LOTHIAN: ITS POSITION PRIOR TO ITS ANNEXATION TO SCOTLAND.

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In offering a few observations on the condition of Lothian at an early period, it is necessary to premise that the sense in which I use the term is that in which it was understood in the twelfth century, including, not merely the district which is now so designated, but the entire country between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth.

Passing over the Roman period, we find one of the earliest Saxon settlements established at the northern extremity of this district, including in all probability the spot on which we are now assembled.

The first kingdom founded by this people, or, at all events, the first of which we have any historical record, in this island, was that of Kent, the origin of which is assigned, by the nearly unanimous concurrence of our best-informed writers, to about the year 449.

The only detailed account of the settlement in Lothian is contained in the compilation which passes under the name of Nennius. It is remarkable that the original expedition of Hengist and Horsa, and their landing in Kent, is not there described, as it is by Gildas and Beda, as the result of a previous invitation from Vortigern. The statement is simply to this effect:—"After the war between the Britons and Romans, and the extinction of the Roman government, the country was in a state of insecurity for forty years. Guorthigirn then reigned in Britain; and during his government he was distracted with the fear of the Picts and Scots, the apprehension of a Roman invasion, and a jealous terror of Ambrosius. In the meantime, two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, arrived with three vessels from Germany, having

[1] Communicated to the Historical Section, at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Edinburgh, July, 1856.

been driven into exile. Guorthigirn received them hospitably, and bestowed upon them the Isle of Thanet." The residence of these strangers was highly agreeable to Vortigern, for whose protection they formed an efficient bodyguard; but the expense of their maintenance was little acceptable to his subjects, who clamorously demanded their dismissal. Under these circumstances, Hengist counselled the British king to invite over and take into his service a much larger number of his own countrymen, who by their presence would effectually overawe the malcontents, and put down all opposition. This advice having been taken, a large force came over in forty ships. Such a multitude could not be quartered in Kent; but, as we are told, "the northern province, bordering on the wall which is called Guaul," was ceded to them, with the express view that they might be in readiness "to fight against the Scots," as well as to coerce the subjects of their patron. Their leaders were Octha and Ebissa, who are represented as the son and nephew of Hengist. "They passed," we are told, "the land of the Picts, laying waste the Orkneys, and came and occupied a large tract of country bordering on the Picts." The Picts, as we know from Beda, were separated from the Britons by the Frith of Forth; and "the wall called Guaul" must have been that which is known to us as the Wall of Antoninus, which stretches from the Forth to the Clyde. "The northern province, bordering on this wall," which was ceded to the compatriots of Hengist, was necessarily Lothian, or the northern portion of it.

Now, although this account is not given in detail by Beda, we shall find on comparison that it is materially corroborated by his statement. Having described the first immigration under Hengist and Horsa, he proceeds as follows:— "Swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island; and they began to increase so much as to become terrible to the natives who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into a league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by the force of arms, they began to turn their arms against their confederates." Such a league, between the Saxons of Kent and the Picts, who were separated from them by nearly all the native states of Britain, is as improbable as it would have been inefficacious; but if these last arrivals were, as described by Nennius, in the

intermediate district between the Britons and the Picts, nothing could be more natural than that, when they had quarrelled with the former, they should enter into a strict alliance with their neighbours on the other side; nor can we doubt that the united efforts of the Saxons and Picts were truly formidable, when directed against a frontier which it had been found difficult to defend against the attacks of the latter only. It was much easier, also, to find space for the settlement of these increasing hordes of invaders on a frontier which had been depopulated by repeated devastations, than in a district like Kent, which, from the earliest periods of history, had been the most flourishing and populous in the island. We have even reason to believe that the locality to which the settlement under Octha and Ebissa is assigned, was at this time altogether unoccupied. Its original inhabitants were the Otadini, in reference apparently to whom we meet with some very curious particulars in the miscellaneous matter appended to Nennius. We there read that Cunedag, the ancestor of Mailcunus, the great king of North Wales, emigrated from the northern district called Manau Gu-Otodin with his eight sons, 146 years before the reign of Mailcunus, whose death is placed by the Welsh annalists A.D. 547. If by Manau Gu-Otodin we are to understand the land of the Otadini, we have here an account of the emigration of the chief of that tribe towards the close of the century preceding that in which the deserted territories were occupied by Octha and Ebissa, at the very period when this exposed district was abandoned by the Romans to the attacks of the northern barbarians. It must always be borne in mind, that, however far the Picts pushed their incursions into the interior of Britain, they never attempted to form settlements beyond their ancient limits—and that if Lothian was deserted by its ancient British inhabitants, it remained altogether unoccupied, until it was colonised by the Saxons. On this head the authority of Beda is incontrovertible, who informs us that even in his time the Friths of Forth and Clyde formed the southern boundaries of the Picts and Scots.

