

## IX.—THE ROMAN ANNEXATION OF BRITAIN.

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BY PROF. EMIL HÜBNER, LL.D.

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To the individual man in his normal state, and to the commonwealth in a condition of health, the *possibility* of developing their natural powers and gifts in ever widening circles is alike a necessary condition of life. We object, however, to that view of historical events which looks upon each successive stage in the life of the individual or of the nation as necessary results of their internal organisation, as well as to the view, equally erroneous, though in an opposite direction, which makes the march of events depend entirely on chaotic actions and reactions in "national instincts," the "struggle for existence," and such like. Just as we see soul and body, spirit and matter, everywhere acting upon and limiting one another, driving and driven, conditioning and conditioned, so is it in the field of history; and her task, her ever new and attractive task, never perhaps capable of entire fulfilment, continues to be the decision at each successive stage of the world's progress, how far necessity or caprice, law, or what we call chance, conscious will, or yielding weakness contributed as factors to the great result. This ever-recurring problem presents especial difficulties in those many instances of ancient and modern history, where the mighty impulse of an earlier age continued to exert an unmistakeable influence over events, while the visible actors in the drama seemed little adequate to the task assigned to them, and often appeared to be acting well-nigh unconsciously, urged onward by the inner might of human affairs. No side of the political life of the Romans has been more persistently or more universally misjudged than their policy of conquest. It would be vain to deny the fact apprehended by the more keen-sighted among the Romans themselves, the poets and historians of the Augustan age, that their foreign conquests, and their contact with Phœnician, Greek, and Asiatic over-civilisation brought about the decay of the good old customs, the disappearance of simplicity, justice, and truth. It might, however, be a hard task for those old critics of the course pursued by Roman statesmen, as well as for their modern imitators, to indicate how those conquests should have been avoided, or what other policy

should have been adopted instead of them. If we put out of sight the annexation of Italy, which (whatever be our opinion as to the morality of the individual acts which brought it to pass) may undoubtedly, as a whole, be considered as the necessary consequence of the development of the Latin people, and the acquisition of the "natural frontier" which belonged to them, it is capable of immediate demonstration that the acquisition of the first trans-marine provinces of foreign tongue, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the two Spanish provinces was the necessary consequence of the struggle with Carthage. The oriental conquests next following—Illyricum, Macedon, Achaia, and afterwards the erection of the two Pro-consulates, Asia and Africa, however indefensible the legal titles on which they were founded, show in the clearest manner the same prescribed course of political development on the large scale, which was destined to smooth away the oppositions between the new state-system of the west and the Hellenised civilisation of the east, and at the same time, to build up, as the sixth was passing into the seventh century of Rome (B.C. 150), the future unity of classical culture in politics and faith, in literature and art, in morals and human life.

True, the motives of the annexations following these in the seventh century of the state, the time of the Gracchi and of Sulla, are less easily discernible. They are partly strategic, and are connected with the desire to find the shortest lines of communication between Italy and the provinces, and between one province and another. Partly they are political, and connected with the necessity, or at any rate the expediency, of attaining extended space for colonisation. It was thus that Gallia Cisalpina and the Narbonensian province of Gallia Transalpina were added to the state. Political and strategical reasons, partly of doubtful advantage, and therewith the hunger for land and gold of the individual *optimates*, a hunger which was showing itself more and more shamelessly, and which was now hardly veiled by the forms of the republican constitution, explain the rounding-off of the Asiatic and African estate by the addition of Bithynia, Cyrene, and Crete, and finally of the Syrian province. But after all, this rounding-off process was never brought to a satisfactory termination.

It would be an attractive and profitable enquiry to follow the different phases of the Roman policy of annexation during the republican period; and this enquiry would well illustrate the phenomena which, notwithstanding all the difference of circumstances, recur with striking analogies in modern States; those, for instance, which have attended the consolidation of Italy and Germany, and those which prepared the way for the bloody dismemberment of the Ottoman monarchy by the Slavs, now going on under our own eyes (1878). For instance, the sharp contrast which has been so often noticed between the formation and government of new provinces where there was already a sub-stratum of Hellenic culture, as in Sicily, Greece, and Asia, and the laborious Romanisation of the barbarian lands of the west and north. Spain, Gaul, and Illyricum would well deserve to be presented in detail to the minds of those who may not have the oppor-

tunity of availing themselves of the excellent material provided in such scientific works as Joachim Marquardt's *Roman Administration*. Our authorities are tolerably abundant, for the history of the conquest and administration of the *Spanish* provinces, the first great expanse of territory destitute of an older civilisation upon which was tried the experiment of colonisation resting on a military government. But before it is possible to draw a more accurate picture than has yet been seen of the work of the brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio (the early wearers of that illustrious name), some preliminary researches in Ethnology have to be completed, the foundation for which is laid by the study—till now too much neglected—of ancient coins with Iberian inscriptions.

All this must remain over for examination on some future occasion. For our present purpose it suffices to have briefly hinted at the earlier annexations to the Roman state, in order thereby to facilitate an accurate comprehension of those which followed from the time of Augustus, one alone of which is the subject of the following essay.

In the history of annexations, as in all the other departments of political life, without exception, a new epoch begins with Cæsar. Suffice it here to indicate that the work which he put in hand by the conquest of Gaul, the "subjugation of the west," must be looked upon as only the beginning of a series of magnificent enterprises, by which he proposed thoroughly to regenerate the Roman state, both internally and externally. When the most short-sighted of all political crimes that were ever perpetrated, the assassination of Julius, suddenly arrested his brilliant career, rich in blessings for the world, the foundation of the new government so sorely needed by the vast dependencies of Rome, was not yet laid. On his successor lay the necessity, by fair means or foul, to bring this, like all the other thoughts of his uncle, to completion. It is known, though perhaps the fact has not yet been sufficiently brought out, how far, in all respects, Augustus Cæsar lagged behind his great exemplar. True, he was able to boast, in the record of his deeds, publicly displayed in all the temples of the goddess Roma (some copies of which are preserved to our own day), that he had extended the bounds of all the Roman provinces, and added not a few new ones. In the north he annexed the Alpine lands, Raetia, Noricum, and the Alpes Maritimæ; in the east the Danubian lands, Moesia and Pannonia, besides a multitude of Asiatic territories—Galatia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, with the island of Cyprus; in the south the Egyptian monarchy, now, for the first time, incorporated with the empire; in the west he completed the subjugation of Spain, and for the further protection of the Gaulish lands he constituted the military frontier of the Rhine. Also he sent fleets and armies to the utmost extremities of the then known world, and entered into diplomatic relations with the most diverse foreign princes and nations. But more closely considered, this world-empire, however magnificent it might seem to contemporaries, shows considerable gaps and flaws. That curious piece of political conjuring by which the constitution of the empire became a republic and a monarchy combined, or rather

neither of the two, but a dyarchy in which power was shared between the Emperor and the Senate, all which we now recognise more clearly in consequence of Mommsen's researches, operated with specially ill effects on the two foundations of provincial administration, the organisation of the army, and the collection of the taxes.

For nearly two centuries longer did it endure, until the Roman Empire embraced, at least approximately, the nucleus and the larger masses of the then accessible "orbis terrarum," not without some changes in the course of years. Here one ring of the chain was dropped, there another was narrowed or extended. "Tantæ molis erat," such constantly renewed effort through many centuries was needed in order to make actual the dream so often dreamed before and since, but never so nearly realized as by Rome—the dream of universal domination. Every single act in that long chain of events ought to be apprehended as one of a series. Yet it is also just as necessary in considering each to define the special impulse which brought it to pass, and to separate from the inner law of necessity, which is common to all, that which in each is merely accidental and external.

From these points of view we may be permitted to give here a short sketch of the annexation of Britain.<sup>1</sup>

## I.—THE ANNEXATION.

IN none of the lands of modern civilisation which once lay under Roman dominion is it so hard, as in the case of England, to bring the picture of the land as it then was into focus with that which we now see before us. The East, and the Romance lands of Southern Europe bear the stamp of the ancient culture still so plainly impressed on the lines of the landscape, on buildings and works of art, on types of face and the customs of the inhabitants, that it needs no violent effort, and has, in fact, been a hundred times attempted by poets and painters, to conjure up again the spirit of antiquity there in its accustomed haunt. Even in our German Rhine lands (quite apart from places like Trier, which might just as well be in Italy or Southern France as in Germany), and here and there on the Northern slopes of the Alps, there still breathes an *aura* of the classics; and even the unpractised eye, when once the beholder's attention has been called to the subject, may trace in walls and towers, in the black-eyed race of men, in the two-wheeled carts, and the women's fashion of bearing burdens on their heads, the last remains of old Roman usages. But in the England of to-day, through the forest of masts which fill her harbours, beneath the canopy of smoke which overhangs her

<sup>1</sup>Two years after the publication of the present paper, the author wrote an elaborate article on *The Roman Army in Britain*, which appeared in the Berlin Philological Journal *Hermes*, and also separately. Some details in the names and numbers of auxiliary troops, in consequence of further discoveries and researches, have to undergo some slight modifications.

factories, on her soft meadowy plains, beside her bushy hills, in her shadowy parks, amid the din of her cities, and the endless magnificence of her country mansions—to recognise *there* the Britannia of the Romans requires study, deep study, of books and archæological collections, and a certain habit of self-abstraction from the overmastering influences of the present, such as is given to few. No marvel, therefore, that in London, the great emporium of the world, the city of cosmopolitan interests, in whose “Travellers’ Club” the sum of the miles journeyed over by its members has now become past counting, the number is out of all proportion small, of those persons who have devoted the few days needful to explore some of the remains of Roman dominion in their own railway-intersected land. Not in London are such explorers to be found: one must visit the little country-towns, one must go to the modest homes of the country clergy in order to find the specialists in this branch of study—the men who have delighted to devote their lives to its advancement. The regular *literati*, the professors of the two great English Universities, of the Universities of London and of Scotland, trouble themselves not about these matters. No Newton or Bentley, no Porson or Dobree, has yet condescended to notice them. Since the time of the excellent *William Camden*, Clarenceux King at Arms under Queen Elizabeth, and compiler of the *Britannia*, the first great description of the country,\* only one Englishman has set before himself the task of depicting Roman Britain on a large scale, and, with very limited means, in his homely way, approximately completed it. This was a man whose name you would in vain look for among the magnates of English literature and science; a contemporary of Bentley’s, but apparently never known to that scholar; and, to this day, even in England, scarcely mentioned out of those circles of local antiquaries to which I have just alluded, by whom, however, his book is justly held in high esteem, and bought at a high price. This man was named *John Horsley*, and in the 46 years of his life (1685–1731) he reached no higher rank than the modest position of Presbyterian minister at Morpeth, a little town of Northumberland, near the Scottish border. Even the satisfaction of seeing his folio volume, *Britannia Romana*, the result of so many years of labour, to the preparation of which he had sacrificed both health and substance, issue from the press was denied him. The book did not appear till shortly after his death, in the year 1732. Since his time the subject has been, it is true, often more or less thoroughly treated of in all sorts of great and small historical works, in essays, handbooks, and encyclopedias, published both in England and abroad. But not once has any considerable advance been made on Camden or Horsley, far less has any really exhaustive treatise yet appeared, assigning to the various authorities their due value, and discussing by their aid the various questions which present themselves for solution.

