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THE NORSE SETTLEMENTS IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS

BY PROF. DR. ALEXANDER BUGGE (University of Christiania)

Read December 9, 1921

I ESTEEM it a very great honour indeed to be allowed to lecture before this learned Society, which among its members numbers so many eminent men.

You will probably think that my subject lies far out of the way and is only of very small importance to the study of English history.—But it is my proud conviction that the Norsemen, my ancestors, also have contributed to the moulding of the English nation and of the British Empire. These times, however, lie far back. It is now nearly 900 years ago since Vikings' fleets used to land on the shores of the British Islands and many centuries since the tongue of the Norsemen was spoken here, except in the far away Orkneys and Shetland. Nearly everything that could remind us of them has disappeared. Those times are long ago forgotten when the Scandinavian peoples were feared by other nations, and were of some consequence in European politics. Since then the British nation has spread its sway all over the world, and its destinies lie not in Europe only, but beyond the seas. It is therefore not to be wondered that the English have forgotten their Norse ancestors. There was, however, a time when the fortunes of the British Islands were closely intertwined with those of Northern Europe, a time when these Islands and Denmark, Norway and Sweden seemed destined to form part of one great empire and had comparatively little to do with the outside world.

When an Icelander, a Norwegian, or a Dane 900 years ago came to England, he had no feeling of coming to a foreign

country, but was still among countrymen whose language he understood. An Islandic saga says of the times of King Ethelred the Unready, "There was at that time the same tongue in England as in Norway and Denmark, but when William the Bastard won England, the tongues went asunder. Since that time the French tongue has become predominant in England because he originated from France."¹

The Viking raids had planted Norwegians and Danes on British soil. The conquest of Canute still further strengthened the Norse element. His empire fell into pieces after his death, and the attempts of his successors in Denmark and Norway to reconquer England were frustrated. It is said that *Hock-day*, the second Tuesday after Easter Sunday, in earlier times, was celebrated in England in memory of the expulsion of the Danes (either the massacre of the Danes in 1002 or the death of Hardicnut in 1042).²

The Danes, however, were not expelled; on the contrary, during the reign of Edward the Confessor the Norse element still predominated. To the Shiremotes, even outside the Danelaw, were still, as we see from ancient charters, summoned *all the thanes both English and Danish*. Scandinavian names were in common use, even among the most prominent Saxon families. The Norse *Thingemanlid*, or royal body-guard, was still in existence, and perished in the battle of Hastings. Even in towns like Cambridge, which for a short time only had belonged to the Danes, the Norse element was very strong. Yorkshire and the Midland counties were even more Norse than English. The Northumberland clerical statutes (*Norðymbra preosta lagu*), written about 1050, and probably in York, are full of Norse loan-words and show that there was still a pagan element in Yorkshire. No wonder that the Latin "saga" of *Siward Digre* (the stout), the famous Earl of Northumberland, written about the

¹ Gunnlaug's Saga, Ormstungu, udg. ved Finnur Jonsson (København, 1916), ch. 9 (p. 21).

² Thomas Blount: "Jocular Tenures," 133. *New English Dictionary*, under "Hock-day".

middle of the twelfth century, is still full of heathen reminiscences and introduces Odin, the pagan god, at the beginning of the career of the hero, predicting his future and giving him a raven banner.¹

A son of Siward was Earl Waltheof, the martyr of English freedom, who was treacherously put to death by William (1075). He is commemorated by an Icelandic poet who had been in his service. "Late will certainly cease slaying of men in England," with these words a Norseman closes the Pre-Norman period.

Even after the Norman conquest the Norse element continued to live. A London antiquary of the thirteenth century, in a commentary on the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor, tells us that since the reign of King Arthur there have been continual wars between the English and the Norwegians. "The Norwegians," he continues, "occupied many districts and islands of this realm which they still keep, and afterwards it has never been possible to expel them." "Therefore," he concludes, "the Norwegians have, since the time of King Edward the Confessor, been allowed to live among us and to stay in this realm as our sworn brethren and like the proper citizens of this realm."²

The author of this fanciful commentary no doubt partly thinks of the Isle of Man, the Hebrides and the Orkneys, which in his time still belonged to Norway. But he must also have known that both Norwegians and Danes had founded settlements in England, where their descendants still were living.

In this connection I must call attention to a mistake that is made by several scholars,—namely, that they speak only of Danes in the British Islands, at least in England and Ireland. Even in the Isle of Man, which during centuries

¹ The raven was, as you know, the bird of Odin, and many famous Viking chieftains, e.g. the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, possessed raven banners, which, when the raven unfolded its wings, always brought them victory.

² Liebermann: *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i, 666 (*Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 32 E, 3-6).

(until 1266) formed a Norwegian dependency, people now speak of Danes, not of Norwegians. On a suggested monument to Orry or Gorry (*Guðrøðr*), the first king of Man, the inscription is "Orry the Dane, Kynge 947".¹

In earlier times, however, the Norwegians were remembered nearly as much as the Danes. Prophecies both in England and Scotland told of "the Black Fleet of Norway." Among the charges made against the Vicar of Muston in 1537 was that he had "a roll of prophecies from the White Friars of Scarborough." The prophecies, among others, told that "when the black fleet of Norway was come and gone, after in England should there be war never."²

Both in Scotland and Ireland the Scandinavian settlements were chiefly Norwegian.³ The history of the Viking raids, as well as the traces of Scandinavian language found in Ireland, point in this direction. As the descendants of Ragnar Lodbrok also became kings of Dublin, there must likewise have been a Danish element in the Norwegian settlements in Ireland. Limerick was possibly a Danish colony.⁴

In England it is now generally acknowledged that the Lake District was settled by Norwegians. But for the Dane-law proper nearly all writers only speak of Danes.⁵ The original Scandinavian settlers there, of course, were Danes. About 900, however, the Norwegians were temporarily driven away from Ireland. Some of them settled in Western England, but a great number came to Yorkshire, and after that time there began a strong Norwegian immigration to this country. King Eadward, the Chronicle tells us, shortly

¹ Mannin, publ. by the Manx Language Society, vol. i. 8.

² *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, vol. xii., n. 1212. "The Black Fleet of Norway" probably is a reminiscence of the expedition of King Haakon of Norway to Scotland, A.D. 1263.

³ Cf. Marstander: *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Christiania Vidensk.-selsk. skrifter. II. 1915. No. 5).

⁴ In the Irish chronicles and tales written in Munster the Vikings are usually called *Danair* (Danes).

⁵ Liebermann, in his editions of the *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, is one of the very few exceptions,

before his death was "chosen as father and lord, by all the Northumbrian peoples, whether English, Danish or Norwegian".¹

This Norwegian stream from the Hebrides and Ireland is the reason that in the Domesday survey of Yorkshire we find so many Irish, and especially so many typically Norse-Irish personal names, as e.g. *Gilemichel* ("the servant of Michael"),² *Ghilepatric* ("the servant of Patrick"),³ *Maccus*,⁴ *Glunier* (Goid. *Gluniarain*, a translation of O.N. *Járnkné*, "Iron knee"),⁵ and *Finegal* (Goid. *finn-gall*, "a white foreigner, a Norwegian"). Among the place-names we meet with *Finegala*,⁶ now Fingall, a small village in North Riding, Yorkshire (i.e. *Fine-Gall*, "the District of the Foreigners," the Irish name of the County of Dublin, preserved in the Barony of Fingall).

Not only in Yorkshire, however, but also in the Midland counties, and even in Norfolk, there must have been a considerable Norwegian element. The Anglo-Saxon poem on King Eadmund's reconquest of the Five Boroughs, mentions both Danes and Norwegians. In York, Lincoln, Stamford, Cambridge, and probably in Chester, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, we find the so-called "lawmen" or *lagemanni*, who in the number of twelve were a sort of judges and magistrates or aldermen, the earliest example of English municipal officers. *Lagemannus* is a loan-word from old Norse *lögmaðr*, but the institution itself is typically Norwegian, no traces of lawmen being found in Denmark, while the Swedish "lawmen" occupied a different position.⁷ The same is the case with the *holds* who, since

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Earle and Plummer, vol. i, p. 104 (a° 924).

² Cf. the translation of the Yorkshire Domesday, "A History of Yorkshire" (*Victoria County History*, II), 203a.

³ *Ibidem*, 200a.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 268c.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 206c, 246c.

⁶ Domesday Book, II, 312, col. 2.

⁷ The original meaning of the word *lögmaðr* is "learned in the law," *juris peritus* as *lagemannus* is rendered by medieval writers.

the beginning of the tenth century, were leaders of the Viking armies in England, in rank beneath the kings and earls, and in the eleventh century corresponding to the High Reeve among the English. The *holds* represent the Norwegian *höldar* or *hauldar*, who were a kind of higher yeomen, the owners of allodial land, but who are quite unknown in the other Scandinavian countries.

The place-names point in the same direction. In many, perhaps in most cases, it is impossible to decide whether a place-name is of Danish or Norwegian origin.