In the district immediately adjoining, I have endeavoured to show that a Saxon settlement was formed under Octha and Ebissa, shortly after the middle of the fifth century, at a period when only one other Saxon colony, the kingdom established in Kent, was in existence.

The death of Hengist took place A.D. 488, after a reign of forty years, ten years previous to which the kingdom of Sussex was founded by Ella.

On Hengist's death, we are told by Nennius that Octha was advanced to the throne of Kent; but he does not inform us who was the successor of the latter in Lothian. Malmesbury, indeed, states that the followers of Octha continued under the government of dukes, appointed by the Kentish kings, until the establishment by Ida of the kingdom of Northumberland, in which the colony of Lothian was merged; but the unsupported testimony of this writer is of little weight in reference to the affairs of this early period; still less can we rely on such authorities as Brompton, De Taxster, and the *Scala Chronica*, which furnish us with additional particulars.

We are not, however, altogether without details of events of considerable importance, which appear to be connected with this district, the interest of which is greatly enhanced by the legendary celebrity of the individual to whom they relate—the renowned King Arthur. So much are we accustomed to connect the history of this king with the absurd fictions of Jeffrey of Monmouth and the romances of his disciples, that it is difficult to secure for him the place to which he is entitled in sober history. The national vanity, in an earlier age, received with eager credulity the most preposterous narratives of his achievements; whilst the cautious criticism of our own times is disposed to regard the very question of his existence with scepticism. The late Mr. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, has taken considerable pains to establish, not only the historical reality of King Arthur, but his local connexion with the South of Scotland, by the collection of a number of instances in which his name is combined with that of places in the district. He lays little stress on the designation, so familiar to us all, of Arthur's Seat, which he admits to be comparatively recent, although this is referred to by Camden in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even by earlier writers. He notices, however, amongst a great variety of others, an ancient name of the rocky citadel of Dumbarton, which is called, in a parliamentary record of the reign of David II., "Castrum Arthuri" (the Castle of Arthur). I will not pursue this branch of the inquiry further, but rather refer you to the

work of the author from whom I have quoted, of whom this country may be justly proud, as well worthy of the title of the Camden of Scotland.

The *historical* evidence of King Arthur's connection with Lothian is to be found in the list of his battles, preserved by Nennius and copied by Henry of Huntingdon :—"After the death of Hengist, his son Octha passed from the North of Britain into the kingdom of Kent, and from him are descended the kings of that province. At that time Arthur fought against the Saxons, with the kings of the Britons; but he was the chief commander in the wars. The first battle was at the mouth of the river Glein; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, on another river, which is called Dubglas, in the district of Linnuis; the sixth battle was on a river called Bassas; the seventh, in the wood of Celidon; the eighth battle was at the Castle Guinnion. The ninth battle was at the city of the Legion; the tenth, on the shore of the river Tribruit; the eleventh, on a mountain which is called Agned; the twelfth was on Mount Badon; and in all these battles he was victorious."

From this extract it would appear that the victorious career of Arthur commenced soon after the death of Hengist, and the departure of Octha from Lothian to Kent, at which time, as we have seen, there were but three bodies of Saxons in the island, against whom the prowess of the British king *could* be proved. It is natural, therefore, that we should look for the fields of the earlier battles, at least, in or adjacent to one of the three Saxon settlements. Extending our survey to the first seven battle-fields, we meet with no names at all similar to any one of them, either in Kent or Sussex, or in any adjacent district. On the other hand, we have no difficulty in finding appropriate sites for each in Lothian, and in the districts immediately South and North of it. This, undoubtedly raises a strong presumption that the opponents of Arthur in these seven engagements must have been the Northern Saxons, and not those of Kent or of Sussex; but such presumption is almost converted into certainty by the locality of the seventh battle in the wood of Celidon, in which we at once recognise the celebrated Caledonian Forest. Nor is the order in which the names occur less material in testing the soundness of our conclusions, if we consider in connection with it two circum-

stances :—first, that the Saxons were the aggressors ; secondly, that the seven battles resulted in successive victories to the Britons. The first battle, then, was on the Glein or Glen, a small river which gives name to Glendale, a district of Northumberland, immediately South of the Tweed. The hills which skirt the vale of the river, to this day present extensive remains of British fortifications ; and it is probable that on the fertile plain below was of old the capital of a British state ; as we know there was in aftertimes the villa of the Saxon king of the district, as mentioned by Beda, first at Yeavering, and afterwards at Milfield.

