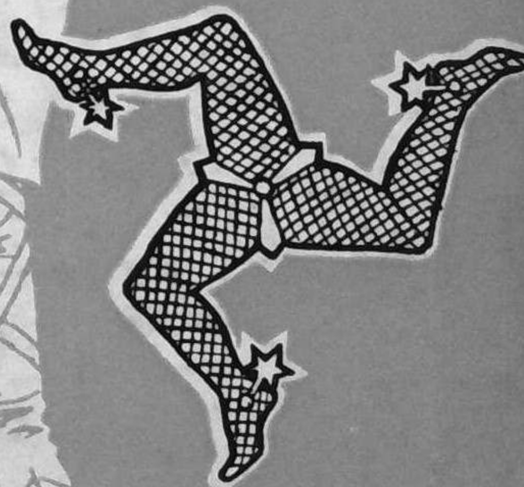
THE STORY OF THE ISLE OF MAN

VOLUME 1.
THE EARLIEST TIME TO 1406



M.C.W.

By C. W. AIRNE, M.A.

THE STORY
OF THE
ISLE OF MAN

VOLUME ONE

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1406

By

C. W. AIRNE, M.A.

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Published by
C. W. Airne at 377 Liverpool Road, Southport.

Printed by
Robt. Johnson & Co. Ltd., 28-32 Tulketh Street, Southport. Tel. 2303.

THE STORY OF THE ISLE OF MAN

1—EARLY DAYS.

PRE-CHELLEAN FLINT, Rushen Abbey.

MANNANIN VEG VEEN, the dear little Isle of Man, and Homeland of the Manx people, is a tiny island lying "like a warrior's shield upon the wine-dark sea." Its people delight in its beauty, and many an Island poet has described the grandeur of its rock-bound coasts; its grain-filled valleys sweeping towards the sea; its rounded hills and riven glens; and the bastion-like masses of the Barrules and Snaefell. The Manx are a hardy, though not a numerous folk, but they are conscious of their individuality. They love their native Island; they treasure their native tongue and the traditions of their past. They are proud of the national independence they have won, and of those generations of young Manxmen, who have planted in so many countries overseas the noblest characteristics of their blood and race.

The Story of our Homeland is immensely long and old, but we do not know how it begins. The earliest inhabitants must have been the Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age Men, who lived many thousands of years ago, when Man and Britain were not islands, but were instead, part of the great tableland of Western Europe. Geologists inform us that Man and Britain stand upon a platform underseas, now called the Continental Shelf. This was once dry land, and would be so again if ever some great upheaval were to cause the present sea level to fall about six hundred feet.

Palaeolithic Men were nomad hunters whose principal tools were rudely chipped lumps of flint. Thousands of such flints have been found in Britain, but one only has appeared in Man. It was dug up in the soil of Rushen Abbey, and is a lumpy nodule of flint just big enough to grip in a rather large hand. One end is rounded naturally; the other has been chipped or notched to a point which appears blunted from digging. This lonely flint does not itself prove that Palaeolithic hunters lived here, and it may be thought strange that no other human relics, and no bones of mammals like the bison, bear and reindeer have been found in Man. You will read that reasons can be given to account for their disappearance.

Palaeolithic races inhabited Man and Britain for thousands of years, but their progress was so slow that they remained primitive. They had learnt to use fire, to make clothing, weapons and tools, to paint and carve, to live together as friends and to bury their dead with care and reverence. On the other hand, they had not discovered how to grow plants for food, or how to make pottery, tame animals, build houses or weave cloth. These were human triumphs the Palaeolithic races never knew. Before they could achieve them, a terrible change in the climate swept them from Western Europe.

The Glacial Age must be accepted; it cannot be explained. It began about 20,000 years ago, and was due, apparently, to a climatic freak which extended the Polar ice-cap southwards for hundreds of miles over the whole Northern Hemisphere. Central and Western Europe lay for centuries under an immense field of ice, estimated to have been at least one thousand feet thick.

The Isle of Man owes more to this almost lifeless Age than to any other period. It gave the Island the build and shape it bears to-day. It carried the age-old world away and created in its place a new world ready for new life. It explains in part why no traces of a Palaeolithic Age have been found in Man, because a monster glacier, moving from the north, bore away the Island's surface soil, which later it replaced with new earth from other lands. Try to picture Man in the grip of this icy mass; try to imagine also the havoc that it wrought. Sliding, scouring,

THE ISLE OF MAN

SKELETON OF GREAT ELK
From Close-y-garey, St. John's.

scooping, it swept aside the soil, crushed little hills to powder in its path, and tore the very rocks from their foundations. Grinding ceaselessly for centuries, and creeping inch by inch, it rounded the mountains, cut valleys, ravines and glens, and moulded the shape of Man much as we see it to-day. As the glacier melted, it deposited millions of tons of debris, now called boulder-clay or till, which it had gathered along its course. It spread new soil upon the polished rocks; dropped granite and greenstone boulders over all parts of the Island; and laid a silt of gravel, sand and clay like a thick carpet to form the flat Plain of Ayre. This may well be soft soil scooped from the North Channel, though the deposited boulders come largely from Ulster, Galloway and Cantyre. The ice-field moved too slowly to have carried its load of till from the Arctic North, but it had been so long frozen that it supported Arctic forms of life. Dig in it deeply, especially in the Curraghs of Kirk Michael and Ballaugh, and you will discover there, not only Arctic plants, such as the Arctic Sedge and Willow, but the fossilised remains of shellfish which to-day live only in the icy seas of the North.

Apart from its general topography and vast deposits of till, Man affords evidence of Glacial Age formations in its individual physical features. Rock surfaces, wherever laid bare, show the grooves and scratches of glacial movement. When the mass of the ice melted, every glen remained for a while a local glacier, and these have deposited sediment and the stones of their moraines.

The surge of the inflowing ocean to form the present Irish Sea was extremely slow. Innumerable islands formed a post-glacial archipelago, but all except Man, Calf Island and the islets of Kitterland, St. Patrick and St. Michael were eventually submerged. The extensive shoals surrounding Man are evidence of this. The line of the Whitestone and Bahama Banks enclosing Ramsey Bay may mark the ancient north-eastern coast. Between Ireland and Calf Island lies a shoal which tradition remembers as having been once a fertile island almost as large as Man. Fishermen believe that remains of early dwellings lie there submerged, and they relate how the ghost of this lost island sometimes rises from the sea wrapped in early morning mists. The shoal is self evident, but not so its mysterious race of three-legged raiders, who harried Man, and who invariably escaped safely to their homes under cover of its mist. The sea surrounding Man apparently reached its highest point in prehistoric times, and has since been sinking slowly. All round the Island tide marks cut into the cliffs, and beds of fine gravel called raised beaches, prove that post-glacial seas washed in on shores ten or twelve feet higher than do those of to-day. The rocky eastern and south-western coasts resist the stormiest inroads of the sea, but the low, sandy shores elsewhere have fallen victims to its erosion. Ramsey, Douglas and Castletown Bays were scooped out by the sea, which throughout historic times has been steadily washing away the extremely vulnerable coast from Peel northwards to the Point of Ayre. During historic times, hundreds of fertile acres, together with ancient keeills and tumuli, have been snatched from the coasts of Kirk Michael, Ballaugh, Jurby and Kirk Andreas. Even the landing place of King Orry, reputedly at the Lhen, has been swept away by the sea.

2. THE PICTS

About ten thousand years ago a warmer climate quickened Western Europe; ice and snow were melted by the soft Spring winds. Then the Isle of Man was born,

for as glaciers disappeared, rising tides rolled over the lowest lands and formed the Irish Sea. This change was not wrought suddenly; the inflow of the sea was slow. Nature strove for centuries to prepare a new home for men and animals.

Urged by this milder climate, vegetation grew. The hillsides nourished bracken and wild berries; a riot of red heather clothed the moors. Woods of oak and pine spread inlaid from the coasts, and grass and gorse grew on the upland slopes. The Island's vegetation then was much as it is now, as was its animal life also, except that some species of birds and mammals have since become extinct. Of these, the best known is the Irish Elk, a giant deer, skeletons of which have been found fossilised. The purrs or wild pigs also are extinct; red deer have disappeared, while the old breeds of black cattle and Manx ponies are now rare. Wild goats, once common, have been so hunted that but a meagre few, fierce and of large size, are said still to exist on Cronk ny Irree Laa, while the "Loaghtyn" sheep, a curious, four-horned breed, providing a wool of fine quality, is now preserved with difficulty in a few small flocks. Like Ireland, Man has neither toads nor snakes, and has never known the larger British mammals. Its wild fauna is sparse. The common and grey seals play on its southern coasts. Common and long-eared bats haunt its ravines and caves. Apart from the harmless hedgehog, rabbit and hare, its remaining mammals are the stoat, polecat and shrew; the house and field mice, and the brown and black rats, vermin-rodents which both Nature and Man have failed to exterminate.

Into this new Island a new race came to live; a race whose ancestors had lived in France and Spain. How they travelled here and by what stages may never be known, but they were a bold, seafaring people whose villages, burial mounds and forts are found on almost every coast in Western Europe. They were the first known people to settle in post-glacial Ireland, so they probably came thence to Man. If so, Down and Antrim must have been the last mainland territories separated from Man by the sea.

In Ireland, these people were called Cruithne. How they were named in Man is not known, but they were the same dark little "savages" whom the Romans, when they invaded Caledonia several centuries later, called "Painted Men," or Picts. They became the dreaded raiders whom the Roman-Britons feared. Though they played little part in later history, except in Scotland itself, their descendants may still be found to-day in many parts of Ireland, in Man and in the Highlands of Scotland.

The Picts who settled in Man about 5,000 years ago, were small in stature, long-headed and swarthy-skinned, but their lively eyes and curly black hair gave them a pleasing appearance. They were quick thinkers and hard workers, and they are the first of the western peoples who are regarded as really civilized. They were a stone-using people when they came, who are described as Neolithic or New Stone Age Men, because their principal weapons and tools were shaped and edged by grinding, and their striking tools, such as hammers and axes, were bored through in order that they might be fitted with suitable hafts. Soon after their settlement, they gained a knowledge of metals, the use of which revolutionized their lives.

Men in the Neolithic stage of Culture are distinguished by their settled lives as herdsmen and farmers. How they first learned to domesticate wild animals can only be surmised, but when later they discovered how to cultivate the soil they took the first step towards their true civilization. Settlement fostered those arts which have enabled Man to improve his culture. When cultivation began, Man's wild life ceased. Those who found a pleasing climate and well-watered fields settled on the land and lived as farmers. The Cruithne who came to Man were experienced herdsmen and farmers, who found the lowland soil so fertile that they prospered. Among them were also expert craftsmen, as in many parts of Man, and notably

BALLAKILPHERIC STONE
Kk. Christ Rushen.

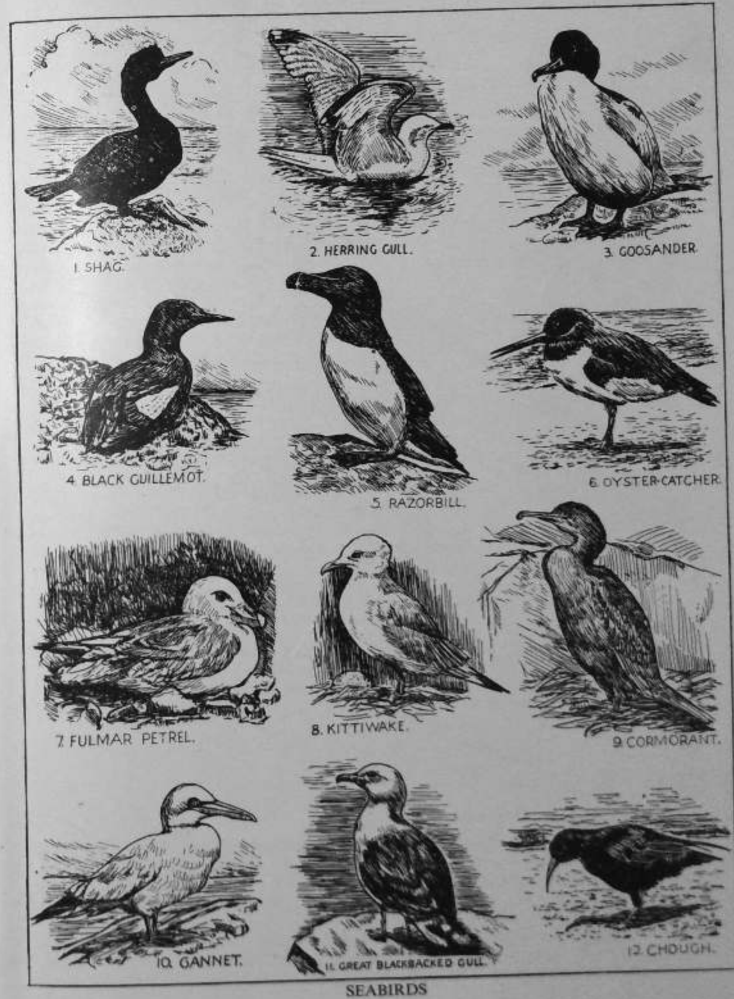
at West Craig, Andreas; at Ballakaighan, German; and on the brooghs overlooking Ramsey Mooragh, factories where they made implements and tools have been found. These "Neolithic Floors," were strewn with flint chippings proving that many types of awls, knives, and arrowheads were manufactured there.

Primitive peoples were rarely friendly. They lived in families or clans, though their common blood, language, religion and custom could unite them as a Folk. In Man the Picts settled in clans each of which claimed its own territory, which included tillage and pasturage, allowed access to mountain and sea, and varied in area according to the size of the tribe and the needs of its livestock. Each at first could work relatively little land, but as populations increased, clan-boundaries were extended and clan-territories were established, which tended to be permanent, and which later became convenient units in the political, fiscal, military and legal organisation. Individually and in groups, these clan-territories were probably the origins of later territorial units such as the Bala, Treen, Sheading and Parish. It has been suggested that the Bala was the clan-territory, and that the three open fields into which it was divided for common culture each formed a Treen. The common meeting point of these became the tribal centre where the chief, who was war-leader, lawgiver, judge and priest, built his homestead, and near which he was buried. His Barrow became temple as well as tomb; the sacred site around which the clan held its Assemblies, Courts and Fairs, and near which craftsmen founded their village.

The Picts arrived in Man under many leaders, but they realized that the Island was too small to be divided among a number of chiefs who would make war upon one another. It is certain, therefore, that it soon became a single territory ruled by a King under whom common interests, such as taxation and defence, were consolidated. Also, there is a strong assumption, but no evidence, that even in these early days the ridges of highest land running roughly between the Barrules divided the clans as they did the Island. They were easy to cross, but the clan spirit of the settlers and the necessities which tied a farming people to their fields, made them in effect impassable. Both regions were fertile, but in early times the South was regarded as the more desirable. In time, North and South became distinctive territories whose clans acquired such characteristic traits that even the Norse kings governed them as semi-independent kingdoms. The South comprised roughly the later Sheadings of Garff, Middle and Rushen, while the North was contained in those of Glenfaber, Michael and Ayre. When, in the 18th century, these divisions were abolished and replaced by an administrative, but territorially different North and South, the feuds which each had nurtured began to disappear. To-day, a mere memory of these remains in the friendly rivalries common to the peoples in different localities everywhere.

The homes built by the early Picts depended upon the place on which they settled, whether hillside or valley, but the most popular were those now called pit-dwellings, which were really big holes in the ground. A pit-dwelling was made by digging a circular hole about four feet deep and twelve feet in diameter, the earth from which was piled round in a wall except for a gap which provided an entrance. Into this young saplings were fixed and sloped inwards, and after branches were woven basket-wise between them, the roof, except for a smoke-vent in the centre, was thatched with reeds.

Such dwellings lacked comfort, but they were roomy and warm. For a



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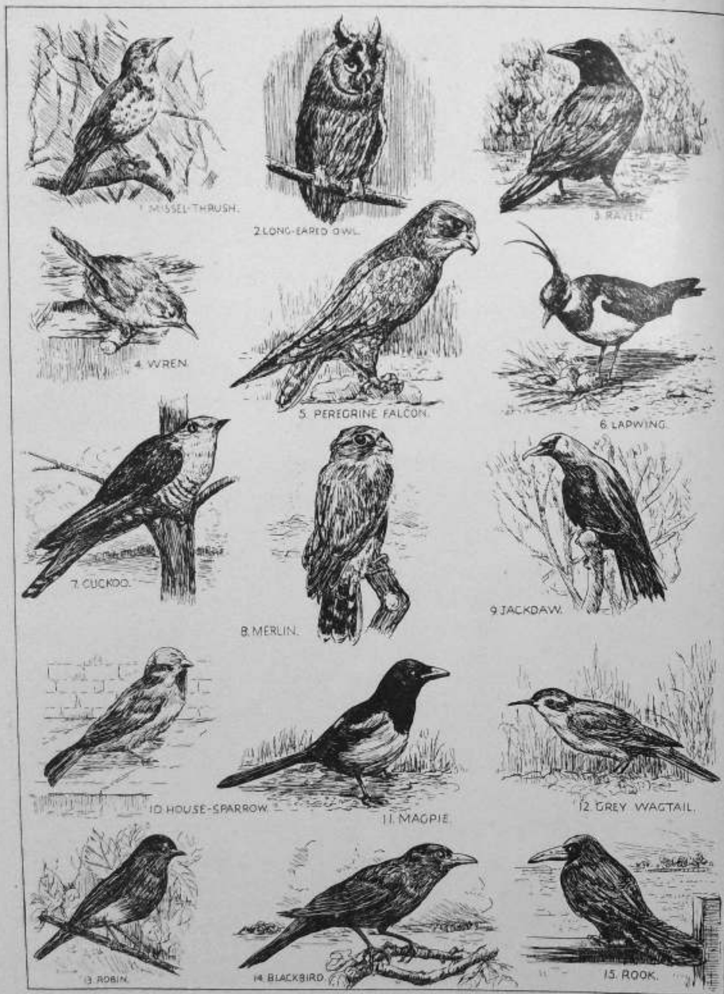


LAND BIRDS

small fire was kept burning on the flat hearthstone, although, for safety, cooking was done in shallow pits outside. No doubt all contained plenty of rough but serviceable furniture, and if their inmates squatted on the floor for meals, they would sleep on beds built up of branches or bracken covered over with warm, woolly sheep-skins.

Families who settled in wooded valleys built their homes of timber, but, apart from scant remains of hearthstones, ashes and broken pottery, all traces of them have disappeared. In 1943, the pleasing little cottage of a well-to-do farmer was discovered at Ronaldsway, and it afforded ample evidence that the Neolithic Picts were happy, prosperous and well settled. Its foundation was an oblong pit 24 feet long, 12 feet wide and 2 feet deep. The soil from the pit was piled round it as a low rampart, and its sides were lined with timber to prevent their tumbling in. Its walls also were constructed of timber boards fastened to stout corner-posts which, with several tall inner posts, supported the thatched roof. In the centre of the floor, a hearth on which turf had been burning, was ringed with stones, and groups of stones, which probably had supported beds, lay along the walls. A shallow pit covered by a large slab was found near the hearth, and was apparently the family larder, for it contained ox-bones from which the salted flesh had disappeared, and a small vessel like a flower-pot, which may have held butter.

Bones of the ox, sheep and pig were found plentifully, but though this family lived almost on the beach, none of its members was interested in fishing. They were not boat-builders, though the men were skilled woodworkers, who spent a good deal of their time in carpentry, because an amazing number of tools was found in this dwelling, among them being flint knives, awls, axes, adzes, scrapers and both straight and curved saws These tools were well made, and by a method or technique which, though well known in Ireland, appears to have come into use only a little while before the introduction of metals. Early Neolithic tools are either chipped or they are ground, but these from Ronaldsway exhibit both processes. That is, the craftsman chipped the flint to the general shape of the implement required, then he saved time and labour by grinding only its cutting edge. Large axeheads made from volcanic stone which would not chip, were similarly wrought by this advanced technique. They were shaped by grinding, but whereas the edged end of each was fully ground, the remainder of the stone was left fairly rough.

The many urns found at Ronaldsway remind us that pottery was a feature of the Neolithic Age. Earlier races may have made rough clay vessels which were dried in the sun, but the Picts modelled true pottery, though not on the potter's wheel, which was an invention of a later Age. It must be remembered that pottery was not made easily, therefore, its manufacture was soon left to skilled potters in whose hands it developed into a fine art. That made at home by the householder was crude, ill-shaped and poor in quality. The Ronaldsway pottery was probably homemade, for all vessels were crudely moulded and baked and, with the exception of five small pots, were round based. Nearly all were tall storage jars with wide mouths, nearly straight sides and simple rims. A few had collared or bevelled rims, and a few too, were decorated with simple lines or dots.

Five flat stone plaques were found at Ronaldsway, and these are remarkable because none like them have been discovered in the British Isles. The largest, which is oval in shape, is about three inches long, but is thinner than a penny. Its faces are scratched lightly with lines patterned in chevrons and diamonds, but its use is a mystery. These plaques remind one of the thin, flat stones which children seek on the beach to skim across the surface of a calm sea in the game of Ducks and Drakes. The Ronaldsway children too, perhaps, collected such waterworn stones, and after inscribing them with mystical lines, carried them in their clothing as lucky charms.

POTTERY BOWL, MULL HILL.

The Ronaldsway family reared sheep, but neither spindle-whorls nor loom-weights were found to show that they spun and wove wool into cloth. Textiles, made by the women of their households, were worn by the noble or more leisured class, but few of the Island's farmers found cloth serviceable. The majority made clothing and shoes from woolly sheep-skins, or wore garments made of leather tanned from the hides of their cattle. Perhaps women worked as hard as men in the fields, and all needed clothing which would withstand the heavy usage of outdoor life.

Ronaldsway was no exceptional farmhouse. At Ballateare, Jurby; at Glen-crutchery, Billown and elsewhere, sites have been excavated which tell the same story, that of a busy farm worked by a household whose labour provided all it needed. The family herded livestock; grew and harvested barley, wheat and hay; built com-fortable homes; made pottery, furniture and clothing, and even the tools and imple-ments needed for every kind of work.

Four thousand years ago the climate of Man was warmer than it is to-day, so cultivation was not confined to the lowland plains. Meayl or Mull Hill, Man's southernmost outpost, is a windswept waste, yet its barren slopes were spotted once with smiling farms tilled by the Neolithic Picts. They lived in the three little villages clustered near the summit of the hill, and the impression of a wheat grain in a fragment of their pottery is proof of their busy cultivation. Little or no timber grew in this neighbourhood. The natural building material was stone, so the ruined homes of the Neolithic farmers may be seen there to-day. A boundary wall within which cattle were confined at night, surrounded each village, the smallest of which contained four huts, and the largest sixteen. These huts varied in size and plan, as some were round and some rectangular, while a few were double dwellings, or, as we would say to-day, semi-detached. They were sunk into the ground in the popular pit-dwelling style, but their supporting walls, which were about three feet thick, were solidly built of rock slabs laid one upon another without mortar. The roof of each was laid upon a framework of stout poles supported in larger houses by a central roof-tree. Such a living-room was smoky and dark, as it had no windows, and even its doorway, which was formed by two stone jambs topped by a heavy stone lintel, was small. These Mull Hill villages were not isolated settlements. A collection of circular pits stands under the lee of a crag at the top of the deep fissure called the Sloc, near Cronk ny Iree Laa. Six large groups crown Burroo Ned, the "Cliff-fortress of the Nests," on the coast of Calf Island, and you may see others on the slopes of Snaefell and the Carnanes.

The Picts lived peacefully in Man; they ran little risk from invasion, but they feared tribal raids, perhaps when harvests failed. To meet this danger they built camps or earthworks where in emergency, a clan could take refuge with its flocks. These forts are hard to trace to-day, because they were afterwards occupied by both Celts and Norsemen. They were simple strongholds built on a rocky head-land or on the crown of a hill. Most of them were open compounds enclosed within a wide, deep ditch, the earth from which was piled behind it in a wall. Originally, no doubt, this was palisaded; the ditch was lined with pointed stakes, while piles of stones were kept in readiness for the defenders to hurl at their foes.

Hillside forts, such as may be seen on the skirts of Snaefell, or crowning the rocky mass of Cronk Sumark, Sulby, were fairly large, and some were set within a double rampart and ditch. On the other hand, the defenders of many small forts built near streams and in the Ayre Curraghs, relied upon the boggy ground to foil

the enemy. Extensive marshes were once common in low-lying parts of the Island, near Castletown, for example, in the Central Depression between Douglas and Peel, and in the North where the Curraghs are the remnants of immense fenlands, now drained by the Sulby and Killane Rivers. Even these wastelands were inhabited, though sparsely, and by families who must have been very poor. They lived meagrely and dwelt in jerry-built homes perched on the tops of piles driven into the bog. The best were frail huts built of branches daubed with clay and roofed with a thatch of reeds, and from which they reached the firm ground by a rough causeway.

