with the original records, has favoured us with an inside view of what, in the old days, was looked upon, among the Customs fraternity, as the 'illicit traffic.' Their point of view was, of course, that all fiscal laws, other than British, should conform to those of the Statute of Westminster. They never realised that the fiscal duties in Man were fixed more than a century before theirs.

Mr. Jarvis, in his researches as a student of history, covers the period from 1671 to 1765, when many ships built and owned in Man—such as the Brig *Cæsar*—followed the maritime trade and made regular voyages to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, North America, and the West Indies. The last two of the Stanleys—Earls William and James—reigned from 1672 to 1736; and from 1736 to 1765 the two Atholls were in power.

* Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 1945.

THE OFFICIAL CUSTOMS VIEW OF 1671 TO 1765

Mr. Jarvis, in fixing these dates, explains that 1671 marked the end of the long-continued practice of 'farming' the Customs in England; and 1765 the date when the Crown forcibly took over the government of the Isle of Man. As he says, smugglers in the days of the farmers were only 'pilfering' from the farmers' income; but when the Crown appointed the Commissioners of Customs in 1761 an entirely new situation arose: it was the Crown that was now concerned.

Mr. Jarvis reminds us that 'the English Commissioners of Customs had no competence in Man. It was part of the Crown, but not of the Realm of England. The King's writ did not run there; for the Earls of Derby were the Lords of Man . . . But the Commissioners failed to realise that Man operated a Customs tariff long before they did. And the fact that the Manx duties were lower than the English, and thus attracted foreign trade, was no fault of the Manx folk.'

THE SCOTTISH MODUS OPERANDI

That was the reason for the begetting of the smuggling; but that was done by English and Scottish people who were eager to buy Manx-imported goods at a lower price than they could elsewhere. The goods were bought either from Manx vessels at sea or in the Isle of Man in readiness to be landed from their own smaller boats at the right time to evade the Customs officers. They knew intimately the creeks and shores where it was easy to land the goods.

A report made by the Customs officers in Scotland, and sent on the 24th December, 1764, to London, discloses the *modus operandi* of the Scotchmen:

They are difficult to check. They form themselves into societies. They depute some of their number to buy the goods they want in the Island; to carry them over at their own risk, at appointed times and places.

When the smugglers ashore are in force too large for the Revenue officers to disturb them . . . the dexterity of the smugglers is so great that in fifteen minutes the cargo of a boat can be unloaded and placed on horseback and gallop off in the country.

Since the Government was deeply in debt, and anxious to create more revenue, the British Customs Commissioners brought into being all sorts of restrictions on foreign trade. East India teas, silks, tobacco and sugar were to be handled only by British vessels. The Isle of Man was foreign, and its *perfectly legal trade* was by the English Commissioners improperly called 'illicit and clandestine.'

It was in 1672 that it was decided for the first time to send from London 'an officer to prevent abuses.' He had the strange name of J'Ans, and was appointed surveyor in Douglas for the Crown, and in 1682 two others were appointed to cover the other towns at £40 a year each. In all these arrangements no approach was made to the Earl of Derby, nor to Tynwald. The official J'Ans had to report that he was 'meeting with opposition . . .' He was annoyed to see the Manx boats 'openly' carrying on trade with the Continent and he could do nothing to prevent it.

THE BRITISH MINISTRY USE RUTHLESS FORCE

Mr. Jarvis has found among the Customs papers in London that the English ministers in 1683 had been advised that the Crown should 'farm' the Customs of the Isle, and take a lease from Earl William for a certain annual sum. But before doing so it was decided to get the advice of the law officers of the Crown.

To the query, 'Can any officer of the Commissioners of Customs legally make a seizure in Man and prosecute a ship and goods to condemnation?' the opinion was given, 'No officer of Customs in Great Britain can make a seizure in the Isle of Man because their commission does not extend to the Isle.' In spite of this considered opinion, the British Ministry, instead of approaching Tynwald, as they ought to have done, decided to exercise force. They could not imagine the Manx point of view that so-called 'illicit' trade was owing solely to the great difference between the tariffs of the two governments. A compromise was the only sensible thing to arrange.

THE EARL OF DERBY FARMS OUR CUSTOMS

Mr. Philip Caine has spent some time in examining the Knowsley papers now in the Preston County Hall, and he has found that James the tenth Earl, took the decision in 1720 to farm our Customs to Richard Macguire of Dublin, merchant, and Josiah Poole of Liverpool. The grant was for twenty-one years, and the rent was £1,050.

A LIVELY INCIDENT AT DERBYHAVEN

Roger Kenyon, who died in 1697, was for some years the Governor in Man for Earl William. In 1682 the Earl complained to his Governor of the trouble he had had from the Commissioners of Customs in London for the previous ten years.* He alleged they had acted without any conformity to the laws of the Isle and 'affright almost all boats (especially the Scottish) from traffic with the Isle,' and he issued an ultimatum that he should not admit of any instruction from them to be obeyed here.

A lively clash occurred in the spring of 1691.† The *Ship St. Stephen* bound from Spain to Dublin anchored at Derbyhaven, where she was placed under arrest. The cargo was claret and brandy. Governor Kenyon directed that the wine should be 'tasted,' and the jury declared it was not Spanish but French. He also ordered that two bottles out of each cask, forty-eight in all, should be sent to the Earl 'for a taste.' This was the prerogative of the sovereigns of England and of Man.

'WHAT KING? WHAT KING?'

The English government then sent an order for the ship's release, through the King's officer, Benjamin Dewy. Governor Kenyon told him that 'the King had nothing to do in the Isle; the laws of England were nothing there.' Dewy said it was his business to take care that the King's service received no prejudice, and the Governor hastily asked 'What King? What King?' 'The King had no more to do in the Isle,' declared the Governor, 'than he had to do in Normandy or Gascony!'

* From the Fourteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

† P. W. Caine's paper in *Proc. Ant. Soc.* 1948, entitled 'Pages from Seventeenth Century History.'

Several months later Earl William renewed his charges against the King's officers of acting arbitrarily, and instructed his own officers to 'have particular regard to these men, and their actings.' . . . 'And, where any seizures are made, that *you* make the seizures.'

Earl William was clearly not, on this occasion, conniving at improper trading; he was only asserting his own cherished sovereignty.

There is another official letter in the Kenyon papers written to the Commissioners in London, which said that 'there is laid up in the Isle a great store of tobacco, awaiting the opportunity of being privately stolen into England.' But the 'stealing into England' would, of course, be effected by Englishmen who would purchase the tobacco at the market price and its conveyance into England would be their affair. As far as the Manx traders were concerned, the tobacco had been bought by them from the West Indies, and paid for at market prices; and brought in their own ships' bottoms to Douglas for sale, after paying the Manx Customs duties.

The collector of the Liverpool Customs, in 1726, wrote to his Board that Earl James's officers had deterred the commander and crew of the revenue cutter from doing their duty; and that when going ashore they 'had to go armed as if in an enemy's country.' The commander declared he had been 'threatened with imprisonment if he dared to search any vessel in a Manx port.' And, of course, he had no right to do so.

THE ENGLISH CUTTER SPYING IN MANX WATERS

The following story got by Mr. Jarvis from the Customs records is worth quoting from the romantic colour it has. It shows that the Manx men were not without pluck in tackling those of the Customs. It is likely, as Mr. Jarvis assumes, that the trouble had arisen as the result of the arrogant attitude of the Customs officials themselves, and that they well deserved their rough handling.

It appears that a ship, the *Hope*, was bound for the Isle of Man with East India goods from Rotterdam. The revenue cutter was in the port of Douglas, and was preparing to attack,

but the Governor and two Manx Customs officials were declared to have

assembled several hundreds of men who, in a riotous and tumultuous manner, assembled themselves, armed with firearms, swords, bludgeons and stones, and endeavoured by force to stop the revenue cutter . . .

An armed boat belonging to the cutter was forcibly taken away ; four of the Customs men were captured and not only thrown into prison, but kept imprisoned in Castle Rushen above three months !

The English Customs officials, by their assertive, high-handed action, had offended the local pride. They were unable to realise that they were actually engaged in spying on the trading activities of another nation engaged in its own legal trade.

A humorous incident happened in 1704 when an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting all trade with France. Man was not involved in this, and the Manx vessels pursued their calling as usual quite legally in accordance with their own laws. And, incidentally, they satisfied the Englishman's appetite for French brandy : he would, of course, have to go to the warehouses in Douglas for a supply, and the rest was his affair.

In 1745 the House of Commons received the first report of the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the ' most infamous practice of smuggling.' What it says of Man is informing :

The French bring thither Teas and other East India goods and Brandies, which are deposited in magazines, and conveyed from Man to Liverpool and other ports of England . . . Upon the arrival of a Swedish or Danish ships at Gottenburgh or Copenhagen from India, with India goods, they are also sent into the Isle.

The report practically admitted, Mr. Jarvis says, that the goods were *carried from Man to England by Englishmen* in wherries or open boats, surreptitiously at dusk or at night. But the committee, says Mr. Jarvis, do not admit that the *act of smuggling occurred when the Englishmen landed the stuff in their own country !*

TYNWALD OFFERS A FAIR SOLUTION

Soon after the Union with Scotland in 1707, a proposal was made in Parliament to assimilate the fiscal laws of the Isle of

Man to those of Great Britain. Tynwald was not consulted, but it was not unnaturally concerned ; for if it came to pass a grave blow would be struck at the nation's independence. Therefore they in 1711 sent a deputation to London to resist the project, and, at the same time, to try to obtain ' a free trade for goods the produce of the Isle to be admitted into Great Britain.'*

The deputation came to an agreement with the Commissioners of Customs in London, approved by the Ministry, which resulted in an Act of Tynwald being passed in 1711—

(on the understanding that Great Britain would import, duty free, cattle, sheep and other animals, and goods of the produce and manufacture of the Isle) ;—ordaining that foreign goods were not to be shipped from Man to Great Britain unless those exporting them entered into bonds to pay the English duties when they were landed in England ; that Manx wool be exported to Great Britain only ; and that smuggling should, as far as it was possible for the authorities to do so, be suppressed by Act of Tynwald.

BUT PARLIAMENT FAILED TO RECIPROCATE

This was a practical endeavour on the part of Tynwald and ought to have been met with an eager response, as was agreed. As Great Britain made no move, the Act of Tynwald of 1711 was suspended, year by year afterwards, or, as the Act said, ' until freedom of trade be granted as the same was agreed upon with the Commissioners of Customs in London.'†

Sir James Gell has expressed the opinion that ‡

If this 1711 Act of Tynwald had been responded to by Parliament it would have answered all the purposes necessary, and the Duke of Atholl need not have been forced to sell. Can there be stronger evidence that Tynwald did really make an effort to effect a workable and statemanlike compromise ? . . . It shows, too, (stresses Sir James) that the members of the Legislature of those times were fully alive to their powers as well as to their duties.

It is evident that from that time, until 1765, nothing was done by the English Government to meet the wishes of the Manx

* The expenses of this deputation, amounting to over £100, were paid for by making a levy on the quarterland owners.

† Manx Statutes.

‡ Debates of the Legislature, 1888.

people. This neglect of the English Ministry to co-operate with Tynwald, as agreed upon, seems inexplicable in view of their sending soon after—in 1716—ships to watch our coasts.†

Walpole, in his *Land of Home Rule* says :

It was reasonable to infer that when Tynwald distinctly prohibited the illicit traffic, the Parliament would carry out its part of the bargain . . . but the commodities of the Isle stood still burdened with the same high duties as before. Strangely enough, large as was its interest in preventing illicit trade the Government of Great Britain for some time took no effectual steps, but on the other hand sent ships to watch and seize the 'smugglers.'

Waldron, the author of a romantic *Description of the Isle of Man*, was one of the Customs officials sent from London, his residence in Douglas being from about 1710 to 1730. Here is a brief extract from his work :

Douglas is full of very rich and eminent dealers . . . Though his Majesty is master of the seas, yet the Lord of Man has the jurisdiction of so much round the Isle, that a master of a ship has no more to do than to watch his opportunity of coming within the piles (three leagues or about nine miles) and he is secure from any danger from the King's officers. I myself once noticed a stately pirate steering her course into this harbour . . . Her cargo was indigo, mastic, raisins of the sun, and other very rich goods, which I had the mortification to see sold to the traders of Douglas without the least duty paid to his Majesty.

The 'stately pirate' that Waldron watched was probably a law-abiding vessel like the Brig *Cæsar* of Douglas shown on plate 31 that had just arrived after a risky passage to the West Indies. Its skipper had paid his Customs duties according to the Manx scale, and had also paid his anchorage fees. He was no smuggler. The 'traders' who bought the rich goods for sale were the *real* smugglers. The illegalities took place on the coasts of Great Britain, where the British authorities themselves only had the power to take action. The British Government was itself sufficiently powerful to have prevented a large proportion of the illicit traffic on its own shores. Bluntly stated, the so-called 'smuggling' was only a convenient stalking-horse for annexation.

† See Sir James Gell, note 42a.

The illicit dealers were chiefly from Liverpool, Ireland and from southern Scotland. They did not, like the Manx merchants, take the hazards, physical and financial, of trading to far-off countries, and so making an honest livelihood. They were, like Macguire and Poole, adventurers, living by their wits and not very particular in matters of commercial morality, and were without any regard to the good name of the Isle. In 1757, owing to the large influx of these people, the feeling against them became so strong that the Keys presented a petition to the Duke against the usurpation by them of the right and privileges of Manxmen.

They were probably the class of men that the English Commissioners of Customs had in mind when they decided upon using extreme measures. Our first Duke of Atholl, for encouraging them was partly culpable. Writing thirteen years before the Duke died, George Moore, a Manx trader of standing, wrote 'Douglas is so burthened with foreign curs, dayly flying there, that no manner of roome is unemployed.' He had told the Duke that they were 'a nest of Vermin collected from the Dregs of the neighbouring countries.*' Writing to Daniel Mylrea in 1751, he says: 'Pity it is that no method has yet been taken whereby the trade of the Isle might be solely occupied by its natives.' It was the presence of so many of these 'foreign curs' that impelled the British Government to act so precipitately and aggressively.

Moore was annoyed at the short-sighted selfish policy pursued by Britain, raising high tariff walls. He himself had experienced the irritations to which the system gave rise. On one occasion he was asked to buy some Loghtan sheep for Lord Barnard of Durham. Twenty were shipped to Whitehaven. They were refused entry by the Customs, and five days later, when the animals were put ashore at Ramsey, nearly half were dead of starvation.

* Of the character of these 'transmarians' we have contemporary evidence. As regards the worst class of them, John Stowell, the poet, was very bitter:

'Yon swindler, just arrived, not worth a groat,
Gets credit here, and wears a costly coat;
Games, wenches, drinks, gallants, commences buck,
His sole dependence impudence and luck.'

The merchant, George Moore, who in 1758 was elected Speaker of the Keys, took up the same attitude that his trade was conducted in conformity with Manx law, and that if there was any smuggling into Great Britain and Ireland, the chief offenders were natives of those countries. For instance, his own vessel the *Peggy* braved the hurricanes and reefs of the West Indies and passed through the Straits to trade with Mediterranean France and Spain. She brought away manufactured goods, fish, beef and butter in barrels, and came home to sell to the eager Douglas traders, wines, and spirits, sugar, tobacco, tea, etc.

Moore was sent by the Keys to put the Manx case before the British Government.* He argued that the Manx people were not the chattels of the Lord of the Isle, but had inherent rights which had been recognised by the Crown from ancient times. These rights could not be bartered away by the Duke of Atholl in any bargain he might make with the British Government. Among them was the liberty of trade, and the import into and export from the Isle of various commodities. If this trade, which was in accordance with Manx law, was vexatious because of the smuggling of goods from Man into Britain and Ireland, it was not because the Manx had refused to regulate it. Tynwald had, by the Act of 1711 provided safeguards against the illegal importation into Great Britain on easy terms ; but Parliament had neglected to take advantage of the offer. It might be added that Moore was knighted while in London in 1781 when he, with John Cosnahan, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords in successful opposition to a bill promoted by the Duke of Atholl.

PEREMPTORY ACTION BY BRITAIN

According to the Customs books in London the Lords of the Treasury in 1759 directed the Customs 'to propose a plan for the prevention of smuggling.' After having made confidential enquiries, the Treasury on 25th July, 1753, wrote to James the second Duke of Atholl, to whom since 1736 the regalities had belonged, broaching the matter of revesting the Isle in the

* D. Craine : 'A Manx Merchant of the Eighteenth Century' in *Proc. Ant. Soc.*, 1945.

Crown. But before a reply could be received, the Ministers of the Crown issued an Order-in-Council 'directing the Admiralty to station ships and cutters in the harbours and on the coasts of the Isle.'

A bill was brought in the Commons to remedy the 'mischiefs,' which had the desired effect upon the Duke; for early in 1765 he offered to sell the Customs to the Crown for £70,000. This was accepted forthwith and ratified by Parliament.* One cannot but observe that from 1672 to 1765, not on any single occasion does there appear to have been an attempt on the part of the Ministers to ascertain the views of Tynwald. It was ignored throughout, and the Duke of Atholl took good care to keep it ignorant.

The officers of the Customs were now empowered by English law to board and search all vessels lying in Manx harbours or hovering off the coast, and to seize all forms of contraband. All foreign spirits, tea, tobacco and East India goods were prohibited to be imported except from Great Britain; and if any ship was found with contraband within three leagues of the shore, (about nine miles) the vessel could be seized and the ship and cargo forfeit. This brought a spirited response from the House of Keys, the two Deemsters, Dan Mylrea and Dan Lace, the Attorney-General John Quillin, and the Clerk of the Rolls John Quayle.

The Isle of Man is no part of the Realm of England. No jurisdiction can be legally exercised within the ports or on the seas adjacent but what proceeds from the Lord of Man . . . An infringement on the liberties, privileges and immunities of the subject and inconsistent with the character of Britons, remarkable Assertors of the Cause of Liberty.

These brave words with the subtle sting in the tail, had no apparent effect. Within twelve months—in the week after Tynwald Day, 1765—the Manx flag was hauled down at Castle Rushen, and The Royal Arms were set up in the parish churches.

* The Revesting Act, 1765, has a Schedule giving an abstract of the clear revenue of the Isle for the ten years 1754-1763. The total was £72,930 5s. 7d., British, viz., £7,293 0s. 6½d. per annum.

ISLAND HERITAGE

In a few days Charles Lutwidge, the new surveyor of Customs was directed, with no less than fifty coast officers and tide waiters, to repair to the Isle, and occupy all the ports and watch the coasts. He had, besides, two or three cutters at call. Lutwidge was a very aggressive officer, and had administrative power. He had the audacity seriously to propose to the Government that Man should be politically attached to Cumberland.

YOUNG MANHOOD IN 1798

Tynwald was not without concern for the military defence of the Isle. There is in the Public Record Office a record of the number of Infantry Militia fit to bear arms in the various parishes. Young manhood was strong in the country then.

Patrick	294	Lonan	278
Peel	128	Conchan	140
German	178	Braddan	238
Michael	140	Douglas	342
Ballagh	160	Marown	112
Jurby	137	Santan	114
Andreas	320	Malew	261
Bride	90	Castletown	153
Lezayre	300	Arbory	177
Maughold	211	Rushen	240
Ramsey	176	Total	<u>4,189</u>

CHAPTER 26

*Cha nee Leigh, agh Bondiaght, da'n Thea
dy veh kianlt fegooish Cordail y Thea.*

Translation : *It is not Law, but Bondage, to the
People who are bound without the Agreement
of the People.*

—OLD MANX PROVERB

PARLIAMENT'S ACT OF AGGRESSION

IT is now almost two hundred years since our powerful neighbour took our nation's precious independence away. Much has been written by popular authors grossly to exaggerate the 'smuggling' practices of our forefathers in order to make it fit in with such a serious act. We have suffered this imputation for over a century and a half. But the charge is unfounded, and was used by an unscrupulous and powerful neighbour in order to cloak its ruthless centralising encroachments. Chancellor Grenville's Imperialistic policy could not suffer an independent Customs tariff to exist in the middle of the Irish Sea under another government.

If Tynwald had raised our tariffs to the level of those of the British, probably all would have been well. There would then have been no smuggling into England and Scotland, for there would have been no cheap goods to smuggle. But for Tynwald to have increased the tariffs which they had been operating for well nigh two hundred years would then have been uneconomical, unless they had got from the British Government the *quid pro quo* they had been seeking.

The Revesting Act of 1765 marked the conclusion of the longest period of Insular history. Our Norse line of native rulers had occupied the throne of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles for more than three centuries ; and almost four centuries had passed from the first grant of the Isle to the House of Stanley up to the tragedy of the Revesting Act. And during all that

period we had retained the status of an independent nation. Sir James Gell* reminds us :

Man had never been united to the United Kingdom. It is an ancient Kingdom ; but after A.D. 1399 and until the Revestment in 1765 it was feudatory to the Crown. In 1765 the rule of the feudatory sovereigns ceased, and the direct rule of the sovereigns of England commenced ; but otherwise no change took place in the government of the Isle as a separate kingdom.

WHO WERE THE ILLICIT AND CLANDESTINE TRADERS ?

We cannot resist again quoting the opinion of our most eminent legal authority on the ill-chosen words used in the Revesting Act, namely, ' illicit and clandestine trade.' The designation, ' illicit and clandestine,' (Sir James says)

' is not correct. The trade *to the Island* was by law almost free, and restricted only by such duties as were imposed by Tynwald, and such trade was previously recognised by the English Government.

So far as the trade *from the Island* was concerned, it was not ' illicit and clandestine ' by the Manx laws, which authorised the exportation of goods on payment of the Manx duties.†

The trade was ' illicit and clandestine ' in Great Britain and Ireland so far as it was attempted to *land* the goods without payment of the British or Irish duties, or in defiance of British or Irish laws. The trade with Russia or any other foreign country might as well have been designated ' illicit and clandestine ' where goods lawfully exported from such foreign country, were attempted to be smuggled into England.

Who, therefore, it might well be enquired, were then the smugglers ? It is worthy of note (continues Sir James) that this was the *first* Act of the English Parliament which *really* affected the rights and liberties of the people of the Island, or interfered with the independence of its Legislature.

The Duke of Atholl, as Lord of the Isle, held his position in trust, officially and not personally, as the King of England does ; and the British Government knowing this, were equally guilty with the Duke. The Customs and manorial revenues were a national fund for the purpose of defraying the expenses of

* Sir James Gell in Manx Soc., Vol. 29.

† Manx Soc., Vol. 12. Also Manx Soc., Vol. 29.

government, as they had been in Norse times. They could not morally be sold by the Duke or purchased by another Government.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND MAN CONTRASTED

It became necessary in 1767, to make further provision for the expenses of the government of the Isle, and Parliament, for the first time assumed the power to impose taxes on the people of the Isle.

In the previous year, 1766, our readers are reminded, Parliament had asserted its right to tax the American Colonies against their consent, and such assertion being insisted on, caused the loss of such Colonies to the British Crown. And much less right existed in the Parliament to tax the Isle of Man, for it was an ancient kingdom.

The great orator Edmund Burke is quoted as saying in Parliament :

' The American revenue Act is the *forty-fifth* chapter in the Statute Book of 1767 ; the *forty-fourth* is an Act for raising Revenue in the Isle of Man. They are both to the same purpose : both taxing out of the Kingdom, and both taxing English manufactures exported. Now will the noble Lord (Grenville) condescend to tell me why he repealed the taxes on manufactures sent out to America and not the taxes on manufactures exported to the Isle of Man ? Why, notwithstanding all his childish pretexts, because the taxes were quietly submitted to in the Isle of Man, and because they raised a flame in America.

The gigantic failure of the repressive measures in America is a commonplace now when the results are studied at this distance of time.

The effect of the changes brought about by the Revestment was the reverse of beneficial, says A. W. Moore. When the reign of the hereditary Lords had come to an end their places were taken by a band of officials who considered it their duty to extract as much revenue as possible. They were under no obligation to do any service. There was little indication on the part of the English Government of anything like concern for the welfare of the Manx people.

HIGH-HANDED AGGRESSION

But what was worse still was the cessation of the independence of Tynwald, the oldest Parliament in Europe. The effect upon the political and social life of the people was far-reaching, and extended to every detail of national life. The changes brought about were the result of the transference of the executive authority from a native administration in sympathy with the necessities and aspirations of the people, to a foreign administration whose policy was framed exclusively in the interests of a stranger population having little in common with Manx ideals.

But the Revesting Act really gave the Suzerain Power no *new* prerogative, it merely transferred the existing rights and prerogatives of the Lord of Man from the Duke of Atholl to the King of England; nothing more than that. Everything else—the independence of Tynwald, the liberties of the people, the details of the administration—was, in theory, left untouched as of right. But the Government consistently took a high-handed attitude, and encroached on our people's freedom. Acts of Parliament took the place of Acts of Tynwald.

The existing taxation, constitutionally imposed by Tynwald, was arbitrarily set aside by English authority, and fresh taxation, in excess of the requirements, was imposed by Act of Parliament and collected by English officials. Of the excessive revenue thus extracted a small portion was applied to paying the cost of government, and the remainder was used by the English Government to pay its own debts. The commerce of the Manx people, perfectly legitimate by the recognised law of nations, was forcibly suppressed, solely because it was now found to be injurious to the English revenue.

Neither in the negotiations leading up to the Revesting Act in 1765, nor in the introduction of it, was Tynwald consulted. The two parties to the agreement, the government and the Duke, restricted themselves to safeguarding their own interests. There are in the library of the Museum no fewer than fifty Acts of Parliament and official orders affecting the Isle of Man from 1765 to 1844.

FIRST ENGLISH GOVERNOR HAULS DOWN THE MANX FLAG

The actual taking over by the English troops took place in the week after Tynwald Day in 1765 at Castletown. The clergy had been instructed to read the Royal message at the previous Sunday's services ; and ' all the principal magistrates and civil officers are to attend in their proper habits.*' After the proclamation had been read in Castletown market place, according to a document in the Rolls Office

the colours with the arms of the Island were then struck, and the English colours hoisted in their room, and a discharge of three vollies from the troops that were brought over from England.

The House of Keys and the bulk of the people were horror-stricken at the suddenness of the change, and the manner in which it came about. Castle Rushen was then the official residence of the Atholls, and, as will be seen on plate 32, the Manx national flag was flown from the highest point of the keep. The flag shows the letters I.A. for James Duke of Atholl. The date of the drawing is about 1760.

The document referred to proceeds :

The severall deputeys of the Duke and Dutchess of Atholl did yield up possession of the Island and its dependencies to the Governor ... by delivering the Sword of State, the public seal and other regalia ... as full seizen and lawful possession of the Island, Castle Pele and Lordship of Man. Then the new Governor John Wood made a speech, the officers and gentlemen of distinction were entertained to dinner and a barrell of beer was given to the troops.

In the confusion and disappointments of the change of government no Tynwald was held at St. John's from 1766 to 1770. But in the latter year the Tynwald ceremony was resumed to the great delight of the Manx, who welcomed it as a revival of Manx nationality and an omen of hope. Ten thousand people were said to have thronged the Tynwald green.