Here, then, it is probable the Saxon leader conducted his troops to attack the citadel, either of Arthur himself, or of one of his allies. On his defeat he naturally retreated within his own territory ; and here we find him, with desperate pertinacity, resisting the advance of the Britons in four successive engagements, each terminating in a defeat on the banks of the same little stream, the Dunglas (written incorrectly in different MSS. the Duglas and the Dubglas). The river Bassas, on which the sixth battle was fought, at first seemed to have some reference to the Bass Rock in this vicinity ; but I am rather disposed, instead of Bassas, to read Peasas, and to identify the site with the Pease rivulet, which runs parallel to, and within a very short distance of, the Dunglas. The sides of the ravines through which both these streams flow, afford several positions of remarkable strength, well calculated for defence. Of the passage of the Pease in particular, Cromwell, who surveyed it with a military eye more than eleven centuries afterwards, makes use in a despatch of this remarkable expression, that here "one man to hinder were better than twelve to make way."

When the passes of the Pease and Dunglas were forced, an open country lay before the pursuers and the pursued ; and it is not extraordinary that the Saxons, after six defeats, should seek refuge in the territories of their allies the Picts. If, after the seventh defeat in the Caledonian Forest, they were not altogether annihilated, we may well believe that they were at all events incapable of further aggression ; nor is there reason to suppose that the subsequent exploits of Arthur were performed in the North. Hitherto we cannot consider him to have acted in the capacity of leader of "the

kings of the Britons," but only as the chief of a local confederacy for the defence of the northern border ; but the warlike qualities which he had here displayed naturally pointed him out for a more extensive command, when the necessities of his country required a union of the native princes to resist the invasion of the common enemy.

It is probable that there never would have been any difference of opinion as to the sites of these battles, but for a mistake, into which our historians have been led by Jeffery of Monmouth, of confounding the "Regio Linnuis," in which the Dunglas is said to be situated, with Lindsey in Lincolnshire ; whereas the district really meant is undoubtedly Lothian. The names usually applied to this province in charters, and by the monkish historians, are Lodoneum, Lothonia, Laodonia, &c. ; but instances are not wanting of an orthography much more nearly approaching to that in the text, as Leonis, Loeneis,[1] whereas Lindsey or Lindissi is never spelt without a *d*.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the age of the *Historia Britonum*, ascribed to Nennius, there can be no doubt that it existed considerably before the time of Jeffrey of Monmouth, by several of whose contemporaries it is quoted ; not, indeed, under his name, but either under the name of Gildas, or by a reference to an anonymous authority. Its credit, therefore, cannot be affected by the superstructure of fiction which has been raised upon it.

The list of the battles of Arthur, which is given above, is the only information which we possess respecting him from any historian prior to the time of Jeffrey, or which is untainted by his inventions. His name, indeed, occurs three or four times in the lays of the ancient British bards, but unaccompanied by any details materially to enlarge our knowledge of his history, still less to countenance the extravagant fables of later writers. One of the poems of Llywarch Hen relates to a battle which he fought on the river Llawen, which may be identical with the Glen.

Mr. Sharon Turner impugns the accuracy of Nennius's account of these battles, on the ground that this succession of twelve victories is inconsistent with the gradual progress

[1] "Terra quæ Leonis vocatur usque ad mare Scoticum," Giraldus Cambrensis, De Instructione Principum, p. 13 . "Leonensis," Script. Norman. Duchesne, p. 1001. "In terra regis Scotiæ, in Loeneis," Magnus Rotulus Pipæ, 4 Hen. II., apud Maddox, vol. 1, c. 1, p. 3.

