Philip Perry's
Sketch of the Ancient British History

Philip Perry's Sketch of the Ancient British History: A Critical Edition

Edited by

Anunciación Carrera and María José Carrera

with Carlos Herrero, Pilar Garcés (general editors)
and Berta Cano, Elena González-Cascos, Ana Sáez
(research editors)

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Valladolid, January 2009
The Editors

AN INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

The English College of St Alban in Valladolid, Spain, holds a great wealth of bibliographical and documentary funds. These contain the College's own books and manuscripts as well as others brought over from the English seminaries in Madrid and Seville after they were closed down. For example, two of the three libraries of the institution keep volumes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries originally belonging to the Jesuits before the seminary was taken over by the secular clergy, along with a large number of rare books from other Jesuit houses. As for the archive, described in 1930 by Edwin Henson in the *Publications of the Catholic Record Society* series and by Michael E. Williams in the 1984 issue of *Catholic Archives*,[1] it holds largely unpublished information on the College itself which goes back to its inception in 1589, as well as numerous files including scholarly writings on history and religion which correspond to the wide chronological span of the College's history.

One such file contains an unpublished manuscript bearing the title *Sketch of the Ancient British History*. It consists of sixty quires written by Philip Mark Perry, an English Catholic priest who was the College's rector from 1768 till his death.[2] In fact, Perry reorganized the English seminaries in Spain a year after the decree of suppression and expulsion of the Jesuits, and reformed their course of studies. The present volume contains a critical edition of Perry's manuscript, including the identification of its main sources.

Philip M. Perry (1720-1774), Rector of St Alban's, Valladolid, and recusant historian

A remarkable man of letters and a book lover, Philip Perry, who incidentally entertained a friendship with the famous English hagiographer Alban Butler, was himself a devoted historian. He had been born in Staffordshire and was trained in Douai, completing his course of studies (including a doctorate in theology) at St Gregory's English College in Paris. At the age of forty-seven he was appointed rector of the Royal College of St Alban, Valladolid. Perry became the first rector of St Alban's who belonged to the secular clergy—the Jesuits having been in continuous

control of the college administration since its establishment—and as such his term extended to 1774.

At that time, and as a result of the suppression of the Jesuit Order and of the general reform of the Spanish universities and colleges begun by the enlightened monarch Carlos III, the survival of the institution demanded that the Catholic seminary should be refunded and its whole curriculum and teaching methods rearranged. With the aid and favour of the Fiscal of Castile then in office, Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, Perry led a whole series of practical operations aimed at efficiently handling the properties of the English colleges in Spain in the framework of disentailing measures following the expulsion of the Jesuits and the compulsory "takeover" of the Madrid and Seville seminaries by the one in Valladolid. Indeed, Perry devoted himself to the task of recovering and enlarging the College's patrimonial wealth and cultural and spiritual heritage, and it was in the course of such operations—and also as a result of his own liking for books—that he worked ceaselessly in order to collect and properly preserve such bibliographical and documentary sources as had previously belonged to the seminaries in the English Colleges of St George in Madrid and St Gregory in Seville. Thus he managed to bring over to Valladolid most of the books and records that had been held at St George's, and although the recovery of the Seville funds proved much more difficult, there is no doubt that we largely owe the present-day wealth of St Alban's rare book and manuscript collections to the efforts of Perry.

Interestingly, the rector was not just a book-collector, but also a prolific author who cultivated such genres as biography, hagiography, criticism and history. His writings, part of which are preserved in the Valladolid seminary, include the lives of ancient British and Irish saints and elaborations on Old Testament figures, treatises on the Reformation, the biographies of Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, a summary of the church history of England between 1531 and 1608, an anthology of bishop Grosseteste's epistles, and the draft of the latter character's biography. Michael E. Williams—the scholar that has published more consistently on St Alban's—supplies the above-mentioned data,[3] although he does not mention the survival in Valladolid of a biography of Erasmus written by Perry which can be found in St Alban's archive; furthermore Williams reports the existence in Edinburgh's Scottish Catholic Archives of ten bound volumes containing additional manuscript materials by Perry which reached the Scottish capital from Valladolid via the now disappeared Royal Scots College in the latter city: a life of Christ, a chronological catalogue of English, Scottish and Irish saints including citations or summaries of former hagiographical sources,[4] the major portion of a

biography of the English Catholic theologian John Fisher, the final version of the life of the English reformer Robert Grosseteste, and a "Continuation of Bede's History", with three volumes on Anglo-Saxon kings completing the list.

The above-mentioned Continuation of Bede's History seems to be of particular relevance in the context of this edition, since as it turns out, the same bundle which contains Perry's *Sketch of the Ancient British History* begins with precisely a draft section of the work kept in Edinburgh—a separate item in Perry's production however closely connected with the *Sketch*.

