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HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Contents

	PAGE
The Casket Letters. By A. Lang - - - -	1
The Templars in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century. By John Edwards. <i>With Engraved Plate of Charter of 1354</i> - - - - -	13
The 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray. By Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart. - - - - -	26
The Teaching of Scottish History in Schools. By Professor Hume Brown - - - - -	41
The Constitutional Necessity for the Union of 1707. By Wm. S. McKechnie - - - - -	52
Scottish Students in Heidelberg, 1386-1662. By W. Caird Taylor - - - - -	67
The Bishops of Glasgow from the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the Reformation. By Bishop Dowden. <i>With twenty-five Engravings</i>	76, 203, 319, 447
Notes on the 'Scottish Trial-by-Combat Charter of 1167.' By Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D.; Sir A. Campbell Lawrie, LL.D.; George Neilson, LL.D., and J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. - - - - -	89

	PAGE
Allan Cameron's Narrative, February-April, 1716. Edited by Professor C. Sanford Terry - - - -	137
The Relations of Mary Stuart with William Maitland of Lethington. By Thomas Duncan - - - -	151
Mr. Lang and the Casket Letters. By T. F. Henderson -	161
The Market Cross of Aberdeen. By G. M. Fraser - -	175
Henry Ker of Graden. By Rev. J. F. Leishman, B.D. -	181
The Green Island. By the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell - - - - -	191
A Roxburghshire Mansion and its Contents in 1729. By A. O. Curle - - - - -	265
Economic Condition of Scotland under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. By Theodora Keith - -	273
A Contemporary Account of the Highlanders at Maccles- field in 1745 - - - - -	285
Peculiar Ordination of a Cumberland Benefice, dated 1285. By Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D. - - - -	297
Count Florent V. of Holland, Competitor for the Scottish Crown. By Hans Toll, Stockholm - - -	304
Did Ecclesiastical Heraldry exist in Scotland before the Reformation? By J. H. Stevenson. <i>With four</i> <i>engravings</i> - - - - -	313
On the Danish Ballads. By W. P. Ker - - -	385
A Border Ballad. By Charles H. Firth - - -	402

Contents

vii

PAGE

The Order of the Golden Fleece. By Sir J. Balfour Paul, Lyon-King-of-Arms - - - - -	405
M. Anatole France on Jeanne d'Arc. By Andrew Lang	411
The Abbey of Inchaffray. By Sir Arch. Campbell Lawrie, LL.D. - - - - -	440
Reviews of Books - - - - -	95, 214, 332, 459
Queries - - - - -	128, 250, 367, 500
Communications and Replies - - - - -	129, 252, 367, 500
Some further Observations upon Old Scottish Book Stamps. By Bishop Dowden. <i>With four illustrations</i> - - -	129
George Buchanan - - - - -	131
A Quaker Wedding in Old Aberdeen in 1737 - - -	131
The Historical MSS. Commission - - - - -	134
A Silver Map of the World - - - - -	135
The late Mr. Romilly Allen - - - - -	135
A Balliol Charter of 1267. By Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D. - - - - -	252
An Ossianic Fragment. By Kenneth MacLeod - - -	253
Lowland Tartans. By H. A Cockburn - - - - -	367
Printers to the University of Glasgow. By William Stewart - - - - -	369, 500
John Knox and Ranfurly. By Horatius Bonar - - -	370
Privateers on the English Coast in 1808 - - - - -	502
Claverhouse's Last Letter. By Michael Barrington - - -	505

Notes and Comments

Proposed Chair of Scottish History in the University of Glasgow. By William Wallace, LL.D., 255. The Black Rood, 256. Houses of the Grey Friars, 257. The Royal Historical Society, 257. Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, 258. Memories of Flodden, 259. English Invasion of 1542, 260. Memories of Bannockburn, 261. Exploration of Corstopitum, 261. A Crusade Manifesto of 1330, 262. Andrew of Wyntoun, 263. Pasquale Villari, 264. Roman Station at Newstead; *with three illustrations*, 372. The Newstead Helmet-Masks, 373. Roman Cavalry Sports, 375. Medieval Chivalry; A Question, 375. Preservation of Ancient Monuments, 376. J. D. G. Dalrymple, 377. The Dalrymple Lectures in Archæology, 378. Gypsy Lore Society, 378. The Schola Salernitana, 379. Sir Walter Scott's Books, 380. Jewish duel; 1326, 380. 15th Century Pardons, 381. Purgatory of St. Patrick, 382. Indebtedness to literary predecessors, 383. Rhind Lectures on Newstead, 510. Mont St. Michel and its *cage de fer*, 511. Simancas Archives, 513. American Historical Association in Conference, 513. Norse King's Household, 514. Heraldic Notarial Mark, 514. Medieval law of feud, 515. Form of 'Satisfaction,' 516.

Illustrations

	PAGE
Charter by Brother Thomas de Lindesay - - - -	16
Seal of Joscelin, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1175-99 - - -	81
Seal of Florence, Bishop Elect of Glasgow, A.D. 1202-7 - -	81
Counter Seal of Joscelin, Bishop of Glasgow - - - -	81
Counter Seal of Florence, Bishop Elect of Glasgow - - -	81
Seal of Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1208-32 - - -	83
Counter Seal of Walter, Bishop of Glasgow - - - -	83
Seal of William de Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1233-58 -	84
Counter Seal of William de Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow -	84
Seal No. 1 of Robert Wischard, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1272-1316	87
Seal No. 2 of Robert Wischard, Bishop of Glasgow - - -	87
The Arms of the Duke of Hamilton - - - - -	102
The Arms of the Earl of Home - - - - -	104
Bishop Robert Reid's Book-Stamp R. EPISCOPUS - - -	129
Bishop Robert Reid's Book-Stamp R. ORCHADEN - - -	129
Bishop Robert Reid's Book-Stamp RR EPS OR - - -	130
Bishop Robert Reid's Book-Stamp MODERATE - - -	130
Seal of Eggescliffe, Bishop of Glasgow - - - - -	204
Seal of John de Lindesay, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1323-1335 †	205
Seal of Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1367-87 -	208
Seal of William Lawedre, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1408-25 -	211
Seal of John Camerone, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1426-46 -	211

	PAGE
Portrait of George Buchanan - - - - -	224
Portrait of St. William King of Scots, surnamed the Lyon -	248
Flails from North of Tyne - - - - -	258
Mid-England and South Country Flails - - - - -	258
Seal of Richard, Bishop of St Andrews, 1163-1177 - - -	312
Reverse of the Second Seal of Robert Wischard, Bishop of Glasgow, 1315 - - - - -	312
Seal of William Landells, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1371 - -	312
Seal of James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1450 - -	312
Seal of Andrew de Durisdere or Muirhead, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1455-73 - - - - -	321
Seal of John Laing, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1474-82 - -	323
Seal No. 1 of Robert Blacader, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1484-1508	326
Seal No. 2 of Robert Blacader, Bishop of Glasgow - - -	327
A right excellent and godly new Ballad - - - - -	335
The Ballad of the widow of watling streete and her 3 daughters -	336
A most excellent ballad of S. George for England - - -	337
Ænochoë of Bronze found at Newstead - - - - -	372
Weaving Comb found at Newstead - - - - -	372
Glasgow Cathedral from the West. By Robert Paul, circa 1760	448
Seal of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1524-47 - -	452
Counter Seal of Gavin Dunbar - - - - -	452
Glasgow Cathedral. By Thomas Hearne, circa 1775 - -	456
Seal of James Beaton, Bishop of Glasgow, A.D. 1551-60 - -	457
Counter Seal of James Beaton, Bishop of Glasgow - - -	457
Heraldic Notarial Mark, 5th March, 1499 - - - - -	515

Contributors to this Volume

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The Casket Letters

IN 1905 Mr. T. F. Henderson published his book, *Mary Queen of Scots*. It fell to my lot to criticise the book, and, in a signed review,¹ I promised to return to Mr. Henderson's Appendix A.² This Appendix is devoted to pulverising some hypotheses of mine concerning the Casket Letters, published in my *Mystery of Mary Stuart*,³ and as I said that I would, when I had leisure, consider Mr. Henderson's arguments, and publish the interesting circumstances of my conversion to his opinions, if he converted me, I now 'keep tryst.' If Mr. Henderson and I had met, over our respective books and the Lennox MSS. in the Cambridge University Library, I think we might have converted one or the other of us to the constant belief that we are both poor fallible mortals; poor but honest, even in our errors. As this conference was proposed by neither party, I did what seemed best and fittest. I carefully examined Mr. Henderson's long and intricate argument; and, taking point by point, I solemnly wrote a reply, which contained about 6500 words. Then I tore up my reply: *Mr. Henderson had not converted me.*

It is needless to go into all details minutely. In pp. 617-621, Mr. Henderson examined the penman's toil, the mechanical possibilities of a forger of the Casket Letters, deciding that the task was too hard; too hard it would be if the judges were to be modern experts, with leisure and microscopes. But the judges were the members of the conference at Hampton Court, meeting on the shortest day of the year. That day was occupied with much other business, and work stopped when night drew

¹ In the *Morning Post*,

² pp. 617-652.

³ Fourth Edition, 1904.

on. No result of the *comparatio literarum* is given in Cecil's report of the proceedings. Many members of the conference presently advocated the marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk. In these circumstances the *comparatio literarum*, usually a very weak form of evidence, is, as any barrister will admit, entirely worthless.

As to the 'convincing character' of the other evidence, say for the famous Letter II., Mr. Henderson remarks that, when he wrote, I was 'unable to make up my mind.'¹ That is perfectly true. My book expressed, tediously, the waverings of my judgment, my balancing of probabilities. But Mr. Henderson represents these as, if I may say so, 'dodges'; he says, in one case, '*an ingenious manœuvre* that I hope may baffle and bewilder the enemy.' He asks 'what is the present position of Mr. Lang's belief in regard to the genuineness of the Casket Letters?' This—*apparently from strategical reasons*—he leaves us to discover.' Yet,² he had discovered it! 'Mr. Lang is unable to make up his mind. . . .' Quite true! My word on the matter was this: 'While unable to reject the testimony of all the circumstances to Mary's guilty foreknowledge of, and acquiescence in, the crime of her husband's murder, I cannot entertain any certain opinion as to the entire or partial authenticity of the Casket Letters.'³

That was my position. Yet Mr. Henderson says that, 'apparently for strategical reasons,' I 'leave us to discover' what my position is. I find that, in *The Mystery of Mary Stuart*,⁴ I said that my opinion 'is now more adverse to the complete authenticity of the Casket Letters than it was, for a variety of reasons which appear in the text.' I had, in 1904, an additional shade of doubt. Mr. Henderson⁵ asks 'how much my adverse-ness amounts to?' with two other equally sagacious queries.

What questions! How can I make the quantitative estimate of a shade? Perhaps I may put it thus: In 1901 I would have laid seven to five; in 1904, I would have laid seven to four, against the complete authenticity. Later,⁶ Mr. Henderson, in his omniscience, explains *why*—he knows my motives—I 'so readily' (readily!) 'undertook to show the possibility of overcoming the supposed chronological difficulties of Letter II.' Well, I laboured sorely at that task. I took the trouble of copying out Letter II., till I discovered that the difficulties of

¹ p. 621.

² *Ibid.*

³ *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 569, 1902.

⁴ Fourth Edition, 1904.

⁵ p. 622.

⁶ p. 636.

the internal chronology 'may be easily explained, if we suppose Mary, on the second night, to have written by accident on the clean side of a piece of paper, whereof the verso contained some lines written on the previous night, but left standing by the translators.'¹

I was not glad to make this discovery, and I am not aware that it had previously been made. My honest work Mr. Henderson explains as part of my cunning. My motive for my labour is exposed. I 'really could not afford to dispense with Letter II.,' for 'strategical reasons,' known to Mr. Henderson.

On this question of my honesty as an historical critic I shall say no more. We are all fallible, but I sincerely believe that we are all honest, doing our best to find out the truth.

Mr. Henderson says that, in my treatment of the subject of the Casket Letters, I 'have blundered all along the line.' Not quite that, I think, though I am happy to be corrected as to the pace of George Douglas's ride from Edinburgh to London, starting on June 21, 1567, and as to the absence of Robert Melville from that city, where Lethington expected him to be. But it would weary the reader if I attempted to clear myself from the charge of 'blundering all along the line.'

There are, I think, but two essential points on which Mr. Henderson and I were at odds.

(1) I thought, and he does not, that there are traces of an early forged letter.

(2) I inclined to think that Letter II. had been interpolated with a large passage, really derived from Crawford's declaration of December 9, 1568. Mr. Henderson is of the opposite opinion.

(1) The supposed early forged letter was noted by Mr. Hosack. What he knew of it was derived from a statement, by the Spanish Ambassador, de Silva, of a report made to him by Moray, in July 1567, of a letter which had been read by 'a man' known to him; probably John Wood. That man had a bad memory, or he *had read a forged letter*. Mr. Hosack easily showed, as against Mr. Froude, that this letter did not tally with Letter II., but was much more explicit and poisonous. On the essential points this is true. Mr. Henderson labours to prove a negative.² I leave his arguments to his readers. They are, as far as I can judge, unconvincing.

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 567.

² pp. 639, 640.

Again, a thing unknown to Mr. Hosack, there is a Lennox document, printed by Mr. Henderson as *THE BILL OF SUPPLICATION*, in his Appendix II., and used by me (he cites it as 'Cambridge University Library, MSS. Oo. 7. 47'), which contains a set of charges against Mary by Lennox.

I dated, and still date this document in July-August, or even September, 1568. In the paper Lennox very closely follows Moray's version, not Letter II. But, on June 11, Lennox had been working with John Wood. This is perfectly certain, for on June 11 he wrote, or dictated, several letters to Scotland, and they are on the same paper, and in the same hand, as letters sent by Wood, on June 12, from Greenwich to Moray and Lethington.¹ Moreover Lennox, in one of his letters, refers to Wood's knowledge, through the Laird of Minto, of a confession betrayed by a priest (later hanged, I am glad to say), and asks for information on this head. Now Wood had with him copies of the Scots versions of the Casket Letters, and Mr. Henderson 'believes it to be indisputable' that Wood showed the letters to Lennox.² In his *Casket Letters*³ Mr. Henderson says, 'the probability is that they were not shown to any one.' If they were shown to Lennox, why did Lennox, if he wrote the charges against Mary in the Cambridge MS. Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b after June 11 (I prove that he did), follow Moray's version of a letter, instead of following Letter II., as he did in an indictment prepared for, but not read to, the inchoate Commission of Inquiry at York, in October, 1568? Of this indictment we have a draft (Oo. 47. fol. 27), and the 'Brief Discourse,' put in at Westminster (Dd. 111. 66).