and ultimate success of the Saxon arms. And such would indeed be the case, if Arthur had been everywhere present and the British everywhere victorious; but a slight examination will show that this was far from being the case. The seven battles already reviewed, although they secured the temporary tranquillity of the northern borders, would have little effect upon the general progress of Saxon occupation. In the meantime, Kent and Sussex were extending their frontiers, and the continental Saxons were preparing for those expeditions which were conducted on a larger scale than hitherto under Cerdic. The first attempts of this adventurer were not directed against the western coast, where his kingdom was ultimately established, but against the shores of Norfolk, where we read of his landing A.D. 495 at a place called by the Saxon Chronicle Cerdic's Ore, which Camden identifies with Yarmouth. This was just six years after the death of Hengist, which allows a sufficient interval for the conclusion of Arthur's wars in the North, and the establishment of his reputation as the first captain of his age. Nothing is more natural than that he should be invited to take the command of his countrymen against this new and powerful assailant; and there is a remarkable resemblance between the name of the site of his next battle at Castellum Guinnion, and that of an abandoned Roman station in the immediate neighbourhood of Yarmouth, Castellum Gariannonum, the massive remains of which are to be seen in great perfection to this day. If we were to look for the fittest situation for the encampment of a party of marauders on an open coast like that of Norfolk, totally void of any natural fastnesses, our attention would almost of necessity be directed to this place, the modern name of which, Burgh, denotes its Roman origin, as unmistakably as the prefix of Castellum in Nennius. That Arthur not only engaged the Saxons in his neighbourhood, but effectually repulsed them, is perfectly consistent with what we know of the history of the period from other sources; for though two or three hostile descents were made in the same locality, we know that no permanent settlement was effected till many years afterwards.

Four battles only remain to be accounted for, and there is no doubt that Mr. Turner is right in fixing the localities of these in Wessex. Even here, however, we may believe

that they were all victories, without at all contradicting the received accounts of the rapid progress of Cerdic's arms, and the ultimate establishment of his kingdom. If Arthur's own capital was, as we have reason to believe, in the North, a long time must have elapsed after the landing of a Saxon force in Hampshire, before he could possibly have obeyed a summons to lead his distant warriors to resist the invaders. Cerdic in the mean time had doubtless established himself too firmly to be easily dislodged, and reinforcements could be obtained as quickly from Germany as from Northumberland. He had, besides, the aid of his countrymen, who were settled in his immediate vicinity, in Sussex and Kent. When Arthur arrived, a large tract of country was probably irrecoverably lost; and all that he could do was to check the further progress of the invaders, or at most to contract the limits of their occupation. Each of his victories might be attended with important results, and the enemy might yet be left in possession of extensive conquests. The last of these battles, that of Mount Badon, is assigned by the Annals of Ulster to the year 516. The establishment of the kingdom of Wessex is placed by the Saxon Chronicle just three years later. The death of Arthur may have taken place in the mean time, and the British arms have sustained a reverse. At all events, we know from Gildas, who, as well as Beda, refers to the battle of Badon, though he does not mention the name of the British leader, that this was "nearly the last, though not the least, slaughter" of the Saxons.

The settlement of Ida took place A.D. 547. He is said to have landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire; but this is doubtful. We only know with certainty that the seat of his government was at Bamborough in Northumberland. He was of a different branch of the Teutonic race from the former settlers under Octha. They were countrymen of Hengist, who was a Jute. Ida and his followers were Angles. If, however, any of the earlier colonists remained, they would readily amalgamate with a kindred tribe.

That Lothian was from an early period included in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, is beyond doubt; but the first intimation we have of this fact is not from historians, but from the etymology of this city of Edinburgh, which is generally allowed to have received its name from

Edwin, the second king of the united provinces of Bernicia and Deira, whose reign extended from A.D. 616 to 633. We must not, however, assume, because Edwin created a burgh or fort on the shores of the Frith of Forth, that the intermediate district from thence to the Tweed was fully peopled. The fact appears to have been directly the reverse. The district immediately around Edinburgh may have been tenanted by a numerous colony of Jutes or Angles, or of a mixture of both; but we have a remarkably proof, in the succeeding reign of Oswald, that a large tract of thinly inhabited country, if indeed it was inhabited at all, adjoined it to the East and South. Amongst the lands bestowed by that king on his newly established bishopric and monastery of Lindisfarne, was included the immense territory which extends from the Lammermuir Hills to the river Esk, which falls into the Frith at Musselburgh, co-extensive with the entire county of Haddington. Within these wide limits, the entire area, up to this time, must have been "foc-land," or land unappropriated to the private uses of any individuals. Some of it was probably occupied as pasture for the flocks of the inhabitants of the adjoining settled districts; but if any settlers were located here, possessing no other home, their position would be similar to that of the squatters in the unreclaimed districts of the New World in our own days.