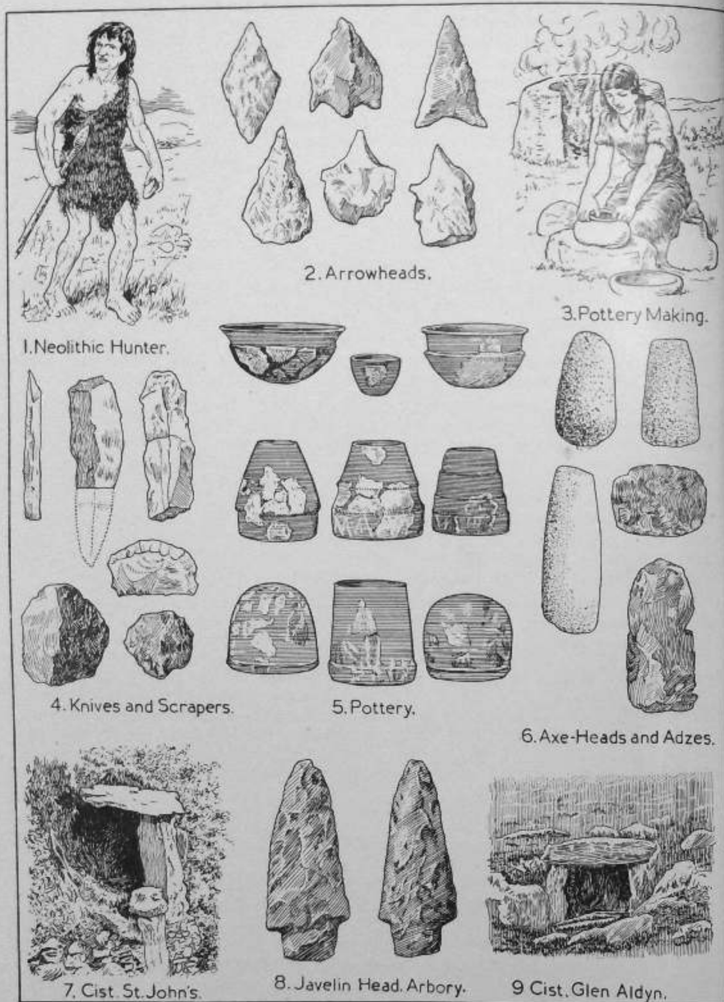
The Neolithic Picts dreaded famine, disease and death, but loved the warm sun and fertile soil which gave them life. Their ideas about helpful and harmful things became their religion, which taught them to reverence natural forces as their gods, to worship these in places which became sacred and to have a great respect for their dead. Ordinary people were buried in a very ordinary way, but leaders were given grander graves from which they might watch over the welfare of the tribe. On suitable open ground a cist or box-like tomb was built of heavy stone slabs in which the body of the chief was laid in a seated position with his head bowed upon his knees. By his side were placed a few weapons, ornaments and tools, together with bowls containing food, all of which, it was thought, would aid him on his journey into the unknown world. Afterwards, his tomb was heaped over with earth to form a mound by which he would be remembered.

Heroes were honoured by the building of greater mounds, usually on hilltops, which to-day, and owing to their shape, are called Long Barrows. They are easily recognised, and when excavated, several burial chambers, placed end to end in line, are generally found within them. Often, only the ruins of such barrows may be seen, for farmers in later Ages removed their soil to spread it upon their fields. In many cases nothing remains of the original tomb but a few massive boulders or a single tall stone pillar standing upright in the soil. Many such Megaliths or Great Stones are well known landmarks. They have stood for centuries and have long been known by delightful and easily understandable names, such as, the Giant's Quoiting Stone, the White Lady, the Cloven Stones and St. Patrick's Chair.

The mightiest work in Man of the Neolithic Age is the great Long Barrow called Cashtal yn Ard, which crowns the gently rounded summit of a low hill at Ballachrink, Maughold. Approaching it, one meets immediately its ten tall stones set upright in a curve like that of the crescent moon, within the chord of which the ground is paved with flat stone slabs to form a forecourt to the graves. This place may have been a temple in which the farm-folk worshipped their nature-gods; their Place of Assembly on important occasions; or it may have been merely a support for the mound heaped behind it. The mound has gone; the cists lie bare; the rest of the barrow is a ruin of slaty rubble. Nevertheless, visit Cashtal yn Ard, perhaps in the cool of the day, and you will not fail to sense the mystery of this Age-old Monument.

Entrance to the cists of Cashtal yn Ard was through a narrow opening between the two central stones of its crescent. Within, is a line of five chambers built of stone slabs set on edge, with those forming the sides sloped slightly inwards. These chambers were once roofed with flat slabs, but when they were examined recently little, apart from some flints and pottery fragments, was found within them. Beyond them lay a curious mound built up of stones cracked by fire, in the centre of which was a platform composed of slabs laid one upon another. Originally, a boundary wall of upright stones enclosed the whole barrow.

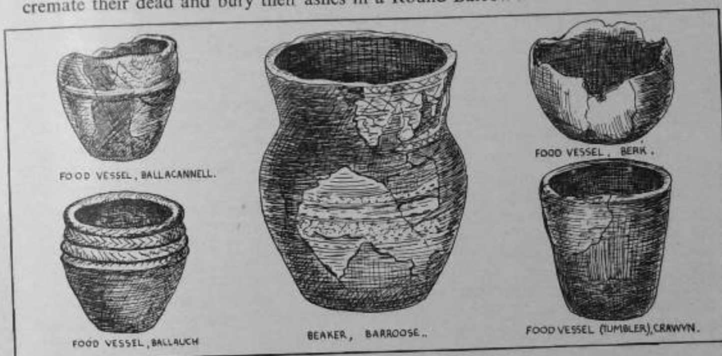
A remarkable burial ground lies on the slope of Mull Hill a little below the ruins of the Pictish villages. It was originally a Round Barrow in which six sets of graves, each consisting of three stone chambers, were arranged to form a circle fifty feet in diameter. Three sets form the eastern half of the circle, and three form



EARLY NEOLITHIC CULTURE

the western half. Separating them on the north and south are wide gaps which originally led to another and probably more important group of chambers in the centre of the barrow, but very slight traces remain to-day to show that they once existed.

All the chambers in this Mull Hill barrow were floored with flat stones, and each set had its own entrance formed by two stone pillars between which lay a flat step. These chambers were not like those at Cashtal yn Ard; nor was the mode of burial. No bodies were laid here. Instead, the stone chambers had contained large pottery urns filled with the ashes of the dead; all that remained after bodies had been cremated. With the fragments of these cinerary urns a few flint arrowheads, scrapers and knives were found, together with pieces of small pottery vessels which had once contained food. Why did the Picts who grew wheat on Mull Hill cremate their dead and bury their ashes in a Round Barrow?



POTTERY FOOD VESSELS

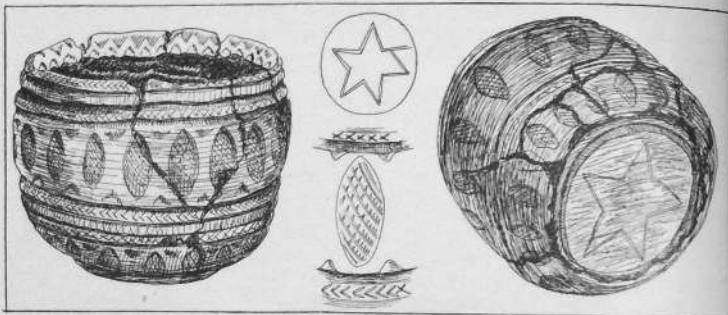
3. THE BRONZE AGE.

We do not know what race discovered and first used metal, but when this great discovery was made many others quickly followed. Copper, the first known metal, was soft enough to hammer. It made serviceable weapons and tools, though these were faulty, as their blades too readily bent and their edges soon became blunt. In spite of these drawbacks, copper weapons were better than stone ones, so the demand for copper became enormous. Craftsmen everywhere required it. Merchants grew very rich. Explorers eagerly sought new sources of supply.

For a century copper was employed in the manufacture of weapons, ornaments and tools, and this led to the growth of new industries, chiefly mining, smelting and metal-working. The most notable discovery was that of a craftsman who mixed molten copper with molten tin. The result astounded him, for he found the alloy, bronze, to be extremely hard.

Superior weapons, implements and tools were made of bronze, which proved to be so useful that a new Age called the Bronze Age began. The demand for bronze set smiths a hard problem, for copper was plentiful, and therefore cheap, but tin was scarce. Phoenician merchants from Tyre sought everywhere for tin and, as you will remember, found a source of supply in Cornwall, which their ships visited regularly.

The scarcity of tin made bronze costly, therefore few warriors could afford to buy bronze weapons. For a long time only swords, battleaxes and spearheads



FOOD VESSEL, CRONK AUST, KK. CHRIST, LEZAYRE

were made of bronze. Craftsmen made implements, tools and less important weapons of the cheaper copper. In countries less advanced, the people continued to make them of the even cheaper flint as in the old days.

Along the busy trade routes the knowledge of metals flowed freely from the East to every race in Western Europe. By the 12th century, B.C., it had reached Ireland, a country rich in copper, but not tin, which was imported from Cornwall. In spite of this mischance, the Irish Cruithne became famous craftsmen in metals, for they not only met immense demands for bronze from their own countrymen but exported it to Scotland, Wales and Man. Gold also was found in Ireland, chiefly in the mountain region of Wicklow, but the goldsmiths squandered this rare metal lavishly in ornaments skilfully wrought; in rings and bracelets; in necklaces, brooches and chains; in massive gorgets, cunningly twisted torcs, heavy cups and goblets and great hollow golden balls.

Man received a knowledge of metals from Ireland, but the native Picts never became great craftsmen. No metals were found to mine, though in later times rich deposits of silver and lead and a little iron and copper were worked. Under these circumstances, the Manx Picts imported chiefly bronze daggers, spears and swords, and though weapons are important to a people, their implements show truer pictures of their lives. One of the most interesting in common use was the palstave, a type of axe, so named because it was spade-shaped, and which, when given a long shaft, made a splendid digging-implement. Perhaps it was the ancestor of all later spades; almost certainly it was that of the Manx Hedge Spade, or Keibbey-chleiyee, a primitive type of spade peculiar to Man and known to have been in wide-spread use from early times until recently. It was narrow-bladed and straight-edged, and was employed almost solely for cutting the sods required for hedge-building. Other bronze tools were axes, adzes, chisels, knives and gouges, both tanged and socketed; hammers, awls, saws and curved sickles, all of which were cast. As the Picts loved ornament, they wore immense quantities of bronze armlets, amulets, earrings, brooches and buttons. Most of these articles were imported from Ireland, but in time, local smiths established forges, chiefly for the repair of implements and tools, but also for the manufacture of small oddments from imported ingots of metal. Materials used in such a foundry were in fact discovered early in 1940 on the Ballagawne estate, Lonan, where parts of two sword-blades, the tip of a sickle-blade, a small ring and a rough cake of copper were found. This find of metal scrap suggests that many smiths were also travelling tinkers who went from farm to farm melting and recasting broken implements and doing general repairs.

BALLASALLA STONE, Malew.

Soon after their settlement in Man the Picts established a form of national government under the rule of a king, whose principal stronghold appears to have been St. Patrick's Isle. If so, it was ideally situated. The sea was its defence, but the Isle was strengthened nevertheless by a palisaded rampart within which stood the scores of little round, timber-built houses with low, conical roofs, which the king needed to accommodate his garrison and court. There too, were sties and stables for livestock, barns for storage, and workshops for such artisans as smiths, carpenters, tanners and weavers. In early times, kings were leaders of the Folk rather than rulers, but they soon made their authority supreme. Supported by their warriors they grew too strong to defy, and when they were well settled, freemen were so busy on their farms that they relied upon them to govern. As defence was always the most pressing problem, military leaders became the most powerful men. Kings governed with their aid. To ensure defence they strengthened old strongholds and built new ones; maintained garrisons equipped to fight; compelled freemen to provide themselves with arms; and established look-out and beacon posts on headlands and hills where a continuous watch was kept on all shipping.

The king and his great men were vain of their appearance and fond of rich display. They wore brightly-dyed woollen and linen clothing and cloaks and caps of fur. They thrust bronze daggers in their belts, and carried bronze swords in leather scabbards, bronze-bladed spears and round bronze shields. They fastened their clothing with heavy gold clasps, wore torcs of twisted gold around their necks, and covered their chests and limbs with bronze ornaments. One chief wore golden earrings six inches long and shaped like shells. Another wore a necklace on which were strung three hundred amber beads. Rich men's wives were also magnificently dressed. Their garments were woven from wool and fastened with beautiful bronze clasps and brooches. They combed their dark hair with bronze combs and held it in place with long bronze pins decorated with spirals, or with polished amber. They rubbed ointments into their hair and skin, pinked their fingernails, lips and cheeks, and dyed their eyelashes. They loved gay colours and bright ornaments, especially those of amber and jet, beads of which made beautiful necklaces, which always held a pendant or lucky charm.

What may be said about the common people? "They are barbarian cubs, fierce beyond other foes," a disdainful Roman wrote about later Picts. He had suffered from their forays, but had he known them in their homes, he would have described them also as generous friends; gentle with women and children; warm-hearted; and loving their farms more than warfare. They were illiterate, but they loved dancing and music. Their industries and agriculture were primitive and their worship pagan. We know nothing of their beliefs; their faith has long been forgotten. A mere memory of it may remain in folklore, or in a few Island customs. Within its Bala the clan raised crops and livestock, and sought to live unsociably by itself. Neighbouring clans were almost strangers; quarrels between them led to feuds. Clanship was a purely family tie. By the bond of blood, each man was bound to aid his kinsman, to defend him, provide for him when sick, and avenge him were he injured or slain.

The Bronze Age saw changes in building. Pit-dwellings disappeared, for farmers followed the King's example and built a number of round huts. In each farmyard these stood like beehives, and, except in size, there was little distinction

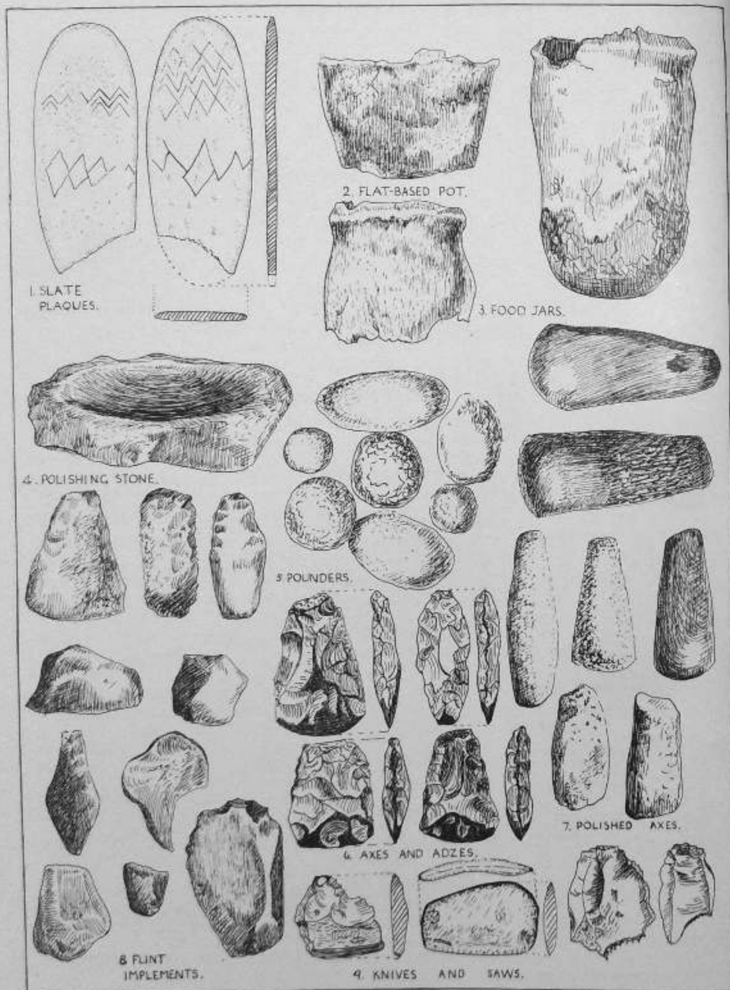
between the living-hut and women's hut; the kitchen and barn; and the huts for pigs, sheep and cattle. Though agriculture was the staple occupation, no farmer owned his land. The Bala soil belonged to the clan. The householder owned neither fields, meadows, nor woodlands, but merely shared in their use. As this system was wasteful, crops were poor, and farmers were more ready to rear livestock than to grow oats. Cattle and sheep were wealth which could be bartered for anything. They were pastured on the common grazing-land; pigs fed in the woods, and together they provided greater wealth than did cultivation. A poor hay crop was a misfortune, as a scarcity of winter food entailed the slaughter of cattle. In those days food was plentiful, and people enjoyed huge joints of beef, pork, mutton, and perhaps, venison, from which they hacked thick slices with the long knives handy in their belts. They also ate oatbread baked into thick, round cakes, plenty of butter, eggs and cheese, and sometimes onions and fish. They drank water and milk, but in later times, when they grew barley, they were able to brew ale.

Farming folk dressed simply. Men wore a bright-coloured, woollen shirt which reached below the knees. Over this was a closely fitting tunic, open at the breast, but reaching to the hips, and held round the waist by a coloured girdle. Slung over the left shoulder, where it was fastened with a brooch, was a warm shawl. The legs were bare, or covered with rough leggings fastened with thongs, while shoes or boots were of leather. Men as well as women liked long hair, and those who wore beards often plaited them into tresses. Women dressed like men, except that their loose robes fell to their ankles. They too were proud of their hair, which they coiled round the head and kept in place with bronze or bone pins. Like their chiefs' wives, they beautified themselves with ointments and cosmetics, and wore such jewelry as necklaces, bracelets and rings. Dress and ornament naturally depended upon the position of its wearers, for the wealthy were lavish in both. Poor labourers, such as the marshmen, had to be content with little clothing, and that made probably from the skins of wild animals.

During the Bronze Age a remarkable religious change occurred; new beliefs led people in all parts of Europe to cremate the bodies of the dead. Their ashes were often buried in the earth, but sometimes they were stored in pottery urns which were buried in barrows, cists and cemeteries. Barrows containing cremations are always Round Barrows, and their contents are the same wherever they are found. They contain pottery burial-urns, the ashes and bones of the dead, personal articles and pottery food-vessels. In all parts of the Island cinerary urns have been found in small, stone-built cists. In many places, especially in Michael, Jurby and Andreas, existing mounds were used as cemeteries, in some of which a dozen or more urns have been found buried a little below the surface of the ground, and resting, mouth down, on a flat square of stone. Usually, a food-vessel and a few ornaments were buried with the urn, but tools or implements were rarely found in such graves. At Ballateare, Jurby, cremated remains were found which had been buried in containers, probably leather bags, which had long rotted away, and near these remains were large round-bottomed storage-jars like those found at Ronaldsway. These were set vertically in shallow pits, and pebbles were packed round their bases to hold them upright. At Ballateare traces were found also of the funeral pyres on which the dead had been cremated.

It must be remembered that these burials were taking place during a period of over 1,500 years (c. 1,000 B.C.—500 A.D.). Therefore, it is not surprising to find variations in the methods of burial and in the quality, size, shape and decoration of urns and vessels. What is surprising is that their decoration marks so many as peculiar to the Island, and that, taken as a whole, they evidence a steady improvement in the art of pottery making. These characteristics are pronounced in the thick, round-based jars with bevelled rims found at Ballaquayle and Knocksharry,

PREHISTORIC MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS



LATE NEOLITHIC CULTURE, RONALDSWAY

POTTERY CINERARY URNS

which are domestic types. Other vessels also are unique, notably, the delightful little food-vessel from Cronk Aust, Lezayre, and that from "King Orry's Grave," Lonan; the 'bucket-type' pottery found in the Knocksharry cemetery; and the flat-based beaker from Barroose.

The Cronk Aust vessel is one of the Island's richest treasures. It is a remarkably fine food-vessel 4 inches high, and 6 inches in greatest diameter, and was found near the centre of a mound composed of soft red sand and gravel. Its essential interest lies in the decoration of its flat base, which bears a five-rayed star, the spaces between the rays being filled with crossed lines. Star-decorated vessels are known elsewhere only in Ireland; but the five-rayed design belongs solely to Man.

The pottery beaker, found in a stone cist at Barroose, Lonan, in 1919, is the only vessel of its kind discovered on the Island. It is a product of the "Beaker Folk," probably from Germany, and as they were early metal workers, it should be considered together with other objects in Man of the earlier Metal Age. Of these, the best known are the long, narrow axehead from Ballachrink, Maughold, and the axehead found near the church, Kirk Andreas, which is of almost pure copper. Perhaps these were brought to Man by an Irish trader together with the thin gold disc, also from Andreas, and the only object of early Metal Age gold found on the Island.

Held in high respect by the Picts were men now known as Druids, who were priests, teachers, doctors, seers and magicians. As wise men feared for their knowledge, they became a powerful and privileged class exempt from the payment of taxes and free from public burdens. The Druids taught a pagan faith about which little is known except that it was barbarous, and many were singers or bards who played upon the harp. Those who were also magicians claimed ability to work wonders and foresee the future. There is no strong evidence that Druidism flourished in Man, but it probably did so. Legends and megalithic monuments suggest it, and it was prevalent in Britain and Ireland throughout this period.

4. THE CELTS.

Five hundred years before the Birth of Christ, the Celts in the Danube Valley found their country rich in iron, and soon their extensive use of this metal made them ambitious for conquests. Armed with iron weapons the Celts waged savage war. They invaded Greece and Italy and conquered Gaul. Soon after 300 B.C. they assembled ships in the Loire and ventured westwards overseas to seek new

settlements. Some landed in Britain. Some rounded Lands End and entered Ireland. Some pressed onwards to the Isle of Man, and drove their ships ashore on the sandy beaches near Ronaldsway and Ramsey. The Picts resisted; but their bronze weapons were outmatched by the "broad blue lances." The small, dark Island folk were driven inland from the coast. They lost their wealth in cattle; they lost their fertile farms. They made their final stands in the Curraghs of Ayre; on the slopes of Snaefell and the Barrules; and in their nearly sea-girt stronghold on Mull Hill. They were subdued, but not destroyed, for traces of them remain still in the Island blood, especially in the South.

The Celts became masters in Man; they founded the Manx people and nation. One proof of their supremacy is the Manx Language, which is a distinctive Celtic tongue called Goidelic or Gaelic. Another is the persistence of the Celtic stock, which is preponderant in Man to the present day. Further evidence affirms their successful settlement as farmers. A singular lack of it demonstrates their failure to develop culturally. Why they so failed is a mystery.

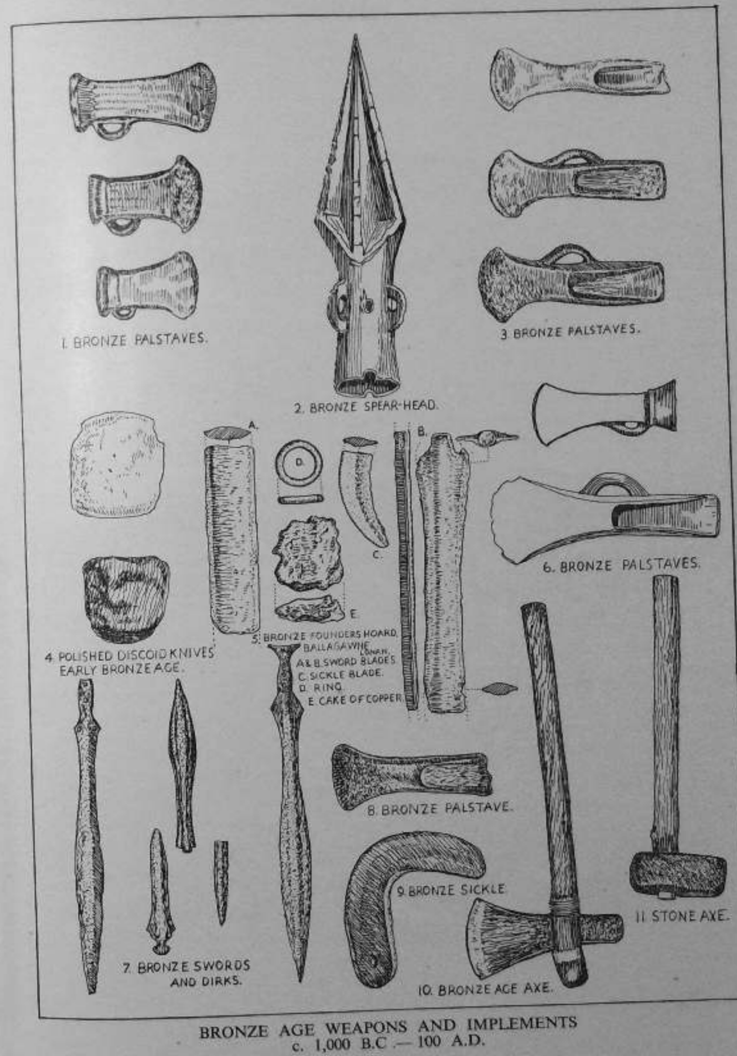
Britain and Ireland are rich in Celtic remains; they are rare in Man. For nearly a millenium a mist like Manannin's hides the Island from History. When occasionally it lifts, the Celts are seen as farmers who have forgotten their knowledge of iron and their skill in its use. They were highly civilized, but they never attained to that high culture enjoyed by neighbouring Celtic peoples. The soil of Man has surrendered no illuminating finds of iron tools and implements; of pottery moulded on the wheel; or of beautiful Celtic ornaments and enamels. Industry was slight and trade almost negligible. This remarkable halt in the progress of the Manx people cannot be satisfactorily explained.

The mystery of Man's isolation deepens with the Roman Occupation of Britain, which lasted 400 years. The Romans knew of the Island, but ignored it. Even Roman merchants found no encouragement to trade, though naval galleys patrolling the Irish Sea must have ridden out many a gale in the Island's sheltering bays, and anchored in its estuaries to water and refit. Neither Roman might nor culture influenced Man. That no seed of Truth was sown to convert the pagan Celts to Christianity is the strongest proof of the Island's mysterious isolation during the 400 years of Roman rule in Britain.