My hypothesis was that, in June, 1568, the Scots versions included a forged, or partially forged, and never produced, letter corresponding to the version of Moray, and of Lennox. Mr. Henderson (p. 644) upsets this reasoning in a way of his own. He says, *à la* Sir John Coleridge at the Tichburne trial, 'Would Mr. Lang be surprised to learn that on May 28 (1568), the Earl and Countess of Lennox presented to Elizabeth a Bill of Supplication against Mary, which Bill they no doubt proceeded to prepare as soon as they learned of Mary's arrival in England.' (May 16: her arrival might be known to Lennox by May 19.) Mr. Henderson proves the presentation of this Bill from Chalmers,⁴ and from a letter of Lennox to Cecil, of August 18.⁵

¹ *Maitland Miscellany*, vol. iv. pp. 118, 120. ² p. 643. ³ p. 29, 1890.

⁴ *Mary Queen of Scots*, ii. 289.

⁵ 'Appendix B.' Mr. Henderson misquotes himself, he means Appendix E.

Though I was unaware of this presentation of a Bill, nothing could surprise me less, or be of less consequence to my argument. Mr. Henderson maintains that this Bill of May 28 is the Lennox paper Oo. 7. 47. (f. 17. b), in which Lennox follows Moray's version, not Letter II. Consequently it was done a fortnight before Lennox and Wood are proved to have met (June 11), and therefore Lennox could not follow the Scots versions if they were shown to him, later, by Wood, but rested on a version which, in 1567, he may readily have acquired from Moray in London. Mr. Henderson is so sure of all this that he heads¹ his text of Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b THE BILL OF SUPPLICATION.

On seeing this heading I was staggered; Mr. Henderson, I thought, has found this heading of the document in the Lennox MSS. at Cambridge. Who would not have shared this first impression? But, in fact, Mr. Henderson writes²: 'What I venture to submit is, that the so-called "first indictment" is a draft of *The Bill of Supplication prepared in May, 1568.*'

Thus his bold heading of Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b as BILL OF SUPPLICATION is a mere piece of playfulness, not intended to convince a reader, or to alarm myself—though it had that effect. The document Oo. 7. 47. (f. 17. b) is alone, in these papers, in lacking a head-title or an endorsement. Mr. Henderson might fairly have used the heading 'Bill of Supplication (?).' It is not headed THE BILL OF SUPPLICATION. It is *not* a Bill of Supplication; there is no such document in the Lennox MSS. It opens, 'first to nott after the queens of Schotes arryvall,' and it is a bungling, self-contradictory, and perhaps mutilated, history of the relations between Mary and Darnley. It is so stupidly executed that, though Lennox must have known the confessions of Powrie, Tala, and Bowton (June-December, 1567), he cleaves to the contradictory account of Darnley's murder given in Moray's version of a letter (July, 1567). Moray sat at Bowton's examination, on December 8, 1567, but it was earlier, in July, 1567, that he told de Silva that Mary, in her letter, said that she would put Darnley 'in the house where the explosion was arranged for the night upon which one of her servants was to be married.'³ Lennox must have known the

¹ p. 653.

² p. 646.

³ Mr. Henderson thinks that de Silva meant the house, known to all, where the explosion was later arranged. This is possible, but not thus did Lennox understand the meaning.

confessions, yet he makes the murderers approach Kirk o' Field by 'the secret way,' obviously the legendary subterranean passage from Holyrood (p. 659). He knew the confessions, yet he says that Kirk o' Field 'was already prepared with under mines and trains of powder' (p. 661).

There is no limit to the crass self-contradictory averments of that crew!

The paper Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b was not, and could not be, written between May 16 (when Mary arrived in Elizabeth's power) and May 28, when the Bill of Supplication was delivered. The proof is, as I showed, that, on June 11, Lennox wrote to Scotland asking for 'the sayings and reports' of Mary's 'servants.' If he asked for them on June 11 it was because he had not got them. Any one but Mr. Henderson can see this fact. He *can* see a similar fact. In his book *The Casket Letters* (1890, p. xxvi.) he writes: 'It is . . . absurd to suppose that Lennox, on June 11, 1568, should have written to Crawford *for notes which he had already in his own possession.*' Lennox did not do that: it is an error of Mr. Henderson's, but it is equally absurd to suppose that, on June 11, Lennox wrote for the reports of servants which he already possessed, and used, according to Mr. Henderson, on May 28, 1568. Mr. Henderson's so-called 'Bill of Supplication' is rich in reports and sayings derived from Mary's servants.¹ We even² possess a document from Scotland containing some answers to Lennox's request for servants' reports. They give private taunts of Mary to Darnley at Stirling (December, 1566), and words of Mary's spoken at Hermitage Castle when she visited the wounded Bothwell. These are curious: 'If Bothwell died, she would not give a *liard* for the face of any man in Scotland, but his only, and if she lost him she lost her right arm.'

The paper ends, 'further your Honour shall have advertisement of as I can find, but it is good that this matter' (the indictment-making), 'be not ended, till your Honour receive the copy of the Letter' (Letter II. ?) 'which I shall have at your Honour' (send to you Honour) 'as soon as I may have a trusty bearer.' The condition of the paper proves that it has been sent as a letter. It is one of, no doubt, several replies to Lennox's demands for servants' reports and other information. If he had them on June 11, why did he then ask for them? He had them not. So Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b is subsequent to June 11, when he asked for the reports.

¹ See them in pp. 658, 659.

² MS. Oo. 7. 47. fol. 7.

He could not send for and receive these reports, and make his so-called 'Bill of Supplication,' between May 19, when he may have learned that Mary was now in Elizabeth's power, and May 28, when he put in the Bill of Supplication. On June 11 he was asking for these sayings and reports; Mr. Henderson states that he had to write again to Scotland. Indeed his letters of June 11 were apparently intercepted. They were later in the muniment room of his deadly foes, the Hamiltons.

Thus, certainly, Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b was written long after June 11, and is not work done in May 19-28. Mr. Henderson argues against this on the ground of a confusion of my own. I still seem to remember a yet earlier indictment than that of Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b; but, as it is not in the transcripts of Father Pollen (which he has again kindly lent to me), I conceive that I got 'a little mixed' (as Mr. Henderson says of de Silva) among the papers.

Mr. Henderson writes that 'in the so-called first indictment there is not the slightest evidence that Lennox received replies to his letters.' There is only the evidence of the presence in the indictment of the 'sayings and reports of her servants,' for which, in his letters, Lennox asked. That is all. Thus in Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b Lennox, *after*—according to Mr. Henderson—he saw the Scots letters, prefers to follow Moray's version of Mary's letter. That version would therefore seem to have been in the Scots copies of the letters.

In a later indictment¹ Lennox alludes to Moray as 'here present' with lords and gentlemen. Reference is also made to Crawford's presence and evidence, which were useless, except as corroboration of Letter II. Finally (D. 1111. 66), Letter II. is cited in 'A Brief Discourse' which opens with an address to 'your Grace and Honours,' namely the Commissioners with Norfolk at York.

It is thus certain that, in July-August, or even later, Lennox prepared an indictment² which shows knowledge of Moray's version of an impossible letter, and that we have no proof of his knowledge of Letter II. till he addresses the Commission at York in October. Thus room is left for the hypothesis that Letter II. is made up by the addition of the reports of Crawford, the greater part of which he swore (Dec. 9, 1568) he had written down from Darnley's instant account of his interviews with Mary, 'as near as he could carry it away,' and given to Lennox.

¹ Oo. 7. 47. fol. 27.

² Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b.

Mr. Henderson¹ urges that Lennox had 'lost' these notes. But he does not say why, if so, Lennox, when asking Crawford (June 11) for his reminiscences of his own talk with Mary, did not also ask for reminiscences of the 'lost' notes of the Darnley-Mary talks which Crawford had written out, at the moment (January 21, 22, 1566-1567), and given to him. I asked that question; Mr. Henderson omits notice of it, a process rather easy than convincing.

Mr. Henderson erects² 'a towering pyramid of impossibilities' as regards the theory of interpolation of Letter II. In my draft for this article I replied to all of this, showing that Mr. Henderson's historical perspective was wrong, and that Mary's accusers accumulated what, to us, seem 'impossibilities' in their management of a charge brought by them—accomplices and perjured men—against their Queen. As to Crawford's declaration of December 9, 1568, and as to its rendering into English, 'The Lords retained,' I say, 'Crawford's original autograph text (in Scots doubtless) "written by his own hand,"' for which I cite Goodall, Vol. II. p. 88. Unluckily we have not his autograph declaration in Scots. Mr. Henderson prints the Lennox Draft,³ I print the copy in the State Papers.

The two copies prove to me now, whatever I said before, that Crawford's Scots deposition was carefully made into English for the English nobles and others. The two versions vary in points. The Lennox Draft opens with the conversations between Mary and Darnley, and ends with the earlier talk between Mary and Crawford. The States Papers version, more logically, reverses the positions. The Draft has erasions, interlineations, and, where the State Papers has 'moreover,' has 'thys' erased, and 'ferther' substituted, while the State Papers version, in place of 'ferther' (which is Scots) has 'moreover.' As far as I understand the position, the State Papers version is a corrected copy of the Lennox Draft.

At this point my long written examination of and reply to Mr. Henderson's criticism closed. I was unconverted to his views. But it occurred to me to make what I had not made so carefully before, a close comparison between our copies of Crawford's declaration and the Scots version of Letter II. The first thing obvious is that Crawford's account of his own conversation with Mary, when she entered Glasgow, differs greatly from the account in Letter II. It is longer; gives two reasons

¹ pp. 651. 652.

² pp. 648-650.

³ pp. 664-668.

why Lennox cannot come to meet her, while Letter II. only gives one; and contains self-defence and compliments which are not in Letter II. Moreover, Letter II. represents Lennox as desiring an inquiry into certain matters wherein Mary suspected him. Crawford has not this.

To Mary's remark 'there is no receipt against fear,' Crawford makes himself answer with spirit; and again he reports himself as saying that Lennox only wished that the secrets of every creature were legible in their faces. Letter II. makes Lennox, or Crawford, represent that she 'answered but rudely to the doubts that were in his letters.' Crawford makes no reference to any letters. Letter II. says that Crawford spoke beyond his commission; about an inquiry desired by Lennox. Crawford makes Mary ask him if he has any further commission.

These two accounts of the matter differ as much as any two independent accounts of a conversation are likely to do. What were the doubts in letters of Lennox's to which, in Letter II., Mary 'answered but rudely'? Probably they were passages in letters of Lennox to Darnley, 'at Stirling,' says Crawford, not so Letter II. Cunningham communicated Lennox's doubts to Mary, we surmise, and it was then (Letter II.) that Mary 'spoke rude words to Cunningham.'

Certainly, in this passage, Crawford does not borrow from Letter II., and who can believe that a forger, working on Crawford's version, could produce that of Letter II., and introduce the reference to Lennox's letters? If this was done, Lennox must have 'coached' the forger. The forger would ask, 'What was the affair of Cunningham?' Lennox would answer, 'Oh, he repeated to the Queen some doubts from letters written to my son by me: my son and she were quarrelling like wild cats at Stirling.' Then the forger, as a 'blind,' and to vary from Crawford's declaration, inserts the allusion to the letters, and the other variations!

This hypothesis any one may hold who pleases, but I cannot hold it. I believe Crawford's and Letter II. to be, here, independent and unborrowed versions. There follow in Letter II. two long paragraphs (3 and 4 in my text). Close as is the correspondence of the two versions of the conversations, *Crawford has some original points*. Thus (paragraph 6 in my text), the Scots Letter II. has 'Gif I may obtene pardoun, I protest I shall never mak fault agane.' Crawford has 'Yf I have made anye fayle, that ye but think a fayle,

howe so ever it be, I crave your pardone, and protest that I shall never fayle againe. . . .’ I believe that here Crawford writes from his original notes, dictated by Darnley.

Again, Scots Letter II. has ‘not being familiar with zow.’ Crawford has ‘ye and I not beinge as husband and wife ought to be,’ a much better expression. In both versions Darnley says that necessity compels or constrains him to keep his wrongs in his breast, when (Scots Letter II.) ‘yat causes me to tyne my wit for very anger.’ But Crawford has ‘that bringeth me in such melancholy as ye see I am.’ In paragraph (7) Mary writes, ‘I answerit ay unto him, *but that would be ovir lang to write at length.*’ Crawford has, ‘She annswered yt semed hym she was anoyed with hys sickness, and she would find a remedye so soon as she might.’ I think he had this from Darnley.

Again, Scots Letter II. has ‘I askit him why he wald pas away in the Inglis schip. He denyis it, and sweirs thair unto; but he grantis that he spak with the men’—that, and no more. Crawford, after his form of this, adds ‘he had spoken with the Englishman but not of mynde to go awaye with him, *and if he had, it had not bin without cause in respect of the maner how he was used, for he had neather to sustaine himsellf nor his servauntes, and needed not to make farder discourse thereof, for she knew yt as well as he.*’ On reflection, I think this addition is *part of Darnley’s speech*, not an *obiter dictum* by Crawford himself. That I am right can be demonstrated, though I have never seen the point taken. Mary, in paragraph 7 of Letter II., makes no reference to these brave words of Darnley’s, which Crawford quotes; Darnley’s reproaches about his ill treatment. But, on her *second* day of writing (paragraph 19 in my text),¹ she returns to the matter of the English ship. ‘He spak very braiffly, at ye beginning, as this beirer will schaw you, upon the purpois of the Inglisman, and of his departing. But in ye end he returnit agane to his humilitie.’ No man can believe that a forger, with Crawford’s declaration before him, took Darnley’s brave words given by Crawford as spoken ‘in the beginning,’ and made Mary first omit them, and, later, casually allude to them, ‘he spoke very bravely. . . .’ If no man can believe this, then Crawford’s declaration and Letter II. have independent sources. Letter II. is Mary’s own, the declaration is based by Crawford on his ‘lost’ notes or on memory.