FORCIBLY PRESSING MANX SAILORS

The French war, which broke out in 1756—the outbreak of the ' Seven Year's ' War—interfered with maritime trading. The

* Among the collection of ancient Customs Seals preserved in the Board Room of the Head Customs Office in London, there is one of silver, about the size of half a crown. It has the text :

G III R : SIGM : OFF : COLL : PORT : RAMSEY : 1765.

sea swarmed with privateers both British and French. In home waters the British naval authorities were engaged in a ruthless campaign to find seamen for the fleet. There is evidence that these naval ships encroached on Manx waters and, contrary to international law, forcibly pressed Manx sailors into service.

In the course of research work in the Rolls Office the writer found among the Episcopal Wills a strange record of the proving in Court of the death of a foreign-going sailor named Thomas Cubbon. He died at Port Royal in the island of Martinique, in the French West Indies 'on or about the year 1762.' At the time he was a sailor on H.M. ship of war the *Dublin*.

The evidence, given by John Lewin, mariner, of Ballacreech, showed that he had been impressed by an English man-of-war in 1755, before the Parliament had any power over the Isle of Man. He stated :

Later on, Thomas Cubbon, son of John Cubbon of Balla Quinney Beg, and Ann Cubbon, alias Clucas, of Ballanicholas of Kirk Marown, was also impressed ; and both were stationed on the same vessel. They continued till the latter end of 1761 or 62, during which time they were very intimate.

Thomas Cubbon was taken very ill when the ship was at Port Royal ; and he was sent to the King's Hospital in Martinique (in the Lesser Antilles).

While he was in hospital the ship made a cruise of High Spaniola (Hispaniola in the West Indies) for near three months, then afterwards returning to Port Royal. He (John Lewin) made the strictest enquiry for his old friend and countryman, and was told by those belonging to the ship who were also in hospital that his friend was dead and buried three weeks before the *Dublin* had returned.

This Thomas Cubbon of Ballaquinney-beg was a nephew of Captain William Cubbon, of Ballacallin, Kirk Marown, member of the House of Keys from 1748, and grandfather of Sir Mark Cubbon. The sailor, forcibly impressed by the English man o' war to fight the French, just two hundred years ago, has a slender link with this book. His father, John Cubbon, the holder of Ballaquinney-beg, it is interesting to note, is a direct ancestor of the gentlemen to whom this volume is dedicated.

CHAPTER 27

*Alas ! what language, or what poet's quill,
Can tell, how Mona dreaded Atholl's Bill.
No timid dove so much the eagle feared,
Nor Partridge when the gunner's notes she heard.
'Twas confidently whispered by the wise
He fully meant to pick out Mona's eyes !*

—JOHN STOWELL, 1790

*Furth Fortune and Fill the Fetters**

—ATHOLL (MURRAY) FAMILY MOTTO

THE COMING OF THE ATHOLLS IN 1736

OUR people had gone through the varied experiences of over three hundred years of the 'petty kingship' of the Stanleys, and they were now to suffer, as the reigning lords, twenty-nine years of the Atholls. And the period was, happily, comparatively brief.

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS OF THE FIRST ATHOLL

Upon the death of James the tenth Earl of Derby in 1736, the sovereignty of the Isle was, to the surprise of many, passed on to James Murray, the second Duke of Atholl. This came about owing to the failure of heirs male, and because the Duke's maternal grandmother, Amelia Sophie Stanley, was the third daughter of James the seventh Earl of Derby. The Duke lived to 1764, and during the twenty-eight years of his lordship, he had a very active life.

This change in the dynasty was looked upon by the Manx people with hope for better times. The Duke, on coming, showed an interest in his new possession, and he was enthusiastic in reviving the impressiveness of his first Tynwald ceremony

* This motto, put in modern English, should, according to scholars, read, 'Go Forth Fortune and Fill thy Coffers.' The Lord Lyon of Edinburgh has sent the author a note saying he agrees generally with this rendering, and adds that it was his idea that the Earls contemplated a *creagh*, in which they would bring home both booty and captives. *Cragh* stands for carnage, spoil, or prey, according to Cregeen's Manx Dictionary.

in 1736. A graphic account of this Tynwald was found in an old M.S. formerly in the possession of the Stevensons of Balladoole, John Stevenson having been Speaker at that time.*

The Duke, who had landed at Derbyhaven on the 15th of June, had left Liverpool by sloop a week before. On his arrival at Castle Rushen he found displayed from the Eagle tower a fine new flag with the arms of the Isle, and cannon being fired from the batteries. (*Plate 32.*)

He was waited on by deputations from the chief merchants of Douglas and Peel, Bishop Wilson and his clergy, and by the Twenty-four Keys.

After dinner on the succeeding day, in the presence of a large company, healths were drunk, and at each 'health,' all drank out of a big horn a yard long.

The Duke was escorted from Castle Rushen, at nine o'clock on the morning of Midsummer Day, to the Tynwald Hill at St. John's. 'He was accompanied by three squadrons of horse militia, one bay, the second black, and the third grey, well mounted and armed, commanded by their officers, and with drums and standards, on the latter of which were embroidered the arms of the Isle.'

In the procession the Governor walked before the Duke with his white rod in his hand, and a relative, Patrick Murray, also preceded him carrying the ancient Manx Sword of State. (*Plate 33.*)

The Duke stayed in the Isle for several weeks, long enough to approve a number of Acts of Tynwald which the Keys had placed before him, all of which were of constitutional importance. One of these is believed to be equal in importance to the Act of Settlement of 1704. It got the title of the 'Bill of Rights,' and dealt with all kinds of questions which affected the liberties of the people in their persons and property.

Our first Atholl had started well, and became deservedly popular; but his successors of the name were destined, in the course of the next eighty years to lose all the popularity which the name had acquired.

* Manx Soc. Vol. 19, pp. 93-113.

The fact that Duke James had come into the lordship of Man did not appear to lessen his interest in his Scottish estate. He had already commenced to re-model Blair Castle, and the work was still in progress when he came here in 1736.

In 1751 he wrote to his nephew, John Murray of Strowan, 'they will have good luck that lives to see all the rooms furnished.' The Duke's luck held, for he lived to 1764, and saw the work completed.

In 1744, eight years after his accession the Duke sent a message to the Twenty-four Keys on the declaration of war of France against Great Britain and asked them to do something by way of defence. And the Keys responded by making an assessment of £326 13s. 4d. for the purchase of arms and ammunition and that strict Watch and Ward be kept. The names of the Keys are worth noting: they are Heywood, Wattleworth, Murrey, Gawne, Oates, Qualtrough, Clucas, Moore, Curghey, Tyldesley. There were two Stevensons and four Christians.

BRIEF REIGN OF THE SECOND ATHOLL (1764-5)

*It is better to appear to be ignorant than
to pretend to be wise.*

—MANX PROVERB

Duke James died in 1764 and left only one child, a daughter Charlotte. She married her cousin John Murray, and he became the third Duke, and our second of that ilk. He was the eldest son of Lord George Murray, who had been Prince Charles' general in the '45, and, in the words of Scott, 'the soul of the undertaking.' As a young man he had been a student at Göttingen in Germany. Lord George, after the failure of Prince Charlie's campaign, was attainted by the Government. He died in Holland in 1760. It was John, who, as described in the previous chapter, sold to the British government the regalities and Customs revenues for £70,000. By John's act the Atholls were shorn of their sovereignty, but they continued to possess the manorial and mineral rights, and large ecclesiastical patronage.

THE EXIT OF THE ATHOLL LORDS OF MAN

John, the reigning Atholl, had been deposed by the British Ministry, the Tynwald was ignored, a new English Governor (John Wood) was appointed and a Regiment of Foot was sent to support his authority. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, 1765, the Manx colours, which had been hoisted on Castle Rushen in the morning, were struck : the English colours were hoisted in their room : and, according to an English report made at the time, ' the troops fired three volleys : the Governor made a judicious speech.' The reign of the Atholls had ceased ; the reign of George III of England had begun.

The Duke, having unexpectedly come into possession of such a huge sum, retired to his home at Dunkeld. The Isle loses sight of him. But he died nine years later, when he was only forty-five, by drowning in the river Tay, near the castle.

AN ACT OF AGGRESSION

There was a deep feeling of dissatisfaction at the new regime, for one reason on account of the somewhat brutal way in which it was accomplished. As Walpole says :

The negotiations between the Ministry and the Duke had been conducted without the knowledge of the Manx Legislature.

And Tynwald considered that in common courtesy it might have been consulted before the dynasty to which the Manx people had owed allegiance for nearly four centuries had been summarily deprived of its royalty.

They did not, however, blame the Duke for his share in the matter ; they regarded him, on the contrary, as the victim of the centralising and Imperialistic policy of the Government of the day.

The statutes which had rapidly passed through Parliament called the ' Mischiefs ' and the ' Revesting ' Acts, inflicted an irremediable wound on the well-being of the Manx people. They also struck a fatal blow at their cherished independence. Spencer Walpole wrote :*

For centuries the Isle had preserved the appearance of independence : it had been left to regulate its own affairs and to make its

* *Land of Home Rule.*

PARLIAMENT'S PREDATORY ACT

own laws. It had the mortification now to see that the Parliament of Great Britain was disposing of its sovereignty, and imposing new and heavy burdens and restrictions on its trade.

Parliament, by a predatory act, had taken into its own hands the power of taxing the people of another nation, without consulting the government or any section of the people of that nation. In addition it unjustly merged the revenues collected in the ports of that nation with its own funds, and not for a brief time, but for the period of one hundred years, notwithstanding the constant protests of the House of Keys.

When the Duke received his manorial rent and his Customs dues he received them officially and not personally. The manorial, or Lord's rent was in its genesis a tax whereby the king could pay for his expenditure in times of war and peace. Each Duke of Atholl had only a life interest in them. The revenues sold by the Duke to the English Parliament were the national fund created for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Island Government. Morally, the Duke could really only claim the balance remaining, after the cost of administration had been paid.

From the occupancy of the Island by the English Parliament in 1765, to Governor Loch's Act of 1866, the whole period of direct rule was administered in a cynically selfish spirit, which added to the hardships of the people, was an insult to Manx pride of race. For the first time in the history of their mutual relations Parliament exercised a paramount authority over Tynwald. Revenues relatively large were wrung from an impoverished people; and, to add infamy to wrong, a large part of the moneys thus obtained were spent upon English objects, in defiance of common honesty.

In short, it would be hard to find a parallel to the treatment which the Manx nation received from Parliament during these hundred dark years from 1765 to 1866.*

* See Thomas Grindley's pamphlet, *Story of the Revestment*, c. 1903.

CHAPTER 28

*'Tis not the affected strut of Consequence,
Nor self-sufficient air of Impudence,
Nor formal gait, nor airy apish tricks,
Nor pride of birth, nor dress, nor coach and six,
That form the Gentleman.*

—JOHN STOWELL (a contemporary poet) 1790.

Paint me as I am, with the wart and all.

—OLIVER CROMWELL.

CONFLICT: THE LAST ATHOLL

JOHN, the third Duke of Atholl, died in 1774, and his Duchess then transferred all her rights in Man to her son, the fourth of the name. He had no sooner come to his majority before he used all his influence to claim a much larger sum than his father got from the English Government. During the next twenty-five years his claims were constantly before Parliament. And all were opposed by the Keys.

Notwithstanding that the British Government had come to control the Customs revenue, the ducal family continued to own the manorial, mineral, and certain valuable patronage rights. It was generally known that the Duke was desirous to become Governor, and there was a fear among the Manx people that he would endeavour to invalidate the Act of Settlement for his own selfish purposes. He was aware of this and on the 26th July, 1788, he addressed a letter to Bishop Crgan, Captain John Taubman and Deemster Moore :

In order (he says) to vindicate my own honour and to quiet the minds of my tenants, it is my desire that you order the Moars to give public notice at their respective parish churches on three succeeding Sundays, that I have no design to dispute the tenants' right to hold property under the Act of Tynwald of 1703, called the Act of Settlement . . . I am confident that when next I come to the Isle it will be in a situation which will enable me to carry out my wishes into effect.

These words would seem to be prophetic, for he soon became Governor-in-chief. He had kept 'nagging' those in authority in Whitehall that they had—as an unforgiveable sop—appointed him Governor-in-chief, and so scourging the Manx people still further. It was set down as another unfriendly act of the Government. If those at its head had had the imagination of a child they would certainly have visualised what would happen, when the greatest enemy of the Keys took up the reins of government. He was now placed in a position of advantage in furthering and protecting his personal interests. At the same time as he acted for the Crown he also exercised the very functions which his predecessors had discharged by virtue of their inheritance. How the people must have suffered under his rule! no wonder they resented it bitterly.

From 1781 to 1825 the Duke made persistent demands to Parliament with the object of securing additional financial favours, all of which were opposed by the Keys, for they felt certain that whatever sum was granted to him the Manx people would eventually have to pay. And they were right. The *Journals* of the House of Keys tell of many strenuous efforts on the part of the members to plead their cause before the Treasury, and their delegates appeared at the Bar of both Houses of Parliament.

The Duke had friends at Whitehall and they succeeded in getting an important Commission appointed in 1791 to go to the Isle and take evidence and make a report as to how the Duke should be treated by Parliament. An interesting and voluminous Report was made and was printed in 1792.

A 'CORRUPT JOB' IN PARLIAMENT

In 1805, after the Duke had interviewed many of his friends in Parliament, a bill was brought in to allow him a large sum for his remaining rights. A deputation of three members of the Keys was sent at that body's own expense to London bringing with them a petition signed by 1,336 Manx people. They were so pleased when they learned that a committee of the Commons had reported against the Duke's petition, that they felt certain that 'whatever sum might be granted to the Duke must come

from British funds.' But within a few days, notwithstanding the committee's adverse report, and an eloquent speech by the Manx member for Carlisle, John Christian Curwen,* the huge sum of £150,000 was voted to the Duke; and, further, that it was to be a charge on the Island's revenue.

Spencer Walpole, writes : †

' There seems no justification for the act itself or for the manner in which it was done. The House of Lords had refused the claim; the House of Commons declined to consider it; the Privy Council had rejected it. The Lord Chief Justice of England led the opposition to it in the House of Lords, and declared that the transaction was 'one of the most corrupt jobs ever witnessed in Parliament; which could only be sanctioned by Parliament in the worst and most corrupt times.'

In an address to John Christian Curwen from his fellow-members of the Keys, in 1808, they thank him for his patriotic efforts in Parliament; and they urge him to take up with the Treasury the question of the application of the surplus revenue. They declare it to be improper that the Duke, (as a bargainer with the Treasury for what was really Manx national property), should hold the post of governor. They asserted that the people and the Keys were basely treated in 1765 when they were ignored both by the Government and the Duke.

THE DUKE MAKES A GREAT COUP

The Duke was not satisfied with the amount of the plunder that he secured in 1805. Like the horse-leach's daughter, he craved for more; and, unfortunately those in authority at Whitehall had no compunction about throwing another burden on the shoulders of the Manx people. In 1825 the Duke had printed a petition which he had purposed bringing before Parliament for the purchase of his remaining rights. This was also opposed by a deputation from the Keys.

* John Christian Curwen (1756-1828) was the eldest son of John Christian of Milntown. He married his cousin Isabella Curwen, and took that surname. He was an active member of the Keys and in the debates in Parliament in 1790 and 1805 took a patriotic part. He was twice offered a peerage, but declined it.

† *Land of Home Rule.*

The same process of preparation and colloquing on the part of the Duke that he had used twenty years before, in 1805, resulted in his remaining so-called 'rights' being bought out by the payment to him of nearly half a million of money. It was arrived at the following valuation :*

	£
Annuity under the Act of 1805	150,000
Lord's Quit Rents and Fines	34,200
Ecclesiastical patronage, lands, mines, quarries, tithes, forests, etc. . . .	232,944
	£417,144

This, in addition to the £70,000 paid for the regalities and customs in 1765, made a total of £487,144, nearly half a million.

And this wealth—all of which came out of the Isle of Man and went into the pocket of a comparative stranger—could never in any degree have been envisaged by the family sixty years before. The price was, of course, an exorbitant one. For the sovereignty and Customs dues the Atholls received in all £349,600 ; for the Church patronage, which was of no money value, £100,000 ; and for the manorial rents, etc., £167,144. And, to cap all, the yearly surplus revenues were captured by the Treasury. Unbiased readers are left to form their own judgment.

And the English Government, by a despotic act, during the next hundred years, gained from the Manx surplus revenues from 1765 to 1866 more than twice the sum they had paid the Duke. Whatever confidence arose at the Treasury promise to act with justice was a bitter illusion. A. W. Moore tells us that from 1766 to 1866 the English Treasury reaped no less than £790,819 of surpluses, after all expenses of government had been paid.†

* A. W. Moore, Hist. p. 543.

† A. W. Moore Hist. pp. 648-9. He says that £46,000 was paid for the regalities in 1765. £100,000 for the patronage of the Bishopric and livings, and £167,144 for the mines, rents, etc. And the Crown derives an income of about £8,000 a year from mine rents, etc., the cost of which has already been repaid. According to Moore, £298,282 was received by the Woods and Forests Department for Mine rents for the period 1854-1887 ; and £94,206 for Crown rents for the same period.

And, on the other side of the ledger, we must confess to not being able to record one really deliberate generous act bestowed by the Treasury.

Judged by his actions the last Duke was undoubtedly an able, but unscrupulous man. He was overbearing and autocratic in his manner, and those features did not 'go down' with Manx people. He could be imperious and at the same time childish. He was more than once called 'nefarious' by his opponents, and he ever had in mind the thought of increasing his own revenues. Above all else he was a man of action. He had his finger in very visible pie. He made himself very unpopular when he appointed so many of his Scottish dependants to various paid offices. His chief agent or 'Seneschal,' was James McCrone,* who did for him some of the 'unpleasant' work. A more humane official was Bonnyman, who occupied a part of the family house at Port y Shee, and who was buried at Kirk Braddan in 1825.

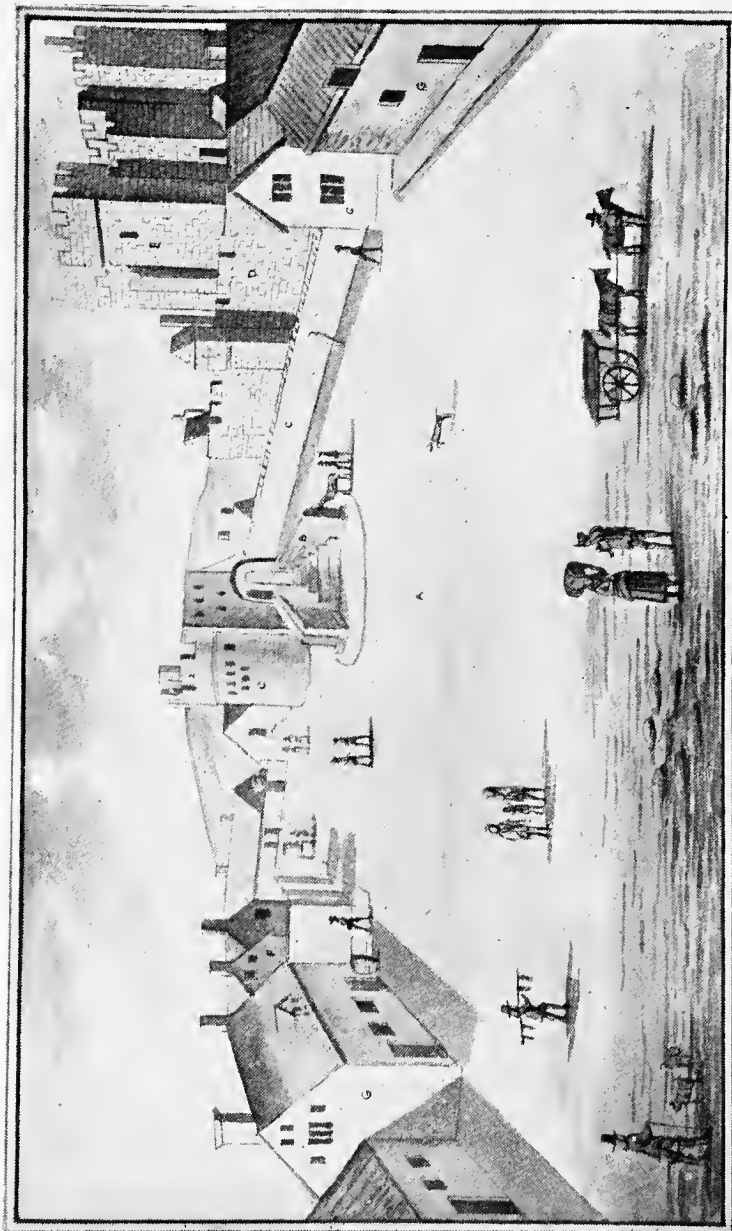
The Duke had a far-seeing eye for the money value of property, and he invested quite a large sum in buying land, especially in the neighbourhood of Douglas. For the sum of £3,500, in 1791, he bought from Patrick Tobin, an Irishman from Dublin, the estate of Port y Shee, and for a while dwelt there. Tobin had bought the property eight years before for £800 from Hugh Cosnahan the merchant, but a good house had been put up in the meantime. The Duke had a privately-owned sloop which brought him occasionally from a Scottish port, and we know that from 1791 it was his custom to run the sloop into the port of Peel, and from thence make his way on horseback to his residence at Port y Shee.

He had been planning to build a fine mansion near Douglas, on the margin of the bay, worthy of the family. This he eventually did. He named it Castle Mona, and it remains a monument to his good taste and munificence. (*Plate 35.*) The 'baptism' of Castle Mona was celebrated on the 4th August, 1804. In the *Liber Vast.* of that date in the Rolls Office, there is inserted

* The Duke even proposed, later on, that McCrone should be a member of the Legislative Council.



*Plate 35. Castle Mona in 1804.
[See page 248]*



Castle Rushen Town & Castle as it doth appeare on ye west. A The Street. B The market crosse. C The Counter-scaye of Stone & Tower. D The walles of ye Castle. E The Castle. F The Gournors House. G The rest of the houses 2th towne.

Plate 36. Castletown Market-place about 1650, showing the Old Dial, from a sketch by King.

by the hand of John Cosnahan, a most interesting account of the event. It gives, too, a list of the fifty-two carefully-picked guests that 'sat down to a sumptuous dinner and afterwards spent the evening in convivial manner worthy of the hospitality of his Grace.' One can see from the list that there was a considerable body of influential support for the Duke. As was to be expected there was an absence of members of the Keys. Among those present, besides the Duke himself, were his relatives Lord Henry Murray and Lord James Murray, who held certain public posts, not sinecures. Bishop Crigan was there, and many remarkable public men, such as Edward Forbes, father of Professor Edward Forbes, James Holmes, the banker, John James Bacon, the merchant who had a fleet of foreign-going trading vessels and who owned the Brig *Cæsar* (*Plate 31*). The architect of the noble building, George Stewart, a Shrewsbury man, was also there.

There were also William Scott, whom the Duke had made Receiver-General, cousin of Sir Walter Scott; William Leece Drinkwater, who had just come from Liverpool; and we must not fail to mention the Rev. William Mitford, one of the order of Bucks, who, unfortunately, later occupied the debtors' quarters in Castle Rushen. John Cosnahan, the High-Bailiff of Douglas, the first appointed by the English Government in 1777, was there. He was the first Deemster who could not converse in Manx and he had, in 1818-19, to employ an interpreter in his court.

THE DUKE APPOINTS HIS NEPHEW TO THE BISHOPRIC

It did not matter to the Duke whether the favouritism was evident to the public or not. As an instance he gave to his nephew William Scott, the Collector of Customs of Douglas port, a portion of the sea beach extending towards the Pollock rocks; and also authority to take from the Old Fort near by the stones of the building to enclose the plot.

As has been said, the Duke by his open favouritism in certain directions, had made himself very unpopular. But the limit was reached when he in 1814 appointed his nephew, the Rev. and Hon. George Murray, D.D., although under canonical age,

to be Bishop of Sodor and Man. That brought matters to a crisis that ended ultimately in severance. The attempt of the Bishop, supported by the Duke, to collect a tithe on potatoes, completed the unpopularity of the Atholl regime ; and resulted in riots, particularly in the southern parishes, while the tithe was being exacted. In 1817, the Bishop, as a test case, sued in the Chancery Court, two well-known farmers, one in the south and one in the north, Cæsar Tobin of Ballamiddle and Robert Farrant of Ballamoar, for the payment of the tithe on potatoes. His Lordship was successful. The two farmers then made an appeal to the Privy Council in London. When that failed the Bishop proceeded to exact the tithe wherever he could. Stranger servants of the Bishop and of the Duke were used for the purpose ; but the opposition was so determined and general, that his Lordship had to forego his object.*

BITTER COMMENTS OF THE BISHOP'S WIFE

It is more than likely that the action of the Bishop, and the way in which it was conducted, was induced by his wife, a very strong-willed and imperious woman who disliked and feared native sentiment. She was the daughter of the Earl of Kinnoul, and had been married in 1811. Her husband was Rector of Woodchurch in Kent when he was raised to the See of Sodor and Man.

The Bishop's lady took an active part in all that concerned the tithe project, and, after its collapse, she penned an account of it, which was afterwards privately printed. In this she alleges that Governor Smelt, who had been appointed by the English Government had attached himself to the Keys party,

a party, who for generations back have united to insult, belie, deceive and cheat the Dukes of Atholl and their agents . . . In all the Duke's disputes with the House of Keys as to the rights they claimed, Governor Smelt supported them against the Duke. The Twenty-Four are, for the most part, a low, ignorant set, devoid of all principle.

Mr. McCrone, the Duke's and the Bishop's agent, (she continues) sent a man to Rushen to collect the tithe. On the following day, the Bishop being at Castle Rushen, a mob of three thousand, armed

* D. Craine, *Proc. Ant. Soc.*, 1845.

with bludgeons, and the heads of pitchforks concealed under their coats, surrounded the castle ; and at the suggestion of the Governor, the Bishop felt compelled to sign away the rights of the Church.

She goes on to say that

Though the Governor had sent a guard of soldiers to defend Bishops court, mobs were collecting in the different parishes who were constantly kept drunk by barrels of ale placed at the public houses, and a plan was made to attack Bishops court.

The dangerous situation was removed, says the lady, by the Bishop signing a paper that he relinquished the tithe for ever. What else could he do ? she asks. It is evident that Lady Murray was in an over-wrought state when she penned these words :

We will not live in this Island to be again subject to such anxiety, and terror and the insults of a lawless mob, and to the protection of this Insular Government, powerless and iniquitous as it is.

THE BISHOP'S DISLOYALTY

According to the records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under date 13th July, 1825, a letter had come from Bishop Murray, stating :

There is now no longer any necessity for impressions of the Bible and Prayer Book in the Manks tongue ; but that in the English tongue they are much wanted.

And he concludes with this astonishing statement : ' The teaching of the Manks language is prohibited by Act of Parliament.' It is known that the S.P.C.K. had a fund which was called the Manks Fund, formed by good men for the purpose of printing the Scriptures and the Prayer Book in the Manx tongue ; and it was this fund that his Lordship wanted to get his hands upon for his own purposes*.

THE DUKE'S VANITY

The *Journal of the House of Keys* tells of an incident which shows that the ducal Governor was short of even a small measure of imagination. It took place at a meeting of Tynwald held at Castle Rushen on 8th July, 1822. John Llewellyn of Castletown, a member of the House and its secretary addressed

* As a contrast, Bishop Ward, who followed Murray, encouraged the S.P.C.K. to make another impression of the Book of Common Prayer in Manx.

the Duke as president. The Duke stopped him, saying he could not allow any member other than the Speaker to address him. Llewellyn replied by claiming the right to do so, when the Duke haughtily declared that it was 'contrary to ancient custom and law.' The Keys then retired to their own quarter and wrote out a strong protest, and nothing more was heard of the subject.