A brief description of Perry's manuscript *Sketch of the Ancient British History* (*c.* 1772)

The bundle in question is preserved in the English College's archive (Archivo del Colegio de San Albano, ACSA) and was catalogued under the number 155 in the late 1980s.[5] It contains three individual manuscript documents comprising what are in fact two distinct (though thematically and chronologically linked) works, the second one written out in two versions. It is to be noted how each independent manuscript illustrates a particular stage in the process of textual composition, advancing from the preliminary sketches of the first text and the first draft of the second, to the formal elaboration of a final version of the third and last. Here is the bundle's threefold division:

ACSA 155, MS B
Incipit: "The interval between the Close of Bedes history | and the Norman Conquest …"

ACSA 155, MS A1#
Title: "Sketch of British History | chiefly with regard to Church affairs, from its first | conversion to Xtnity, down to the conversion of the | Saxons."

ACSA 155, MS A2#
Title: "Sketch of the ancient British | History: | chiefly with regard to Church affairs, | from the first Conversion of ye | Britons to Xtianity, down to ye | Conversion of the Saxons."

The three manuscripts remained loose until bound together at the turn of the twentieth century by the then Rector Joseph Kelly; the presence of bent

corners and damp patches here and there on the leaves confirms their prior loose status.[6] Nonetheless, the 96 quires share identical material features. Their deckled-edged folded sheets are of watermarked, laid paper, their size being in quarto [0.85 x 0.6 in.], and are stiched to make up gatherings, quaternions in their great majority, which collate as follows:

ACSA 155, MS B
Collation: 1–3^8, 4^{12}, 5–7^8, 8^8 (enclos.), 9–10^8, 11^{16} (wants 6, 7; enclos.), 12–19^8, 20^{12}, 20-bis^8, 21–26^8, 27–28^{16}, 30–34^8, 35^{16}, 36^8.

ACSA 155, MS A1
Collation: 1–8^8, 9^{16}, 10–16^8, 17^8 (enclos.), 18–26^8, 27^{16} (wants 1, 13, 15), 28–33^8, 34^{10} (enclos.), 35–37^8, 38^8 (wants 3, 4), 39–40^8, 41^{12}, 42–45^8.

ACSA 155, MS A2
Collation: 1–5^8, 6^8 (enclos.), 7–15^8.

As regards the exact date of composition of these works, we lack for the moment the necessary evidence to postulate it unquestionably. We can safely assume, however, that these three autograph manuscripts were written during Perry's stay in Valladolid as St Alban's rector. We may point more specifically to the time-span between 1771 and 1773, considering the prolongued visits to Madrid that he made to further the administrative negotiations at Court, which extended through the early and late years of his rectorship.

The scope of its contents

As for the contents of MS B, these are a draft (more or less elaborate at times, though often little else than a collection of preliminary notes and quotations) of what purports to be the continuation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* down to the Norman conquest. The author presents a general outline of his plan and declares his—not quite fulfilled—goals. The text has no title and the last page closes quire number 36. Several pages appear completely crossed out and, generally speaking, the impression is that we are in front of a first draft. Over a third part of the text is entirely written in Latin, a language which otherwise often coexists with English along this first batch in the bundle.

It is the following 45 quires—MS A1, in other words—that constitute the object of this edition. The narrative now corresponds to Roman and

post-Roman Britain and, with the exception of a note or a citation here and there, the account is entirely written in English.

Its full title, as proposed on its first folio, is *Sketch of British History, Chiefly with Regard to Church Affairs, from its First Conversion to Christianity, down to the Conversion of the Saxons*. Perry's history discloses the text's direct dependence on this heading. The first part of the title reveals his plan of content organization. It announces that the text will alternate successively the narration of the landmarks of civil history with those concerning the contemporary Christian and ecclesiastical affairs. The second part of the title points more specifically to the period to be covered and, accordingly, Perry's civil and church history opens with Julius Caesar's incursions, the landing of the Romans on the island and the subsequent arrival of the first Christians, and continues until the end of St Columba's mission.

The text is devoid of external divisions of any kind, but careful reading allows us to distinguish five stages in Perry's account of these events, which are preceded by an introductory passage comprising a sketchy description of the island of Britain, an explanation of her name's mythical and historical sources as well as of the origins of her initial settlers, a list of the main cities of the Britons and a brief account of their customs and Druidic practices. A profusion of ancient, medieval and modern sources is handled generously here, as it is in the five time periods discernible in the nearly 170 folios of narrative that follow:

1. The first covers the history of Britain up to *c*.180 AD. It commences with Julius Caesar's expeditions, Claudius's military campaigns, and the earliest phase of Romanization in the island. The advent of Christianity that was accompanied by the removal of Druidism from Britain is followed by an account of King Lucius's conversion and collection of data regarding the early metropolises in the island. The concluding part of this section deals with the early rites and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, a subject which Perry approaches by extensively paraphrasing the writings of Justin and Irenaeus, his own means to provide textual substantiation for Catholic claims against the core issues of the Protestant controversy.
2. The next stage focuses on the third and fourth centuries in Britain, with special emphasis on Diocletian's persecutions and the Britons' adherence to the Christian faith. In this context, there stands out the portrait of St Alban, the English protomartyr after whom the Valladolid College is named. A lengthy section on the emergence of haeretical factions in the Church, countered in ecclesiastical councils,

ecumenical or general, is used next to underscore the participation of British bishops in the formation of Catholic dogma, as much as their allegiance to the see of Rome.