The Scandinavian names which we find in ancient English charters have mostly been misspelt and miswritten by scribes quite ignorant both of Danish and Norwegian, and sometimes even of English. Besides, many words and endings were in use in Denmark as well as in Norway, or had forms which were closely similar to each other. I can give one instance. A great part of the Scandinavian place-names in this country end in *by* (*bi*), e.g. *Grimsby*, *Whitby*, *Derby*. This ending comes from Old Norse *bý*, *býr*, which was used in Denmark, Sweden and Eastern Norway, and means "a manor, village, town." The corresponding West-Norwegian and Icelandic form is *bær*, *bø*, which would give a Middle-English *be*. This form is actually found in Domesday.¹ The other form, the ending *by*, is, however, the predominant one, and must in many places have supplanted the West-Scandinavian form.

A great many place-names which have got this ending, have as first member a personal name which is not Danish, but Norwegian or Hiberno-Norwegian. Thus several townships and villages in Cumberland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lincolnshire are called Ireby or Irby—*Irebi* or *Iribi* in Domesday Book—that is Old Norse

¹ E.g. *Helesbe* [now *Helsby*] in Cheshire (Domesday Book, II, 263c). Forms like *Derbei* [West Derby] and *Fornebei* [now *Formby*, West Derby Hundred] also pre-suppose an Old Norse nominative ending in *-bær*, or rather a *casus obliquus* ending in *-bæiar*.

Írabýr, "the township of the Irishman." They must have been named after Norwegians who from Ireland emigrated to England.

Some of the principal elements of the Scandinavian place-names in England seem, however, to be Danish, while others are acknowledged as Norwegian. Danish are most probably the names ending in *-thorþ(e)* (*þorþ*). These names occur chiefly in the Danelaw districts.—In Norway and in the Lake District, where mostly Norwegians settled, they are comparatively rare.¹—It must, however, not be forgotten that *thorþ* (*þorþ*), although rarely occurring in Old English, is a common Teutonic word. But when a place-name ending in *-torþ* begins with a Danish personal name, *e.g.* *Tovetorþ* in Yorkshire,² we may at any rate be pretty sure that it is of Danish origin. Danish likewise are the names ending in *-toft* ("homestead").—In Domesday Book *Toft* and *Toftes* are found in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; besides, the word *toft* very frequently occurs in ancient Danelaw charters.

Norwegian, on the other hand, are probably the names ending in *-thwaite*, which still survives in North-English dialects, like *veit* in Modern Norwegian, meaning "a forest clearing, a small hamlet." The word is cognate with O.E. *þwitan*, "to cut," and probably originally means "land separated or cut off from its surroundings." In Norway many farms or manors from the viking age, or even older, have names ending in *-þveit*. They seem originally to have formed a part of larger estates. In some cases, however, *þveit* also in Norway merely signifies "house, abode, estate." In this meaning the word is used in many North-English place-names, *e.g.* *Finsthwaite*, a hamlet and parish in Lancashire, near the foot of Windermere (that is "the

¹ *Thorþ* is in Domesday Book only found in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire. It is, however, both alone and in compounds also found in Lancashire and Cumberland.

² *Tove* [O.N. *Tófi*] was a very common name in Denmark and came from there to Norway.

estate or portion of *Finn*," a common Norwegian name), and *Haverthwaite*, village in Colton parish, Lancashire (a compound of *þveit* and *Hávarðr*, another common Old Norwegian name).¹ Of the 232 place-names ending in *-thwaite* which are known in England, no less than 83 are found in Yorkshire, 11 in Lincolnshire, and 7 in Norfolk. This also seems to indicate that all over the ancient Danelaw there was a considerable Norwegian element.²

Several other of the principal elements of many North-English place-names are likewise West-Scandinavian, and not found in Denmark or Sweden, e.g. *gil*, which still in Yorkshire (like the corresponding Icelandic *gil*) means "a deep, narrow glen with a stream at the bottom." And further, *breck*, which is very common in Lancashire, e.g. Gray Breck, Lanc. S., Norbrick, Poulton, Scarisbrick, Liv., and is derived from Old Norwegian *brekka*, "a slope." The corresponding Danish word is *brink*, from which the modern English *brink*, "edge of a hill," is derived (this word is also found in *Brinkworth*, Wiltshire). In most cases, however, it is impossible to decide whether a place-name is of Norwegian or Danish origin.

Even the diphthongs do not help us. In modern times, and even in the Middle Ages, diphthongs are, as you know, only found in West-Scandinavian. In Norway we say *stein* ("stone"), while the equivalent Danish form is *sten*. We cannot, however, conclude from this that *Steinesecher*, which occurs in the Chartulary of Whitby,³ is a Norwegian name. We know from Runic inscriptions that diphthongs

¹ I am well aware that the word *tved*, corresponding to Old Norse *þveit*, is found in Danish. It is, however, very rarely used in place-names, and never in the meaning of "portion, estate." The Danish word only means: "a field, cleared of wood." This Danish word occurs in a document printed in the Chartulary of Whitby: *in Midethet*, i.e. "the tved, which is situated in the midth" (The Chartulary of Whitby, n. DL, xvii., p. 577).

² Some of the place-names ending in *-thwaite* date from the Norman period, or perhaps even later. Carlton Husthwaite, a village in Yorkshire, is in Domesday Book called Carlton ("A History of Yorkshire," II, 212).

³ Cf. below p. 187.

were still in use in Denmark in the tenth century. The Danes who settled in England certainly must have used diphthongs. Thus the name of the Danish king Svein is written *Swegen*, which presupposes that it was pronounced with a diphthong.¹ In some cases, however, we see that the Danes in England have not used diphthongs. In the Lake District and some parts of Yorkshire we can find the form *thwaite* with diphthong, but in the Danish Whitby we find the form *thet*, which corresponds to Danish *tved* (in the above-mentioned *Midethet*, i.e. Old Norse *Midþveit*, "the Middle Thweite").² In the same way Old West Scand. *Sveinn*, Dan. *Sven*, is in Lancashire documents constantly written *Swein*, *Swain*, *Swayn*³ while in the Yorkshire Domesday it is written *Swen*.⁴ In other cases we see that the diphthongs had a tendency to disappear. A place in Lancashire is in 1286 called *Aykesko*, but a field belonging to the same *Exco*.⁵—*Aykesko* is Old West Scand. *Eikiskógr*, "Oak forest"; *Exco* is the same name, only without diphthongs.—On the other hand, even in the Whitby Chartulary we find many Scandinavian names which have preserved their diphthongs, e.g. *Steinesecher*, *Setwait*, and *Jasteinswad*. Whether this is due to Norwegian influence, I do not know. We must also remember that the Norsemen in the Viking colonies in England—as well as in Ireland—having been for a long time separated from their compatriots, spoke a language that contained many traces of antiquity which had long ago disappeared in the Scandinavian countries.⁶

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor W. A. Craigie.

² The Chartulary of Whitby, p. 577.

³ A Calendar of the Lancashire Assize Rolls translated and calendared by Colonel John Parker (The Record Society), pp. 34, 39 (a^o 30 Henr. III), 186, 189, (a^o 12 Edw. I).

⁴ "A Hist. of the County of York" (*Vict. County Hist.*), II, 285a.

⁵ Lancashire Inquests, etc., I.

⁶ In Lancashire as well as in Yorkshire O.N. *Ólafyr* is written *Anlaf* (*Andelaveserewe* 1202, now Anglezark). In a Yorkshire charter of the end of the eleventh century we find *Bareth*, which represents *Bárøþr*, a more ancient (ninth or tenth century) form of *Bárðr*.—The same name is in Irish sources written *Barith*, Calendar of Charter Rolls, III, 113 (Confirmation of charters in favour of St. Mary's, York).

Thus in Cumberland O.N. *Óspakr*, a man's name, is written *Unspach*.¹ The present Torrisholme in Lancashire is, in 1202, written *Toredesholm*² (*Toredes* presupposes the Old Norse *þorøðr*, a more antique form of *þorðr*). A property belonging to the monks of Holm Cultram in Cumberland is, in 1226, called *Hochthweith*, but in other instances *Hothweith* (O.N. *Háþveit*).³

In many cases, however, it is difficult or nearly impossible to ascertain whether a word or a name is of Scandinavian origin or not. The two languages, Old English and Old Norse, were much more alike than Modern English and Modern Norwegian, Danish, or Swedish, and words or names which we happen to know only from Old Norse or from Modern Norwegian or Danish may in Anglo-Saxon times also have been in use in English. Nevertheless, not only the Danish, but also the Norwegian influence must in many parts of England have been very strong.

I believe that in almost every county within the Danelaw, besides the Danish, there must have been a Norwegian element. Not only many place-names, but also a great part of the Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English can only be explained from West Scandinavian, *i.e.* from Norwegian.

A still more difficult question is it to decide how long the Scandinavian element, and especially the Old Norse language, survived in the different parts of the British Islands. We have no written evidences, no charters written in Danish or Norwegian (except in the Orkneys and Shetland), but only a few Runic inscriptions. The evidences are mostly accidental, and what we may conclude from stray words and names in Latin documents. Our conclusions will therefore necessarily only be approximate.

The Scandinavian settlements naturally fall into two parts, those within the Danelaw and in the eastern part of

¹ Pipe Roll, 29 Henry II, p. 6.

² Lancashire Fines, I, 58.

³ The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland, ed. by F. H. M. Parker, p. 13.