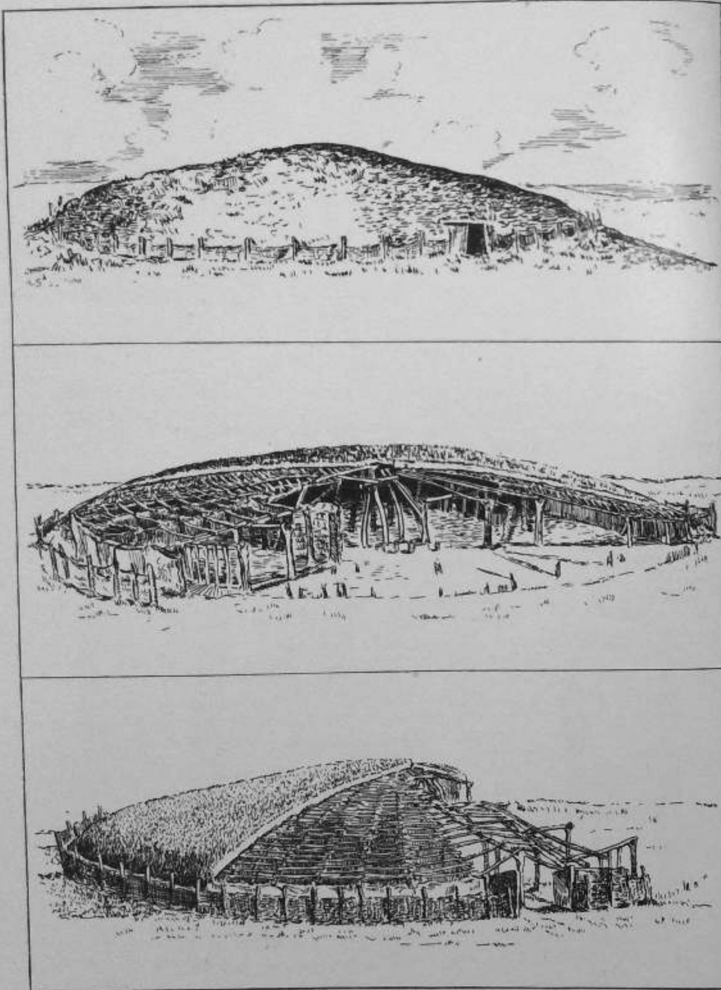
Recent excavation in various parts of Man has shed much needed light on this long hiatus in our Island Story. In 1943, excavations at Ballacagen, near Castletown, revealed a group of Celtic homesteads, the largest of which was an immense round house. It was timber-built, with a raftered roof like an inverted saucer, sod covered and supported by thousands of oaken posts and a few of pine, set irregularly in ever-widening rings. The innermost ring enclosed a space about 15 feet in diameter having in its centre a hearth built of stones. Beyond this inner ring, others formed a series of circular corridors varying in width, the seventh and outermost of which consisted of stout, square posts set side by side to form a wall. A sloping bank of sods was piled against this outside wall, beyond which lay a wide, shallow ditch, which was itself surrounded by a timber fence, erected, not for defence, but to prevent damage by cattle.

This immense round house, 90 feet in diameter and some 6,000 square feet in area, was the home of a single family whose members lived in the innermost room, but slept in separate rooms arranged in the two corridors next surrounding it. Some of these rooms were larders; in others, occupations such as spinning and weaving were carried on in spite of the dim light. The remaining area was set aside for storing grain and stabling livestock which, according to the animal bones discovered, were the ox, sheep, pig and pony.

The warfare which ravaged Britain after the Roman withdrawal in 410 A.D. did not leave Man unscathed. It ended the long age of peace, and though the Manx



BRONZE AGE WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS
c. 1,000 B.C. — 100 A.D.



CELTIC HOMESTEAD, BALLACAGEN
From a Model in the Manx Museum

repelled invaders, they suffered from the piratical raids of the Picts and Irish. In the meantime, Celtic refugees from Wales had settled in the South where they built villages, not homesteads, and where they lived as both farmers and craftsmen. A village inhabited by such Celts, who revived the use of iron in Man, was excavated recently at Ronaldsway. It stood on a sunny site near the old Neolithic dwelling and consisted of a group of cottages which appear to have been more sensible homes than the farmsteads of Ballacagen. In this village, the popular dwelling was a one-roomed, round cottage about twenty feet in diameter. Its walls were built of local stone to a height of six or seven feet, and a central post raftered into the walls supported its conical roof. The doorway faced south and let in most of the light. The floor was of earth, and the hearth was a semi-circular platform built against the wall. Some of the cottages had been rebuilt, and one consisted of two circular rooms intercommunicating. A novel feature, found in the centre of the largest house was a beehive shaped oven built of stone and clay. It was the family baking-oven, and even contained some charred gorse-sticks or 'bons.'

The MALBRITHA PIN

The owners of these cosy homes were busy folk. They grew a little corn, which they ground in saddle-querns. They reared cattle, sheep and pigs; they liked shellfish; and they feasted occasionally on poultry and wild boar. Many of them were seamen, for the iron nails and ship-bolts indicate that shipwrights among them built finer boats than dug-outs; seagoing ships in fact. Ronaldsway smiths were workers in copper, bronze and iron. Some cast and forged iron weapons, farm implements and carpenters' tools. Others were working jewellers who fashioned ornaments such as bronze bracelets, and made delightful little rings of lignite and jet. The most interesting survival of these craftsmen is a small bronze weighing-balance, of which the beam and part of the scale-pans are in the Manx Museum.

Nothing has survived to inform us of the fate of the Picts. They were neither destroyed nor reduced to slavery. The Celts occupied the most fertile areas and left the remainder to the Picts, who lived alongside their conquerors, but in independent settlements under their own chiefs. Under such conditions, the two peoples would adapt themselves to each others mode of life; they would tend to mingle, and in time would become one people.

5. THE CONVERSION OF THE MANX

History was slow in dawning, so no straightforward story can be told of the conversion of the Manx to Christianity. Missionaries came to Man, but no Christian Church was founded as in England. The work was casual, but it endured; the Christian Faith was taught to the Manx people.

The conversion of the Manx is attributed to Irish monks, most of whom were followers of St. Patrick and St. Columba. Neither seem to have visited Man, but both were held in the highest esteem by the early Manx Christians. The westernmost point in Man is a little rocky isle whose every inch of soil is sacred. It had been hallowed as the holm of kings, the stronghold of the race, and the holy place of pagan gods and worship. There, in the late 5th century, Irish monks built their monastery and a poor little church of timber and sod, which they dedicated to St. Patrick and which presently gave the isle its name. Thenceforward, Inis-patrick, St. Patrick's Isle, that is, was destined to be doubly holy, as the Birthplace of the

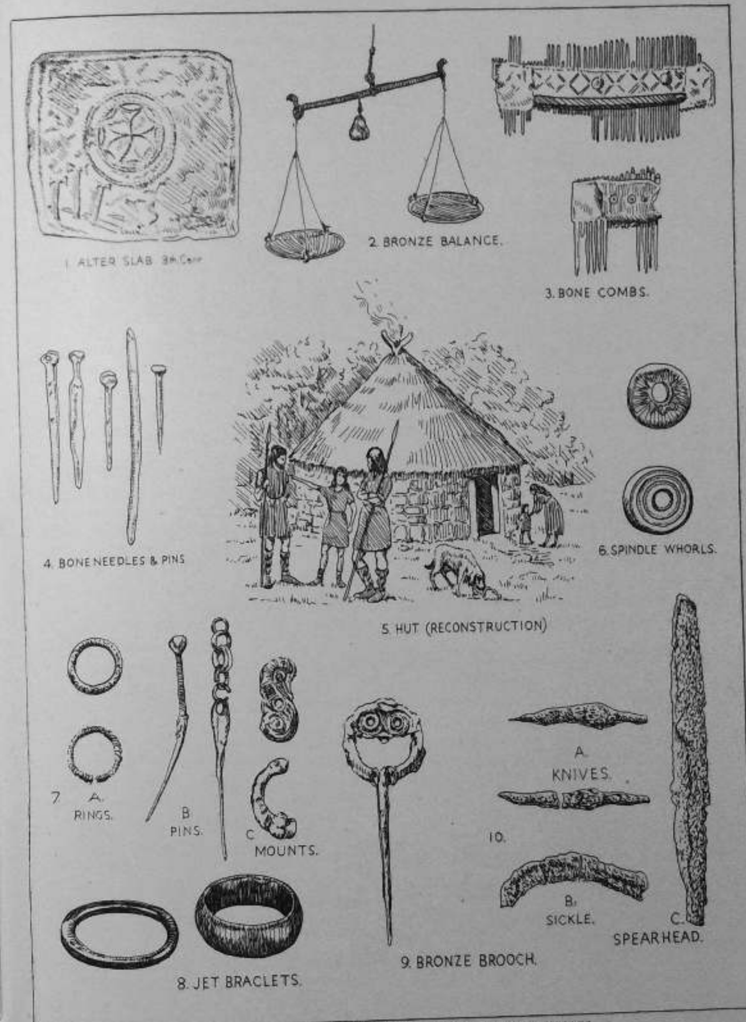
Christian Faith in Man and the Cradle for centuries to come, of the Christian Church and its worship.

Little is known of the Irish saints. They had no chroniclers; they kept no record of events; yet they are ever memorable. In all parts of the Island their names have been given to farmlands, cronks and wells; to primitive keeills and parish churches; to parishes themselves and to Sheadings, when these were later formed; nor have they been forgotten in the rich treasure of tradition we have inherited. Soften the native names of such Irish saints to the smoother English tongue, then will it be known where they planted their Faith. Among them were German, Lonan, Conchan, Rushen and Machud. St. Brendan or Braddan was an abbot of Clonfert; Santan and Arbory taught in the South. St. Bridget, pious abbess of Kildare, has given her name to Bride.

On the slope of Slieu Chiarn, the "Hill of the Lord," in Marown, a group of boulders marks the site of a Stone Age tomb, which tradition asserts to be St. Patrick's Chair. While the weary saint once rested there, men and women hurried from the fields and gathered round him. A great love for them stirred within his heart. He taught and blessed them; and as they knealt, he turned, and touching the two tallest stones, marked each with the Cross of Christ. Turning again, he blessed his converts in farewell, and with them all the people of the Island. Many believe that these pillars commemorate the first preaching of the Gospel on the Island, a tradition attached also to Chibber Pherick, near Peel, and to other places.

According to tradition, the most remarkable early saint was Machud or MacCuill. He was a pagan robber. St. Patrick converted him, but ordered that in penance for his sins, he should deliver his life to the mercy of God. Machud obeyed. With his feet locked in irons, and having neither food nor drink, he was placed in a wicker coracle and thrust off from his native shore. The coracle was carried out to sea. Through the day and night it drifted, and soon after dawn was dashed ashore on Man, on the rocky headland since named after the saint. As by a miracle, two men who happened near, dragged Machud from the breakers, and as he gripped the rock, his chain slipped from his feet and he was freed. Climbing the steep cliff, they gained a grassy slope near to its summit where Machud, falling upon his knees, gave thanks to God for his deliverance. As he rose, a spring gushed from the ground and formed a cup-shaped well in the short grass. He quenched his thirst from its cool waters, and saw in a sharp vision, such full forgiveness for his sins that he devoted the rest of his life to the service of God. With the help of the strangers who had drawn him from the sea, he built a little church upon the headland and travelled everywhere around teaching and preaching. He became the Island's bishop, and lived in great holiness to a good old age. St. Machud, or St. Maughold, as he was known to the Manx, died, it is said, in 533, and was buried in his churchyard.

The monks of Inis-patrick were zealous men, but their work of conversion was slow. A preacher might make a few converts in a Treen. If so, he was allowed to settle on some nearby waste. Around his little plot he raised a low sod wall, within the enclosure of which he built a poor hut of turf in which to sleep, and another a little larger as his place of worship. This cell or keeill was primitive. It had a narrow doorway but no windows. A slab of stone served as an altar. It was large enough for his own worship, but not for that of a congregation. He baptised his converts in the nearest spring and they assembled round the door of his keeill to worship. The preacher gave no thought to food or clothing, but lived on water and herbs. He lived solely to worship God, to make the heathen Christian, and to care for the poor and sick. His work was heartbreaking, for pagan priests were strong, and age-old beliefs were hard to change. Men could not easily understand his teaching. In the end he won by the sincerity of his life and example.



CELTIC IRON AGE CULTURE, RONALDSWAY
c. 100 — 600 A.D.

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY IN MAN
5th century, A.D.

About a century after St. Patrick's death Christian work in Man was strengthened by St. Columba, a great Irish missionary who had founded a monastery on Iona as the centre of his work in converting the Picts. St. Columba sent many disciples to Man where some joined the monks on Inis-patrick, while others, like St. Moluoc in Malew, and St. Ronan in Marown, taught in various parts of the Island. They too built keeills which became centres of Christian worship, and though they must have found their work easier than had their predecessors, they lived as austerely.

Several centuries later, when Man was settled under Viking rule, Jocelyn, abbot of Rushen in 1188, tried to learn something about the Early Church in Man and its founders. He wrote a "Life of St. Patrick," and began the "CHRONICA REGUM MANNIAE ET INSULARUM," that is, the "Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles," which was continued by succeeding scribes until 1316 when Rushen Abbey was sacked. Unhappily, this record is in the possession, not of the Manx Museum, but of the British Museum, nevertheless it is an invaluable Manx treasure. It is Man's first written record and the sole source of much of our knowledge of early events. That some of its information is traditional rather than historical in no degree lessens our interest in this remarkable book.

Jocelyn states that Inis-patrick was the early centre of the Manx Church, and he believed the "holy and learned" St. German was Man's first bishop. He mentions also another bishop, St. Dachonna, who built a church on Inis-patrick in which, in 648, he was buried in a tomb or shrine. In 798, Viking raiders first attacked Man. They landed on Inis-patrick, stormed its great earth stronghold, slew its defenders and looted and burned its buildings. Among them, St. Dachonna's church was destroyed, together with his shrine which the Vikings smashed in pieces hoping to find treasure. Probably they did so, as when threatened, Christians commonly buried valuables in churchyards, or gave them to their priest for safe keeping in the church. When Somerled anchored in Ramsey Bay in 1158, one of his men, Gilcolm, led a raid on Maughold Church where riches were reported to be hidden, but he was foiled and brought to a terrible doom by St. Maughold himself. Also, hoards of silver coins, hidden in Viking times, were found in the burial-grounds of Kirk Andreas and Ballaqueeney.

A striking memorial to the danger besetting the early Christians from Viking raids is the Round Tower built on Inis-patrick's highest point. It is the only one in Man, but such towers are numerous in Ireland and Scotland. All are roomy, well-built refuges where monks could shelter quickly with their treasure, and where they hoped to hold out until the raiders were forced to retreat. Inis-Patrick's Round Tower stands about 60 feet high. It is stoutly built of squared blocks of red sandstone, well jointed and mortared, and is an exceptionally fine building to have been erected over a thousand years ago, probably by Irish masons. At some later time its conical roof collapsed, but its top was re-built with battlements as we see it to-day.

The Manx were wholly converted to Christianity long before the Viking raids in the 8th century, but there is little evidence that vital changes occurred in their lives. Pagan cremation gave way to Christian burial, and pagan myths were adapted to Christian beliefs, but many customs were too deeply ingrained for Christianity to eradicate. No "Golden Age of Learning" dawned in Man as it did in Ireland and Britain, and there is no evidence of cultural inspiration in literature, music or art. The religion taught by the Celtic Church was cold and austere.

This religious austerity was reflected in the early Christian churches or keeills, which are to-day in ruins. Their walls have crumbled; they are overgrown with grass or bramble, and of many nothing remains save a few small stones scattered upon a mound. Poor relics they may be, yet they link us with our early Christian forefathers. In their wells they were baptised; in the shadow of their walls they

worshipped; and in their little graveyards they were buried. The soil of each ruined keeill is hallowed still by the conversion of their heathen souls to Christianity.

The earliest keeills stood on low mounds bounded by earthern walls, and as these were built of sods, they have vanished utterly. Later keeills were a little larger, and they stood on larger mounds, part of which was set aside as a graveyard. The keeill was built of sod or of rough stone. It was lighted by a window, and had a doorway in the west gable. Many keeills, late in type, were well built. They stood in a level, sod-walled enclosure, and the stones of which their walls were built were laid with mortar. They had steeply-pitched roofs, which were probably thatched, and their floors were paved with small, flat stones. Their entrances were formed by two stone jambs across the tops of which a flat stone or lintel was placed to support the masonry above. The windows also were squared with similar lintels, a simple method of bridging an opening which has persisted as a feature in Manx building to the present day. The plan of the keeill dictated that of successive churches until the present day. The old parish church, invariably built on the site of an ancient keeill, is rectangular in plan. The east end is not apsidal and within, there is no architectural division between the nave and the chancel. Structural innovations have been few, the principal being the pointed arch vaulting windows and doorways, and the provision of an entrance porch, a dominant east window, and a belfry, all of simple construction and free from ornament.

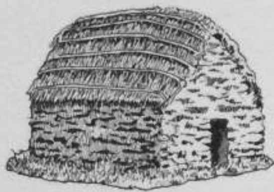
In most keeills, a part of its enclosure was set aside as a graveyard in which the dead were laid uncoffined in shallow lintel-graves, cists, that is formed, except for their ends, of slabs of unhewn stone. Keeill Lag-ny-Keeilley, Patrick, stands on a small natural platform on the steep western slope of Cronk-ny-Iree-Laa. Just outside its enclosing wall is the rude hut of its hermit-priest, with the ashes of his fire still in the centre of its floor. Adjoining it lies the field where once he grew a little grain, and nearby is its sacred Well of Baptism. The approach to the keeill is by an old pack-horse road, along which the last funeral passed just over a hundred years ago. It can have differed in little from the first, because, an aged parishioner remembered, "The body, wrapped in a winding sheet, was strapped on the back of the old mare, supported on the 'burliagh' or bundle of straw which served as a saddle, and the horse was led down the long track by the mourners and followed by friends."

Nothing was laid with the remains in a Christian burial, but it became customary to mark a grave with a stone slab on the face of which a cross was cut lightly. In time, such tombstones increased in size and elaboration. The Cross was cut in outline, or enclosed within a ring. Later, though the Cross was always the main motif, it was often obscured by a wealth of ornament which covered both faces of the monument, the edges of which were reserved for inscriptions. Scriptural scenes are pictured on a few old Celtic Crosses. Daniel in the Lions' Den is carved on a stone at Braddan. A Cross found on the Calf of Man, presents a vivid picture of Christ's Crucifixion, and the Virgin and Child appear on a Cross at Maughold.

The most puzzling inscriptions found on early tombstones are those in Ogam, the oldest Gaelic writing. Few so inscribed occur in Man, the most interesting being one preserved at Maughold. It is not a sepulchral stone, but a rough slate slab on which John, who was a priest in that parish in the early 13th century, carved on it first, an inscription in runes, and, below this, a complete Ogam alphabet.

A few years ago, during the excavation of a keeill at Knock y Doonee, Andreas, the late P. M. C. Kermode, a notable Manx antiquarian and the foremost authority on Manx Crosses, discovered the tombstone of "Ambecat, son of Rocat." This information is inscribed on the rounded side of the stone in Gaelic Ogam, and again on its face in Latin in well-formed Roman capitals. The stone dates from the 6th century and is the only bi-lingual monument as yet found on the Island.

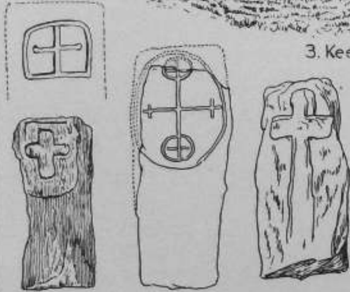
THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD
5th — 9th centuries A.D.



1. Lag Ny Keeilly. Manx Mus.

2. Line Crosses.

3. Keeill. 6th Cent.



4. Outline Crosses.

5. Sulbrick Keeill. Santan.

AN EARLY MANX KEEILL
Crosses from Drawings by P. M. C. Kermode, Manx Museum

The few Ogams excepted, inscriptions on early Christian crosses are in Runes a form of writing which originated in Denmark. Most of the Island's crosses have been found in Maughold, and of these, three dating earlier than the 11th century, were memorials to bishops and abbots. The little, grey church is itself very old, and it was built on the site of two keeills still older. The Irish monks who taught in Man made Maughold their Eastern settlement where, in addition to several keeills, they built a monastery which comprised an abbot's house and guest house, a refectory and separate cells for its monks. They surrounded their settlement with a stone rampart covered with an earthern embankment which sloped outwards to a moat. Maughold became a fortress and was important for a time, perhaps after the sack of Inis-patrick, as the headquarters of the Church on the Island and the place of residence of its bishops. The wooden buildings of the monastery have disappeared, but remnants of its ramparts and keeills still remain. It probably suffered several Norse assaults, one of which at least was repulsed, because, in 1158, when Gilcolm, greedy for loot, stormed its last citadel, its church, he and most of his men were slain by priests inspired to frenzy bv their Standard, the sacred staff of St. Maughold.

Sir John Stanley, Lord of Man from 1414 to 1432, was informed by the Deemsters that at the Tynwald ceremony at which he presided he would see, "the 3 Reliques of Man, there to be before you in youre presence, and three Clarkes bearing them in their Surplesses." It is not known what these "Three Relics" were, because at some later time they disappeared, but it has been conjectured that they were the Pastoral Staffs or Croziers of St. Patrick, St. German and St. Maughold. The Staff of St. Maughold was reputed to have worked miracles, and it was held in such reverence that the Staffkeeper, who guarded it with his life, was rewarded with the use of certain lands called "Stafflands." Evidently the Staffs or "Relics" were secreted in some time of stress and those who concealed them died without revealing their secret.

Among the priceless treasures Maughold has preserved is a revealing little remnant of Viking loot. This is the gold Solidus of the Holy Roman Empire, minted between 814 and 840, when Louis, named the "Debonair" and "Pious," Charlemagne's third son, was Roman Emperor. He was not an able ruler. His reign was troubled by warfare and Viking raids, and he bought off many who menaced his seaboard with sums of gold.

This coin was discovered in 1884 by the late Canon S. N. Harrison, just outside the south wall of the churchyard. About two feet below the surface of the soil, and near a narrow, stone-lined grave, he found it perfectly preserved in a heap of quartz pebbles. Gold coins of Louis are by no means rare, but this particular solidus is unique; no other specimen of its minting is known anywhere.

The first recorded bishop in Man is Roolwer of Maughold. He lived in the 11th century, but little is known about him apart from tradition. He may be the bishop portrayed on a Maughold Cross; a rather quaint bishop with a big, round head, large eyes and bearded chin, who grasps a short staff in his right hand, and raises his left hand in blessing. But be he true or traditional, Roolwer is remembered by a beautiful stained-glass memorial lighting one of the narrow 12th century windows in the South wall of the church, where he is seen with saint-haloed head and robed in full ceremonial vestments.

The Conversion of the Manx was accomplished by Celtic teachers, but without order or method. No organised Church with a common form of worship or unified teaching was established. Nor was Man a diocese divided into parishes under the authority of a bishop. The Celtic tribal law regulated religion as it did everything else, so the Island Christians formed communities allied to one another by a common Faith rather than by union in a single Church. The position and authority of the bishop were not as such are understood to-day. He was chosen for the holiness

CLAGH ARD. Kk. Christ Rushen.

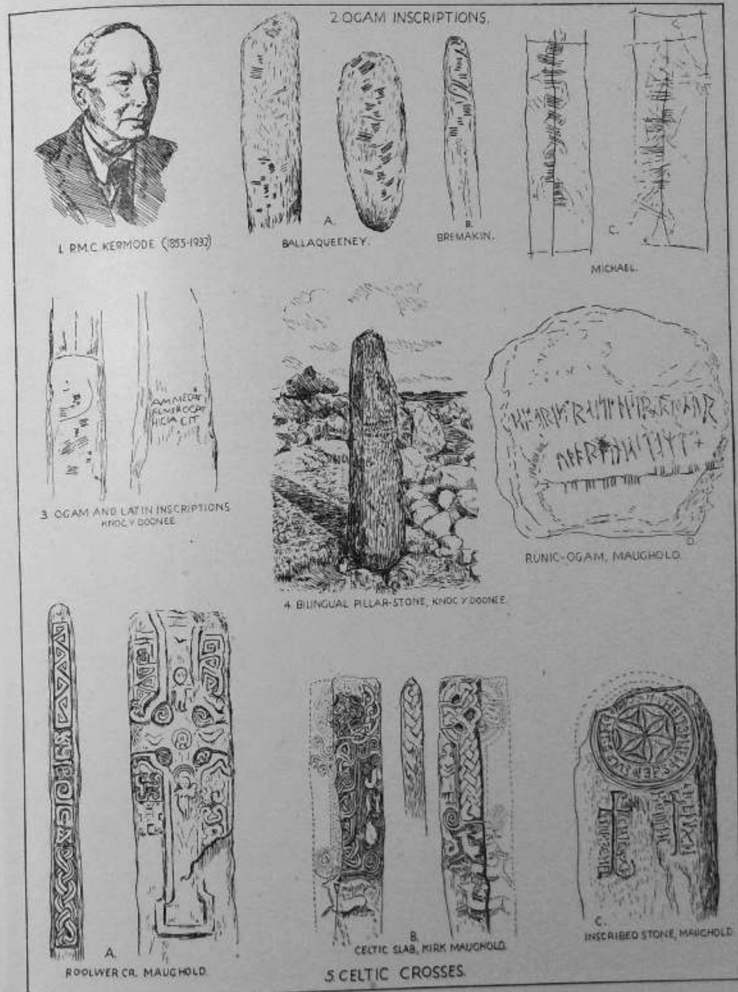
of his life; his function was to counsel and protect. The powers of holy men against supernatural foes were as those of kings against physical ones, only they lasted longer and reached further. Over a period of about 300 years a great work had been done in converting the Manx. A greater remained to be done in uniting them. Before this could be achieved, the people and their Christian Faith were nearly swept from Man by Norse invaders.

6. THE VIKING CONQUEST.

Between the coming of St. Patrick's "shepherds" and the first Viking attacks, lie 300 years apparently devoid of History. We have no Manx records, and Welsh and Irish Chronicles make only vague references to Man and to those predatory Celtic chiefs who risked occasional raids. Had it been otherwise, they would profer little help, for the early literature, even of the Cymry, found few words for simple folk; their songs poured forth in floods in praise of the deeds of their heroes, the "Men of the North," who strove to stem the tide of Anglo-Saxon invasion. In those raid-ridden days, Man too rejoiced in heroes worthy of a Taliesin's nimble tongue; but they fought and died unsung. As to the condition of the people and the state of their culture, we can only conjecture, remembering, however, the revolution in thought created by Christian teaching and the advanced "Iron Age" phase in their material civilization which they enjoyed before their Conversion.