THE DUKE AND THE SWORD OF STATE

Compare that attitude with the same man's offence to the Manx nation two years after. Because of his unfriendliness to Governor Smelt, the Duke had the audacity to withhold the Manx Sword of State for service at the Midsummer Tynwald of 1824. He claimed it was his own personal property. The sword-bearer had perforce to carry an ordinary blade in the stead of the noble weapon borne at Tynwald six hundred years before by our King Olaf II. (*Plate 33*)

As was to be expected there was much popular indignation at what was called the 'cussedness' of the Duke; and as the result of official action, the sword was soon after given into the possession of the Clerk of the Rolls at Castle Rushen, where it was afterwards kept.*

BISHOP WARD URGES THE DUKE TO A SAINTLY DEED

Bishop Ward, an Irishman who followed Murray as the head of the See, from 1827 to 1838, showed great enthusiasm in building new and improving old churches. He it was who built the present churches at Ballaugh, Lezayre, Conchan, and Michael, St. Barnabas's and St. Luke's. He was the prime influence in the creation of King William's College. He had a scheme to build another new church for Douglas, and strange to say, had fixed, as a suitable site, upon a plot of ground on what was called 'The Lake,' north of the bridge over the river, and close to the Nunnery. He on the 23rd July, 1829, wrote a letter to the Duke of Atholl, asking if he would present the site for the purpose. He proceeded.† :

* *Manx Sun* newspaper, 21st September, 1824.

† *Manx Soc.*, Vol. 21, pp. 268-271.

I will not say the Manx are your Grace's enemies ; but they may have given you cause of vexation, and used the Bishop (Murray) worse . . . I am persuaded your Grace would like to have a memorial of your forgiveness and good-will, and help them to a new church.

The reply came on 10th August, from Dunkeld, signed by R. C. Carrington. It stated that James McCrone, the Duke's agent, had sold the plot to General Goldie of the Nunnery, for £600. The Duke's lack of response to the prelate's suggestion lost him the rare privilege (in the words of the Bishop) of 'possessing a beautiful and sacred memorial, long after receiving his reward in the church triumphant in heaven.'

THE DUKE CAPTURES THE BALLAUGH ELK

A very interesting event happened in the north about 1818, when Thomas Kewish, the Ballaugh village blacksmith, accidentally found, in the Loughan Ruy on Ballaterson, the bones of what is known as the 'Irish Elk,' *Megaceros Hibernicus*. The smith, being a skilled craftsman, after much study and cunning effort, was highly successful in setting up the bones in his smithy. A great deal of interest was taken in the feat of the smith, and many people from all over the Isle went to see and admire it. The manorial agent of the Duke laid claim to the skeleton but Kewish and his partner Taubman carried it off to Whitehaven where it was successfully exhibited. Eventually the Duke agreed in 1821 to pay Kewish and Taubman £70 for the elk and ten guineas to the blacksmith for setting up the bones again in the Museum at Edinburgh. So the Manx-Irish Elk became Scottish.

A similar instance of a claim by the Lord of the Manor to hidden treasure occurred in 1786, when a leaden vase containing over two hundred silver coins was dug up in the parish of Lonan and was claimed as 'treasure trove' by the Duke of Atholl. The coins were probably Saxon like those found in Derby Road, Douglas.

OUR DEBT TO THE PAST

It is pleasing to read in the *Journals of the House of Keys* of their admiration for the self-sacrificing labours of their predecessors. The meetings had generally been held in or near Castle

Rushen, and we can only partially realise how difficult it was for members to attend who resided in the parishes far away. There was no fee nor reward : only an inner satisfaction that they had done their duty. One extract from an old *Journal* entry says : ' We are gratified at the public-spirited, manly, and patriotic representations made by our ancestors in times when dangerous encroachments were attempted against the rights and privileges of this House and the people of the Isle.'

At Blair Atholl at the present time there is a fine gallery of paintings, in oils and water colours ; and they include a series of some thirty subjects by an eminent painter who lived at the end of the eighteenth century. There is also a picture by Zoffany, painted in 1767, of John the third Duke and the Duchess, with their seven children.

Blair Atholl is now open to the general public during the summer months, and its rooms are arranged so as to present a continuous picture of Scottish life and history from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, as illustrated by the portraits and possessions of the Stewart and Murray families. It retains to a degree hardly rivalled in Scotland an accumulation of treasures both artistic and historic. And it is known that many objects of Manx interest are amongst them.

The present occupier of this interesting Scottish mansion, Duke James is very courteous and helpful, and has gone out of his way to favour the Manx National Museum by lending some of the pictures of local interest for the purpose of exhibition. Among them are twenty-six water colours by John ' Warwick ' Smith, painted about 1797, which are of considerable local merit.

CHAPTER 29

*O, happy and free ! Ellan Vannin for thee
The hymn of old time will I raise :
The hymn that was sung by the bards when they strung
Their patriot harps in thy praise.*
—MARTIN TUPPER, 1860

THE CASTLES OF RUSHEN AND PEEL

CASTLE Rushen first comes out of the historical mist when it is mentioned as occupied by Magnus the last King of Man in 1265, but it was a royal residence of our kings prior to that date. The earliest reference to the town as distinct from the castle is in the *Chronicle of Man and the Isles* under date 1376, namely *Villa Castelli*. The fortress gave it its Gaelic name *Bally cashtel*.

The most striking feature of the castle is the Eagle Tower or Keep eighty feet high, probably erected as early as the time of King Magnus. He died at the castle in 1265. A lesser tower, called the Felon's Tower, stands by the harbour ; it was on this tower 'over the burne,' that the 'quarters' of felons were set, after being 'drawne, hanged and quartered.' A curtain wall, with small towers, encircles the inner court around the Eagle Tower or central keep.

Anciently at the castle gate were placed three sedilia, or stone seats, one for the King or Governor, and the other two for the Deemsters. Meetings of Tynwald are recorded to have been held 'between the Butts' of the Castle in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

During the Stanley regime, the castle with its garrison was the main centre of the Island's administration, and the most famous of them, James the Seventh Earl of Derby, lived in it for a good while. The actual Derby House built within the curtain wall was constructed in the sixteenth century, but it was heightened about 1643 at the time of the Seventh Earl,

only a few years before he was beheaded in the time of the Commonwealth in 1651.

The national archives of the Isle were preserved in two rooms of the Derby House, adjacent to the court room. The bigger of the rooms was dignified by the title of the Library, and was used by the Clerk of the Rolls and his chief clerk. The civil records only were placed here ; those of the Diocese were kept at Bishops court or in the keeping of the Diocesan Registrar.

A curious discovery of old manuscripts was made in 1926, underneath the roof of the Derby House. A plumber in the course of his work found five old tea-boxes full of documents which had suffered from having been exposed to dripping water, some being in a state of pulp. They were found to be part of the records of the Rolls Office. (*Plate 37*) Such as they are, they have given a select band of archivists some knowledge not met with elsewhere. They consist mostly of fragments, undated, of Setting Quest verdicts, some of the parchments showing sixteenth century script. An irritating example is the account of a verdict in the case of a defendant, a crofter, with the strange name of Aspallan, resident under Slieau Whallian, near Tynwald Hill. This family name Aspallan occurs only once in the Manorial Roll of 1515, and then entirely disappears, except for this undated fragment.

The domestic arrangements for the lord and his family would be sumptuous for the period, while the number of guard-ropes reveal the care that was given to sanitation.

The castle contains a chapel and also an oratory. Thus we find equally well considered the military, domestic and spiritual sides of the garrison.

Undoubtedly the garrison lived outside the castle except when on duty, and no doubt many of the officials did likewise. They would have houses outside the walls, where their families lived, and it is possible that the allowances were to be enjoyed there. The castle, having its brewery, bakery, chandlery, and so on, would supply, as part wages, not only those who lived permanently within its walls, but also the garrison and officials in their own houses.



*Plate 37. A mass of very old documents found under the Roof of Castle Rushen.
[See page 256]*



JOHN STEVENSON

Speaker 1704 to 1737

He spiritedly defended Bishop Wilson against the attacks of Earl James.



SIR GEORGE MOORE

Speaker 1758 to 1780

He headed a Mission to Parliament to defend the attacks on the Manx Constitution, and the designs of the Duke of Atholl.

Plate 38.

[See page 262]

Four and a half centuries ago—when neither the town of Douglas nor Ramsey had given any evidence of their existence—Castletown had, according to our earliest records (1511) nearly one hundred properties paying Lord's rent. Many of the houses had gardens and several had brewhouses attached to them. Robert Calcote had a hawkhouse; the Lord Abbot of Rushen Abbey had a chamber; and another citizen had a chamber near 'Dialhill,' which hardly proves that the fine old sundial still standing in the market place is one of our ancient pieces of architecture. (*Plate 36*)

Under the heading of 'Fines,' in the Lord's Book for 1511 there is recorded that Marion Ine Crere and John Preston were fined twelve pence each for 'receiving in their houses unlawful players, namely the Carders against the laws of the countrey.' Was this the gaming house of the town?

THE TREASURES OF CASTLES PEEL AND RUSHEN IN 1651

A vivid glimpse into the higher or official life of the Earl and Countess of Derby is provided by an examination of the papers in the Record Office in London which give an 'Inventory of the Plate, household stuff, Lynnen, Armes, Amunicon and Provicon remaining in Peele Castle at the surrender thereof, taken the 3rd day of November, 1651.' The list shows how little we have known about the social life of the Earls of Derby and their households in the long past, and of the manner in which the castles were furnished.

Few people are aware that in Peel Castle, for instance, there was plate of very great value. To enumerate only a few of the items, there were 'three fruit basketts; 20 fruit dishes; a silver basin and ewer; a guilt taster; nyne candle sticks and a silver bell.' They weighed 3,310 ounces of silver. Notably among the items were eight tumblers, a wall candlestick with branches, a sugar box and spoone, and, strange to say, at this date 'a tea cupp.' Tea was hardly known in Europe before 1630, as a beverage.

An item in the list of more than ordinary interest was 'a Greate Salte with Branches.' When the Earl and Countess dined in great style in Peel Castle, the place occupied by 'the greate Salte' would be an important dividing line. The officials and family favourites and guests would be sitting at the head of the table; while 'sitting below the salt' was reserved for those of meaner estate.

Other lists there are including 'greate pieces of plate, candlesticks, tankards, greate and litel drinking cupps, ewers, basons, and a perfuming pann.'

There are quantities of household linen, of damask, and diaper, napkins and towells and sheets.

Of arms and ammunition there were 'sacres,' 'faulcons,' 'brass minims,' 'murderers' and one 'brass pott gunn.' There were 30 musketts, 99 suites of armes, and 35 barrells of powder; shott for the greate gunns; ten barrells of musket shott.

There was no shortage of provision at the time of the Countess of Derby leaving the castle in 1651. She had three barrels of rice, 30 of barley, three of wheat, three of mault, as well as 23 firkins of butter, besides 53 barrels of herrings.

The household goods in Peel Castle were amazingly rich in quality and variety. There were beds of white fustian and rich red velvet laced with gold and silver, with red taffeta curtains, also embroidered cushions. There was 'a great Chayre' and any number of 'back chayres and stooles'; feather ticks, quilts, window curtains, and a looking glass, besides a 'crimson plush coat lined with furr' which the countess took away with her when she left Peel Castle in a hurry. There was also 'in the greate flatt trunke' eight pieces of Arres (or tapestry) hangings which if they existed today would be very precious.

There is the strange entry of 'a greate Chayre,' as well as of a 'Chayre of State,' and 'a large canopie to a Chayre of State.' Was this the equivalent to an official throne? There were also fourteen pieces of furniture belonging to the chair such as 'stools laced with silver fringe.'

That Peel Castle at the time of the Countess was superbly furnished is proved by the inventory taken a month or two after she had gone. The furnishings were of an exceptionally fine character and it is not difficult to call up to the mind's eye the imposing appearance the principal apartments of the castle presented when decorated with the profusion of silver plate set out in the inventory, which marks Peel Castle in its glory and in its dismantling and decay.

CONTENTS OF CASTLE RUSHEN AT THE COMMONWEALTH

If the principal apartments of Peel Castle were handsomely furnished, the inventory taken at Castle Rushen on November 9th, 1651, showed that the latter was equally if not more generous in variety and richness. The arms and ammunition

were in the powder house, the Kitchen Tower, the Hall Tower, the Gunners' Tower, and in the armoury. In the Governor's chamber there was 'a feather bedd and boulster, a quilt and blankets, three pieces of hangings, and other furniture. There were the contents of the rooms of the Chirurgeon, the Archdeacon, and the Receiver.'

We cannot help but note that in the Contrroller's Chamber there was listed the old oak Treasury chest, which is illustrated on Plate 24. In the Brewhouse were brewing combs, and a brass brewing pot, and thirty-two barrels of oatmeal. In the granary there was listed 'two barrells of old Evidences'; also 'one chest and one trunck of old writings.' This looks as if these had come from the Rolls Office.

Under the heading of 'In the Library,' there are listed '265 bookes of great vollomes, whereof gilded 54, besides small bookes; eight mapps, three pictures.' There were also two gilt clocks. The Earl of Derby's Chair of State is surely mentioned in the first item below:

One great Chaire covered with velvet, laid with gold lace and fringe, and in addition six chaires and five stooles covered with silk and gold fringe; five pieces of old Arras tapestry. There were thirty-five Pictures and Maps in oyl without freames and seveantysix pictures in freames; one great chest filled with old deeds and writings. There were three hundred and sixtie bookes of great volume, and five hundred and seaventie bookes of lesser volume; one guilt clock, and one looking glass.

Well may we ask, what has become of all these precious items?

CHAPTER 30

*Since those wild days when Celt and Norseman met,
Tynwald has been the throne of all our Kings,
The nation's centre. O, her glory rings
Down through dim centuries, and stirs us yet!*

—MONA DOUGLAS.

WHAT THE KEYS' JOURNALS TELL US

THE *Worthiest Men of the Land* ' is the forceful description given in the year 1422 to those who composed the House of Keys. As a body they had the title of *Taxiixi*. What this means exactly no one knows ; but it possibly is derived from the Manx Gaelic *Toshiagh*, meaning ' Chieftain ' (plural *Toshee*)

In this chapter, we propose to use, as the source of our information, the *Journals of the House of Keys*. That there lie in the library of the House of Keys five manuscript volumes giving the annals of the *Worthiest Men of the Land* is not common knowledge. They commence from 1762 and go up to 1866, with an unfortunate gap between 1826 and 1843. That great scholar and statesman Arthur William Moore, when he was Speaker, went to the trouble and expense of editing the records and having a few copies printed.

AN INSIDE POINT OF VIEW

The existing *Journals* do not commence early enough to include the details of the courageous part taken by the Keys in protecting Bishop Wilson and his two Vicars-General from the attacks of Earl James and his officers. John Stevenson (Chairman) inspired the action of his colleagues (*See Chapter 24*), and in 1697 nineteen members of the Keys made formal complaints to Earl William against the arbitrary actions of the officers by giving orders not approved by Tynwald. This complaint is in the Knowsley archives at Preston, and there is attached the reply of the officers and the rather caustic comments of the Earl. Mr. Moore tells us that from the earliest records the Keys

met in Castle Rushen, and it was not until 1706 that they had a 'House' of their own in Parliament Square, Castletown, which they fitted up at their own expense.

The painful episodes of the partial annexation of the Isle by the British Government in 1765, the taking away of a large part of its autonomy on a weak pretext, the hauling down of the Duke's flag at Castle Rushen and setting up of the Union Jack, the purchase from the Duke of Atholl of the Lords' revenues, including the Customs, are all told in more or less detail.

All this was done at the instigation of the British Government of the day, say the *Journals*, without the House of Keys having any official knowledge. When the Keys heard rumours of what was proceeding, they asked Governor Wood to call them together—for they could not meet without this formality—he refused until he got the Duke's approval.

They met on the 21st of March, 1765, and, according to the *Journal*, they sent two of their members, Hugh Cosnahan and Thomas Moore, the foremost figures of that time, to London, 'to protect the constitutional rights of the Manx nation.' But the bargain between the English Government and the Duke had already been sealed. What followed is described in Chapters 27 and 28. During the period from 1765 to 1866—one hundred years—we have the spectacle of a continued struggle by the House to combat the Atholl family on the one hand, and the British Government on the other, and on the whole they made a noble stand. And from the time when the Atholls had passed into the limbo of the 'unhonoured and unsung,' the members had an unsympathetic Treasury and Home Office to deal with.

It has to be admitted that during the whole of the period from the close of the Stanley regime in the eighteenth to the last half of the nineteenth century there was no evidence of generosity—the essence of statesmanship—towards the people of the Isle. No deliberately-planned generous act, involving expense, could be credited to the government at Whitehall; no evidence of practical sympathy or desire for co-operation. On the other hand there prevailed a policing attitude, and the subjection of the people to harassing commercial restrictions. Imploring suppliants we have never been: whatever gestures

of friendliness or generosity have occurred have originated on this side. The *Journals* prove this.

When correspondence arose in 1793 about the 'decayed' building in which the Keys met, the Secretary of State wrote that 'the expenses of re-building the House of Keys should fall on the proprietors of lands in the Isle.' And this while they were capturing our revenues. Reference has been made to the gratitude of his fellow members to John Christian Curwen who, in 1790, was able to explain the position of the Keys at Westminster.

THE SPEAKERS

There have been in the past a number of notable figures among the Chairmen, or, as they were called in later times, Speakers. The first is John Stevenson of Balladoole, who led the House in a demand for their constitutional rights waged against an arbitrary governor and an unscrupulous set of officers. He officiated from 1704 to 1737, (he is referred to in Chapter 24). The second, Sir George Moore, the Speaker for over twenty years, from 1758 to 1780. Under Sir George, the Keys resolutely defended the Isle against the aggressions of the then Government. Then came, as Speaker, John Taubman (1780-1799), who had been a member for forty-seven years. He took a leading part in opposition to the last Duke of Atholl's activities in Parliament. In later times the most outstanding Speaker was Arthur William Moore who occupied the chair from 1898 until his death in 1909.

A. W. MOORE ON PARLIAMENT'S MISTAKES

The system of taxation imposed on the Isle by the British Government from 1765 up to 1866, says Speaker Moore,* may be described as :

an ingenious means of injuring the consumer, by establishing monopolies and of worrying the Manx trader by enforcing a number of absurd and complicated regulations.

But its worst feature was that, by the comparatively small duties it placed upon spirits imported into the Isle, as compared with those

* A. W. Moore, *History*, p. 622.

imported into England, it not only encouraged smuggling to the adjacent coasts, but promoted drunkenness.

Mr. Moore is certainly right in saying :

If a larger revenue had been raised from intoxicating liquors, and if that revenue had been expended on the Island . . . the condition of the Isle would have been very different from what it actually was.

One of the most serious blows resulting from the Revestment was the loss of all local control over the harbours to the Treasury and a number of strange officials not responsible to Tynwald ; and the condition of the harbours became lamentable. To its credit, however, must be given the erection of the Red Pier, Douglas and its fine lighthouse in 1793. There was a harbour light established at Castletown harbour before 1765. The Tower of Refuge on Conister, costing £254 12s. was paid for by private citizens in 1833.

THE HOME OFFICE SPEAKS WITH TWO VOICES

In 1845 the Keys sent a letter to Sir James Graham, of the Home Office, accepting the principle of popular election if this was to be the condition upon which Tynwald should be given the power of controlling the surplus revenues which had been withheld from them. The response of the Home Secretary came as a great shock. It was that 'if reform was wanted it might take the shape of giving the Island representation in Parliament.' Annexation in fact ! He could not, he said, recommend any alteration in the constitution of the Keys.

And only eight years afterwards, in 1853, when the Keys repeated their demand for the control of their own revenues, the Secretary to the Treasury had the audacity to declare that they 'objected to intrust the surplus revenues or any part thereof to Tynwald unless the Keys were popularly elected.' This was looked upon as pure hypocrisy in view of the recent Graham annexation threat. A letter was sent declaring that : the Isle was not indebted to Great Britain for her constitution, the origin of which, under her ancient kings, historians have failed to fully ascertain. True, the constitution has been encroached upon, but not demolished ; but so much the more does it behove the people, to whom the remnant has been transmitted, jealously to protect it against any further transgression.

This was backed up by a visit to Westminster of the leading members, William Callister and George W. Dumbell.

THE KEYS NOT ONLY PATRIOTIC, BUT GENEROUS

The *Journals* tell us that during the period 1765 to 1805—forty years—the House had an income of about £55 a year. This arose from the receipts from public house licenses* and what was called 'the dog money'. But this was more than swallowed up by their ordinary expenses—secretary, door keeper, cleaning of chamber, payments to the Clerk of the Rolls for drafting Bills, etc. ; so that the amounts spent in missionary efforts in London had to come out of their own private pockets.

Thus in 1765 the expenses of their Speaker George Moore and James Wilks came to £389 7s. 4d. In 1780 John Cosnahan's expenses while in London came to £715 19s. 0d. In 1784, nineteen members subscribed six guineas each, and one three guineas, making in all £122 17s. 0d., to pay for John Cosnahan's expenses in putting the case of his country before the members of the Government while the Duke of Atholl was advancing his designs.

There is, in 1789, a reference to the amount of debt incurred in that year in 'defending the right of the People of the Isle against the Duke of Atholl's claims.' The total came to over £1,200, fifty pounds each for the Twenty-four. As will be seen, the last of the Atholls was responsible for extracting from the pockets of the members of the House of Keys large sums of money in combating his designs in Parliament. By 1793, the expenses of the Parliamentary activities had totalled £3,153. How this big account came to be settled the *Journals* do not say, but the sum comes to over £130 per member. In the continued struggle with the Duke in 1805 there must also have been great expense, but no account appears.

What present-day member, it might be asked, would be willing to respond to such a levy or pass the test of patriotism to this degree? And yet there are those who declare that the

* The Alehouses Act of 1734 allowed fourteen pence to go to the Governor's secretary, sevenpence to the Comptroller, and ninepence to the Keys, per alehouse license. There were then three hundred licensed.

old self-elected members were a selfish class. The virtue of personal sacrifice is well exemplified by the members of the self-elected Keys.

As early as the year 1710 there was a students' library at Castletown, probably connected with the Academy. In the list of subscriptions for the building there is this record : ' From Mr. Christian of Lewaigue, on behalf of the Twenty-four Keyes, £20.'

The *Journals* tell us that the members, out of their own resources, made a personal gift of £175 to the English Government ' as a contribution towards the expenses incurred in preparing for a threatened French invasion.' And this in 1798, at the very time the British Government were considering what amount of cash they would give from the Island's revenue, to the Duke of Atholl whom they had recently appointed as Governor over a people who had no use for him. The meetings were always held at the old metropolis, and it was no easy task to get there in all weathers, on horseback or on foot, especially from the parishes beyond the mountain range.

CHAPTER 3 I

*Not few nor slight his burdens are
Who gives himself to stand
Steadfast and sleepless as a star
Guarding his Fatherland.*

—FROM THE NORSE.

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF 1866

A HUNDRED years had passed since the shadow of the Revesting Act had been cast over the country. Fishing and mining had improved in the meantime, but the lean years suffered by the farmers had forced many to emigrate.

Sir Henry Brougham Loch was appointed Lieut. Governor in 1863 and he continued up to 1882. He had been an administrator in China, and had sound judgment. He soon observed that the Manx people were dissatisfied with their treatment by the British Government, and to his credit, he took the matter up with the Treasury in 1865. It was his ambition to secure public works such as piers and harbour improvements ; but he could do nothing in that direction unless the Customs tariff was increased. Loch could not increase it, nor could Tynwald. The Governor had to suggest to the Treasury that they should make the increase. He knew that the Manx people would not agree unless they obtained financial power.

It was learned that the British Treasury was willing, but : the effect upon the revenue must be at the risk of the Isle . . . If they were willing to pay the extra duties the Government would agree to give control of the revenue, subject to certain conditions.

And one of those conditions was that the Manx people should pay a tribute of £10,000 a year. And in order to press this home, it was provided that :

if the Customs duties shall not be sufficient to pay the whole in one year, then the deficiency shall be added to the £10,000 becoming due in the next year.

Thus, by penalising themselves, Tynwald at last recovered a substantial measure of freedom, but it was subject to the supervision of the Treasury and the veto of the Governor as well. It might well be described as agreement under duress. The Keys gained much less than they expected. They met five days after the passing of the 1866 Act, and they decided to claim power to dispose of the surplus revenues, and also to control the salaries of the officials. But the Governor said that the Treasury had reserved to themselves the entire control of the expenditure. In this deal they got no proportion of the accumulated surpluses, which they had for so long claimed and expected. They were being given the right (subject to vetos) to dispose, in future, of any surplus that might accrue in the annual budget; the difficulty was that the British Government might increase the expenditure—e.g. official salaries—before there was a surplus.

But what irritated the people most was that the £10,000 was being treated by the Government as interest on the capital sum which had been paid to the Duke of Atholl. Surely, they believed, the sum of near half-a-million given to the Duke (for properties he really had never in his own right possessed) had been extinguished by the large surplus revenues which had come from the Isle into their hands in past years.

One of the conditions of these so-called concessions by the Governor in 1866 was that the Keys should agree to render themselves an elective body. They did agree, and only six declined to sign the House of Keys Election Act, which was passed on the 10th May, 1866.

Governor Loch, prior to discussing his proposals with the Keys, had prepared in readiness, a printed report, marked 'confidential.' In this appeared some important correspondence. For instance the Treasury admitted that it had taken the accumulated surplus revenues, and acknowledged that during the six years from 1847 to 1853, it was computed that the exchequer had derived a net profit of £10,000 a year from the Island Customs. And so it would appear that it was now the desire of the Treasury to be assured of an equivalent of what they were about to lose, if Tynwald were to have new power.

£3,500 TO PAY FOR THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

In the middle of the 19th century the Imperial Government set out to create an Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom. After that was finished in 1863, a party of surveyors was sent to the Isle of Man to undertake a similar task. In 1868, an account was sent to Governor Loch by the Treasury for £3,255, the amount of the cost to 31st December, 1867. The bill in the course of time came to £8,000, which was demanded.

The Governor was astonished at its size, and being well aware of his scant resources, hesitated putting it before Tynwald. In correspondence he claimed that the Ordnance Survey had been undertaken for military purposes by the Royal Engineers, and that as Tynwald was now paying £10,000 a year to cover such charges, it should not be called upon to pay, seeing that the Isle was no charge on the British revenue. James Gell, the Attorney-General, our most eminent lawyer, took part in the correspondence with the Treasury. He pointed out that the work was commenced at a time when the Imperial Government had received all the surplus revenues, and that Tynwald had never been consulted. The Survey was little use for mining or quarrying, for the minerals and stone were claimed by the department of Woods and Forests on behalf of the Crown.

It was Tynwald Day 1869 before a settlement was reached, and the £8,000 was reduced to a payment of £3,350, to be spread over four years, for our surplus revenues at that period were very meagre. But it must be admitted that later on, not only to the historian and archæologist but to the farmer and surveyor, the Ordnance Survey has been of great practical value.