There are many points in Letter II. which could not be

¹ *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, p. 407.

derived from Crawford's declaration, for Crawford says nothing about them. Here is one, in English spelling. 'He' (Darnley) 'showed, among other talk, that he knew well enough that my brother had shown me the thing which he' (Darnley) 'spoke in Stirling. Half of it' (of his words) 'he denies, and above all that he' (who?) 'ever came into his' (whose?) 'chamber.' Is the brother of Mary, here, the Earl of Moray or Lord Robert of Holyrood, who was rather friendly to Darnley? What did Darnley say at Stirling that a brother of Mary reported to her? Nobody knows: Crawford says nothing. A forger had nothing to gain by adding a paragraph which perhaps only Mary's brother understood. There are other such examples. *Enfin*, as far as my judgment is concerned, my scepticism is broken down—Mary wrote Letter II., the whole of it. I had long believed parts of it to be almost beyond doubt genuine.

In my book I said that parts of Letter II. seemed almost 'beyond the genius of forgery.' An example is the presence of a set of memoranda; one of them runs 'Of Monsieur de Levingstoun.' Immediately under this Mary writes: 'I had almost forgotten that Monsieur de Levingstoun' said something. If this be by a forger, I wrote, 'his craft seems superhuman.' But his craft is even more beyond belief when, after the passage about Minto and Highgate, he makes Mary write (to the entire confusion of the internal chronology) that *not till the day after her arrival* did Darnley confess his knowledge of the Highgait affair. Why forge this?

In my opinion, then, after a minute comparative study of Letter II. in Scots, and of Crawford's declaration, *the differences, not the verbal resemblances, between Crawford and Letter II. are the important point.* He is not merely using Letter II. as a source; and Letter II. is not based on his Declaration. The two versions differ more and more as they advance. The verbal identities may, in some cases, be the result of Crawford's transcribing on the instant Darnley's fresh memory of his conversations with Mary. Crawford based his Declaration mainly, I think, on these notes of the moment, which Lennox possessed; Mr. Henderson's belief that he had lost them is purely subjective. I do not know on what evidence he holds this opinion.

In short, the comparison of Scots Letter II. with the English translation of Crawford's Declaration convinces me that my hypothesis—Letter II. partly based on Crawford—is impossible. Mary wrote the whole letter!

Then why, I may be asked, did Lennox not quote Letter II. in the Lennox Charges? Perhaps because, as Mr. Henderson used to believe, Wood did not, in June, 1568, show him the Letters (though he must have told Lennox that they proved Mary's guilt). The secret was perhaps not entrusted to Lennox in full detail at that time, or, at least, he had not a written 'copy of the letter.' He had only Moray's absurd version. Later, his Scottish correspondent (in MS. Oo. 7. 47. fol. 7.) may have sent the promised 'copy of the letter' (Letter II.?). That may even be the copy of Letter II. in the Lennox MSS. at Cambridge.

But I cannot imitate Mr. Henderson's certainty of opinion. It may even be that Lennox in Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b quotes from Moray's version, out of sheer stupidity. The document (Mr. Henderson's *Bill of Supplication* of May 28, 1568) is rife with equally absurd self-contradictions. Lennox probably had a written copy of Murray's version; he may have thought 'it will do well enough.'

However this point may be settled, by reason of the differences between Letter II. and Crawford I have converted myself; I have attained, on this point, to that certainty in which Mr. Henderson abounds. But it is due to him to say that, in a passage which I did not remark till this paper was type-written, he gave me the clue to the labyrinth. He wrote (p. 633) that Letter II. 'contains information independent of Crawford's Declaration and other Lennox sources: this, and the convincing nature of other evidence, external and internal, renders it impossible to doubt its genuineness.'

I believe these remarks to be true. If Mr. Henderson had worked out his suggestion in detail, as I have done, —then the glory of my conversion would have been, under Providence, his own.

Indirectly it is his own. But for his Appendix A, I might never have looked into the problem of the Casket Letters again. I did so with that 'open-mindedness' which, he charitably says, might possibly be better termed 'wide-awakeness.'¹ In the same not unsportsmanlike spirit I report the result of my fresh examination of the problem. My arguments for the authenticity of Letter II. may be overthrown: I shall then withdraw them. But now, in my opinion, it is 'Lombard Street to a China orange' in favour of the genuineness of Letter II.

A. LANG.

¹p. 622.

The Templars in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century

THE Knights-Templars are surrounded by the halo of romance and the glamour of chivalry. Their rapid rise from a small and insignificant beginning to great wealth and power, their brilliant military career with its heroic deeds of daring, and their fall at last amid persecution into dishonoured oblivion—such a tragedy, enacted on the stage of the Christian world in the Middle Ages, rivets attention, and calls forth sympathy. It possesses all the fascination of the enigmatical and mysterious. For, when all has been said, the fall of the Templars retains elements of doubt and difficulty, which make the solution of the problem presented by it perplexing in no ordinary degree.

At present, we are concerned only with the later years of the Templars' history, and as to those years, one only requires to get, so to speak, into intimate relations with the Knights, in order to discover that their right to be regarded with veneration and respect is questionable. Overbearing carriage and want of tact¹ had caused the contemporary judgment of their conduct to be unfavourable, and this even in an age which was certainly not unduly sensitive. Pride, as is well known, was attributed to them by King Richard in the twelfth century, and at the end of the thirteenth an additional hundred years of wealth and warfare had not weakened their besetting sin. After the fall of Acre there was no military outlet for their energies, which were, thereafter, used in doubtful, and often mischievous directions. 'He must needs go that the devil drives,' and

¹The Templar of Tyre gives details of the complete want of tact shown by Jacques de Molay in dealing with his debtor, the King of France. It was a blunder to throw a Papal letter into the fire, especially in the presence of the bearer, who happened to be also one of the aggrieved parties. Jacques de Molay is reported to have done this. Vide *Gestes des Chiprois* (*Société de l'Orient Latin*), pp. 329-30.

the pace is seldom regulated by prudence. The Templars hurried towards their doom, their powers of resistance to their enemies weakened by internal dissensions, and their fame darkened by deeds of violence and greed. Avarice, and disregard of truth and justice, where the aggrandisement of their Order was concerned, were features of the history of their latter years.

It is, however, becoming increasingly clear that heresy was not one of their sins. Their faults really lay in the region of conduct, not of belief.¹ They were not theologians, but warriors. They made enemies not only by reason of their deeds of violence and injustice, but also through blunders in policy and bearing, displaying gross want of wisdom.

This estimate receives remarkable corroboration from a minute narrative of certain doings in Midlothian at the end of the thirteenth century, preserved in a Charter of date 1354. The deed containing this record was first mentioned by Dr. John Stewart in his Report to the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the writs of Mr. Dundas of Arniston. It is now preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh.² Although referred to on more than one occasion, it has not hitherto been printed in full.³ It is so extraordinary as to raise doubts at first sight as to its being a faithful narrative, but consideration of all the details leaves little room for hesitancy in accepting the substantial accuracy of the facts set forth.

The first part of the story is largely concerned with events in Scotland shortly before, and at the time of, the battle of Falkirk, and it is to be noted that in King Edward's host there was a large body of Welsh mercenaries⁴—a subject which does not appear to have received from Scottish historians the attention it deserves. The difficulty the King had in raising troops for his wars in Flanders and Scotland—both in the

¹ Dr. Gmelin points out that no single Templar really confessed to any heresy as his firm conviction. There is entire absence of that dogged adherence to opinion which is characteristic of heretics in all ages (Gmelin, *Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens*, p. 507).

² *Calendar of Charters*, vol. i. No. 122.

³ The late Mr. Robert Aitken in an article which appeared in *The Scottish Review* for July, 1898, on *The Knights Templars in Scotland*, quoted considerable portions of this Charter.

⁴ Mr. Gough has printed documents proving that King Edward had issued writs to raise 11,300 foot from Wales, and the neighbouring shires of Salop, Stafford, and Chester. *Scotland in 1298*, p. 63.

same year—is well known. He would not have trusted to these Cymric clansmen, we may be sure, could he have done otherwise. He had no alternative, however, as the usual feudal sources were exhausted.

According to the Chronicler the Welsh failed him :

‘The Walsch folk that tide did nouthur ille no gode,
Thei held tham all biside, upon a hille thei stode.
Ther thei stode that while, tille the bataile was don ;
Was never withouten gile Walsh man no Breton.
For thei ever in weir, men so of tham told,
Whilk was best banere, with that side for to hold.
Saynt Bede sais it for lore, and I say it in ryme,
Walsh man salte never more luf Inglis man no tyme.’¹

By the testimony of other contemporary writers, they did worse than stand aloof at the critical moment. Walter of Hemingburgh, who goes into details, states that two hundred casks of wine were brought by the King’s provision ships and distributed throughout the army. Of these, two were assigned to the Welsh—not many, certainly, for so large a number of men. He says that the intention was thereby to impart Dutch courage to these doubtful auxiliaries!² They naturally wanted additional liquor, and as the ecclesiastics in the Army were thought by them to have got more than their share, in the fight which ensued, eighteen priests, we are told, were slain, and many others wounded. Thereupon the cavalry turned out, and before order was restored, eighty Welshmen had been slain, and the rest of the rioters put to flight. The Welsh were evidently undisciplined troops, and probably a source of great anxiety to the King and his officers. A description by an eye-witness (Louis Van Velthem) who saw them in Flanders that same year may be quoted, he says : ‘One saw the curious manners of the Welsh. In mid-winter, they were in the habit of running about with bare legs, wearing a red tunic. They could not be warm. The money which they received from the [English] King was spent on milk and butter. They used to eat and drink on every occasion no matter where they were. I never saw them wear any armour. I examined them repeatedly and carefully, going among them in order to ascertain what defensive weapons they made use of in the field.

¹ Langtoft, *Chronicle* (Hearne), vol. ii. p. 306.

² *Ad refocillandas eorum animas, eo quod valde defecerant et moriebantur glomeratim.* Walter of Hemingburgh (English Historical Society), vol. ii. p. 176.

They carried as arms, bows, arrows, and swords; they had also javelins, and wore linen garments. They were great drinkers (*grands buveurs*). They were encamped at the village of St. Pierre [lez Gand]. They did great injury to the Flemings.¹ Their pay was too small, and it was their custom to make it up by laying hands on what did not belong to them.'²

So much for the character of King Edward's Welsh troops.

Another point may be shortly referred to. The Charter is granted by 'Brother Thomas de Lindesay, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem within the Realm of Scotland.' He is the eighth Scottish Master of the Hospitallers whose name is known to us.

Brother Thomas de Lindesay was sent into Scotland in 1351 by the Prior of England, Philip de Thame, 'to take charge of the possessions and goods of the Hospital and of the Temple there.' It will be noticed that the place of granting is not Torphichen, but Balantrudach.³ He appears to have been resident there at this time, and from the indications of the deed itself the conclusion may be formed that he had a difficult rôle to play. Since the battle of Durham, or Neville's Cross (1346), David II. had been a prisoner. His nephew, the Steward, had been re-elected Guardian, but the Scottish Government was weak, while King Edward III. was

¹The Chronicler probably means that they did this injury by their example of want of discipline.

²*Spiegel Historiaal*, livre iv. chap. ii. pp. 215-16, quoted by F. Funck-Brentano, *Annales Gandenses*, p. 7. The English, as well as the Welsh troops, were unpopular in the Low Countries. The Minorite friar, author of the *Annales Gandenses*, speaks in bitter terms of their conduct, and of the two days' riot between them and the Flemings of Ghent resulting from it. He declares that 'the English—most ungrateful of men, consuetam trahentes caudam—tailed as usual, were eager to pillage the town, and to put all opponents to death. They set fire to it, therefore, at four different points, so that the inhabitants, in their efforts to extinguish the flames at these four separate corners, might be taken unawares, and spoiled of their goods with comparative ease' (*Annales Gandenses*, sub anno 1298).

³Balantrudach, now the modern parish of Temple in Midlothian. Dr. George Henderson, in a letter to the writer, gives its composition as *Baile*, stead, hamlet, townland; *an* the article; and *trod*, quarrel, *trodach*, quarrelsome. Its situation, to the south-west of the Pentland (Pictland) Hills, in the debateable land in early times between Celt and Saxon, renders 'Battlestead' a thoroughly appropriate name. The principal preceptory of the Knights Templars in the peaceful valley of the South Esk with the old parish church—an interesting pre-reformation building now roofless—is now far removed from all associations of strife, but this was not its early character.

a strong and strenuous ruler, swift to seize upon every opportunity for intervening, and thus strengthening his hold upon the smaller kingdom. Hence Brother Thomas shows an anxious desire to avoid everything savouring of injustice and high-handed dealing, which might give ground for appeals against his Order. He wishes manifestly to establish a character for equity and fairness between man and man, so that, come what might, he and they would be safe.

TRANSLATION OF CHARTER BY BROTHER THOMAS DE LINDESAY MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM TO ROBERT, SON OF ALEXANDER SYMPLE OF HAUKERSTOUN.

1354.

Translation. To All the sons of the Holy Mother Church to whom these presents shall come Brother Thomas de Lindesay Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem within the Realm of Scotland [Wisheth] Everlasting Salvation in the Lord Whereas Robert Symple son of Alexander Symple of Haukerstoun in our Courts holden at 'Blantro-dokis' and other public places frequently in the most earnest way possible besought us to grant him justice, and to give him an Assize of faithful men regarding a certain land or tenement lying within the territory of Esperstoun which belonged to the foresaid Alexander his father, declaring always before witnesses that if we refused to grant him full justice in our Court, he would in that case obtain redress by means of letters from the King's Chancery. Accordingly we being desirous to do justice and also fearing lest the King¹ or his Minister on our refusal, should take the matter in hand, which might result in great prejudice to our privileges, took counsel with our Brethren and legal experts first of all, and by common assent and consent of our Chapter held in our principal Court at 'Blantro-dokis' on Wednesday the 30th day of the month of April A.D. 1354, the said Robert Symple having personally appeared in our presence seeking justice as formerly touching his petition, granted to him an Assize; to which Assize we did choose by ourselves and our brethren of the Chapter the soothfast and honourable men, as well free tenants as others underwritten, from the best and most reverend of our whole lordship through whom the truth of the matter might be better known, and for this purpose they touched the holy Gospels and took the greater oath, namely William Slyeth² of Temple, Laurence son of Peter, Thómas de Megeth, John de Elewoldschawe, Richard de Yorkistoun, Adam Hoy, Richard de Esthouse, William Broun, Richard Doune, Richard de Croshauhope, William son of Mariota, Hugh de Haukyrstoun, and Patrick son of David Sutor of Arnaldistoun: Who being sworn and accorded, narrating the whole progress [of title] of the said land or holding from the beginning unto the end, in what manner it came into the hands of the Templars and by what means

¹ Edward III.