By the beginning of the 7th century the only Celtic territories left in Roman Britain were Cumberland, Cornwall and Wales. The rest of the country was a collection of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms whose rulers fought against Celtic chiefs and one another. Similar struggles ravaged Ireland and Scotland, and even Man was tossed among petty Celtic kings, some of whom were able at the most to assert a fleeting supremacy and exact a mild tribute. Tradition has left a list of Irish, Welsh and Scottish suzerains, with an occasional Angle, but most of these princes are of little interest as they had little influence upon Manx life.

About 500 A.D. Manannan, whom St. Patrick had driven into his fastness in Snaefell, was finally laid low by Maelgwyn, a Welsh prince. He ruled Man, but his son, Rhun, was ousted by St. Columba's brother, Aidan, a King of Scots, who made his nephew, Brennus, Lord of Man. When Brennus was slain in battle, Welsh princes again became Lords, but the Celtic power was weakened immediately by Edwin of Northumbria's conquest of Cumbria. Edwin invaded Man and imposed tribute, but after his death, Welsh princes were suzerains until they were replaced by Vikings. These princes rarely visited Man, though they maintained a Court at Rushen, but they received a yearly tribute of cattle, bacon and sheep. They



INSCRIBED MONUMENTS
From Drawings by P. M. C. Kermode, Manx Museum

THE SAINTS OF MAN
From Windows in Manx Parish Churches

BURIAL CHAMBER, BALLAKELLY CIRCLE, SANTAN.

kept a garrison at Rushen, and companies of bards who had lands set aside for their support. The "Harpers' Glen" in Conchan, later named Glencrutchery, may not have been merely the resort of bards, but a well known centre of Music, whose eisteddfods attracted musicians from both Ireland and Wales.

The Vikings, who attacked the British Isles, were known by the general name of Northmen or Danes, though the Irish distinguished them as Norwegians, or "Fair Strangers," and Danes, or "Black Strangers." The Vikings first attacked Northumbria in 793, and Man in 798, when they sacked Inis-patrick. After this, when they realised its situation in the Irish Sea, Man had rest from their raids, but its bays were never free from their ships. Man became their rendezvous, the haven at first of a few, who bargained to protect the Manx from other raiders in return for land on which to build a camp; for food and harbourage; and for timber for shipbuilding. The Manx had no choice; the Island became a Viking lair from which attacks were launched on the neighbouring coasts. By the fortune of war the Manx had drawn the fangs of a rabid foe, but the unwelcome alliance they had made was enforced for a century. While warfare rotted every country round, Man enjoyed a saving, though uneasy, peace until ambitious Viking jarls fought among themselves, and a far-seeing Viking king dreamt of an empire.

The Vikings began as raiders, but in the 9th century they became conquerors and settlers. They conquered the Orkney and Shetland Islands and settled in modern Sutherland and Caithness. They took the outer Hebrides, and fought their way south, through Skye, Mull and Islay to Arran until, having conquered these Western Isles, they were ready to sail to Man. In the year 880, Harold Haarfager, or "Fair-head," King of Norway, set out to include these settlements in his kingdom, and met with little resistance. The Orkney and Shetland Islands he made into a new kingdom, the Nordreys, or Kingdom of the Northern Isles, while the Western Isles became similarly, the Sudreys, or Kingdom of the Southern Isles. Man, which it is said he harried and, "laid waste the tilths," became a third new kingdom in which, before returning to Norway, he left a Viceroy to govern in his name.

The Sudreys are memorable in Manx History. At times they were united with Man politically, for many rulers were entitled, "King of Man and the Isles." Also, the Norse joined the Sudreys and Man as a single Diocese, but though the Isles slipped out of our history, their memory was kept green, for the old tie survives in the present title of the See, which is commonly, "Sodor and Man." From the time of Godred Crovan to the cession of the Isles to Scotland in 1266, Man and the Sudreys were one kingdom constitutionally, as after 1156 the twenty-four Taxiaxi,

or Keys, were not all "Freeholders of Man." Sixteen only represented Man; the remaining eight represented the two northern island-groups in the Sudreys. In 1422, the Keys themselves declared that they numbered, "twenty-four free houlders, vizt. eight in the out Isles and sixteen in your land of Mann."

When Haarfager sailed, his viceroy in Man was murdered, and when another deputy arrived he too was slain. Then raiders swept in from Dublin and the Sudreys, and if one were worsted it was of no avail, for a stronger force harried elsewhere. The toll of war left Man a ruined land, and Haarfager the Lord of starving families and wasted farms. In 913, Ragnall, a Norseman, sailed into Ramsey Bay, and there fell foul of an Ulster fleet under Barid MacOttir. In the sea-fight that followed the Ulster ships were sunk and MacOttir and his pirates were slain. When Ragnall landed none barred his way. The people lost heart. No man heeded the war-signs of his king, the Muster-Cross, "Crosh Vusta," the arrow or the axe; nor would men rally at his call, "Let every man who is not worthless leave his home and come."

Ragnall was King of Man a little while, then after him came a line of others like him. We read of Ketil, Helgi, Anlaf and a score or so more, but only one among them, Macon, is of interest. English chroniclers tell his story. They say he was a King of Man and of many Islands, and that he did homage to Edgar the Peaceful, who, in 959, became King of England. He was one of the eight vassal kings who rowed Edgar on the Dee, and who afterwards rose in his service to command his fleet. While Macon was High Admiral of England Man had a brief rest, even from Irish raiders, for he kept the Seas so clear that he was called the "Prince of Seamen." The bearings on his banner, a ship with furled sails, and the inscription, "Rex Manniae et Insularum," became the arms and motto of Man for the next three centuries.

After Macon's death Man became the victim of incessant warfare, and History has a sorry tale to tell of wretched kings and still more wretched people reduced by war and famine to such pitiful despair, that when a conqueror rid them of their foes, and gave them to their wonder, firm government, justice, order, law and peace, they made his name and reign for ever memorable. His reign became "the days," beginning History. His name became a ready Word of Power, invoked, even by the Keys to guard their liberties.

7. KING ORRY.

Great men are well remembered, but few are so renowned as Orry or Gorry the Dane, a King of Man so memorable in Tradition that his personality is lost, but who to-day is believed by many to have been that true ruler Godred Crovan. His name is now immortal; his fame rests on the endurance of his work. He laid foundations upon which later generations built. Together they created the free Manx Nation, and the independent Commonwealth of Man, self-governed within the framework of its ancient Institutions. The whole of Man is Orry's Monument.

Godred Crovan was born in Islay, but he is first noted as fighting at Stamford Bridge, in 1066, on the side of the Norse invader, Harold Hardrada. Following Hardrada's defeat he came to Man, where he served the King in his homestead, near Castletown. Recognising then, perhaps, the weakness of the Island's defences, and its richness as a prize, he went to Norway where he raised a force of men each as eager for adventure as he was himself.

Godred twice attempted to conquer Man; twice he failed. The third time he tried, he drove his ships far up the river Sulby, and seized a low knoll on the slope of Scacafel, now named Skyhill, which he entrenched. In the morning when battle broke, the Norse stood like a wall, which, struggle as they would, the Manx could not penetrate. Through that never-ending day on Skyhill's slope, the stubborn Island valour was riddled by Norse arrows, rent by smashing axe and stinging spear,

and routed, in the end, by a well-timed attack on its rear. By noon the trench was taken. At three, the hill seemed won. At six, the battle raged fiercely still until in the falling dusk, a whistling spear made Godred a conqueror. At that signal, the Norse swept down that dead-strewn slope like a destroying gale. Gripped between two forces, the Manx made no further stand. The battle ended as darkness fell when they surrendered.

Godred's victory was decisive; the Island fell into his hands and he became its king. That he met with no further opposition is probable, as it must be remembered that after 200 years of Norse settlement, the manhood of the Island was largely of Norse blood. It was probably for this reason too, that Godred, in the course of his reign achieved greatness by establishing the Norse system of government as the national system. He found two races living side by side, having interests in common, but differentiated by their racial pecularities of thought, language, customs and institutions. He abolished this duality and established a Norse supremacy. What is important is that the probably long-established Norse Assembly, the Tynwald or THINGWALD, became the National Assembly; that its Procedure and Ceremonial have endured to the present day with little change; and that its Meeting is still essential in giving effect to law. The Tynwald comprised the King; two learned Lawmen, who later were termed Deemsters; the 24 Keys, who were selected as being the "worthiest men," to assist the Assembly to make decisions where there was doubt as to what was law; and the Freemen or Folk, whose assent was necessary to establish the law. The functions of these parties have since changed radically. The Deemsters, for example have long been judges and administrators, and the Keys, legislators and the elected representatives of the People, but the original principle, that King, Deemsters, Keys and Folk must meet annually, or, if need arise, more frequently, in Tynwald to give effect to law by hearing it promulgated, is still the basis of the Manx Constitution.

The designation, "Keys," has long been a bone of contention; an immensity of thought has been devoted to determining its derivation. The simplest explanation may be the correct one, namely, that the Keys were literally they who "unlocked the law," or made it evident.

A unique event in Man's long history was the visit in July, 1945, of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to Tynwald and to the Island as Lord and Lady of Man. Preceded by its ancient Sword of State, accompanied by their "trusty and sworn lieges," and fenced by their royal guard, their Majesties trod the rush-strewn path from St. John's Church to Tynwald Hill where, "Our doughtiful Lord and gratious," conducted and observed the procedure of Tynwald, "as given for law," to Sir John Stanley, Lord of Man, in 1422, in which the Court prescribed, "the constitutions of the ould Tyme the wch we have seene in our dayes, how you shalle be governed upon yor Tynwald dayes."

Godred's great work was constitutional, but his immediate problem must have been defence. This he tackled vigorously, and secured, not only the Island's safety, but a sufficient force in ships and men to undertake further conquests, for he invaded Ireland, where he subdued Dublin and part of Leinster. Then he conquered the Sudreys, where he ordered that no Island earl should build warships to match his own. Man and the Sudreys he formed into an empire destined to bring many a disaster upon his people.

To ensure defence, Godred abolished the right of the Clan to own land; following the example of Harold Haarfager, he claimed that all land was the property of the king. He ruled that land could be held only by men able to bear arms, and to such men, Celts and Norse, he made grants. Consequently, a system similar to the Norman Feudal System was introduced. Officials entrusted with military, judicial or fiscal duties were granted large holdings for their support. Each lived

Isti fuerũt epi q̃ epalem cathedrã i mãnia suscepe-
rũt a tpe godredi crouan & aliquanto tpe ante.
Pri⁹ extitit aliqñ godred' crouan regnare cepisset
roolwer epc q̃ iacet ap ecctiam sci machuti. Mul-
ti qdem a tpe bi patricij q pm⁹ fidem catholicã pdicasse
fert mannensib; i mannia extitisse epi; sz ab
ipso sufficit epoz memoriã incoasse. Sufficit dixim⁹ q
q uel quales ante ipm epi extitint penit⁹ ignoram⁹
qa nec scptũ inuenim⁹ nec certa relatione seniou
didicim⁹. Post roolwer Willus extitit epc.

Post Willm i dieb; godredi crouan hamond' filius
iole mannic⁹ genie epalem suscepit cathedrã.
Huic successit i episcopatu Gamaliel anglic⁹ genie
qui iacet ap petarborch i anglia.
Post hunc ragnald' norwegiensis genie mannen-
sem ecctiam gubnandã suscepat. Huic pmo tcie
ecctiaz mannie a psonis concesse fuerãt itr dem
ceps sibi ab om̃i epali exactione fore potuissent.
Hunc successit i epatu cristin⁹ archadiensis genie.
q iacet i bencorensi monastio.
Post hũc michael mannensis genie uir uite uen
abilis & clar⁹ mitis monach⁹ qdem actu & habitu
pontificatũ suscepat. & hic ultimũ uite diem i bo
na senectute finiens ap fontanas honorifice iacet

CHRONICA REGUM MANNIAE ET INSULARUM
The "Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles." Photostat, British Museum

GODRED CROVAN,
King of Man, 1079—95
Panel, Ballamoar

on a portion of this estate and granted the remainder to tenants who were farmers, and who paid for its use by doing military service, by giving part of their labour and produce to serve as rent and taxes, and by performing various public services, such as building fortresses.

In Man, large numbers of men were absorbed by agriculture, and professional men, such as lawyers and priests, needed land as their mainstay. Of the remainder, who were landless men, the bulk were freeman who were hired by the others as labourers, while a few were unfree serfs or slaves. Warfare, poverty and crime were the main causes which forced freemen into slavery. Godred gave the Norse preference as landholders. He settled them chiefly in the fertile South, whereupon the Celts became predominant in the North. This re-distribution of population naturally intensified the distinction between the ancient North and South, each of which was now divided into three "ship-districts," or Sheadings. This was at first an essentially military unit, as the Sheading freemen were required to build, fit and man four Skeids or warships, each seating 26 oars; to arm and train themselves as warriors; and to take their turn of duty with the "Watch and Ward." The Sheading Ting was responsible for seeing this duty was done. Its officials, the Coroner and Moar, brought any who failed to trial in the Sheading-court, where the assembled Folk witnessed that law was done. Any case too important for this court was held over for the law-man or lagman (Deemster) to hear when he made his customary visits to the Sheading.

An intense respect for law, rather than justice, was instinctive in the Norse; the rights held by each person according to his rank were measured for each possible injury therefore, when claims were brought before a court, the injury done and the amends to be made were assessed precisely. For certain crimes there could be no amends. Treason was punished with death for, "the king and his law-men dare not grant mercy." False swearing was also a serious crime; the perjurer lost his right hand.

The roving Norse were men of violence, but settlement changed their character. They prospered as farmers, merchants and craftsmen; they were eager to live by law; they adopted Christianity; and were amenable to Christian teaching and influence. The Early Church helped the law, because the clergy, having knowledge of justice, taught that wrongs were also sins. Offenders must repent as well as pay, and prove repentance by efforts to lead a better life.

Because the Sheading supplied a 26-seater ship, it was divided into 26 Treens, each of which provided an oar for the ship's crew. These Treens varied in size; each contained four Farms or Quarterlands. The Treen also became a convenient fiscal unit, as an annual tax of fixed amount was imposed on each, to which each Quarterland contributed in proportion to its size.

Godred or Orry was one of the great Makers of Man. Though wrathful, cold and grim, ingrained Norse instincts made him just. He neither wasted nor overran Man; nor were its people slain, enslaved nor driven wholly from their lands. He established order and discipline, and founded national unity. It is certain too that he organized and strengthened the Christian Church, and established it as a national church.

Near the end of his reign, Godred reaped the warfare he had sown, for in 1093, the turbulent Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, harried Godred's empire. He drove Godred's garrisons out of Dublin, and took Mull and Islay. He demanded

that Godred and his son, Lagman, should do homage to him. Godred probably did so. He could not match his strength against that of Norway, so he at least visited Islay, for he died there in 1095.

8. KINGS, PRIESTS AND MONKS.

Godred had three sons, Lagman, Harald and Olaf, and when he died in 1095, Lagman succeeded him as King of Man and the Isles. His reign was brief. Harald stirred up civil war, but when Lagman captured him in battle, he put him to death brutally. The "Chronicle" records that he repented of his evil deed, abdicated, and became a Crusader, who, in 1097, marched with the great host of princes on the First Crusade. He reached Palestine and died there, but too soon to share the glory of those who, "sobbing for excess of joy," entered Jerusalem.

Lagman's departure intensified the disorder in Man, and as Olaf was too young to rule, he was sent to England to be educated at the Court of the scholarly Henry I. Under the circumstances, the King of Dublin sent a regent, Donald, to govern his kingdom, but, after ruling despotically for three years, he was driven out. The spread of unrest then brought Magnus Barefoot to Man in 1098, where he found civil war raging between the Manx of the North and those of the South. At Santwat, an unknown site near Peel, a battle had just been fought in which the Northerners were so hard pressed, that when their watching women realised their plight, they rushed into the fight and enabled them to gain the victory. When Magnus arrived with his fleet, he set his Raven Banner on St. Patrick's Isle, and went straightway to Santwat, "where the bodies of the slain lay still unburied." Learning of the courage of the Northern women, he rewarded them later in a Tynwald that, "of goods immovable, the wives shall have the halfe on the North side, whereas those on the South side shall receive only one-thirde."

Magnus restored order, and so warm was his joy in the beautiful surroundings of St. Patrick's Isle that he resolved to make it his habitation. He strengthened the ancient stronghold there, and near it built his hall. He erected also two other strongholds designed to hold the ports of Ronaldsway and Ramsey, and as these works required immense supplies of wood, he compelled the Men of Galloway to hew and transport timber for their erection.

Between his bouts of warfare in Ireland and Sweden, Magnus spent much of his time in Man, but on his death in 1103, Godred's son, Olaf, returned to Man, where he ruled ably, his reign being one of unbroken peace.

The early Norse settlers in Man had adopted Christianity, and as Godred Crovan was a zealous Christian, it was probably he who took steps to organise the Church in Man as a national Church. As King of Dublin he took counsel with his bishop, Patrick, and he received letters of advice from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Godred, Patrick and Roolwer were probably the true founders of the Manx National Church, though its diocesan organisation was delayed until later. Under Godred, the embryo See of Sodor was instituted, and St. Patrick's Isle became again the stronghold of both Church and State. There Godred kept his court, and there founded the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, and, adjoining it an episcopal palace. To-day, this church is a roofless ruin, but its walls carry three or four courses of varying length in herringbone work, a device met with only in the Transitional Saxon to Norman period. Also, the windows in the adjoining palace are Saxon, so it has been surmised that these buildings were erected by English masons.

King Olaf consolidated the work of Godred by his foundation of Rushen Abbey, and by the establishment of the See of Sodor in the Archdiocese of Drontheim. His benefaction of Rushen Abbey is significant because it established the Roman Church in the Island and increased Papal influence in its affairs.

In 1134, Olaf, by his written charter, granted land in Rushen Sheading to Ivo, Abbot of Furness, Lancashire, whereon to build a monastery, and additional lands for its support. The Abbey was founded on the site of the old Celtic monastery of St. Lua, which lay pleasantly on the ford of the Silverburn, where the wooded foothills of Barrule met the Rushen Plain. The monks, who soon took possession of the land, lived at first in wooden buildings. Apparently many years elapsed before they could build in stone, for it is a surprise to read that not until 1257, over a century after their foundation, was their Abbey Church completed and dedicated to St. Mary.

ANCIENT ARMS OF NORWAY

Rushen Abbey is built of limestone blocks extreme in size, and its windows and doorways, except in the Sacristy and North Transept have square lintels. The only decided architectural detail is a plainly chamfered arch in the Church Tower, one apparently, of an original arcade of four. Between the Church and the foundations of the Chapter House, stands a small, vaulted "Cell," or Sacristy. The rather barn-like Guest House is well preserved; there are remains of the Refectory; but the Abbot's House, Infirmary and Dormitory have disappeared. A long, buttressed wall, set with crumbling watch-towers, encloses the Abbey on the west, though a modern road, not a protecting moat, now skirts it. Nothing in the Abbey marks the craft of the master mason. There is no token of enriching ornament, and no trace of architectural elegance or grace. Time has mellowed this ruined pile to teach us where its beauty truly lies, and wé are left to marvel, that in spite of their wealth and power, the Cistercian monks of Rushen kept strictly to the plainness and simplicity enjoined by their Order.

Rushen Abbey was a small foundation, but behind it was the powerful Abbot of Furness, therefore for a time it determined the Island's spiritual, political and economic life. Its abbots were able, scholarly men. As councillors they influenced the king. As Churchmen they became the supreme ecclesiastical power, exercising authority through the bishops, and through the extensive patronage they enjoyed as landowners. In 1154, Man and the Sudreys became the Diocese of Sodor in the Archdiocese of Drontheim (Trondhjem), Olaf Tryggvason's royal city. In 1334, the Sudreys were detached from Man, but not until about 1450 was the Diocese transferred to the Province of York. Even then it continued to be the Diocese of Sodor; the designation, "and Man," was not added until the 17th century.

The first bishop elected to the Diocese was Wimund, who "captivated the people by his eloquence," but who later forsook his flock, and claiming to be the earl of Moray, took up arms in Scotland. William of Newburgh, a chronicler who knew him, wrote that he ravaged southern Scotland with fire and sword until he was granted part of it as his kingdom. This he ruled with such severity that his subjects rebelled, and when they captured him, they blinded him and kept him a prisoner until he died.

Prompted by his marriage to Aufrica, of Galloway, Olaf granted farmlands in Marown to the Priory of St. Ninian at Whithorne, whose monks, selecting as a site an early keeill at the foot of Greeba Mountain, built St. Trinian's little church, which, owing to its haunting by some roof-hating buggane, is to-day the most well-known ruin on the Island.

Olaf I, whose reign was so "acceptable to God and man," was slain by the

three sons of his brother Harald, whom Lagman had blinded. They had been reared in Ireland; they knew the story of their father's fate. In 1152, they gathered a band of reckless men, and landing in Man, claimed from Olaf the rule over part of his kingdom. Olaf temporised and appointed that they should state their claim before his Council at Ramsey.

In 1153, Olaf and his Court left St. Patrick's Isle for Ramsey, where he pitched his camp on a grassy meadow at the foot of Skyhill. On the morning of their meeting, both parties sat down in order. Olaf summoned the second brother, Reginald, to speak, and drawing near to do so, he raised his battleaxe as if in salute, but swinging it swiftly, by a vicious blow he slew the king instantly.

Reginald and his hirelings followed up this murder fiercely. They fell upon the horrified onlookers, and when an end came to their slaughter, they hurried to St. Patrick's Isle to seize the kingdom, but in this they failed. In the face of such a deed the brothers were hunted as outlaws. They fled to Galloway, but were driven back to Man where they were captured and slain. In the meantime, Olaf was buried hastily at Maughold, or in the little keeill at Ballure. A few months later his remains were re-interred in his own foundation, Rushen Abbey.

Excavations at Rushen Abbey in 1926, revealed the North Transept as the burial place of Olaf and his family. There a large grave contained the skeletons of twenty persons who had been buried together at the same time because of some tragic event. Among these remains were found two bronze brooches of Norman date and a small, bronze figure of the Egyptian god, Osiris, the ever-living Lord of all the Dead. This interesting little image originated in pre-Roman Egypt, but how it came to Man can only be conjectured. Probably a follower of the Crusader, Lagman, brought it home from Palestine, and Olaf so treasured it that it was laid in his grave.

9. MAN AND THE ISLES.

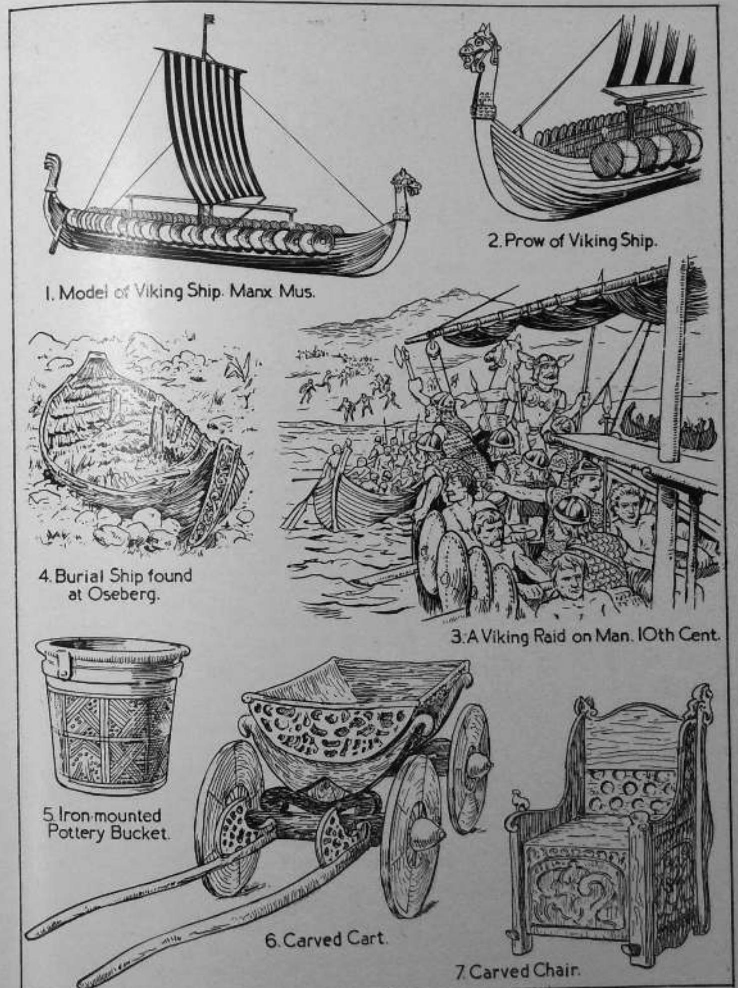
Olaf was succeeded in 1154 by his eldest son, Godred II. He was strong, and generous to the Church, but his ambitions brought him nothing but troubles. He confirmed his father's charter to Rushen Abbey and, in 1176, granted the Curragh swamp of Mirescogh to Rivaulx Abbey. The monastery was built there, it never prospered; it was later abandoned and added with its monks to Rushen. Together with Furness and Whithorne, the abbeys of St. Bee's in England, and Bangor and Sabhal in Ireland, held lands in Man, where for this reason, their abbots were barons.

Soon after Godred's accession Somerled of Argyle attacked the Sudreys, but when his fleet met Godred's, as neither gained the victory, both agreed to share the Isles between them. Somerled took "all the Sudrejar from Mull to Man," and though Godred kept Man and the Outer Hebrides with Skye, his kingdom was divided. "The ruin of the Isles may be dated from this moment," is the verdict of the 'Chronicle.'

In 1158, Somerled raided Man, forced Godred to flee to Norway to seek help, and ruled as Lord of Man until 1164, when he was slain in Scotland. When this occurred, Godred's brother, Reginald, seized the Island, but a few days later, when Godred returned from Norway, an old story was retold. A battle was fought, but when Reginald was taken, he was treated so brutally that he died. Afterwards, until he died in 1187, on St. Patrick's Isle, Godred ruled in peace.

Godred II left three sons, Reginald, Olaf and Ivar, and though he appointed Olaf to succeed him, the Manx refused him as he was a child. Instead, they sent to the Isles for Reginald, a hero in whose hot blood the Viking fever burned, and who was famous as, "the greatest waiking in the western lands."