SIR WILLIAM HILLARY ON GOVERNMENT EXACTIONS

It is a pity that the Keys' *Journals* do not cover the years 1826 to 1843, for in that period we know from other sources that a huge memorial signed by 3,783 of our people was put before the House of Commons. The delegation from the Keys was accompanied by several appointed by a public meeting presided over by Sir William Hillary*. The memorial was on

* He, while living at Fort Anne, founded the Royal National Lifeboat Institution in 1824.

the old pattern, demanding the surplus revenues and objecting to certain proposed dues which were to be added to the Manx Customs.

These proposals were criticised by Sir William Hillary in a pamphlet* which he issued with the title *Observations on Some Proposed Changes in the Fiscal Laws*. It was intended by the Government, he said, to put a heavy tax on the entry into the Isle, of British and foreign timber. This would seriously affect their important industry of shipbuilding, and the erection of houses. He protested against the Government using the Manx nation's annual surplus of £16,000, and at the same time imposing duties on articles of food, 'such as tea, coffee, and muscovado sugar,' as well as on foods of British manufacture.† This was over twenty years before 1866.

The Manx people, (said Sir William) inherit clear, inalienable rights and privileges as a distinct state, derived through the course of centuries from their ancestors and, when the Atholl sold his sovereign rights he could not convey to the Crown a power he did not himself possess. Neither the Atholls nor the Stanleys before them had the power to levy taxes without the people's consent; and yet the Imperial Government had assumed the power to do so . . . By the immutable principles of national honour and good faith and justice, the vested rights of the smallest territory must be held as sacred as that of the most powerful (eloquently declared Sir William). 'The Parliament of England assumes the power arbitrarily to tax a poor, but loyal, people, who, while defraying the expenses of their own Government, have for years had to suffer the officers of the Crown capturing their surplus revenues.'

THE PORT ERIN BREAKWATER DISASTER

It may be observed that Sir William Hillary in his *Observations*, made an appeal to Parliament to create 'a great Central Harbour of Refuge for the Irish Sea,' to be constructed in Douglas Bay. The Liverpool shipping circles joined in the appeal, and about twenty-five years afterwards the Imperial Government commenced the construction of the Port Erin Breakwater. Primarily it was intended to act as a 'harbour of refuge,' for ships frequenting the Irish Sea. Secondly it was

* *Observations* by Sir Wm. Hillary, 1844.

† These duties were afterwards suspended at the instance of Dr. Bowring, M.P.

intended as a shelter for our fishing boats. Governor Loch was in sympathy with the project, and an act was passed in the House of Commons authorising the work, which was begun in October, 1864, under English official direction.

From the commencement everything seemed to go amiss in the construction ; and from 1870 to 1879 the relations of Tynwald with the Imperial Government were strained. In 1868 the breakwater was seriously damaged by a storm, and in 1869 Governor Loch persuaded a very unwilling Tynwald into granting a sum of £13,000 to enable the necessary repairs to be done, and the work to be completed. The feeling of dissatisfaction was heightened when the Governor had to plead with Tynwald to grant a further £6,650. For it will be remembered that it was only three years before that Tynwald had been allowed the privilege of handling its own money.

The Imperial Government demanded that Tynwald should be responsible for the whole of the cost, amounting at least to £58,000. It admitted that it was legally liable, but held that Tynwald was morally answerable. To this Tynwald replied that they had never been consulted, and that since the work had been largely undertaken to provide a refuge for British shipping, and not exclusively for the Island's fishing fleet, we were not liable, and declined to pay. And, besides, those who were in charge of the details of the work were not under local direction.

Tynwald, on the motion of Attorney-General Sir James Gell, ' protested against the coercive position taken by the Imperial Government and maintained its right as an independent and responsible legislature to consider the matter free from coercion.'

Neither side would give way, and matters were left in abeyance for a while. In the meantime the Treasury arbitrarily refused to allow Tynwald to sanction any further expenditure on public works. They even prevented Tynwald from guaranteeing the preference shares in the Manx Northern Railway. It took nine years to come to terms. In 1879 the claim of the Treasury for £58,200 was settled by Tynwald paying £23,000, and getting in exchange the promise of a daily mail.

But, unfortunately, the breakwater was doomed. Although Tynwald had in 1883 spent another £2,955 in repairs, it was entirely destroyed soon after by severe westerly gales.

A PORT ERIN 'SPREE'

The south-side fishermen were, of course, delighted with the prospect of getting a good shelter for their boats. It was at Hollantide in 1864 that the foundation-stone of the breakwater was laid and in order to mark the event, the Port Erin fishermen had 'a right good spree.' William Milner, the man to whose memory the tower on Bradda Head was put up, was the organiser. A whole bullock from the Rowany farm was roasted, and tubs of ale were set out in a Rowany field, for anyone who wished to partake.

'HOME RULE DURING PLEASURE'

While it must be conceded that the 1866 legislation, at the instance of Governor Loch, gave the Manx people greater political freedom—what may be described as 'Home Rule during pleasure'—yet the advance was far from what the Keys aimed at.* The Treasury and the Governor still had the controlling power at almost every stage.

It was in 1886 that Governor Walpole, actually declared to a meeting of Tynwald, in the hearing of the present writer, 'As Chancellor of the Exchequer I have power to refuse the House of Keys money with which to buy a bottle of ink.'

In 1886, when attention was called to the fact that increases had been made in the salaries of officials without Tynwald being informed, the then Governor (Walpole) gave an undertaking that he would not do this without first acquainting Tynwald.

There have been eight governors since Walpole, and, until 1920, no one has felt himself bound invariably to follow Walpole's rule. Since that year they have been bound to acquaint Tynwald, but they have not acknowledged themselves bound to act upon Tynwald's expressed opinion. And, it is presumed, herein lies the source of the controversy which was going on when this book was written.

* A. W. Moore, *History* pp. 810-813.

THE LATEST HOME OFFICE ENQUIRY

Tynwald on 3rd May, 1949, appointed a committee to discuss financial relations with the Home Office officials. Suggestions of an astonishing character were made by the Home Office, one being that Tynwald should consider giving an annual contribution of about £300,000 a year. Two reports were made by the committee to Tynwald, the first in May, 1949, and the second in September, 1951. In the first a list of the gifts made at various times to the Imperial Government is given* as follows:—

<i>*The 1914-18 War Contributions</i>		£
1.	Gift on the outbreak of the war	10,000
2.	1921. Liability for War Stock	250,000
3.	1926. Liability for War Stock	500,000
<i>The 1939-45 War Contributions</i>		
1.	1938. Tynwald voted as gift	100,000
2.	1941. Tynwald voted as gift	500,000
3.	1942. Tynwald voted as gift	500,000
4.	1943. Loans free of interest	750,000
5.	1944. Loans free of interest	500,000
6.	1948. Tynwald agreed that certain loans of 1943 and 1944 be converted into contributions	
7.	So that the position stands :	
	(a) Gifts to the British Government ..	1,850,000
	(b) Loans free of interest.. .. .	500,000
8.	1949. Tynwald unanimously resolved to make an annual gift of five per cent. of the net revenue derived from Customs duties, probably amounting to the sum of over..	* 80,000

THE TREASURY EMPTIES OUR LOCKER

The action of Tynwald on the 15th November, 1949, in making a gift of over £80,000 a year, for an indefinite period, as a contribution towards the cost of the war, was a generous

* On the 1948-49 basis it would amount to £82,500. This would, of course, include the £10,000.

The above details are taken from the official report of the deputation from Tynwald, dated 29th May, 1949, pp. 11-12.

gesture and one which should have evoked gratitude on the part of the recipients. But, when formally acknowledging the gift, the British Government, unfortunately, accepted it in a manner which one could not help regarding as ungracious and regrettable. 'While recognising its voluntary character, H.M. Government regretted that the gift was not more commensurate with the benefits derived by the Islanders.' This comment caused some resentment. There did not seem to be an attempt to hide the proverbial iron hand under the velvet glove.

So that the Manx nation—in addition to the sacrifice of the lives of its youth and suffering much tribulation for the sake of the common cause—has handed over, to the Imperial Government, towards the cost of the two wars, in free will contributions, £1,850,000, and in loans free of interest £500,000. Sir H. B. Loch had said that the £10,000 given since 1866 was accepted by the Treasury as 'a contribution towards military and naval purposes.*' And over ten years later Sir James Gell said 'it may be considered as the contribution for Imperial protection.†

On this assumption it is quite reasonable to add to the Island's recent gifts, eighty-five years' payments of £10,000, namely £850,000 : making, with what has been set out on the previous page, a grand total of over two-and-a-half-millions!

And this is apart from the hundreds of thousands given in past years to the Treasury on account of the Woods and Forests department and the Crown lands. The magnitude of the sums which from time to time have gone from this little nation have gone because we have stinted ourselves to do so ; but they do not appear to have impressed His Majesty's Government in the same way. In making out-and-out gifts of these huge sums, it may be said that the money goes entirely away from us. We never see it back again as the British taxpayer sees his proportion back again in some other form.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

The first sittings of a House of Keys, newly elected in 1951, were occupied by the consideration of a report of a recently-

* Treasury Minute of 1865.

† *Manx Soc.*, xii, p. 203.

appointed Committee of Tynwald* dealing with the repeal of the historical Governor Loch Act of 1866, about which so much has been written. It was also involved in a consideration of the measure of 'greater financial control' that had so often been promised but which has not yet come to pass.

According to the Committee's report, the Home Office continues to be jealous of losing some of its power; it insists on retaining for the Governor much of the influence that he has wielded in the past. They say they 'could never agree to allow the Isle of Man complete freedom in Customs matters.' They insist, too, that the control of the Police can not be given to Tynwald, which pays the salaries. Crown officers must remain Crown appointments, and their salaries must be fixed by the Crown. In all executive affairs, the Governor, according to the Home Office, is to be the ultimate authority.

It would appear that our near neighbour Ireland, the far-away India, Burma and Ceylon, may be given independence. Other little nations with no honoured past and no experience of statesmanship have been given their political freedom, accompanied by the blare of trumpets and the eloquence of politicians. Have we not sometimes good reason to be incredulous when we read the fervid speeches of politicians in Westminster and elsewhere paying lip service to the principle of the rights of little nations?

FORMATION OF A 'CABINET'

A great advance in democratic government was made in 1939, just before the outbreak of the Second World War, when, on the request of the House of Keys, the governor appointed a committee of Tynwald to 'consult with His Excellency on all matters in connection with the national emergency.'

This 'War Emergency Committee' has developed into an 'Executive Committee of Tynwald'—otherwise named 'the Governor's Executive Council'—and meets the Governor every week to discuss administration and policy. It has been commonly christened 'The Manx Cabinet.' This is intended

* Official Report of a Tynwald Committee, dated 15th Sept., 1951.

to be a permanent feature of the constitution, and was approved in 1946 by the Home Secretary Mr. Chuter Ede. It is not authorised by statute ; but neither is the British Cabinet authorised by statute.

A Governor appointed by the Home Secretary has more power than the Manx people feel that he ought to have. But one who takes a sympathetic interest in the national and cultural life of the people will never be grudged a full measure of support. But, in the name of all that is right and proper and democratic, surely our Governor ought to be one of our own countrymen.

From the time of Governor Loch, who left in 1882, we have had nine Governors. The present writer has had contact with nearly all of them in various spheres of duty. It is far from disrespectful to assert that at any time within the seventy years covered by the nine, we could have chosen from within our own borders governors quite as good, and as knowledgeable, and certainly more familiar with our historical background and aspirations.

For the policy of appointing our own governors there is a deal to be said in its favour. An ideal governor, for instance, would have been Arthur William Moore, Speaker of the Keys, our greatest statesman and scholar in modern times. In 1902, a short time after his monumental history had been published, he was recommended to the Home Secretary, by our then Governor, for a knighthood ; but, for some unaccountable reason, he was passed over. If we had had a Governor of our own to put the case, this disappointment would not have been suffered. The Manx people can claim to be skilful in statesmanship, practised in public service; a progressive and democratic nation. Although it has a memory for its far-reaching yesterdays, it has good hopes for the future, a blending of the old and the new.

THE POWERS OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

Although the salary of the Lieut-Governor has always been paid by Tynwald, yet his loyalty to Tynwald is divided with that due to the Home Office, by whom he is appointed. There

have been instances where the governor has not consulted the Keys in financial affairs, but has consulted only the Home Office. And naturally a self-respecting House of Keys is jealous of such conduct.

A writer of ripe knowledge and experience has, under the heading of 'The Powers of the Lieut-Governor,' given in concise terms, the scope of his authority : *

'Under the literal exercise of his prerogatives, the Governor is the sole executive authority. In addition to his legislative duties as president of the Tynwald Court and of the Legislative Council, he discharges many duties which in other countries are performed by responsible Ministers. He is his own finance minister, his own home secretary.

If taxes are imposed, they are imposed at his suggestion ; if expenditure is brought forward, it is proposed on his authority. He is responsible for the preservation of order. The police are directly under his control : the prison is under his supervision.

The appointments are made by the Sovereign on his recommendation. A large measure of initiative is allowed him . . .

In a vast range of subjects his authority is absolute. This is true of the King of England. But everything the king does is done according to advice : his position is simply symbolic.'

The Manx people have long believed that one with such power and authority as our Governor ought not to be an entire stranger ; unless indeed, it is intended that he should comport himself as does the Governor of Canada.

* P. W. Caine in a pamphlet entitled *How the Isle of Man is Governed*, Brown & Sons, 1944.

CHAPTER 32

We cannot be expected to defend Liberty without enjoying Liberty.

We are too self-respecting to plead poverty ; we only seek what is our birthright.

God bless the simple earth that gave me birth.

—T. E. BROWN.

STORY OF THE WOODS AND FORESTS

THE archives of the Department of British Woods and Forests make compelling reading. They tell in detail how we as a nation have had to pay stranger folk for a period of over one hundred and twenty years (since 1828), very large sums in respect of areas of our own soil claimed to be Crown properties. The story can almost be called dramatic.

A NOTEWORTHY COMMISSION

In the House of Keys between 1903 and 1919 there was a band of patriotic men who were dissatisfied with the measure of freedom allowed by the British Government, especially in the realm of finance. The outstanding men were W. T. Crennell, Joseph Qualtrough, W. M. Kerruish, W. Goldsmith and T. Cormode. After several years' correspondence with the British Government, the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, who held the office in 1911, ordered a Government Commission to proceed to the Isle, take evidence, and make a report. The Chairman was Lord MacDonnell.

A strong committee of Tynwald was selected to draw up a case for reform ; but, although the Commission was the most sympathetic body of politicians that ever undertook such a duty in this country, only a small measure of success was achieved. The committee had fixed upon a limited programme upon which Tynwald was pretty unanimous. Among other things it urged that the Crown revenues, including the Woods and Forests royalties, were Manx national funds, originally

provided to maintain the dignity of the kings or lords of Man and to meet the requirements of national administration ; and that they should be still so applied. This had been admitted long ago in the case of the Crown estates in England, which had been surrendered to the Treasury, other provision being made by Parliament for the support of the Crown. The committee pointed out that in Ireland similar revenues raised there were handed over to the Irish administration.

On this subject the view of Sir James Gell is worth quoting. Seeing that the purchases of the possessions of the Duke of Atholl had been paid out of the British national funds, and not out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown, Sir James was of the opinion that the rights surrendered by the Duke should be considered as having belonged to the Manx nation.

A. W. Moore has taken great pains to get accurate information as to the income that had been received by the Woods and Forests Department from the Isle. His details are quoted below : *

(a) Crown rents and mining royalties, from 1830 to 1853, twenty-four years at £4,700 per year, (after all expenses paid)	£	112,800
(b) Ditto from 1854 to 1899, forty-six years (gross receipts)		487,191
Total for seventy years ..		£599,991
†(c) Ditto from 1900 to 1907, eight years	£	37,776
(d) Ditto from 1908 to 1910 three years		11,985
		49,761
Total for 79 years from 1830 to 1910 ..		† £649,752

* A. W. Moore's History p. 650. † Commission's Report pp. 284 and 286.

‡ We find the figures (a, b, c, d) given by Moore as quoted above are less by £25,000 than the official ones given to the Commission by Sir Stafford Howard on behalf of the Woods and Forests department. So that for the seventy-nine years period at least £674,752 have been handed over on this account to the Treasury.

It would be interesting to learn the exact figures of the gross receipts from 1910 up to 1940. We are assured that after 1910 the annual sum of about £2,400 could be relied upon. For the 120 years covered by the operations—from 1828 to 1948—the gross income of the department would certainly not be less than a million pounds.

NO GENEROSITY SHOWN BY LONDON

Sir Stafford Howard, the head of the Woods and Forests department, in his evidence before the Commission, said he could throw no light on the question as to whether the Atholl family had any right to sell. He claimed that Castle Rushen and Castle Peel were Crown property. In answer to questions by Sir Ryland Adkins, one of the members, Sir Stafford said the department had subscribed out of their income the sum of £10 a year to Noble's Hospital. They had given to the Foxdale National School £30 a year until it was taken over by the public School Board.

Sir Ryland Adkins said he felt that the department 'had not been good landlords,' and declared that :

The Woods and Forests should, out of their income, give £1,000 a year towards the salary of the Governor, who represents the Crown, and may be taken to discharge some of the duties of kingship which were historically attached to the possession of Crown revenues . . . It is clear to me that the Island was not treated as generously as was contemplated in the Act of 1767.

A side-light upon the good works which we know are to the credit of the Foxdale company is seen from a letter (recorded in the minute books) sent by the company in 1851. It was to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, requesting they might deduct from royalties paid, half the sum of £100 annually granted by the company towards the upkeep of Foxdale School.

The letter pointed out that the company had, up to 1851, sent the department in *royalties* the large sum of £42,478.* The minutes do not disclose what was the result of this appeal for a £50 subscription; but from Sir Stafford's statement it had come down to £30, and had ceased before 1911, when Sir Stafford gave his evidence.

* From the company's minute books in the Manx Museum.

FOXDALE MINES ENRICH THE TREASURY

When the Duke of Atholl in 1828 transferred to the British Government his rights in the land, and in the minerals beneath the surface, he had no notion of their intrinsic value. The Government had paid for these particular rights some £160,000, and it made a very profitable bargain.

The estimated value of the lead ore taken from the Laxey mine in one year—1875—was the remarkable one of £90,915. The highest Foxdale record we have seen is £45,200 for the year 1891.

The mining industry has ever provided fantastic stories of unexpected developments. That recorded of the Beckwith mine near Foxdale is sensational. While driving a heavily-laden hay cart from a field near Foxdale mine a farmer found some lead ore exposed by the cartwheel. Men were put to work after this discovery, with the result that six hundred tons of ore were recovered, even before a shaft was commenced to be dug. Soon after, a shaft was sunk, and over 50,000 tons of ore were taken away, realising some £750,000.

The successes at Foxdale and Laxey induced prospectors to make experiments in many other areas of the Isle. Between searches for lead, iron and copper there are few areas that have not been at least scratched.

THE RICHNESS OF FOXDALE

According to Sir Stafford Howard, Foxdale, which was registered as the Isle of Man Mining Company, had been one of the richest in the British Isles. They had twenty-five different levels, and we have been told that there were twenty-five miles of underground work.

The royalties paid to the Woods and Forests department by Foxdale between 1829 and 1850 were : *

	£		£
1829-31 (3 years)	1,235	1836-47 (12 years)	31,617
1832-35 (4 years)	4,619	1848-50 (3 years)	3,987
	†Total ..	£41,460	

* From the company's minute books in the Manx Museum.

† There is a discrepancy between this total and the figure quoted on page 279 ; but these are the figures contained in the company's documents.

IMMENSE WEALTH FROM LAXEY TO LONDON

It would appear that Foxdale mines had been worked earlier than those at Laxey, and certainly about 1724. Laxey was working as early as 1782. Laxey, as well as Foxdale, had periods of great prosperity, and had paid large sums in royalties.

Tynwald had, before the middle of the nineteenth century, erected a fairly good quay at Laxey, and it was often repaired in order to facilitate the shipment of ore.

There was, however, a constant demand for more shipping facilities, and, in 1884, a public meeting was held in order to impress upon Tynwald their urgency.

At this meeting the secretary of the Laxey company, J. D. Rogers, made the following astonishing statement, according to the Press reports :

During the last fifty-three years—from 1830 to 1883—the sum of £137,930 had, unfortunately, found its way to the Imperial Treasury in London, as royalty for the precious stuff that had been taken out of our mines by our workers. If that huge sum had gone to the Isle of Man Treasury, what a blessing it would have shed upon the whole community ; and Tynwald would have been able to erect the quays that we require.

£2,068,244 had been received by the company from merchants on account of sales of ore, and £1,452,527 had been paid in wages and for materials used for equipment.

So that, taking Foxdale's £41,460 in twenty-two years, and Laxey's £137,930 in fifty-three years, we have a total gift to London of £179,390.

Laxey mine ceased in 1921, and Foxdale in 1912.

They were both factors of great importance in the economic prosperity of the Isle in the past. In the knowledge that the visiting industry has proved ill-balanced, it is sincerely to be hoped that the mining industry will recover and once more develop on a scientific basis and on a prosperous scale.

LORD'S RENT BOUGHT IN 1913

Some of the important farmers, in order to obviate the yearly demand for the Lord's rent, induced Tynwald to sanction an arrangement by which the rents were redeemed. This was

done through the Manx Common Lands Trustees, under the Lord's Rent Purchase Act, 1913. The price paid to the Crown was £33,724 8s. 4d., being at twenty-five years' purchase.* The average per year was £1,340; so that from the year 1828 to 1913—85 years—the Treasury had captured £113,900.

MINES AND MOUNTAINS TAKEN OVER IN 1949

One hundred and twenty years of history were turned back on Midsummer Day, 1950, when the Forestry, Mines and Lands Act, 1950, was promulgated. For a long while certain members of the Keys and their countrymen had been desirous to obtain from the Crown, for the people's own management, the royalties which had been in the charge of the Woods and Forests since 1828.

It was galling to local pride that part of the soil of the Isle of Man should be a possession of another country, and that in matters of policy and any dealings in regard to quarries, mines, foreshores and mountain grazing, had to be transacted with officials in London.

Therefore in the summer of 1947 a bargain was made with the Woods and Forests for their purchase at the price of £70,000.

SOME PETTY BARGAINING

Apart from the more remunerative sources of income which were being exploited by the Woods and Forests department there were a few 'side-lines' from which the Crown officer did not fail to turn over a few pence.

There were the quarries, for instance.

The Act of Settlement of 1704 provided that every tenant or farmer had liberty to dig for all sorts of stone and slate upon his premises, for his own or his neighbours' use. But the Act forbade him making merchandise of the stone without the license of the Lord.

In 1827 the Duke of Atholl brought a suit against Thomas Jefferson of Ballahott, Malew, for making merchandise of the rich layers of limestone that lay under the soil of his estate, and he was properly forbidden to continue to do so.

* J. R. Quayle, *Proc. Ant., Soc.*, iv, 373.

The British Government, having taken the place of the Lord of Man, claimed to be the owners and to put a tax upon all limestone extracted for sale. Long thousands of tons of limestone have gone from Ballahott and Billown for building material and for the making of lime, on all of which royalty has gone from out of the Isle of Man.

THE FORESHORES

The natural wealth of the Isle has been exploited, the foreshores adjacent to the ports have been sold; and very little in the way of natural resources is left unused excepting the mountains.

In certain areas on the margin of the growing towns of Douglas and Ramsey there were, close to the river banks, and on the sea front, large tracts of uncultivated and unoccupied land, unenclosed pieces which, in the course of time, became valuable. These foreshores, claimed by the Crown, were sold for the highest offer.

In the early 1870's, the Douglas Town Commissioners were granted leave by the Woods and Forests to enclose the foreshore for the making of the promenade, but they had to pay for the favour the sum of £764 to London.

Later on they bought the long broad strip of foreshore from Broadway to Port y Vada at the extreme north of the bay, also at a high figure.

RAMSEY'S CURIOUS EXPERIENCES

The northern town has had special difficulties in securing its amenities without paying heavily. The land now covered by the market-place could not be had without the high payment of £600—it had been recovered from the bed of the river and from its own foreshore.* No less a sum than £400 was asked by the Crown official in 1884 for the bed of the old river Sulby, on the northern margin of the town.

* The writer has not been able to verify this high payment of £600. It is based on a newspaper statement. It is known that the water from the harbour found its way as far as Lough House, near Waterloo Road. There is a record that the Market place was filled in about 1835, and that subscriptions were asked for 'filling up that portion of the harbour called The Lake.'

What is known as the South Shore was leased to the Town Commissioners for five pounds a year. And in the accounts we find that the Commissioners were to pay half-a-crown a year for each bathing van operating on the shore.

£1,200 was asked for the area called the Mooragh ; but this deal was made by the town through the Common Lands Trustees, after negotiation with the Woods and Forests department.

TAKING AWAY OUR TREASURE TROVE

Canon John Quine gives us the story of the accidental finding on June 12, 1894, of rich treasure trove, in a plot in front of Woodbourne House, Derby Road, Douglas.* In a stone-lined cist about a foot below the surface, several hundred Anglo-Saxon silver coins and a quantity of jewellery were discovered by workmen who were digging for the foundations of a house. The dates of the coins point to their having been buried at the date of, or immediately after, the reign of King Edgar (958-975). We have in chapter four (pp.34-35) dealt with the significance of this find.

Here it is desired to point out that the representative of the Crown sent the treasure trove—or as many pieces as he could collect—to London.

The Trustees of the Manx Museum took steps to recover the coins and ornaments, and, according to a later report made to the Antiquarian Society,† the chairman, A. W. Moore, went to London and interviewed the Director of the British Museum.

The result was that much of the find was returned to the Island and is now in our Museum, but some objects of special rarity were retained in London.

In the British Museum was found also three other ornaments from the Isle of Man, and the Trustees had to get copies made from them. One, a disc of gold, was found, it appears, so long ago as 1782.

* In *Yn Lioar Manninagh* II, 1895.

† P. M. C. Kermodé, *Nat. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, I, 1908.

Of the other two Manx objects in the British Museum, one was a silver torque of the Viking period of a total length of $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The other was a silver armlet. These two objects had been found on Ballacamaish, Andreas, in 1868, and were taken possession of by the Crown official.

CAPTURING AN ANCIENT FAIR GROUND

Much of the internal trade of the Isle was done at the fairs. In 1647 the people of Ramsey were jealous of the fair at Kirk Maughold ; they said it injured their trade. Tynwald, it appears, at their request ordered that ' the ffayre upon St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24th) be transferred from Maughold to Ramsey.' But that on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day continued to be held on the old fair ground at Maughold.

Part of the exact site is shown on the beautiful coloured plate at the commencement of Chapter 10. (*Page 91*)

It was known as the Kirk Maughold Green. The Vicar and Wardens were solicitous for this plot, and in 1935 wished to preserve it from the inroads of the heavy vehicular traffic in summer.

But the Crown laid claim to its ownership, and five pounds had to be paid by those interested in order to get full possession of land to which the Kirk Maughold folk had for all time the unquestioned right of use.

In the centre of this grass plot—about 300 square yards—stands, on substantial masonry, a fine old sun-dial made, so the engraved slab says, by Ewan Christian, with the date 1666, in the time of Charles the eighth Earl of Derby, and a hundred years before the Woods and Forests department could make any claim to the place.