England, and those outside the Danelaw and on the West coast of England. Within the Danelaw, where the Danish element prevailed, the Scandinavian settlers lived among an English-speaking population whose language they could easily understand. Therefore the two races at an early time were already mixed, and the Scandinavian language was not able to survive quite as long as in Western England, where the Norsemen partly lived among a Celtic-speaking population, and where, even late in the twelfth century, we find strong traces of a bilingual population.

Norfolk and Suffolk, the ancient kingdom of East Anglia, was the first of the Viking kingdoms that was reconquered by the Saxon kings. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that the Scandinavian element in this part of England disappeared comparatively early. This was not, however, the case.

Not only in the towns, but even in the country, at the end of the thirteenth century, we still find strong traces of Scandinavian influence. The manorial documents relating to the village of Martham, about ten miles N.W. of Yarmouth, which have been investigated by the Rev. William Hudson, throw great light upon the social conditions of Norfolk, especially in the thirteenth century.¹ Martham is situated in the middle of a number of Scandinavian, probably Danish, settlements. Between Martham and Great Yarmouth we find no less than 10 *by*-names, Hemsby, Scrabby, Ormesby, Rollesby, Clipsby, Filby, Thrigby, Mantby, Stokesby, and Herringby. Most interesting is a survey of the Manor in 1292, contained in a MS. volume in the British Museum, entitled Stowe MS. 936. We find in this survey a great number of Scandinavian field-names.² Many of them end in *-tofte* or *-tofts*, e.g. Blakemanstofte, Crakestofte,

¹ "The Anglo-Danish Village-Community of Martham, Norfolk: its pre-Domesday Tenants and their Conversion into the Customary Tenants of a Feudal Manor in 1101." By Rev. William Hudson, F.S.A., Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. Vol. xx, pp. 273-316. Cf. *Transactions R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser. Vol. i, p. 28, *seq.* and above p. 23, *seq.*

² Mr. Hudson kindly lent me a list of the place-names occurring in the survey.

Dramgotstofte, Frendrovestofte, Gunnestoft, Hailstones-tofts, Hardingstofts, Haygatetofts, Morgrimestofts, Pissonestofts, Salterntofts, Southgatetofts, Spissontoft, Willetoft and Yvtoft. Several of these names have, as everybody can see, a distinctly Scandinavian appearance, f.i. Blakemanstofte (O.N. *Blökumaðr*, "a Walachian"), Frendrovestofte ("frænderov" means "a plunder from relatives"), and Gunnestoft (O.N. *Gunni*, a personal name). Still more interesting is it, however, to find, among the field-names of Martham, several ending in *-wong* (O.N. *vangr*, "meadow"), which, as we must suppose, was the original Danish name of the cultivated land belonging to the village of Martham,¹ e.g. Breechwong, Holbukkeswong, Stiwardeswong, Skolewong, and Westwong. These names presuppose a strong tenacity of life in the Scandinavian element. It is, therefore, only natural that in the List of the "former" tenants of Martham in the survey of 1292 we find a number of Scandinavian personal names: Stiward Yware (O.N. *Ývarr*); Blakeman Yware; Ses, Yware de; Ses, Unbeyn de; Geoffrey, Yware, son of; Harald (O.N. *Haraldr*) Nicholas; Sunnof (O.N. *Sunnulfr*) John; Spac (O.N. *spakr*- "wise") Hugo; Frone, Gunnilda (O.N. *Gunnhildr*); Spac, Roger; Bo, Ulwina (O.N.), Anant Roger, son of Yware (a descendant of Anund [O.N. *Önundr*], son of Ulwina, who is mentioned in 1198);² Mey (O.N. *mær*, gen. *meyjar*, "a young woman"); Yware, Roger, son of Stephen; Sort (Dan. *sort*, "black" ?), Matilda; Tucke (O.N. *Toki* ?), Wymarcha. All these personal names and field-names would not have been used if there had not been some traces left of Scandinavian language in the Martham district.

In the Midland Counties which, during the sway of the Vikings, formed the powerful confederation of the Five Boroughs, as well as in Yorkshire, the Norse element, upon the whole, must have been much stronger. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire formed the heart of Scandinavian England.

¹ See above, p. 37, and below p. 188.

² Hudson, p. 296.

Further north there are only slight indications of Scandinavian settlements in Durham, Northumberland, and Southern Scotland.

Among the aristocracy of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire the Scandinavian names seem to have dropped out of use in the latter part of the twelfth century. Among the peasants and in some towns, *e.g.* Grimsby, York, Whitby and Scarborough, they were in use much longer. In York, in the fourteenth century, we still find Scandinavian names and nicknames.

I may also mention that new personal names must have been coined by the Norsemen in the Danelaw counties as late as in the eleventh century, *e.g.* the Latin *Romfarus*,¹ which corresponds to O.N. *Rúmfari*, ("a man who has made a pilgrimage to Rome"). How common these Scandinavian names were, we may infer from Professor Stenton's recently published *Danelaw Charters*. He points out that of the 507 Anglo-Scandinavian personal names recorded in his edition (mostly of the twelfth century), 266 may definitely be regarded as of Norse origin or including Northern elements.²

Still more instructive, however, are the place-names. Snorre Sturlason, in his "Heimskringla," says that "the country of the Northumbrians was mostly inhabited by Northmen since the sons of Lodbrok acquired that country", and he mentions several Norse place-names.

In Domesday Book a great number of place-names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have still preserved their Norse case-endings, *e.g.* *Uplithum* ("the upper slopes"), *Westlidum* ("the western slopes"), *Haugum* ("the hills or mounds"), all of which are dative plurals. We can even see that the Norse names were still inflected. In the Domesday survey of Yorkshire we regularly find the ending *bi* that corresponds to Old Norse *bý* or *býr*, *e.g.* *Danebi*, *Ormesbi* and *Tormozbi*. But in a supplement written a little later, and no doubt by another scribe, the same names are written *Danebia*,

¹ Early Yorkshire Charters, n. 275 (in Lincolnshire).

² Introduction, p. cxiv.

Ormesbia, and *Tormozbia*, which forms correspond to the genitive case of *býr*. Among the personal names, we meet with *Uluer* (O.N. *Úlfr*) and *Berguluer* (O.N. *Bergúlfr*), which both have preserved the Old Norse nominative case-ending *-r*.¹ Most instructive is the above-mentioned life of Earl Siward of Northumbria, written a little after 1150 in the Monastery of Croyland, in Lincolnshire. Although written in Latin, it is more like an Icelandic Saga than a medieval chronicle, and has justly been called a Viking Saga. It renders oral tradition and is full of Norse words. Siward himself is called *diere* (that is *digri*, the stout), his son is nicknamed *Bulax* (that is Old Norse *boløx*, "axe for hewing timber"), and his banner is called *Ravenlandeye*, Old Norse *Rafn Landeyðir*, "the raven, that lays waste the country"; the Latin text of the saga even uses the Old Norwegian name for the Orkneys (*Orkaneia*, that is Old Norse *Orkneyjar*) instead of the Latin *Orcades*. The most remarkable thing, however, is that the nick-name of the earl in the nominative case is written *Diere*, but in the accusative, *Diera*. These forms correspond to the Old Norse nominative case *digri* and accusative case *digra*.² In the Norse dialects of Lincolnshire the adjectives were still inflected thus as late as 1150.

Early Lincolnshire charters point in the same direction. Thus when we find in a charter of the time of Henry II mention of three acres of land lying *oust in wra*, this is not English, but Old Norse *austr í vrá* ("east in the corner").³ The north-eastern part of Yorkshire was, perhaps, even more Norse. *Whitby* has been called the most Scandinavian part of England. Several inhabitants of Whitby have, at the end of the twelfth century, got the surname or byname *Danus*, no doubt because their ancestors were Danes.⁴

¹ *A History of Yorkshire*, II, 274c.

² Langebek: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, III, 288, 299.

³ *Danelaw Charters*, n. 124.

⁴ *Chartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby* (Surtees Society, vols. 69, 72), pp. 64, 453, 519. Thomas Danus, Petrus Danus.

There are, however, Norwegian traces even in Whitby.

In Whitby and Cleveland a sort of Scandinavian tongue must in the latter part of the twelfth century still have been in use. The town of Whitby was divided into two parts, *Overbi* and *Neðrebi* ("the upper" and "the lower town").¹ *Overbi* corresponds to the present High Whitby. *Over*, of course, is English, but it may have supplanted the Norse *Efra*. *Neðre* ("lower") may as well be Norse as English. The two names at any rate show that the original meaning of the word *by* (*bi*) was long known.—*Neðrebi* was also called *Steinsecher* (O.N. *Steinsekra*, "the cornfield of Stein"—a Norse name), while *Haukesgarth*, (O.N. *Hauksgarðr*, "the garth or yard of Hauk"—a Norse name) was also called *Gniþe* (O.N. *gníþa*, "a peak").² These double names, both of them Scandinavian, would not have been used if the inhabitants of Whitby themselves had not spoken a more or less corrupt Danish dialect. Just outside Whitby there was a place called *Thingewala* (O.N. *þingvellir*), where the inhabitants held their "thing" or court. Nearly all the manors and townships of the district had, about 1200, still got Scandinavian names.³

The field-names of the Whitby district and of some parts of Lincolnshire are likewise Scandinavian, and faithfully render all the characteristic features of the *Danish village system*. In the township each man had his homestead, which, as in Denmark, was called *toft*, and, besides, he had his share of land; "toft and croft" is the usual expression.