3. Perry goes on to deal with the history of the island from 340 AD to about 450 AD, a period marked by the increasing attack from the Picts and Scots, and further barbarian peoples, on an island now mostly neglected by the Romans, with famine and civil broil added to the picture. The Rector's argument is that the Christianizing missions of St Ninian and St Patrick among the Picts and the Irish, respectively, bring the peace which the last sparks of Roman assistance could not. Perry devotes individual digressions to the two saints, with a sketch of St Germanus's two purported visits to Britain interpolated.
4. The Germanic invasions that follow are presented as a divine punishment for the lassitude and dissipation among both the leaders and the ecclesiastical officers of the Britons. It is against this backgound that Perry places his portrayal of a number of contemporary holy lives. The narrative tone shifts from reproof to praise in this inventory of British saints and religious figures of the sixth century: Winwaloe, John of Chinon, Carannog, Gwynllyw, Cadog, Dyfrig, David of Wales, Gildas, Teilo or Euddogwy.
5. St Columba, the Apostle of the Northern Picts, receives Perry's dedicated attention in the final folios of MS A1, where the latest cronological reference is the year 635 AD.

A proper closure to the saint's portrait is provided by referring to his successors in Iona, and Perry's use of the margins in the last folio to finish off his last lines stresses the sense of conclusion. But this being hardly a plausible end for the *Sketch*, we venture to suggest that a few additional folios may be wanting—a sort of coda, perhaps to be written out in the fair copy.

ACSA 155 does not end here, though. The bundle's last 15 quires (MS A2) contain the manuscript's most articulate and readable portion: an unfinished and apparently final draft of the first 46 folios in MS A1 under the title *Sketch of the Ancient British History, Chiefly with Regard to Church Affairs, from the First Conversion of the Britons to Christianity, down to the Conversion of the Saxons*. Apart from a few variations and omissions, there are not many differences between the wording of these pages and that of the corresponding portion in MS A1. The account reaches as far as the persecution of Christians decreed by Diocletian in 303 AD, and ends abruptly with a truncated phrase that leaves incomplete the

reference to the moderate attitude displayed by Constantius Chlorus, then in command of Britain and reported to have allowed Christian officers the choice between their faith and their position.

Broad editorial procedures

What constitutes the basis, therefore, for our rendering of Philip Perry's *Ancient British History*, as edited in this volume for the first time, is MS A1, the first draft, which stands on its own as a reliable testimony to the *Sketch*'s textual entity, while the revised version should not be regarded as more than an unfinished rewriting project. A decision was made, then, to use A1 as copy-text, with a door open to draw on A2 to supply any missing text, where possible, and replace the occasional sign of textual provisionality, notably the title in A1, for its more rounded form in A2.

The edition we offer here is a clear-text edition. It aims to provide the greatest clarity in the most economical fashion. Silent emendation is used for obvious slips of the pen and errors. Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded, superscripts brought down to the line and interlineations simply incorporated into the text. Square brackets enclose material supplied editorially—missing words, conjectural readings (with a question mark), translations, etc.—while the sparse emendation which originates in MS A2 is listed among the textual notes. All headings are supplied by the editors, those preceding Justin's and Irenaeus's expositions of faith, and the saints' lives, remaining the sole exceptions. Angle brackets enclose Perry's bibliographical references, whose abbreviations we have also regularized. These were originally located in the margin, as are most of Perry's notes, here rendered at the foot of the page. The one single illegible phrase is indicated ††.

Nonstandard spellings have been corrected (in their vast majority they were little significant departures from modern orthography), with the only exception of proper names. The orthography of personal and place names is preserved as written, not only in consideration of the contribution they make to the character of the text, but also on account of the fact that a particular spelling may correspond to that in a primary source. However, to render the text more accessible, insconsistences have been regularised, the most important variants appearing in the Index. With identical purpose, punctuation, as well as capitalization has been modernised. As a general rule, parentheses are Perry's own and his own square brackets (chiefly used in the manuscript to indicate a paragraph to be deleted or relocated) are deleted allowing for editorial intervention on the words within. Finally, paragraphing has been modernised also, following content unity or Perry's

indicators, and the six broad sections in which the text has been arranged follow Perry's original intention as indicated by opening and transitional paragraphs and by the pulse of a reiterated bipartite structure of civil and ecclesiastical history, arguably that which gives all the character to this work.