\* This book first appeared in 1586, and was six times republished during the author’s lifetime. Often since republished and expanded, down to the present century, it has now swollen from a little (Latin) quarto into four (English) folios.

And yet Britain enjoys, beyond all the later acquired provinces of the empire, this enviable privilege, that we possess a continuous history of its conquest, and of the first 40 years of its administration, from the eloquent mouth of the greatest historian of the imperial age. *Tacitus*, the glory of the Trajanic era, in his first book of historic importance, in the panegyric on his father, Gnaeus Julius Agricola, published by him A.D. 98, related, as we all know, the history of the conquest of Britain in terms of pregnant brevity. His motive for doing so was the fact that for Agricola the hero of his book, was reserved the glory, if not of absolutely completing the conquest of the island during his seven years of command, at any rate of bringing it considerably nearer than any of his predecessors. The sketch deserves all the praise which has been given to it, yet we must admit that it deals largely in rhetorical generalities. Of ethnographic and geographic details, only that which is absolutely necessary is given, and this appears to be taken from the ordinary books of reference of the time. Names, dates, numbers, topographical details, are almost entirely wanting. The author wished, after the long and enforced silence of the hated reign of Domitian, to greet the new era inaugurated by Nero and Trajan, with a short and effective piece of high rhetorical perfection, not with a detailed historical treatise. Wisely limiting his subject, he contented himself with, as much as possible, concentrating all the interest in his hero. Yet, strange as it appears to us, he does not fail to put into the mouth of the Caledonian leader Galgacus, as well as into that of Agricola himself, short speeches after the pattern of Sallust. These speeches precede the only battle-piece in the book, that of the often looked for and never found Mons Graupius.

Doubtless when, in his later and more comprehensive historical works, he came, in the course of his narrative, to the coasts of Britain, he described them with much more fullness and accuracy. The portions preserved to us of his latest work, the *Annales* (from the death of Augustus to that of Nero), enable us—with regret over that which is lost—to realise this fact with reference to at least *one* important episode—the insurrection of the British Princess Boudicca\* [Boadicea] against Suetonius Paulinus, the Legatus of Nero. Unfortunately, of the contemporary and yet more detailed work of Tacitus, which, in order of composition preceded the *Annales*, the *Historiae* (beginning with the elevation of Vespasian and ending with the death of Domitian), the greater part, as is well known, has perished. This part would just have given us the parallel representation of the deeds of Agricola in the larger frame-work of historical events, and in the more perfect style of the author's maturity as a historian.

The Greek *Dion* could still use this book for the section of his great Roman history in eighty books, written in the early decades of the third century, which related to this subject. In the remains of this work, and extracts from it, many a precious nugget of tradition is

\* *Boudicca* is now recognised by all competent scholars as the authentic form of the name of this princess, being so spelt in Roman inscriptions.

still preserved. Beyond all this, however, the information given in the *Agricola*, the *Annales*, and the *Historiae* of Tacitus, rightly understood and combined, with the information furnished by other authorities in Britain and the rest of the empire, and with the facts which can be learned from inscriptions and from architectural remains of the period still preserved on the spot, furnishes us with a clear picture of the ends pursued and the means used in the annexation of Britain,\* as well as of the most eminent men who took part therein.

The enterprise of conquering Britain came in the first rank of those bequeathed by Cæsar to his successor. Twice, in the fourth and fifth years of his eight years war of conquest in Gaul, after well weighing all the arguments for and against, had Cæsar made the attempt—it is true, with insufficient means of transport—to cross the Channel and to bring the “Island Celts” within the same circle of conquest in which their confederates on the continent were already enclosed. Both times, as every one knows, the undertaking failed utterly, from causes which are as clear as the day, and which need not here be discussed. In this way, quite apart from reasons of statesmanship, the military honour of the empire was compromised, and must sooner or later be cleared. The conquest of Britain, long looked upon as a necessary factor in the final pacification of the Gaulish and German territory, was after these events only a question of time and of the most favourable opportunity. Twice, in the years 34 and 27 B.C., had Augustus made all the preparations for a new expedition to Britain. He seems, however, at last, by his residence in Gaul in the year 8 B.C., to have convinced himself of the greatness and difficulty of the enterprise; and therefore to have given it up. In the record of his deeds he could only allege that two British princes had sought his protection, probably in consequence of domestic quarrels. We are expressly informed that diplomatic relations kept open the door of intervention for him and his successors. Tiberius himself, who otherwise, as is well known, practised the wisest moderation in external politics, looked upon the occupation of Britain, in the significant words of Tacitus, as an inevitable enterprise. He did not, however, proceed to its accomplishment. His successor, the frenzied Caius, commonly called Caligula, had enough of war in the brilliant *fiasco* of his expedition against Germany, which was probably meant to form the introduction to a British war. Thus it came to pass that the execution of the great and never wholly abandoned design was reserved for the weak-witted Claudius, the most insignificant of all the emperors of the Julian dynasty, the author of diffuse histories in Greek, the grammarian and rhetorician, the son of the valiant Drusus and of that pattern of female excellence among the Romans, Antonia;\* for Claudius, who was so unlike his great brother, Germanicus Caesar, that he passed with his contemporaries for half a Celt, because he chanced to be born in Lyons, and showed a marked predilection for his Celtic countrymen in Gaul and Spain. This stroke

\* Possibly the far-famed Clytia, in the British Museum, is a likeness of this lady.

of destiny appeared so wonderful to Tacitus that he thought Fate had surely wished to give Vespasian, the future Emperor, an opportunity of exhibiting himself to the world, since he commanded one of the legions belonging to the expeditionary army, and subdued a part of the south of England, including the Isle of Wight. Assuredly we ought not to credit Claudius himself with the military dispositions for the campaign (which was, no doubt, preceded by diplomatic negotiations). Those dispositions were the work of the experienced officers with whom he surrounded himself when, in A.D. 43, he personally entered upon the expedition. Upon the Emperor's staff were placed a number of most distinguished young officers—Galba, the future Emperor; Plautius Silvanus, probably a nephew of the Emperor, whose splendid tomb at the foot of the heights of Tivoli is known to all travellers to Rome; and the two sons-in-law of the Emperor, Junius Silanus and Pompeius Magnus, the latter a descendant of the renowned Pompeius. The special leader of all these, however, was AULUS PLAUTIUS, an elderly relation of the Emperor, who had till then exercised the next great military command in geographical position, that of the two armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine. In that capacity he was the natural leader in a war which was now finally to realise the idea of Cæsar—not only to give to the Gaulish provinces the protection of armies on the Rhine frontier, but also to secure the undefended coasts of the North by the conquest of the island which commanded them.

Cæsar had undertaken the first expedition to Britain only with two legions, but the second with five. This appears to have given roughly the measure for the order of battle of the army of Claudius, which we are able to reconstruct with approximate accuracy, though we have no information about it in the *Agricola* of Tacitus. The nucleus of the troops was composed of four legions—

II called Augusta.

IX „ Hispana.

XIV „ Gemina.

XX „ Valeria Victrix.

Three of these were withdrawn from the German, one from the Pannonian army. Naturally in forming an army the nearest troops at hand were made use of. In addition to these there came (as recent discoveries enable us to assert with confidence) a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the VIIIth Legion (also called Augusta), quartered in Mainz. Perhaps this came as a kind of body-guard of the general. By the side of the army of citizens in the legions there always marched, since the reorganisation of the host by Cæsar and Augustus, a force of what were called *Auxilia* of about equal number; that is to say, that the legion—or, as we should call it, the division—had alongside of it, but not strictly forming part of it, certain divisions of horse and foot (*Alae* and *Cohortes*) which were in other respects precisely similar to the legion in arms and organisation, but were originally recruited from the non-citizens of the provinces. We cannot speak with the same definiteness of this portion of the army as of the legions, but yet, by the help of a particular kind of inscriptions which I shall speak of hereafter, we are



able, with approximate accuracy, to fix the number even of the *Auxilia*. The result of the somewhat elaborate investigation, with whose details I need not here trouble the reader, is to show that at least twenty-four *alae* of cavalry and near upon sixty cohorts of infantry belonged to the army of Claudius, drawn, without exception, from the nationalities of the north and west—from Thrace and Pannonia, the German lands, Gaul and Spain.

Now, if we reckon the four legions, inclusive of the mounted police (about 120 in number) which were attached to them, at a round number of 6,000 each—an estimate which, in such an expedition as this, for which the *full* complement would be raised, is probably too low rather than too high,—and if we reckon the *Vexillatio* of the 8th Legion at 1,000 men—a number which is recommended to us by the analogy of similar detachments,—this computation gives us for the army, a nucleus of 25,000 legionaries.

The sixty cohorts of *Auxilia* would average from 500 to 600 men; and we must not forget the possibility that at this time, as often at a later period, there might be cohorts of a double strength (“milliary cohorts”) from 1,000 to 1,200 men. The cavalry detachments were of the same strength; and among them, too, there were sometimes double *Alae*. We thus come to a strength of *Auxiliary Infantry* of 30,000 to 36,000 men—that is, about equivalent to the Legionary Infantry—and to a corps of *Auxiliary Cavalry* of 12,000 men. We thus get for the total—

Four Legions	...	...	...	...	24,000
Vexillation (from the 8th)	...	...	...	...	1,000
Auxilia	{ Cohortes	...	...	say	33,000
	{ <i>Alae</i>	...	...	...	12,000
					<u>70,000</u>

An army of, in round numbers, 70,000 men, with the train belonging to it, is a very considerable one for that time, which was an age of highly developed military skill, but of very inadequate enlistments. The high figure says much for the importance and difficulty which was attributed to the operation. It is, of course, understood that a powerful fleet of transport ships was attached to the army to transport it, even if only in successive detachments, across the channel. There seems to have been formed from the first a special division of the fleet, the “*Classis Britannica*,” which occupied a firm position in the southern harbours (as for instance at Lymne, in Kent), and remained till the end of the Roman dominion in Britain.