¹ *Chartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby* (Surtees Society, vol. i, pp. 3, 29, 118).

² *Ibidem*, p. 3.

³ The names are enumerated in the *Chartulary of Whitby* (I, p. 3): *Villam et maris portum de Witebi* (O.N. *Hvítabýr*), *Overbi et Neðrebi, id est Steinesecher, Thingwala*, *Leirpel* (O.N. *Leirpollr* "clayey nook"), *Helvedale* (the ending is O.N. *dalr*, "a valley"), *Normanebi* (O.N. *Norðmannabýr*, "the village of the Norsemen"), *Fulingam et alteram Fulingam, Berthwait* (O.N. *Berúþveit*?), *Sethwait* (O.N. *Sævarþveit*), *Snetune* (O.N. *Snjótún*), *Hugelgardebi* (*Húglgardabýr*?), *Sourebi* (*Saurbýr*), *Risewarp* (O.N. *Hrisvarp*), *Neuham* (an English name), *Stachesbi, Baldebi* (O.N. *Baldabýr*), *Brecha* (O.N. *Brekka*), *Flore, Dunesleia*. Of these names *Brekka*, "a brink, slope," is probably not Danish, but West-Scandinavian.

In the Danish village that part of the land which was cultivated was fenced and called "*wang*." This word (*wang*) we also find in early Yorkshire and Lincolnshire charters.¹ In the "*Vang*" each peasant had his lot or share which in Denmark was measured by a rope (this was called "*Markrebning*"). In the Danelaw villages it seems to have been the custom to measure the shares by a rod or wand. Therefore they were called *wandail* or *wandela*.—Outside Yorkshire we also find this word in Furness.²

In a charter of about 1200, printed in the Whitby Chartulary, Lord Richard Percy gives to this monastery all his "land of *Midethet*, from the balk that is between the *wandales* of my demesne and the *wandales* of my homagers".³ In this passage the name *Midethet* is also remarkable; it means "the field which is situated in the middle"; the latter part of the word being the Danish *tved* and not the Old West Scandinavian *þveit*. *Wandale* has even in modern times been in use in Yorkshire, but is now obsolete. Wright, in his *English Dialect Dictionary* (VI, 37b), translates it: "A single division or share of a large, open, arable field belonging to a township". The word is probably a compound of *wand* (O.N. *vöndr*) and O.N. *deill*, "lot, share," and originally means a share or lot of the arable field which has been measured by a wand.⁴

We also, as in Denmark, hear of the common pasture. The meadow is, as in the Scandinavian countries, called *eng*. In this meaning *ing* is still used in the North of England and in Sussex.—In a late thirteenth-century charter Rolf de Amundeville speaks of ten acres of meadow at Carlton le Moorland in Lincolnshire situated "*in Est eng simul in uno loco qui vocatur Adeleng in sud parte quod antea les landsetles*

¹ *Danelaw Charters*, n. 153: 4 acras terre et dimidium in territoria de Thoresthorpa in loco qui vocatur Fenuanga.

² Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Chetham Soc.), pp. 364, 368, 412 f. 462.

³ P. 526: totum terram meam de Midethet a balco qui est inter vandelas demenii mei et vandelas hominum meorum.

⁴ Cf. Lindkvist, p. 35 n.

tenuerunt et postea mihi reddiderunt".¹ *Adeleng* is Danish and means "the chief meadow". The word *Adel* is very often found in names indicating parts of the Danish village, e.g. *adelstraede*, "the chief street between the houses". The Lincolnshire *Adeleng*, as we see, originally also belonged to the township, and not to the manor.

Outside the Danish village there were hedged fields, often partly covered by trees, where the celebrated Danish horses used to graze, the so-called "hestehaver" (O.N. *hagi*). Outside the villages in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire there were similar enclosures, called in Old English *haga*, Modern Engl. *haw* (the same word as O.N. *hagi*).

We see how closely the Danelaw village corresponds to the Danish one. Even as late as 1446 we find distinctly Scandinavian field-names as *Wolfhow*, *Lynghowflat*, and *Korngarthflatt* (that is "the enclosed cornfield").²

The towns, especially York and the Five Boroughs, likewise long preserved their Scandinavian character. A field outside Leicester is in 1292 called *Geldiswong* (O.N. *Gildisvangr*, "the meadow of the guild" ?),³ another place just outside the town was called *le Skeyth*,⁴ no doubt because the inhabitants here, as usually in Norway, had horse races (O.N. *skeið*). Norse was, I believe, in the twelfth century still the language of the law-courts. The Customs of Leicester, one of the Five Boroughs, are preserved from c. 1270. Their language is French, but many words and institutions are Scandinavian. If a man was accused of a crime, he was allowed to deny the accusation and had, according to Scandinavian custom, to find five compurgators. This was called "to say *Thwertutnay*".⁵ If he did not deny,

¹ *Danelaw Charters*, pp. xlv.-xlvi., n. 5.

² The Chartulary of Whitby, 328 f.

³ Records of the Borough of Leicester, I, 392.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 399 (1322): "a tenement in le Skeyth . . . stretching from the said road to the common footpath."

⁵ Borough Customs, I, 163: LEICESTER. *Thwerthrounay, Gens només, E pur ceo ke avaunt fu usé ke le defandaunt ne poeit a la plainte aultre chose respundre for tut granter ou tut dire Twertutnay, e quant il avoit dit le nay deveit estre a sa ley sei sisme meyn* ("had to be at his law himself the sixth hand", i.e. to find five compurgators).

he was considered *swareles*, and was not allowed to defend himself.¹ Both words, *thwertutnay* and *swareles* are Old Norse. *Thwertutnay* is O.N. *þvert út nei*, i.e. "flatly no" (cf. O.N. *setja þvert nei*, "deny flatly"),² *Swareles* is O.N. *svarlauss*, "without answer."

In another passage of the same Borough Customs we find the word *forfal*: "Also if the defendant has found pledges or mainpernors for his appearance at the court on a certain day, and he cannot be there, let the pledges or the mainpernors, if he wishes, have on the day a *forfal* for him instead of an essoin, as was formerly the custom, and then let them produce him on another day."³ *Forfal* is also a Scandinavian word (O.N. *forfall*), meaning the same as essoin, "excuse for not appearing on a fixed day".—It is also worth noticing that all these words are said to have been used in ancient times (*cum avaut fut usé*); they are, in other words, relics of a time when Norse was the language of the law-courts of Leicester.

In all these towns the homesteads were called *toft* and the streets *gate*. This word is still in use in Northern England and Scotland in the meaning of "way, road," and is derived from O.N. *gata*, which means the same. The common English gate, "an opening" (O.E. *geat*), is a different word. In York there is, as you know, still a great number of Norse street-names, e.g. Fishergate, Goodramgate, Sheldergate (from Old Norse *Skjaldari*, "a shieldmaker"), and Micklegate. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire must for centuries have remained an entirely Scandinavian country.

Nowhere, however, Professor Craigie kindly informs me,

¹ Borough Customs, I, 127 f: LEICESTER. *Swareles*. E pur ceo ke usé fu avaut ces oures quant les parties deveient pleder e le pleintif aveit dit sa querele, si le defendant cum la parole ly fuist issue de la buche ne deist *thwertutnay*, il fut tenu cum non defendu e ceo apelerent *swareles*, ne le fut suffert de en parler ne de conseil demaunder.

² *The Oxford New English Dictionary*.

³ Borough Customs, I, 152: *Forfal*. Aceo si le defandaunt eit plegges trové ou mainpernors de estre a la court a certain jor e il ne puisse estre, eyent les plegges ou mainpernors s'il voilent a jor un *forfal* pur lui en lu de assoyne, cum avaut fut usé, e le eyent puis avaut a un altre jor.

did the Norse language possess such tenacity of life as in King's Lynn or Bishop's Lynn, as the town was called in the Middle Ages. This may seem strange, because Lynn did not exist before the Norman conquest. But Lynn in the twelfth century already had considerable intercourse with Norway,¹ many of the burgesses had got Norse names and were undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin.² One of the "fleets" along the river was dedicated to St. Olave, the Norwegian saint (*Sinoluys-flet*).³ About 1300, and probably even earlier, there was in Lynn a considerable Norwegian colony.⁴ The oldest Latin-English Dictionary, the so-called "Promptorium Parvulorum," written about 1400 in Lynn, contains a remarkable number of Scandinavian loan-words, most of them, it seems, of Norwegian origin. The greater part of these words belong to the colloquial language, and some of them can only be explained from the Middle Norwegian that was spoken during the later centuries of the Middle Ages. We may infer from this that the Norse tongue was spoken and well known in Lynn long after it had become extinct in other parts of the ancient Danelaw.

Even outside the Danelaw the Norsemen had settlements where they long preserved their language and nationality. It is possible that in the time of Æthelred there already was a Scandinavian colony in London. At any rate it was through the conquest of Sweyn and Canute that the great metropolis began to get its importance. A whole suburb,

¹ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. ix., n. 59, etc.