² Bailiff of the Hospitallers at Balantro-dach.

it had been recovered from them, in virtue of their oath duly given say that there was a certain man, by name Robert the Scot, who was true lord and just possessor of the said land and died lawfully vest and seized in the same; that he had a daughter who succeeded him as heiress, by name Christiana, whom William son of Galfrid of Haukirstoun¹ married, and by whom the said William had three sons, vizt. Richard Coque, William called William son of Christiana, and Brounin his younger brother; that the said William son of Galfrid, more given to ease than to labour, during his life, conveyed the said land—the patrimony of his said wife, for his lifetime, to the Templars in return for his maintenance, seeing that he could not make a more ample alienation of the said land; whereby he moved it away from his wife and not away from himself. The said William accordingly lived in the house of the Temple and the said Christiana his wife dwelt in a certain residence on the said property assigned to her though barely sufficient for the support of herself and her boys, until the death of the said William her husband. On his death, there came to the home of the said Christiana the Master of the House of the Temple with his followers at Esperstoun. Wishing to drive her forth from her home and property, he said that he had bought the said land from her deceased husband; but this the said Christiana controverted and expressly denied, declaring to him that her husband neither sold to him the said land nor could in any manner do so, as that land was her property and not her husband's. But the foresaid Master, in no wise desisting on account of her declarations, ordered his followers to drag her forth from her house, and she, resisting this with all her might, closed the doors of the house by which the brethren—followers of the said Master—had entered, and they dragged her to the door, and when she had reached the house-door, she put her arms in the vault of the door and thus twining them she held on firmly so that they could not pull her forth. Seeing this one of the followers of the Master drew out his knife and cut off one of Christiana's fingers, and they thus forcibly and wrongfully expelled her, wounded by the amputation of her finger, sobbing and shrieking, from her home and heritage, and the Master foresaid in this manner intruded himself by main force '*de facto*,' seeing that he could not do so '*de jure*.' The said Christiana, thus illegally expelled, maltreated and foully injured, approached the Royal Court and was at length conducted into the King's presence at Newbotill,² and she then declared the whole facts and the injury done to her by the mutilation of her member. The King having heard these things was greatly moved and ordered inquiry to be made in the premises by Writ in Chancery by which the truth was known and the said Christiana was forthwith again infeft in her said land and lawfully and honourably restored to the same, and thereafter remained in peaceable possession

¹ Galfrid le Simple appears more than once as a messenger in the English Wardrobe Accounts of 1299-1300 (*Liber Quot. Gard.*, pp. 297-8).

² Edward I. of England. He was at Newbotle on Tuesday, 5th June, 1296, and left for Holyrood next day. Gough, *Itinerary*, ii. p. 280.

thereof for a lengthened period. But afterwards war having broken out and increasing between the Kingdoms, the gates of justice were closed and the foresaid Master of the Temple a second time took forcible possession of the said land, the said Christiana being illegally driven forth as formerly; and having thus taken possession he retained it contrary to justice, for some time, namely, up to the date of the Battle of Falkirk¹ in which battle the said Master whose name was Brian de Jaia took part and led from England with him a large body of Welshmen and came to 'Blantrodokis' four days before the said battle and there dwelt. Thereupon Richard Cook the above mentioned eldest son of the said Christiana heard of the arrival of the foresaid Master and appeared in his presence and sought of him his land, which the Master himself retained having illegally expelled his mother. But the Master deceitfully requested him on the morrow to come and guide the said Welshmen to Listoun, promising to do him justice regarding his land there; but the said Master meanwhile arranged with the Captain of the said force to slay the said Richard, which was done; for on the morrow as the said Richard came to guide the said Welshmen from 'Balintrodokis' to Listoun they murdered the said Richard in the Wood of Clerkyntoun² and left his body there after they had rifled it. And thus the said land was illegally retained in the hands of the said Templars, where it remained for some time afterwards, namely up to the time of their destruction³ which took place in the reign of the most serene prince King Robert the Illustrious, in whose time William son of the said Christiana and at that time heir to her and to his brother the said murdered Richard obtained formal letters from the King's Chancery directed to the Sheriff and Bailies of Edinburgh regarding his right in and to the said land which had belonged to his said mother; whereupon a faithful Inquisition being made with diligence by the said Sheriff in the premises by means of the elder and more trustworthy men of the whole neighbourhood⁴ it was clearly ascertained that the said land or holding was the property of the said Christiana the mother of the said William in which she was vest and seized; which land the said Christiana never gave nor sold nor alienated in any way in favour of anyone. And although William the son of Galfrid her husband before-mentioned placed the said land in the hands of the Templars by a certain agreement for his lifetime, it was rendered null by law, since this agreement had and could have no force after his death, seeing that the said land was the estate of his wife, and consequently the foresaid Templars could have no right by virtue of such an agreement or alienation made by her said husband in and to the said land on his death, nor was their claim of any validity after his death: Moreover it was ascertained that William son of the said Christiana was son and nearest heir

¹ 1298.

² Now Rosebery.

³ In Scotland, November, 1309. See *Processus contra Templarios in Scotia* (Spottiswoode Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 7).

⁴ *Patria*. This term is used in a restricted sense, signifying the vicinity outside the walls of the Religious house. Vide Raine, *North Durham*, p. 124.

of his said mother and of lawful age: And the truth of the matter having been thus faithfully ascertained and declared in due order of law, the said William son of Christiana obtained heritable seizin of the said land or tenement with its pertinents which belonged to his foresaid mother, justly and legally, and thus brought into true and peaceful possession of the same, and freely and peacefully vest and seized, he enjoyed for many years the said land with all its pertinents: And the said jurors say unanimously that these things are true: And they say further that the said William son of the foresaid Christiana afterwards in the greatest and most urgent necessity, gave, granted, and heritably in all time coming disposed his said land or holding with all its pertinents to his dear kinsman Alexander Symple before-named and his heirs for a certain sum of money which the said Alexander gave and fully paid: Of which land or holding with its pertinents the foresaid Alexander obtained from the Superior who at that time held the lordship of 'Blantrodokis'¹ heritable seizin in due form, and being lawfully put into corporal possession of the same, remained vest and seized of the said land or tenement with its pertinents for many years in peaceful possession: And they say that the said Robert Symple is the son and heir of the said Alexander his father and of lawful age: These things say the said jurors with one accord in all the premises in virtue of their oath taken by them: Therefore We having God before our eyes and wishing to do justice to everyone do grant to the said Robert as son and heir of the foresaid Alexander Symple the full infeftment lawfully due to him in the said land or tenement with all and singular the pertinents thereof in God's name, and do deliver to him heritable seizin with our own hands by common consent of our Brethren at Haukyrstoun² upon Monday on the Feast of St. Dunstan Archbishop³ in the year above mentioned, before these Witnesses William Sleeth of Temple, Laurence son of Peter, William Tod, John son of Roger, Laurence Squire and many others: Nevertheless we ordain by these our letters patent Adam called Morcell our Serjeant of 'Blantrodokis' to put the said Robert Symple upon the ground of the said land or holding into corporal possession of the same with its pertinents saving the rights of every one: Which Adam Morcell, having cited the worthy men by virtue of our precept, upon the ground of the said land or holding gave corporal heritable seizin of the same with all its pertinents to the said Robert Symple upon Tuesday on the morrow of the said feast of St. Dunstan in the year before written in the presence of the good men witnesses to the said seizin, vizt.: William Slieth foresaid at that time our Bailiff at 'Blantrodokis,' Laurence son of Peter, Adam de Hermistoun, Thomas de Megeth, Alan de Yorkystoun, Adam de Wedale, at that time our Forester at 'Blantrodocis,' John de Catkoyn, John Tod, Alan de Wedale,

¹ Probably Reginald More, who had a grant from Brother Ralph de Lindesay [1309-1333].

² *Halkerstoun, prebenda in collegio de Creichtoun (Reg. Mag. Sig. I. Jac. iv. No. 1784).*

³ 19th May.

William son of Mariota, Richard de Yorkystoun, William Tod, William Brown, John de Camera, Alan son of Symon de Herioth, Thomas son of Hugh de Middelout, Robert Morcell, Oliver Fuller, Patrick Sutor, Patrick Morcell, John Bell de Locworward, the said Adam Morcell our Serjeant and many others: And that all these premises may be kept in memory, that the truth of the matter may be known in future time we have caused these our Letters patent to be sealed with our Common Seal: Given at 'Blantrodocis' on the day and year above said.

After reading this Charter one naturally asks if the Templars were charged with instigating the murder of Richard. Strange to say they were not, when in 1309 they were tried in Scotland. Forty-eight witnesses, including the accused themselves, were examined; not one of them says a definite word about the murder. There is a monk from Newbotle—the eighth witness—and we turn to his evidence with expectation, for it was at Newbotle that Christiana told her story to King Edward thirteen years before, and subsequent developments would surely be known to such near neighbours. But Adam of Wedale confines himself entirely to general statements. After concurring in the evidence of previous witnesses regarding the secrecy observed at the meetings of the Chapters of the Templars, he adds: 'The Order is defamed in manifold ways by unjust acquisitions, for it seeks to appropriate the goods and property of its neighbours justly and unjustly with equal indifference, and does not cultivate hospitality except towards the rich and powerful, for fear of dispersing its possessions in alms.'¹ He evidently knows more than comes out, but is either afraid to speak frankly and freely, or considers that in a trial for heresy evidence of cruel oppression and homicide would not count for much, as compared with proof of falling away from the orthodox faith. We must remember that heresy was looked upon as far more heinous than moral depravity. 'Suspected heretics had practically no legal rights, and their capture was the highest duty of all secular officials.'²

The Templars paid dearly for their possessions and moral delinquencies. Their pride, avarice, and cruelty brought upon them a heavy retribution, though they were innocent of the charges of heresy brought against them. These latter were supported by evidence of the most flimsy kind. In fact, the case and its issue may be very fairly summed up in the words of

¹ *Processus factus contra Templarios in Scotia* (Spottiswoode Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 14).

² H. C. Lea, *English Historical Review*, iii. p. 152.

Dr. Gmelin: 'So ist, wollen wir alles zusammenfassen, zu sagen, dass die Unterdrückung des Templerordens ist und bleibt ein schmachvolles, in keiner Weise zu rechtfertigendes, Unrecht.'¹

Turning to the Hospitallers in Scotland in the fourteenth century, what light does the procedure detailed in the Charter shed upon their position? It discloses one or two points. For instance, we see that they were in effective possession at this date (1354) of Balantrodach, the Templars' principal preceptory. They were administering the Barony by their own officers—William Slyeth, Bailiff, Adam Morcell, Serjeant, and Adam de Wedale, Forester, are all mentioned. Their own tenants, to the number of thirteen, form the jury who try the question of heritable right. It is thus clear that, however uncertain their future undisturbed enjoyment of the property may have seemed, actual possession had been ceded to them.

As to their own preceptory at Torphichen we get no information. Brother Thomas de Lindesay, as we have seen, is not resident there at the date of the Charter, and the Chapter is mentioned as being held at 'our principal court at Balantrodach.' One might argue from this that the War of Independence had compelled the Order to vacate Torphichen, and that a Warden having been put in by Bruce they had not recovered possession. The reference to the times of 'the most serene prince King Robert the Illustrious' (the only King mentioned by name in the deed) is very courtly, and there seems to be a politic attempt to point out that the suppression of the Templars in Scotland, having taken place in his reign, responsibility for it lay upon him; the inference being that the patriotic party were thus bound to see that the Hospitallers, who had been solemnly declared their heirs, were put into possession of all Temple lands throughout the realm.

JOHN EDWARDS.

¹Gmelin, *Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens*, p. 510. This work is an exhaustive critical examination of the case from beginning to end. The twenty carefully prepared Tables forming the appendix give an elaborate analysis of the testimony of the so-called witnesses.

TEXT OF CHARTER BY BROTHER THOMAS DE LINDESAY
MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM
TO ROBERT, SON OF ALEXANDER SYMPLE OF HAUKERSTOUN.