As to the point or points of disembarkation, the plan of occupation and its execution, information entirely fails us. Still, it is possible, by studying the conditions of the locality, and what we know from other sources of the Roman tactics, and by using a peculiar kind of monumental testimony, to make some conjectures on these points, which can hardly be very far removed from the truth. Caesar’s precise landing-place, after all the pains bestowed on the inquiry, and the

most ingenious combination of observations of storms, currents, and tides, cannot yet be accurately determined; but, undoubtedly, this expedition, like Cæsar's, availed itself of the prevailing wind in the Channel, the south-east, to cross at the narrowest point from one or more of the poor harbours of North France direct to the British coast. Where the first landing and encampment took place is a matter of indifference. Operations would certainly commence with the concentration of the assembled army on some point, as nearly as possible in the middle of that part of the south coast which was available for landing, as to the topography of which we have now, for a long time, been in possession of all the information that we could desire. The almost unapproachable cliffs of Cornwall and Devon naturally have not come into the consideration. It can hardly be a mere accident that precisely at such an almost central point of the south-east coast, at *Chichester*, the old capital of the tribe of the Regni (now one of those quiet and charming cathedral towns described by Dickens in his last novel<sup>1</sup>), a temple was built to Neptune and Minerva, in honour of the Imperial family, by a native prince who had received from the Emperor Claudius the right of Roman citizenship and the title of *Legatus Augusti*, or, as we should say, a General *à la suite*. In the park of Goodwood, belonging to the Duke of Richmond, stands the memorial of this "King" Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, as he calls himself, a monument unnoticed by the thousands who flock yearly to "glorious Goodwood." Tacitus bears express testimony to the fact that Claudius handed over some tribes as a present to "King Cogidubnus," and that up to the time of Agricola he remained faithful to the Romans. We can have little doubt, therefore, that this was one of the first points at which the army of occupation, supported by the arts of diplomacy, gained a footing.

The state of civilisation then existing in the south of the island must not be rated too low. It was at least equal to that of the most advanced Gaulish tribes at the time of Cæsar, and superior to that of the Germans at the same epoch. In the interval between Cæsar and Claudius numerous coins of the Belgian standard had been struck by native princes, the name of the hero of romance, Cunobellinus or Cymbeline, appearing among them. There were also individual towns possessing what might relatively be termed wealth. One condition of civilisation certainly was wanting in this, as in every barbarian land—a condition of the most important kind for the onward march of an army of at least 60,000 men (I deduct 10,000 for the detachments required to guard the landing place and the stations of the fleet), and that condition was—*roads*. The chief of the engineers in the Roman army—their *præfectus fabrum*—a man whose name has not reached us, but, certainly, one of the highest rank in his profession, and a man of great acquirements in military science, no doubt then wove the first threads of that net-work of roads which afterwards gradually overspread the island in all directions. In this we see how

<sup>1</sup> *The Mystery of Edwin Drood.*

safe may be the inherited routine of an age, not in itself fruitful in great thoughts, from the fact that in such work the Romans used not to take one needless step. This fact enables us, by means of the system of roads which we find afterwards existing, and by means of the strong *castra stativa* which, at any rate, the legions then possessed, to recognise the cause of the slow but sure occupation of Britain. North-west from Chichester, and further inland, lies the city of Winchester, afterwards so renowned in the story of Saxon conquest and in church history, then known as Venta, the chief town of the mightiest of the tribes of South Britain, the Belgae, doubtless an early and vigorous off-shoot of the Continental tribe bearing that name. Here a little altar was found (now in the British Museum) erected by an "orderly" (as we should call him) of the Prefect of the Province, to the Italian, German, Gallic, and British "Matres." Of the men of these four countries the main body of the army was composed. Here, with a high degree of probability, we may fix the first seat of military, and, therefore, doubtless, also of civil supreme government. The place is, as always, chosen on a system. Just in the middle, between the two deeply penetrating estuaries of Thames and Severn, it was in direct and, no doubt, carefully guarded communication with the magnificent harbour of Southampton (the ancient Clausentum), which is itself so incomparably defended by the Isle of Wight, lying in front of it. From this point followed the further impulse eastwards and westwards, always along that chain of roads which we can trace with sufficient clearness by the Itineraries, and by their numerous remains; and, which, under various names, still remained, throughout the middle ages, the main arteries of internal communication.

The old biographers of Vespasian stated that he who, as has been already stated, was commander of one of the legions of Claudius in Britain, fought thirty battles, overcame two brave nations, and took more than twenty places belonging to them, and finally subdued the Isle of Wight, and that this was done partly under the nominally supreme command of the Emperor himself, partly under that of Aulus Plautius. The possession of the Isle of Wight was certainly one of the first objects of the occupation. I conjecture that its conquest was made as early as the first year, under the command of the Imperial staff head-quarters. In that case, Vespasian will have accomplished his other exploits in the following years under Plautius.

The most northerly point which was attained on the *east* side of the island, in these early years of the occupation, seems to have been Camulodunum, the royal castle of Cunobellinus, named after the British god of war, Camulus. It was probably conquered in the year 43. It is certain that already in the lifetime of Claudius a temple was erected to him there, probably conjointly with the goddesses Roma and Venus or Victoria, for this was the well-known designation of the Roman Venus as ancestress of the Æneadæ and the Julian house. This was the central point for the provincial worship of the Emperors, which was immediately introduced; just as the altar of Augustus in the city of the Ubii, Cologne, was for the Germans;

that of Claudius, near Lyons, at the confluence of the Rhone and Saones, for the Gauls; the temple of Augustus, at Tarragona, for Spain. Camulodunum was then called in official style, Colonia Victrix. In the oyster-renowned Colchester, which is built on its site, there is now no trace of the splendour of its barbaric era, except the lofty position of the old castle, with its wide outlook over coast and marsh-land, some remains of walls, and the usual witnesses of a Roman settlement—bronzes, gravestones, and fragments of pottery, which are preserved in the public and private museums of the town. A fine gravestone of a centurion of the XXth Legion, with a full length figure of the deceased in relief, an attractive work of art, probably of the time of Nero, is almost the only thing which can conjure up a remembrance of the past.

We have no direct evidence how far *westwards* into the country the impulse of the army in the years of the first governorship may have penetrated. However, in another way, we can obtain some information on this point. Since the days of Pytheas of Marseilles, the first Greek who gloried in having reached the uttermost Thule (meaning thereby the Orkney Islands), the wealth of the mountains of Britain in the nobler and baser metals, and the treasures of pearls in its seas, had been celebrated with fabulous exaggeration, both by prose writers and poets. Cæsar, too, when he undertook the British expedition, at least admitted it as an element in his calculations that he might possibly thereby be adding to the Roman dominions a second Spain, a new and inexhaustible source of mineral wealth. And so much is certain, that the tin and lead which were obtained from the mines of Devon, Cornwall, and the Scilly Islands, first probably eagerly worked and jealously guarded by the Phœnicians, after them by the native population, had from time immemorial held a foremost place among the articles of export from the island. On the eastern shore of the Severn estuary, and south of the Avon, in the northern part of what is now the county of Somerset, lies the still worked mining district of the Mendip Hills. These were the first British mines occupied by the Romans. The mountainous regions of Devon and Cornwall were still, as at their first landing, left unattacked by them. The only Roman places in those regions, Durnovaria (the modern Dorchester), the capital of the Durotrigæ, from whom the country of Dorset takes its name, and Isca (Exeter) the chief town of the Dumnonii, do not appear to have become of importance till a much later period. But in the Mendip Hills there have been discovered at various times since the XVIth century, about 40 pigs of lead bearing Latin inscriptions stamped on them. These inscriptions contain, in far the greatest number of cases, the name of the reigning Emperor, as being the rightful owner of the mine, and of the mine itself; sometimes, however, we meet with the name of a private individual. In some cases the information is added that the metal has been obtained from an ore of silver. The pigs vary in weight from 50 to 225 lbs., avoirdupois. The latest Imperial names that have hitherto been found upon them are those of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

But the earliest of them all, now in the British Museum, weighing 163 lbs., bears the name of Britannicus and the year 49. Thus, only six years after the invasion, we meet with the name of the heir-apparent, who was then only seven years old, and who died in his fourteenth year. It was assuredly with the consent of the Emperor, whose own name, by some accident, has not been met with on any of the pigs, that the name of his son was stamped on this product of the new province; and so far at least the Roman occupation must have proceeded in its earliest years. We may, with some probability, indicate the line—

Bath	...	Silchester	...	London
(Aquæ Sulis)	...	(Calleva)	...	(Londinium)

with the advanced post of Colchester (Camulodunum) as the first northern boundary of the new province.

In the year 44, one year after the landing, the Emperor was already back in Rome, celebrating his Britannic triumph. Six years later, in memory of this triumph, the splendid arch was erected in the Campus Martius, the remains of which, in the 16th century, still spanned the Corso, near the Sciarra Palace. Its large reliefs, representing the march of the army past the Emperor and his generals, are still partially preserved, and are visible in the open entrance hall of the Villa Borghese. Of the inscription on the arch, a huge marble tablet with great inlaid letters of brass, only one-half is still preserved; it is built up in the wall of a terrace near the Barberini Palace. Therein the Emperor boasts of having, without loss of his own soldiers, vanquished and subdued eleven British kings, and been the first to incorporate with the empire, the barbarians on the other side of the ocean. A second arch, erected in honour of the Emperor at the point of the Gaulish coast from which the expedition set forth, has vanished, leaving no trace. The epithet of Britannicus was refused for himself by Claudius who thus followed the example of his step-grandfather, Augustus, but it was borne thenceforward by his son, the before-mentioned son of Messalina (previously called Germanicus), whose melancholy fate has been rendered famous by the poetry of Corneille.

For a space of three years longer (44-47) did Aulus Plautius, the first Governor of Britain, prolong his administration of the newly won province, that is to say, the southern portion of the island. On his return he received the honour of an ovation, the lesser triumph. This result tells a plainer tale than bulletins of battle; the expedition must have been so well prepared beforehand, and conducted with such good fortune, as to be completely successful.

Claudius, the squinting stammerer with water on the brain, the butt of his contemporaries, the man who had proved the truth of the proverb that one must be born a king or an idiot,—Claudius had, as if in joke, obtained the prize of which Cæsar's good fortune and Augustus's foresight had been balked. He could truly boast, in the oration which is still preserved to us on the great tablet of brass in the museum of his native city, Lyons, that he had extended the empire across Oceanus. In the Roman Anthology are to be found no fewer

than eight epigrams by the poets of the court, good, bad, and indifferent, celebrating the great event. In one of the cleverest but most malicious satires that have come down to us from antiquity, the younger Seneca's Apotheosis (or rather Apocolocyntosis, that is, not deification but pumpkinification) of Claudius, the author makes the unhappy Emperor—who, upon his consecration, has tried to enter Olympus, and on the motion of Augustus, unanimously approved by the gods, has been kicked out of the realms above and sent down to Orcus—sing a dirge of lamentation, in which among other things occurs this passage, with an evident allusion to the vain-glorious inscription in the Arch of Triumph, "I compelled the Britons on the further shore of the yet known sea, and the Brigantes with their blue shields, to load their necks with the heavy Roman chains, and I made Ocean himself tremble before the new sway of the axes of Rome."