The *Sketch* within the antiquarian tradition and religious controversy

Philip Perry's *Ancient British History* possesses an intrinsic value insofar as it is genuinely (and historically) anchored in major historical and cultural phenomena: the history of the English Church and the huge influence of Bede's work, the religious history of Europe since the sixteenth century, the perception of antiquity during the Enlightenment, the theological and historiographical debates of the eighteenth century, etc.

While he was in Valladolid, Philip Perry wrote his contribution to the genre of church history and hagiography at a time that was crucial as regards the intellectual debate over the role of Christianity in history. Pre-enlightened thought engaged in a secularizing philosophy in which the idea of progress replaced that of Provident God. As the Enlightenment reached its full maturity, some intellectuals (epitomized by the powerful figure of Voltaire and his anti-Christian rationalism) put Christianity on trial. It is not surprising then, against the backdrop of these ideas, that ancient Britain should appear before the Enlightened gaze as a discussion-stimulating period of history. On the other hand, the empirical epistemology then in vogue led to a rejection of the extraordinary. Perry's history—together with several others written over the same period—constitutes a challenge to those views. First because of the very fact that it is a specimen of church history; secondly, because it focuses on a historical period that was looked down on by the Enlightenment; and finally, because it possibly involved a validation of the supernatural and the miraculous: something which was at odds with the empiricism and rationalist spirit of the Age of Reason. This is not to say that Perry acts carelessly as a historian; although somewhat timid and a far cry from the monumental philological ventures of the early Counter-Reformation scholarship, there is an appeal in his works for a scientific approach to texts. The rector is conscientious in citing evidence, substantiating dates and inquiring into the credibility of the authorities, conjecturing on manuscript corruption, examining numismatics, practising epigraphy and, on the whole, displaying the tools of scholarship—possibly in response to

the humanist and Protestant assaults on the medieval approach to hagiography and in an attempt to authenticate his narrative.

Indeed one relevant context for Perry's work is no doubt the ongoing conflict between Catholic and Protestant church historians: a conflict which broke out in the sixteenth century as a result of the Protestant schism. It was the Protestant scholars, in fact, who raised the issue by seeking in the ancient church the proof that the Reformation had indeed restored Christianity to its primitive roots, by contrast with the "deviant" Catholic Church. Such a doctrinal struggle, often associated with political connotations, led to specific views on the origins of the nation. In reacting to these ideas, Catholic historiography strove hard to demonstrate—again through their revision of church history—that their tradition had remained faithful to its true sources. It was especially in England, furthermore, that the revision of ecclesiastical history became particularly intense: take for instance John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1563), where the period stretching from 1000 to 1371 (and leading to the sowing of the seeds of Reformation by John Wycliff) was characterized as the "Age of the Antichrist." This kind of dialectics reached into the eighteenth century and probably fuelled Perry's efforts. The rector's work, therefore, can be profitably compared with other specimens of the same genre written over the same period.

Perry's new transcript of the Stannington Diploma

Having said that, however, it is also in a somehow different, yet equally relevant, context that we hope the *Sketch of the Ancient British History* may be recognised as a document of unique historical value. Within the following pages is contained Philip Perry's own transcript of the Stannington military diploma (124 AD), which conferred land and a charter of privileges on a group of discharged Roman legionaries. The copy in our edition was taken by Philip Perry himself "presently after the discovery"—which is to say, around 1761—thus belying the mistaken notion that was perpetuated that the text on the second of the two tablets—which was assumed to be missing—had survived only in Richard Gough's *Additions to Camden* (London, 1789).

The *Sketch* and current scholarship on the ecclesiastical history of early Britain

A third context where Perry's history makes a landmark contribution is that of the contemporary investigations on the continuity or discontinuity

of the Roman legacy among the post-Roman Britons and, in particular, on the cult of their local saints in a pan-European environment. Scholarly work on the field of Christianity in Roman Britain has flourished in the last decades, as evidenced by A. C. Thomas's *Christianity in Roman Britain* (London, 1981) and D. J. Watts's *Christian and Pagans in Roman Britain* (London, 1991), typically referred to as the standard reference works on the period, with T. M. Charles-Edwards's *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000) as their equal in the field of early Irish Christianity. The myriad of contributions on the more specific area of the history of the Church in the period grows every year, but none has yet superseded Carl W. Schoell's *De ecclesiasticae Britonum Scotorumque historiae fontibus* (Berlin, 1851) and A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-78) in their documentary purposes. Focus to date remains essentially, and necessarily, fragmentary. It is not without good reason then that Richard Sharpe wrote in 2002: "a history of the church in Roman Britain would make a very short book for want of information about the places, people, institution or offices, and events".[7] Here is one such book. It comes to light unfortunately deprived of its intended contemporary readership, though hopefully not of its author's serious intent and engaging style.