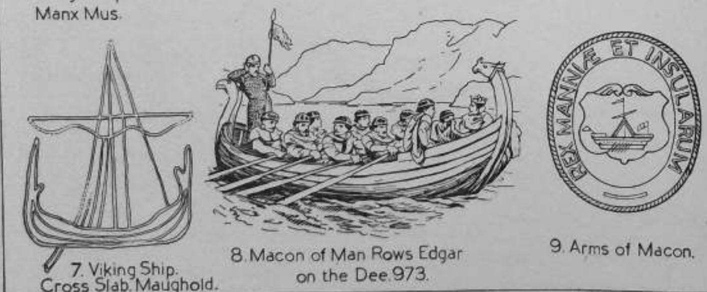
In 1187, Reginald became King of Man, and at first his rule was so peaceful that even the 'Chronicle' found little to note, except that in 1192, the monks of Rushen



THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS
First Viking raid on Man, 798 A.D.

1. Gaming Board. 10th. Cent. 2. Ragnall's Sea-fight Off Man. 913. 3. Gort Carves a Cross.

4. Viking Weapons. Manx Mus. 5. Viking Ship Burial. Knock y Doonee. 10th.C. 6. Round Tower. Peel Is.. 10th. Cent.



7. Viking Ship. Cross Slab. Maughold. 8. Macon of Man Rows Edgar on the Dee. 973. 9. Arms of Macon.

THE VIKINGS IN MAN, 10th Century

Correction—In 3 above, for Gort read Gaut

left their abbey and lived for four years near Douglas. No reason is given, but possibly they founded the Cistercian Convent or Nunnery of St. Mary's. Tradition relates that this famous retreat for women was originally founded in 567 by St. Bridget of Kildare, whose name endowed it with such reverence that the remains of the "Fair Nun of Winchester" were buried there. Its Nuns' Well, Chibber Vreeshey, was equally famous, for it was so fabled as a holy place of healing, haunted by the fairies and their songs, that pilgrims flocked there until quite recently. The convent fell into ruins after the dissolution of the monasteries, but the chapel has been restored as a place of worship lovely in its simplicity of design, and rich in the rarity, colour and worth of all it proffers now to the Glory of God. A fragment of an oak beam, now in the Manx Museum, is believed to be part of a rood screen from the earlier chapel.

OLAF I.
King of Man, 1113—55
Panel. Ballamoar

Reginald's sister, Aufrica, married John de Courcy, an English freebooter knight, who had conquered Down and Antrim. In 1204, de Courcy quarrelled with King John of England, who sent Hugh de Lacy to drive him out of Ireland. De Lacy did so, and though he returned, supported by a Manx force under Reginald, he was again defeated. To save himself and his kingdom, Reginald, in 1206, proceeded to England and did homage to John as his feudal vassal, but two years later he did homage to King Inge of Norway. This angered John, so, in 1210, he sent a punitive force to Man under John de Cantelupe, who, "pillaged the whole Island." Realising that England was a more dangerous foe than Norway, Reginald again, in 1213, swore allegiance to John, who made Man a depot for the troops he sent to Ireland.

In the meantime, John had wrestled with sterner problems. In 1213, he surrendered his kingdom to Pandulf, legate of Pope Innocent III. In 1215, he agreed to Magna Carta; and in 1216 he died. In 1218, his successor, Henry III summoned Reginald to his Court and compelled him to do homage, while in the following year, he became, like Henry, a vassal of the pope. In Norwich Cathedral he surrendered Man to Pandulf and swore allegiance to the Holy See, promising to pay a yearly tribute of 12 marks to the abbey of Furness.

Reginald made peace with Norway and England, but he had none at home, for when his brother, Olaf, came to Man a civil war arose. In 1226, Reginald was deposed and driven to the Isles, while his brother became King as Olaf II. Reginald then joined the earl of Athol and the hated "red-shank," Alan, Lord of Galloway, with whom he invaded Man where they, "plundered the churches and reduced the south of Man almost to a wilderness." Though the raiders returned to Galloway, Reginald soon came back to Man. With a fleet of five ships, he attacked St. Patrick's Isle by night and, "burnt all the ships of Olaf and of the chiefs of Man." Sailing then to the south, he landed at Ronaldsway, where enough men rallied to his side to enable him to wage a guerilla war against Olaf until, in 1229, he was killed in a battle fought near Tynwald Mound.

When Olaf II. died in 1237, he was succeeded by his son, Harald, who strove to be friendly with both England and Norway. In 1246 he visited Henry III., who knighted him and sent him home "laden with parting presents." Haakon of Norway too, honoured him when he arrived at his court by giving him his daughter in marriage. Unhappily, on his voyage home in the autumn, his ship was wrecked off the Shetlands and both he and his queen were drowned. When news of this disaster reached Man, in May, 1249, his brother, Reginald, became king, but he suffered a cruel fate. In the same month he was murdered, "by the knight Ivar and his accomplices,

in a meadow near the church of the Holy Trinity at Rushen," from which place his body was carried to Rushen Abbey for burial.

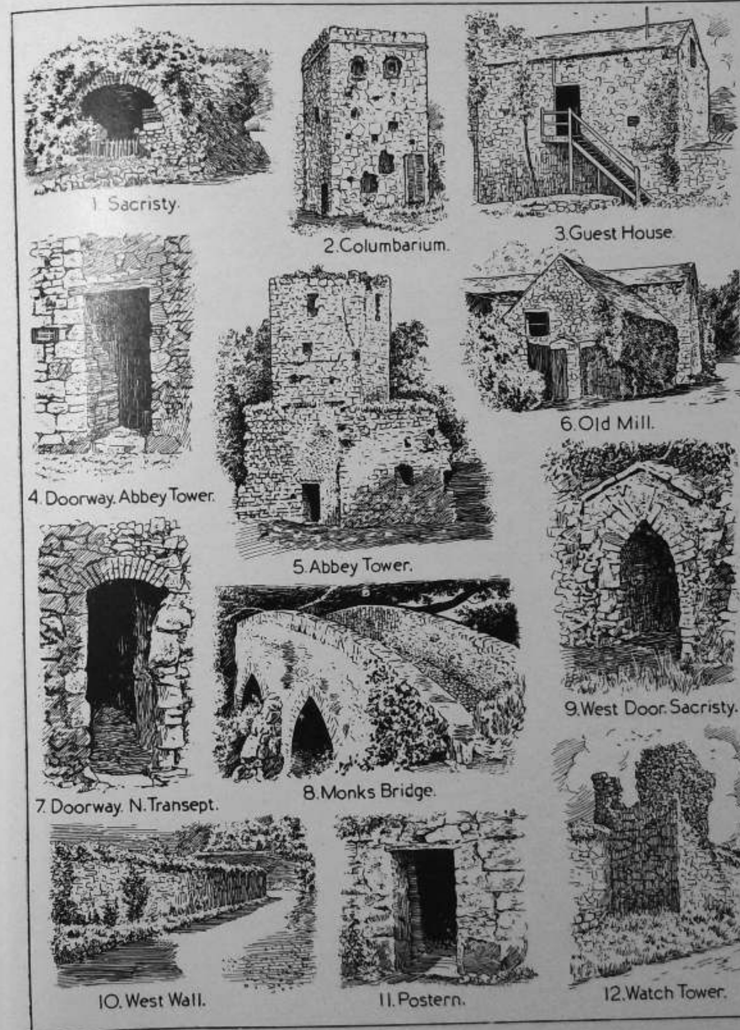
With the help of Ivar, Reginald's great-nephew, Harald, seized the throne of Man, though he could not hold it, for, in 1252, when Reginald's younger brother, Magnus, came to Man from Ireland, "all received him with joy and appointed him King." His reign was at first uneventful. He was friendly with Norway and England. At home he supported the Church which, in 1257, he made almost independent of the State by granting the clergy freedom from "all service, secular exaction and demand, forfeiture and fine," and by investing the bishop with the right to hold his court for his own demesne, with power of life and death.

10. CASTLE AND CATHEDRAL.

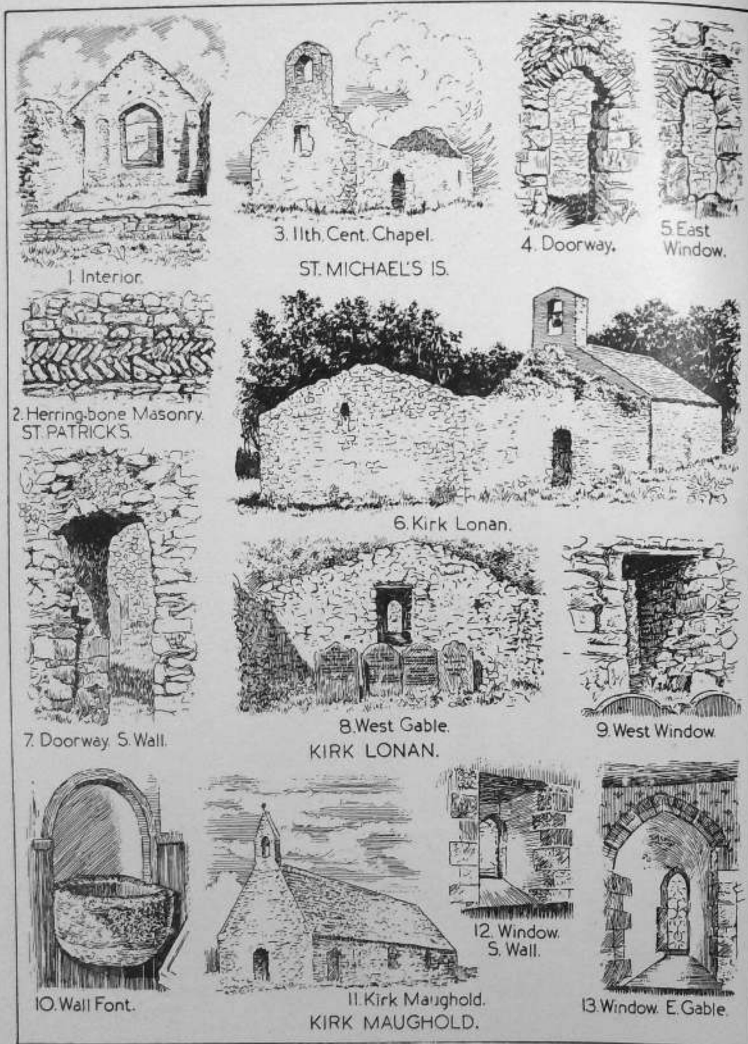
During the reign of Magnus, last King of Man of Godred Crovan's dynasty, the most interesting event must have been the building of the massive stone Tower or Keep, which remains to-day the core of Rushen Castle. Harald may have begun its building; Magnus undoubtedly made it his residence and seat of government, as the "Chronicle" records that he died there in 1265.

Rushen Keep was built on a bed of boulder clay washed by the Silverburn, which flowed almost around it in a wide ravine. Its foundations consisted of a solid platform of limestone, squared into blocks and set with a mortar which to-day is as hard as the stone. When this base reached ground level, it was continued as a Tower, whose walls, nearly 8 feet thick, enclosed a space 45 feet square inside, but rose to a height unknown. This Keep comprised three stories and was covered with a flat roof. In the basement, supplies were stored, and its entrance was barred by iron-studded doors strengthened by a portcullis. Approached by a spiral staircase built in the solid wall, was the Hall of the King and his household. It was large, though not airy, and part of it was divided by partitions into rooms which allowed a little privacy. One was the King's office where he kept his deeds and records. Another served the ladies as a bower. Some were bedrooms, but comfortless ones, though their stone walls were hung with curtains, and their low, wooden beds were protected from the gusts of wind by a canopy and hangings. On straw-filled pallets in the Hall lay the king's followers, clothed and armed. On the floor of the barracks above, dogs and indoor servants huddled together for warmth. The Watch paced to and fro across the flat roof overhead.

From the castle battlements the ladies loved to look down on the life around them. Across Poolvash, the Bay of Death, they saw the frowning front of Spanish Head, or the rearing crest of Bradda, and glimpsed the southern corner of the mist-wrapped Calf. Before them curved Langness, with St. Michael's Isle and Church, while inland, Rushen's rich plain swept back from blood-bathed Ronaldsway, through Arbory and Malew to the beacon on Barrule. Below them lay the king's ships with dragon sterns and prows, but among them now some heavy English craft with bulging waists and battlemented platforms rearing fore and aft. At the foot of the Keep lay the grass-grown Ward, where apple and rose trees bloomed; where swallows and summer birds made all forgetful of stone walls; and where the king and his household found rest and recreation. There, he and his lagmen held their courts and met the Keys, or entertained envoys from Norway and England, or watched the would-be warriors at their sports, for within the court was level greensward where the king's squires and pages were trained in horsemanship, in the skilful use of sword and shield, and in the handling of the swift-winged hawks bred on the cliffs of Calf Island, Conchan and Maughold. On the shaded north side, the clang of hammers swung by armourers and smiths mingled with the bustling stir of slaughtermen, scullions and cooks. When danger drew nigh the peasantry found shelter there with their flocks, and the Ward then became a true fortress-farmyard, where the bleating of sheep and lowing of herds was never wholly lost, even in the noise of battle.



RUSHEN ABBEY
Founded 1134



EARLY PARISH CHURCHES
11th and 12th Centuries

It is no coincidence that while Magnus was raising Rushen Keep to be the citadel of the State, the Church was also building the stronghold of its Faith on St. Patrick's Isle. In 1227, Symon, abbot of Iona, "a man of prudence and learned in Holy Scripture," became Bishop of Sodor, and he at once took steps to establish the organisation of the Manx Church, the authority of its bishop and the rights of its clergy. In 1229, he summoned a diocesan Synod, the first of which we read, which sat at Kirk Braddan, and which fixed tithes and enacted many Canons or Church Laws. Also, on St. Patrick's Isle, Symon began to build his cathedral, though some of the old work in the edifice suggests that he rebuilt a church already standing there.

OLAF II.,
King of Man, 1226—37
Panel. Ballamoar

St. German's Cathedral has long been a ruin, but much of its structure survives. It resembles the Cathedral on Iona, with which Symon was familiar, and though cruciform in plan it varies in architectural style. Its battlemented walls of local red sandstone were built of boulders, slabs and blocks skilfully laid. The Tower, Transepts and Nave are later work built after Symon's time.

The Sanctuary, erected by Bishop Symon, has been since his day his memorial and tomb. Its east gable rises sheer from the face of the cliff. Three wide but shallow steps mark the site of the High Altar, while near it a deep niche in the south wall forms a perfect piscina. At the foot of each flanking wall are several wide, low-arched recesses designed to form canopies over the tombs of bishops and, maybe, kings. One covers the remains of Symon, who died in 1247.

From a narrow doorway in the south wall a flight of steps built in its thickness winds down into the darkness of the Crypt, a dungeon originally lighted only by one small window. Its floor is the solid rock, and its vaulted roof is supported by diagonal ribs or groins springing each from a short pilaster set upon the rock. Until 1780, this was the wretched prison in which ecclesiastical prisoners were confined, and tradition remembers too, that for 11 years it was the living tomb of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who was hurried there from England in 1443, that dread of its awful dark and loneliness might lead her to repent the evil wrought by her reputed powers of witchcraft and sorcery.

The Bishop's Palace adjoins the Cathedral, but before it was completed Symon died, perhaps at Michael, in the Tower of Bishop's Court, the old fortress-palace around which the present episcopal residence grew. When completed the Palace on St. Patrick's Isle was probably the residence of the Cathedral clergy and Chapter, for it was taken over in the 16th century by Thomas Stanley, Lord of Man, who adapted it to be his residence, and who also built the embattled wall embracing the whole Isle.

The 12th and 13th centuries became the "golden age" of ecclesiastical building in Man. The Diocese was founded in 1154, and soon afterwards the Sheadings were divided into the "ancient parishes," each of which was provided with a parish church, some by the building of a new church, others by the enlarging of an earlie one. They have all been restored more than once, but as materials from the ol church were invariably used in its re-building, many examples will be found of parish churches which retain earlier features. Kirk Maughold has 11th century foundation and a deep-basined wall-font equally old, parts of its walls and several window belong to the 12th century. Many ancient crosses, found in various Maughol keeills, are preserved in the Cross House. Among them, one of the most interestin is a 12th century Celtic Cross on which is carved the earliest representation of th ancient Arms of Man, the Viking ship with furled sails. The glory of Kirk Maughol

is its beautiful Standing Cross, the work of 14th century craftsmen, and the gift, it is believed, of the monks of St. Bee's Priory, Cumberland, who owned lands in the parish.

Old Kirk Lonan, the "Church on the Shore," is that of St. Onan, or Adamnan, an Irish saint, who was abbot of Iona in 679. Its walls belong to the 12th century, but the site dates back to the 5th century. Near the old church is an ancient baptismal well, which is believed to represent the transition period from the use of living waters to that of the font. There is no evidence that St. Adamnan taught in Man, but he was honoured at least as a patron saint by John, the priest of Cornaa, who in the runes cut in his Stone, now in Maughold churchyard, invoked first, the Name of Christ, and then those of Malachy, Patrick and Adamnan.

The site of the Old Parish Church of Marown, that is, of St. Runan of Lismore, goes back to the days of the Columban missionaries, and its graveyard is hallowed as the burial-place of three early saints and bishops, who are said to have been cremated. The church is roofed and well preserved, and an unusual feature is the outside stone staircase built against the west gable, which itself rises to a turret pierced for two bells.

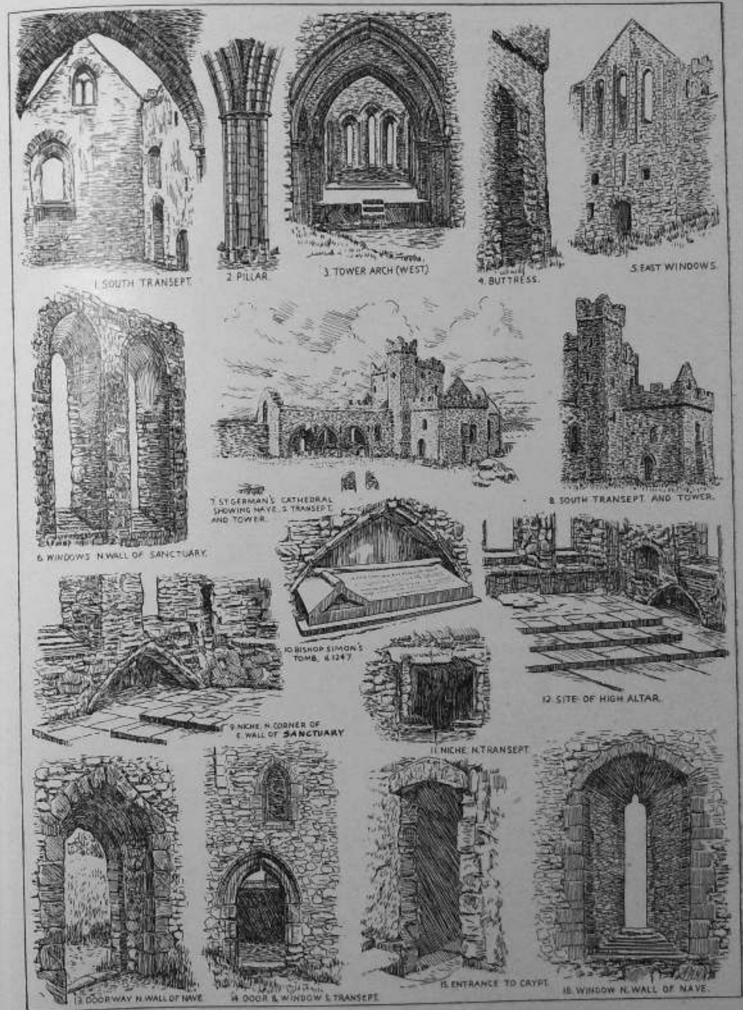
Ballaugh Old Church, St. Mary's, was rebuilt in 1717, but there is no trace of the primitive keeill on which it stood. Built into its north wall is a unique red sandstone font decorated on the front with a cross set within a circle, once painted blue and red and bearing an inscription in Manx which, translated, reads, "There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, One God and Father of us all."

Old Kirk Braddan stands on the site of an early keeill which was rich in early crosses. Of great interest is the Celtic Wheel Cross with its beautiful interlaced work, its acrobatic animals, and its quaint sculpture of the prophet, Daniel, who stares round-eyed at a pair of squatting lions, which are apparently uninterested in his intrusion. Among the Scandinavian crosses is one of the finest in Man, the slender pillar erected by Thorleif Hnakki to the memory of his son. Odd's pillar-cross is but a finely-carved fragment; so too is Hrossketil's Cross, whose tantalising scrap of rune bears only the tag-end of some thrilling tale, which told how he treacherously slew his fellow oath-swearer in a truce.

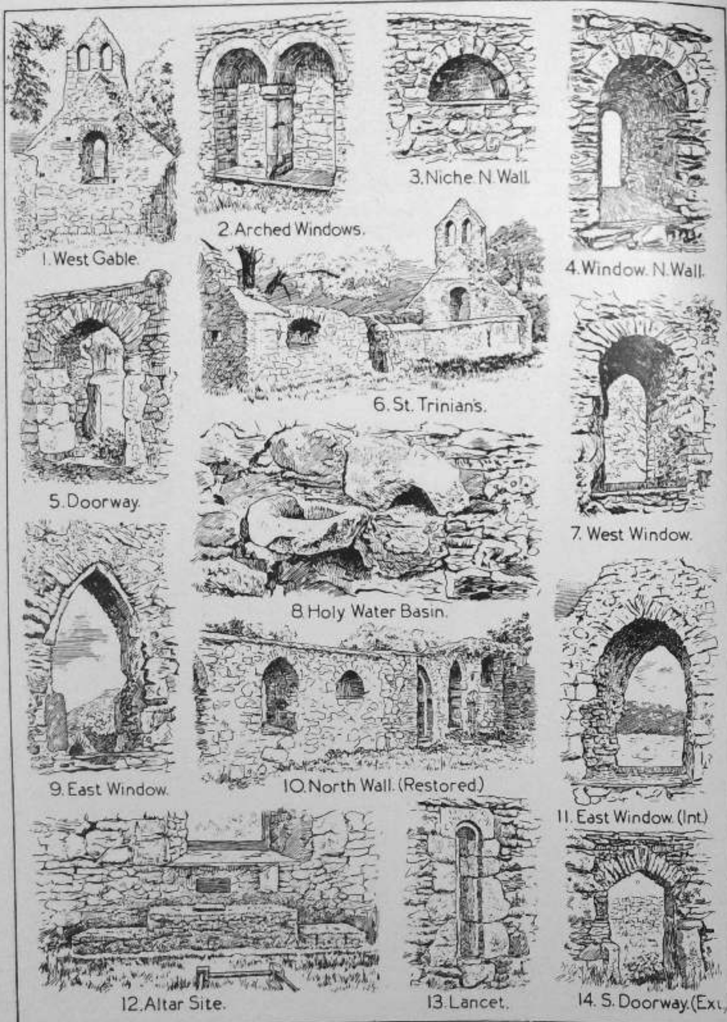
The remaining Parish Churches are comparatively modern buildings but each is distinguished by some rare treasure, and each stands on or near some ancient site. Jurby Church contains a fine Sigurd Cross, found on the site of Keeill Coonlagh, and an early Font of red sandstone, cylindrical in shape and quite plain. Its pre-Reformation Silver Chalice, a vessel so rare that only five other examples are known, is now preserved in the Manx Museum, though the Church contains a replica.

Kirk Malew possesses a medieval silver paten, of date about 1525, another rare treasure, and a fitting companion to the Jurby Chalice. In the church are also a Crucifix and the top of a Censer, portions of two relics, both of latten, an alloy resembling brass. St. Bridget's Church, Kirk Bride, was built in 1869, but it replaces several churches. Over the doorway in the porch is a treasure, removed from the wall of the old church. On a small, oblong slab of stone a 12th century sculptor has cut in deep relief his impression of the Temptation of Adam and Eve. Both have quaintly formed figures, with their big heads, long, thin limbs and large feet. They stand on either side of the "Tree of Knowledge," eagerly plucking its fruit, but no serpent has yet arrived on the scene to tempt them to their Fall.

The site of Kirk Andreas, built in 1802, runs back to the time of the early Christians, for the digging of its foundations revealed no fewer than seven Scandinavian cross-slabs of the 11th century, and a hoard of silver coins minted in the 10th century by the English kings Edgar and Edwy. Either Andreas was unduly exposed to raids, or its Celtic saint was powerful as a guardian of treasure, for the



ST. GERMAN'S CATHEDRAL, ST. PATRICK'S ISLE
Founded by Symon, Bishop of Sodor, c. 1226 — 47



ST. TRINIAN'S CHURCH, MAROWN

many hidden hoards digged from the soil of its churchyard all tell the same tale of terrified parishioners who secreted their little all and never lived to recover it. Cronk y Keeillee, the Old Parish Churchyard of Kirk Michael, covers an ancient site, even if the Parish Church does not, as the numerous Scandinavian cross-slabs found there are of exceptional interest. Among them are some of the finest sculptures in Man.

BISHOP SYMON c. 1226—47

Two master-sculptors in Man are known by name. They are Gaut Bjornson, who was born on Coll, off Mull, and Thorbjorn, the "First Picture-master in Man." They were almost contemporary, their work being done approximately between 990 and 1050. Gaut's work is simple in conception, but distinctive in style. His ornament is formed wholly of plaited bands, though he introduces original details in decoration.

Thorbjorn introduced groups of figures in addition to pure ornament. His masterpiece, Sandulf's Cross, Kirk Andreas, is especially enlivened with animals. Long-tailed cocks strut on its arms; troops of deer, sheep, boar and collared dogs prance and paw on either side of its shaft; and a long-robed priest, sitting side-saddle on his pony, ambles along at its foot. In his ripe old age, Thorbjorn also enriched Manx sculpture with the first of those "Sigurd" crosses characterized by figures from the Norse mythology.