## II.—THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN FROM NERO TO HADRIAN.

It is not my intention to trouble the reader with a historico-antiquarian commentary on the *Agricola* of Tacitus. True, there is none at present which one could recommend to persons desirous of a scientific treatment of the subject, and, apart from the charm of novelty which would attach to much that might be here brought forward, even what is already known is by no means devoid of general interest. In short sketches, the unrivalled master has in his historical style, in which poetry is blended with rhetoric, given a sharply outlined sketch of each of the predecessors of Agricola and his plan of action, of the successive steps of the occupation and Romanisation of the country. And the contour lines, again, of these sketches gain life and colour through the universal analogy of that which has been elsewhere recorded of a similar character, and through the details supplied by monuments and inscriptions. Only the execution of this task would require wider space and a more prolix style of narration than we can here indulge in. It must suffice here to give simply the skeleton of events, and the leading principles of the progressive annexation of Britain, without those details which are reserved for history proper, without a thorough description of the persons engaged, and without tracing the varying fortunes of the struggle as it was waged under different Emperors.

About ten years after the commencement of the occupation, a considerable number of legionaries had finished their term of service, and it became necessary to provide for the settlement of these veterans in the new province, in order thus to prepare, according to the well-known principles of Roman administration, a settled nucleus of inhabitants, from whose close and constant intercourse with the fortified encampments of the troops, urban life, trade, manufactures, art, and education might regularly develope themselves. Thus did the Roman camp-towns everywhere arise, whose rectangular formation is

yet capable of recognition, at least in the streets and gateways, in the walls and towers of so many modern towns. More plainly still in those places where the sand of the desert alone covers them, and has kept them to our own day in almost untouched completeness, as with the French penal colony, Lambessa (formerly Lambæsis) in Algiers.

The first colony of veterans in Britain, founded in Nero's time, under the immediate successor of Aulus Plautius was that of Camulodunum. On account of the provincial worship which, as we have seen, was centralised there, it became the chief capital of the new province, and lost, little by little, its character as the fortified station of the XIVth Legion, the Tamers of Britain, as they were called in the army. London, which was assuredly already the most important trading place in the country, was probably, at the same time, the seat of a Roman custom-house for goods imported by Gaulish and German merchants, and maintained a station for the fleet. The other old fortresses of the native princes, such as Durovernum, the castle of the Cantii (Canterbury), Calleva (Silchester), Verulamium (Verulam near St. Albans), Durocornovium (Cirencester), and others, never became important Roman towns. We can see where the old earthworks fortifying the camp were in some degree built up and retained in good preservation by the consistent and easily understood usage of the Saxon conquerors, who called all such places expressly, *castrum* (*ceaster*) or camp. On the other hand, the older forts, built in places of great natural strength generally on high ground and without Roman fortifications were known by them as *burgs* (Canterbury, Shrewsbury, Peterborough), or, at any rate, by their old names without the addition of *ceaster*. It must not be supposed, from the extreme frequency of the termination *chester*, or its equivalents, in English names of places, that there were in the province an equal number of Roman fortresses in the proper sense of the word—fortified encampments with permanent garrisons. In this stricter sense we can, in the southern portion of the island, point to but *one* Roman fortress besides Colchester. This is Glevum, an old settlement of the tribe of the Dobuni, called by the Saxons, Gleavanceaster, the modern Gloucester, a name whose mere sound, thanks to the mighty spell thrown upon us by Shakespeare, fills us with a sort of tragic awe. We now know, but the complete evidence has only just been collected by a modest local antiquary (Mr. John Bellows), that in this place another of the British legions, the Second, surnamed Augusta, erected its first *castra stativa*, round which also there soon grew up a colony of veterans. Strangely enough, Gloucester lies, as a glance at the map will show, in almost precisely the same parallel of latitude as Colchester; and both are almost exactly equidistant from Calleva (Silchester), the first point of intersection of the two great high roads which lead northward to the east and west of the island. It is possible, therefore, that the line—Gloucester, Silchester, Colchester—formed the second northern frontier of the enlarged province which was meanwhile secured by an extended system of roads and by new stations for the fleet on both coasts.

These fixed camps of the legions were the natural bases of the further operations. The remaining legions and the collected *Auxilia* of cavalry and infantry were distributed in provisional camps and garrison towns. At each march onwards into hostile territory the General naturally sought at once to win fresh and secure bases of operation, on a small scale for each district, as well as on a large scale for the whole country. From Gloucester the onward impulse proceeded in the direction of Wales, the scarce-accessible land of the Silures and Ordovices. Venta and Isca, both situated in Wales, indicate pretty well the first line of march. The first, a town of the Silures, now called Caerwent, must not be confounded with the Belgian Venta (Winchester). The second was, in the 3rd century, the head-quarters of the II<sup>nd</sup> Legion, and thence obtained the name of *Castra Legionis*, or Caerleon, *Caer* being the Welsh representative of *Castra*.

The campaign of PUBLIUS OSTORIUS SCAPULA, the successor of Plautius (47-53), and also a distinguished officer, ends, it is true, with the rout of the Britons, so graphically described in the *Annales* of Tacitus, and with the captivity of their prince, Caratacus, the Caradoc of romance. It, however, by no means brought about the effectual occupation of the country (Wales), which was not accomplished till twenty years later.

In the next six years (53-59) the frontiers of the province were not extended. Then SÜETONIUS PAULINUS, a brave and ambitious but not sufficiently cautious General, the rival of Corbulo, won, considerably further to the north, on the estuary of the Deva, a new station for the third of the legions in Britain (the 20th, Valeria Victrix). This station then bore the same name as the river, but was afterwards called *The Camp* simply, (*Castra* = Chester). Paulinus then sought (61) to cross over the straits of Bangor, now spanned by the far-famed railway bridge, and to conquer the island of Anglesey, the ancient Mona. He may have imagined that desert plateau of rock to be larger and more important than it really is. Segontium (Caer Seiont) was probably then built by him in order to protect the crossing.\*

Meanwhile, however, the first and terribly dangerous rebellion of the subject princes and peoples against the Roman yoke broke out in the east of the island, and even, after careful pre-arrangement on the part of the insurgents, in Camulodunum itself, whose camp was then occupied only by a weak garrison. The military levy and the taxation, both often enforced with violence and injustice, made the common people, otherwise generally disposed for quiet, willing to co-operate in the high-flying schemes of Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni. They had fallen, as they often said to one another, "out of the frying-pan into the fire."† Instead of one prince they had now two, the

\* *Aquæ Sulis* (Bath) and *Viroconium* (Wroxeter), British towns, which never have been Roman *castra*, possessed in this time already a Roman population, as the tombstones of soldiers and veterans found there show.

† Lit., "had come from the rain into the gutter." (*Sie seien von Regen in die Traufe gekommen.*)



Legatus and Procurator of the Emperor. The first took their sons from the plough; the second their gold out of the chest and their corn out of the barn. The shameless injustice of the officials of the Empire towards the princely house, and the intolerable insolence of the veterans towards the common people, brought their own reward. Signs and wonders lent their aid to rouse the people to fanaticism. It was said that the statue of the Goddess of Victory in the temple of Claudius had either fallen from its place or else turned round on its pedestal as if it were ready to depart. The garrison and the veterans were alike massacred. Petillius Cerealis, the legatus of the nearest legion, (the IXth), who first marched against the insurgents, was beaten by them, and only just succeeded in holding his entrenchments with the scanty remainder of his forces, till at last Suetonius Paulinus, with a part of the army, appeared for his succour. This General was obliged to abandon flourishing cities like Londinium and Verulamium to the flames, and their Roman population to the Barbarians' revenge and thirst for plunder, in order not to squander his strength. However, the superior tactics of the Roman army sufficed to nip the insurrection in the bud, and by one victorious engagement to preserve the whole province for the Empire. All this is told by Tacitus in the *Annales* with far more detail and keener insight than in the *Agricola*. The recital of this and similar events in the age of Nero serves to bring out the political decay of the monarchy along with the strange moral degradation of its highest classes. But even though the star of the Julian dynasty was about to set, these events prove, on the other hand, that not yet was the Empire in any degree tottering in its true strongholds—the army and the provincial administration. However dangerous this episode may have been, it gave no abiding check to the progress of the occupation of Britain: Chester does not appear to have been for a moment abandoned.

The first Legatus of Vespasian, PETILLIUS CEREALIS (71–75), the same whom we have already seen in command of the IXth Legion, pressed forward through the east of the island, from Camulodunum, against the most powerful and most warlike of British tribes, the Brigantes. Their name, even in dealing with the events of an earlier time, was used by Seneca and Tacitus as almost equivalent to that of Britons, so great was the impression which it had made in Rome. It is only an accidental coincidence that it so nearly corresponds in sound with the word which we derive from modern Italian, *brigands* (in Italian *brigante*). Vespasian, who knew from his own experience the difficulties of the task, at once sent to England, from Pannonia, the 2nd supplemental legion (Secunda Adjutrix), which he had recently raised from the crews of the fleet. This was by way of relief for the 14th, which had in the meantime been ordered back to Germany, for the war against the Batavian Cerealis, and never returned. The 2nd received from Cerealis permanent head-quarters in the colony of Lindum, which thence received its modern name of Lincoln (Lindum Colonia). Lindum and Deva lie again, like Camulodunum and Glevum, in almost the same parallel of latitude. The former is between that great inden-

tation of the flat eastern coast, called "The Wash," and the harbour-like estuary of the Humber; the second between the mouths of the Dee and the Mersey, near the modern harbour of Liverpool, and thus both are in the most favourable points possible for intercourse by sea.

Meanwhile, **SEXTUS JULIUS FRONTINUS** (75-78), the successor of Cerealis in the command, one of the most eminent of Vespasian's officers, the learned author of books on strategy and engineering which are still preserved to us, had finally subdued the mountainous country of Wales, so that the larger southern half of the country was now Roman. The Chester-Lincoln line clearly indicates the third northern frontier of the province, at a relatively narrow portion of the island.