Besides this, a grant of land within the present county of Northumberland, extending along the sea-coast from the Tweed nearly to Bamburgh, and reaching inland to the valley of the Breamish and the Till, with another immense tract immediately North of the Tweed, were appropriated to the same religious purposes. Those two last districts were immediately colonised—the one in connection with the present monastery of Lindisfarne, the other with Melrose, which was an offshoot of the same establishment. In East Lothian, also, a monastery was established at Tyningham.[1]

[1] Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Beda, would refer the monastery at the mouth of the Tyne, originally tenanted by monks, afterwards by nuns, which is noticed by his author in his Life of St. Cuthbert, to Tyningham; but this is inconsistent with Beda's narrative, which describes the river as navigable, thus identifying it with the Tyne in Northumberland, not the little rivulet in Lothian. A monastery, however, did exist at Tyningham in Beda's time, as appears from his mention of its Abbot Herebald. Symeon mentions Tyningham as the residence of the anchorite Balther, who died A.D. 756. He also speaks of a "most noble monastery at the mouth of the river Tyne," under the year 792, but whether this refers to Tynemouth or Tyningham, and whether the inmates were male or female, uncertain.

The particulars of these endowments will be found in the very curious account of the bishopric established at Lindisfarne, and afterwards removed to Chester-le-Street, which is appended to Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, in Twysden's edition. The account only reaches to the time of Athelstan, and appears to have been written at that period, or, at all events, prior to the final removal of the bishopric from Chester-le-Street to Durham, at the close of the tenth century. Symeon has made great use of it, but has not exhausted it. Indeed, partly from the corrupt state of the text and partly from the want of minute local knowledge, he does not seem to have been able, in all cases, accurately to make out the localities referred to. In one of the Chronicles attributed to Symeon, but not in his Church History, Edinburgh itself is said to have been included amongst the possessions of the see of Lindisfarne ; but this statement is not supported by the ancient document above referred to, or by any reliable authority. Coldingham in Berwickshire became the site of a monastery under the government of the celebrated St. Ebba, in the reign of Oswi, the brother and successor of St. Oswald. In this reign, also, the pastoral country on the banks of the Bowmont, South of the Tweed, but North-West of the Cheviot range, appears to have been reclaimed, and was granted by Oswi to St. Cuthbert, then an inmate of the monastery of Melrose. Jed-Forest probably remained in a state of nature till a century later, when the two Jedworths were founded by Bishop Ecgred about A.D. 850.

Roxburghshire was nearly the furthest limit of Saxon occupation in this direction. Beyond it, the forest of Ettrick interposed a wide belt of uncultivated country between the settlements of the followers of Ida and the dwellings of the Cumbri. The latter, indeed, were compelled to yield to the military superiority of Ethelfrid, and to pay tribute for the lands which their ancestors had immemorially held ; but they were not slaughtered, or driven from their homes, as had been the harder lot of their brethern to the East. The land which had been already wasted was more than the immigrant population could occupy ; and interest, if not humanity, restrained the victors from the wholesale slaughter of those who could thus be converted into profitable dependants. On this subject we are not left to inferences and probabilities,

but have the express statement of Beda amply confirmed by the existence of the remains of Celtic occupation on one side of the boundary line and their absence on the other.

The tenacity with which the Britons resisted the advance of the intruders is proved by the existence of that remarkable line of defence, the Catrail, the remains of which are to be traced to this day, traversing a large extent of frontier. This had long been known to the provincial antiquaries of the district, and was ascribed by them, like almost everything else in Scotland and the North of England, whose origin is obscure, to the Picts—a people, who, as pointed out by Mr. Chalmers, never had any footing in the district. To that diligent investigator of the antiquities of his country, we are indebted for having traced the course of this extraordinary work, from the high ground between the Gala and the Tweed above Galashiels, to Peel-Fell, at the head of Liddesdale ; and more than this—for proving, by the clearest demonstration, its true authors, and the time and object of its construction.