CHAPTER 33

*To sing a song shall please my countrymen ;
To unlock the treasures of the Island heart ;
With loving feet to trace each hill and glen,
And find the ore that is not for the mart
Of commerce : this is all I ask ;
No task,
But joy, God wot !
Wherewith ' the stranger ' intermeddles not . . .*

—T. E. BROWN, 1881.

I

THE NATION'S TREASURE HOUSE

THE Manx Museum is not only a popular attraction ; it is a means of historical record, and an effectual educational instrument. It is, beyond anything else, a symbol of Manx nationality. We owe the first conception of a Museum to a distinguished Governor who, later, became Lord Loch. It was he who, in 1865, induced the Cambrian Archæological Association to spend a week here investigating our ancient monuments. In those days comparatively little was known of the remains of the distant past, and the visit of such a learned body was an inspiration to our people, and a means of stimulating them to closer study and pride of possession.

In 1876 Governor Loch appointed a commission to enquire into the question of establishing a museum. They responded by reporting in favour, and by printing a nicely illustrated account of some of our antiquities. It is interesting to look back and see who the men were who, eighty years ago, took an active interest in these things. They included High-Bailiff Jeffcott of Castletown ; the Rev. William Kermode, father of Philip Kermode ; John F. Crellin of Orrysdale ; High-Bailiff R. J. Moore of Peel ; W. B. Stevenson of Balladoole ; and John

Goldsmith and William Kneale of Douglas, all of whom could be classed as scholars.

The next movement developed in 1888 when Governor Walpole, probably our most scholarly Governor, continued the lead given by his predecessor. In the early eighteen-eighties he encouraged Tynwald to pass the Museum and Ancient Monuments Act, which contemplated and prepared for a museum at some time in the future.

THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY FOUNDED

In the year 1879 Philip Kermode founded the Antiquarian Society, and, encouraged by such figures as Sir James Gell, A. W. Moore, Dr. Clague, Canon Savage, Deemsters Gill and Callow, and assisted by a number of helpers, a rich collection of objects of antiquarian interest was gathered. Over a thousand exhibits were stored by Kermode in barns and houses, and in remote corners in Ramsey and elsewhere, in Castle Rushen, and in the cellar of the Douglas Public Library. The writer was at that time in charge there.

The outstanding figure in this missionary work was, of course, Philip Kermode. He was the son of the Rector of Ballaugh. He had a good classical education at King William's College, and started well as a young lawyer at Ramsey. His intense interest in the study of the Celtic stone crosses and the rune-inscribed slabs, however, side-tracked him, and, neglecting his legal business, he spent most of his time in patient, concentrated study. He became aware that here in Man was one of the few great fields in Europe for rune-inscribed crosses and for Norse sagas. In time he became one of the most erudite scholars in this field of archæology. He was the author of many pamphlets, and wrote numbers of articles in British and even continental journals. His *magnum opus* was published in 1907, entitled *Manx Crosses*, one of the noblest books on the subject published in any country. In 1896—twenty-six years before the Museum became a reality—Kermode was appointed secretary of the Museum Trustees, under the first Act of 1886; and from that date to his appointment as curator in 1922, he was a prominent and successful propagandist.

TYNWALD DECIDES

It was 1921 before the project of the creation of the museum was put before Tynwald in a practical form. The trustees of the Henry Bloom Noble estate that owned the old Hospital, generously offered to present their building, valued at £25,000 as well as a vacant site alongside for extension, and to pay the costs involved in adapting the building for the purpose of a museum.

The then speaker of the Keys, (later Sir) Fred Clucas, was keenly interested, and he arranged with Deemster Callow to propose in Tynwald a vote of £5,000 with which to furnish show cases and equipment.* Not much enthusiasm was shown in the debate, and even some Douglas members opposed on the ground of future expense. A stalwart supporter was found in George Drinkwater, the Crown Receiver, who had been the chairman of a Tynwald committee.

Two of the most earnest little speeches in favour came from Christopher Shimmin and Hugo Teare of blessed memory. But if Tynwald needed converting, that was effectively done by Ramsey Moore, a young member of the Keys who, a month or two later, was appointed Attorney-General. He predicted: The provision of a Museum and Library will be the basis for cultural progress. There are rich possibilities; and there in time, I hope, will come the trained men. Its influence will not be confined to Douglas, but it will radiate to every part of the Island.

On Midsummer Day of that year the new Museum and Ancient Monuments Act, 1922, was promulgated. On the 19th May, the first meeting of the trustees appointed under the Act took place and, in the July, both the curator and secretary and librarian entered on their duties.

It is to the credit of Tynwald that it has consistently shown a generous recognition of its responsibilities, and has spent considerable sums of money from time to time on the enlargement and equipment of the institution. Those who have been responsible for its management have been enthusiastic in their missionary work, and the institution is now rendering fine

* See Legislative Debates, 1921.



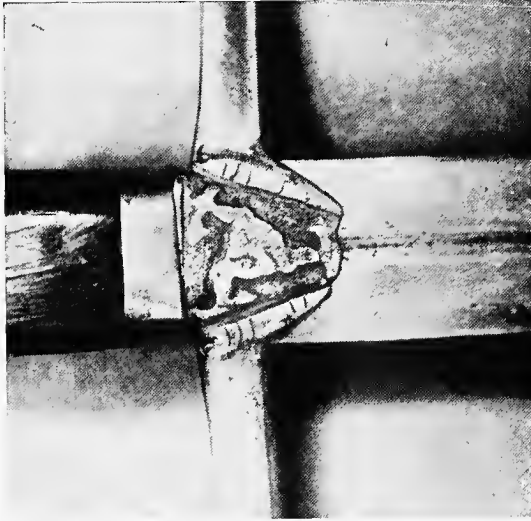
Plate 33.

The Manx Sword of State, dating to the early thirteenth century bearing the crest of Three Legs on the pommel and shield. The blade which is twenty-nine inches long, had originally been three inches longer.

[See page 289]



A.—The Pommel of the Sword of State.



B.—The Shield of the Sword of State.

Both bearing the crest of the Three Legs.

[See page 289]

service as a part of our educational system. It is not a mere store-house ; it is the culture-centre of the Manx community.

THE ENTRANCE HALL

The place of honour is given in the entrance hall to the fossil skeleton of that noble beast, the Great Deer, *Cervus giganteus*, which in 1897 our Antiquarian Society exhumed from a marl-pit at Close y Gary near St. John's. A good story is told of a visit of the director of the Dublin museum. It appears that the bones of the tail of the fossil elk are very small and difficult to assemble. When he saw that our beast possessed a tail, he said : ' I have never seen an Irish fossil elk with a tail. I see yours has a tail, but it has no front teeth. If you will lend us your tail for a month so that we may take a cast, we will let you have the teeth that your fellow lacks.' The suggestion was adopted and his Irish elk has a Manx tail, and ours has Irish teeth. A fine illustration of national co-operation.

Also in the entrance hall is a striking object of quite another sort, namely the Manx Sword of State. This attracts much attention at the Tynwald on St. John's Day. It is dated early thirteenth century, and, according to more than one authority, may have been the sword of King Olaf II (1226-1237), son of Godred II, who about 1215, before he was king, went on a crusade against the Moors at Compostella. (See Plate 33). The blade, originally two or three inches longer than it is now, measures twenty-nine inches. In the days of the Atholl lords, it is said to have been worn down by poking the fire. The handle, nine inches of hard wood, terminates in a worked pommel of steel, with the Three Legs design.

We must not miss the Atholl Sword in the entrance hall. It is a fine two-edged Ferrara blade, 2 ft. 9 in. long, with an 8 in. handle covered with purple velvet. There is an ornate scabbard. This sword was used by the Atholls on ceremonial occasions ; it was to them more attractive than the more ancient blade.

In many of the early descriptions of reigning Lords attending Tynwald there are references to the Lieutenant-Governor carrying his staff or ' wand of office.' There is an example in the

entrance hall. Earlier wands were painted white, as emblematic of purity. Our example is a light tapering lance-wood staff, 5 ft. 6 in. long. On this the Governors were formerly sworn. The oath taken is : ' You shall truly and uprightly deal between the Lord and his people as indifferently betwixt party and party as this staff now standeth, as far as in you lieth.'

II

THE KERMODE GALLERY

*The wandering rover,
Who all the world over
From country to country has been,
Has discovered no where
With thee to compare,
O Vannin Veg villish veen !*

—HUGH STOWELL, 1798.

There are things which can never grow old.

—T. E. BROWN.

One of the spacious rooms on the ground floor is devoted to Archæology, and has been aptly named the Kermode Gallery. It contains the famous archæologist's portrait bust by Frank Lightowler. The threshold of the Kermode Gallery is dominated by a full-size model of what is known as the Kirk Maughold Standing Cross. Its date is believed to be fourteenth century.*

From the model in the Museum it will be seen that by way of ornament the neck bears a shield on each of its four sides with devices carved in relief. (*Plate 41*). That facing east displays the Three Legs armed with large spurs, but set in a direction contrary to sun-wise, being the same as that on our early thirteenth century Sword of State. This is clearly intended for a heraldic device, and in reference to the Lordship of the Isle at the time it was set up. May it not have been the device of Magnus our last king ?

The southern shield contains a square figure with vertical grooves, below which is set a conventional leaf. The western

* The attention of the reader is directed to the representation of the original, which is depicted near the churchyard gate in the beautiful coloured plate at page 91 of this volume.

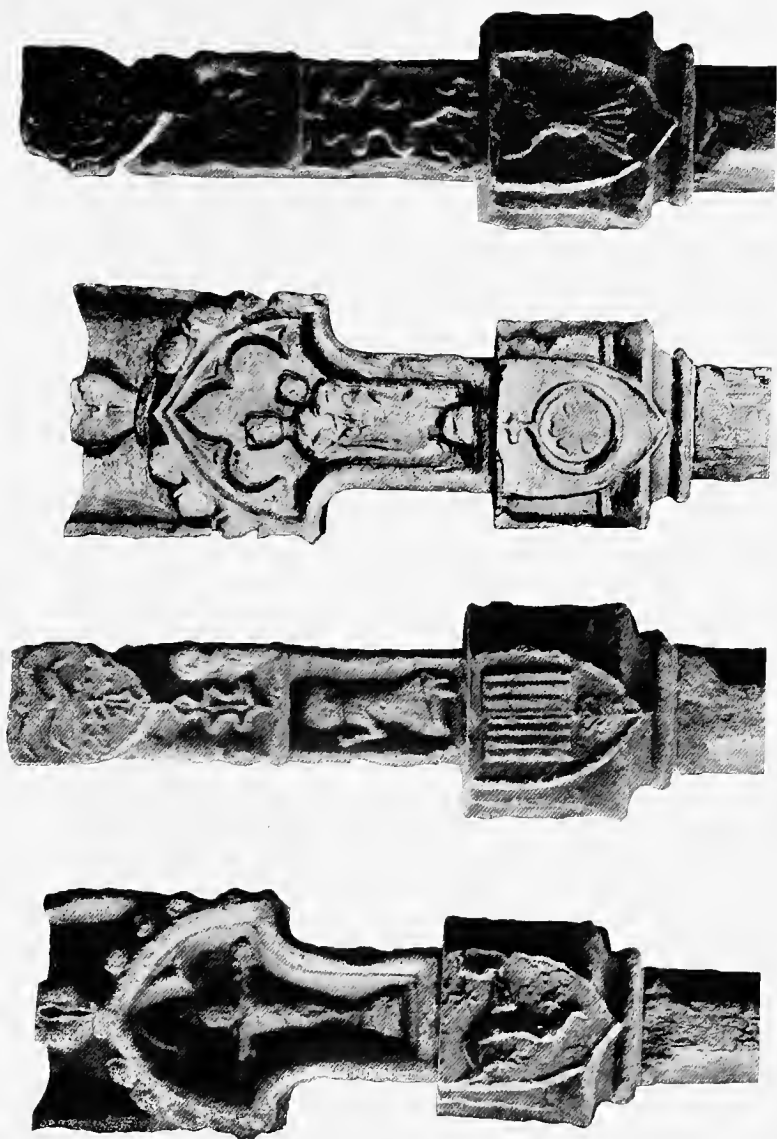


Plate 41. Enlarged Views of the Four Faces of the Standing Cross, Kirk Maughold.
[See page 290]



Plate 42. The Cronk yn Oe unique Engraved Pillar. One of the most primitive carved stones in the British Isles.

[See page 292]

shield displays a circular ring surmounted by a plain crosslet and enclosing a device of heart-shaped leaves. The north shield has a chalice, with pointed claws at the base. The chalice is a feature of the arms of the Christians of Milntown.

A WEALTH OF LIFE-SIZE DRAWINGS

Much of the Kermode Gallery is given to the display of Early Christian decorative art, chiefly in the form of life-size figures of Celtic crosses and rune-inscribed and other decorated slabs of the Scandinavian period. Kermode's figures are thus made available for study under the most favourable conditions. They cover a lengthy period, namely from the fifth to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Over this period we have no other contemporary records; and because of this they are of special interest and value, and serve to throw light upon past social conditions, as well as to illustrate the local development in Man of Early Christian decorative art.

The originals are preserved in their respective parishes as ancient monuments. In the majority of cases they are exposed to the weather: they ought, in all cases, to be under cover of a roof.

Perhaps one of Kermode's most interesting experiences was his discovery that on a number of slabs were depicted scenes from the saga-myths described on pp. 53-65.

Professor Marstrander, declared about this series:

I don't think you Manxmen realise what you possess in your Museum. You have something that is unique, which even the Louvre with all its resources could not buy—that collection of crosses which are without parallel in the world. They are one of the main sources of the study of Norse mythology. A hundred and fifty years before Latin letters were brought into Norway and our early literature was written down, these early myths were on record in the Isle of Man—not merely written, but figured on stone slabs. The wood carvings in Norway which figure the same subjects are centuries later, and are not at all so expressive or so primitive as these in Man, and copies of which are preserved in your Museum.

Distinct from the range of drawings of the crosses there is a full size drawing of a limestone coffin-lid from a royal tomb at Rushen Abbey. It is of the thirteenth century, and was prob-

ably recumbent over the grave of King Olaf the Black, buried in 1237. It shows a foliated cross with long slender shaft, and by its side a sword.

THE CRONK YN OE STONE

There are many objects in our Museum which are believed to be unique. Almost alongside of the model of the Maughold standing cross is the Cronk yn Oe pillar, found in 1929 in a prehistoric mound at Balleigh near the Sulby river at Lezayre. It has some curious engravings of animals suggesting reindeer, which may be compared with engravings on stone from south Sweden. It seems to be of the Bronze Age and nothing like it has been recorded elsewhere in the British Isles (*see Plate 42*).

An object that stands out supreme in the Kermode Gallery is the model of the Gokstad ship of the ninth century, made by the Oslo craftsman, Fr. Johannessen (*see Plate 8*). It cost about £200, was paid for by the Friends of the Museum, and was unveiled in 1940 by the Norwegian ambassador in London. It is an exact model of the ship excavated from a mound in the Oslo fjord, and ships of this class frequented the harbours of our Isle in the tenth century and later.

GOLD SOLIDUS, A.D. 814-840

A striking illustration of the adventurous spirit and the wide scope of the operations of the sea-pirates is exhibited in a find made in a Viking grave in Kirk Maughold churchyard, in 1915. It was of a Solidus, a gold coin introduced by the Roman Emperor Constantine, and of the date of Louis le Debonnaire, 814-840. The date is only a few years after the first recorded visit of the Vikings to Man in 798. The robed figure on the reverse of the Solidus, holding between outstretched arms a beaded cord, has not been met with elsewhere. So that, this coin being unique, the authorities of the Louvre in Paris and of the British Museum, had to get electrotype copies specially made for them. (*See plate 16.*)



Plate 43. (A)—Beautifully designed Food Vessel from a tumulus at Cronk Aust, Lezayre.



B.—Another Food Vessel of a different type of pottery, from a cist at Gretch Veg, Lonan.

Both Food Vessels are in the Kermodé Gallery.



Plate 44 The Farm-House Kitchen in the Museum. The photographer has captured some old folks and neighbours having a *coorish*. [See page 293]

III

THE FOLK GALLERY

*The Muse came forward with a scroll,
And said : " I here thy name enrol
With those of yore
Who sung of Mona's fertile vales,
Her mountains, rivers, hills and dales,
And wave-lashed shore ;*

*Then go and strike the tuneful string,
And of thy Mona's customs sing
In homely style ;
Let not obscurity of name
Retard thy course to raise to fame
Thy native Isle."*

—WILLIAM KENNISH, c. 1840.

What a treasure-house we have in our Folk Gallery ! It helps us to visualise intimately the mode of life of our forefathers and to realise the changes that have taken place in the life of man with the passing of the centuries, and the advance of what is called civilization.

The gem of the Folk Gallery is the Farm-house Kitchen and *Cuillie*, completely furnished with characteristic articles of furniture of over one hundred and fifty years ago. It had been part of a farm-house of the eighteenth century, and came from the Gollane, Jurby. The whole of the eastern gable has been moved, stone by stone, after having been photographed. (See *Plate 44*).

The representation in the Museum of the farm-house kitchen is equal in exactness and is as realistic as those at Lillehammer in Norway and other places on the continent. *Plate 44* has captured some of the old folk having a *cooish*.

A rather unusual story has been told of the visit of a Canadian senator named Cannell, who had been born in Kirk Michael seventy years before. After spending a couple of hours, he expressed his delight. He 'had been living his life over again at Kirk Michael.' Asked what impressed him most, he replied :

Yonder farm-house kitchen. I could see my father in the high-backed chair, and the big Bible in front of him. I could see mother with her foot on the treadle, and the spinning wheel whirring round. I could see the big broad *chiollagh* behind the chimney piece, and the three-legged pot hanging on the *slouree*.

There was the well-covered dresser of china and gilt lustre ; the grandfather clock ticking ; the candle moulds on the wall. And in the *cuillee* (bedroom), the lovely carved wooden cradle alongside the wooden bed ; and the patchwork quilt ; the copper warming pan, and father's beaver hat hanging on the wall.

THE CHIOLLAGH IS A MONUMENT

The *Chiollagh* is not merely an exhibit : it is something more than that. It is the reflection of the final phase of a highly developed folk-culture based on the oldest and proudest vocation in the history of the world. It epitomises a period when men lived in closer communion with nature than now, depending upon natural resources in combination with their own initiative for a livelihood. It was an age in which most men were their own architects and their own contractors, building with a technique that could not be imitated to-day, and taking a pardonable pride in their handiwork.

There is a fine story of the Jurby cottagers—that the builders, the man and his wife, gathered their water-worn building-stones from the sea-shore, and carried them a couple of miles or so to the site of their house, in rye-rope *creels* slung over their backs. It is to this courage and hardihood, this strength in overcoming adversity, this patient skill and determination—all of them qualities which have combined to make the true Manxman a type fit to rank with any in the world—that the reconstructed kitchen in the Museum will stand a monument.

Close to the Farm-house, is the well-worn old hand-loom which was worked by James Creer of Colby. (*Plate 45*). Besides being a first-class weaver, James was a worker in wood, and the writer remembers that as far back as 1875 he carried his mother's spinning-wheel to him in order to have some new spokes put in.

Our women folk in the olden time were not scared to tackle big jobs, judging by the variety of patch-work quilts, coloured bed coverlets, blankets, and some exquisite examples of needle-work samplers. Most were made by women-folk, and some by professional weavers such as the Laces of Kirk Andreas and



Plate 45. In the Manx Museum is the Loom of the Colby weaver, James Creer, who was photographed while he was working it in 1875. (See page 294)



Plate 46. A few from the big collection of articles made from Horn in the Museum. The top row consists of Snuff-boxes. [See page 296]

the Hudgeons of Rushen. All were made from white, *loghtan* and *keevir-lheeah* wool. Not all could be made in the daylight, perhaps most would be accomplished in the light of the candle.

As regards the every-day life of our ancestors, we gain some idea of what it must have been like when we see the implements they used: the wooden plough for tilling the soil; the stone querns for grinding the grain: and the oil cruises and moulds for making candles for illuminating the houses. How remote all this seems and yet it is only a few generations that separate our lives from theirs.

THE PULPIT HOUR-GLASS

There is that strange looking object of antiquity—the pulpit hour-glass. This one (*Fig 47*) had belonged to the Corlett Orrisdale family, and is believed to have been the one that adorned the pulpit at old Kirk Michael. Every one believed that Bishop Wilson himself had turned this one before he started his discourse. One wonders with what patient endurance weary congregations have eyed it, as some parson has turned the glass, and, with a “Thirdly, my brethren” has started on another hour of discourse!

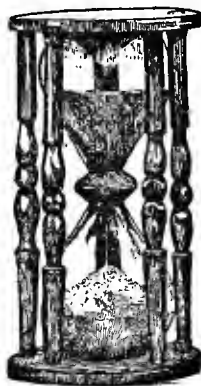


FIG. 47. Ancient Pulpit Hour-Glass, from Kirk Michael said to have been used by Bishop Wilson.

THE CHARMS

Two of the most popular Charms are the *Crosh Cuirn* and the *Crosh Bollan*. The former (*Fig. 48.*) was made of two twigs of the mountain ash (*keirn*) tied with wool. Such crosses were fastened to the tails

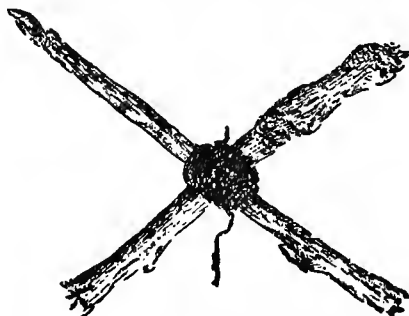


FIG. 48. Crosh Cuirn. Actual size.

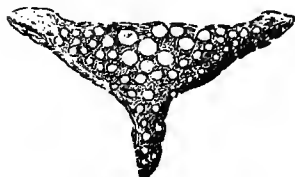


FIG. 49. Crosh Bollan. Actual Size.

of cattle or hung on the door of their house for luck. The *Crosh Bollan* (Fig. 49) is the triangular neck bone of the *bollan wrasse*. These bones were worn by fishermen. When thrown down on the ground, they directed the thrower in the right direction.

THINGS MADE OF HORN

What a variety of household articles were made from the horn got from our cattle, etc., by our fathers. Spoons were the favourite articles, though there were also drinking horns (called in Manx *Eairkyn*). Those shown on *Plate 46* were from Rushen. The nautilus-shaped snuff horn came from Peel, as did that with the name 'T. Kelly' engraved thereon.

THE SCHOOLMASTER AND HIS HORN SPOON

Small parties going through the Museum, chatting together about the objects which compel their attention, sometimes tell mighty good stories. Here is one :

Boys, d'ye see that horn spoon behind the glass there? It puts me in mind of the story that Jacky Dan told me, about a horn spoon just like that one. Jacky's father, Dan Kaneen, was farming the Dhoon far up in East Baldwin. One winter's night, the boys had seen to the housing of the cattle, and they had come in to supper.

They had started to eat their porridge and milk, when in comes Master Cowell, the schoolmaster from West Baldwin, and sat up in the *chiollagh* to warm himself. It was wild weather, and he had wrapped around the bottoms of his breeches some *suggane* rope. Of course, he had come for his supper.

Jacky's mother said : ' Oh, Master Cowell, I'm sorry, all my spoons are in use.' ' Oh, I'm alright, Mistress Kaneen, I've got my spoon.' And he hauled out of his breeches' hip pocket, his spoon, and put it on the table ready for his feed.

And, sure enough, it was the very image of the old horn spoon that is there in the case before us. The old schoolmaster always had it ready when it was needed. Cowell had been a soldier, and he had lost his left arm at Waterloo. And when he came home he got the Kirk Braddan Vicar to make him master of Baldwin School.

Jacky Dan's mother was good to him, and Master Cowell was good to young Jacky at school too. The schoolmaster having lost his *kiddag*, had a stiff job to dig his garden. He had to stick the handle of his grep under the *oxter* of his *kiddag*, and work his grep with his right hand. He was doing his best. And when young Jacky Dan gave him a hand to dig his garden Master Cowell would give the boy extra lessons without any pay. And, boys, you'll remember John Thomas Cowell, the member of the Keys in the teens of years. He was the grandson of Master Cowell, the schoolmaster.



Plate 31. THE BRIG CÆSAR OF DOUGLAS

The Brig *Cæsar* while in the Bay of Naples, built at Douglas in 1783. Records exist in the Manx Museum of her voyages to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the West Indies.

[See page 297]

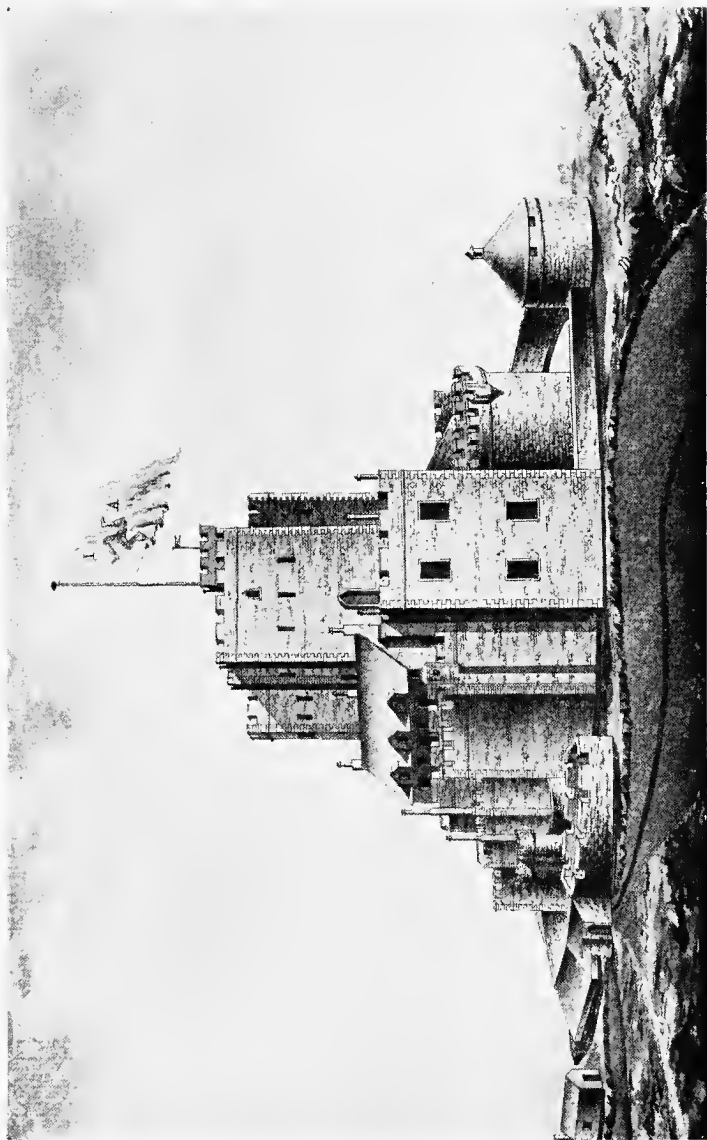


Plate 32. Castle Rushen, showing the Manx Flag.
This is probably the earliest representation of the official Manx Colours.
Drawn by S. Fane about 1760.