² In the Pipe Rolls of the reign of Henry II we, among the citizens of Lynn, find the following names: Siwardus de Len (26 and 27 H. II, p. 18), Sunnulfus de Lenna (22 H. II, p. 6, 21 H. II, p. 119), Anserus (O.N. *Ásgeirr*, 19 H. II, p. 122), Wrangetoche (19 H. II, p. 122, 18 H. II, p. 27, etc., i.e. O.N. *Vrangi Toki*; *vrangr* means "wrong," *Toki* was a common Danish name), Outi (15 H. II, p. 97, O.N. *Auti*), Hawardus (O.N. *Hávarðr*, *ibid.*), Ranñ fil. Auti (*ibid.*), Staingrim Bonpain (*ibid.*), Godman fil. Munni, Turchetil fil. Oggi (*ibid.*), Bonda and Bondi Hund (12 H. II, p. 21); O.N. *bondi* means "a peasant."

³ The Red Register of Lynn, I, 13.

⁴ The Red Register of Lynn (I, p. 13) mentions *Ywardus de Norwegia* as houseowner in Lynn. A family Thorndene was descended from Trondhjem in Norway.

Southwark, got its name "the southern fortress," because in the year 1015, it, was fortified by King Sweyn.¹ Southwark, however, was not a fortress only, but also, according to the Icelandic saga, "a big market town," that long formed a separate borough. Its inhabitants must in the beginning have been Scandinavian merchants and sailors who gave the place its name *Suðrvirki*, as it is called in the saga. Southwark and *Suthwerk*, the medieval form of the name, both go back to this Scandinavian form, and not to the Anglo-Saxon *Suð-geweorc*. This Scandinavian, no doubt partly Norwegian, population, it must also have been that in Tooley Street dedicated a church to St. Olave, King of Norway, and the first Scandinavian saint (†1030). *Tooley* is the common English corruption of *St. Olave*, as *Tulloch* is the Irish one.

In the City of London no less than six churches were dedicated to St. Olave:—St. Olave, Without Bishopsgate,² St. Olave, Bradestrat,³ St. Olave, Bread Street Hill, St. Olave, Hart Street (or "by the Tower"), St. Olave in the Old Jewry, and St. Olave in Silver Street, while St. Nicholas-Olave, which formerly stood in Queen Hithe, appears to have been a case of double dedication. One of these churches is already mentioned in a charter of the end of the eleventh century,⁴ probably St. Olave in the Jewry, which church, together with St. Nicholas-Olave, is also mentioned in a register belonging to St. Paul's of about 1100. The churches dedicated to St. Olave were no doubt built by the Norse inhabitants of London in the eleventh century.⁵ The Danes just outside the gates of the City had their own

¹ *Heimskringla*, II, 16.

² *Ancient Deeds*, C. 410 (13 Edw. IV.), *cf.* for this and most of the further references Henry A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, p. 444.

³ *Ecclesia Sancti Olavi de Bradestrat*, c. 1247 (MSS. Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, D.D.A., fo. 78).

⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, 100: *Petrus de Sancto Olapho*.

⁵ A legend, which seems to go back to the middle of the eleventh century, says that St. Olave, in his church in London, healed a man bearing the Norse name *Allvaldr* (Daae, *Norges Helgener*, 56; *Olaf's Saga*, ed. Keyser and Unger. 85).

parochial church, the still existing *St. Clement Danes*. Harold Harefoot, the son of Canute, was buried in the Churchyard of the Danes at St. Clement's.¹ The church was dedicated to St. Clement, the patron saint of all seafaring men, and especially worshipped by the Danes, no doubt because he had found his death in the Roman province of *Dacia*, which, in the Middle Ages, is always confounded with Denmark. The official name of the church was *ecclesia Sancti Clementis que dicitur Danorum*.² Surrounding the church was a small collection of houses which was known as a vicus, and as late as the thirteenth century was called *vicus Danorum*, the later Aldwych Street.

About 1100 there must still have been a not unimportant Scandinavian colony in London. Among the oldest known donors to St. Paul's from the beginning of the twelfth century we meet with a great number of Scandinavian names (partly Danish and partly Norwegian), women as *Thorgund*, *Gunilda*, and *Gunner*, and men as *Algarus*, *Aschillus*, *Guthmundus*, *Hakun*, *Wichingus*, *Toli*, and *Suarus* (the same name which was borne by *Sverrir*, the celebrated Norwegian king). Most of them seem to have been artisans.

London was about 1100 beginning to be a cosmopolitan city. The Norsemen were not as powerful as fifty years before. The Norwegians preferred to sail to Grimsby and Lynn. The Danish trade was dying out. This was no doubt the reason why the Danes in the first part of the twelfth century must have sold their guildhall to the merchants of Cologne, whose guildhall for that reason was

¹ William of Malmesbury, I, 320.

² There is also on the south side of Lower Thames Street, east of London Bridge, a church dedicated to St. Magnus the Martyr. This church is not, however, as usually supposed, dedicated to St. Magnus, Earl of Orkney, who was killed in 1115. The church is already mentioned in a confirmation of grant by William the Conqueror to Westminster Abbey, dated 1067, "*lapidee ecclesie Sancti Magni prope pontem*" (Cottonian Charters, VI, 3, B.M. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, 375).

called *la saille des Deneis* ("the hall of the Danes").¹ The hall of the Danes (*Aula Dacorum*) is even mentioned as late as 1308, and is probably the "Gildaula Teutonicorum," near Dowgate, the later Steel Yard.²

Even after 1200, however, both Danes and Norwegians—no doubt since the time of Canute—possessed great privileges in London. A record at the beginning of the thirteenth century is headed *Botsate Danorum*: and says, "The Danes have *botsate*, that is to say sojourn all the year, but they have the right of the City of London to go all over England to fairs and markets." After this there follows another passage headed *Botsate Norwegiorum*: "The Norwegians have *botsate*, that is to say sojourn all the year; but that is to know they cannot go to any places to market."³—Other foreigners were only allowed to stay forty days in London.—The word *botsate* itself in an adoption of an Old Danish word now lost, but whose equivalent *buðseta* is found in Old Icelandic, meaning "right to set up booths, that is: to dwell in the country".⁴ It is especially used of foreign merchants who erected booths, after having set up their ships. In the same way, the Danes and Norwegians in olden times, we may infer, used to erect booths along the Strand.—Because of the liberties which the Danes enjoyed in London, they had, we are told in 1275, in earlier times to guard and repair one of the entrances to London, the *Bishopsgate*; later on, however, this duty was undertaken by the Germans who, because of this, were free in the city of London.⁵ The Danes, in the second part of the thirteenth century, had no doubt long since disappeared from London. It is therefore strange in an arrangement made by the alder-

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis* (Roll's Ser.), Liber Albus, I, 229; De la ferme les Coloniens, cestassavoir de la saille des Deneis, et pris par an l soulz.

² Cal. of Letter Books of the City of London, ed. R. R. Sharpe, C, pp. 162–163; cf. Harben, *A Dictionary of London*, 193.

³ *Munimenta Guildhallæ Londoniensis*, Liber Custumarum I, 63 f.

⁴ Björkman, 205.

⁵ Hans Ukb. I, n. 474.

men with regard to the custody of Bishopsgate in 1278, to hear that the *homines Danorum* should be in the middle and men from two of the wards on both sides.

Up to the present day there is still another reminiscence of the Norsemen in London. "Husting" was the name of a court, formerly the County Court of the City of London, and was held before the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, for pleas of land, common pleas, and appeals from the Sheriffs. It had probate jurisdiction and wills were registered. All this jurisdiction has long been obsolete. But the court still sits occasionally for registering gifts made to the City. Medieval antiquaries date the origin of the Husting back to the very oldest times and tell us that it was founded after the example of the city of Troy. The first time we hear of it is in a charter of Canute (1032), which mentions the importance of the Husting.¹ The name is the Old Norse *húsping*, which means a council to which a king, earl, or chieftain summons his guardsmen, or sometimes even his army. It is, however, probable that the primary sense of Old Norse *húsping* has been a thing or assembly which was held in a house, as distinct from other things which were held in the open air. Possibly, therefore, the Husting of the City of London got its name because the London merchants, most of whom in the eleventh century were of Scandinavian origin, used to hold their court in a house, that is to say, in the Guildhall, while the *folkesmot* was held in the open air.²

In London the Norsemen only formed a small part; but in Western England they formed the bulk of the population. With the exception of Amounderness, which belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria, the settlements on the Western coast of England were not reckoned to the Danelaw.

¹ Liebermann, II, 657.

² According to Cowell (in the beginning of the seventeenth century), similar Hustings were also held in Winchester, Lincoln, York, Sheppey, and elsewhere. But the passage from "Fleta," as the *New English Dictionary* (V, 476 f.) states, does not necessarily imply this.