The successor of Frontinus in the command was **GNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA**. The fact that this general, appointed by Vespasian, was continued in the command by that Emperor's sons and successors, Titus and Domitian, making his total tenure of the office more than seven full years (78-85), or more than twice the usual time, testifies to the high degree of confidence which he had learned how to inspire and to maintain. The masterly sketch of his government of the province and his warlike deeds, which we owe to the piety of his son-in-law, does, in its natural and pardonable zeal, slightly exaggerate the importance of the achievements, though certainly not the nobleness of the man. Two sorts of enterprise might, according to his view of the nature of the situation, have been proposed to himself by an ambitious officer, experienced in war and of untiring energy—and such was the character of Agricola—either to crown the labour of his predecessors, by completely and definitively pacifying all the territory within the limits already reached (and this had certainly, as yet, by no means been accomplished), or to surpass his predecessors by winning for the Empire the widest possible space of still unconquered territory—if possible, the whole island. Agricola seems, in fact, to have attempted both enterprises in succession, and not entirely succeeded in either.

In the first year of his command (78) he succeeded in quelling an attempt at insurrection by the *Ordovices*, who had almost entirely cut to pieces the *Ala* of cavalry stationed as a guard upon them, in a camp with whose name we are not acquainted. He also, by the help of the *Batavian* cohorts, who were excellent swimmers, succeeded in definitively conquering Anglesey, an undertaking which Suetonius Paulinus had been compelled to relinquish.

In the second year (79) the work of pacification within the existing borders made some progress, in what direction we cannot say, as no names of peoples or places have been preserved to us.

In the third summer (80) (the winter, according to the old custom, was always passed in quarters) he pressed on towards the north, and occupied a new portion of territory, probably on the eastern coast; but the bay of the sea up to which he pushed his garrisons, the estuary of Tanaum (so named in the manuscripts of the *Agricola*) is otherwise entirely unknown, and cannot be geographically fixed with certainty.\*

\* It cannot possibly have been the Firth of Tay. One feels inclined to suggest the estuary of the Tees.

In the fourth year (81) begins the great expedition with the whole moveable army, which we must look upon as the cause of Agricola's prolonged command. The narrative of Tacitus (perhaps intentionally) does not give especial prominence to this obscure section of the history. Only this is clear, that a special expeditionary corps must have been formed for the purpose out of all the available troops; but its composition and strength we can only conjecture approximately from the details as to the last battle which Agricola fought with its aid. It must, with legions, cavalry, and auxiliary cohorts, have amounted in all to close upon 30,000 men, or more than half of the then army of Britain. A naval squadron accompanied the expedition, probably along the east coast. We must here observe that although Vespasian had again brought up the number of the legions to its original figure—four, the legion which he sent over (*Secunda Adjutrix*) had since returned to Pannonia in consequence of Domitian's German campaign, and thereby Lincoln lost its garrison. Agricola, so we are told with terse brevity, marched northwards to the estuaries Clota and Bodotria, and occupied this line with forts. These are, as can be abundantly proved from other sources, the Firth of Clyde and Firth of Forth, in Scotland. It is the Glasgow-Edinburgh line which is here presented to us, the most northerly which was ever reached by the Roman occupation, and that not till nearly a century later. For it was on this line, as will hereafter appear, that the Emperor Antoninus Pius placed the northernmost boundary-wall of the empire. Here, in the representation of the deeds of Agricola, there is an obvious chasm which probably the later explanation in the last portion of the *Histories* would have supplied. It is inconceivable that an advance so far northwards into the enemy's country, and even across this line, would have been undertaken even by the boldest of generals, until the vast area between the Chester-Lincoln line in the south and the Glasgow-Edinburgh line in the north had been, in the approved fashion, occupied with at least *one* strong garrison, and thus, the communications by land and sea being secured, the necessary line of retreat, and the possibility of forwarding supplies and reinforcements, had been guaranteed. The territory of the Brigantes, which occupies just that middle portion of the island, must necessarily, like all the earlier occupied territories, have been first subdued before an onward march so far beyond it could rationally have been thought of. Now, both by the evidence of historians and by that of inscriptions, it is established beyond doubt that, at latest under the rule of Trajan, *Eburacum*, the modern York, the old chief place of the Brigantes, became the head-quarters of the last of the three (now only three) British legions, namely the IXth (*Hispana*), and at the same time, the military centre of the country. [I say at latest under Trajan, but I hold that this change was made earlier, in the reign of Domitian, and by Agricola.] It is easily understood that, after the centre of gravity of the military operations had been transferred into the middle and northern half of the island, while the whole of the south, under the influences of an abiding peace, was becoming more and more thoroughly Romanised, the distant Colchester would no

longer seem a suitable place for the lodging of the Legatus and his staff; while, at the same time, the camp of the XIVth Legion, once pitched there, had, as above stated, gradually disappeared. At Chester, and yet more at York, large buildings, from the end of the first century, were, for the first time, erected for military purposes, in their native fashion, by the British legions (the XXth and IXth respectively); and for this purpose they used the necessary tiles. In the southern fortresses they were contented with the rubble which they found already in use, and with timber. In the beautiful museum at York, which has been formed in the still remaining chambers and in the gardens of the old Abbey of St. Mary's, outside the city wall, entire graves of the legionaries are to be found, made of the great stamped tiles of the IXth Legion. At York was situated the Prætorium of the governor, as we are expressly informed by a Greek inscription. Here, too, though to a small extent in comparison with other provinces, a municipal life was developed side by side with the military. Here the soldiers, coming as they did from all parts of the world, introduced foreign worships of all kinds. Here died the Emperors Septimius Severus and Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine. York, thenceforward, was indisputably the capital of the province. The inference that Agricola is to be considered as its special founder can hardly be refuted, even though there is no mention of the fact in the writings of Tacitus. A fortress—more or less—erected by him at a time when no one could foresee the future importance of *this* fortress, might easily seem immaterial and not worth mentioning in the estimate of his deeds. York lies at a middle point between the two seas, and is nearly equidistant from Lincoln and Chester. The strategic system of occupation seems here to have concentrated all its forces in one powerful centre, which made the necessary basis for a forward march northwards. We are expressly informed by Tacitus that in the opinion of experts, Agricola was considered exceptionally skilled in the choice of strategical positions, and that no stronghold which he had fortified ever succumbed to a hostile attack, or was abandoned by capitulation or flight. As he certainly did not find the station of Eboracum in existence before him he must surely have founded it himself. Nor can this be the only one that he called into being, since Cumberland, Northumberland, and the whole south of Scotland must have been at least in some degree occupied before he attained to the Glasgow-Edinburgh line.

In the fifth year of the war (82) he crossed by sea, apparently over the Firth of Clyde, to West Scotland—Argyleshire and Arran; for it was here that the thought occurred to him how easy it would be to occupy Ireland, whose shore he saw confronting him. According to the long established rule of Roman policy, "*Divide et impera*," he established diplomatic relations with a party of native princes. At a later period he frequently remarked to his son-in-law that Ireland could be subdued and kept down with one single legion and moderate *Auxilia*; and that this achievement would also facilitate the pacification of Britain, since then, instead of looking across the seas into a free

country, she would see herself everywhere encompassed by the garrisons of Rome. Misled by inaccurate maps, people supposed that Ireland lay about half-way between Britain and Spain; the resemblance of the name Hibernia to *Hiberus* (as the Romans pronounced the name of the Ebro), and the Iberian land, seems to have contributed to this result. This being so, Ireland seemed the natural connecting link between the three western provinces—Spain, Gaul, and Britain. If, notwithstanding this suggestion, Domitian, or his military advisers, refused the IVth Legion (which was required for the purpose, since none of the three then garrisoning Britain could be spared from that work), and the corresponding number of *Auxilia* which were included in Agricola's demand (and this refusal is what we read between the lines of Tacitus), we must allow that their refusal was, on the face of it, a wise one.

The expedition to Ireland was given up: that island was never occupied by the Romans. In the sixth year of the war (83) Agricola marched into Eastern Scotland, in spite of the well-founded warnings of some of his officers (the army, on the other hand, apparently burned with desire now at length to reach the utmost bound of the island), and in spite of the fact that the army being divided into three for the forward march, the weak IXth Legion was again defeated and almost exterminated in a night skirmish. With the help of his fleet he occupied the further side of the Firth of Forth. In the part of Tacitus's narrative which narrates these transactions, oratorical and unusually copious as it is, the story unfortunately loses all further geographical details. The few names of places which have, after all, reached us—the Mount Graupius, the tribe of the Borestae, and the Trucculensian harbour—unfortunately cannot be geographically identified with even approximate precision. The fact is that the manuscripts of Agricola read the name Graupius; in the seventeenth century some *literati*, following the then prevalent reading of Tacitus, Grampius, gave the name Grampian to the whole chain of mountains which, passing to the north of Blair Athol, travels crosswise through Scotland from south-west to north-east. This misspelling and misappropriation of the name has misled even the latest editors of the *Agricola*.

So much, however, is clear. The victory over Galgacus and his Caledonians in the next summer, the seventh year of the war (84), on Mount Graupius, notwithstanding Agricola's fine harangue to his troops, was bought only by heavy losses, and its strategic value was, in fact, *nil*. One of the German cohorts of the long-renowned tribe of the Usipii, which was stationed at one of the Roman camps on the coast, perhaps at Uxellodunum (Maryport, in Cumberland), slew their few Roman officers and endeavoured, with three transport ships, to reach their home. This mutiny, in spite of the tragic end of the audacious Viking voyage, was not unknown to the enemy, and set an extremely dangerous example. A retreat had to be ordered, and that without delay, however the necessary delay in the construction of winter quarters might preserve the appearance of unbroken courage. In fact the army receded upon the line of York, which was perhaps

now first selected before all similar settlements on account of its central position, and erected into a fortress of the first rank. Northwards of York no monument has been found which reaches into the pre-Trajanic era. The fleet, however, following the example of Pytheas, circumnavigated the whole island, and accomplished the feat—geographically interesting, but of no political importance—of gazing upon the end of the world: the “Ultima Thule.”

After this hard lesson no Roman army again penetrated so far north. In the following year (85) Agricola was recalled, and was coldly received by the Emperor, although he received the highest military distinction—the honour of a Triumph. Both this fact and the further rebuffs which he experienced during the eight years which intervened before his death are to be attributed, no doubt, to the jealous hatred of Domitian. This characteristic quality of the Emperor, insisted upon by Tacitus on every occasion, is no doubt in the main accurately portrayed. Still, it must be confessed that the two great tasks which were set before Agricola he had not accomplished. He had won no new northern boundary for the province, and by his Scotch expedition he had rather promoted than checked the rebellion which was everywhere threatening to break out among the Brigantes.