During the entire Saxon period, the history of Lothian is singularly barren of incidents. The celebrated battle of Degsastan, in which Ethelfrid of Northumberland gained a decisive victory over Aidan, King of the Scots, A.D. 603, is generally placed at Dawston in Liddesdale, on the outskirts of this district. Another battle is mentioned, A.D. 761, in which Mol Ethelwald, King of Northumberland, defeated and slew his rival Oswin, after three days' hard fighting, at Eildon. The Saxon Chronicle calls the site of the battle Edwine's Cliffe ; and Florence of Worcester, Cliffe ; but in Symeon's Chronicle, which is generally more accurate as regards northern topography, the place is called Eldunum, to which an early interpolator has added, "near Melrose." The position of Eildon is one where an obstinate engagement is very likely to have taken place—at a difficult pass in the main line of communication between the South and North of Northumberland.

In the ninth century the coast of Lothian suffered, in common with the other maritime districts of the island, from the piratical incursions of the Danes ; whilst a new and hostile neighbour threatened the province from the North. The Scots, who had previously been confined to the North-western district beyond the Clyde, had about A.D. 840, by

the subjection of the Picts, established themselves on the North of the Forth. Elated by his success, their king, Kenneth M'Alpine, turned his arms against the Saxons, whose territory he six times invaded, involving in ruin Dunbar and the abbey of Melrose. From this time the former place is not again mentioned, till more than two centuries later, in the reign of Malcolm Caenmore; and the entire statement of the invasion rests on the testimony of the old Pictish Chronicle published by Innis. In the same way we have, in Roger of Wendover, a solitary mention of Berwick-upon-Tweed as the place where the Danes landed in 870, on their expedition to avenge the death of Ragner Lodbroc. To the same year he ascribes the destruction of Lindisfarne and Coldingham; but this date we know to be inaccurate. Lindisfarne was destroyed by Halfdene and his followers, whose invasion of Northumberland did not occur till five years later; and we learn from Wendover himself that its ruin preceded that of Coldingham. To this author we are indebted for the story of the heroism of the Abbess of Coldingham and her nuns, who are said to have mutilated their faces in a ghastly manner, rather than expose their charms to the gaze of the barbarians. He gives to the abbess the name of her predecessor, Ebba, the founder of the monastery—exhibiting either a remarkable coincidence or some poverty of invention. If there had been any truth in the narrative, it would not have escaped the research of the earlier monkish historians, who deal in legends of this sort; but it is much more likely that the holy sisterhood, who appear to have had abundant notice of the approach of Halfdene, imitated the example of the monks of Lindisfarne, and escaped the danger which threatened them by timely flight. Neither Coldingham nor Melrose was restored till the Norman era; but if Tyningham was involved in the general ruin of the Northumbrian monasteries, it must have been rebuilt previous to 941, when "Onlaf, King of Northumberland having plundered the church of St. Balther and burnt Tyningham, was afterwards killed," as we read in Symeon's Chronicle. Coldingham was not, like the monasteries of Melrose and Tyningham, founded on a previously unoccupied spot. Its site is dignified by Beda with the appellation of the City of Coludi. We can hardly suppose that such an amount of Saxon population was collected there

as to entitle it to this distinction, but must rather refer its origin to the British or Roman period of our history. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that one of the two ancient roads which traversed Northumberland terminated here. At the period when these roads were laid out, it is evident that no bridge existed across the navigable portion of the Tyne, although the construction of one at Newcastle as early as the reign of Hadrian is implied in the Roman name of the station at that place, Pons Ælii. But the great lines of communication with the North had already been completed, crossing the river at Corbridge, sixteen miles higher up ; and the route was not altered on the erection of the bridge of Hadrian, as no traces whatever of a coast road of Roman construction exist North of Newcastle. From Corbridge the principal thoroughfare passed nearly in a direct line to Eildon ; from whence, crossing the Tweed, it followed the Gala-Water to its source, and thence proceeded northward towards the Frith of Forth. From this road, near its southern extremity, and almost immediately North of the Wall of Hadrian, another branched off to the North-East, which crossed the Tweed two miles above Berwick, and terminated, as above stated, at or near Coldingham. Bremenium, one of the cities of the Otadini, recently excavated at the expense of a liberal patron of this institute, the Duke of Northumberland, and illustrated by Dr. Bruce, stands on one line of road :—it is not unlikely that the other, Curia, was the Urbs Coludi at the extremity of the second. The limits of the Northumbrian kingdom, as established by Ethelfrid in the early part of the seventh century, were the Humber and Mersey to the South, and the Forth and Clyde to the North. Of this territory the first curtailment took place A.D. 685, when Strathclyde recovered its independence after the death of Ecgfrid. This was followed, a century afterwards, by the loss of Galloway. The territory thus severed was of very considerable extent, including all the West of Scotland from the Solway to the Clyde ; but the direct injury was not proportionably great, as the inhabitants were chiefly of the old British stock, on whose allegiance the Saxon sovereigns could never very confidently rely. Incidentally, however, it was attended by consequences much more serious, by laying open the western frontier of Lothian to incursions from which it had hitherto been protected by