Sigurd was a Norse hero who sought adventure and found it. After a few skirmishes in which he proves his mettle, he forces his enemy, Fafnir, to transform himself into a dragon against whom only magic can prevail. Unable to oust him from his lair, Sigurd served at the king's court where he earned a horse, Grani, and a magically forged sword. To fulfil his destiny, he fought and slew Fafnir. He roasted the dragon's black heart, and having tasted its boiling blood, he was gifted with a knowledge of the speech of birds. Piling Fafnir's treasure on Grani's back, he left the dragon's lair in search of greater adventure.

Incidents in the Sigurd epic are pictured on crosses at Andreas, Michael and Malew, and though these differ in detail, they agree in substance. Kirk Andreas too, possesses the remarkable Thorwald's Cross, whose sculptor was inspired to symbolize the Triumph of Christianity over paganism. The Fall of the Norse All-Father, Odin, is told in its own mythology, and the scene is cut on one face of Thorwald's Cross. There, Odin, armed with his spear, Gungnir, and with his whispering raven, Huggin, on his shoulder, stands on his last defence against the Fenris-Wolf destined to swallow him. The other face of the Cross depicts a Christian saint, whose Faith is established by the Bible and Cross he carries, and by the inclusion of a fish, an early symbol of Christ.

The Parish Church, Kirk Christ Lezayre, was built in 1835 on the site of an early church. It is therefore young, and so too is the fine stained glass window in its north wall, designed and executed by Daniel Cottier. This famous maker of stained glass was the descendant of a long line of Manx farmers and sailors, and though he was a big, red-headed lad, whose build, appearance and gait all smacked of the sea, his interests were artistic. His best work is reputed to be in Scotland, nevertheless, his window erected in Kirk Christ Lezayre, in 1884, to the memory of his father and grandfather, is a superb example of the skill of this famous Manx artist who, it has been said, "achieved such results in stained glass as no other master of the century has approached." Daniel Cottier died in 1891.

11. NORSE DAYS AND WAYS.

The Norse ruled Man for about 300 years, from A.D. 950 to 1266, during which time they revolutionized the Island and its people. They were a virile race,

and that their roots struck very deep is evident, for their blood still flows in Manx veins. We have noted that they instituted their mode of government; established a strong system of defence; imposed a stern discipline; and expressed their inspiration in a characteristic art. Only such radical differences as race, language and character defeated them, though not wholly so, for to some extent these were resolved. Each language, for example, received elements from the other, and both survive to the present day.

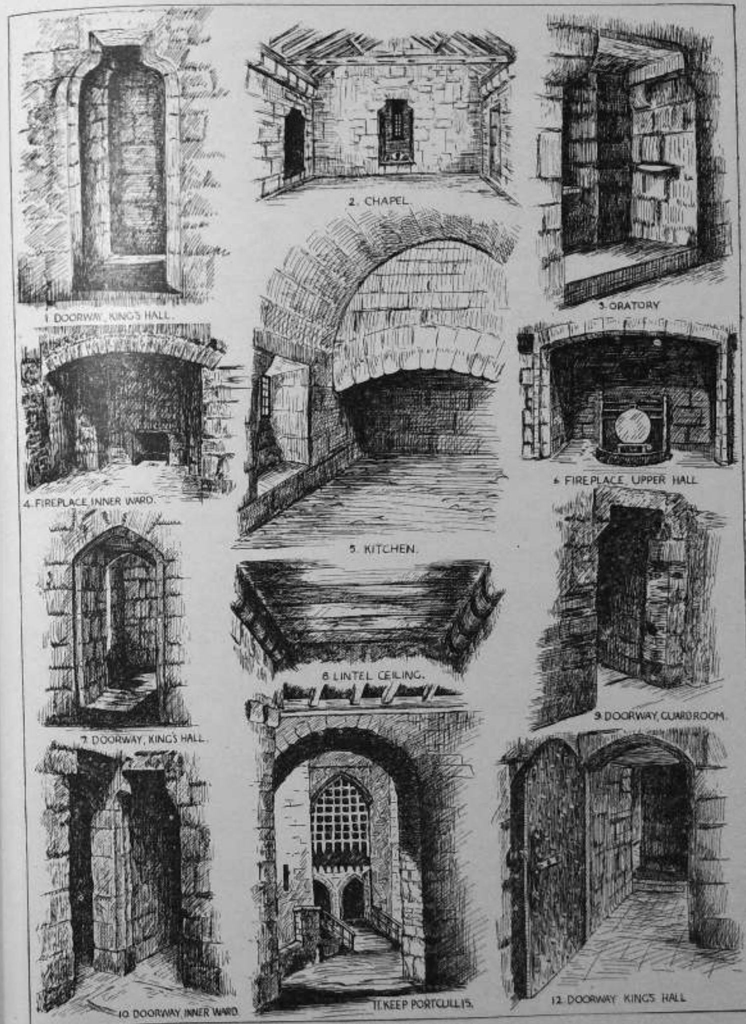
The Island's defences were of the first importance and these were efficiently maintained. Magnus Barefoot built strongholds, and lesser forts were erected at vulnerable points. The Sheadings and Treens were established to provide ships and armed men. The land system was reorganised to encourage a military class, and the old-time Coastal Defence, or Watch and Ward, was one of the strongest survivals. It was systematized to ensure a ceaseless vigilance, and was maintained until the end of the Napoleonic Wars, little more than a century ago.

Iron swords, spearheads and fragments of battleaxes are the principal Norse weapons discovered in Manx burial grounds. Some have been found in Christian churchyards, notably in those of Maughold, Michael, Malew, Old Braddan and Jurby, but the most informing remains are those from the pagan burial mounds of Ballateare and Knock y Doonee. Cronk Keeilleig, an ancient tumulus in the farm-yard of Ballateare, Jurby, was excavated in 1946. It was found to contain a Viking burial of the 10th century, whose mound had been heaped above the Neolithic cemetery already referred to. Here were found two Viking swords, both typical weapons with broad, straight, two-edged blades counterpoised with heavy pommels, and straight guards with slight projections beyond the edges of the blades. The rim of the guard and the baseband of the pommel were ornamented with silver bands decorated with parallel cross-lines, which formed a lozenge pattern. A round, iron shield-boss, dented by a blow, was also found at Ballateare. In the Manx Museum is a similar boss from Cronk Moar, together with an iron knife or dagger and a socketed spearhead—a long, lance-like, deadly looking blade.

At Balladoyne, St. John's an Early Christian cemetery, excavated in 1937, proved to be a most interesting site as it provided a little of everything, Christian lintel graves, a remarkable prehistoric inscribed stone, and a group of Viking weapons. No remains occur in Man of the well known Viking helmets, nor of their armoured corselets or byrnies, which were thick cloth or leather jackets covered with iron scales or rings.

It was a Viking custom to bury a warrior in his ship. Sometimes the ship was set on fire and sent blazing out to sea. Often it was dragged to a selected site on land. Several ship burials are known in Man, but the most notable is that at Knock y Doonee, Andreas, where a long, low mound, excavated in 1927, was found to contain a Viking ship burial of the 10th century. Nothing remained of the boat but its iron bolts, but from these and other survivals it was possible to assert that the ship was of the Gokstad type and was about 35 feet long. In its centre lay its owner's remains and in the stern those of his horse. His weapons were near to his hand. His iron sword, broken and rusted, had a straight hilt-guard decorated with thin silver bands bearing an impressed scroll pattern. Near it lay a long, slender, socketted spearhead and the corroded blade of a battleaxe.

A stone coffin-lid ornamented with a sheathed sword and Gothic Cross, and found in the grounds of Rushen Abbey, is believed to have covered the tomb of Olaf II. The sword is of 13th century type, but it differs only in detail from the weapon of the 10th. Other representations of Norse weapons appear on several cross-slabs. On Thorwald's Cross, Odin wields a spear. On Sigurd's Cross, Jurby, a stright broadsword brings Fafnir to his doom, and on another Jurby cross, Heimdall, who blows the Gjella Horn to summon the sleeping gods to their last fight, is girded with a sword.



CASTLE RUSHEN
Repaired and enlarged 1333—77

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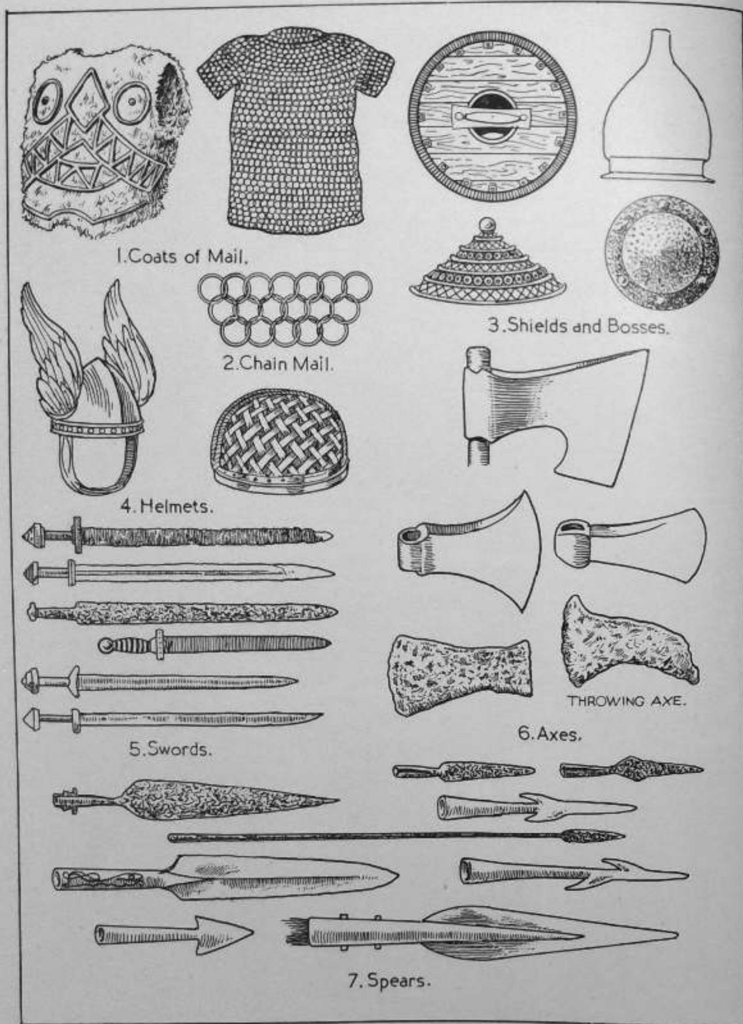
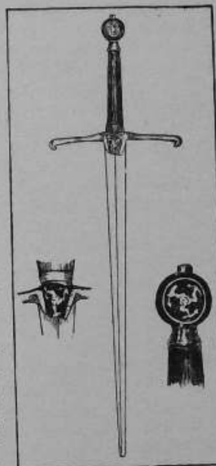


NORSE WEAPONS AND ARMOUR British Museum

The early Viking raids on Man proved nearly ruinous, but its conquest became a blessing in disguise, for when Godred Crovan ensured peace, the vigour of the Norse themselves restored prosperity. Their country homesteads were soon successful farms, while villages became busy centres for craftsmen and merchants. On tidal estuaries —at Ramsey, Peel and Castletown—busy ports arose whose shipping brought a rich merchandise, not only from Cumberland, Ireland and the Sudreys, but from distant markets in Norway, France and Spain. In Man, cattle and agriculture remained the chief source of wealth, and this increased under the Norse land settlement. The Treen was granted to a trusted land-holder, Norse or Manx, who lived upon and cultivated one of its Quarter-lands and sublet the other three to Freemen who paid rent in terms of duties, services and produce.



MANX SWORD OF STATE
13th Century

A Norse Treen-lord lived as in Norway, in the "Herinstead," surrounded by a palisade and ditch, which he built on his Quarterland. Fronting the wide, rectangular courtyard is his timbered Hall. Behind it lie his stone-built barns and three or four cottage-like buildings which house his labourers. Within the court-yard were cattle pens, stables and open kitchens, beyond which lay the workshops and weaving sheds, the kennels for the Treen-lord's hounds and the sheltered mews for his falcons and hawks.

The life of the Treen centred in the Hall, which was not without rude comforts. A fire blazed brightly on the round stone hearth. Shields and weapons hung on the rooftrees, and the walls were enriched with tapestries. The largest room was a sunny "lounge" whose floor was strewn with rushes and sweet herbs, and whose windows commanded a pleasing view. A massive table was laden with bowls and dishes, drinking-horns tipped with silver, and lovely little vessels of blue, green and amber-coloured glass. By custom the wide door of the Hall was kept open as an indication of hospitality.

Out of doors, the Norse exercised themselves in hunting and warlike sports. Indoors, they found amusement in games of skill. Children enjoyed dancing. Chess was popular. but was reserved for the elderly. Warriors were supposed to prefer draughts, while lusty bachelors amused themselves with sham fights. A reminder of this interest in indoor games of skill exists in the "Gaming Board," discovered at Ballinderry, Ireland. Though found so far from home, it is attributed to Manx craftsmen, as the patterns found in its ornament are typically Manx.

The Vikings exercised hospitality liberally; the Treen-lord kept open house, for the yield of his lands required a good deal of eating. Rushen Abbey, too, had its guest-house, and freemen-farmers readily sheltered strangers as there were no wayside inns to lodge travellers. On Church lands, houses like Ballacgniba hospice, mentioned in a grant of Olaf II., were built to shelter the homeless poor, who were provided with food as well as lodging.

The Manx love of music lies chiefly in their Celtic blood, but Norse influences are also found in their heritage of folk music and dance. Many folk dances popular to-day, notably the Dirk Dance, White Boys' Dance, and the Fathaby Jig, are of Norse origin. The Norse-Manx girls also loved lively games of battledore and shuttlecock. They had, of course, pet dogs and birds, their favourites being tame

ravens, and young hawks or falcons which, perched on their wrists, accompanied them everywhere. They revelled too, in dainty, bright-coloured clothes, soft fur caps, gay mantles, well-tanned shoes, and, above all, jewelled belts, long pins and brooches, and other beautiful ornaments.

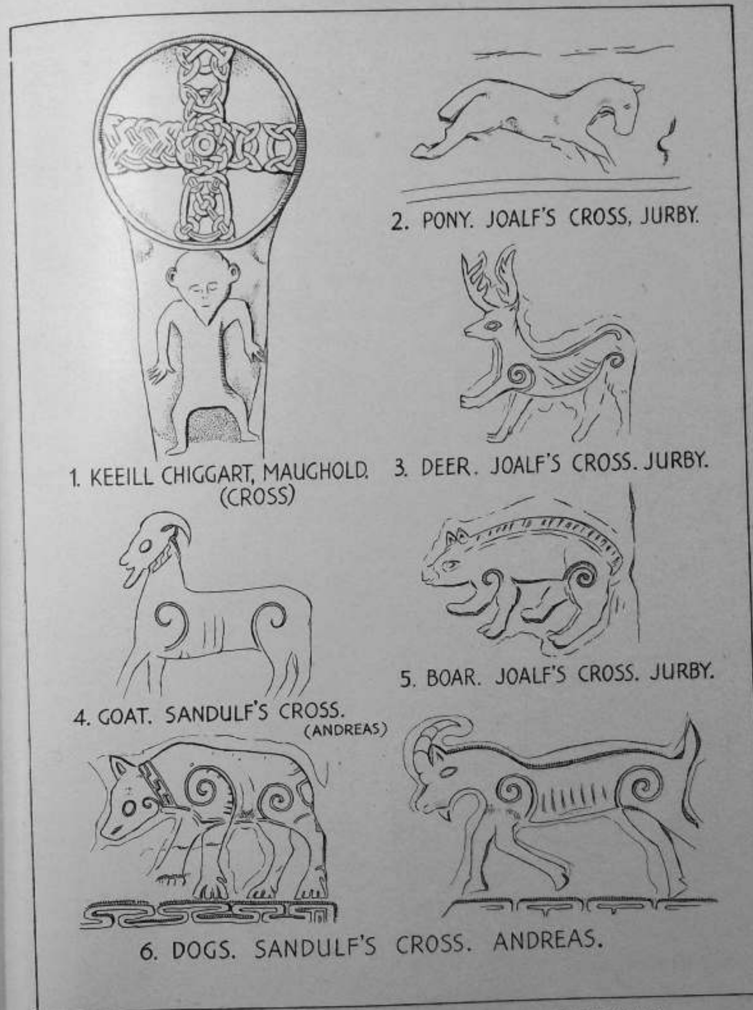
Hoards hidden from the Vikings have been unearthed in many parts of Man, but none is so rich and varied as the "Douglas Treasure Trove," discovered in 1894 on the Woodbourne Estate. It consisted chiefly of silver coins and ornaments. The coins were minted by Anglo-Saxon kings; most were of Edgar the Peaceful, Macon's friend, but Athelstan, Edred, Edwi and Anlaf of Northumbria were also represented. Their reigns cover the period A.D. 925 to 975, during which the times were certainly unsettled. Except for a single gold armlet, all the objects are of silver, and these consist chiefly of bracelets, "currency" rings and torques, several of which have been cut into pieces, together with a small ingot, and portions of "thistle-head" pins belonging to two large penannular brooches characteristic of the 10th century.

The most beautiful object is the larger silver pin; the most imposing is the half of a fairly large torque which, like the gold armlet, is a fine example of the craftsman's skill. Probably the treasure belonged to a working jeweller. The recess in which it lay may have been the commonplace hole in the floor of his house in which he normally kept his valuables.

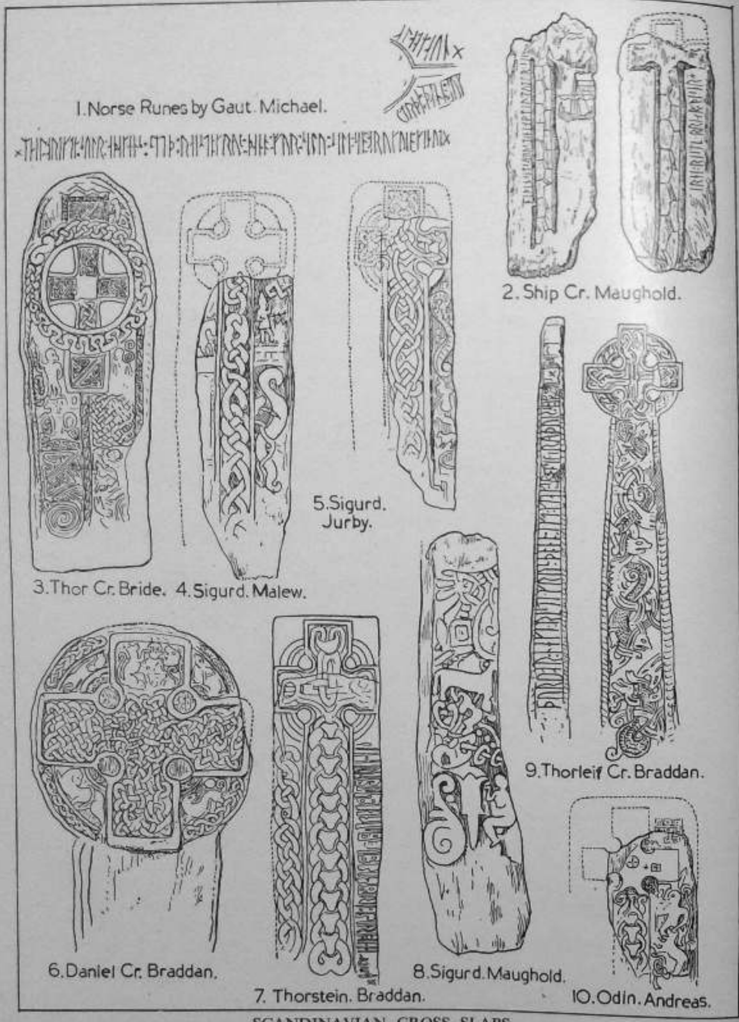
The Norse Conquest led to no drastic changes in dress in its early days, for the Vikings often adopted the dress and customs of the lands in which they settled. By the time of Olaf II. trade was brisk, furs and richer fabrics, such as silk and damask, were in demand, and men of position were seeking finery. Farmers and artisans were simply clad in loose, skirted tunics with light sleeves, cloaks caught at the shoulder by a brooch, and tight-fitting caps. Field labourers wore hose or trousers, and swathed their lower limbs in bands of coloured cloth thrust into heavy leather socks.

In his Hall, the Treen-lord was engaged each morning with the business of his estate, which was managed by officials, such as his steward and bailiff. Many lords were also officials of the king. The Deemsters and the worthy Keys were landowners, as were the King's Captains, or Wardens of the Sheadings, who were responsible for naval and military efficiency. The Moar of the Sheading represented the King in civil affairs. He presided at the Sheading Ting; maintained law and order, saw that taxes were collected, and supervised everything. When the Scottish kings were suzerains the Coroners of the Sheadings became the chief civil officers. Their duties were more important then than now, but they are still well-known officials, who attend the annual Tynwald Court, which the Coroner of Glenfaber Sheading fences. Once they attended Tynwald armed with battleaxe or sword, ready to suppress disorder. They also kept order in their Sheadings where they held inquests of death, brought offenders to justice, and saw that the penalties imposed by the Courts were carried out. Many criminals became outlaws, and more than one wild glen was a Place of Outlaws, where lurking fugitives were not petty thieves or sheepstealers, but outlaws whom no one would nourish. Ancient custom forbade the North or South to shelter thieves from the other side of the Line. Such felons became outlaws compelled to seek escape from punishment in lonely glens.

When the blast of a horn brought business to an end, the lord and his henchmen were soon in their saddles and riding towards the hills with hooded hawks and packs of baying hounds. Hunting was a passion with the Norse, and their ladies, too, eagerly followed the chase. They rode forth on their hardy Manx ponies with a "hawk of the lure" on wrist, its sharp eyes hooded, and its talons hooked into a thick leather glove. Well born boys were taught to hunt as soon as they could ride, and they had much to learn, especially in falconry. In the Middle Ages, Man was



ANIMAL FIGURES FROM THE SCANDINAVIAN CROSS SLABS



SCANDINAVIAN CROSS SLABS
Late 10th century. From Drawings by P. M. C. Kermode

famous for its hawks, the largest of which, the Peregrine Falcon, was the swift sporting bird Henry IV. had in mind when, in 1406, he granted the Kingdom of Man to Sir John Stanley on the service of rendering two falcons on paying homage. In 1422, a man caught snaring hawks was fined £3 for each bird taken in his net. In the 12th century, when payments were in kind, falcons were accepted as readily as dogs and horses by the king's tax collectors. To-day, the falcon is a rare bird nesting in scarcely a dozen eyries, though it once bred prolifically, especially on the cliffs of Calf Island.

HANGING MAN

The Baronies, or Estates held by the Religious Orders and the Church, were almost independent kingdoms. Their Barons did homage to the King, but they were otherwise free from his control. Rushen Abbey was a rich foundation. Its monks owned scores of farms and mills, and they governed the people who lived and worked on them. In 1246, when they began to mine lead in Marown, their wealth was increased, for King Harald then granted them rights over all kinds of mines in Man. It is believed that the abandoned Cornelly Mine, near Foxdale, is that where the monks began the earliest mining known in Man.

The Church also held exceptional authority, as the bishop could summon Synods which passed laws to govern the Church and its clergy, and which, when confirmed by Tynwald, were binding on the whole people. Tithes, for example, were taxes imposed on produce of every kind. Some Tithes were collected by the bishop's Proctor and enforced by his Sumner. Others were brought to the church and given to the priest at the altar. Those failing to pay might be summoned to the Bishop's Court, where his Vicar-general was judge, and obstinate refusers might be sentenced by him to imprisonment in the crypt under St. German's Cathedral. Tithes were shared between the bishop and the clergy, though later, the Religious Orders obtained nearly half the share apportioned to parish priests. In general, Tithes were accepted as a just contribution to the support of the Church, but additional taxation was resented. In 1299, the exactions of Bishop Mark so incensed the Manx people that he was driven from the Island. The Pope immediately placed Man under an Interdict. After three years' absence, Bishop Mark was recalled and the Interdict was removed in return for the submission of the Manx to a tax of one penny, afterwards called the "Smoke Penny," on every house having a fireplace.

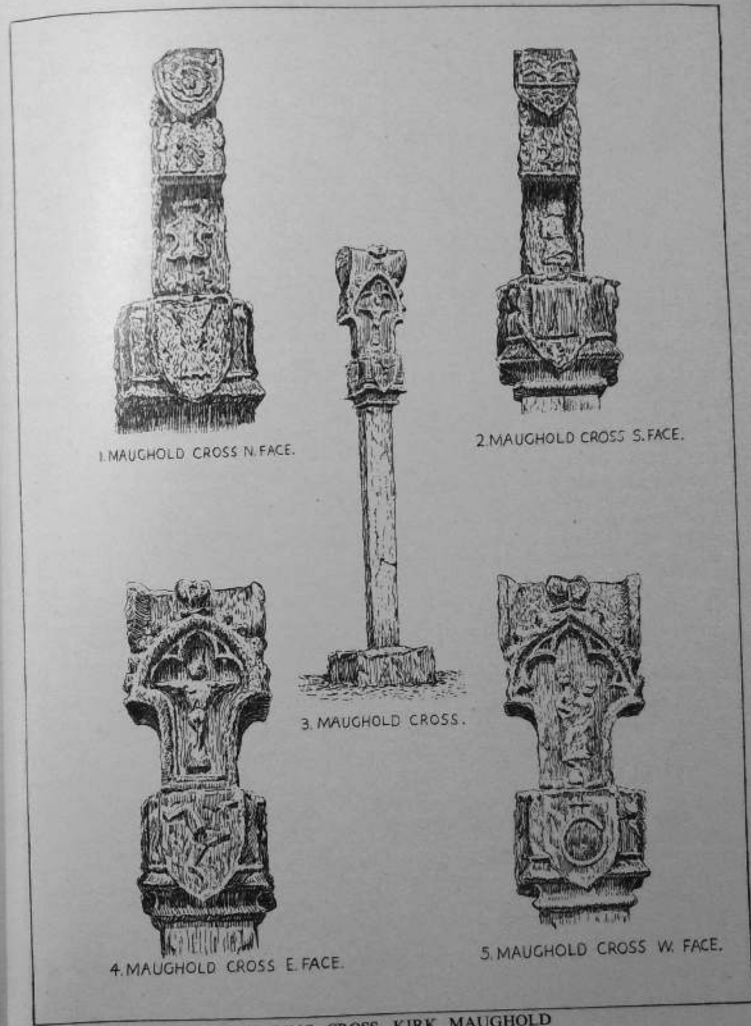
Needs were few in Norse times, but life was a bitter struggle, the masses having little liberty and few comforts. Even life was not secure, and men walked armed and ready to defend themselves and their property. Evils more dreaded than robbers were famine, and plague. These were common and destructive, for working folk knew nothing of the general rules of health, and even the educated had little knowledge of medicine or sanitation. Filth littered houses; garbage and refuse rotted around them for weeks. Beds were too often sacks of vermin-ridden straw, and water supplies were drawn from brooks and wells easily polluted. The "fairy-doctors'" charms were cures for everything, and each family had its own superstitious recipe against misfortune and disease. Hot summers bred deadly plagues which spread rapidly, while fevers like smallpox and typhus were so common, but so little understood, that, as we are reminded by the grim memorials to cholera victims in the churchyards of Old Braddan and St. George's, Douglas, they persisted as a national scourge almost to the present day.