1354.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint frater Thomas de Lindesay Magister hospitalitatis sancti Johannis de Jerusalem infra Regnum Scocie Salutem in Domino sempiternam Cum Robertus Symple filius Alexandri Symple de Hawkerstoun sepe in curiis nostris tentis apud Blantrodokis et aliis locis publicis nos petebat instanter instancius et instantissime sibi iusticiam facere ac assisam fidelem sibi dare super quadam terra seu tenemento infra territorium de Esperstoun jacente que fuit prefati Alexandri patris sui protestans semper coram testibus quod si iuris complementum sibi concedere noluimus in curia nostra in defectu nostro litteras Capelle Regie pro iusticia habenda impetraret Nos vero iusticie inclinati necnon timentes si Rex aut Minister eius taliter defectu nostro se intromitterent quod potuerit redundare in preiudicium libertatum nostrarum non modicum concilio prius cum fratribus nostris ac iure peritis habito ex communi consensu et assensu capituli nostri in Curia nostra Capitali tenta apud Blantrodokis die Mercurii ultimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Domini Millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo quarto prefato Roberto Symple in presencia nostra personaliter constituto iusticiam petenti ut prius super petitione sua assisam sibi concessissimus ad quam assisam per nos et fratres nostros Capituli eligere fecimus viros fidedignos et insuspectos tam liberos tenentes quam alios subscriptos de melioribus et antiquioribus tocuis domini nostri per quos Rei veritas melius sciri poterat et ad hoc tactis sacrosanctis ewangelis maiore sacramento jurato videlicet Willelmum Slyeth de Templo Laurencium filium Petri Thomam de Megeth Iohannem de Elewoldschawe Ricardum de Yorkistoun Adam Hoy Ricardum de Esthous Willelmum Broun Ricardum Donne Ricardum de Croshauhope Willelmum filium Mariote Hugonem de Haukystoun et Patricium filium David Sutoris de Arnaldistoun Qui iurati et concordati totum processum dicte terre seu tenementi recitantes a principio usque ad finem quomodo fuit in manibus templariorum et qualiter recuperata erat ab eisdem in virtute sacramenti sui prestiti dicunt quod fuit vir quidam Robertus nomine Scotus qui fuit verus dominus et iustus possessor eiusdem terre et iuste vestitus et saysitus obiit de eadem qui habuit filiam heredem sibi succedentem nomine Cristianam quam quidem Cristianam Willelmus filius Galfridi de Haukirstoun desponsavit et tres filios ex ea genuit scilicet Ricardum Coqum Willelmum qui dicebatur Willelmus filius Cristiane et Brouninum fratrem eius juniorem Dictus vero Willelmus filius Galfridi maius ocio deditus dum vixit quam labori dictam terram hereditatem uxoris sue predictae in manibus templariorum posuit pro sustentatione sue ad tempus vite sue cum amplio alienationem de dicta terra facere non potuit Ex quo ex parte uxoris sue movebat et non ex parte sui ipso quoque Willelmo in domo templi sic existente dicta Cristiana uxor eius morabatur in mansione dicte terre portione quadam eiusdem terre sibi assignata licet modica pro sustentatione sua et puerorum suorum usque ad mortem dicti Willelmi viri sui. Eo vero mortuo venit magister domus templi cum clientibus suis apud Esperstoun ad domum dicte Cristiane volens eam expellere de domo et hereditate sua dixit se emisse dictam terram a marito suo iam defuncto; prefata vero Cristiana contradixit et hoc expresse negavit ostendens ei quod maritus eius nunquam dictam terram sic vendidit nec vendere potuit quomodo cum illa terra fuit hereditas sua et non mariti sui; Magister vero

prefatus non propter allegationes suas dimittens precepit clientibus suis extrahere eam de domo sua que pro viribus suis resistens hostia domus clausit quibus fratris clientes dicti magistri domum intraverunt et illam usque ad hostium trahebant; Cumque ipsa ad hostium domus provenisse utraque brachia in arcu hostii ponebat Et ita ea plectendo fortiter tenebat quod illam extrahere non potuerunt; Videns hoc unus ex clientibus magistri evaginavit cultellum suum et abcidit unum digitum ipsius Cristiane et sic eam vulneratam digito suo amputato clamantem et ululantem de domo et hereditate sua per vim iniuste extraxerunt, magistro predicto sic se intrudente per potenciam suam de facto cum de iure non potuit; Prefata vero Cristiana sic iniuste expulsa vexata ac enormiter lesa Curiam Regiam est executā; ac in presencia Regis tandem deducta apud Neubotill totum factum ac iniuriam sibi latam cum mutilatione membri sui ostendit Quibus auditis Rex mirabiliter stupefactus fecit inquirere super premissis per litteras in forma Capelle sue, unde cognita veritate dicta Cristiana fuit statim in dictam terram suam resaysita ac iuste et honorifice restituta ad eandem; Et post in pacifica possessione eiusdem per magnum tempus stetit; Postea vero guerra mota et crescente inter regna ianuīs iusticie clausis, predictus magister templi iterato in dictam terram, Cristiana prefata iniuste per vim expulsa, de facto se intrusit ut prius et sic intrusus per aliquod tempus contra iusticiam eam detinuit videlicet videlicet (*sic*) usque ad tempus belli varie capelle; ad quod bellum dictus magister nomine Brianus de Jaia se disposuit et adduxit de Anglia secum magnam comitiam de gente Cambrensi et venit apud Blantrokokis per quatuor dies ante dictum bellum et ibi pernoctavit; Audiens autem Ricardus Coqus supramemoratus filius Cristiane antedictæ primogenitus adventum magistri prenominati, constitutus in presencia eius petebat ab eo terram suam quam matre sua iniuste expulsa, ipse magister detinuit (*sic*); Magister vero dissimulans precepit illi ut in crastino veniret ad conducendum dictas gentes Cambrenses apud Listoun; promittens sibi grāciam ibi facere de terra sua: Magister vero predictus interim convenit cum capitaneo dicte gentis ut dictum Ricardum interficeret quod ita factum est Crastino vero veniens idem Ricardus ut dictas gentes Cambrenses conduceret de Balintrodokis versus Listoun ipsum Ricardum in Nemore de Clerkyntoun interfecerunt, Et ibi mortuum et spoliatum relinquerunt; Et sic dicta terra in manibus dictorum templariorum iniuste detenta adhuc remansit per aliquod tempus post, videlicet usque ad tempus destructionis illorum quod fuit in tempore Serenissimi principis Regis Roberti illustris; Tempore cuius Willelmus filius Cristiane prenominate filius et heres tunc eiusdem ac fratris dicti Ricardi interfecti litteras Regis in forma Capelle sue prout juris ordo exposulaverat vicecomiti et ballivis suis de Edinburgh directas super iure suo quantum ad predictam terram que fuit matris sue prefate impetravit; Unde inquisitione fideli cum diligencia facta per vicecomitem predictum super premissis per antiquiores homines fidedigniores tocius patrie et insuspectos plane compertum fuit quod predicta terra seu tenementum fuit hereditas dicte Cristiane matris dicti Willelmi de qua fuit vestita et saysita quam quidem terram dicta Cristiana nunquam dedit nec vendidit nec alicui quoquomodo alienavit; et licet Willelmus filius Galfridi maritus suus supramemoratus dictam terram in manibus templariorum per aliquam conventionem posuit pro tempore vite sue Discussum fuit de iure, quod hec convencio post mortem suam nullam vim habuit nec habere potuit, ex quo terra predicta fuit hereditas uxoris sue, et per consequens templarii antedicti nullum ius causa talis convencionis seu alienacionis per dictum maritum suum factum in dictam terram eo mortuo habere potuerunt nec clamen illorum alicuius vigoris erat post decessum eius Preterea compertum fuit quod Willelmus filius Cristiane predictæ fuit filius et propinquior heres eiusdem Cristiane matris sue et legitime etatis, Et

sic rei veritate fideliter inquisita et expressata ordine iuris in omnibus servato Idem Willelmus filius Cristiane saysinam hereditariam de dicta terra seu tenemento quod fuit matris sue predicte cum pertinenciis iuste et legitime optinuit et in vera ac pacifica possessione eiusdem deductus per plures annos dictam terram cum omnibus pertinenciis suis libere et pacifice vestitus et saysitus gaudebat, Predicti vero Iurati dicunt unanimiter ista esse vera, dicunt et ulterius quod dictus Willelmus filius Cristiane predicte postea urgente maxima necessitate predictam terram suam seu tenementum cum omnibus suis pertinenciis de se et heredibus suis dilecto consanguineo suo Alexandro Symple prenominato et heredibus suis dedit concessit ac hereditarie in perpetuum tradidit pro quadam summa pecunie quam dictus Alexander eidem Willelmo filio Cristiane in sua magna necessitate dedit et integraliter persolvit De qua terra seu tenemento cum pertinenciis predictus Alexander per superiorem qui dominium de Blantrodkis pro tunc habebat in forma qua decet saysinam hereditarie optinuit, ac in corporalem possessionem eiusdem iuste deductus in dicta terra seu tenemento cum pertinenciis per annos non paucos in pacifica possessione extitit vestitus et saysitus de eadem; Dicunt etiam quod dictus Robertus Symple est filius et heres dicti Alexandri patris sui et legitime etatis Ista dicunt predicti iurati concordati in omnibus in virtute sacramenti sui prestiti; Nos igitur Deum pro oculis habentes ac volentes iusticiam facere cuilibet predicto Roberto filio et heredi Alexandri Symple prefati plenum statum sibi de iure debitum de dicta terra seu tenemento cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinenciis in Dei nomine concessimus ac sibi hereditarie saysinam manibus nostris propriis per commune assensum fratrum nostrorum tradidimus apud Haukystoun die Lune in festo Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopo anno supradicto Hiis testibus Willielmo Sleeth de Templo Laurencio filio Petri Willielmo Tod Iohanne filio Roger Laurencio armigero et aliis pluribus; Nichillominus precipiendo mandavimus per literas nostras patentes Ade dicto Morcell seriando nostro de Blantrodkis quod ipse dictum Robertum Symple super territorium dicte terre seu tenementi in corporalem possessionem eiusdem cum pertinenciis inponeret cuiuslibet iure salvo; Qui quidem Adam Morcell citatis fidedignis precepto nostro mediante eidem Roberto Symple de dicta terra seu tenemento cum omnibus suis pertinenciis super territorio eiusdem Saysinam hereditarie tradidit corporalem die Martis in Crastino dicti festi sancti Dunstani anno prescripto in presencia bonorum virorum dictam saysinam attestancium videlicet Willielmi Slieth predicti tunc temporis ballivi nostri de Blantrodkis Laurencii filii Petri Ade de Hermistoun Thome de Megeth Alani de Yorkystoun Ade de Wedale forestar nostri tunc temporis de Blantrodcis Iohannis de Catkoyne Iohannis Tod, Alani de Wedale Willielmi filii Mariote Ricardi de Yorkystoun, Willielmi Tod, Willielmi Broun, Iohannis de Camera, Alani filii Symonis de Herioth Thome filii Hugonis de Middiltoun Roberti Morcell Oliveri Fullonis Patricii Sutor Patricii Morcell Iohannis Bell de Locworward Ade Morcell Seriani nostri predicti et aliorum multorum; Et ut hec omnia premissa ad memoriam possint reduci pro rei veritate cognoscenda in posterum presentes literas sigillo nostro signatas communi fieri fecimus patentes; Datum apud Blantrodcis die et anno supradictis.

[Seal gone.]

The 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray

The Reign of Edward III., as recorded in 1356 by Sir Thomas Gray in the 'Scalacronica,' and now translated by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., continued.

At Christmastide preceding an English knight, James de Pipe, was surprised in the tower of Epernon which he had won from the French. He was so confident in the strength and height of the keep that he did not set a proper watch; and, having caused a low window to be built up, the fortress was lost through the said window, by the wile of a French mason who built it up dishonestly. The said James was taken in his bed, and also the knight Thomas de Beaumont, who had come to lodge the night with him as he was travelling from one district to another on safe conduct. Both of these, and their property, were under safe conduct of the Regent, the king's son. Now the said James had not discharged his ransom for the other time that he was captured in season before, having been taken near *Graunsoures*, as he and the English knight Otis de Holland were travelling from the King of Navarre at Evreux, when the said Otis was wounded and died thereof. From which former captivity the said James was rescued from the hands of the enemy by his well-wishers the English, who were in garrison throughout the country. Having espied that, at a certain hour of the day, he was accustomed to go and ease himself outside the castle of *Auneuyle* where he was detained, they concealed themselves near at hand, found him at the place, took him away, and declared that he was rescued. Those who had captured him and in whose keeping he was a prisoner maintained that this was not a proper rescue, but contrary to his parole, inasmuch as he had assured

them he would observe ward loyally without deceit, collusion or evil design. They blamed him for this and charged him with it openly, telling him that the said English had arranged this ambush against the laws of loyal chivalry [acting upon] his instigation, information, procurement, command and design. In consequence whereof they afterwards agreed upon a sum of ransom, of which he had provided and laid by much with him in the said tower.

In the same season about the feast of the Purification, an English knight, Robert Herle, who was Guardian of Brittany for the King of England, was in the field against the Welsh Bretons¹ near *Dowle*, where there was a river between him and his enemy; and when the English were descending, thinking that they might find a bridge (but this was broken for there was a great flood in the river), an English knight, Robert de Knollys, coming on the other side [of the river] out of Brittany [leaving] his fortress on the command of the said Guardian, descried his friends, and with seven of his comrades, spurred forward rashly without the rest of his people being aware of it, judging by the descent which he saw the English making that the said Guardian had crossed the river, and so he was unhorsed and captured by the enemy. But without delay he was rescued by his people when they came up, who were furious when they perceived the mishap of their leader. They attacked with the remainder of the force, defeated the enemy and rescued their master.

This chronicle does not record all the military adventures which befel the English everywhere during this war, because of the [great] variety of them; but [it records] only the more notable ones. To relate everything would be too lengthy a business.

Be it known that, in Passion week of the same season, the said King of England marched through Beauce, where the monasteries were almost all fortified and stocked with the provender of the country, some of which were taken by assault, others were surrendered so soon as the siege-engines were in position, whereby the whole army was greatly refreshed with victual.

¹ *Bretouns Gallois*, a term applied to the Welsh or Cymric people of Brittany to distinguish them from the French Bretons. It occurs in Froissart. 'Si chevaucha le Connestable premierement Bretagne bretonnant, pourtant qu'il la sentoit toujours plus encline au Duc Jehan de Montfort que Bretagne gallois.' L. i. folio 438.

MS.
fo. 233 At this time the Captal de Buch¹ went by permission of the said King of England to Normandy with 22 English and Gascon lances, to interview the King of Navarre to whom he was well-disposed. Near Dreux he fell in suddenly with four and twenty French men-at-arms, knights and esquires, who were lying in ambush for other English garrisons. Both sides dismounted and engaged smartly; the French were defeated, and Bèque de Villaines their leader was taken with four of his knights, the others being taken or killed.

The said King of England took up his quarters before Paris on Wednesday in Easter week in the year of grace 1360, [namely] in the villages adjacent to the suburb of Saint-Cloud, across the Seine above Paris. He remained there five days, and in departing displayed himself in order of battle before the King of France's son, who was Regent of the country and was in the city with a strong armed force. The Prince of Wales, eldest son of the said King of England, who commanded the advanced guard, and the Duke of Lancaster with another column, marched close under the faubourgs from sunrise till midday and set them on fire. The king's other columns kept a little further off. A French knight, Pelerin de Vadencourt, was captured at the city barriers, where his horse, being wounded by an arrow, had thrown him. [Certain] knights of the Prince's retinue, newly dubbed that day, concealed themselves among the suburbs when the said columns marched off, and remained there till some [knights] came out of the city, then spurred forth and charged them. Richard de Baskerville the younger, an English knight, was thrown to the ground, and, springing to his feet, wounded the horses of the Frenchmen with his sword, and defended himself gallantly till he was rescued, with his horse, by his other comrades, who speedily drove back into their fortress the Frenchmen who had come out.²

Then the Comte de Tankerville came out of the city demanding to treat with the Council of the said King of England, to whom reply was made that their said lord would entertain any reasonable proposal at any time.