With the close of Tacitus's biography ends all our continuous information as to the history of the British province. There may have been some good reason for the fact that Trajan, who was, all things considered, the greatest of Roman Emperors, does not appear to have interposed his strong right hand in the destinies of Britain as of almost all the other provinces of the empire. Unfortunately we have received from antiquity not one single connected account of his reign, and our traditions about him are too scanty and too full of gaps to permit us to indulge in more than conjectures as to the cause of this abstention. Some of his Legati in Britain, like SALVIUS LIBERALIS, who was a not inconsiderable orator, and NERATIUS MARCELLUS, well known as a learned jurist, evidently took permanent possession of a moderate extent of territory northwards from York, occupying it in the old-fashioned way by means of camps and roads. Unfortunately for us, none of them had a Tacitus for his son-in-law. *One* fact, however, tells its own history. The IXth Legion, towards the end of the reign of Trajan (to which time its latest monuments, preserved in York, have to be referred), vanishes clean out of the list of the Roman army, and is replaced under Hadrian by the VIth, surnamed *Victrix*, which, after Augustus, had had its headquarters in Spain, more recently in Xanten, on the Lower Rhine. From this time onwards it acted as garrison at York. The IXth, which had been already twice almost annihilated, first under Petillius Cerealis in fight against Boudicca, and secondly under Agricola before the battle of Mount Graupius, and probably since the latter event had never regained its full strength, must have found its end in the battles against the Brigantes.

So ends the second section of the history of the annexation of Britain.

## III.—HADRIAN'S WALL.

JUST as, to the astonishment of contemporaries, it had fallen to the lot of the insignificant Claudius to carry through in Britain the plans of his great predecessors, Julius and Augustus, even so was it reserved, not for Trajan, but for his far less warlike successor Hadrian, to make an essential change in the system of occupation which had hitherto prevailed. The still unbroken resistance of the Brigantes (commemorated by the poets of the day, one of whom, Juvenal, had been himself an officer in Britain), and the annihilation of the IXth Legion, compelled him to take certain strategic measures, from which we date a new epoch in the government of the province.

Hadrian is the creator of that astonishing monument of Roman dominion in Britain, the name of which, but by no means its full significance, is known, in the widest circles—the Picts' Wall, as it used to be called, or the Roman Wall as we now call it—concerning which every English boy, and many a German, learns at school, to forget all about it afterwards. I will endeavour to give a short sketch of this work, founded on personal observations, and on a thorough study of all the important treatises relating to it.

From the mouth of the Tyne, east of Newcastle, to the Solway Firth, an arm of the sea west of Carlisle, there stretched right across the island a vast continuous system of walls and towers, of earthworks and fosses, of great and little *castella*, which were linked together by a Roman road, of which the easily recognisable remains still survive. Notwithstanding the long-continued wars with the northern barbarians, from the sixth century onwards, and the destructive influence which they must necessarily have exerted, great pieces of this work were still so well preserved all through the middle ages, that they were continuously used for purposes of defence, as contemporary chronicles show, in the feuds of the English and Scottish borderers, or of individual earls and barons with one another. It was the union of the two kingdoms, and the increasing prosperity of the country owing to the peace, which first commenced the gradual decay of this edifice. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the border between England and Scotland was so unsafe, by reason of thieves and mosstroopers who found snug harbourage in the decaying works of the Wall, that the learned Sir Robert Cotton, and his companion from the Herald's Office, William Camden, author of the *Britannia*, who wished to visit the Wall in the year 1599, were obliged with great regret to abandon their project. The following century, the 17th, the great crisis of the political revolutions, and, at the same time, of the development of the material prosperity of England, was, for these very reasons, not generally favourable to antiquarian research. At length, in the third decade of the 18th century, the wall was visited by Antiquaries—namely, by the very imaginative William Stukeley, of London, in the year 1734; by the modest Scottish music-master, Alexander Gordon, in 1727; and, at length, by the excellent John Horsley, whom I have already mentioned, and, by these men it was, however, im-

perfectly described. By that time much, had already disappeared which was still visible in the 16th century; more, however, was silently removed by the great impulse since given to the cultivation of the country, by improved agriculture, and the formation of roads. All this went to the heart of the local antiquary, who had to look on and see the swampy trenches of the Wall year by year growing drier and coming under the plough; the unprofitable stone heaps of walls and castles broken up and sold, their materials used for farm-houses and cow-byres, the once stony land turned into a fruitful field. Yes, all this was pain and grief to the antiquary; but it was joy and profit to the owner and occupier, who prized the seats of an earlier culture all round the Roman settlements as especially fertile, and who saw the produce of the soil in these regions gradually multiplied till it was tenfold what it had once been. The highway from Newcastle to Carlisle, which, till about 50 years ago, when the railway was made, was the main artery of communication between the two seas, runs for considerable portions of its course on the broad back of the Roman Wall, which the engineers simply appropriated as their foundation, thereby considerably reducing the cost of construction. It is true that on the same occasion, and yet more at a later period, when the railway was formed, accidental "finds" of all sorts of antiquities stimulated the zeal of collectors and repairers, and led afterwards to systematic excavations. Thus the omissions and the neglect of previous centuries have now been, in some measure, made good by redoubled vigilance in observing, collecting, and publishing.

After Horsley, John Hodgson, the painstaking historian of his native county Northumberland (after 1820), and pre-eminently for the last 30 years, J. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle, have done the greatest service in clearing up the history and describing the manner of building and the antiquities of the Wall. Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, caused to be executed at his own cost [by Henry McLauchlan] a careful topographic survey of the whole Wall, and the Roman roads and castles which were connected with it, making, at the same time, excavations at various points. Roman antiquities of every kind from the whole North of England are preserved in the public collections of Durham, Newcastle, and Carlisle; in the private museums of the Duke of Northumberland, at his splendid castle of Alnwick; and in the not less interesting collection of Mr. John Clayton, at Chesters, on the Wall. The copiously illustrated works of Dr. Bruce, the *Description of the Wall* (1867), and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, a collection of the stone monuments of the entire North, published in 1875 by the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, to a certain extent make up to a distant student the lack of personal inspection.

For the scientific reconstruction of the Wall and its camps, two kinds of documents are now at our disposal:—

I.—When it became necessary to provide the camps on the line of the Wall with permanent garrisons, the British legions, reduced to three in number, as I have said, were already assigned to their



respective quarters (at Glevum, Deva, and Eburacum); moreover, none of the camps were constructed on so large a scale as to accommodate a whole legion, but only so as to contain one or more *cohortes* or *alae*, or other small detachments. Thus it is not the *legiones*, but the *auxilia*, with which we have now to deal. Now the names and numbers of the auxiliary forces stationed in Britain are given in five inscriptions on bronze tablets, which have been found in the island, and which are now preserved in the British Museum. These are the so-called *military diplomas*, bronze tablets in the form of diptychs, containing some particular soldier's copy (engraved in the usual double fashion, both within and without the diploma), of an imperial *privilegium*, which, for the non-citizens serving in particular corps therein named, and for the veterans, legitimates retrospectively after a certain number of years of service, their marriages with foreign wives, and bestows upon them the rights of citizenship, as well as other privileges. Nearly eighty of such documents have now been found, in all the provinces of the empire, covering the period from Claudius to Diocletian; it may be said that they supply us with the army list of the Roman host. The five diplomas which relate to the British army belong to the years 98, 103, 105, 124, and 146 of our era; and thus to the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. Together with the other inscribed stones found in England, they give us an almost complete survey of the *cohortes* and *alae* which once garrisoned the numerous stations of the province. This is one species of documentary evidence as to the British troops; and it gives also the basis for a statistical computation of the non-legionary portion of the army of Claudius, for a detailed examination leads us to the surprising result, that by far the largest part of the auxiliary troops had been, from the beginning, in the province, and remained there till its final evacuation. At any rate, hardly one cohort or ala was permanently removed from Britain; involuntary departures, like that of the mutinous cohort of Usipii, were replaced by fresh enlistments. On the other hand, so far as we can judge by comparing the statistics of the corps which garrisoned the other provinces, no considerable augmentation of the original muster-rolls seems to have taken place during the same interval.

II.—A confirmation hereof is afforded to us by the *second* kind of documentary evidence, which has a bearing on this question. It is well-known that we still possess the State Hand-book of the two empires, known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which was compiled under the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius in the first decades of the fifth century. This book contains the distribution of the army through the provinces. It is this book alone that we have to thank for the knowledge of the names of most of the Roman stations along the Wall. The corps of soldiery which are reported as doing garrison duty therein, are, almost without exception, the same which we know, from the diplomas and from inscriptions, to have been stationed there since the beginning of the first century. So little liable to changes, at any rate as regards its component parts, was the organisation of the army during the three first centuries of our era.

The idea of formally closing the frontiers of the empire by a series of fortified works at places adapted thereto, was not for the first time carried into execution in Britain. The earliest example may, perhaps, have been set by the Median Wall between Euphrates and Tigris, mentioned in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the building of which was ascribed by legend to Semiramis. On the Lower Rhine we find Tiberius already beginning a similar boundary wall against the Germans. From the Sieg and Lahn to near Aschaffenburg, on the Main, and then again from the Main at Wertheim to the Danube, above Ratisbon, was carried the line of the most extensive work of the kind, the German Pfahlgraben, erected chiefly under Trajan and Hadrian. Unfortunately, of this we still lack a complete topographical survey such as we possess for its English rival. On the Lower Danube, from river to sea, parallel to the section of the railway from Tschernavodja to Kustendsche (Constantia); are still preserved the ruins of a similar erection of Trajan's. Hadrian, the greatest builder of any age, whose edifices surpass even those of the Kings of Egypt and Assyria in number, variety, and extent, came himself to Britain in the year 121—the poets of his court celebrated the inconceivable self-denial of this journey—and there conceived the idea, not indeed of hermetically sealing up the empire from the north by such a building—that idea, owing to a false analogy derived from the Chinese Wall, has often been quite incorrectly attributed to him—but rather of changing the character of the defensive warfare which had been hitherto carried on upon the border, and which, like every true system of defence, had also in it an element of the offensive. Henceforward, instead of a mere bundle of castles loosely tied together by roads, there was to be *one* prolonged frontier castle, which might serve as a firm basis of operations, not only against the north, but also against the south, where the loyalty of the Brigantes was by no means assured. Gates and roads led northwards across the Wall; advanced posts pushed out in the same direction showed that then, at least, the Roman authorities were by no means prepared to renounce the schemes of Agricola, and to abandon the northernmost portion of the island for ever to the barbarians.

Beginning at Wallsend, near the mouth of the Tyne, to the east of the smoke-famed City of Newcastle, with its Norman keep and its modern High Level Bridge, the Wall runs for about eighty Roman or seventy-four English miles, a straight course over hill and dale, till it reaches Bowness, on the southern shore of the Solway Firth. Throughout its entire course the work is evidently divided into three different parts—on the south side a wall of earth; on the north the stone wall with little forts and a multitude of sentry-boxes [turrets]; between them the seventeen great stations, and the line of road which connected them one with another.

The *earth-wall* [Vallum] on the south itself consists of three portions. A fosse 30 feet broad (in round numbers) and 10 feet deep lies in the middle of the work. A single mound rises to the north of this fosse and a double one to the south, each at a distance of 24 feet.