The school was one of the few bright spots in rural life. Children worked hard in the fields, yet gained a little learning from monks and priests, who taught them the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Commandments, and gave simple instruction in the

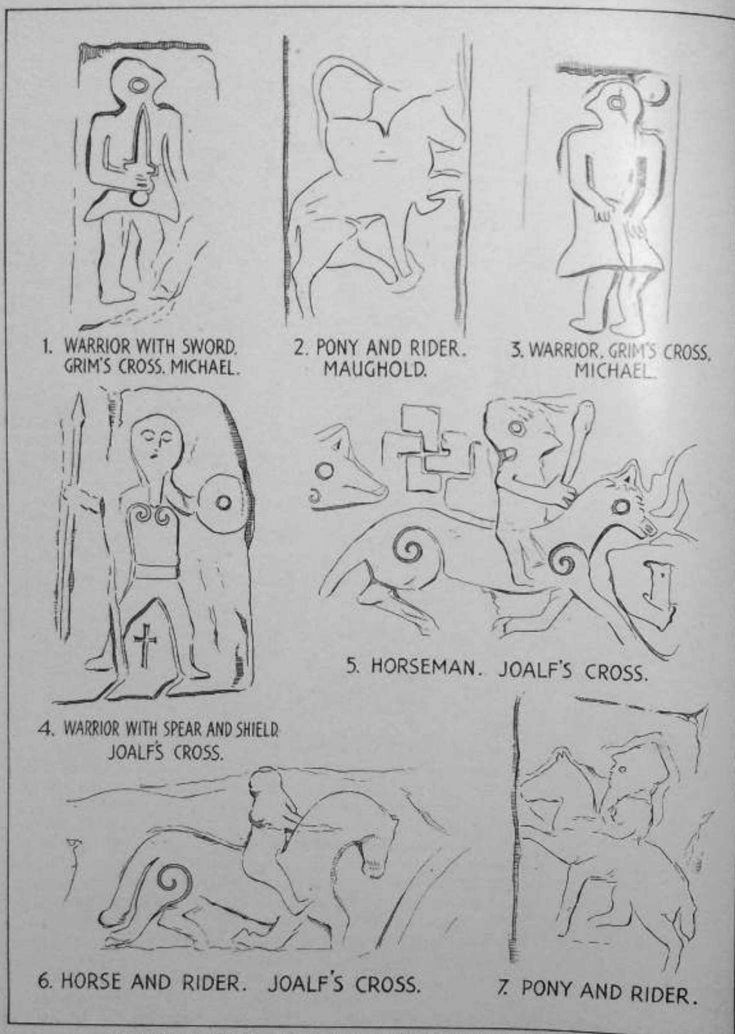
Christian Faith. Some few learned to read and write, and when the monks of Rushen found a lad worthy to become a priest, they received him in the Abbey where he undertook duties in return for tuition. The Church was the only centre of learning. Monks and clergy were tireless teachers, and no child of promise was denied their schools on account of his poverty or class. Teaching was free, and children of the very poor were also fed and cared for. An important result of this policy was that throughout its long history, the Manx Church was served largely by clergy of Manx blood and speech. The Manx Church is renowned for its long line of eminent clerics and scholars. It is certain that even under the Norse Occupation it nurtured many noble-minded men worthy to rank equally with those of later days.

Freemen who had the care of crops and cattle rarely left their homes, but officials, parish clergy, and all whose duties compelled them to travel, rode on the famous little Manx or Celtic ponies which are now extinct. They were a small, short-legged breed, heavy tailed and shaggy headed, but larger and stronger than the Shetlands, and they have been described as, "fine-boned, sure footed; blacks, greys and bays." They were here in early Celtic times, and no larger breed of horse was known in Man until 18th century farmers required the heavy "cart horse" to draw their ploughs. They looked poor, unsightly animals, but they were game to tackle work of every kind. For transport, the Manx pony was invaluable. He dragged produce from the fields, turf from the hills, or stones from the quarry on the wheelless pole-sled, between the fore-ends of which he was harnessed while its rear-ends trailed along the ground. Long journeys too, carrying lime from the quarries in the south to the northern farms, must have been stern tests of their endurance.

The earliest roads in Man were primitive tracks or "ridgeways," trodden always on high ground. Similar tracks later linked farm with farm, and these eventually covered the Island like a fine-meshed net. When village communities arose, tracks broadened a little into lanes, and so remained as long as the pack pony sufficed to carry the heaviest transport. Even the Norse effected few improvements. Some tracks were straightened, but marshes were not drained, nor were primitive wooden bridges replaced by stone ones. The monks of Rushen were less easily satisfied. They owned farms in Lezayre, Michael and Lonan, and lead mines in Marown. Their stewards wished to waste little time when visiting distant estates, so they found the shortest routes to them and made improvements. On their road to Lonan, for example, they built the one old bridge still left in Man, the Crossag or Monks' Bridge, which crossed the Silverburn near their Abbey gardens. Erected in the 13th century, it is to-day a fine, firm structure, solidly built of limestone, only packhorse wide, but carried on two pointed arches, each about 10 feet span, with a smaller arch to ease the bridge against the strong flow of winter floods. No other such bridge was built for nearly 500 years, until the early 18th century when the necessities of wheeled traffic opened a new era in road and bridge construction. The new roads ran from port to port and to villages inland, but by the lowest and easiest routes possible. Stone bridges carried them over rivers, and carried with them too, many an old-time tale of bugganes and fairies. You may have heard of the screaming witch who haunted Sulby Bridge, and of the terrible Tarroo-ushtey, or river-bull, whose breath made the waters boil beneath Glen Aldyn Bridge. Glenfaber Bridge is the home of a milder sprite. Cross it in the gloaming, and should you glimpse a little white pig in a bright red hat, good fortune will follow. But don't be beguiled into molesting him, because he is the fairy of the ford of the river Neb, which is here the boundary between Patrick and German. A more famous ford, where battles royal raged between Santan and Malew, crosses the Santan Burn at Ballalonna. Tradition tells delightfully, that the fairies who fought with the clans to hold the ford, still haunt its stepping stones and keep their jealous watch for strangers. They know the true Manx at sight, and to the present day no native Manxman crosses Ballalonna Bridge without some salutation to its fairy guardians.



STANDING CROSS, KIRK MAUGHOLD



HUMAN FIGURES FROM THE SCANDINAVIAN CROSS SLABS

We learn from legend how little fairies also haunt the old high roads. A curiously shaped stone projects from the roadside wall of the Saddle Road, Braddan. Some say it was a penitent's seat, and some that it came from the Celtic camp nearby. But the lore-wise folk of Braddan all agree that it was once the saddle the little folk used when they stole the farmers' horses, rode them headlong through the night, and returned them to their stables exhausted. Many old roads are customary funeral roads. A "Road of the Dead," runs from Shellack Point to Kirk Bride. All funerals trod this way and halted by the "Pool of the Dead," on Lamb Hill. There the bier rested awhile on a stone, and as the mourners knealt round it to pray,a handful of water from the pool was sprinkled over the corpse. There are also famous old roads, long stretches of which have been incorporated in modern highways. The Great Manx Road, for example, wound by hill and dale from Kirk Michael to St. John's and thence, as the crow flies, through Foxdale and Malew to Castletown. On the other hand, the Manxman's Road covered only the few brief miles between Ballig, Conchan and Glen Roy, Lonan.

ROBERT BRUCE, Suzerain, 1313—29

The old Royal Way, or Via Regia, between Ramsey and the South, was not merely the road of royalty, but one of royal worth in its own right. It was, and is, the Road of Magnificent Views, for let the traveller linger where he will along its route, his eyes will be bewitched by a varied beauty. This road has faded to a grass-grown track, but it is easy to follow. It leaves the main road from Ramsey to Lezayre at the foot of Skyhill, and gently circles its slope to gain its summit. Thence it runs along an undulating ridgeway, channelled on either hand by scores of gullies and glens, until it meets the modern Mountain Road near Slieu Ouyre, from whose cliff-scarred face a huge boulder or clagh protrudes like a tongue. Most of the ancient packpony roads are also easy to follow. The Puncheon or Ashtree Road climbs steeply from the Old Harbour at Laxey, runs past the ruins of Keeill Nicholas, and continues as the "Chinnacan" to meet the modern high road at the Dhoon. A true mountain packpony road, impenetrable now in parts by overgrowths of bramble, begins at Ballure Bridge, just out of Ramsey. It hugs the southerly slope of Ballure Glen; climbs to the shoulder of Barrule; and slipping behind Slieu Lewaigue, runs to the Hill, or "high Stone," Clagh Ard, near the ruins of Keeill Moirrey, the subject of William Kennish's Manx version of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." Thence it thrusts onward towards Snaefell where it is lost in the wastes of the Plain of Loneliness above North Laxey Valley. This desolation was long haunted by the terrible Londhoo. From its fastnesses, Manannan Beg, driven from his Island home by human progress, curled himself finally in his fiery wheel, and rushing headlong through the glen, hurled himself over the headland at Dhoon into the sea, and was changed into a whale.

11. SCOTTISH RULE.

Magnus, last of Godred Crovan's dynasty, was destined to be also the last Norse King of Man. On arriving from Ireland in 1252, the Manx had welcomed him, but the promise of good peace with which his reign began, was broken by Alexander III. of Scotland, whom his own people later named, the "Last of the Kings of Peace."

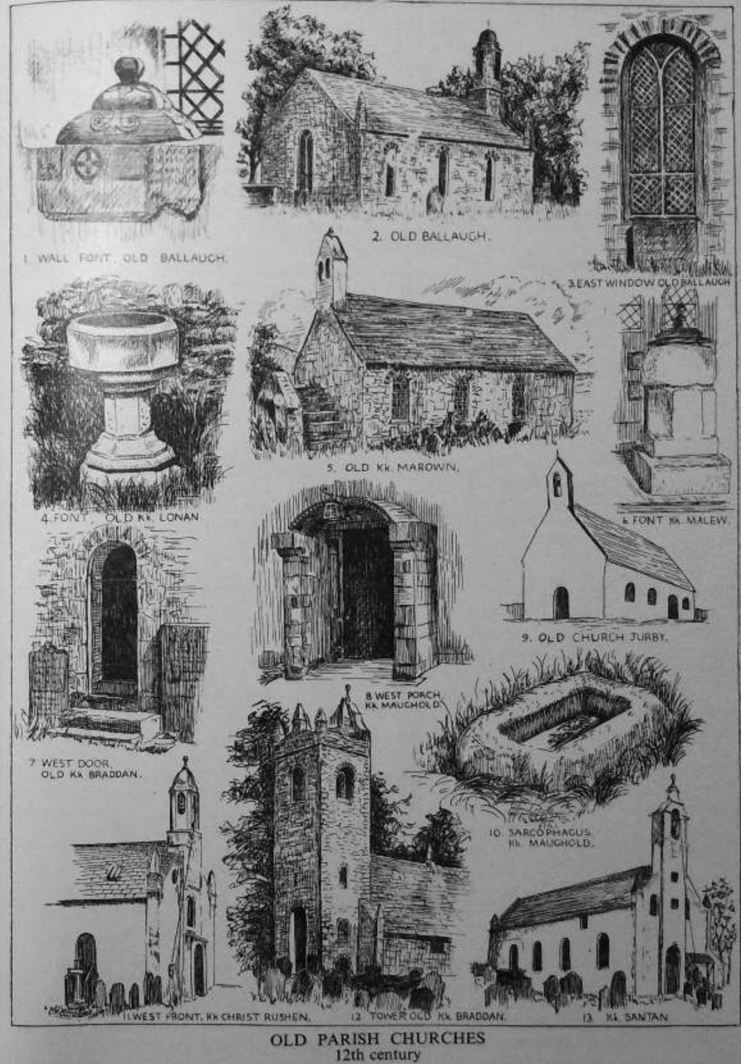
The Norse power in Scotland had long been a thorn in the side of Scottish kings, and as Alexander II. had recovered Argyle, AlexanderIII., who became king in 1249, was bent on regaining the Western Isles or Sudreys. In 1261, he claimed their sovereignty from Haakon of Norway, whose answer was to raise a fleet and force for war against Scotland. In 1263, Haakon set sail; at Skye he was joined by Magnus of Man; and at Arran he met Alexander III. who negotiated, hoping

to delay fighting until the coming of the autumn storms. Alexander succeeded. A gale arose; many Norse ships were swept ashore at Largs. After a stubborn battle fought there, Haakon was compelled to gather his remaining ships and sail to the North. His flight was a rout; more vessels were wrecked by succeeding storms; and when the Norse remnant reached Kirkwall, Haakon died. Alexander quickly profited. When the Western Isles were won, the king prepared to conquer Man. Knowing he could not match the Scots, Magnus hastened to Alexander at Dumfries, where he surrendered his kingdom. Magnus lost the Isles; he did homage for Man only, and was allowed to remain its king on condition that he supplied the Scots at need with five 12-oared galleys and five of 24 oars. In 1265, Magnus died at Rushen Castle. In the following year, and for a payment of 4,000 marks, the Norse ceded Man and the Sudreys to the Scots, and thus ended their long suzerainty

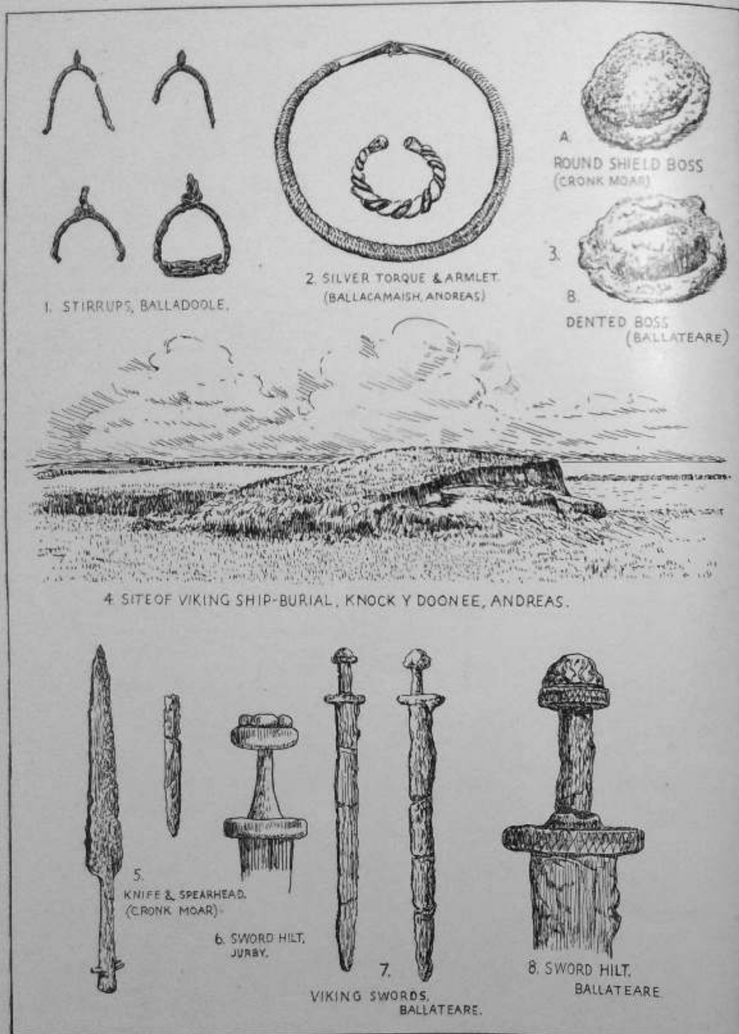
This cession replaced the Golden Age of strong Norse rule in Man by an Age of Strife. Alexander III. ruled firmly, but after his death his kingdom was involved in a long and bitter war with England. Owing to the vicissitudes of war, the allegiance of Man was often in dispute; sometimes Scottish, and sometimes English kings were suzerains. With two warring neighbours closing in, and neither strongly in control, Man fell a prey to both. Her ships, supplies and men were in demand to feed their forces. Deprived of their accustomed form of government, and open to every inroad, the people, distracted by the weakness of the State, sought protection from the Church. The Civil as well as the Spiritual Government fell largely into the hands of the Bishop. The increased authority of the Church is the feature in the history of Man during the period.

The supremacy of the Scots was unwelcome to the Manx, who had never felt friendly towards the "red shanks," so when Magnus died, they rebelled. Alexander suppressed the revolt, but neither he nor the Governors whom he sent to Man could allay the unrest. He adopted stern measures, but his problems were not eased when two women claimed the crown as heirs of Magnus. One was Mary, daughter of Reginald II. The other was Aufrica, whose identity is vague. She may have been Magnus' sister; if so, her claim should have been easily established. As she preferred to be known as Aufrica of Connaught, she was perhaps descended from that Aufrica who had married John de Courcy. Both she and Mary found supporters who added to the unrest, but they made no headway with their claims. Fleeing from Man, both settled in England, where Mary married Sir John de Waldeboeuf, and afterwards lost interest in the crown of Man. Aufrica, however, appealed to Edward I., who took steps to test her claim. He welcomed her at his court, and through his interest she met the orphan sons of Sir William de Montacute, the brothers, William and Simon, who were in his service. William de Montacute married Aufrica of Man, but when he died soon afterwards, his manors were inherited by Simon, to whom Aufrica turned as her champion. In 1305, at Bridgwater, Somerset, she signed a charter granting all her rights in Man to Simon de Montacute. This charter aroused his interest in Man, and gave his descendants its Lordship.

In 1275, the Manx again rebelled, so Alexander sent an expedition under John de Vesci to suppress them. He landed on St. Michael's Isle where he was met by a Manx army. He tried to treat with its leaders, but failed. Then, when the rebels rashly attacked, "the unfortunate people of Man fell miserably." The slaughter of 500 Manxmen brought revolt to an end. The Island became more reconciled to Scottish rule, and enjoyed a brief spell of peace until the death of Alexander III., in 1285. He was succeeded by Margaret, the "Maid of Norway." Regents ruled her kingdom, but as unrest arose, Edward I. intervened, and was welcomed by the Scottish people as the maker of peace. He accepted their proposals to unite the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son, Edward, and Margaret, and this being arranged, he became in all but name, King of Scotland and of Man.



OLD PARISH CHURCHES
12th century



RELICS FROM VIKING BURIALS IN MAN

In 1290, Edward I. appointed Walter de Huntrecombe his Custodian in Man, and ordered the delivery to him of the Castle and Island. At the same time, at Rushen, he compelled a body of leading men, probably the Keys, to be responsible for good order, binding them, under a penalty of 2,000 pounds of silver neither to oppose his officers nor rebel. As a further precaution, he fitted out a naval force to patrol the pirate zone between Man and the Sudreys.

Fate frustrated Edward's plans, for, in 1290, Margaret died. So many then claimed the Scottish crown that Edward was invited to decide who had the right. The strongest claims were those of John Balliol and Robert Bruce, and when Edward declared in favour of Balliol, who did homage to him, the Bruces and their supporters became enemies of both. In 1292, Edward relinquished Man to Balliol, who did not hold it long. In 1294, he rebelled against his overlord. In 1296, Edward invaded Scotland to assert his supremacy, and when Balliol surrendered after the capture of Berwick, he again became ruler of Man. He summoned Bishop Mark to Scotland to do homage and sent troops to Man to expel the Scots. In 1298, he granted the Lordship of Man to his friend and adviser, Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham.

Anthony Bek was bred as a Norman warrior, not as a bishop. He was a wealthy man, whose purse knew no bounds, and money ran through his hands like water. He was simple in his tastes, and temperate, but his expenditure as a soldier-bishop was unlimited. He employed his wealth liberally, building castles, churches and colleges, but was arrogant and ostentatious on all public occasions. He ruled his diocese with an iron hand; he travelled with a retinue extravagantly arrayed; and nothing costly, rich or rare escaped his purse. His courage as a Crusader won him his spurs; his diplomatic skill gave him his high office in the Church. Because such a man was needed to hold the Palatine Lands in the North, he had been appointed Bishop of Durham. As such he had furthered Edward's plans in Scotland; for years he was his adviser and a commander of his troops. Behind the Banner of St. Cuthbert he led his feudal army into Scotland in 1296. He received Balliol's surrendered at Brechin, and helped to dash Scottish hopes when he fought at Falkirk against the patriot, William Wallace, who, when drawing up his spearmen had so confidently said, "I haf brocht you to the ring; hop if you can." When Bek, who led the English van, saw their array, he shrewdly shrank back; but not so his knights, who recklessly pressed on. "Back to your Mass, Bishop!" they cried derisively, and again and again vainly charged Wallace's wall of Scots. Edward in the end drew his longbow-men to the front, and riddled the ranks of spearmen with their arrows. When their work was done, Bek's maddened knights rode in and out of the broken ranks of Scots, slaying mercilessly. Bek never visited Man, though he must have seen the Island, southwards across the sea, when he was besieging Caerlaverock Castle. He left the management of his interests there to his seneschal, Gilbert Makaskel, from whom he received the Lord's revenue. A little later he lost the king's favour, and had Edward I. not died in 1307, he would have lost his lands. As it was, his son, Edward II, re-granted him the sovereignty of Man, which he held until his death in 1311.

Perhaps it was no coincidence that shortly before he died, Edward I. appointed Simon de Montacute, who claimed to be the rightful King of Man, the Captain and Governor of his fleet in Manx waters. From his base at the mouth of the Silverburn, Simon patrolled the North Channel, with orders to keep four vessels, manned by 100 stout seamen, constantly on duty; to prevent the passage of the Scots to Man; and to root out rebels lurking both in Man and the Sudreys. In 1310, Man was made the rendezvous for ships from English ports, which would be convoyed through dangerous waters by Simon's navy. Soon afterwards, perhaps early in 1311, when he had news of Bek's death, Simon de Montacute, carelessly disregarding Edward II's rights, attempted to take possession of Man, but was foiled by Dougal MacDowell, Captain of Rushen Castle. At Berwick, in 1312, Simon suffered trial for his felony,

but in consideration of his war services, he was pardoned, and discharged from all suits against him in connection with his attempt to seize Man.

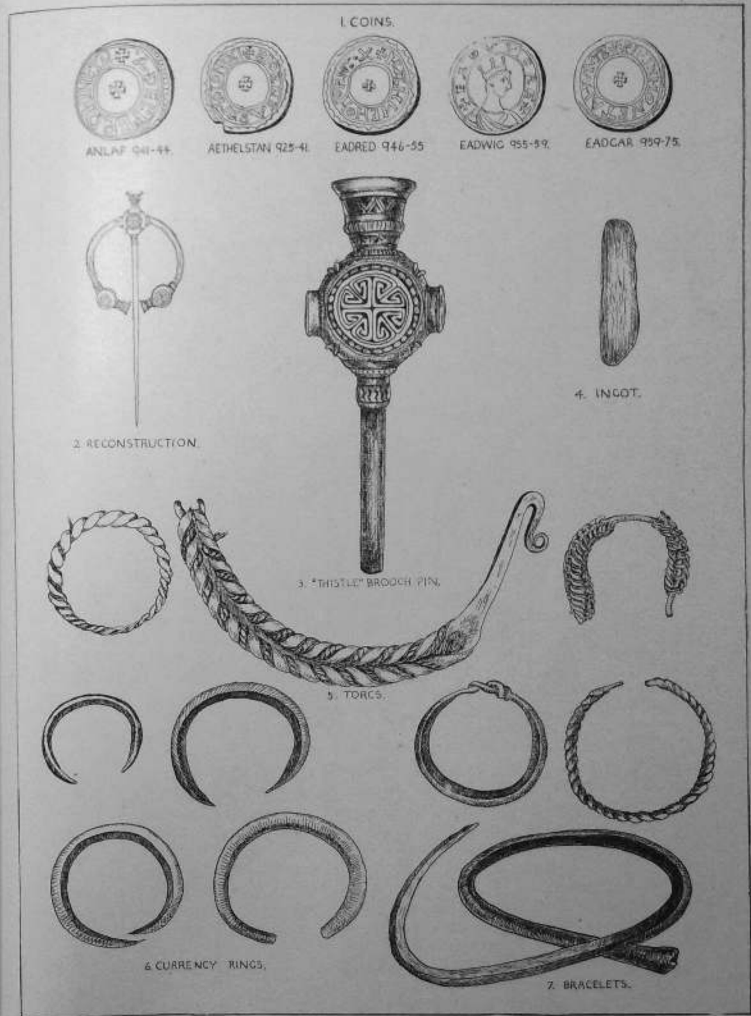
On Bishop Bek's death, Edward II. granted Man to Henry Beaumont, one of his favourites, but recovered it immediately into his own hands. He appointed Robert de Leiburn his Custodian in Man, and continued Gilbert Makaskel in his office as Seneschal. Later in 1311 he granted Man to Piers Gaveston, a boyhood friend, who so rose in his favour that he became Earl of Cornwall. From all accounts, Gaveston was an ill-omened comrade, who corrupted the young prince and encouraged his frivolity and folly. He was, however, a courageous knight, but so ambitious and so spoiled by favour that his arrogance earned him universal hatred. Edward I. banished Gaveston when he discovered his evil hold upon his son, but when the prince became king, his influence grew to be immense. The barons twice insisted on his exile; but when he returned a second time to Edward's favour, the indignant Lords Ordainers besieged him in Scarborough Castle. When he surrendered, he was sent off to imprisonment, but on the way he was seized by the Earl of Warwick, the "Black Dog of Arden," who beheaded him on Blacklow Heath, not far from Warwick.