the intervention of the subject states. This source of insecurity was greatly aggravated, a hundred years later, when Strathclyde and Galloway, with the district to the South between the Solway and the Duddon, were united in a confederacy under the protection of Scotland. The exaggerated statements of the early national historians as to the exploits of Gregory, the King (or, according to others, the Regent) of Scotland, from 881 to 893, have re-acted so much to the prejudice of his reputation, that modern inquirers are disposed to ignore altogether his pretensions to the character of a conqueror. Now, without implicitly adopting the idle stories which ascribe to him the conquest of all England and the greater part of Ireland, there seems no reason to doubt that he availed himself of the advantages of his situation and the distracted state of Northumberland to make himself master of Lothian, which his predecessor Kenneth had overrun under circumstances much less favourable.

Almost all England had been recently at the mercy of the Danes; and although these barbarians had been expelled by King Alfred from his own immediate dominions, they were established more firmly than ever in East Anglia and Northumberland. Christian Saxons and Pagan Danes were at length harmoniously united in the latter kingdom, under Guthred, who adopted the religion of the one, whilst his nationality recommended him to the other. His kingdom extended, in the first instance, only to the Tyne, beyond which three petty Saxon princes, Egbert, Ricsig, and a second Egbert reigned in succession from 867 to 883, and probably longer, but from this date we have no particulars of the affairs of the northern province for some years. When they next recur, Guthred appears as the sole (or at least the paramount) Northumbrian king; but the Scots in the meantime had not only possessed themselves of Lothian, but had carried their arms across the Tweed. In the year 890, the ninth of the reign of Gregory, the Scotch army suffered a repulse at Lindisfarne. Symeon mentions their discomfiture by Guthred, and refers to older authorities for the particulars of the miraculous interposition of St. Cuthbert, and the divine judgment which overwhelmed the sacrilegious intruders on his territory. This defeat seems to have shaken the stability of Gregory's power; for, three years hence, we find him driven from the throne, and a new king, Donal, the son of

Constantine, substituted for him. Far from being able to extend, or even to maintain, the conquests of his predecessor, Donal was hard pressed by the Danes within his own dominions, and fell in battle A.D. 904.

Guthred died the year after Gregory's expulsion, and Northumberland was divided into a number of petty principalities, the rulers of which, after seven years of anarchy and confusion, agreed to place the chief authority in the hands of Athelwold, the brother of Edward the Elder. This weak prince only held the monarchy to which he had been elected three years, and then abandoned it for other schemes in the same year in which his neighbour, Donal, King of Scotland, was slain. Three brothers, Neil, Sitric, and Regnald, according to some authorities the sons of Inguar, according to others of Guthred, now occur as kings of Northumberland ; but the paramount superiority, both of King Edward and of his successor Athelstan, was reluctantly acknowledged. Constantine, who succeeded Donal on the throne of Scotland, viewed with natural alarm the extension of the power of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy so near his own borders, and endeavoured to counteract the danger by such combinations as he was able to form. His brother Donal, whom it is necessary to distinguish from his own predecessor of that name, had obtained the sovereignty of the Strathclyde Britons, in which he was succeeded by his son Eugenius, the nephew and presumptive heir of Constantine, by whose aid his authority was extended over the neighbouring British states, with the title of King of Cumbria. At a later period, Constantine secured the alliance of the Northumbrian Danes, as well as their compatriots in Ireland, by the marriage of his daughter with Anlaf, the son of Sitric. The strength of this confederacy, however, was annihilated at the celebrated battle of Brunanburgh, in which Athelstan defeated his combined foes, A.D. 937. Seven years afterwards, Constantine retired to a monastery, and was succeeded by Malcolm, who, by the adoption of a different policy, succeeded in conciliating the contemporary English King, Edred, who restored to him Cumbria, and seems to have recognised his claims to Lothian also ; although the death of both kings, A.D. 955, prevented the actual transfer. At all events, we know that the city of Edinburgh was vacated that very year, and the cession of the remainder of the