The northern mound, and the innermost of the two southern mounds, are each 6 to 7 feet high, with rounded and slowly rising profiles. the southernmost mound is somewhat lower. The core of the mound is often, especially in swampy ground, irregular rubble stone-work. The distance of the collective earth-work [Vallum] from the Wall on the north varies between 180 and 200 feet. In one place, about half-way between the two seas, where the Wall climbs the rocks to a height of more than 300 feet above the sea level, while the Vallum keeps to the bottom of the valley, the interval between them is as much as 500 feet. The earth-work is at both ends some miles shorter than that which is built of stone.

This *stone-wall* on the north, as is shown by the still almost uniformly visible foundations, is from 6 to 8 feet broad. Its original heights, crowned with battlements, are, of course, no longer to be seen. Bede, who lived in the eighth century, at the neighbouring convents of Wearmouth and Jarrow, south of the Tyne estuary, saw it still 12 feet high. Various witnesses in the sixteenth century speak of it as in several places still 16 feet high—8 to 10 is the height still reached in one part of its course. It was probably originally about 20 feet high. The core of the Wall is composed of what is called *opus incertum*—a concrete, hard as rock, of great and little blocks of stone welded together with mortar. The northern front is faced with tolerably regular blocks of moderate dimensions, generally 20 inches long, 10 broad, and 8 high, which as a rule have their long side laid in the depth of the Wall, while their short side is turned outwards. The southern front is systematically treated with less care and regularity; the blocks are smaller and more unsightly than in the north.

The stone that has been used is a pretty hard quartz-like sandstone, which is found in the heights south of the Wall. A series of quarries from which it was brought can still be traced. Fugitive inscriptions, carved in the live rock, preserve the remembrance of the Roman work-people.

At unequal distances the Wall was joined by rectangular buildings [turrets] of about 10 feet square, with one door of entrance in the southern side. The inner fabric was of wood. Already in Horsley's time, of the 320 turrets of this kind, which, according to the distances, are computed to have once existed along the whole line of the Wall, only three in one place were to be seen continuously; and now their foundations only remain in a very detached state.

At intervals of about one Roman mile from one another, but of course varying somewhat, in order to take advantage of a favourable configuration of the ground, there are certain lesser stations, of which in all within nearly eighty have been enumerated. The English call these buildings, not unsuitably, *mile-castles*. They are quadrangular enclosures surrounded by walls, the corners rounded off on the south side, about 60 feet square. The northern face generally coincides with the Wall, sometimes projects a little beyond it. There are gates, not only of ingress, in the southern side, but also of egress in the northern. The mile-castles are thus, in the wonted fashion, *fortified gates*. Of

buildings inside them virtually nothing has been discovered; they can only have been block-houses of wood.

On the northern side, wherever the ground allows of it, there runs a fosse of the same dimensions as that of the earth-wall on the south, 30 feet broad and 8 or 9 feet deep. Where rivers, like the Tyne, intersect the course of the Wall, bridges, built in excellent style, protected by *têtes-du-pont* on each bank, carry on the road alongside of the Wall.

Lastly, we come to the seventeen great camps called *Stationes* or *Prætenturae*, which, with the exception of three, somewhat south of the earth-wall, lie between it and the stone-wall at very unequal distances from each other; on an average they are five miles apart. It is quite possible that Hadrian's engineers may have included in their system of fortification points already occupied by the native population, or camping-grounds selected in the earlier marches of the Roman troops. In all essential points, however, they are constructed upon one uniform plan, and must have come into being at the same time. No monuments have yet been discovered in them which can with certainty be referred to the pre-Hadrianic age. Of the list of their names preserved in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, one clearly points to T. Ælius Hadrianus as the founder--Pons Ælius, the name given, out of compliment to him, to the station now represented by Newcastle, with its Roman bridge over the Tyne, the foundations of which have been recently discovered under those of the mediæval bridge.

The camps are all alike of the well-known oblong form. Their extent varies, according to the nature of the ground, between three and six acres (five to nine Prussian "morgen"). Walls of about 5 feet in thickness, mounds, and fosses, surrounded them. In almost all, the four principal gates and the chief streets intersecting one another at right angles are still clearly visible. Round some of them, as round the larger *coloniae*, great suburban buildings have clustered; baths, small temples, in one instance even an amphitheatre. The best preserved, formerly called "Borcovicium," now known to the country people as House-steads, is called by the local Antiquaries "the English Pompeii."

At two places, in the east and the west, the roads leading northwards intersect the Wall. On each of them, in Northumberland and southern Scotland, are situated at suitable distances two camps, and one is also pushed forwards about the middle of the Wall, thus making five in all.

The architectural features, which I have condensed into the briefest possible space, speak clearly enough for themselves. From the other sources of our knowledge, which have been described above, the military diplomas, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and the inscriptions found on the spot, they receive yet clearer light. The Legatus of Hadrian, under whose orders the work was begun in the years 122-124, and probably soon afterwards finished in all its essential features, was named AULUS PLATORIUS NEPOS, an officer well known on other grounds. The work was executed by the three legions then stationed

in Britain, IIInd, VIth, and XXth, while service at the front meanwhile devolved on detachments from three others, VIIth (stationed in Spain), and VIIIth and XXIIInd, both from Mainz, the former of which had already contributed a detachment to the army of invasion under Claudius. Besides the legions, a large part of the auxiliary cohorts and *alae*, who garrisoned the camps laboured at the work. Many inscribed tablets, large and small, attest the share taken by each section of the troops in the building, often adding the measurement of the portions completed by each. In this way nearly every *centuria* had its share in the glory of the great work, and the record was wisely preserved in inscriptions as a reward of their honourable emulation.

If you stand on the steep cliff near House-steads and look down, northwards over the little Northumbrian lakes, southwards over the rich hill-pastures which the railroad traverses, you will soon recognise, your attention being called thereto by experienced eyes, the lines of Murus and Vallum stretching away up hill and down dale, straight as an arrow's flight, and losing themselves at last westwards and eastwards in the hazy distance. In the shady park of Chesters, where, on the wooded banks of North Tyne, lies the station of Cilurnum; in the little hotel of Gilsland Spa near Rose Hill; at Stanwix, the elegant villa suburb of Carlisle, with its charming view over the far-famed Lake district of Cumberland, which includes the high-lying site of the Roman camp of Petrianae; on the sea-shore at the two ends; and at many other places, you can still see detached portions of the Wall in relatively good preservation, and allow it to work its full impression on your mind. Still the visitor to these places will generally feel at first a certain sense of disappointment, like him who for the first time treads the Roman Forum or wanders through the narrow streets of Pompeii. Hard is it to keep down this feeling; but gradually it yields to the delight of intelligent appreciation, which is won by enthusiastic devotion to the study. It is with the eyes of the intellect, but with them alone, that the magnificent bulwark of Roman might in Northern England can be rightly beheld.

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#### IV.—THE SCOTTISH WALL OF ANTONINUS PIUS, AND THE END OF THE ROMAN DOMINION IN BRITAIN.

If it were necessary to prove that in very deed the Wall of Hadrian by no means closed up the province from the North, but with its nearly eighty gates and its five camps advanced beyond its line, was rather a great offensive work intended to place the ever-advancing occupation by the Romans on a surer footing than that transitory one of Agricola's—for all this we have fully sufficient witness, the Wall of Antoninus. It is quite possible that the widely circulated biography of Tacitus may have suggested the idea of again pursuing, with more preparation and under happier auspices, the end which Agricola had attained, only to abandon it—namely, the occupation of the line Clota-

Bodotria (Glasgow-Edinburgh), decidedly the narrowest part of the whole island. This time also the army would have the great advantage of Hadrian's Wall as a base of operations. Just 20 years after the commencement of Hadrian's work, his successor, Antoninus Pius, erected an earth-work on this line (as we are expressly told in the only passage of any historian which has been preserved relating thereto). Of this earth-work large and clear traces remained down to the last century; and inscriptions in abundance found in its neighbourhood threw the same light on its history which similar evidence has thrown on the work of Hadrian. The common people called the rampart *Graham's Dyke* (or *Gryme's Dyke*), after Graeme, the hero of Scottish Saga, and ancestor of the Graham Clan. It must be admitted that the *Vallum Antonini*, early abandoned as we shall see that it was, has not left such clear traces of itself as the massive Wall of Hadrian. Moreover, we do not yet possess for it so careful a topographical sketch, combining the results of regular excavations, as we can refer to in the case of its southern rival. The line of the earth-wall, which is only very briefly alluded to in the Scottish chronicles, appears for the first time on an old map of Scotland, prepared by Timothy Pont, in the year 1565. William Camden (1599), the Scottish antiquaries, Sir Robert Sibbald (1607), and Dr. Irvine (1685), and again the Englishman, William Stukeley (1720), give us only very superficial notices of it. We have to thank Gordon and Horsley, those antiquaries of the eighteenth century, of whom we have already spoken in connection with the English Wall, for a somewhat more accurate description of this work also. But the first trustworthy details were the result of the general military survey, which was commenced in Scotland after the rebellion of 1745. It is the merit of William Roy, a distinguished officer of engineers, who was at a later period Major-General; and who won fame in the Seven Years' War, to have made, in the year 1764, a survey of the Scottish earth-wall, which is to this day the only accurate topographical sketch of it that we possess. The gallant officer spent a vast amount of time and trouble in reconnoitring a great number of old fortified places, all over Scotland. He believed that he had found certain criteria by which to decide as to the origin of such fortifications, whether British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Scottish, and so on. Supported by these reasonings, which were, from the nature of the case, often defective, he undertook to reconstruct Agricola's march to the north, from calculations as to the topographical hindrances which he would meet with, the marching powers of his troops, their commissariat, and the like; and he hoped in this way finally to settle the locality of the fight on Mount Graupius. In this, of course, he was disappointed, as his calculations, however carefully conducted, rested, for the most part, on false (or at any rate uncertain) premises. The question of the scene of the battle on Mount Graupius remains an open one, like that of the battle in the Teutoburger Wald, and many more of the like kind. But to the industry which he applied to its solution we owe, as has been already said, the survey of the earth-wall and its stations, which General Roy executed under circumstances which were

at any rate relatively favourable. In the century which has elapsed since he wrote, the destruction of the remains still visible in his time has gone forward with giant strides [the construction first of a road, then of a canal, and finally of a railway between Edinburgh and Glasgow having been the most powerful agents of destruction]. Roy's description is followed throughout by the excellent John Hodgson (1828). The last person who has described the earth-wall, without adding anything of his own, is the late Robert Stuart (1840), an intelligent bookseller of Glasgow, but no scholar. To the second edition of the *Caledonia Romana* of this author, a higher value has been imparted by some investigations made on the spot by Mr. John Buchanan, banker, of Glasgow, and Stuart's father-in-law.