In the same year, 1312, Edward again granted Man to Henry Beaumont, and again deprived him of it. Then it was taken from him by Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant Bruce, whom the Scots had crowned king at Scone in 1306, and who had since been their leader against the English. When Edward II. abandoned the Scottish War, his withdrawal of his troops allowed Bruce to recover the castles garrisoned by the few remaining. After his capture of Edinburgh Castle, he seized the Isle of Man.

In May, 1313, Bruce sailed for Man with strong forces, and after touching at Ramsey and Douglas, went on to Derbyhaven where he disembarked his men. Apparently unhindered, he pressed on; laid siege to Castle Rushen, and within a month, forced its defender, Dougal MacDowell, to surrender. After the Castle's fall, the Manx acknowledged Bruce, who met no further opposition, and who, on his return to Scotland, granted its Lordship to Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, for the yearly rental of 100 marks, together with 6 ships, each of 26 oars.

Randolph was Bruce's firm supporter and adviser. He fought with Bruce at Bannockburn, and afterwards harried the English Border Counties until 1328 when Edward made peace with Scotland, and gave Bruce possession of Man. His peace was brief. Bruce died in 1329, and when John Balliol's son, Edward, assessing the weakness of his successor, David II., rebelled, Edward III. gave him support. He invaded Scotland in 1333 and met with early success. He captured Berwick, conquered the Lowlands, and received Man, English suzerainty over which has been maintained to the present day.

The absorption of Scotland and England in their warfare loosed lawless elements everywhere, so a raid that occurred in 1316 was long remembered as one of the most devastating. On Ascension Day a horde of Irish freebooters, led by Richard de Mandeville, ran their ships ashore at Ronaldsway and built a camp. They demanded land, provisions, cattle and money, but the Manx, replying that they should have nothing, made ready to resist. The invaders at once attacked the Manx, who retreated to the slopes of South Barrule, where they stood and fought. When they were beaten, the Irish worked their will, for even the garrison in Castle Rushen was in no strength to risk a foray. They ravaged the whole area of the South, where they sacked and burned farms, and searched the churches for hidden silver. They looted Rushen Abbey so thoroughly that the abbey scribe recorded their visit as a disaster. "They came next to the Abbey of Rushin," he wrote, "which they entirely stripped of all its furniture, flocks and cattle. Having spent a month in this manner, they stowed their ships with the best effects of the country and returned home." This brief entry suggests that the monks took long to recover from their



THE DOUGLAS TREASURE
960 — 980 A.D.

COSTUME OF THE MANX-NORSE PERIOD

spoliation, for when the scribe laid aside his pen, the last word was written in the "Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Isles." Little is known of the Abbey between 1316 and its Dissolution in 1540.

THOMAS RANDOLF
Lord, 1313—32

This period of struggle between Scots and English for control (1266—1344), is probably the most wretched in Manx history. De Mandeville's raid reveals the widespread misery, and the weakness of a people unable to withstand a relatively minor force. Both sides had comandeered the Island's shipping, and drafted its manhood into their armies. Both used it as a base; denuded it of supplies; and granted it to nominees interested chiefly in the rents and other revenues their seneschals could supply. Agriculture languished; trade declined. Tynwald became impotent, as over long intervals no Courts assembled, and the summoning of the Keys dropped into disuse. As the Lords of Man were absent, the Bishops became paramount in power. When they controlled the government, the authority of the State declined, while that of the Church was unduly fortified. Church courts were tyrannies; tithes and dues became exactions; discipline was enforced by clergy, sumners and wardens with the utmost rigour.

The first bishop under the Scottish supremacy was Mark of Galloway, appointed in 1275. He was an able cleric, who had held various high offices, and who is said to have ruled his diocese nobly for 24 years, when, it will be recalled, he was driven into exile for his exactions, conceived perhaps in 1291, when he held a synod at Kirk Braddan which increased both the income of the Church and the severity of its discipline. Also by its canons, laymen and clergy were forbidden to bear arms in church, or to hold courts for the pleading of lay cases on the Lord's day in churches and churchyards, prohibitions which might fairly be accepted as reforms, especially when we remember how, a few years later, in 1306, Robert Bruce impulsively slew his rival, John Comyn, during their conference in a convent chapel at Dumfries.

William Russell, a Manxman, and one of the ablest of the Island's bishops, held the see from 1348 to 1374. He was abbot of Rushen, and was elected bishop by the clergy of Man. In 1350, following a synod held at Michael, he issued further canons, which enacted chiefly that God's Word be preached, children be instructed, and the Sacrament be administered on Sundays and Holy Days. These canons clearly regulate the conduct of clergy. They impose salutary strictures, notably, at a time when unease was spreading in England over the laxity of the Church.

Few traces of the Scots and their Supremacy remain in Man, but they left an undying memorial when they established the "Three Legs" as the Manx Arms. Its introduction is attributed to Alexander III., but this is improbable. Alexander Stewart and John Cumin, whom he sent to hold Man after the death of Magnus, were more likely to plant the Banner of Scotland, which bore the Golden Lion. There is no evidence that Alexander III. was personally interested in the Three Legs. He had knowledge of it, as he had of the devices of all notable knights, but he never used it. On the other hand, the Three Legs was known in Man and the Isles long before his time, for several earls who held Lordships in the Sudreys had adopted it. Crusaders were familiar with it; and all Crusading armies were leavened with Norse blood. Crusaders brought it from the East, where it had long been known in every country from Syria to Sicily. Some Scottish families who claimed descent from the Kings of Man and the Isles, displayed both the Ship and the Legs in their Arms. The MacLeods of Cromarty, and Thomas Randolph did so. As Randolph's Banner flew in Man for twenty years—long enough for the rising generation to forget the

old Norse emblem—he is most likely to have established it as a national device. Originally the Legs were bare, and the toe spurning the ground pointed to the left. The motto, QUOCUNQUE JECERIS STABIT, which is generally rendered as, "Whichever way you throw me, I shall stand," first appears on the earliest Manx coinage, that of 1668,with GESSERIS mis-written for JECERIS.

Confirmation of the early introduction of the TREE CASSYN, or Three Legs into Man is found in its representation on the ancient Manx Ceremonial Sword of State, which is carried before the Governor at Tynwald, and which is believed to date from the 12th, or at latest, the early 13th century. The origin of this sword is unknown, but tradition ascribes it to Olaf II., who, before he became king, bore it on his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. The Sword is a fine, steel, two-edged bladę 29 inches long. the hardwood hilt, 9 inches long, tapers from the guard to the pommel, which is flattened in order to bear on either side the Three Legs device. The Guard is a thin steel band, circular in section, and measuring 11 inches between its extremities, which curl slightly downwards and inwards. The Legs are again represented on shields set on either side of the sword where the guard intersects the blade, and these representations, though crude, are unmistakeable. The Legs are spurred, and apparently armoured, and the feet, which are immense, move in a direction contrary to that of to-day.

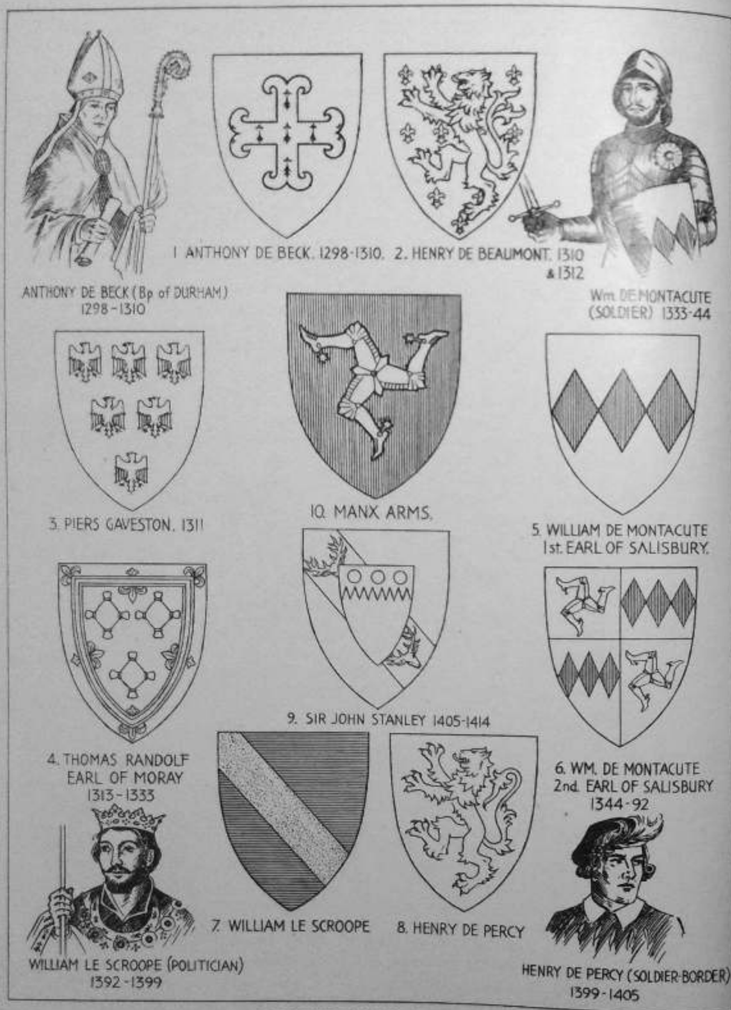
12. ENGLISH RULE.

In 1333, after the Battle of Halidon Hill, Edward III's control of Scotland was so well established that he gave orders to take possession of Man. When this had been done, he appointed Sir William de Montacute, grandson of Simon de Montacute, Custodian of the Island, and a little later granted him its absolute possession without any service to himself. Edward did not specifically justify the right Sir William claimed through his greataunt, Aufrica. He regarded his services worthy of reward, but his family claim to Man made this grant appropriate. He was Edward's friend from his youth, and helped him to assert his independence against the arrogant Earl of March, whom he seized in Nottingham Castle, and hurried to London, where he was surrendered to partisan peers, who had him hanged, drawn and quartered.

It has been said, that on receiving his grant, Montacute went to Man and, "conquered the Isle out of the hands of the Scots and was crowned King," but this is unlikely, as Edward's service allowed him no leisure. In 1335, he was Governor of the Channel Islands, and Constable of the Tower; in 1337, he was created Earl of Salisbury; and in 1338, made Marshall of England. After this, the king employed him on embassies in Scotland, Germany and France, and he fought with him in Flanders until his death in 1344. Perhaps the earlier reference is in error for 1343, when it is recorded that William de Montacute proceeded against Man in ships provided by the king; drove the Scots from the Island, and was crowned King. The Scots, who were reluctant to relinquish possession, made frequent raids, and were sometimes bought off with money. There is a record of at least one occasion when the Manx paid a fine of 300 marks that they might enjoy, "a certain sufference of peace with them for the period of one year."

In 1344, William de Montacute I. was succeeded as Earl of Salisbury and Lord of Man by his son, William de Montacute II. (1328—1397), whose life was even more chequered than that of his father. He was brought up as a companion to the Black Prince, and was early betrothed to Joan, daughter of the murdered Edmund of Woodstock, who, when she grew to womanhood, and was famous for her beauty as the "Fair Maid of Kent," married the Black Prince, not William de Montacute. In the Hundred Years' War, he fought at Crecy, and commanded the rearward battle at Poictiers. In 1350, he was honoured by Edward as one of the knights-founders of his Order of the Garter, the inception of which tradition attributes

THE SCOTTISH SUZERAINTY



ENGLISH LORDS OF MAN

to his wife, the Countess of Salisbury. Later, after the death of Prince and King, he attended the boy-king, Richard II., and was his escort when he faced Wat Tyler in Smithfield, where he witnessed the rebel leader's death from the dagger of Walworth.

WILLIAM DE MONTACUTE II. Lord 1344—92.

Little is known of affairs in Man under William II's rule, except that incursions continued. In 1377, a band of Scots and French invaded the Island, and though they avoided Rushen Castle, where Sir Hugh Tyrell maintained a defence, they raided everywhere else, and to such purpose that, to save their homes from burning, the Manx bought them off with 1,000 marks. 1388 saw the last descent of the Scots, when Robert, earl of Fife, and Archibald Douglas descended suddenly and gathered quantities of spoil. In 1392, the last of his line in direct descent, and unreconciled to the death of his only son, who had been killed in 1383 in a tilting at Windsor, William de Montacute II. sold the Lordship of Man to Sir William Le Scrope, an official in the service of Richard II.

During Sir William II's Lordship, Man was governed largely by its Bishop, John Donkin or Dunkan, the last Manxman to be Bishop of Man until recent times. We know nothing of his work in Man, but he had many problems and difficulties. He was at least an able, conscientious man, esteemed by both Richard II. and Henry IV. In 1392, Richard II. translated him to the Bishopric of Down, Ireland, and later, Henry IV. also appointed him to high office there.

In 1373, a new religious Order began its work in Man, for the Franciscans, or Grey-robed Friars, founded a Friary at Bemaken, Arbory. Sir William II. granted them the land on which they were permitted to build, "a church or oratory, with a bell-tower, cemetery, house and other necessary offices, provided that twelve brethren of the said Order can be fittingly and properly maintained at the place; without infringing on the rights of the parochial church, or of any other." The friars appear to have exercised little influence, and they did little building, apart from their Chapel, which has been used as a barn for several centuries. A wall 4 feet thick, which forms a gable of the farm house, is believed to have been part of the Refectory.

Though Castle Rushen was founded by Norse Kings, a large portion of it as it stands to-day is a monument to Sir William de Montacute I., who, about 1343 or 1344, restored the damage done by Robert Bruce and enlarged the earlier castle into an impregnable defence. He first raised Magnus' Castle to a height of 90 feet and, with the exception of a small area, left as an Inner Ward, divided it into four stories. This was then enlarged by the addition of a rectangular tower to the middle of each of the four sides of the Keep, that on the North side being a double tower, which contained the strongly defended entrance. Finally, the whole fortress was strengthened by an outer enveloping wall rising from the edge of the moat.

The Castle's enlargement was necessitated by its threefold function as a fortress, a residence for the lord, and a centre of government and administration. The only way in was over the drawbridge, under the outer and inner portcullis, and through the iron-studded gate, which admitted to the open Court enclosed within the Keep. Leading off this Court were the garrison guard and rest rooms, dining hall and kitchen; strong rooms for the lord's treasure; and store rooms for food, and weapons. Under them were several deep dungeons, the only entrances to which were trap-doors in the floors of the guardrooms.

The first floor contained residential rooms and, in the North Tower, apartments for soldiers and officials. The principal apartment was the Great Hall, a large, plain room without a fireplace, adjoining which was the Kitchen, a small, barrel-vaulted chamber the enormous arched fireplace of which occupied its whole width. Beyond the Hall was the Withdrawing Room, originally a fine gallery, remarkable for its floor, which, together with the floors of several adjoining rooms, is formed of heavy stone slabs or lintels carefully squared and close fitted. In the South Tower was a delightful little Solar or Office, having a ribbed and barrel-vaulted roof. A similar chamber, possibly a bedroom, lay in the West Tower.

The domestic rooms on the second floor were almost identical with those below. They consisted of a hall, withdrawing rooms, bedrooms and offices, but no kitchen, and were probably the apartments of those officials who resided in the Castle and had their meals together in their own hall. The Lord's private apartments occupied the uppermost floor. They consisted of a hall, withdrawing room and bedrooms, together with a room which was possibly a priest's lodging, and a small chapel or oratory, now the Clock Room, where the piscina and aumbry still remain to be seen, though the altar has disappeared.

William de Montacute replaced the palisade surrounding the castle with a battlemented wall. Owing to the lie of the ground, it formed an irregular octagon, every part of which was covered by the towers built in its angles. Along the top of the wall ran an allure, or parapet walk, continuous over the whole wall. The walls were not built in their entirety at one time, but in three sections in each of which the towers vary in design. In the earliest building they are not strictly towers, but turrets corbelled out from the wall. Later, they rose from the foundations, but were corbelled out to larger size above, where they contain chambers entered from the parapet. Those of the final building are larger; they are the same size throughout and contain rooms on three stories.

Sir William Le Scrope (1351—99), who in 1393, purchased the Earl of Salisbury's rights in Man, "with the crowne," was a powerful official high in the favour of Richard II., and, owing to his association with the king, a sinister figure in English history. His father, Lord Scrope, was a rich landowner of Bolton, Yorkshire. During Richard's minority he was his treasurer and chancellor, but in 1382, his attempts to curb the king's extravagance brought dismissal from his offices. His son was a man of different mould. He had fought under John of Gaunt. He was neither evil, base nor corrupt, but when Richard himself began to rule, he entered his service, and made the fatal mistake of supporting his despotism and aiding him in his dark treachery.

In 1398, Richard wreaked revenge on the lords appellant, who ten years earlier had impeached his favourites. Conspiring with Le Scrope, he lured his unsuspecting uncle, Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick into a trap. Having seized them, he hurried Gloucester to Calais where he was murdered. Le Scrope appealed the others before a packed parliament and secured their conviction. Arundel was beheaded. Warwick too was sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to one of perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man under the care of Le Scrope. A little later, when his banishment of Henry Bolingbroke rid Richard of the remaining obstacle to his despotic rule, Le Scrope's reward for his work was the earldom of Wiltshire.

When Le Scrope purchased Man, he was aware of its exposure to Scottish raiders. Castle Rushen was now strong, but St. Patrick's Isle was open to an enemy. Anxious for the safety of St. German's Cathedral, he built the castle adjoining it, which, though small, was strong enough to secure the Isle from any but a serious invader.

Le Scrope's Castle, now the best preserved building on the Isle, is built of red sandstone blocks, varied in size and roughly cut to shape. It stands upon the solid rock, and is approached by a flight of rock-hewn steps to a narrow, round-arched doorway, beyond which it continues through a thin-walled vestibule to the oaken door, protected by a portcullis, which admits to the squat, battlemented Keep. The sea was still the islet's main protection; the Keep could offer little resistance to an enemy attack. It was neither stronghold nor residence, but it was efficient as a deterrent to would-be raiders.

According to legend, the castle guard-room was the haunt of the "Spectral Hound of Man," the dreaded Black Dog, or Moddy Dhoo. The story is told that a shaggy, black dog appeared mysteriously each night, and lay curled before the guard-room fire from candlelight to dawn. The soldiers, fearing it, never molested it, but though it offered them no hurt, none cared to be left with it alone. One night, a drunken soldier derided the power of the dog, and scorning his comrades' dread, caught up the castle keys to carry them to his captain, whose room lay beyond a dark passage. As he left the guardroom, the dog slunk at his heels. Presently, a long-drawn animal howl and a ghastly noise as of worrying was heard, and at length the scoffer returned, sober, silent and shocked. His face was twisted in fear and pain. He told no story; he never spoke again. He lived three days in speechless agony, and died. The Black Dog came no more to the guardroom; nor did any man dare to venture to his doom down its dark passageway, which was later bricked up.

Though Castle Rushen was the natural place in which to imprison the earl of Warwick, who was condemned to, "perpetual imprisonment without this realm, in the Isle of Man," it is believed he was confined in Peel Castle. If so, he cannot have been kept a close prisoner in tower or dungeon. He must have been allowed the liberty of the Isle, from which, if he attempted to escape, he took the risk "that the said judgment of death be put in execution." This is confirmed by the Parliamentary Rolls, which record that the expenses attending upon, "the safe conduct of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, to the Isle of Man, and for the support of the said Earl there," amounted to £1,074 14s. 5d., which was defrayed out of the Exchequer to Sir William Scrope. This heavy expense suggests that the earl of Warwick was accompanied to Man by an appropriate retinue, which Castle Rushen could not accommodate, and therefore, that Peel Castle was his place of imprisonment. He was not long in Man, as in 1398, he was a prisoner in the Tower of London, in the Beauchamp Tower, which was so named from this circumstance.

In addition to erecting his Keep, Sir William Le Scrope also restored St. German's Cathedral. Probably the later construction of the Nave, the embattling of the Tower and Transepts, and of the ancient Round Tower, were works completed at his cost.

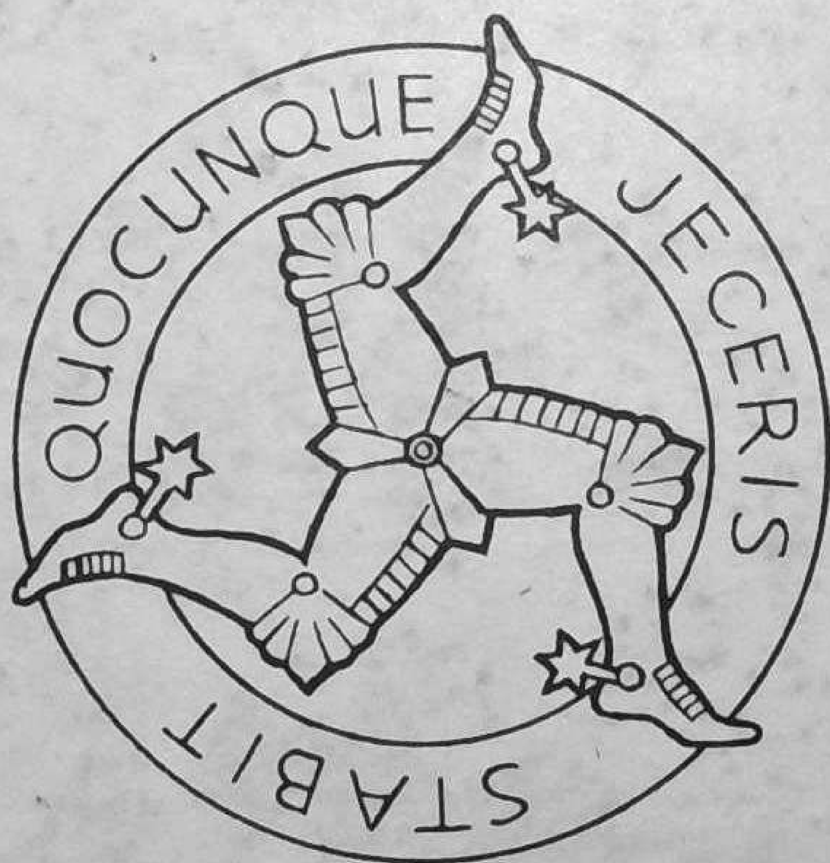
In 1398, Richard II's rule was absolute. He felt no need to fear his nobles, yet he so misused his power that he aroused the hatred of his whole people. In spite of the rumblings of the coming storm, Richard, in 1399, chose this time of rising ferment to visit Ireland. His absence gave Henry Bolingbroke his opportunity. Landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, he proclaimed himself a liberator, not a conqueror. Adherents hurried to his side. Foremost among them was the powerful Northumberland family of the Percys, to whom Henry owed his strongest support. He marched to London, where he was well received. Then he thrust into the West, and was joined by the Duke of York, the king's regent, with his forces. In the meantime, Richard's fear-filled friends had abandoned hope. Le Scrope, now Lord Treasurer, sought safety in Bristol Castle. When it surrendered to Henry, he and the lesser minions, Bussy and Green, were taken, tried and executed. It has been said that they were torn in pieces by the Bristol mob.

Soon after Richard II. landed in Wales he surrendered to Henry Bolingbroke, who became King of England as Henry IV. As William Le Scrope had been condemned of high treason, his lands, including Man, passed into the possession of the English Crown.

In 1399, Henry IV. granted Man to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, subject to the service of carrying "on the coronation day of us and our heirs," the sword, "called the Lancaster Sword," which Henry had drawn on his landing at Ravenspur. Man was but a little part of the rich reward in lands Northumberland had earned by his support, but he and his family felt dissatisfied. As Marcher Lords the Percys were ever embroiled in Border warfare with the Scots, who in 1403, under the earl of Douglas, launched one of their fiercest forays into Northumberland. Henry Percy and his famous son, Henry "Hotspur," awaited their return at Homildon Hill. When the Scots appeared, they were met with a rain of arrows. As they advanced, the English shot them down with unerring aim. Their charge was met with shafts so sharp and strong, that not a man among them could bear himself before the "iron sheet." Victory was won entirely by the archers; in the battle the men-at-arms drew not the sword.

The success of the Percys brought their grievances to a head, for the king refused to grant them additional reward. Conspiring for the overthrow of Henry, they rose at length in revolt, and found ready allies in the disaffected Welsh. Hotspur joined their leader, Owen Glendower, and their armies met those of the King near Shrewsbury. Again the Northumbrian archers drew their bows and the King's men "fell as the leaves fall after a frosty night." They recoiled before the arrows, and again before Hotspur's charge, and for a full three hours the wager of battle was contested desperately. In the moment of hottest fray, Henry entered the field with his reserves, and "did that day many feats of arms." Then Hotspur fell; an arrow pierced his brain. His death spread panic among his followers; they and the Welsh fled and gave Henry victory. Northumberland, marching to aid the rebels, heard of their defeat, and of the death of his son and brother. He hurried back to Warkworth and disbanded his men. When he appeared before the King at York, he was generously forgiven his revolt, even without fine or forfeiture.

In 1405, Northumberland again conspired, and when he was betrayed, he fled to Scotland. This time his lands were forfeit, so Henry IV. sent the brothers, Sir John and Sir William Stanley, the former of whom was his Lieutenant in Ireland, to seize the Isle of Man, and to hold it in his name. Later in the year, he granted the Island to Sir John Stanley for life. In 1406, he cancelled this grant, and subject to his supremacy, gave Man, with its castles and royalties, and with the patronage of the bishopric to Sir John Stanley, his heirs and assigns, on the service of rendering two falcons on paying homage, and two falcons to all future Kings of England on the day of their coronation. With the accession of the Stanleys as Kings or Lords of Man, a new and brighter Age began to dawn for the Island and its people.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