IV

THE ROMANCE OF THE BRIG CAESAR

*Peace be to Mona's happy Isle !
While I in foreign climates roam ;
Oft do thy charms my cares beguile,
My native land—my Island home !*

*I string my lyre to the highest note,
I seek the Muses' aid and sunny smile,
And heart and soul in unison devote
To sing the praises of my dear loved Isle.*

—WILLIAM KENNISH, 1839.

On the south wall of the Folk Gallery is a coloured painting of the Brig *Caesar*. Her romantic story is worth the telling. One winter evening, after the closing hour, there was brought into the Museum by a second-hand dealer, for sale, a framed old and dirty water-colour painting of a sailing ship of eighteenth century build. Under the accumulation of dust at the foot one could faintly see the word ' 1788 *The Brig Caesar* ' Captain . . . (the remainder being undecipherable).

After the picture was bought at a price satisfactory to the dealer it was cleaned by an expert. At the stern it was seen there was flying a flag bearing the Union Jack with the Three Legs design, and that the captain's name was William Stowell. The vessel lies, with full sail set, in the beautiful bay of Naples. In the background stands the famous city, and Vesuvius is shown with the smoke curling from the volcano. (*See Plate 31*)

The Librarian remembered that some old account books, belonging to the Bacon family, had been given to the Museum some years before, and, while reading the books, he found the accounts in detail of the Brig *Caesar*. They commenced in 1783, when she was built in Douglas, and ended in 1792 when she was in the heyday of her career.

THE OLD LEDGER'S DISCLOSURES

It was the ledger of one of the foremost Manx merchants of the day, John Joseph Bacon,* and dealt with the ' adventures '

* John Joseph Bacon was one of the select figures who were present at the baptism of Castle Mona. (*See page 248*).

of his many vessels in the far-off seas. His main activity was in Manx-cured red herrings, his ships trading to the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Southern seas, and even as far as Carolina, Halifax, and Newfoundland. Red herrings were brought to Madeira, St. Kitt's, Jamaica, and Savannah; and wines, rum and sugar were brought back, and sold at English ports.

It appears from the details in the ledger that the brig was built at Douglas in 1783 by Matthias Kelly, who we find was paid £465 8s. 3d. He is believed also to have built the *Peggy*, belonging to George Quayle, of Bridge House, Castletown.

The brig *Caesar* sailed for Naples from Douglas on the 25th October, 1788, having on board six hundred and fifty-seven barrels of red herrings cured in the 'fish house'† at Douglas, there being one thousand fish in each barrel. She called at Liverpool on 3rd November, for on that day Captain Stowell got from William Leece, a well-known merchant who had an office in Water Street, the sum of £6 8s. 4d. 'primage.' Primage was a nautical term for 'hat money', an allowance given for care in lading. The net proceeds of this trip, according to the ledger, came to the handsome sum of £804 14s. 0d.

THE LEECE FAMILY IN LIVERPOOL

This William Leece, merchant, was one of the Knockfroy family of Kirk Santan. Young William Leece emigrated to Liverpool as a youth, serving his apprenticeship in one of the Water Street houses. He became the agent of John Joseph Bacon, and looked after his ships while they were in Liverpool, and furnished much of the ship's salt, tar, and the wood staves to make the many thousands of barrels that were necessary in connection with the curing of herrings in the Douglas 'Fish House.'

It was after this Manxman that Leece Street was named. His daughter Elinor Leece, heiress to his valuable estate, married, in 1777, James Drinkwater, who joined her father in his business. He became Mayor of Liverpool in 1810, and in 1837 laid the foundation stone of St. George's Hall.

† There are records that the 'fish house' was on the South Quay.



Plate 47. Portrait of Elinor Leece, daughter of William Leece, of Knock Froy, Santan, who became the wife of a Mayor and later the mother of a Mayor of Liverpool.

[See page 299]



Plate 48. 'Mona', representing the goddess of the Isle, by Joseph William Swinnerton.
[See page 302]

Elinor Leece (*see portrait, Plate 47*) is surrounded by a halo of romance. It is recorded that when she was a girl,* during a riot that occurred on the quaysides in August, 1775, she held a number of drunken seamen at bay at her father's house. They came to her in a threatening way, and she gave them, each and all, a newly-coined copper penny; and they quietly went away in good humour. This 'wise and high-spirited lady,' as she is described, had a son, who became Sir George Drinkwater and Mayor of Liverpool in 1829. Her second son, William Leece Drinkwater, became a member of the House of Keys in 1814 and sat until 1830. Her third son, John, was the father of Deemster Sir William Leece Drinkwater, and the latter's grandson, the present owner of Kirby, became in 1933 one of the trustees of the Manx Museum.

THE CAESARS, BACONS, AND COSNAHANS

The brig was, of course, named after the Caesars, a once well-known family which, for generations, owned Ballahick in Kirk Malew. John Caesar was an officer in the Parish Militia, and took part in support of Illiam Dhône's rising in 1651. Robert Caesar was one of the Twenty-four from 1735 to 1743, and his son John was one from 1768 to 1789.

John Joseph Bacon, (the owner of the brig) whose mother was a Caesar of Ballahick, married into the very old Manx family of Cosnahan. There are said to have been five vicars of that name in Kirk Santan and all buried under 'the great stone' in the church-yard. His wife was Anne, daughter of the Rev. John Cosnahan, owner of Ballaville (which was changed to "Seafield" by the Bacons). His son, Major Caesar Bacon, fought at Waterloo. His uniform and other relics are in the military section of the gallery.

It seems a far remove from the Brig *Caesar* to the poet Tom Brown. But we are assured from our researches that the great-grandfather of Thomas Edward Brown, the poet, was Captain Robert Brown the first. He died in 1769. His son, Captain Robert Brown the second, was in command of the *Caesar* in 1785, when he took the ship to Marseilles.

* See Gomer Williams' *Liverpool Privateers* for her story.

It may well be claimed that in those far-off days, our sea-faring ancestors helped to develop important trade routes and thus contributed to the growth of commercial intercourse.

THE LAST OF THE *Caesar*

It would appear that the romantic and prosperous career of the Brig *Caesar* lasted for the space of only ten years. She was built in Douglas in 1783 and she was wrecked somewhere on the coast of France in 1793 four days before Christmas Day. It appears from a very brief record that she was taken by the French navy while she was sailing from the continent. After a struggle, while passing through the Straits of Dover, she escaped, and in the wild weather that prevailed she became a wreck on the coast of France, nothing being afterwards heard of the crew.

THE ART GALLERY

*I sang thy valleys and thy beauteous shores ;
The far-off nations listened to the strain,
And strangers sought thee, loving evermore
The faery Island thronèd in the main.*

—ELIZA CRAVEN GREEN, 1830.

*Nature and Art are one—
True Art, true Nature, never separate
In things beneath the sun.*

—T. E. BROWN.

The development of Art as part of our scheme of education had not been lost sight of when the Museum project was nearing its accomplishment. At this time the body known to the public as the Pierre Henri Josef Baume Charity Trustees were about to spend the last few thousands in their purse. It proved to be just the appropriate time for a small committee of admirers of John Miller Nicholson—the distinguished self-taught Manx artist, who had died on the 24th March, 1913—to interview them. These admirers were also keen on the Museum project.

The result was that the Baume Trustees agreed to buy all the pictures that the Nicholson family had for disposal—involving a sum well into four figures. So that on the 'big day' of the opening, the public were given the unexpected pleasure of seeing the walls of the Gallery covered with beautiful pictures by

their townsmen, and labelled 'The Baume Collection of Nicholson Pictures.' Altogether there were ninety-five oil, water colour and crayon pictures. The patriotic part undertaken by the Baume Trustees gave them a well-merited and permanent place in the constitution of the Museum directing body as set up under the Act of Tynwald; so that, strictly speaking, the Nicholson gems are on loan.

Although the Nicholson group is the core of the gallery, it is surprising the number and variety of other artists who are represented. Archibald Knox (1864-1933) is in a class by himself as a water colour painter. Like his friend Nicholson, he excels in atmosphere. There are some five dozen examples, given by his relatives, many of which are really brilliant. He excelled in what is known as Celtic interlacing, based on his study of our ancient carved slabs.

Archie Knox was born at Tromode near Douglas in 1864. He was educated in the elementary school, Douglas, and as an artist was largely self-taught. He was buried at Braddan in 1933. His tomb-stone is based on his own design, and the inscription reads: 'A humble servant of God in the ministry of the Beautiful.' He has told the present writer that he 'never cared a toss' if he ever sold a picture; and it is likely he never did so.

There is an estimable body called 'The Friends of the Manx Museum' who, from time to time, make gifts—sometimes very valuable gifts. Their first contribution, a water-colour by the famous John Martin, entitled 'Joseph spying out the Land of Canaan'—was given in 1937. Martin lived for a while in Douglas and is buried at Kirk Braddan.

There are many portraits of local people of consequence in the Art Gallery. Special reference must be made to a remarkable pair that dominated our political and economic life exactly three hundred years ago: the date of the insurrection—the successful insurrection—of 1651. They are James the Seventh Earl of Derby, *Stanlagh Moar* (1642-51), and William Christian, *Illiam Dhone* (1608-63), protagonists now standing significantly close to each other. Their influence upon the history of this

Isle during the seventeenth century has been lasting. But of the pair we have reason to bless most the courage and sacrifice of our own patriot *Illiam Dhone*.

OUR SCULPTURE

Allowing for the portrait busts, we are not badly off for sculpture. The piece which gives us most pride is 'Mona,' a female study of the sea in white marble by Joseph William Swinnerton. He was one of the three talented sons of Charles Swinnerton, stone cutter, of Douglas, and Mary Callister, and was born on 6th July, 1848. He was educated at the Douglas Grammar School and was trained in the art of sculpture at Rome, where he made his living. He carved busts in marble of Speaker Goldie-Taubman and Sir Hall Caine. He retired to his homeland, and for a while lived at Port St. Mary. He died on 10th August, 1910 and was buried at Kirk Maughold, where he had expressed a wish to lie near by Frederick his brother.

The white marble study of 'Mona' (*see Plate 48*) had been bought at his Rome study in the year 1875 by Peter Bourne Drinkwater who then lived at Torquay. From him it came to George Drinkwater of Kirby, who gave it in 1930 to the Museum. The marble bust of T. E. Brown and the plaster bust of Pierre Henri Josef Baume is by the same sculptor; the marble bust of Professor Edward Forbes is by Bonnard; the marble bust of Arthur William Moore by Mowbray Taubman* and the plaster bust of Philip Kermodé by Frank Lightowler.

Few places of so small an area have been illustrated so much in the past couple of hundred years by artists as this Isle. There are multitudes of pictures, big and little, classified but unframed, comprising engravings, lithographs, and photographs, hundreds of original sketches, plans of farms and estates. Look among them where you will you will find something to catch the eye or to interest the seeker after knowledge.

PROPOSED STATUE OF KING ORRY

Here is a very old photograph of large size, for example, with a striking figure entitled 'King Orry the Dane.' Why

* Taubman was of Ballaugh ancestry.

should this be so carefully preserved? It would appear that the reason was that it is an example of a very early photograph, and that it was made by George Augustus Dean, senior, of Douglas. We must remember that cameras to take photographs of the size and character of this example were not brought to perfection before 1860; so that here we have one of the first photographs of this type made by a Douglas tradesman, by occupation a lithographer. His son, of the same name, George Augustus, followed as a full-fledged professional photographer.

A frequent visitor to the Isle in the middle of the nineteenth century was Edward Henry Corbould, R.A., the art master to the children of Queen Victoria. When in Douglas he generally stayed with the Martins at Harold Tower on Douglas Head, or with the Spittalls at Laureston. Corbould did a good deal of professional work while here, some of which has been preserved; for instance, the charcoal drawings in the church of St. Peter's, Conchan, showing the cock on the outer wall of the chancel.

Corbould conceived a brilliant idea of creating a statue to 'King Orry the Dane' as an exemplification of all that was great in what might be called the golden age of Manx history.

He was very enthusiastic about its accomplishment, and made several sketches, a few of which are preserved. He interested several people, including the Prince Consort, who visited Man with Queen Victoria in 1847, but through lack of local co-operation, the scheme did not mature. (*See Fig. 50*) What is believed to be Corbould's original design for the statue was exhibited in the Museum a few years ago. It was intended to have been for the use of the sculptor, E. H. Kelsey, who had provisionally agreed to co-operate with the artist. The painting, which is an inspiring one, is life-size.*

Corbould intended the figure to surmount a stone monument, Scandinavian in character, which he had designed for erection in Villa Marina, then the residence of Governor Piggott.

* While this book was in the press word was received by the Museum Trustees that the owner of the Corbould picture, the late Mr. John Parkes, had by his Will given it to the Museum.

A Miss Jackson of Edinburgh, whose mother was a Drink-water of Kirby, sent to the writer (in 1933) an autograph letter from Corbould dated from Harold Tower on October 5th, 1861, and addressed to Samuel Harris before he became High Bailiff of Douglas. In his letter, Corbould suggested that the statue should be in the Governor's garden in Villa Marina. He had discussed the sketch with the Prince Consort, who said it should not be too high so that 'there would be no difficulty in looking into the face of the Old King.' Corbould finished his letter by saying he had got George Dean to take a photograph, which is the one we have been examining. (*See Fig. 50*)



A striking feature of the *chiollagh*.
The three-legged Pot hanging
on the *Slouree* in the chimney.



FIG. 50. Corbould's sketch of King Orry The Dane.
[See pp. 302—304]

CHAPTER 34

O happy souls that mingle with your kind.

God bless the simple earth that gave me birth.

—T. E. BROWN.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

FORTUNE favoured the promoters of the Museum, in the initial stages, in its three important spheres. First, the missionary labours of Philip Kermode and his many helpers had gathered from all quarters a fine collection of objects in the fields of archæology, antiquities and folk-history. Secondly, the Baume Trustess were prevailed upon to clothe the Art Gallery with pictures. And, finally, the Librarian, through a wise provision, was enabled to put his hand upon the most complete assemblage of Manx literature made up to that time, and numbering over a thousand pieces.

This was the collection that had been patiently got together by the well-known *bibliophile* George William Wood. From the eighteen-nineties Wood had been a student of the Manx language and literature, and aimed at making a collection of the best and most notable volumes. A group of second-hand dealers was in his service, and never a week passed without his being able to register some accession.

Wood was for years an official of the London County Council, and it was his intention, on his retirement, to live in Kirk Lonan, to which parish—she being a Gell of Ballagawne—his wife belonged. He and the present writer were intimate from the year 1900, and frequently corresponded. On one occasion in 1912, the writer, on behalf of Wood, read a paper on his favourite subject of *Early Manx Literature* before the members of the Library Association of England in the Douglas Town Hall.*

It was his intention, he told the present writer, that his literary treasures, when done with by him, would go to the pro-

* Wood was President of the Manx Society in 1915-16, and read papers at intervals. He was also a member of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society, and on his annual visits home made a study of marine *invertebrata*.

jected Manx Museum. But he, and later on, his wife, became seriously ill; and the collection was consequently in danger of being dispersed. The chairman of the library committee and the librarian went to Streatham in 1924, and—Mr. Wood being in hospital—made all the arrangements with his wife for the transfer of the volumes and prints. After a report had been made, a grant was voted by Tynwald, and thanks to George W. Wood, we have a very precious Library.

The paramount duties of our library are properly to care for the valuable material on the shelves and at the same time to make that material accessible to the student public. When the contents are of an easily replaceable character the wise policy is to allow them to be worn out. But when, as in our library, the books are irreplaceable, and many copies are unique, loss or impairment would mean an irreparable injury. This accentuates the necessity for having provided a printed *Bibliography* in order that all may have the opportunity to learn the full scope of the literary treasures we possess.

The first press erected in the Isle of Man was set up in Ramsey, in 1767, by William Sheperd, a Whitehaven man. It was the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans (*Screewyn Paul yn Ostyl gys ny Romanee*). It was translated by Rev. James Wilks. Apprenticed to Sheperd was a young scholar named Daniel Cowley of Kirk Michael, who had been educated by Bishop Hildesley. Not only was he a good compositor but he was a competent scholar. These two accomplishments do not always go together. He translated and set up several standard works and hymns.

Among the rarest books in the Manx language is *The Book of Common Prayer*, printed in 1769 at Ramsey by Sheperd. This was a triumph of the printing art that could not be excelled to-day. What a task Sheperd and his young helper must have had in setting up four hundred pages in 'the *Mannish* tongue,' and printing them on a small hand press.

The most precious work in this section is the *Holy Bible* in two volumes. It was first printed in 1771 to the order of Bishop Hildesley. No fewer than thirty of our clergy took part in the translation, some of the books having been translated direct

from the Hebrew and Greek. Among these clerics were scholars with such names as Mylrea, Radcliffe, Corlett, Christian, Crebbin, Moore, Wilks, Quayle, Gill, Cosnahan, Gelling, Cubbon, Crellin, Teare, Clucas, Walker and Curghey. The most outstanding scholars were Philip Moore and John Kelly.

Dr. John Kelly, LL.D., whose birthplace was in Baldwin, completed in 1780 writing a *Manx Grammar*, publishing it in 1804. Dr. Kelly then set out to compile a *Triglot Dictionary* of the language as spoken in Man, Scotland and Ireland. A. W. Moore tells the calamitous story of its fate*. It was being printed in an office near Fleet Street, London. By 1808 the printing had proceeded as far as the letter L, when a fire broke out which destroyed the whole impression. The only fragments rescued were the proof sheets from A to Le. These were collected by Dr. Kelly's son, Gordon Kelly, and bound in three volumes of about 250 pages in each, and later sent on to the old Manx Society in Douglas.

For security reasons the volumes were sent on to Castle Rushen, 'to be kept with other valuables' The compiler of the present work had in 1925 officially to visit Castle Rushen and found in one of the small unlighted lumber rooms there, one of the volumes in question—that giving the words from A to Bw. That volume is now treasured in our Library.

The Manx language seems to have been fated to suffer literary calamities: doubtless many precious MSS. have perished unknown to us. The MS. of Bishop Phillips' *Book of Common Prayer* came to light nearly two centuries after it was written. About two hundred sheets of the Manx Society's reprint of the last-named work mysteriously disappeared in a local printing office. And there are other 'accidents' of this character that might be mentioned.

The first printers in Douglas were the brothers Joseph and Christopher Briscoe, who started in Back Strand Street, before 1790, when they printed for the poet John Stowell, a number of booklets. One of these, now very rare, is in the Library. It is entitled *The Retrospect*. In this Stowell sarcastically describes,

* In *Yn Lioar Manninagh*, 1895, pp. 56-59.

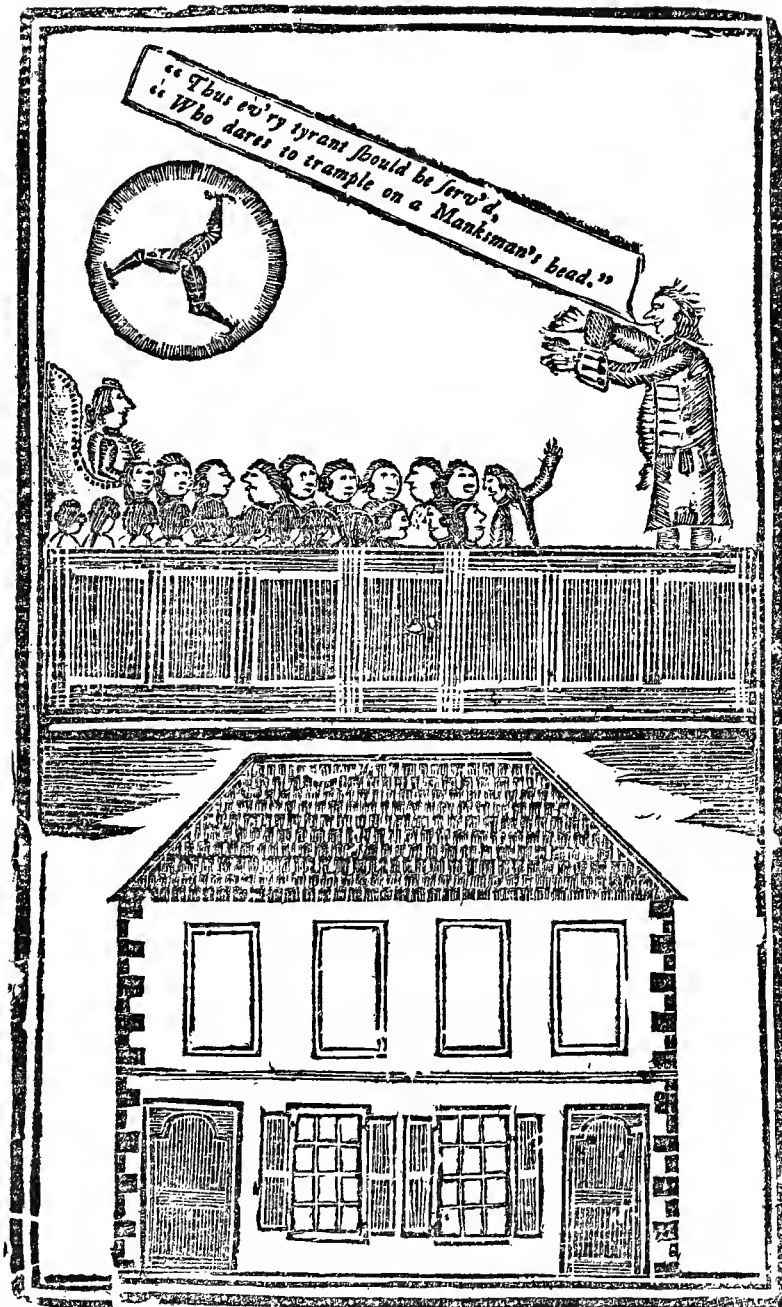


FIG. 51. The House of Keys in 1790. Amateur Woodcut by Poet John Stowell.

in clever verse a Sitting of the House of Keys, with the Speaker *Squire Soghragh* in charge, and addressing the Twenty-four in their chamber in Castletown. (See Fig. 51) The wood-cut is probably made by Stowell himself.

We may confidently assure ourselves that on the shelves is a practically complete collection of books of Manx interest: certainly the most complete assemblage owned by any nation of its own literature. Everything printed in Manx Gaelic is treasured, some items being unique. The Library is fittingly named the A. W. Moore Library in honour of our greatest literary figure.

While closely examining the paper used in the archives of the *Diocesan Registry*, the Librarian discovered fifteen examples

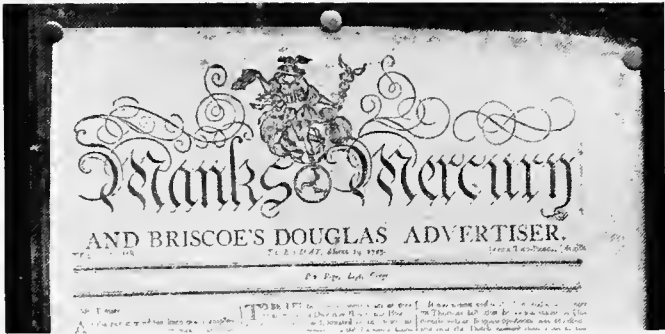
of excellent quality that were made in a Manx paper mill. There were two or three of these mills working as far back as 1797. The most important was on the Laxey river near the harbour, run by Walker, and another at Baldwin by Lewthwaite.



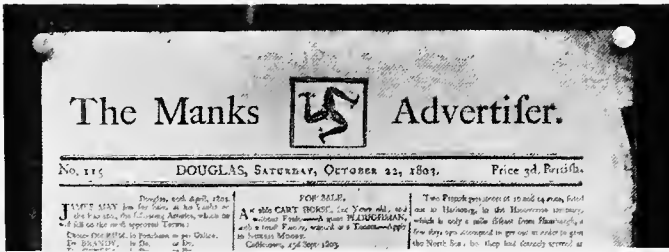
FIG. 52. The Marks of Manx Paper Makers.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century there were a number of pressmen-editors, and some literary adventurers, whose sheets lasted only a short time. Others, like the *Advertiser* and *Rising Sun* had a long run, copies of nearly all being in the Library. John Stowell, the talented poet—one of the 'litter

Plate 49. Our Earliest Newspapers



1. Manks Mercury, 1793-1801



2. Manks Advertiser, 1801-1842



3. The Rising Sun, 1821-1906

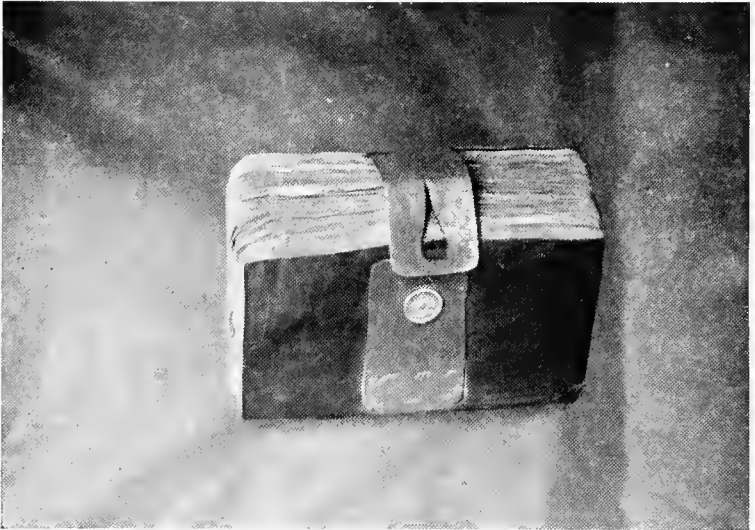


Plate 50 A MS. Carval Book from Kirk Andreas 'The Carvals' said George Borrow 'constitute the genuine literature of Ellan Vannin.'
[See page 316]

of fifteen boys who each had a sister'—was on the staff of the *Mercury*. Jefferson, the printer-editor of the *Manks Advertiser*, in his issue of 4th February, 1804, seriously tells his readers that, 'owing to having to go around the Island—as usual every six months—for the purpose of collecting the subscriptions due for his paper, he will be prevented from publishing a number next Saturday.' (See Plate 49)

Although it is quite true that the value of a library of this character is not to be gauged from the number of its frequenters, it is gratifying to see that the public rooms are never empty while the place is open.

II

THE WIDE SCOPE OF THE ARCHIVES

*Better to be remembered in the Prayers of a good man
than in the Will of a rich man.*

—OLD MANX SAYING.

A feature of the Library, which had never been anticipated by those concerned, gradually developed. That was the manuscript section. Numbers of documents, loaned by the Quayles of Bridge House, had been transcribed with the help of friends. Twelve volumes of *Libri Episcopi* had been transcribed by the Librarian and Walter Gill. A very good friend was the Vicar-General Hughes-Games, who, in 1925, gave the Librarian the opportunity of collecting from the Diocesan Registry all the archives which had not gone from there to the Record Office. There were about two thousand documents, dating from the early seventeenth century. Bishop Thomson added to these precious archives by depositing on permanent loan, a number covering the period of Bishop Wilson, from 1650 to 1750.

Miss Quayle of Bridge House and her sister became interested in this side of the Library, and were induced to make a really magnificent gift of what has been called *The Bridge House Papers*. It comprised a collection made by those pioneers in the realm of Manx literature, the four Quayle Clerks of the Rolls, namely the two Johns from about 1725 to 1797 and the two Mark Hildesleys from 1797 to 1879, a period of a century and

a half. The archives of the Quayle Family are among our treasures, and will be of the greatest service to students of history as time goes on.