Notes

1. See Edwin Henson, *Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589–1862* (London, 1930) and Michael E. Williams, "A Guide to the Archives of St Alban's College, Valladolid, with Some Historical Notes", *Catholic Archives* 4 (1984), 36–9.
2. Ch. 6 in Michael E. Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid* (London, 1986), 71–108, provides a detailed description of Perry's figure as well as of the background to his term as a rector, which he had anticipated in *Recusant History* 17 (1984), 48–66, and has abridged for the 2004 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (art. 64187). Perry's earliest biographical record may be found in J. Kirk's *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1909), 180–1.
3. Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid*, 107–8.
4. While the drafts of *Lives of British Saints* [152], *Lives of Various English Saints* (Incomplete) [153] and *English Martyrs and Lives of Saints and Holy Persons (Foreign)* [154] are extant in the Valladolid College, two final versions of these preliminary writings became part of the holdings of the Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh, namely *Introduction to the Lives of the Saints* [P5.2], *A Chronological Catalogue of British, Irish and Scotch Saints and Holy Persons* [P5.3].
5. Until the current recataloguing of St Alban's archival funds is completed, Michael Williams's indexing is still of use. His manuscript inventory, which was completed in 1988, compiles the Madrid, Seville and Valladolid archival holdings, these last comprising manuscripts, transcripts, *legajos*, and bound books.
6. John Guest undertook the first classification of loose items in 1855; Joseph Kelly's *Indice* (1920) numbered Williams's ACSA 155 as *legajo* no. 3 of Serie II.
7. R. Sharpe, "Martyrs and Local Saints", in *Local Saints and Local Churches*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 75–154, at 77.

SKETCH

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY,

CHIEFLY WITH REGARD TO CHURCH AFFAIRS,

FROM

THE FIRST CONVERSION OF THE BRITONS
TO CHRISTIANITY,

DOWN TO

THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS.

[BY *PHILIP M. PERRY*, R.S.A.]

Mementote mirabilium eius, quae fecit: prodigia eius, et iudicia oris eius.—Ps. 104

[Valladolid, *c.*1772]

INTRODUCTION

IT IS AN OBSERVATION of ecclesiastic writers, no less judicious than Christian, that Almighty God, in sending his Son into the world, united the whole universe under the one sole Roman Empire, for the more easy propagation of his saving Gospel amongst mankind. This same conduct his providence held in a palpable manner with regard to our Britain: his wisdom not only made use of the Roman power to subdue and unite Britain to the rest of their empire, but of her humanity to remove two of the chief obstacles to the reception of the Gospel, by taming the barbarity of the natives and extirpating the cruel superstitions of their Druidish teachers. This the reader will see visible in what little remains of our British history, which we shall exhibit to him after first opening the scene of action by a short description of the country, its name, inhabitants and their origin, together with their manners and policy, and especially their religious rites.

A description of Britain

This island is seated betwixt the fiftieth and sixtieth degree of north latitude, having Ireland on the west, Iceland and Norway on the north, Holland and Flanders on the east, with part of France, Spain, and Portugal to the south. It measures in length about 600 miles, and about 250 in breadth. So fruitful its soil, as not only to provide its inhabitants with all conveniences of life in abundance, but also to supply the wants of neighbouring kingdoms, while its various ports, which open to the principal states of Europe and America, and its numerous shipping, afford it means to convey its superfluities to them. Even from the days of Julius Caesar, Britain was the Roman granary for all the garrisons on the Belgic and German coasts.

Her name

The ancient name of the island, as appears from Aristotle <*Mund*. 3> and Ptolomy <Gale, [pp. 735, 737]>, was *Albion*. It was called *Britannia* by way of epithet or description, from some property either of the country or its inhabitants. It has since been called absolutely *Britannia*, from the

Welch word *Brith* and the Celtic word *Tannia*. *Brith*, according to Cambden, signifies "painted", and *Tannia*, according to Pezron, signifies "country",[1] and both together signify "the country of a people that painted their bodies" <Innes, *Essay* I, [pp. 46-8]>. Such were all the inhabitants of Britain in Caesar's time, who is the first author that speaks of them <*Bell. Gall*. iv>, and in the days of Pomponius Mela <*Sit. Orb*. iii. 6>, almost his contemporary, who speaks on the authority of Caesar.

Her inhabitants and their origin

All the Britains using this custom of painting their bodies seems to insinuate they had all but one common origin and had come from some country where that custom was in vogue. Such were many of the northern nations, viz. the Arii, mentioned by Tacitus in *De moribus Germanorum*;[2] the Agathyrsi and Geloni, celebrated by Virgil <*Georg*. ii>. The Getae, as well as the Geloni, are described under the same character by Solinus <[*Mirab. Mund*.] 25>.

Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, imagines that the North Britons of *Caledonia* came from Germany, and Bede writes of the Picts, by whom he understands the same Caledonians, that they came, as was said, from *Scythia*,[3] which in ancient writers coincides with *Germania Magna* and comprises most of the northern parts of Europe. Bede adds that the southern inhabitants of Britain came from *Aremorica* or the western part of Gaul, and Tacitus, in another place, thinks on the whole that all the Britons swarmed from Gaul as from the most neighbouring hive.[4] Caesar asserts that the maritime inhabitants of Britain derived their origin from Belgic Gaul, as appeared by the original names which their cities or countries retained, viz. the Belgae, Atrebates, etc., but he supposes the inland part of the country to have been inhabited before by the aborigins <*Bell. Gall*. v. [12]; [Salmon], *Hist. Coll.*, p. 75>, which coincides pretty much with the opinion of Bede in making a distinction betwixt the origin of the Southern and Northern Britains.[5]

These various opinions may be easily reconciled by supposing, as easily may be supposed, that Britain was peopled about the same time as Belgium and Gaul, for in this supposition the difference of their various origins may be no more than accidental and arise from this sole cause: that some of the Northern Scythians, or Germans, sailed over immediately from the north to the northern parts of *Caledonia*, while others of the same hive, pushing their land incursions farther on the continent, came as far as Belgium or *Aremorica*, and from thence sailed over to the southern parts of Britain.

This common origin of all the inhabitants of Britain from the Northern Scythians, and of their brotherhood with the *celtes* of Gaul, seems to be confirmed, first, from the original name of the ancient Britains, which is *Kumero*, and shows them descended of Gomer, who peopled the northern parts of Europe and is said by Joseph to be parent of the Gaulish *celtes*.[6] Secondly, from the likeness of the British and Celtic languages: Caesar asserts, as does also Tacitus <*Agric.* 10>, that the British language differed very little from the language of the Gauls <*Bell. Gall.* vi. [13]>, and the learned still pretend that the British tongue as spoken in the south of Britain, though bastardized with an allay of the Roman language, differed no more from the Pictish and Celtic languages than the present English, a Saxon mixed with the Norman jargon, differs from the German, or Teutonic, its first origin. Thirdly, from the likeness of their reciprocal manners and superstitions: the houses of the Britains were built like those of Gaul, they assisted the Gauls as their brethren in their wars against Caesar, and the studious part of the Gauls frequented Britain in order to be instructed by their more celebrated Druids. Those of Kent differed very little, Caesar says, from the Gauls in their customs.[7]

Her towns

From whencesoever the Britains derived their origin, they must have been long settled in the island when Caesar came first into it, sixty years before Christ, for he found the country very populous and their houses very thick. They had places fortified by art and were expert in the art of fighting, whether on foot, on horseback, or in chariots.[8] Tacitus mentions many great and ample cities, not only on the seacoast, but in the inland parts, and even in *Caledonia*. Gildas the Briton, in the fifth or sixth century, reckons among the Britons twenty-eight cities of note, though he specifies none by name.[9] Even Ptolomy, the famous geographer of Alexandria, who flourished under Adrian in the beginning of the second century, mentions no fewer than fifty-seven towns (eighteen in North Britain, and thirty-nine in the south of the island) <Gale, [pp. 739-41]>, which for a light to our future story, we shall here set down in short after Cambden.[10]

In North Britain, among the Novantae, or inhabitants of Galloway, Caryckt, Kyle, and Cuningham, he places *Lucopibia*, which Cambden takes to be Whitherne,[11] and *Rherigonium*, alias *Berigonium* (now Berganny). Among the Selgovae, which lay about Solway, Lidesdale, Eusdale, Eskdale, Annandale, and Nidsdale, were *Carbantorigum* (i.e. Caerleverock), a strong fort even in the days of King Edward I, *Oxelum*, or *Uzellum*, probably in Eusdale, *Corda*, near Logh Cure, and *Trimontium*.

Among the Damnii, who lay to the north-east of the Selgovae, were *Colania*, alias *Coldana* (viz. Coldingham), *Vanduara* (i.e. Ayre), *Coria*, *Alauna*, about Sterling, where flows the river Alon, *Lindum* (i.e. Linlithgo), and *Victoria*. Among the Vacomagi were *Banatia*, *Tamia*, *Alata Castra* (i.e. Edinburgh), and *Tuesis* (i.e. Berwick upon Tweede). Among the Vennicontes, to the west of the Vacomagi, was *Orrea*, perhaps the capital of the Horesti [Boresti] recorded by Tacitus;[12] among the Texali, or Taizali, more to the east than the Vennicontes, about Buchan, *Devana*, or "city on the Dee", south of Aberdeen.