The reason was not, however, as some scholars seem to think, that the Norse element was not as powerful as in the Danelaw proper,—on the contrary. But the settlements in Western England date from the tenth and not from the ninth century, that is to say, from a time when the Danelaw was already roughly formed. It is also possible that the Norwegians, who in Ireland had continually fought the Danes, did not like to be under Danish sway. Besides, the state of Western England was from the tenth to the twelfth century very unsettled. Cheshire formed, as you know, a sort of march against the Welsh, and had its separate administration. Lancashire was not formed into a separate county before the time of Richard I. From earlier times we know very little about the administration of the northern part of it, Lonsdale Hundred. Furness, at any rate, probably with Cumberland and Westmorland as well, originally formed a part of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. There were, however, in Anglo-Saxon times already English-speaking colonies and garrisons, *e.g.* in Bewcastle. Cumberland was in 945 ceded by King Edmund to King Malcolm of Scotland, and formed a part of the kingdom of Scotland, until William Rufus, in 1092, captured Carlisle. At the same time the Earl of Northumberland also had power over parts of the county. Practically, however, Cumberland was more or less independent. The inhabitants were originally British. But in the beginning of the tenth century the Lake District got new, mostly Norwegian, settlers, who came from Ireland and the Hebrides, with the result that a great number of villages and hamlets, farms, fields, hills, streams and waters have got Norse names.¹

The population must have been strangely mixed, half Norse and half Celtic (partly British and partly Goidelic). Besides, the English influence of course was very strong. The inhabitants probably until the end of the twelfth century spoke and understood both English, Old Norse and Celtic. Cymric was, no doubt, mostly spoken by the lower classes,

¹ Cf. Lindkvist, p. xlix.

among whom we especially find Old British names.¹ Some Cymric names, *e.g.* *Gospatric*,² were, however, used by all classes of society. In the Pipe Roll for 1158, in the account for Cumberland, we meet with *Gospatric Mapbennoc*, which is decidedly British,—*map* meaning “son”; *Bennoc* is also a British name. Also in Lancashire we meet with British names as late as 1283, with *Madoc*, son of *Eynon*.³

The Irish influence was especially strong among the higher classes, which must have been more or less hibernicised. Irish names, *e.g.* Fergus, were in use in Cumberland.⁴ In the celebrated *Gospatric Charter* of about 1070 a Cumbrian tenant is called *Torfynn mac Thore* (both *Torfynn* and *Thore* are common Norwegian names, but *mac* is Gaelic). The Norsemen also had adopted from the Irish a peculiar kind of compound name in which the first element is governed by the second, for instance *Briggetorfin*, “the bridge of Torfinn,” and *Bek Troyte*, “Troytes beck.” We even find inverted personal names, *Finthor* instead of *Thorfin*.⁵

In Lancashire and Westmorland we find the same mixture of languages. In Lancashire we also meet with the name of *Finthor*.⁶ In compound names like *Strickland Ketel* in Lancashire and *Stoweley Godmond* and *Kirkeby Thore*⁷ in Westmorland. *Ketel* and *Godmond* are Norse names (O.N. *Ketill* and *Godmundr*), but the names have been inverted according to Irish fashion. There are even

¹ Pipe Roll, 31 Henr. II (1184–85) : *Gospatricius et Britius utlagati*.

² The Norsemen, on the other hand, had probably brought the worship of St. Patrick with them from Ireland. St. Patrick must have been much worshipped in Cumberland and Lancashire. We have *e.g.* St. Patrick's Lands in Lancaster and St. Patrick's Well in Lancaster and Styne (“A History of Lancashire” [*Victoria County Hist.*], VIII, pp. 31, 45 n., 157).

³ Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids (The Record Soc., 1903), p. 259.

⁴ Pipe Roll, 26 Henr. II : Gilbert, son of Fergus.

⁵ The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of King Henry the Second (London, 1844), pp. 119 f.

⁶ Lancashire Fines, pt. I (Lancashire Record Society, 1919), pt. I, 12 : Between Sigrid, widow of Gilbert, son of Ketel, plaintiff, and John, son of Finthor (1202). Sigrid and Ketel are Norse names.

⁷ Burn : *The Hist. of Westmorland and Cumberland*, p. 25 f.

in Lancashire traces of Cymric place-names.¹ The important question of how long Celtic language survived in North-Western England ought to be taken up by some competent scholar.

The Norsemen, until the conquest of William Rufus, formed the ruling class of Cumberland. They mostly, it seems, lived in garrisons and strongholds, and possibly, as in other Scandinavian parts of England, were united into knight-guilds.—There are, at any rate, in the place-names of Lancashire, several traces of guilds.² The land was cultivated by serfs and freedmen who, as in Norway, were called *prælar* ("thralls") and *leysingjar*. The word *præll* is still preserved in *Trelefeld* (now Threlfall) in Goosnargh. *Leysing* was a common name in Cumberland and Lancashire. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, we also find Norse names among the villains. In Cumberland *leysing* was as late as in 1259 used in the original meaning of "a freedman."³ The Norsemen in the Lake District had since the middle of the tenth century been cut off from their Norwegian compatriots. Nevertheless, in the latter part of the twelfth century, and probably even later, a sort of Norwegian vernacular must still have survived.

A charter signed by Henry II f.i. specifies some pieces of land in Treby, Cumberland (itself a Norse name) as "*Langethweit, et Stalethweit et alios Thweiter, qui pertinent ad Langethweit*".⁴ Here we have the Old Norse accusative

¹ Lancashire Fines, pt. I, p. 15 (1202) mentions *Blacstaneclohhum* and *Lannclochum* (in Rainford, parish Prescolt). *Llan*, Cymr. means "open space, area"; *cloch* is a compound of many Irish place-names, where it means "a stone"; in Cymric place-names it also probably means "a flat stone".

² Near Preston we have Gildhouse ("A History of Lancashire" [*Victoria County Hist.*], VII, 97 n., 107), and Gildouscroft (Kirkland, Garstang), *ibidem* VII, 313 n., 8.

³ The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland, ed. by F. H. M. Parker. P. 193 (43 Henry III): ". . . Et. viii li. receptas de villa de Greystoke pro evasione Willelmi Leysing." The context makes it most likely that *Leysing* here really is used in its original meaning, and not as a nickname.

⁴ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1830), VI, pt. I, 144.

plural *þveitar* used not as a place-name, but as a noun. *Langethweit* means "the longthwaite," *Stalethweit* means "the thwaite where the hay is laid in 'staals' or stack";—*staal* is still in use in Norwegian dialects.—In a charter relating to the foundation of the priory of Whetherhal in the diocese of Carlisle, from the beginning of the twelfth century, we find among the witnesses, *Forna Ligulfi filio*¹ (both names are Norse). *Forna* is casus obliquus of nom. *Forni*; this shows that the nouns were still inflected. From the thirteenth we have—as above mentioned—*Leysing* in the meaning of a freedman, and the man's name Orm (O.N. *Ormr*), written *Ormer*.² We also find nicknames as *Bagall*.³ In Lancashire there were several Viking settlements where the Norse language perhaps survived even longer. *Lonsdale Hundred*, and especially *Furness*, is remarkable for its many Norse cultivation and nature names, and seems to have had the same mixed population as Cumberland, although the English element probably was stronger.

The Norse element was also very strong in *Amounderness*, the land between the Ribble and Morecambe Bay. Amounderness (A.D. 930 written *Agemundernes*) is itself a Norse name, meaning "the ness or promontory of Agmund (*Högmundr*)," a common Norwegian name. This Agmund was probably a prominent Viking chieftain in the beginning of the tenth century; possibly *Agmund Hold* who was killed in 911.⁴ It is remarkable that the western part of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland ends in Amounderness, and the eastern part in *Holderness*, i.e. "the ness of the hold" (*hold* was, as you will remember, a Norwegian title). In the Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, a twelfth-century work, we are told that King Æthelstan (in 930) granted to the cathedral of York the whole of Amounderness, which he had bought from the

¹ The Register of the Priory of Whetherhal, ed. J. E. Prescott, 4 f.

² The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland, p. 149: William, son of Ormer.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 91 (1241), Robertus Bagall. O.N. *bagall* means "an episcopal staff, crozier".

⁴ Steenstrup, Normannerne, III, 35.

heathens (*totam Agmundernes, quam a paganis emerat*). The possession does not, however, seem to have been retained.

In the southern part of Lancashire we likewise find a great many Norse place-names, especially in West Derby and Ormskirk. The most interesting name is Thingwall (from O.N. *þingvöllr*, "parliament field", the place where the thing or assembly of the district met). We also find in Lancashire "lawmen"¹ or the *demand* as they are called in some places (probably the same as O.N. *dómandi*, *dómendr*).

From the time of Henry II we find in the Pipe Rolls for Lancashire, and especially in "The Chartulary of Cocker-sand Abbey," a remarkable number, not only of Norse names, but also of nicknames, which would hardly have been used, except by people who knew something of the Old Norse, e.g. *William Stafflaus* (i.e. "William without staff").² In charters from the first part of the thirteenth century we find a merchant named Alan (*Alanus mercator*), who in several documents is called *Alanus Caupman* or *le Caupman*. The by-name is Old Norse *kaupmaðr*, "a merchant".³ A small landholder in Bolton-le-Sands, who died in 1261, was called *Thomas Roud* (i.e. Old Norse *rauðr*, "red").⁴ Another Norse word which we about 1250 find used as nickname is *Bulax*, *Bolax* (O.N. *bolōx*, "a pole-axe, a carpenter's axe").⁵ Distinctly Norse is also the nickname *Barnefader* (O.N. *barnafaðir*, "a father of children").⁶

¹ As late as in 1324 we find in Lancashire Henry Laghmon and Adam Laghmon, the latter probably a descendant of Adam Lagheman, c. 1250 (Lancashire Court Rolls, I, 45, 68).