province was only delayed a few years. The particulars of this important event are thus detailed by Wendover :—"In the year 975, Bishop Alfsey and Earl Eadulf conducted Kinred (Kenneth), King of the Scots, to King Edgar, who made him many presents of his royal bounty. He gave him, moreover, the whole district called Laudian in the native tongue, on this condition, that every year, on certain festivals, when the king and his successors wore the crown, he should come to court and celebrate the festival with the other nobles. The king gave him, besides, many mansions on the road, that he and his successors might find entertainment in going and returning ; and these houses continued to belong to the Kings of Scotland until the time of King Henry II." I have been thus particular in transcribing this passage at length, because I believe that it satisfactorily explains the homage rendered by the Kings of Scotland to the Kings of England :—not for Scotland, not for Cumberland, but for Lothian. At this period the performance of homage might indeed be unknown either in Scotland or in England ; but services and attendances were here stipulated, on which homage was almost of necessity engrafted at a later date. When we consider the long and warm controversies which have been carried on as to the object of this homage, it is not a little singular that no reference has, so far as I am aware, ever been made to a passage in Ordericus Vitalis, an early and authentic historian of the Norman period, which seems conclusive on the question. When William Rufus demanded the homage of Malcolm Caenmore, the latter did not deny that it was due to the English Crown, but maintained that the party entitled to it was not William, but his elder brother, Robert. "I am ready to admit," he said, "that when King Edward promised me his niece Margaret in marriage, he conferred on me the earldom of Lothian. King William afterwards confirmed what his predecessor had granted, and," addressing Robert, "commended me to you as his eldest son."

Mr. Chalmers ignores altogether the cession of Lothian by King Edgar, and founds the title of the Scotch kings to this province on its compulsory surrender by Eadulf Cudel, Earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II., A.D. 1020. His authority is a little tract ascribed to Symeon of Durham, containing a history of the earls of this province, commencing

with Waltheoff, the brother of Eadulf Cudel. Eadulf is there described as of a slothful and cowardly disposition ; and we are told that, "fearing that the Scots would revenge upon himself the slaughter which his brother had inflicted upon them, he surrendered to them the whole of Lothian, to appease them, and secure peace. In this manner Lothian was annexed to the kingdom of Scotland." From the same tract, however, we learn that Malcolm was not only at a previous period in possession of Lothian, but that he had penetrated through the present county of Northumberland as far as Durham. From thence he was driven back with great slaughter by Waltheoff, who was rewarded for his valour with the hand of the daughter of the English king, Ethelred, in marriage. At this time it is probable that Lothian, or a part of it, was occupied by this powerful earl, and retained during his lifetime, but restored after his decease by his less warlike brother. No reference to this cession of Lothian is to be found, either in Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, or in the general Chronicle which passes under his name ; but in both we read of a dreadful slaughter of the Northumbrians by King Malcolm, in a battle which was fought two years previously, at Carham, on the south bank of the Tweed. If any territory North of that river was then in possession of the English earl, we cannot doubt that it was immediately restored to the Scots ; but it is not necessary to assume that it then, for the first time, passed into their possession. On the contrary, it seems very improbable that succeeding Kings of England would have quietly acquiesced in the continued occupation of this territory by Scotland, if no better title could be shown by the latter country than what was derived from an official dependant of the Anglo-Saxon monarch, who could have no power of alienation without the sanction of his superior. Without rejecting the authority of Symeon, that this district was in possession of Waltheoff and surrendered by his brother, we may yet accept the testimony of Wendover, that it had been long previously held by Scotland under a more valid tenure. Although the latter writer was of a date considerably posterior to Symeon, we are in many instances indebted to him for authentic notices of northern affairs, which are not to be met with elsewhere ; and this may readily be accounted for by the fact that the great monastery of St. Alban's, of

which Wendover was a member, was possessed of a cell at Tynemouth in Northumberland, in which we know ancient chronicles were preserved, which are not now extant, but to which the historian of the parent monastery no doubt had access.

Henceforward Lothian has no separate history—its fortunes, from this time, being indissolubly connected with the realm of Scotland.