Few words are needed to describe the manner of its construction. From Carridden, near Borrowstoness, on the Firth of Forth, to West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, near Dumbarton, a fosse about 40 feet wide and 20 deep is cut through the almost uniformly level country for a distance of, in round numbers, 40 Roman, or 37 English, miles, that is about half as long as the Wall of Hadrian. This fosse is accompanied on its southern side, at a distance of, on an average, 15 to 20 feet, by the earth-wall, almost everywhere like that of Hadrian, with a core of stones inside it, which has served for centuries as a quarry. The measurements are hard to determine. Roy, with some exaggeration, estimates the breadth at the base at 24 feet, the height, inclusive of a breast-work, at 20 feet; but (even in his time) the Wall was nowhere preserved higher than 5 to 6 feet. We cannot find that there ever was one uniform angle of the profile, and must conclude that from the first the gradient varied according to the nature of the ground. Only in certain places, for instance between Rough Castle and Castle Cary, have the foundations of turrets and mile-castles been observed; of these there are now no remains. Uniformly south of the fosse, there lie, at very unequal distances from one another, the ten great camps, with their northern face invariably coinciding with the Wall, all of square or oblong form; varying in dimensions from 500 feet by 300 to 300 by 200, surrounded with a broad mound and fosse; generally, when the road intersects them, with three gates, sometimes with only one gate on the south side, *with the north side invariably closed*. No traces have been recognised of edifices in the inside of those camps; such buildings as there were were probably of wood. As with the Wall of Hadrian, the camps are linked together by a military road, running always south of the fosse, and generally south of the camps, but sometimes intersecting the latter. It is a curious thing that none of the previous investigators of the Wall have noticed that the names of the ten camps are preserved, though in a grievously disfigured state, by the author of the *Itinerary*, which was put together in the sixth century by some one at the court of Ravenna, writing in the Greek language, and which we now possess in a sadly erroneous re-translation into Latin, the work of some uneducated scribe. About 50 inscriptions have been found in the stations along the Wall. They are preserved, for the most part, in the museum founded by the illus-

trious Hunter, at the University of Glasgow. Only a few are to be seen at Edinburgh (in the museum at the Royal Institution). They are chiefly large stone tablets, executed in an uniform fashion, containing a dedication to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, inscribed by that particular section of the troops which executed the portion of the Wall to which the inscription refers. The number of paces [pedatura] in this portion is then added. On many there are reliefs in somewhat rough workmanship, representing some gods, Mars, Victory, and the Courage of the Emperor, the Emperor high on his horse, riding down the foe, a festal sacrifice in his honour, the symbols of the legions—for example a boar—and similar subjects. No other Emperor than Antoninus Pius is ever met with upon them. The legatus of the Emperor, who commenced the building in the year 142, and who, probably, also completed it, was called QUINTUS LOLLIVS URBICUS. He is known to us by the monuments which record his governorship in Africa, before he came to the province of Britain. The troops who executed the work were, again, detachments of the three British legions, and of the cohorts and alae stationed along the line of Hadrian's Wall.

It is clear from this description that the rampart of Antoninus was, in all essential features, a repetition of that of Hadrian, built on the same principles (only without the stone wall on the north, which was perhaps contemplated, but never executed), and with the same end in view—to complete the pacification of the territory lying south of it, and to commence the subjugation of that lying north. At least *one* considerable camp in advance of it to the north is still visible, that of Ardoch, northward from Stirling. There the gravestone of a soldier of a Spanish cohort has been found. He must have done garrison duty at this place for some time at the end of the second century. This is the most northerly inscription in the Latin tongue that we know of.

The Wall of Antoninus is the last great strategic construction that the history of the British province has to show us. With it the story of the annexation itself comes to a close. We must not here tell in detail the story of the province for the three following centuries, down to the withdrawal of the last Roman garrison, though that, too, possesses an interest quite above the average of provincial history. Though literary narrative here fails us, we can trace by means of the monuments, even in small details, how, for the next 60 years after the successful exertions of Hadrian and Antonine, especially under the mild sway of the philosophical Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and down to the confines of the first and second century of our era, a period of peace and of material prosperity ensued, even for Britain. In the comparatively mild southern portion of the island, trade and agriculture flourished. Numerous villas, provided with all the southern luxuries of warm baths and spacious halls with mosaic pavements, as large, and of as various designs as those which we meet with in the Rhine Valley, in Southern France and Spain, have been discovered in this part of Britain. The hot springs of the goddess Sulis-Minerva, at Bath (that most comfortable of the watering places of last century),



were even at that time in great request among the provincials. Many objects of art, of beautiful workmanship, which have been found in these places, bear witness to the cultivated artistic taste of their former possessors.

A building so large as the whole extent of Hadrian's Wall, exposed to all the severity of a northern climate, required constant attention, and hence proceeded the frequent repairs of which we find mention in various monuments. Of the attacks of enemies, however, we find no mention, though the charred embers and blackened stones of some of the camps and mile-castles show that such attacks did take place.

Under Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, we find the old instinct for freedom of the Brigantes again asserting itself here and there. The valiant Emperor Septimius visits Britain in person, along with his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, in order to restore the discipline of the troops, which had been relaxed during the long interval of peace, to arm the camps anew, and to put down this insurrectionary movement. So comprehensive was his activity with reference to the Wall of Hadrian that on the pages of his encomiastic biographer [Spartianus] he, not the earlier Emperor, is represented as the builder at least of its stone walls, its gates, and towers. This is a manifest error, and one that is easily confuted by the above-mentioned architectural evidence. It has, however, given rise in very recent times to a lively controversy between the antiquaries of two English counties. The Northumbrians, arguing from the name of their own town, Pons Ælius, claimed, and were fully justified in claiming, Hadrian as founder of the whole work in all its parts, as the man whose one mind planned it all. The men of Cumberland, on the other hand, maintained the claims of Severus, especially because in the mediæval says and sagas of their home the Wall was still called *Gual Sever*, the Wall of Severus.

At the same time, the great camps between the English and Scottish Walls were rebuilt from the foundations and enlarged by order of Severus. One of these, High Rochester, the ancient *Bremenium*, which the Duke of Northumberland, to whom the ground belongs, has allowed to lie, for the most part, unoccupied, shows with great clearness the plan and arrangement of a Roman camp.

The statement of some of the ancient authorities that by Severus also a *Murus* of thirty-two Roman miles in length was built across the island cannot be easily applied (as some modern writers have sought to apply it) to the Wall of Antoninus Pius, for this, as all excavations have proved, was always only an earthen wall of the length of forty Roman miles, not a *Murus*; and not a single epigraphical testimony except the frequent ones relating to Antoninus Pius has been found on the line of the Scottish Wall. The idea of a *Murus* built by Severus may have arisen from the fact, misinterpreted in his favour, that a thorough repair of Hadrian's Wall (perhaps for an extent of thirty-two miles) was due to him.

Besides the land of the Brigantes, Wales, the country of the Silures, was the centre of perpetual attempts at insurrection on the part of its warlike inhabitants. Any one who has seen the vast masses.

of Snowdon, and the romantic gorges of South Wales will easily understand that the peculiar conformation of this country almost invites to guerilla warfare. Here, too, Severus took measures of a permanent kind. As was before related, he removed the 2nd Legion from their old head-quarters at Gloucester to Caerleon, in South Wales. He also erected new forts overlooking the Irish Sea.

The great military importance of the province found its expression in the pronouncement of the British army in favour of Albinus, the anti-Emperor, proclaimed in Gaul and Germany. In order to guard against such dangers for the future, Severus divided the command of the province between two officers of equal rank, the legati of the upper and lower provinces. In other provinces it had been sought, long ago, to guard in similar fashion against the dangers of the great military commands. The partition of the office in Britain seems, however, not to have been of long continuance.

But it was under the Emperor Severus that the first step backwards was taken in Britain. There is a tradition which seems worthy of credit, that then first the garrisons were withdrawn from the camps upon the Scottish Wall. The comprehensive scheme of new fortifications for the Hadrianic Wall, and for the camps covering it in front, seems to have stood in very close connection with this measure. Only the stations of the road along the course of the Scottish Wall are still mentioned in the itineraries of the empire.

In the course of the third century, under the modifying influence of the centrifugal tendencies towards independence and federalism, which were then sweeping in all directions through the empire, the offspring themselves of the dreams of nationality already haunting the imperial armies, York, like Lyons and Trier, becomes for a little time the seat of a rival Cæsarship of not inconsiderable importance; I allude to the reign of Carausius. But Diocletian's strong reconstruction of the true Roman monarchy, and Constantine's additions thereto, in connection with the division of the empire between east and west, a division which, it is true, foreshadowed "the beginning of the end," did for the present destroy the head of the hydra. The barbarians pressing into the country by land, over the northern frontier, by sea upon the eastern coast, like a wave breaking far out at sea, but ever stoutly gnawing at the shore, and at last coming on with yet stronger and more evident impulse, dashed off the varnish of Roman civilisation, which had perhaps never penetrated very deeply, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the camps and fortresses, and did not adhere deeply even there. While in the interior of the country, especially in the centre and west of the island, the Roman element had, as it appears, long yielded to the native influence, nearly to the last, as the *Notitia Dignitatum* shows, the dying empire kept its hand upon the Wall of Hadrian, upon the places by the coast, and, before all, upon the harbours of the Channel. Still, towards the end of the fourth century, earnest attention was given, as is shown by the mile-stones which have been preserved, to the work of keeping in good repair, and even extending the net-work of roads which bound the

camps together. In this last epoch a new interest—the religious—came to the front in the province, as in the empire. The native British population, little Romanised, but early won over to Christianity—the lower orders in the country—kept their Christian faith true in spite of all invaders, even maintaining their own special forms and dogmas in the face of the Saxon conquerors, when these too, in the course of the following centuries, had been converted to Christianity. But this subject, though it belongs to a still practically unwritten chapter of history, must not be entered upon here. By the middle of the fifth century the province was definitively abandoned by Rome.

We are now at the end of our task. Should any one ask what was the permanent result of the annexation of Britain, achieved by so many toils and sacrifices, and maintained with such stubborn strength, the most concise answer (though it is one of a negative kind) is furnished by a phenomenon with which we are all familiar—the English language. That language is essentially Germanic; it has Romanic elements, but it owes them exclusively to the Norman invasion. Never, therefore, did the Roman conquest lead in Britain, as it did lead in Southern France and Spain, to a veritable *assimilation*. Strangers did the Roman conquerors remain during the four centuries of their tarrance in Britain; as strangers did they at length retire before the fresh nationalities for whom it was reserved, not merely to become lords of the country, but to find in it their enduring home.