² *Danelaw Charters*, n. 535 : *Guilielmum Stafflous*, n. 540, *Heming et Robertus filii Willielmi Stawelaus*.

³ The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, pp. 392-395.

⁴ Chartulary of Cockersand, p. 917, n. 1.

⁵ A Calendar of Lancashire Assize Rolls, translated and calendared by Colonel John Parker (The Record Society, 1904), p. 90 (a^o 30 Henr. III), William Bulax; p. 121 (a^o 46 Henr. III), Thomas Bolax.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 99 (a^o 30 Henr. III), William Barnefader.

Even as late as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries among the tenants of Cockersand Abbey, we meet with several Norse names and surnames or nicknames.¹

The Norse element was even strong enough to influence English place-names. *Kirkham*, in Amounderness, is in 1093 written *Cercheham*, but in 1196 it is written *Kirkeheim*, and in 1276 *Kyrkheym*²; Cockerham in Lonsdale Hundred is in Domesday Book written *Cockeham*, but in 1207 it is written *Kokerheim* and *Cokerheim*³; *Heysham* is in Domesday written *Hessam*, but in 1094 *Heseym*⁴; *Tatham* is in 1202 written *Tateham*, but 1213-15 *Tathaim*, and about the same time *Tathaym*, but in 1241 again *Tatham*.⁵ *Bispham* is in Domesday written *Biscoppham*, but about 1200 it is written *Biscopehaim*, and about 1270 *Bisbhaym*, as if they were not compounds of O.E. *ham*, but of the corresponding O.N. *heimr*, "home, house, abode, estate." It is also interesting to notice that, in the place-names of Lancashire and Yorkshire, we find Norse elements which in Norway were hardly in use before 1100. The corresponding English names also date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Old Norse *rud* means "a clearing in a wood," and is, both alone and in compounds, one of the most common Norwegian place-names. In thirteenth-century Lancashire charters we likewise find this word both in compounds, *c.g.* Ormerod (*i.e.* O.N. *Ormsrud*), "the clearing of Orm," and alone. Thus about 1200 Henry de Malling gave to the canons of Cockersand land, between the underwood and the moor

¹ Among the tenants of Cockersand Abbey one is in 1461 called *Thurstanus Wodwark* and another in 1537 *Thurstaynius Lee*. In 1461 we meet with *Johannes Redar* (O.N. *Reidarr*, a common man's name), and with John and Richard Bonde. In the sixteenth century *Bonde* was still much used, as it seems, not as a family-name, but in the original meaning of "peasant". I may also mention *Mychell Manskeman*, 1461 (*Manskeman* means "a Manxman"; the first element of the word is, however, O.N. *manski*, "Manx"; in sixteenth-century English, *Maniske*). Cf. The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey, pp. 1236-1237, 1276-1277.

² *Final Concords of the County of Lancaster*, pt. I, 2, 104, 106; cf. Wyld, 108.

³ *Final Concords of the County of Lancaster*, pt. I, 24, 26; cf. Wyld, 97.

⁴ Wyld, 154. ⁵ Wyld, 246.

usque ad Ruedis, et sic inter Ruedis et Ruding.¹ This no doubt means: "unto the ruds (or clearings) and thus between the clearings and the Ridding". *Ruedis* no doubt represent the plural form of O.N. *ruð*. From this word *ruð* the English, "to rid," is derived, from which latter word again the word *ridding* is a derivation. In Yorkshire clearings where the ground was ridded of the trees and shrub were called "riddings." In Lancashire we find in the same meaning the forms *ruyding*² and *ruding*, which are probably influenced by the equivalent Old Norse *ruðning*. In Yorkshire we also find in the same meaning as "*ridding*" the words "*royd*" and "*roðe-land*." The suffix *-royd* is very common in Yorkshire, cp. *Boothroyd*, *Dobroyd*, etc.³ Stoney-royd is about 1260 called *Stone-rode*, which no doubt corresponds to O.N. *ruði*, dative of *ruð*. In a dispute in the year 1307 concerning some land at Alverthorpe, it is reported that the defendants said that it was "called *rode land* because it was cleared [*assartata fuit*] from growing wood".⁴ *Rode-land* corresponds to Old Norwegian *ruðland*, which means exactly the same.

The Lake District was a cattle-breeding country. That is the reason why the tax which the inhabitants had to pay in the twelfth century is called *nautegeld* (i.e. O.N. *nautagjald*, from *naut*, "cattle," and *gjald*, "geld, tax").—O.N. *gjald* was at the time when the Norsemen came to England, pronounced *geld*.⁵

We also find in the husbandry of the Lake District many Norwegian traces, e.g. the isolated farms, which in earlier times were more common than now, and the custom of sending the cattle up in the mountains in summer time.

¹ Cockersand, p. 539 f.

² The Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey (Chetham Soc.), IV, 1631, 95 f., etc.

³ "Owenden Wood," by T. W. Hanson (Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1910). Professor W. A. Craigie has kindly drawn my attention to this word.

⁴ Wyld: *The Place-names of Lancashire*, 377.

⁵ This information is among many others due to Professor W. A. Craigie.

The word *shieling* itself is probably of Norse origin, formed from O.N. *skáli*, "a hut built for temporary use".

Still more interesting is it, perhaps, that in the Lake District we find *written evidences* of how long the Norse language was spoken. On a sculptured stone built into an outhouse at Loppergarth—itsself a Norse name—in Furness, there has been found an old Norse, certainly a Norwegian, Runic inscription, which says: "*Gamal founded this church. Hubert the mason—wrought the marks* (that is, the runes)".¹ The stone evidently is a tympanum from some Norman church door. It is known that a church existed here in the twelfth century; according to tradition it was built by Gamel de Pennington about the middle of the century, to which date also the ornamentation on the base of the tympanum points. This Gamel, the lord of the manor, was a Norseman who still spoke the language of his ancestors. *Gamall* was during the Middle Ages a well known name in Norway.

On the walls of the cathedral of Carlisle there has been found an inscription of the twelfth century in Norse runes. The spelling is curious, the runes unusual; and the language a mixture of Old Norse and Old English. But there can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription.² Besides there have also been found several runic inscriptions in the English language in Cumberland. One in Anglo-Saxon runes is on the celebrated cross of Bewcastle.³ The other (on a font at Bridekirk) dates from the twelfth century, the language is Old English, but some of the runes belong to a shortened Viking type, which was also in use on the Isle of Man.⁴

¹ *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, III, 139.

² The inscription has been read: TOLFIHN YRAITA ÞÆSI RYNR A ÞISI STAIN ("Dolfin wrote these runes on this stone"). *A History of Cumberland (Victoria County History)*, I, 279 f. Forms like *yraitia* show English influence.

³ Bewcastle had both in Roman and in Anglo-Saxon times a garrison.

⁴ *A Hist. of Cumberland*, I, 280; the word *þis* is written *þl'*. The *h* in *iurohte* and *brohte* shows Norse influence.

The earliest settlements on the west coast of England seem to have been in Cheshire, where Vikings from Dublin came a little after 900, and where Lady Æthelfled of Mercia gave them land. Even the city of Chester itself, at the time of William the Conqueror, retained much of its Norse character, and had in the eleventh century already a church dedicated to St. Olav of Norway. But especially that curious peninsula between the estuaries of Dee and Mersay, called the Wirral, teems with Norse names. We see from the Domesday Book that *wich* (Old Norse *vík*) was used in the same meaning which the word still has in Norway, namely "creek, inlet". This shows that the Norse language at the end of the eleventh century was not yet quite extinct in Cheshire. If you sail from Chester around the coast of Wales, you will, besides Anglesey, which is a half English and half Scandinavian name,¹ come across a whole line of Norse names, of islands and promontories, reminiscences of a time when the Norsemen carried on traffic between England and Ireland.

The only Scandinavian settlements of any importance in Wales were, however, in Pembrokeshire, and in the peninsula of Gower. In Gower, Swansea—the Celtic Abertawe—(1188 written *Sweyns ei*, means "the islands of Svein"), Uxwich (O.N. *Uxavík*, "the creek of the oxen"). In Pembrokeshire is Milford (from O.N. *fjörðr*, "a fjord, inlet"), besides several other names of villages, islands, etc., Freysthorp, Fishguard, Gateholm, Grassholm, Caldey, Gelliswick, etc. In the Middle Ages these names were still more numerous.

Pembroke and Glamorganshire medieval documents are full of Scandinavian personal names, most of them, it seems, of Danish origin.² The first time we meet with Danes in Glamorganshire is in 982, when two serfs were given to the church of Llandaff. Their names were *Gustin* and *Ebba*,

¹ The Anglo-Saxon name of the island is *Angles ég*.