To the two John Quayles is probably due the collection of the originals and of the earlier transcriptions ; while to the last Mark Hildesley is due the preservation of them as a collection. He had the reputation of being a scholar and antiquary. He was the fourth member of the family in direct succession who had held the office of Clerk of the Rolls.

There are many curious stories about the first John Quayle told by south side folk. He was called 'The ould Controwler', and possessed great dignity. His five grown-up children invariably addressed him as 'Sir,' and would not dare go from his presence without retiring backwards. The family held Clougher in Kirk Malew from 1581. His nephew George Quayle (1751-1835) was a member of the Twenty-four for fifty-one years, and was the man who built the *Peggy* of Castletown.

Not less in importance are the *Castle Rushen Papers*, the A. W. Moore collection of manuscript books, and the long series of Manorial Rolls deposited by John R. Drinkwater the last Crown Receiver. Quite recently a large group of documents with the quaint title of the *Ingates and Outgates** has been added. They record the transactions of 'Customers,' as the officials in charge of the Lord's Customs dues were called during the Derby and Atholl periods. Many of the documents referred to, or extracts from them, have appeared in the *Journal of the Manx Museum* or the *Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society* : and it will have been seen from these how useful and attractive they are.

It has been the policy of the Trustees to secure from institutions elsewhere copies of documents of local interest. The recently developed photostat process has lent itself to this purpose. The first example to come to the library is worth recounting. It had been known that in the Bridgewater estate office in Lancashire there was a number of documents relating to the

* Interesting details of these will be found in W. Cubbon's paper in *Proc. Antiq. Soc. iv.*, entitled 'Early Maritime Trade.'

Derby Lordship of Man. Upon enquiry it was found that the agent of Lord Ellesmere, the owner, who was related to the Derby family, had sold them to an American, and that was all that could be told. To discover where they had gone took a long time ; and after patient correspondence they were eventually found in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Merino, California. The manuscripts had been bought by a wealthy American of that name, and deposited there. The library naturally declined to part with them, but offered to make photostat copies at seventy cents a folio. They came after a wait of about three years, and cost eighty pounds, and were well worth it. The papers dated from 1504 to 1700, and dealt with the most interesting Derby period, the political and social life in the Isle and details of the domestic occurrences within the Castles of Rushen and Peel.

There are now in the shelves of the Library, about seven thousand books and pamphlets of Manx interest ; and as many as six hundred volumes of manuscripts and fifty thousand separate documents.

III

A WEALTH OF MICRO-FILMS

*God bless you ! may each sun that goes
Give you the primrose and the rose !*

—T. E. BROWN.

For large quantities of manuscript books and other archives, the process of micro-filming is more economical and occupies much less space. The project to micro-film the archives of the Isle of Man had its genesis in a visit to the Isle in the year 1926 of Miss Ann M. Cannon of Utah. She was led to visit us on account of the fact that her grandfather, George Cannon, was born at Peel in 1794 ; although his ancestors for generations owned Ballanea, Kirk Michael ; and her grandmother, Ann Quayle, was born at Cooldarry, Kirk Michael, in 1798.

George and his wife had sailed for America in 1842, but she died on the passage and was buried at sea. A heart-sick man, he arrived at Utah, ' the city of saints,' without her, after a

journey of seven months. When Miss Cannon came here in 1926 the first thing she did was to visit the Museum. She was thrilled by what she saw, and got most of the information about her family for which she sought. She went home, like many another Manx exile, with an increased love for the home of her ancestors.

She regularly corresponded with the librarian, and, in 1949, an arrangement was made with Clerk of the Rolls Cowley to micro-film all the historically-important books in the Record Office. To say that two hundred and fifty rolls of non-combustible film has been photographed by the recording camera, each roll consisting of one hundred feet, gives but little idea of the magnitude of the job. There are at least 350,000 facsimiles of separate pages of script now at the service of students. Some writings go back to the year 1417. The oldest archives are fragile and need to be tenderly handled. Many are in beautifully formed script in Latin.

The immediate need is for the training of a Manx archivist, who would be responsible for the care, protection and classification of every document of value.

THE SCIENCE OF GENEALOGY

Our people are not yet educated to set much value upon the cult of Genealogy. Our cousins the Irish, Scottish and Welsh fully appreciate, and some of them even exaggerate, its fascinating interest. A few Manx exiles have, it is known, paid big sums for pedigrees of their family, but the people qualified for research are few ; although on the other hand, the material is almost unlimited. Here, then, is a prospective profession for a young student. Specialists with knowledge are agreed that the material for genealogical purposes in Man are richer than in other countries. In order to get prompt results the seeker after ancestors must, however, know to what land-owning family he is attached. That being made certain, the field of research is ample.

IV

SOME PRECIOUS MANUSCRIPTS

Marish y çhenndiaght ta creenaght.

Translation :

With the ancients is wisdom.

—OLD SAYING.

The most precious manuscript on the shelves is the earliest, and also the longest, in the Manx language. By Bishop Phillips it was called *The Mannish Book of Common Prayer**. It was translated by him in 1610. He was Bishop from 1604 to 1633, and was buried in St. German's Cathedral. In anticipation of the Manx Museum it had been wisely bought unbound by Governor Raglan in 1913 for £32 from a family that had possessed it for generations.

An amateur binder took two years to mount the leaves upon *mousselin de soie*, collate the sheets, sew them expertly in sections and bind them in two volumes in parchment covers. It will be seen that the work was done in the true craftsmanship by the enthusiastic young binder. And it was all done without reward, for the simple pleasure of doing it.

Among the hundreds of manuscript volumes in the fire-proof metal cases are many written by the scholars of the Castletown Academy, such as Vicar-General Walker, James Wilks, Hugh Stowell, John Quayle ; and in addition Bishops Wilson and Hildesley. There are also the original historical sketches of Governor Sacheverell and that of Denton in the seventeenth century.

GEORGE BORROW COMES IN

One of the greatest masters of English Literature, George Henry Borrow, philologist and traveller, visited Man in 1855, and wrote a diary of his experiences during the ten weeks he made it his home†. A copy of that diary is in the Library. His visit comes in between the publication of his *Lavengro* and that of his *Romany Rye* and belongs to his more brilliant periods.

* For an extended Note on the word *Mannish* see page 318.

† He stayed at No. 5, Albert Terrace, near the Museum, his host being John Goldsmith, a Kirk Bride man, who made the astronomical calculations for *Jefferson's Almanack*.

All students of Borrow are aware that he was a great walker. He loved the open road and the mountain path, and the wind on the heath. Being one of the most proficient linguists—he was a master of some twenty languages*—he at once on his arrival set about comparing his Irish with the Manx spoken by the country people. He explored every place where he thought he might learn something of the tongue, conversing as best he could. He collected ballads and found several old smoke-stained carval books ; of which he was proud to carry off two examples. One of these two afterwards went into the possession of the National Library of Wales, and, strange to relate, a photostat copy of that now lies in our Library.

Borrow would make any excuse to gain an entrance into a remote country kitchen—for, to use a good Manx word for the purpose, he was an expert *skeet*—to enquire if the occupant possessed a *Shenn Lioar Carval Ghailckagh*, ' an old Manx Carval Book.' He declared they were ' a curious addition to the literature of Europe ' ; which agrees with the belief of A. W. Moore and W. H. Gill, that ' there is no oral literature anywhere to compare with it.' (See Plate 50)

Day after day, during August, September and October of 1855 he tramped the countryside, north and south. He sailed from Port Erin to the Calf of Man and gives a graphic account of his experiences with his guide, a McCombe. He stayed the night in Mrs. Clugston's inn at Port Erin, and his thumbnail notes are tantalisingly brief : ' The public house fire : the dinner : the seat by the kitchen fire in the evening : the tipsy fiddler : Molly Charane : the company : the miners : the miner's tale : Mr. Curphey his tale : the Prayer Book : the comfortable bed : the moaning of the sea.'

Borrow's diary describes his long jaunt from ' Port Eirin ' to Peel, by the Sloc and South Barrule ; no easy task even for an accomplished walker. In order to get the view all round, he climbed to the summit of Barrule, and writes in his Diary : ' The scenery grand, yet beautiful. Mist and sunshine. A

* He represented the British and Foreign Bible Society, and for that society had travelled in Russia, Germany, France, Spain and Turkey.

lovelier Isle than Mannin never G. saw in his wide career.' When he got to Peel he bathed off the beach and stayed at the Castle Hotel for the night. The next day he walked to Douglas, and while doing so spent some time at Tynwald Hill. He noted the significance of the round hill and the round yard of the church, joined by the avenue, and described its wonderful significance.

On the morning following his return to Douglas, he sat down and penned an account of his experiences at St. John's the previous day. The actual document, in Borrow's characteristic script, can be seen in our Library. Its title is *Dust and Ashes ; A Tale of the Tinwald*. It is a gruesome story, bringing in his attempt to decipher the runes on the Norse slab standing in the chapel ; his visit to the bar parlour of the inn near by ; and the tale of the old man sitting at the table with him. He concludes with the words : 'I had strange dreams that night, in which Runic stones, skeletons and corpses of gigantic Danes and cripples on crutches were strangely blended.'*

It was Borrow's intention to write a book on the Isle of Man, which was to be called *Bayr Jiargey and Glion Dhoo*, 'the Red Path and the Dark Valley,' being 'wanderings in quest of Manx Literature,' but this was never done.

ANOTHER BORROW EXPLOIT

A story of Borrow, hitherto unrecorded, was told to the writer by the late John Cowley of Ballacraine, Kirk German. John's father, like most small farmers in his day, went to the herring fishery, and one fine morning in September, 1855, he was sitting on the steps of the Red Pier in Douglas, waiting for the tide to come in to take his nickey out of the harbour to the fishing ground ; and 'improving the shining hour' by reading a copy of the New Testament in Manx. Unknown to him a big man was watching him. Suddenly the long arms of the man stretched over his shoulders and took the book from his hand, and, to Cowley's great astonishment, commenced to read and to translate the Manx into English. The man was George Borrow.

* See *Museum Journal*, IV, p.117. The Diary was published in *Mannin*.

BORROW AND ARCHIE CREGEEN

Borrow was very keen in his search for the vernacular literature. He had to rely upon his ability to get from place to place on foot ; but he loved to walk long distances in unusual surroundings. He interviewed the widow of one Mylecharaine in Jurby about the origin of the folk-ballad *Mylecharaine*, and a few days later he went over the mountains to Kirk Arbory, where he visited the home of Archibald Cregeen, the compiler of the *Manks Dictionary* published in 1838. 'I reverence,' he declared, 'the very ground upon which the man trod, because he was one of the greatest natural Celtic scholars who ever lived.' (See *portrait, Plate 51*)

Note on the Word *Mannish*

[See page 315]

The word *Mannish* used by Bishop Phillips in 1610 occurs in a letter addressed 'to my verie good Lorde the Earle of Salisburie, Lo. Highe Treasurer of England.'

'This yeare,' wrote the Bishop, 'I and my clergy did purpose to have perused the *Mannish* Book of Common Prayer by me translated, so with one uniform consent to have made it ready for printing.' Bishop Wilson, a hundred years later, uses the same adjective. *Mannish* is obviously a late variant of the old Norse *Manske*.

There are in our records numerous instances where the adjective *Manske* occur. One of these carries the history of the word back to the thirteenth century. According to a latin text of that date there were resident in Dublin a number of people from the Isle of Man. They included an 'Alicia Manske' and a 'Mauricius Manske alias le Maniske.' They were, of course, national surnames—Alice the Mannish woman and Maurice the Mannish man.

In the Liverpool Town Books under date 1562-63 there is this entry : 'This yeare Mayster Mayre bought a certen nombre of Strykes of *Manske* Barley of Mayster Henrie Stanley late Capitayne in thisle of Man of iij s. j d. the stryke.'

In our *Ingates and Outgates* (see page 312) there occurs as far back as 1580 the heading 'Wares bought by *Mansk* men and such as doe inhabit Man.'

Mannish and *Manske* are old Norse forms from which *Manks* was later derived.

Those who have read our early literature will be familiar with the customary use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the form *Manks*, and its subsequent development into the *Manx*. About the first occurrence of *Manx* in print was in 1824 when the *Manx Rising Sun* took the title.

Many of our people regard it as a misfortune that the Norse *Manske* has, by way of *Mannish* and *Manks*, ended in the present spelling. There was at one period a possibility that *Manske* might have given a more euphonious *Mannish* by a process analagous to that which, from the old Danish *Danske*, has produced, not Danks nor Danx, but *Dan-ish*. *Mannish* would then have lined up with *Eng-lish*, *Eire-ish*, *Scot(t)-ish*, and *Wæl-ish*.



Plate 51. Archibald Creegan, the compiler of the first
Manks Dictionary, admired by George Borrow.

[See page 318]



Plate 52. Sir James Gell, C.V.O., our soundest Lawyer,
[See page 319]

CHAPTER 35

*Our old Island Kingdom enthroned on the deep,
Our Celtic inheritance long may we keep ;
With customs and laws that our forefathers gave,
Unstained, unblemished, and free as the wave.*

JOSEPHINE KERMODE (CUSHAG)

MANNINEE DOOIE

(True Manx Folk)

I

SIR JAMES GELL, 1823-1905

THE Gells of Kennaa come from an old stock. The Quarterland of that name is in the Treen of Ballakebag, in Kirk German, and was held by the Gell and the Quine families from 1630 and possibly earlier. The earliest recorded ancestor of both families was John McKe 1515, and the two farms overlooked the site of the Tynwald mound from the slope of the hill to the south.

Sir James Gell was born on the 13th January, 1823, and was the second son of John Gell. After being educated at the old Grammar School and King William's College, he was articled to the Clerk of the Rolls McHutchin, in Castletown. He was a keen student, and in time became known as the chief authority on Manx law and custom. He became High-Bailiff of Castletown in 1854 ; and in the eventful year of 1866 he was Attorney-General. For the long space of thirty-two years he filled that office, and Sir Henry Loch, the Lieutenant-Governor, confidently relied upon him. From 1898 to 1900 he was First Deemster, and from 1900 till his death on 12th March, 1905, he was Clerk of the Rolls.

During most of his official period the Rolls Office was within the Castle, and Gell spent much of his time there. By arrangement with the Governor, he was given the task of collating and putting into order the masses of records that lay on the

shelves and were stacked in various corners and in boxes in the court room and elsewhere in attic and cellar. In Castletown at that time worked a skilled craftsman bookbinder, one Matthew Backwell. He was engaged for many years binding in stout leather covers, the archives that James Gell had collated and prepared for him.

Gell was one of the original members of the Manx Society for the Publication of National Documents and edited vol. XII, one of the most useful of the series. He was always busy in educational and religious work, was chairman of the Council of Education and a trustee of the College. An earnest churchman he was for much of his life a Sunday school teacher at St. Mary's.

His wife was Amelia Marcia (d. 1899) daughter of William Gill, Vicar of Kirk Malew, a well-known scholar and the editor of *Kelly's Manx Dictionary* published by the Manx Society.

As will have been seen by the number of quotations from his writings and speeches in chapters 16, 25, 31 and 35 of this book, Gell was an intensely patriotic Manxman, and his views carried weight not only with his compatriots, but also with Governors Loch and Walpole. He was knighted in 1877. He attended King Edward VII and his Queen on their surprise visit in 1902, and received the C.V.O.

A close friend of Sir James was the Rev. Alfred Priestland, a native of Kirk Andreas, who after his death wrote an apt poem, the last stanza of which runs :

And so, through all our ways he lived and moved,
 Giving and gathering ripeness, through them all ;
 And full of years and honours, downward went
 The slope of life, and when the sunset came,
 Close to the entrance of the Eternal Shrine,*
 He slept. From such a setting, rich and rare,
 The after-glow still floats across the Isle.

* He died in St. Mary's Church on 12th March, 1905.



Plate 53. Arthur William Moore, c.v.o., m.a., Historian and Scholar, Speaker of the Keys 1898-1909.
[See page 321]



Plate 54. Thomas Edward Brown.

*He looked half-parson and half-skipper · a quaint
Beautiful blend, with blue eyes good to see
And old-world whiskers.—W. E. HENLEY*

[See page 234]

II

SPEAKER ARTHUR WILLIAM MOORE, 1853-1909

*Man Island stands like a Man in Triumphe
upon the Sea, Exalting its Head on High
which by its Rocky Bankes on all sides
bids Defyance to the Turbulent Waves
of those Boysterous Seas.*

—THOMAS DENTON, 1681

Arthur Moore came from the ancient family of Moore, whose estate formed part of the Treen of Castleward, and now called Cronkbourne. The first of this family of which there is a definite record was Jenken Moore, Deemster in 1504. His mother was of the family of the Christians of Milntown. The first of the Christian family of which there is definite record was John McCristen, Deemster in 1408, when the first Stanley received from Henry IV the Kingdom and Lordship of Man.

Young Arthur William* spent five years at Rugby, and in 1872 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his M.A. degree in 1876. Then he went into harness as assistant to his father, William Fine Moore, in the linen factory at Tromode, a business established by his grandfather, James Moore, in Factory Lane (now Wellington Street), Douglas.

Although never neglecting his business and his staff, he was gradually being led to study Manx history in all its phases. Being attracted by the work of Philip Kermode, he joined the Antiquarian Society, and gave a number of papers which showed the many-sidedness of his interests. He became its President and was the most energetic worker in the field of Manx Literature. In 1886, he produced the best-printed and best-edited literary work up to that time, namely, *The Manx Notebook*.

This class of literary work had a fascination for him. A bigish volume involving research on *Surnames and Place-names* followed in 1890, and then a handbook on *Folk-lore* in the next year. With Sir John Rhys he worked for a couple of years on

* He was born on 6th February, 1853 ; died 12th November, 1909.

Bishop Phillip's *Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*, and Rhys speaks highly of Moore's part as editor. Published in 1893 it is one of the precious books on the subject of the Manx language.

Not a year passed but what a new volume under his hand went through the press, all involving research and study. An attractive one to a student of music was *Manx Ballads and Music*, but it appears to be ignored by musical societies, although they are greatly indebted to it.

His great work, and the one to which the student owes most, appeared in 1900, namely his *History of the Isle of Man* in two volumes, a really authoritative history. He had, of course, to foot the bill for the printing of all his books, and he could not afford to print big editions, so they quickly went out of print. He was urged to write, a *Shorter History for Schools*, which he did. His last published article appeared in *The Celtic Review*, and dealt with the connection of Ireland with Man.

At the time of his death he was engaged, in collaboration with Miss Sophia Morrison and Edmund Goodwin of Peel, on a book illustrating the *Anglo-Manx Dialect*. But, as Fate would have it, the pen of the writer was stayed by the Master's hand. The task was brought to a fitting conclusion by his sincere admirer Sophia Morrison, and was published by the Oxford Press in 1924.

Moore was no ordinary man. To his seeing eye was added 'the infinite capacity for taking pains.' He was for a long period an outstanding Speaker of the House of Keys, and it was only a month before his death he was at an important meeting of that body. Both his father and grandfather had been at the head of the Steam Packet Company, and he also became its chairman, and, in addition, chairman of the Isle of Man Bank.

The writer of this account had the great honour of having been associated with Arthur Moore in several of his literary undertakings, notably his most useful biographical account of *Manx Worthies*. And in the year 1899, they were associated together in the founding of the *Manx Language Society*, the present writer undertaking the correspondence involved in

organising the initial meeting, which was held on the 22nd March, 1899. After speeches had been given by J. C. Crellin, M.H.K., Dr. John Clague, Canon Savage, Miss Morrison and others, Speaker Moore was elected the first president. He made the declaration :

We should not confine our energies to the promotion of the language, but extend them to the study of our history, the collection of Manx music, ballads, carvals, folk-lore, proverbs, place-names, including the old field-names—in a word, to everything that is distinctively Manx ; and above all, to the cultivation of a National Spirit . . . The two main objects which I think our Society should have before it are the preservation of our National Literature and the cultivation of our National Spirit . . . I trust that we shall ever have in view the union of all true Manxmen, not only to promote the welfare of our beloved Island, but to preserve and, as far as is consistent with true progress, maintain all that differentiates it from other lands.

He attended the Pan-Celtic Congresses at Dublin and Edinburgh, where he was an honoured and useful guest. He was specially invited to attend the Eisteddford at Cardiff in 1899, when the Bardic degree of Druid was conferred upon him for his services to Celtic literature.

The memory of Arthur Moore is precious to all our people and his name will endure as one of the *Manninee dooie* of modern times. And when it is remembered that he died when only fifty-six, one is lost in wonder at the volume and range of his accomplishments.

Large numbers of books and manuscripts from the library of the Speaker A. W. Moore were given by his son Arthur to the Museum. There are many of special interest concerning historical affairs, ecclesiastical law, biography, and folklore ; carvals in the Manx language ; numerous portraits of Manx Worthies, and a number of printed books annotated by Mr. Moore, all showing his immense industry and enthusiasm in the cause of Manx literature.

III

THOMAS EDWARD BROWN, 1830-1897

*The sum of happiness in the world is not too large.
I would like, if possible, to increase it by the
modest contribution of my own store.*

—T. E. BROWN.

The statement has been printed by thoughtless people that Brown the Poet was not able to boast that he possessed any Manx blood in his veins. Thomas Edward Brown was a descendant of an old family that held property in Douglas called 'Brown's Concerns' in 1646. He himself claimed that his family went back two hundred years. In one of his letters he declares, 'Some ancient ghost arises within me—ancestral for that matter—and I can't control it.'

THE BROWN SIDE OF THE FAMILY

Hugh Brown I. held Cronkbane, Braddan, in 1646, and his son Hugh II held Ballacubbon, Braddan. The latter had married Barbara, daughter of Gilbert Cubbon of Kewaique, who was born in 1702.

Captain Robert Brown I*, brother of the above Hugh II, who was captain of a foreign-going Douglas trader, married Margaret Cosnahan in 1739. She was daughter of the Rev. J. Cosnahan, vicar of Kirk Braddan, and sister of Hugh who was a member of the Keys from 1764 to 1779. The Cosnahans were a family which has its roots in the clerical life of the past. Five were vicars of Kirk Santan and were buried under 'the great stone' in the churchyard there. The Caesar and Bacon families also had Cosnahan blood.

HOW THE STOWELLS COME IN

Captain Robert Brown II, son of the above, was captain of the Brig *Caesar*. He married Jane, daughter of James Drumgold and Jane Stowell. She was descended from William Stoble

* Captain Robert Brown I had in 1735 a vessel belonging to Douglas, and there are records in the Rolls Office of his trading with Dublin, and ports in Scotland. Captain Robert Brown II is recorded in the Brig *Caesar* ledger as having, in the years 1785 and 1786, traded with Mediterranean and Baltic ports.

who had Ballastoale in the Bishop's Barony of Braddan in 1629. Then came Robert Brown III, father of the poet. Thomas Edward, his son, who was born in Douglas on 5th May, 1830, married Amelia Stowell, his cousin, a daughter of Dr. Stowell of Ramsey.

THE BROWN MEMORIAL VOLUME

The *Memorial Volume*, published on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of T. E. Brown's birth, serves better than anything else to show the affection that the Manx people had for the poet and the appeal his poetry had for them. As Ramsey Moore, the editor of the volume, says: 'He is the embodiment of the national spirit; the bond that binds his fellow-countrymen the world over.' That delightful volume, and the sketch written by A. W. Moore in his *Manx Worthies*, covers all that needs to be said in these pages. All the enthusiasm he had he kept to sing of the people whom he loved, and of the primitive manners that were passing into oblivion.:

May fashion ne'er repeal
That self-respect, those manners pure and leal !
My countrymen, I charge you never stain them :
But as you love your Island's noblest weal,
Guard and maintain them.

He wrote in the *Contemporary Review* of 1894: 'Probably none of us could do better than live in the Isle of Man. But you must live and love: and the love must be native, sweet, racy of the soil. Of all people in the world, the Manx are the most impossible to assimilate.'

The Museum authorities have not failed in their duty either. A worthy memorial finds a place near to the A. W. Moore Library. It is in the form of an alcove exhibiting three memorial windows after a design by William Hoggatt, R.I. The Cleveland Manx Society has the credit of paying £350 for this part of the work. In this alcove the marble bust of the poet by Swinerton stands, as well as many personal relics from his Ramsey home. In the Library a special space is set apart for *Browniana*. Everything that he had written for publication is there, as also all that has been printed concerning him. Altogether,

according to the printed *Bibliography*, there are two hundred and twenty items.

What a never-tiring epistolary correspondent he was ! There are literally hundreds of letters in his characteristic script, the gifts of the recipients and their descendants. There are 'sheaves' of letters which had been received from him by his eldest and favourite sister Margaret. She was the wife of the Rev. John Williamson, M.A., who, in the eighteen seventies, was the pastor of Finch Hill Congregational Church.

During the summer of 1873, he was visiting his sister at the Manse in Derby Square. His first long poem, *Betsy Lee*, had been printed for the first time in instalments in the *Isle of Man Times* in June and July. When it became known that the author was in residence, he was prevailed upon to recite the poem in the schoolroom of Finch Hill Church, the date being 16th August, 1873. There were just 1,600 lines. The present writer has been speaking with a lady* who had been fortunate to be present on that occasion. She said that 'Tom' as he was called by Pastor Williamson, appeared to enjoy telling the yarn as much as the gathering was impressed by his dramatic rendering. The poem *Betsy Lee* was published by Macmillan in the autumn, and this was his first book. He was so modest over it that he omitted to put the author's name on the title page.

It was in the afternoon of a bright summer day in 1887 that the present writer experienced an unexpected thrill when he met the poet on the romantic highway leading down from Cronk ny Irree Lhaa towards the Sloc. Walking up the steep hill, the poet welcomed an opportunity for a rest and a *coolish*, especially when he knew he was talking to a southerner. Sitting on the sweet-smelling ling-clad hedge, he pointed below to a house visible in the distance at Ronnag, locally called 'Kitty Tommy Hal's,' and told a story of the time when he went to the College. With a companion he was taking part in a game of hares and hounds. Said he : ' We two hares dropped in to Kitty's and got a grand meal of roast conger and buttermilk and flour cake ; and the hounds went by while we enjoyed the feed ! '

* A Miss Broughton, one of the pillars of that church in the old days.



Yours affect.ly
W. H. Gill.

Plate 55. William H. Gill, our Leading Musician.
[See page 327]



Kissack's Cottage Jurby,
where we found the home of Ramsey Town.
[See page 328]

Plate 56. John Kissack's Cottage, Jurby, at which W. H. Gill got the tune 'Ramsey Town.'
[See page 328]

THE POET'S FATHER

The Rev. Robert Brown, the poet's father, had a bent for the muse, and published in 1826 a slender volume of poetry, which he dedicated to his first cousin the eminent Hugh Stowell, Rector of Ballaugh. 'No minstrel of immortal fame has yet among thy sons been found,' he writes, oblivious of what was to arise in his own family.

No harp has sounded yet in thee,
 Struck by a Gray's or Milton's hand ;
 Yet, Mona, thou hast charms for me,
 For art not thou my native land ?