The said king marched off, spreading fire everywhere along his route, and took up quarters near Montereau with his

¹ *Duch* in original.

² Froissart gives the names of the French knights in this encounter, and admits that they were defeated, and that ten knights were made prisoners. [Book i. cap. ccxi.]

army round him. On Sunday the 13th of April it became necessary to make a very long march toward Beauce, by reason of want of fodder for the horses. The weather was desperately bad with rain, hail and snow, and so cold that many weakly men and horses perished in the field. They abandoned many vehicles and much baggage on account of the cold, the wind and the wet, which happened to be worse this season than any old memory could recall.

About this time the people of Monsire James d'Audley [namely] the garrisons of Ferté and Nogent-en-Brie, escalated the castle of *Huchi* in Valois, near Sissonne, after sunrise, when the sentries had been reduced. This [place] was very well ^{MS.} fo. 233^b provisioned and full of gentle ladies and some¹ men-at-arms, knights and esquires.²

And eight Welsh Archers of Lord Spencer's retinue had a pretty encounter in Beauce when the said king's army was billeted in the villages. These archers, having charge of the millers in a corn mill outside the lines near Bonneval, were espied by the French garrisons in the neighbourhood, who came to attack them with 26 lances and 12 French Breton archers. Both sides dismounted and engaged smartly; the French were defeated, three of their men-at-arms being killed and nine made prisoners, every man on both sides being wounded nearly to death. Some of the said English had surrendered on parole to the said enemy during the mellay, but were rescued by the said Welshmen, who behaved very gallantly there.

The said King of England remained in Beauce, near Orleans, fifteen days, for a treaty of peace which the Council of France proposed to him, the Abbé of Cluny and Monsire Hugh de Genève, envoy of the Pope, being the negociators.³ The English of the said king's army had encounters, some with loss and others with gain. Certain knights in the following of the Duke of Lancaster, disguising themselves as brigands or pillaging soldiers, without lances, rode in pretended disarray in order to give the enemy spirit and courage to tackle them, as several of their foragers had been taken during the preceding days. Some of whom, the knights Edmund Pierpoint and Baldwyn Malet, overdid the said counterfeit to such an extent

¹ *Undz*, misprinted *yndz* in *Maitland Club MS.*

² The *Maitland Club Edition* gives a comma here, which makes nonsense of the passage.

³ The head of this mission was Montagu, cardinal bishop of Théroutenne.

in running risks from the French that it could not be otherwise than that they should come to grief; thus they were taken and put on parole.

Sir Brian de Stapleton and other knights of the Prince's army and the Earl of Salisbury's retinue, while protecting foragers, had an affair with the French near Janville, and defeated them, taking some [prisoners].

In reprisal for the raid which the French made upon Winchelsea, the admirals of the Cinque Ports and the English northern squadron landed in the isle of *Dans*, attacked and took the town of *Lure* and burnt it, and would have done more had they not been stopped by command of their lord the king on account of the truce.

MS.
fo. 234 People ought to know that, on the 7th day of May in the aforesaid year, a treaty of peace was made near Chartres and agreed to by the said King of England and his Council around him on the one part, and by the aforesaid Regent and Council of France and the commons on the other part, to the following effect. All actions, claims and disputes to be extinguished and relinquished; the aforesaid covenants to be carried out, to wit, that the aforesaid King of England should have the whole Duchy of Guienne within its ancient limits, and the province of Rouerge, the countships of Ponthieu, of Guines with its appurtenances, Calais with the lordship adjacent, utterly, without hindrance, conditions, appeals, evasions, demands or any subjection to the crown of France, freely with all the crown royalties for all time; and that he should receive three millions of gold as ransom for the King of France; and that the aforesaid kings should be sworn under pain of excommunication as allies by common assent against all nations; and that the action and dispute for Brittany between Montfort and Charles de Blois should be adjudged by the discretion of the said kings; and should this not be agreeable to the said parties, [then] neither these kings nor their heirs should take any part by aid or countenance. The King of France was utterly to give up the alliance with the people of Scotland, and the King of England was to remove his hand from the people of Flanders, and the two kings were to be absolved by the Pope from their oaths under the said alliance; for the fulfilment of which covenants it was agreed that the eldest sons of the two kings—the Prince of Wales on one part and the Duke of Normandy on the other—should be sworn by the souls of their

fathers and on the body of God. And the King of Navarre and twenty other personages of France, and the Duke of Lancaster and twenty others of England, were to be sworn also.

The two eldest sons of the said kings by their oaths upon the body of our Blessed Saviour confirmed the treaty which had been agreed to, drawn up and engrossed. The Duke of Normandy and Regent of France, being laid up with an imposthume, swore to it in Paris in the presence of valiant English knights sent thither for the purpose, by whom the said Regent transmitted to the said Prince of Wales exceedingly precious relics of the most holy cross, of the crown of thorns with which God was crowned upon the cross, with other precious jewels, signifying that our Lord, when on the cross with the said crown upon His head, had brought peace, salvation and lasting tranquillity to the human race.

The said Prince of Wales took this oath in the great minster of Louviers on the 15th day of May, in the aforesaid year, in presence of noble French knights sent thither for that purpose. The King of Navarre would not take the oath, but came to speak with the King of England near *Nemburgh*, whence the said King of England took his way towards Honfleur, where he embarked for England, his sons and many lords being with him, leaving the Earl of Warwick¹ in Normandy as guardian of the truce.

MS.
fo. 234^b

The Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Stafford, with the rest of the English army crossed the Seine at Pont de l'Arche on the way to Calais. They were partly recovered from the grievous labours of this campaign, which had lasted nine months, in which they had traversed as much of France as they were able, courting combat to maintain the right of their lord, finding nowhere encouragement in this task, but subsisting all the time upon [the resources of] the country, sometimes in plenty, at other times according to what they could find in a country wasted and raided before their coming by the above-mentioned English. So that they had carried on the war to admiration on their own account.

And thus the three English armies marched away² in good

¹ The original has *duk de Warwyk*, *duk* being partly erased and 'count' written on margin in a different hand.

² *Departiz*, omitted in *Maitland Club Edition*.

hopes of peace, truce having been settled to last for one year from the following Michaelmas, during which time the *pourparlers* might be confirmed, and so the war be stopped on the day and in the year aforesaid, which war had lasted four and twenty years.

In the same season of the year of grace 1360, about the feast of St. John,¹ Katharine de Mortimer, a young lady of London, had become so intimate with Monsieur David de Brus, who was called King by the Scots,² through the friendship he had contracted with her while he was a prisoner, that, in the absence of his wife, the King of England's sister, who at that time was residing with her brother, he could not dispense with her [Katharine's] presence. He rode continually with her, which display of favour was displeasing to some of the Scottish lords. A Scottish youth,³ named Richard of Hull, at the instigation of certain great men of Scotland, pretended to speak with the said Katharine upon the King's affairs as they were riding from Melrose near Soutra, and struck her in the body with a dagger, killing her and throwing her from her horse to the ground. Richard, being well mounted, escaped. The deed having been done in this manner, the said king, who was [riding] in front along the road, returned on hearing the outcry, and made great lamentation for the cruel loss he had sustained in his mistress. He caused her to be taken to Newbottle, where he afterwards caused her to be honourably interred.

About this time the King of Spain,⁴ who was son of the good King Alfonso, was ruled by the Jews. He did not love his wife, but loved a Jewess *par amours*, for love of whom he made Jews knights and companions of the Bend, which order his father had instituted to give encouragement to chivalry; for in his day none carried the Bend who had not proved himself a [good] knight against the Saracens. Wherefore certain Christian knights of the said order took offence that the Jews should thus be favoured on an equality with Christians, deeming that this was contrary to their ancestral custom. They therefore told the said king that

MS.
fo. 235 it was an unworthy thing that such dogs as these should be companions of such a fair, honourable and dignified order.

¹ 24th June.

³ *Vn vadlet Escotois.*

² *Qe des Escotis fu dit roy.*

⁴ Pedro 'the Cruel.'

The king answered them in wrath, saying that they were as much men as others, and not dogs, but were their equals. 'Very well,' replied the knights, 'we are ready to test that by our bodies at once.' 'By God!' exclaimed the king, 'and so let it be. We shall see to it that you do so.'

The Christians were thirty, the Jews sixty-two [in number]; with the said king's consent and in his presence they engaged upon a plain with good swords, but without armour. The Christians cut down all the Jews to death, at which the king was most furious. He gave himself up entirely to youthful excess, wherefore many of his people attached themselves to his bastard brother with whom he was at war, for he had caused his other bastard brothers to be slain.

The said King of Spain had been at war with the King of Aragon,¹ but this was composed between them by a treaty of peace, and the King of Spain went off to his own country and lived in a dissolute manner, so that without his knowledge the war with Aragon was suddenly renewed more fiercely than before.

Wherefore, albeit peace in itself is the earthly possession most to be coveted by all reasonable natures as the sovereign blessing of the age and the thing to be encouraged by a ruler, yet the manner thereof gives much cause for reflection. When the basis and motive of peace are derived honestly from virtue and [a desire] to please God, without being inspired, strengthened or constrained by any [other] influence, especially by no wish for ease nor carnal desire, but virtuously and righteously for the common weal, such peace cannot but be profitable and good. But when there is a double motive and the matter is undertaken in opposition to the said virtues, there is not so much value in it, but the result of the affair is greatly to be suspected; as when one is conscious of his right and yet fails to maintain it through indolence and a desire to avoid discomfort, wishing and hoping to find more pleasure in another direction; or as when one abandons [his right] through want of means, or through the weariness of people's hearts in persevering, or through growing old—this [manner of] putting an end to a war is not often profitable in the outcome; for many people intending only to warm themselves set themselves on fire; and the chances of time

¹The war was between Pedro 'the Cruel,' of Castile, and Pedro IV. 'the Ceremonious,' of Aragon.

are so uncertain that, in thinking to avoid one trouble, one involves himself in a greater one. And if it is not apparent that war can be avoided by means of wealth, should not kings despair of sufficiency of treasure? and, unless virtue dissuade him [from war, what assurance has he that], failing to obtain aid from one, he may not find others to aid him? That is to say—want of prudence, of hardihood and of [means for] liberality. Want of prudence—as when one does not inquire whether God will show him grace in advancing his cause and does not press the same in reasonable measure through the willing accord of his people, and with such hardihood as shall not be daunted at a crisis by fear of disaster or of damage to property during war; endurance of which things in a bold way, [brings] honour, profit and cheerfulness, so that the hand shall be liberal in rewarding those who deserve it, for the encouragement of others to do the like—the one thing in the world most helpful in waging war. Let him who seeks to stop a war otherwise than it pleases God consider that the dice may turn against him just when he expects to reap advantage. And if it were possible that God would not allow that man should enjoy his blessings, except on account of heinous sin, just as he prevented Moses entering upon the Promised Land, because out of vain-glory he received worship from the people of Israel,¹ who assigning to his own power the miracles which God showed them at his hands, in which he glorified himself, wherefore he forfeited [the privilege of] the said entry [into the Promised Land], the thing which, above all others, he desired.

Wherefore would kings do well to attribute their benefits to God and to the good behaviour of their people, in whose welfare consists their treasure; for God holds kings in due governance as the executive government of their people. For the people often suffer for the sins of kings; wherefore they [kings] ought to take good heed lest their actions bring about general and widespread disaster, as has been often seen; so that their [high] estate should be regulated towards God by virtue and towards the people by morality.

People ought to know that about Michaelmas in this same year of the Incarnation 1360, the said King John of

¹ *Il prist longa du poeple de Israel*. This strange word *longa*, printed *longa* in the *Maitland Club Ed.*, appears to be a form of *louange*.

France was released from his captivity by the King of England at Calais upon conditions afore mentioned. Which king having remained a prisoner in England for three years—at London, at Windsor and at Somerton, payed on leaving one million in gold, and left honourable hostages for the fulfilment of the remaining articles in the covenant, namely, his two sons, the Comtes d'Anjou and de Poitiers; his brother the Duc d'Orleans; his kinsman the Duc de Bourbon; the Comtes de Blois, d'Alençon, de Saint-Pol, de Harcourt, de Porcien, de Valentinois, de Brienne, de Wadmond, de Fores, and the Viscomte de Beaumont; the Lords de Coucy, de Fiennes, de Preux, de Saint-Venant, de Garencières, de Montmorency, de *Haunget*, and the Dauphin *d'Aineryne*; Messieurs Piers d'Alençon, William de Chinon, Louis de Harcourt and John de Ligny. And in addition it was agreed that if the sixteen prisoners taken at Poitiers with the said King of France would remain as hostages for the said occasion, that they should be released without ransom under the said treaty; and if not, that they should remain to be ransomed, other suitable [hostages] taking their places; the names of which prisoners are Philip, Comte de Berry, son of the said king; the Comtes de Longueville, de Tankerville, de Joigny, de Porcien, de *Saucer*, de Dammartin, de *Ventatour*, de Salebris, d'Auxerre, de Vendôme; the Lords de *Cynoun*, d'*Ervalle*, the Maréchal de Oudenam and the Lord d'Aubigny. Also it was agreed that two of the leading burgesses of each of the best cities of France should remain as hostages to the King of England until the said treaty was fulfilled, that is to say, of Paris, of Amiens, of Saint Omar, of Arras, of Tournay, of Lille, of Douai, of Beauvois, of Rennes, of Chalons, of Troyes, of Chartres, of Orleans, of Toulouse, of Lyons, of Tours, of Rouen, of Caen and of Compiègne. These articles, conditions and form of peace having been settled in due form, were agreed to and confirmed by general assent of the nobles of both realms, proclaimed in parliament and ratified by the oaths of the two kings; for the execution and fulfilment of which treaty the knight John de Chandos was sent on the part of the King of England, fully empowered to deliver up the castles and strongholds which had been taken in various parts of the realm of France, which he did faithfully as he was instructed by the King

MS.

fo. 236.

of England, according to the conditions agreed on. The English who had continued this war with France on their own account, joined forces with [men of] divers nations and were called The Great Company. They left France by command of the King of England, took the town of Pont Saint-Esprit, and raised war in Provence, living wondrous well by rapine.

Duke Henry of Lancaster died in March in the year of grace 1361, and was buried at Leicester. This Henry was sage, illustrious and valiant, and in his youth was enterprising in honour and arms, becoming a right good Christian before his death. He had two daughters as heirs; the Duke of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, Zeeland and Holland, who became insane, married the first; John Earl of Richmond, son of the said King of England, married the second.