In the southern part of Britain, now called England, in coming out of the north, lie the Ottadeni, to the south of *Castra Alata*, among which were *Curia* (i.e. Corebridge) and *Bremenium* (i.e. Brampton), both in Northumberland. After these come the Brigantes, who lay up to the Ottadeni on the north-east, and on the north-west up to the Selgovae, that is to say, up to the German Sea on one side, and on the other, up to the Irish Sea. Among the Brigantes were *Epiacum* (now Paplewick in Cumberland), *Vinnovium* (now Binchester in Bishopric [of Durham]), *Caturactonium* (i.e. Catarack in Yorkshire), *Calatum*, alias *Galata* (Whealp Castle in Westmorland), *Isurium* (i.e. Aldburgh in Yorkshire), *Ribodunum* (Riblechester in Lancashire), famed for Roman coins therein found, *Olicana* (Ilkeley in Yorkshire), *Eboracum* (York), the residence of the Sixth Victorious Legion, *Camunlodunum*, near Almondbury in Yorkshire, and lastly, *Petuaria* (Beverley in Holdernesse), *penes sinum portuosum Parisi*[13] [on a sheltered gulf where the Parisi dwell].

To the west of the Brigantes lay the Ordovices, or North Wales, whose cities are *Mediolanum* (Llanvellin in Montgomery) and *Brannogenium* (Worcester). Among the Cornavii, more to the east than the Ordovices, are *Devana* (Westchester on the Dee), the station of the Twentieth Victorious Legion, and *Urocanium* (Wroxeter on the Severn in Shropshire). After the Cornavii lie the Coritani, whose cities are *Lindum* (Lincoln) and *Rhage*, alias *Ratae* (Leicester). After the Coritani come the Catyeuchlani [Catuvellauni], who had two cities, *Salinae* and *Urolanium* (i.e. Salndy in Bedfordshire and *Verolamium* in Hartfordshire). Among the Simeni, alias the Iceni, was *Venta Icenorum* (Caster near Norwich), and upon the Thames, *Camalodunum* (Maldon in Essex), a city of the Trinobantes. West of the former, and the most west of all the Britains, were the Meatae, who had two cities, viz. *Luentium* and *Maridunum* (i.e. Leveney in Brecknockshire, and Caermarthen, capital of Caermarthenshire). To the east of the Meatae stood the Silures, and had for city *Bullaeum* (i.e. Buelth in Brecknockshire).

Up to the Silures lie the Dobuni, who had *Corinium* (or Cirencester), and next to the Dobuni, the Atrebatii, or Berkshire, whose city was *Nalcua*. Next to these last were the Cantiani, who had three cities, viz. *Londinium* (London), *Darvenum*, alias *Durovernum* (Canterbury), and *Rhutupiae* (Richborrow, near Sandwich). Up to the Cantii and Atrebatii lay the Regni, comprising Surrey, Sussex, and the seacoast of Hampshire, whose city was *Neomagus* (Woodcote, near Croyden in Surrey). Below the Dobuni were the Belgae, whose cities were three, viz. *Ischalis* (Ivelchester), *Aquae Calidae* (Bath), and *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester). To the south-west of these last lay the Durotriges, whose city was *Dunum*, or *Durnium* (i.e. Dorchester, capital of Dorsetshire). To the west of these, the Dumnonians, which had the following cities: *Voliba* (i.e. Volemouth), *Uxela* (Lust Uthiel), *Tamare* (Tamarton in Cornwall), *Isca* (Exeter), and *Isca Legionis*, the residence of the Second Legion Augusta (i.e. Caerleon upon Usk in Monmouthshire).

The Emperor Antoninus, who wrote his Itinerary soon after Ptolomy, adds many more British towns or cities,[14] but being mixed with simple stations or places of encampment, it is no easy matter to distinguish always which are towns and which are simple stations. Several, however, are well known and for the satisfaction of the curious reader we shall add them all.

On the great military road from the Picts' Wall to the praetorian residence, about thirty miles south of York, were:

Bremenium	Brampton in Northumberland
Corstopilum	*Fors* [Perhaps] Morpeth, *ibid*.
Vindomora	Wallsend in Northumberland
Vinovia	
Cataracton	Catarack in Yorkshire
Isurium	Aldburgh, *ibid*.
Eboracum	York
Derventio, seven miles from York	Auldby upon Derwent in Yorkshire
Praetorium	Praetorian residence

On the military road from the same wall to the port of Richborrow in Kent, were:

Blatobulgium	Bulness in Cumberland
Luguvallum	Carlile
Voreda	Old Perith
Brovonacim	Brougham
Verteris	Burgh
Lavatris	Burgh on Stanmore