² Pipe Roll, 31 Henr. II, p. 6: *terra de Guthlev*.

both Danish names.¹ In the twelfth century we meet with Scandinavian names partly among the aristocracy² and partly in the towns, and among the merchants.³ Even in the thirteenth century Scandinavian names were in use in Cardiff.⁴

When Dublin, after the Norman conquest, got new citizens, the greater part of them came from the towns on the Bristol Channel. Most of them, however, had not got English, but Norse names: Thorkail, Swein, Ivor, Salmund and Steiner, of Cardiff; Fin, Thurgot and Johannes Anfin, of Haverford, and so on. The *Historia Britonum*, by Geoffry of Monmouth, written about 1140, is full of Viking sagas, which the author must have heard from the Norsemen in Wales and in Dublin. In the year 1098 Magnus, King of Norway, appeared with a hostile fleet off the Island of Anglesey. He came to the help of the Welsh against the Earls Hugh of Chester and Hugh of Shrewsbury, who were beginning the conquest of Anglesey. In the brief fighting which occurred, the Earl of Shrewsbury was slain. This incident is recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis, himself a Welshman, who tells us that when King Magnus saw the earl falling dead into the water, he cried "in Danish tongue": *leit loupe*, which he renders by *sine salive* (that is: "let him leap"). The words in Giraldus's version are a little Anglicized; the correct Norse form would have been *lát hlaupa*. But that does not matter. Gerald must have heard the story of the encounter between King Magnus and the Earl of Shrewsbury in Wales—the Icelandic Sagas do not mention the incident.—We may conclude from this that the Norse language in the twelfth century was still living in Wales, and used for shorter stories.

¹ Cartæ et munimenta de Glamorgan, III, n. DXXX (p. 20). *Gustin* is Old Danish *Justen*, which on Old English coins is also written *Gustin* (Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* [Studien zur Eryl. Philologie, H. xxxviii], p. 74). Ebbe was a very common Danish name.

² *Terra de Guthlev* (one of the fiefs); O.N. *Gudleifr*.

³ E.g. Einulphus mercator, c. 1170 (Cartæ III, pp. 103, 128, 130).

⁴ *Ibidem*, III, p. 211, witnesses in Cardiff early thirteenth century are: Herberto filio Turkilli, and Steiner.

Pembrokeshire would never have become Little England beyond Wales, if it had not before the arrival of the Flemings possessed a strong Scandinavian colony.

In Ireland the kingdoms and settlements of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick had a still longer life, and existed, more or less independent, when Earl Strongbow came to Ireland. Strongbow, you know, in 1170, took Dublin. Hoskuld (*Hasculphus*), the last Norwegian king, fled to the Orkneys, but came back next year and fell in the last attempt of the Norsemen to recover their lost possessions.

A Runic inscription found a few years ago in the wall enclosing the cathedral of Killaloe, shows that the northern tongue, even in that outlying settlement, was still spoken in the latter half of the eleventh century.¹ When the English came to Ireland in 1170, the Norsemen, we can see, still spoke the language of their forefathers. Giraldus Cambrensis, who came to Ireland with Earl Strongbow, and knew the island better than any of his contemporaries, tells us that the Norsemen "are called Ostmen in their own language, which is a kind of corrupted Saxon" (*lingua ipsorum corrupto quodam Saxonico*).

Gerald, in other words, could see that the language of the Norsemen in Ireland was related to the Saxon or English tongue. In the twelfth century the two languages, in fact, were much more alike than at the present day. There are even evidences that the language of the Ostmen in Ireland was not quite extinct in the thirteenth century. Still longer—till about 1300—the Ostmen preserved their distinct nationality and had their own rights. Gerald calls the Norsemen *Oustmanni*, that is to say, "men from the east." The Norsemen called themselves so because they had come from Norway.—The Icelanders likewise called the Norwegians *Austmenn*.—The English later on use the corrupted forms

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiii, Section C, No. 13 (1917). The runes which tell that "Torgrim cut this cross" are probably not Norwegian, but Danish.

Ostmanni, *Estmanni*. *Oustmanni*—with diphthong—however, is the right form, which is used not only by Giraldus Cambrensis, but also in documents from the latter half of the thirteenth century that deal with the Norsemen in Ireland. This seems to prove that their native language, even at that time, was not quite extinct. In the same direction point personal names, nicknames like *litalþrud* (“condescending”), *leysing* (“a freedman”), *utlah*, and *wiking*, and place-names. Thus the harbour of Dublin was called *Stein* (the stone), from a stone monument that was erected there. A French poem on the English conquest of Ireland speaks of *le Stein*; and the same form is still used in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but after 1300 it becomes Anglicized into *Stanes*.

The place where the *þing* or law-courts and parliament of Dublin assembled is, in the thirteenth century, usually called *Teggemuta* (that is Old Norse *þingmót*, “meeting-place of the thing”); once, however, in a Latin document of the middle of the century it is called *in Tengum* (that is Old Norse *þingum*, dative plural of *þing*). Such forms would never have been used if the Norse language had been quite extinct.¹

Still longer the Ostmen preserved their distinct nationality. As King Hakon of Norway, in 1263, with his fleet, lay off the Isle of Gigha, on the western coast of Cantire, there came, the saga tells, messengers to him from Ireland that the people there wished to subject themselves to him rather than to remain under the English. They told the king that “they held all the best places along the sea”. This proves that they were not Irish, but descendants of the Ostmen. There was, in fact, in the Irish towns and seaports no Gaelic population, but only Norsemen, besides the recently imported Anglo-Norman inhabitants. The messengers from Ireland must have come to King Hakon because they knew that they were of the same

¹ Cf. A. Bugge, *Dit sidste Afsnit af Nordboernes Historie: Ireland* (Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1904).

nationality. Other documents show that the county of Wexford, in the second part of the thirteenth century, still preserved their peculiar rights and customs. In Waterford, as late as in 1311, the Ostmen were proud of their descent, and successfully claimed the same rights as the English. A lawsuit at the end of the thirteenth century mentions "the freedom of the Ostmen" (*libertas Houst-mannorum*) in Limerick.

The Irish antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, who, in 1650, compiled his great "Book of Pedigrees" (*Leabhar Genealach*), tells us that the greater part of the merchants of Dublin are descended from Olaf Cuaran, the celebrated viking who fought the battle of Brunanburh, and first was king of York and later king of Dublin, and he adds: "Thus the race of this Amlaib Cuaran, in the town of Ath Cliath (*i.e.* Dublin) is opposing the Gaoidels of Erin". These words show that the descendants of the Ostmen in Dublin nearly five hundred years after the English conquest had not yet forgotten their Norse origin.

The Hebrides and the Isle of Man, we know, formed a kingdom under Norwegian suzerainty from the time of King Magnus Barelegg until the peace of Perth (1266), when the Isles were ceded to Scotland. Crosses with Runic inscriptions and scenes from the Norse mythology and from Norse heroic tales show that the Norwegian language and nationality still were living down to the twelfth century. Probably the Norse tongue did not become extinct until after 1266.

In Lewis and Harris the Norse names are especially numerous. The invasion of the Vikings seems to have cleared out the previous possessors; the names of the chief features of the country, mountains, rivers, lakes, inlets and promontories were all changed.

Donald Monro, in his Description of the Western Isles (1549), says of Duray or Jura: "*This iyle, as the ancient iylanders alledges, should be called Deiray, taking the name from Deire in norne Leid, quhilk has given it that name in*

auld times."¹ "In Norne Leid" means "In Norse speech". The name of the island itself is undoubtedly Norse (Dyrey). We cannot, however, from David Monro's words, conclude more than that there was a tradition that the name of the island was of Norse origin.

How long the Norse language was spoken in Sutherland and Caithness, I do not know. The insurrection under Earl Harold of Orkney and Thorfinn, his son, at the end of the twelfth century, however, shows that the inhabitants at that time still preserved their nationality, and no doubt also their language. The Norse occupation of Sutherland and Caithness was not, however, nearly as complete as it was, *e.g.* in Lewis. The Norse element was strongest on the north coast, much weaker in the interior. "The evidence of the place-names," Professor William Watson says, "goes to show that the Norsemen held the whole of Sutherland as its overlords, but did not occupy it to the extent of displacing the native population or their native language."² In Caithness the Norwegian element seems to have been somewhat stronger than in Sutherland.

The Orkneys and Shetland were pledged to Scotland in 1468, and have since that time never been redeemed. But between Shetland and Bergen, in Norway, there continued to be a close intercourse, and decisions of the Shetland law-court were subject to appeal at Bergen. A Norwegian dialect ("Norn," that is, *norroen*) continued to be spoken in Shetland as well as in some parts of Orkneys until the eighteenth century, in remote parts of the islands, perhaps even longer.

The evidence for the later period, indeed, is scanty, and much of it accidental. But what I have adduced will be sufficient to show that the effects of the Viking Age did not cease with the fall of the Danish power in England,—that

¹ P. Hume Brown: *Scotland Before 1700*, p. 241.

² W. Watson: "The Place-names of Sutherland" (*The Celtic Review*, II).

in various parts of the British Islands they continued to be felt long afterwards,—steadily diminishing, no doubt, but often clearly distinguishable, and contributing not a little to the final moulding of that character and those institutions which combine to make the British Empire of the present day.

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