In this same year the said King of England caused a castle to be rebuilt¹ in the Isle of Sheppey at the mouth of the Thames.

In the same year aforesaid the King of Lithuania was taken by the lords of Prussia² who surprised him by stratagem on the departure of the Christian army from his country after Easter, when he was pursuing them impetuously.

In this year there was a widespread mortality of people in England, lasting in one place and another more than a year, the second fatal pestilence which befel the people in the reign of this Edward the Third.

On Saint Bartholemew's day, in August of the same season, the King of Cyprus took by storm the town of Satalie, in MS.
fo. 236^b Turkey, and garrisoned it with Christians.

Lionel, Earl of Ulster, in right of his wife and son of the King of England, went to Ireland in this same season to suppress the Irish, who were doing serious injury to the English of the country after their manner.

In this season the King of Denmark fought hard at sea with the Easterlings, who had retaken *Scon*³ and much of Sweden from the King of Norway.

¹ Or 'caused a new castle to be built'—*fist edifier de nouvel un chastel*.

² The Letts or Lithuanians, a people of Indo-European race, were Pagans in the 14th century. They remain the only European people, except the Goidelic Celt, in whose language, as in Sanskrit, there are words beginning with *sr*.

³ ? Schoonen.

In this same year Edward, eldest son of the King of England, and at that time Prince of Wales, took to wife, under dispensation, the daughter of the Earl of Kent, his father's uncle. She had been married before,¹ and was a right charming woman, and the wealthy heiress of her father and of her uncle the Lord of Wake.

In the middle of January of this same year of grace 1361, there came a storm of wind in several counties around London which threw down churches and bell-towers, and trees in the woods and gardens, stripping houses in an extraordinary manner. The comet star appeared in this season.

In the same season the aforesaid King of Lithuania escaped from prison by mining, with the collusion of a renegade Lett who had been reared with the said lords of Prussia; to remedy which escape the said lords in the following season made a great naval expedition to Lithuania, besieged the castle of Kovno on the Niemen, and took it by assault with pretty feats of arms.

In the same season a band of the Great Company, which had its origin during the King of England's war, defeated the power of France in Auvergne, most of the lords being retaken who had formerly been prisoners of the King of England. Jacques de Bourbon was killed, also the Comte de *Salbrog*, and many others in this affair.

In Lent of the same season, a band of Bretons, belonging to the Great Company, were defeated at *La Garet* in Limousin by William de Felton, an English Knight, at that time seneschal of the district for the King of England.

In the following season, the year of grace 1362, a band of Gascons belonging to the Great Company which had been scattered in search of means to sustain themselves, were defeated in Auvergne by the Bastard of Spain. The Governor of Blois defeated in Berry another band of Gascons of the same Company. A band of Englishmen under Robert Dyar were defeated in the same season near *Ho* in Normandy by Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton.

About this time the duchy of Burgundy, with the countship [thereof], came to John, King of France, through inheritance from his mother, who was sister to the duke, the offspring of her brother being dead.

¹ First to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and second to Thomas, Lord Holland, Earl of Kent.

The said King of France made terms with the Great Company, which had disturbed his realm since the King of England's war had been concluded, that they should quit his ^{MS.} realm on receiving a large sum of money; which they did, betaking themselves into different countries where they found wars; many of them joining the King of Aragon against the King of Spain, who were waging war against each other.

In this season the said King of England granted the duchy of Guienne to his son Edward, Prince of Wales, to be held by him by high seigniory, homage, jurisdiction and royal appeals.

About Michaelmas in the same year of grace, 1362, Pope Innocent died at Avignon; after whose death arose great dissension in the College of Cardinals about the election of a Pope. For a long time they could come to no agreement through jealousy [of each other], none being willing that any of the others should become Pope. At last they chose a black monk, a poor abbot of Saint Victor near Marseille, who was so much astonished that he thought that the messengers who brought him the news were making fun of him. He was consecrated and named Urban: he made a rule that no benefice of Holy Church should exceed one hundred pounds in amount, except for those who had taken a degree in the schools, and for these [the limit was] two hundred pounds; and doctors of civil law, of decretals and of divinity should not exceed three hundred pounds.

Joan, Queen of Scotland, and sister of the King of England, wife of David de Brus, died in this same season, and was buried beside her mother in the Minories of London.¹

After this same Martinmas, the said King of England held a general parliament in London, where it was ordained by statute that the law pleas of his realm should be conducted in English, having hitherto been so in French since the time of William the Conqueror.

At the same Parliament the said King created his two sons dukes—Lionel, Earl of Ulster, who was then in Ireland, being made Duke of Clarence; the other, John, Duke of Lancaster, [with remainder] to their heirs male. His third son, Edmund, he made Earl of Cambridge.² He fixed the wool

¹ She had left King David because of his infidelity, receiving Hertford Castle from King Edward as a residence.

² Edmund was the fifth son, and was afterwards Duke of York.

staple at Calais, where, on the same day of Saint Brice¹ in the sixtieth year of his age,² he remitted of his grace to his subjects all debts and arrears appertaining to his regality which they owed him, abandoning all process on account of party, treason or homicide. This [was done] in token of temporal grace, just as every fiftieth year from the Incarnation is the year of spiritual grace.

Before Christmastide in the same season a great battle took place in Gascony between the Comte de Foys and the Comte d'Armagnac. The Comte de Foys obtained the victory by the help of many English, a band of the great Company. The Comte d'Armagnac and the Sire de la Bret were taken, and many of d'Armagnac's side were killed and taken.

David, King of Scotland, in this same season besieged the castle of Kindrummie in Mar, because of the extortions which the Earl of Mar and his people had wrought upon the people of the district, as was alleged against him by the king. This castle was surrendered to him [the king] and then was restored to the said Earl with the earldom for one thousand pounds, to be paid to the said king at the end of five years on pain of losing them. Which affair arose chiefly from an appeal to [trial by] battle which William de Keith delivered to the said earl in the said king's court; whereupon they appeared armed in the lists at Edinburgh, the quarrel being settled there under the king's hand,³ who seemed more favourable to the said William than to the said earl, albeit he [the earl] was his near kinsman.

Soon after that, in the same season, there arose disagreement between the said David, King of Scotland, and William, Earl of Douglas, who had the sister of the Earl of Mar to wife, because of divers matters wherein it appeared to the said earl that the said king had not shown him such fair lordship as he would have liked. So he [Douglas] made a conspiracy, collected a large following, seized and garrisoned the castle of Dirlton, which castle was under ward of the king.

The said earl, with the concurrence of the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of March, who affixed their seals to a petition laid before the said king, complained that

MS.
fo. 237^b

¹ 13th November.

² It should be 'fiftieth.'

³ *La querel illoques pr...n mayn du roi.* The word pr...n is blotted and illegible in the original. It was part of the law of trial by battle that the king might take the quarrel into his own hand, and stop the fight.

the said king had forced them to break¹ the conditions, to which they had sworn on the body of God before the King of England, about paying the ransom of the said king their lord, which [ransom] had been levied by an impost on the commonalty and squandered by evil counsel, wherefore they demanded reparation and wiser government. For this reason the king marched against the said earl, and when the king was in one district the earl rode into another against those who were of the king's party, imprisoning the king's people wheresoever he could take them. He marched to Inverkeithing by night and captured the Sheriff of Angus with a company of armed men on their way to join the king, and sent them to prison in various places.

The said king marched by night from Edinburgh, and very nearly surprised the said Earl of Douglas at Lanark, where he had lain at night, but he escaped with difficulty, some of his people being taken.

The Steward of Scotland, without the knowledge or consent of his allies, made his peace with his lord the king; the Earl of Douglas did so also by himself, and the Earl of March did likewise.

And this rising having been thus put down for the time, the said David took to wife Margaret de Logie, a lady who had been married already, and who had lived with him for some time.

This marriage was made solely on account of love, which conquers all things.

¹ *Rountre* : printed *vouutre* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

(*Concluded.*)

The Teaching of Scottish History in Schools¹

THOUGH some may regard it as a rash assumption, we may perhaps venture to take it for granted that history is a legitimate and desirable subject in a school curriculum. If, indeed, there is a human instinct for any kind of knowledge, it is surely the desire to know the history of our fellow-mortals. If in the case of primitive races curiosity is first directed to the superhuman forces that condition life, their next intellectual interest is in the traditions of their own origin and history. At the camp fire of the savage the deeds of his ancestors are an unflinching theme of interest, and there is striking testimony to the exactitude with which one generation of tribesmen hands on its tradition to the next. Instinctively, it would appear, the rudimentary society realizes that its continuous existence is dependent on the tenacity with which it clings to its own particular past. 'We are what you were; we shall be what you are,' ran the patriotic hymn of the Spartans, and the words express at once the essence of patriotism and the essential idea of history.

Like other subjects, history may be studied from purely intellectual curiosity, but the primary justification of our interest in it is the original instinct that impels us to realize the past through which we have become what we are. Except in the case of the few for whom history is only a department of knowledge, it is still this original instinct that prompts to its study, and it is to this original instinct we must appeal in the teaching of history to the young. In the child as in the savage, there is this natural desire to know how he came to be what he is. 'Children love to listen to stories about their elders,' says Charles Lamb, and it is observable that the more remote the past, the more it impresses their imagination and excites their interest. Children love large measures equally in space and time, and it

¹ A Lecture delivered to the Glasgow Branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland and to the Eastern Branch of the Secondary Teachers' Association of Scotland.

quickens rather than diminishes their attention, to be told of an event that it happened a thousand and not a hundred years ago. In teaching them history, therefore, we are ministering to a natural desire, and in satisfying that desire we are working along with nature in the organic development of their minds. It can be said of history, indeed, what cannot be said of every subject in the school curriculum,—that it expands the individual by impressing him with the sense at once of his own insignificance and of his own importance as the 'heir of all the ages.' You will remember the reply of the Carthusian monk to the question how he had contrived to pass his life: *Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos aeternos in mente habui*. Consciously or unconsciously we are the products of the past, and the individual cannot attain to his full stature till to the extent of his capacities he takes cognizance of the contributory streams that are the sources of his intellectual and moral being.

In teaching history to the young, then, we are satisfying an instinct which, if wisely cultivated, seems intended by nature to become one of the chief formative influences of intellect and character. But it is one of the disadvantages of civilization that it is apt to deaden or distort the wholesome instincts which were meant for the secure guidance of life. With the growing complexity of human aims and endeavours natural promptings are smothered, or, what is equally disastrous, they are diverted from the channels in which they were intended to flow. In the case of the teaching of history we easily see how misdirection is apt to arise. For primitive societies the past is a comparatively simple affair. A few outstanding individualities, a few prominent events comprise their whole tradition, and, apprehended by simple intuition, directly evoke the emotion and imagination which create the collective consciousness of the community. In the case of highly organized societies it is far otherwise. In the tangled and many-coloured web of their past it is difficult to find the central strands which yet give unity and cohesion to its texture. We are bewildered by the apparent conflict of opposing tendencies and of warring national leaders, and we lose sight of the fact that all alike go to evolve the net product which we call a people. Yet, if the study of history is to have its true spiritual and intellectual profit, it is precisely from the realization of this fact that profit must be won.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the teaching of history there are difficulties to be faced which other subjects do not present

in the same degree. In the case of a language or a science we have a precise body of facts to be communicated, and the only problem in teaching them is how these facts may be most expeditiously conveyed to other minds. In the case of history, on the other hand, we have first to settle the much-debated question as to what are the significant facts to be selected so that it may work its full effect on the mind that receives them. As we are aware, the problem is one which has long engaged writers on education in every country, and the manifold types of existing historical text-books show how variously the problem is answered. This is a difficulty which every country has to face in the teaching of its national history, but, as we know, in our own case another difficulty exists which we owe to the peculiar position in which Providence has been pleased to place us.

Two centuries ago the destinies of Scotland were linked with those of another country greater in extent and resources than itself, and, we may admit, more conspicuous in the world's eye than its remoter and less favoured yoke-fellow. At first, as we know, the marriage was not a happy one, and one of the partners, at least, was long convinced, and not without good reason, that the bond had been a mistake from the beginning. But both the ill-assorted parties were pre-eminently endowed with common sense, and above all with the desire to have their full share of the good things to be found in this world, and in their own interests they gradually settled down to a tolerable understanding regarding their mutual duties and responsibilities. In time, comparatively friendly intercourse was established between them, but all along there were advantages on one side which naturally gave umbrage to the other.

On the part of Scotland the gravest objection to the Union was the dread of her individuality being merged in that of her more powerful neighbour, and from the day that the great transaction was completed she has never ceased to be haunted with this apprehension. Quite recently we have seen important representative bodies raising their protest against what they regard as a serious menace to Scotland's continued existence as a nation. The school-boards of her two chief cities, and that most venerable of her corporate bodies—the Convention of Royal Burghs—have directed attention to the insidious process through which, they believe, this calamity is threatened. Scotland, name and thing, they report, is menaced with obliteration

from the records of mankind. As the result of a special enquiry, the Convention of Burghs has testified that Scottish history does not receive its rightful measure of attention in the national schools and that its place is unduly usurped by the history of the sister country. What in their opinion is still more to be reprobated, in the current school books Scottish history is not infrequently treated from a purely English standpoint. The history of Scotland, even before the Union, is represented as that of an outlying province of England with no independent self-subsistence of its own. In connection with the period subsequent to the Union they find still graver ground of offence. In direct disregard of the express terms of the Treaty of Union the terms 'English' and 'England' are substituted for 'British' and 'Britain,' and Scotland is thus insulted in her national sentiment and defrauded of her due in the building-up of the British Empire. The achievements of Scottish statesmen, soldiers, men of science and men of letters are put down to the account of England, with the result that in the eyes of the world England has all the glory which in justice should be fairly proportioned between the allied peoples. As a matter of fact, at least, we have recently had a weighty testimony regarding the neglect of Scottish history in our schools. In his school report for 1905 Mr. Struthers has the following significant remarks: 'It was disappointing to note a widespread ignorance of Scottish history even among more picked pupils who may be supposed to represent the outcome of the most advanced teaching. A large percentage of the Honours candidates who wrote on Montrose confused him with Claverhouse, while one candidate, an Edinburgh candidate, too, went so far as to ascribe to Jeannie Deans the exploit of Jenny Geddes.'