Cataracton	Catarack in Yorkshire
Isurium	Aldburgh, *ibid*.
Eboracum	York
Calcaria	Tadcaster
Camulodunum	
Mamucium, or *Mancunium*	Manchester in Lancashire
Condate	Congleton (Cheshire)
Deva	Chester, the Twentieth Legion
Bonium	Bangor in Flintshire
Mediolanum	Lanvellin in Montgomery
Rutunium	Ronton in Shropshire
Viroconium	Wroxeter, *ibid*.
Uxacona	Okenyate
Pennocrucium	Penkridge in Staffordshire
Etocetum	The Wall, near Lichfield
Manduessedum	Mancaster (Warwickshire)
Venonium	High Cross, *ibid*.
Bennavenna	Wedon on the Street
Lactodurum	Stony Stratford (Buckinghamshire)
Magiovinium	Dunstable (Bedfordshire)
Durocobrivium	Redburn in Hartfordshire
Verolamium	Verulam, *ibid*.
Sulloniacim	Brockeley Hill near Ellestry
Londinium	London
Noviomagum	Woodcote, near Croydon (Surrey)
Vagniacim	Maydestone in Kent
Durobrivis	Rochester, *ibid*.
Durolevum	Leenham, *ibid*.
Durovernum	Canterbury, *ibid*.
Portus Rhutupas	Richborrow, *ibid*.

And on another side from Canterbury, were two other ports, viz.:

Portus Dubris	Dover
Portus Lemanis	Lime Hill (Kent)

On another military road, back from London to Carlile (*Luguvallum ad Vallum*), which is by Lincoln and York, were:

Caesaromagus	Near Brentwood in Essex
Colonia	Colchester
Villa Faustini	St Edmondsbury in Suffolk
Icianos	Ickborrow, alias Igboro, in Norfolk; or Ikenno (Suffolk)

Camboricum	Cambridge
Duroliponte	Gormonchester, or Godmanchester, near Huntingdon
Durobrivas	Castor, in Huntingdonshire, near the river Nen
Causennis	Brigcasterton on the Wash, 26 miles from Lincoln
Lindum	Lincoln
Segelocum, alias *Agelocum*	Littleborough upon Trent
Danum	Doncaster in Yorkshire
Legeolium, alias *Legecium*	Castleford near Pomfret
Eboracum	York
Isubrigantum	*Idem fors ac* [Perhaps the same as] *Isurium,* Aldburgh
Cataracto	
Lavatris	
Verteris	
Brocavum	*Idem fors ac Brovonacum*
Luguvallum	Carlile

On another different road from London to Lincoln, were:

Verolamium	Verulam (Hartfordshire)
Durocobrivium	Redburn
Magiovinum	
Lactodurum	
Isannavatia, or *Isannavaria*	*Idem fors ac Bennavenna*
Tripontium	Towcester in Northamptonshire
Vennonim	
Ratis	Leicester
Verometum	Burrow Hill (Leicestershire)
Margidunum	Near Bever Castle (Leicestershire, or Lincolnshire)
Ad Pontem	Paunton in Lincolnshire
Crococalanum	Ancaster, *ibid.*
Lindum	

On the military road from *Regno* (or Rengsted in Hampshire) to London, were:

Clausentum	Southampton
Venta Belgarum	Winchester
Calleva Atrebatum, or *Galleva*	Wallingford in Berkshire
Pontes	Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire

On the military highway from *Venta Icenorum* to London,[15] were:

Sitomagus	Thetford in Norfolk
Cambretonium	Brettenham in Suffolk, or Comberton, near Cambridge
Adansam	Near Coggeshale in Essex
Camalodunum	
Canonium	Chelmesford, *ibid.*
Caesaromagum	
Durolitum	Old Ford upon Lee, *ibid.*
Londinium	

On the military road from *Clanoventa* (upon Wentsbecke in Northumberland) to *Mediolanua*, or *Mediolanum*, were:

Galava, or *Galana*	Wallewic in Northumberland
Alone	Whiteley, *ibid.*
Gallacum	Whealp Castle in Westmorland
Bremetonacum	Overborrow (Lancashire)
Coccium	Riblechester, *ibid.*
Mancunium	
Condate	
Mediolanum	

On the military way from *Segontium* (*Caersegont*, near Carnarvon in North Wales), to Chester (*Deva*), were:

Cononium, or *Conovium*	Caerhean upon Conway in Carnarvonshire
Varis	Bodvary in Flintshire
Deva	

On the military road from *Maridunum* (or Caermarthen) to *Viroconium* (Wroxeter) in Salop [Shropshire], were:

Leucarum	Loghor
Nidus	Neath in Glamorganshire
Bomium, or *Bovium*	Boverton, *ibid.*
Isca Legio II Augusta	Caerleon upon Usk in Monmouthshire
Burrium	Eske, *ibid.*
Gobannium	Abergaenny
Magnis, or *Magi*	Old Radnor
Brannonium, *idem ac* [same as]	
Brannogenum	Worcester
Viroconium	Wroxeter (Shropshire)