Among the manuscripts in the Museum is an autograph letter from the poet William Wordsworth to the Rev. Robert Brown. It was dated 1827, when the latter was Vicar of St. Matthew's, and three years before Tom was born. Wordsworth had been visiting him and had been given a volume of poems printed in 1826 by Brown, senior, and this letter spoke in terms of appreciation. When he was Vicar of St. Matthew's he was also master of the Douglas Grammar School.

After his transfer to Kirk Braddan he must have made himself popular, for in *Hollantide*, 1836, we read in a Douglas paper that he was presented by the parishioners with 'a good winter cow.' He preached a sermon in Manx Gaelic every Sunday morning, and with these discourses he took even more pains than with his English.

IV

WILLIAM HENRY GILL, 1839-1922

*Manninee dooie ! Here's to the Island,
 Gripping your hands in the magic of kin.
 Here's to the heather we've gathered together ;
 Here's to our own Ellan Vannin that's in.*

—JOSEPHINE KERMODE ('CUSHAG')

Perhaps our most expert and scholarly musician was William Henry Gill. Although born at Marsala in Sicily, where his father Joseph Gill held an official appointment, he became a very devoted patriot. His mother was a daughter of Vicar-General Thomas Stephen of Ballaugh. His father was one of the Kennaa family of Gell, of Kirk German, and was a cousin of

Sir James Gell. This branch had in a previous generation changed the name from Gell to Gill. He was educated at King William's College where he was one of the pupils of the Rev. T. E. Brown. After leaving the college he entered the 'Old Seals' Department of the General Post Office, where he filled an important official position until his retirement in 1898.

He was a many-sided man ; but his love of the homeland urged him to study its Folk-Song, with the object of making a permanent record. He was aware that his brother, the Deemster, along with Dr. Clague had been collecting local airs and recording them, and they appealed to him to complete the collection. This he did in the summer of 1894. A further search for native music ensued, with the result that over two hundred melodies were obtained and published in July, 1896.

They did the nation a service by rescuing the songs of our native land from almost certain extinction ; songs, many of them beautiful in their melody and quaintness, characteristically Manx, and quite unknown to all excepting the older country folk. The aims of the Manx Language Society appealed to him and he was a member from its inception in 1898, and was for a time its president.

Gill will always be remembered as the author of the 'Fishermen's Evening Hymn.'* Its air (*Peel Castle*) was found associated with Manx words of a secular character. That air he converted into a hymn-tune which has become widely known. Julian, in his *Anthology of Hymns*, ranks it high. He published about forty pieces of music, including anthems, carols, part songs, and organ music, and these together with unpublished manuscripts, are in the Library of the Manx Museum. He died on 17th June, 1922, and was buried at Kirk Malew.

W. H. Gill was an artist of ability, particularly in black and white, and an engraver. Some specimens of his work are in the Museum. One of these sketches, showing Kissack's Cottage in Jurby where the tune 'Ramsey Town' was found, will be

* The burden of the hymn is the Prayer : ' That it may please Thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, and to restore and continue to us the blessings of the sea ' etc.

seen on *Plate 56*. His brother the Deemster, did good service in helping to collect folk-songs. He used to take pride in the fact that he had only pure Manx blood in his veins. He it was who wrote the words of 'The Manx Wedding.'

Fairies were the creatures that W. H. Gill loved to ask questions about when he got into the remoter places. The Isle was, he said, the chosen abode of the fairies, and the best authority that he had met in that line was Phillie the Dessert in West Baldwin. But Gill, although he makes use of his folk-tunes does not retail any of Phillie's stories. Jacky Dan Kaneen, who lived not far away from the 'Dessert,' told the writer this fine story of Phillie :

ARRANE NY FERISHYN

Phillie had taken from his little croft called the Dessert, in East Baldwin, a dozen sheep with a fierce-looking tup, to be sold at the summer fair at Sulby claddagh. Walking back home in the early morning over the mountain he knew that when he came to a dip into the glen at Creg y Cowin he was likely to come across the fairies. And, sure enough, on the grassy sward by the swift moving stream, there the *Ferishyn* were, dancing in the morning light, to the sound of their clear fairy voices.

It was 'good for sore eyes' to watch them ; but he was more intent upon listening and memorising the air, which captured him. He ran home as quickly as he could, allowing the tune to take possession of his brain.

As soon as he entered his home he made for the steep ladder that led to the loft wherein lay his fiddle. But Molly, his wife, had been waiting for him, and caught hold of his foot as he mounted the ladder, shouting the while, 'How much money did thou get for the sheep ? How much for the tup ?' Phillie was so angry with this breaking in on his purpose that he gave her a kick on the shoulder with his left foot knocking her prostrate.

He quickly got his fiddle, and after a while, he successfully proved and registered the tune ; ignoring the groans of his wife as she lay on the floor below.

Jacky Dan, after telling the story, made the sage remark— for he was a churchwarden—'Isn't that a picthur of what a man that is bent on higher things may expect from a body that is thinkin of money all the time ?'

V

DOCTOR JOHN CLAGUE, 1842-1908

*O men of Mannin, trust not those
 Who come with gifts and stay to rule ;
 Their gold is but the bribe of foes,
 Their speech a play-thing for the fool.*
 —OLD BALLAD.

The Clagues of Ballaclague, Kirk Arbory, are of an ancient race. The farm of over a hundred acres, lies to the west of the parish church. The earliest recorded member of the family is Patric McClewage, in the year 1511. He must have been a man of some consequence, for he held the office of Coroner of the sheading of Rushen. This was a post of dignity in those days. He had to pay twenty-seven shillings for the honour, relying upon his official fees to make up this sum. William Clague, a lineal descendant of Patric McClewage, was, it is believed, in 1643 a member of the House of Keys. Richard Clague was in possession in 1703, and the family continued to hold the farm well into the nineteenth century. As a boy in the eighteenth-fifties, John Clague attended the parish school near his home at Ballabeg. Later he went to the old Grammar School at Castletown, finishing at King William's College. Along with W. H. Gill he was a pupil of the Rev. T. E. Brown.

There are stories in the district that young John was good at 'doctoring,' and 'loved to mend the broken leg of a lamb' or the like. He once told the story* of an accident that occurred in the harvest field and was the cause of his becoming a doctor. A young fellow fell from the top of a cart-load of corn, and fractured a leg bone. Young John having set the bone, sent for 'Clucas the Strang,' a renowned bonesetter. He came, and having had a look at the way in which it had been done, advised his father to send the boy to Guy's Hospital.

Arrangements were duly made, and the Doctor finishes the story by remarking that he went to far-off London 'in the

* Described in *Manx Reminiscences* by Dr. Clague, p. 79.

same week that the young man was for getting out of bed.' As a student at Guys it is acknowledged he was brilliant. He was a First Prizeman in 1870, becoming L.R.C.P. in 1873, coming home soon after, to practise among his own folk.

Doctor Clague rendered to his friend W. H. Gill skilled service in collecting almost forgotten songs and airs for inclusion in the song book that Gill had proposed to compile. While engaged upon his daily visits to patients in the south he was, at the same time, eager to discover and record the folk-tunes. To him the old people dwelling in the remoter places unsealed their lips; and so he rescued from oblivion songs sung by mother to babe, by fisherman at sea, by the worker on the land, from generation to generation. In the Museum Library there are four volumes in which are transcribed in his own hand more than three hundred tunes collected between 1890 to 1896, when Gill's volume was published.

A ROMANTIC BALLAD

A large number of folk-tunes were taken down by Dr. Clague from the blind Thomas Kermode, a fisherman of Bradda. He was called *Guilley Doal* or *Boy Doal*, 'blind boy.' According to the Doctor*, Kermode had a wonderful memory, he knew the Manx language very well, and had a fund of knowledge of the past.

Guilley Doal Kermode, to judge from his records, is the most important musical figure that the parish of Kirk Christ Rushen has yet produced. Take the delightful song *Ec ny Fiddleryn* which Professor Strachan and Father Henebry got from him in 1883, and published later in a German magazine devoted to Celtic Philology.† A. W. Moore with that competent linguist W. J. Cain, had a good *cooish* with Kermode in 1895, and to their satisfaction verified the accuracy of the Professor's version. A. W. Moore and T. E. Brown were both charmed with

* *Manx Reminiscences* by Dr. Clague, pp. 23-25.

† *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 1897, pp. 54-58. In the *Manx Museum Journal* vol. II, pp. 118-119, Strachan's rendering put into Manx verse by J. J. Kneen, M.A., is set aside Strachan's English translation. P. W. Caine in his *When I was Young*, 1930, gives a more free translation.

Guilley Doal's Manx rendering, and certainly it is the most romantic ballad in the collections.*

EC NY FIDDLERYN

Among the fiddlers at Christmas time
Was where I first met my heart's love ;
Lovingly we sat down together,
And made a start of our courtship.

From that hour to the end of seven years
My love and I did often meet ;
And she promised me with her false tongue
That she would never forsake me.

Sunday evening before Ash-Wednesday
I went to visit my heart's love ;
She put her two hands in my two hands
Saying she'd marry none but me.

I went back home with a cheerful heart,
Nothing at all was troubling me.
The first news I heard on Ash-Wednesday morn
Was that my love was to another wed.

There are thirteen verses. The only witness of their troth-
plight was a dumb walnut tree ; but, in spite of the girl's false-
ness, he continues to love no one but her. But he will pretend
that he cares not.

I will go to Patrick's Feast,
I'll dress myself like any young blade ;
I will pass my love in the midst of the fair
I will not let on that I see her.

He cannot get the false damsel out of his mind. He longed
that they would be able to meet beside the shore after they had
travelled the high hills together. And, finally,

Oh ! that the great sea would dry up
To make a way that I might get through :
The snow of Greenland will grow red like roses
Before I can forget my love.

After the publication of Gill's *Manx National Songs* in 1896
the doctor ceased to collect tunes, but took up seriously the
study of the language, at which he worked hard until his death.
From his earliest days he was deeply interested in everything

* Moore's *Manx Ballads*, pp. 218-221 for the text and p. 250 for the air.



Plate 57 John Joseph Kneen, Knight of the Order of
St. Olaf, M.A., Philologist, Historian, and Poet.
[See page 333]



Plate 58a

William Cashen, Skipper of the Nickie 'Fleetwing' of Peel; later Custodian of Peel Castle.

[See page 335]



Plate 58b

Portrait of Skipper James Kinley, of Ballafession. He sailed his vessel, the Luggar, *Sault*, from the Call to Kinsale in twenty-two hours. He gave Folk Stories to Dr. Clague.

[See page 336]

connected with his fatherland. The inauguration of the Manx Language Society appealed to him and he became its president. He saw the old tongue was passing, and he was anxious to place on record all that would show it in its purest. While he was making his daily professional round he had good opportunities to study. His contacts with the old people—particularly with Tom Moore and his wife at Surby—enabled him to compile notes which were afterwards transcribed in the thirty volumes or so which he left behind, and which are now in the Museum Library.

His book *Cooïnaghtyn Manninagh* (Manx Reminiscences) contains many interesting notes on history, customs, folklore and folk-medicine, gathered by him. It was only just completed before his death in 1908. We must not omit to place it on record that the doctor himself was an expert musician, and that he was responsible for creating a hymn tune which has been included in several collections, namely that entitled *Crofton*.

VI

JOHN JOSEPH KNEEN, 1873-1938

*Of all the kingdoms under the sun,
 Their crowns and treasures, and ships at sea,
 Take your pick of them one by one,
 Only leave, when your choosing's done,
 Mannin for me ! Mannin for me !*
 —W. W. GILL, 1916.

John Joseph—he was always called ‘J.J.’—Kneen was a remarkable man in many ways. He had only an elementary education, but—as the result of self-tuition—he became a ripe scholar and was distinguished as such abroad. He was born in Hanover Street, Douglas, on 12th September, 1873, and was sixty-five years of age when he died. He was the son of John Kneen, a Douglas postman, who came of an old Kirk Andreas family ; and Hannah Crebbin, one of the Kirk Santan family of Ballakelly. His parents were thoughtful people and were interested in his studies, and he was able to get much traditional knowledge from them.

He first attracted attention in 1895, when he was only twenty-two years of age, by his writings in Manx, with interlinear literal translations in English, which appeared in a newspaper in which the present writer was interested (the *Isle of Man Examiner*). These contributions came to the notice of Speaker Moore, who had several interviews with the present writer and the young man, which resulted in the formation of the Manx Society.

Thus encouraged, his enthusiasm for the preservation of the language and the study of Manx folk-lore and history, continued to the end of his days. He wrote many booklets, and compiled lessons for the use of students. Having a fine poetic sense, he translated many ballads and hymns. He took a leading part in the production of a new and improved edition of Cregeen's *Manx Dictionary*, and compiled a *Manx-English Pronouncing Dictionary* of his own.

In 1910 he completed *A Grammar of the Manx Language*. Not having the means to publish it, he was prevailed upon by the writer in 1927 to deposit it in the library of the Museum. It was brought to the attention of the Trustees who realised its value, and asked Tynwald for a vote of £250 to pay for its publication. In 1923 he had finished his *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, and the six volumes, one to each Sheading, were published by the Manx Society.

'J.J.'s' services to Manx literature were recognised by the University of Liverpool in 1929, when the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him. Another distinguished honour followed in 1930, when, in recognition of his researches into the Norse elements in the Manx race, history and language, he was, through the influence of Professor Carl Marstrand of Oslo University, awarded a grant from the Norwegian government of £200. In 1933, again on the recommendation of that learned scholar, King Haakon conferred on him the Knighthood of the Royal Order of St. Olaf.

He had long projected the creation of a volume on *Manx Personal Names* and finished writing it in 1936. Again, on the recommendation of the Museum Trustees, Tynwald appropriated the sum of £300 as a grant, and it was published in 1937.

It has always been a lament on the part of those who write books of purely Manx interest that our book-buying public is too small adequately to reward their efforts. That being so it is a matter for congratulation that Tynwald in the case of J. J. Kneen, acted the fairy godmother.

Kneen followed an exacting business, which brought him little of this world's goods. His literary work brought him no monetary rewards, and he had indifferent health. But he had courage and persistence, and was largely inspired by such men as Arthur Moore, W. H. Gill and Dr. Clague*. He was very human, full of courtesy and nobility of heart, and possessed a strain of quiet humour which not even his illnesses impaired.

VII

WILLIAM CASHEN

Illiam y Cashen ta my ennym, Manninagh dooie va mee voish y clean.

Translation :

William Cashen is my name, A true Manxman was I from the cradle.

William Cashen was born in Dalby in 1838, his father being a farmer-fisherman. There were ten children in the family, whose home was a thatched cottage. Manx was commonly used and William knew little English until he went to day school. As soon as he left school he was drawn to the sea, and, in time, 'went foreign,' sailing to Australia, China and the Pacific Islands. He longed for home and came back to Peel when in the prime of life. He followed the herring fishing, as skipper of the Peel nickey, the 'Fleetwing.'

Cashen was concerned in an event of historical importance. He was the leader of the Peel and Port St. Mary fishermen, when, in 1874, they rose to protest against the levying of harbour dues by Governor Loch. It was he who organised their march, fifteen hundred strong, to Tynwald, and who so conducted the affair that all ended peaceably. The Governor visited Peel to discuss the question, and finally withdrew the

* A Bibliography of his writings—comprising some 96 items—appeared in the *Journal of the Manx Museum*, March, 1939. They include Poems and Plays.

dues. That surely was an illustration of the democratic operation of Tynwald. Strange to say, years after this incident, Fate had it in store for him officially to read the laws in Manx on the historic mound.

Cashen's chief interest in life was his country—her history, language and folk-lore—in all of which he was well versed. When A. W. Moore's book on *Manx Folk-lore* was published, in 1891, William Cashen became actively interested in the subject, and was led by Miss Sophia Morrison to add his own knowledge for the benefit of the public. He wrote copious notes and gave them in charge of Miss Morrison who prepared them for the press so well that *Cashen's Book of Folk-lore* is one of our literary treasures. It was issued in 1912, and is divided into sections, 'Home Life of the Manx'; 'Fairies'; 'Fishing'; 'History and Legend'; and 'Songs and Sayings.'

JAMES KINLEY OF PURT LE MOIRREY

*Fair Maids of Man, seek not abroad to roam,
Since life's but a span, best 'husband it' at home.*

—ALFRED P. GRAVES.

James Kinley, skipper of the lugger *Swift*, and William Cashen, the Peel fisherman, often met at Kinsale and at the fishing grounds on our coast. On the subject of Folk-lore, Kinley was the source of much of Dr. Clague's knowledge; and Cashen was Sophia Morrison's chief authority. For fisherfolk to hear these two men in a battle of wits was to experience a great treat. Cashen had a cool, quiet, but provoking way with him. He would ask simple questions about the *Purt le Moirrey flitters*: and Kinley would give some reply about the *Purt ny Inshey gobbags* and their failings.

A TALE WITH AN OLD-WORLD FLAVOUR

Kinley had a quaint tale about the tragic fate of the Peel fishers who—not having comported themselves as becometh—had met with misfortune at the 'Good Place.' It has an old-world flavour, as if it had been part of an ancient saga of the Valhalla type.

The tale recounts how, by some means not known, a number of Purt ny Inshey fishers had managed to gain an entrance into the Good Place. They lacked the good manners that were expected from folk who got their Christianity from Saint Patrick himself. Playing at marbles, playing cammag, playing the fiddle, singing songs, were all right, and nobody minded. But, more often, they would be leaning up against the gable of a house, arguing noisily about sailing craft, giving lip, whistling, wrestling, and, what was worse, making remarks about folk passing by, and generally breaking the rules.

Gabriel was silently watching what was going on. After a quiet, but unsuccessful remonstrance, he brought the matter before Saint Peter.

Saint Peter only said : ' Gabriel, thou knowest what to do. Here are the keys.' When next the rules were badly broken by the Peel ones, Gabriel went outside the boundary, taking the keys with him. He put his two hands up to his mouth and cried out ' Fresh herrin !' Peel herrin !' As was expected, the Purt ny Inshey boys all ran out. Gabriel turned his key. They are still outside the ' Good Place.'

CHRISTOPHER SHIMMIN

*A real man is this : no sham : of solid worth ;
Yet simple in his ways, and full of charity for human woe.*

—A MANX SCRIBE.

Among the many really worthy people born in the Western City, there is none with a better or more creditable record than Christopher Shimmin. He was an active member of the Manx Society, a keen student of Manx history and customs, and was an ardent patriot generally. Miss Sophia Morrison had in him a loyal helper in her work.

He was born in Peel in 1870. The son of Robert Shimmin, (one of the Ballahimmin family of Kirk German) he was apprenticed to his father as a sailmaker. After an adventurous career, spent partly in the United States and partly at sea, he settled down in Peel as a monumental mason. He was a man of marked literary and artistic gifts, and four plays of his, written in the Manx dialect, gained for him a high reputation.

He owned to have always been a devotee of the Socialistic doctrines ; but he always, when expressing such opinions in Tynwald or on the platform, made it clear that he was primarily

a *Manninagh dooie*. 'Patriotism before popularity' was a common expression of his. Christopher was one of the original Trustees of the Manx Museum, and served as a useful member of the Library Committee. It seems evident that Christopher took after his mother. She had been born and brought up in Ballaugh. An exceptionally intimate sketch of old-time life in that parish is given by her in *Mannin* in 1914, when she was seventy-four years of age.

HIGH-BAILIFF PERCY KELLY

*Man ! Man ! O but my heart is with thee !
As long as the sea thy bosom shall be
To Mannin my heart shall be true.*

—J. J. KNEEN

Percy Kelly—who afterwards became High-Bailiff of Douglas—when a youngster in his teens, won what is known as the Kelly Manx Prize at King William's College. He made good progress in his language-study classes, and took every opportunity to converse with good native speakers. While still a student at Cambridge he, with his father Henry Kelly, of Ballaqueeney, and half-a-dozen others, represented Man at the first Pan-Celtic Congress held at Dublin in 1901.

He was president of the Manx Society when the Pan-Celtic Congress met in Man in 1921. A big group of the delegates had attended the promulgation ceremony at Tynwald the previous day ; and on no occasion since its origin in the distant past were there representatives present, as in this year, from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall. He, as President, gave, in Manx and English, a hearty welcome to the visitors.

Have we not grown from the one root, the same seed ? Are not you and we brothers and sisters, born of the one mother, reared in the one cradle, and at one knee ? We are but a small nation, but we are a member of a great race, the great race of the Celts. We hope that our coming together may be happy and fruitful in knowledge, wisdom, and mutual love.

He was a member of the Trustees of the Manx Museum, and took keen interest in the Library. In response to appeals he made several recordings of the Manx language on discs for future reference.



Plate 59b

Doctor John Clague, Musician and
Folk-lorist.
[See page 330]



Plate 59a

Miss Sophia Morrison of Peel,
founder and editor of *Mannin*.
[See page 339]

VIII

MISS SOPHIA MORRISON

*Close to the heart of her loved Peel she rests : . . .
 And with her quiet presence passed away
 Bright, burning brands that fired our Island hearts,
 And showed the sweetness in our homely ways,
 Finding the gold amid the rugged quartz.
 Her lamp*

Burns on undying :

*While living sparks
 Have found responsive glow in kindred minds.*

—JOSEPHINE KERMODE ('CUSHAG')

The ancestral home of the Mylevoirreys of Kirk German is the estate of Dryny. A branch, to which Sophia belonged, inherited the Cotch quarterland from Crellin relatives, in 1643. Sophia came to the front at a time when it appeared, as Brown says, 'Old Manx was waning.' Before the little group in Douglas, headed by A. W. Moore, had formed the Manx Language Society, she and her friend William Cashen had commenced student-classes in Peel. She joined the new society and soon became the organising secretary. Her efforts were not confined to her own town of Peel, but they extended over the Isle.

She was a familiar figure in farmhouse and cottages greeting people in the old tongue; eyes brightened and tongues were unloosed when she appeared. She understood them because she was of them, and proud of being so. She loved the fine old types in and around Peel; she admired their sturdiness and independence, their shrewd wit and their unaffected religious feelings. She did all that she could to preserve intact the native language and literature, folk-song and folk-lore, ancient customs and ties of kinship. She acted on the belief that a nation can reach its highest development by being most truly itself. This was the aim and the joy of her life.

To Sophia Morrison is due the credit of founding and conducting the magazine *Mannin*. As editor she showed high

* Morrison is the modern form of *Mac guilla Voirrey*, 'the son of Mary's servant.'

literary qualifications. It was probably the best example of a literary magazine that we have possessed, and it has drawn forth the admiration of bookmen for the excellence of its subject matter. Its dainty dress, in the artistic sense, is due to the active sympathy and skill of her friend Archie Knox. She had many admirers, including the present writer, who had great joy in giving assistance in various ways.

In the last number of *Mannin**, Philip W. Caine wrote a sympathetic account of her work for the fostering of the Manx idea. As secretary she was, he says, the mainspring of all the Manx Society's activities ; she arranged for the publication of various textbooks for the study of the old tongue ; the establishment of study classes ; everything that tended to deepen the love of the motherland commanded her services.

Her book on *Manx Fairy Tales* is the most exhaustive dealing with this compelling subject. She undertook to edit and print *William Cashen's Folk-Stories* and give an account of his life. She was a contributor to Dr. Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*. Shortly before Speaker Moore died she had arranged to collaborate with him in compiling the *Anglo-Manx Dictionary* and had made it almost ready for the press. But she, too, passed on before the book saw the light in the year 1924.

A NOTABLE DALBY FOLK-SONG

She was particularly anxious that musically-inclined people should learn something of our folk-songs, and in every issue of *Mannin* appeared folk-airs which had been contributed by Dr. Clague or some other collector. She was fortunate in securing from a Dalby farmer, Thomas Quane, a melody which was well-known among the older people in the district, but which had never been recorded. Quane had no words for it, but, being a local preacher, he had sung it to words in the hymn book. He gave the air to Miss Morrison with the following romantic tradition :

* *Mannin* was first issued in 1913 and the last number appeared in May, 1917.

THE DALBY FOLK-SONG

ARRANE GHELBEE

In the long ago a curiously shaped boat would be seen at the close of a summer evening coming from Bradda towards Dalby. In the boat sat an old man with long white hair, who rowed until off Niarbyl rocks. There he rested on his oars and sang this melody, which runs up and down the minor scale with the lilt of the waves. As the thing became known, the people would come and stay on the shore to listen to his music, for it was very sweet to them. But the boat was far off, and no words could be distinguished.

When the old man had made an end of his song, he rowed south-westward, towards Ireland till he was seen no more. And no one knew whence he came, nor whither he went, nor who he was, but the people of Dalby knew his song and taught it to their children's children.



FIG. 54. Song. Arrane Ghelbee.

Caesar Cashen, a native of Dalby, and a brother of William, when president of the Manx Society, told J. J. Kneen, that the only words of the old Bard that the Dalby folk thought they could make out were in Gaelic :

*Shoh slaynt voish Yerenee, Yerenee, Yerenee,
Shoh slaynt voish Yerenee, gys Vannin Veen !*

namely, ' Here's health from Irish Folk to Mannin Veen ! '

Kneen was so charmed by the story that he wrote words to the *arrane* in Manx, as well as a translation in English, as follows:

YN SHENN VARD

Vard ! O abbyr cre ass hig oo, Veih yn jiass ny veih yn twoaie ; Nonney nee veih Cheer-Gial jig oo ? Vard ! O insh dou çheer dty ghoocie !	Vard ! Agh abbyr cre ass hig oo, Veih yn voayl shid Çheer-fo-honn ; Raad ta jee ny marrey baghey, Mannanan, ard ree as kione ?
---	---

<i>Veih ny inshyn glassey aalin, Er yn aarkey foddey jeh ; Cheer nagh nhione jee oie ny trimshey, Agh laa beayn eck son dy-bra !</i>	<i>Veih çheer keylljyn as farraneyn, Blaaghyn jeh caghlaaghyn daah ; Ushagyn dy-kinjagh kiaulley, Raad ta'n Dagda reill dy-bra !</i>
--	--

Vard ! O abbyr cre ass hig oo,
Veih yn niau rollageagh heose ;
Nonney nee veih Cheer-nyn-Aeg oo,
Nagh nhione veg jee agh sheer-vioys ?

*Veih yn çheer heeoil as phalchagh,
Raad ta graih vooar car yn traa ;
Ellanyn ny fenec treanagh,
Flaunys eunyssagh dy-bra !*

Translation :—

Bard! O tell me whence thou comest, Why so ancient and forlorn; Is it from the Land-of-Promise ? Say, O bard, where thou wert born!	Bard! But tell me whence thou comest, From the shades of Cheer-fo-honn; Wherein Mannanan the sea-god Dwells in majesty alone ?
--	---

<i>From the Green Isle I came hither, O'er the ocean far away ; Where unknown are night and sorrow, Where there reigns eternal day !</i>	<i>From the land of groves and fountains, Where great Dagda rules as King ; Where sweet-scented blooms are fadeless And the birds for ever sing !</i>
--	---

Cheer-fo-honn—the Land under the waves.
Cheer-nyn-Aeg—the land of the Ever Young.
Flaunys—Paradise. (See p. 1.)

MISS SOPHIA MORRISON

Bard ! O tell me whence thou comest,
From the vast star-spangled dome ;
Or from Cheer-nyn-Aeg the deathless,
Is that blessed land thy home ?

*From the land of peace and plenty,
Where abides eternal love ,
From the islands of the heroes,
Flaunys fair in realms above.*



FIG. 55. The old Bard from Flaunys sings to the Dalby folk.

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