A fussy patriotism is certainly a thing to be reprobated. It compromises the dignity of a nation, and invites the taunt that the nation can hardly be of much account that requires to flaunt its existence in the eyes of the world. But that can scarcely be called a fussy patriotism which only demands an exact use of historical terms, and maintains that the rising generation should have full and accurate instruction in the history of their native country. Moreover, if we analyse the feeling that prompts these demands, we cannot but see that it rests on rational grounds which are its fullest justification. If the history of the past has any educational value, it is from the history of our own people that the richest gain is to be derived—and this for the

simple reason that it is only the history of our own people that we can adequately understand. It was the maxim of the greatest of French critics that no one can speak with perfect security of any literature but his own; what he meant being that each literature is the expression of national idiosyncrasies which in their totality can never be fully apprehended even by the most gifted of aliens.

And what is true of literature, which is only one expression of the spirit of a people, must be doubly true in the case of a collective national life. In the citizen of every nation there is an inheritance of sentiment and emotion and type of thought of which he cannot divest himself, and which makes him Scot or Frenchman or German, as his destiny has ordained. It is two hundred years since the Union, and still to-day England is a very different place from Scotland and an Englishman a very different being from a Scot. Between a Scotsman wholly educated in Scotland and an Englishman wholly educated in England there is an intellectual estrangement which it requires an effort on the part of both to overcome. Their differences of accent and pronunciation are but the outward signs of an inward diversity of mental habit and tendency. If they come to discuss a subject of any complexity, they speedily discover that they start from different premises, apply different logical processes, and see the governing facts in incompatible relations. In the case of fundamental questions, such as those that bear on human life and destiny, the opposition of the two types is illustrated at once by history and by present experience. The average Englishman frankly admits that his mind is unequal to take in our theological distinctions, and the average Scot is equally perplexed by an Englishman's concern about ritual, which seems to him a mere question of millinery and upholstery. And the countries they inhabit bear on the face of them the marks of the different national experience which they have inherited. Apart from their different national aspects and apart from the appearance of greater national resources in the one than in the other, the two countries immediately suggest that two distinct peoples have made them what they respectively are. As Hugh Miller and Robert Louis Stevenson have vividly shown, an adult Scot who for the first time visits England feels that he is virtually in a foreign country. As he looks around him, he realizes that a process of reflection is necessary before he can take in what he sees and relate it intelligibly to his previous experience.

But all this goes to illustrate what has just been said—that it is only our own national history that we can adequately realize and understand in all its significance, and from which we can derive the stimulus and instruction which the knowledge of the past is fitted to give. We may have the most exact acquaintance with the facts of other national histories, but they will always be something external to us; something eludes us which is yet of their very essence, and we are all the while unconscious that we have missed it. We have but to read the best histories of our own country by foreigners to realize how impossible it is for them to avoid misapprehensions which excite our wrath or our ridicule, as the case may be. The historian Taine made a special study of England, yet, as is well known, he gravely notes it as a proof of the respect of English boys for their parents, that they speak of their father as ‘the governor.’ It was quite a natural blunder for a foreigner to make, but it is a blunder which illustrates the fact that only a native can tread securely outside the bare facts of his national history. It is only the members of the household who understand the varying expressions and gestures of each other which mean so much to them, but are imperceptible even to the most intimate friend. The inference is that the history of any people cannot be learned from books alone. Facts may be acquired with perfect fulness and accuracy, the chain of cause and effect in the national development may be grasped with absolute clearness and precision, yet the insight which can only come from natural sympathies and affinities, and which alone is truly formative, can be acquired by no amount of study even by the most gifted minds. It is, indeed, no paradox to say that half and perhaps the better half of our knowledge of our national history is unconsciously learnt, and that it is by this unconscious knowledge we interpret what we deliberately acquire.

But, as was already said, children in Scotland are in a peculiar position with regard to the study of their national history. They are born into the inheritance of their own country and nation, but as incorporate with England and the British Empire they are thus the inheritors of a triple tradition, which to forfeit and ignore would be disastrous to them as individuals and disastrous to that great community to whose building-up their fathers have contributed no little part. To restrict the study of history in our schools to Scottish history alone, therefore, would be at once an individual and a corporate injury; and this,

it may be said, for a double reason. As a future citizen of the British Empire, the pupil in our schools is conditioned by its past, has a stake in its future, and he must one day share the responsibility for the policy that shall guide and direct it. Ignorant of its history, he at once misses a great inheritance, and is a maimed member of that collective community in whose destinies his own are involved—whether he will or not.

But there is another reason why the study of history in our schools should not be restricted to that of Scotland alone. In point of fact, the history of no one country can be understood when isolated from that of every other. The founder of the University Chair with which I am personally associated defined its aim to be—the teaching of the history of Scotland and that of other countries so far as they illustrate the history of Scotland. Whether, indeed, we take the history of Scotland before or after the Union of the Parliaments, it cannot be fully intelligible without reference to the histories of England and of continental countries. At one time or other previous to the Union every class in the Scottish nation was affected by the corresponding classes among other peoples. Our kings learned lessons from the kings of France and England, our nobles from their own class in the same countries, and our burghs from similar communities in England and on the Continent. And the Union of 1707 itself is seen in its true historical perspective only when we realize the fact that it was the natural result of political and economical forces that were determining the development of all the countries of Western Europe.

There can be no question, therefore, that the teaching of Scottish history in our schools must be supplemented by the teaching of the histories of other countries, and specifically by the history of England and of the British Empire. But it is from the knowledge of our own national history as a basis that we can most adequately interpret the histories of other countries, and this for the reason that has already been suggested,—that, in point of fact, it is only the history of our own people which we can ever really understand. Even to the adult, study the histories of other countries as diligently as he may, those histories will always be something external, and he acquires his knowledge of them by a purely intellectual process. But if this be true of the adult it is doubly so in the case of the school-boy. His soul, his emotions cannot be so deeply engaged by the history of any other people as by the history of his own. What are

Simon de Montfort, the Kingmaker, Pym, or Hampden to him compared with Wallace and Bruce, the Good Sir James Douglas, Montrose and Dundee? These are to him bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; he has a personal interest in their fortunes, and he admires or hates them according to his own predilections and his family traditions. But it is only when the mind is thus alive to any subject that something can be gained from it beyond merely strengthening the memory and storing it with matters of fact.

And what is this something which is to be gained from an early acquaintance with our national history? It is the enlargement of mind and emotion and imagination which comes of the vivid realization of a world wider than the petty one which must be the immediate and main concern of each of us. And it is to be noted that it is only in youth that the mind possesses the elasticity which makes this enlargement possible. Then only are impressions so vivid that they pass into our being and cast the mould of our after thinking and feeling. And once gained, this acquisition is at once a possession and a faculty. It is a possession because this enlarged life we have once experienced gives its tone and colour to all subsequent experience, and it is a faculty because we are thus enabled to apply a larger and more genial measure equally to men and things.

According to Wordsworth, who, as we know, had pondered deeply on the growth of the individual mind, it should be the prime concern in education to

Nourish imagination in her growth,
And give the mind that apprehensive power,
Whereby she is made quick to recognise
The moral properties and scope of things.

Of all the subjects that can be taught either in secondary or elementary schools, there is none so specifically fitted to foster imagination and apprehensive power as the study of national history. Science opens up a world that excites curiosity and wonder, but it cannot touch the inmost being in the same degree as the record of the actions of our fellow-creatures. The study of languages has its own value in the development of faculty, but it does little for those powers which Wordsworth considered indispensable for the richest growth of our common nature.

Literature, indeed, works in the direction towards which Wordsworth points us, but the full effect of literature is unattainable by the average pupil either in the primary or

the secondary school. The kind of literature which is capable of evoking the highest powers of mind and soul demands a maturity of thought and experience which belongs to a later period of development and which only time can bring. You will remember the laudable attempt of Matthew Arnold to introduce literature as a power into elementary schools. The pupil in higher schools, he conceived, experienced this power in reading the master-pieces of Greek and Roman literature—which in the case of the average school-boy is open to question. In the case of elementary schools he thought that no access to this power existed, and for the reason that the best English literature was so overlaid with classical traditions that the pupil ignorant of Latin and Greek was not in a position to take it in with intelligence. To remedy this defect he edited his Bible-reading for Schools, consisting of the second part of the prophecy of Isaiah—his contention being that every British child was familiar with Bible ideas and Bible language and would thus readily transport himself into a world other than his own, and a world admirably fitted to impress him with ‘the moral properties and scope of things.’ It is difficult not to feel, however, that Arnold misjudged the capacity of the average school-child whom he had directly in his view. The scope of the prophet’s ideas, the exaltation of his style, the lack of a continuous narrative to sustain the attention, demand an experience both in life and literature for their comprehension which we cannot look for in a pupil in an elementary school. The educational benefit which Arnold expected from the study of his Bible-reading was that the scholar, by taking in a great literary whole which engaged his soul as well as his mind, ‘gained access to a new life,’ ‘was lifted out of the present,’ and schooled ‘to live with the life of the race.’ But for the attainment of these high ends, surely desirable for every responsible human being, the study of the history of one’s own people seems a simpler and more effective means than that which he proposed. The subject is one which interests the youngest child, and it can be adapted to every stage of his development. Moreover, if the grasp of a great whole has the educative value which Arnold attaches to it, the history of his own country is perhaps the only great whole which the pupil is capable of apprehending. That he can apprehend it is, I believe, a fact of experience. His apprehension is doubtless immature, vague, coloured by childish fancies; but once acquired, the conception will grow with his

own growth in fulness and precision ; it will be a possession for life, making him conscious of the roots of his own being—of the heritage he owes to the race from which he has sprung.

Nor will his absorption of the history of his own people blind him to the virtues of others. Prejudice against foreign countries is mainly due to ignorance of the history of our own. When we know the history of our own people from the beginning, we realize that at one time or other in the course of its development it has manifested all the elemental impulses of human nature which are found in the history of other peoples. It has had its periods of frenzy, of magnanimity, of cruelty, of volatility, of sober and steadfast enthusiasm. We think the French a fickle and restless nation, but such impressions arise from restricting our regard to certain periods of a nation's history. Before its great Revolution the French could justly boast that they had been less prone to novelties in state and religion than any people in Europe. In the seventeenth century the French regarded the English as the most restless and fickle of peoples, and the history of England during that century naturally gave rise to the impression. To correct such hasty judgments, to school us to that enlightened patriotism which, while treasuring its own national tradition as a precious possession, does generous justice to the traditions of other races—the true and effective means is to know our own history as a whole. By restricting our attention to special periods this discipline is, in great measure lost, and for the reason that in one particular period we see only the exaggerated manifestation of one aspect of the national character. The period of the Reformation in Scotland is doubtless the most momentous in our annals, but by exclusively fixing our eyes on that period we are apt not only to misread the national character, but to defeat the end which should be the ultimate object of the profitable study of history. We identify ourselves with its contentions, take sides with its leaders, and lose sight of the all-important fact that the sixteenth century, like every other, was only one stage in the evolution of the Scottish people. Only by the large survey of every stage of a nation's history can we understand its own distinctive characteristics, and learn to distinguish that special note which it has contributed to what has been called 'the great chorus of humanity.'

From what has been said it will be seen that I am advocating the study of our national history in schools not so much with

the view of producing patriots as of producing fully developed men and women. If it could be shown that the study of the history of other countries were better fitted to effect this result, surely every good patriot would say—by all means, then, let him do so. But if the reasoning I have submitted to you be sound, it is in the nature of things that the youthful mind should derive its largest profit from acquaintance with the history to which it alone possesses the key, which it can understand and assimilate as it can do no other. From such an acquaintance it acquires something far more than a multiplicity of facts; it has entered into the life of at least one segment of the universal mind, and has gained that permanent faculty of imaginative sympathy which beyond every other lightens the burden of daily experience.

The time has gone by when we can advocate any study on petty and parochial grounds. Each nation now lives in the full current of the universal life, and if it is to be an adequate partaker of that life, its people must possess the discipline and the aptitudes requisite to receive it. It is, therefore, on the grounds, not of a narrow patriotism, but on the grounds of reason and enlightened self-interest that I have tried to emphasize the importance of the study of our national history in schools. At present, it is a matter of regret among Scotsmen of all shades of opinion that it does not receive the amount of attention it deserves. The regret is felt mainly because national sentiment is thus impaired, and with it the native vigour which springs from the consciousness of an inspiring past. But this, as I believe, is only part, and not even the greater part, of our loss. By neglecting to communicate to our youth a full, an accurate, and a living knowledge of their nation's history we are depriving them of a nutriment at once for soul and mind, which in the nature of things no other secular subject can in equal measure supply.

P. HUME BROWN.

The Constitutional Necessity for the Union of 1707

ALL great movements that control the destinies of nations have their roots in constitutional phenomena. To this rule, the union of Scotland and England forms no exception. Towards the close of the seventeenth century there were forces at work which rendered a change in the relations of the two kingdoms inevitable, and which clearly indicated the direction such change must take, if a solution at once satisfactory and permanent was to be attained. The events of William's reign had made the continuance of the *status quo* impossible. The relations of the Scottish Parliament to a king of Scotland, who was also king of England and was fast becoming the bond-servant of the English Parliament, had proved fatal to the independence of the smaller nation. Scotland might still fondly cling to the tradition of her separate existence as a free and equal kingdom, but she found herself forced in practice to allow her national policy to be controlled in the interests of a foreign nation—a nation that had shown itself unsympathetic and contemptuous and had proved the most bitter and the most successful of trade-rivals. The key to the relations of the two kingdoms must thus be sought in the nature of the bonds uniting their two separate legislatures to a common executive head—a head so potent to thwart the weaker, so powerless to resist the stronger. Mutual sympathy and a feeling of interests and traditions in common might have minimized the evils resultant from defective constitutional machinery; but in 1707 the sentiment of nationality was not a bond of union but rather a knife that cut the island sharply into two hostile units. The political atmosphere was surcharged with feelings of jealousy, mutual repulsion, and illwill.

The causes of Scottish discontent thus lay deeper than any trivial or temporary misunderstanding, deeper than the memories

of Glencoe and Darien, bitter as these memories were. The discontent was the logical outcome of the constitutional necessities of a critical situation; and, before the close of the seventeenth century, the bond, in its existing form, had become intolerable to Scotsmen. The principles at stake, when properly understood, present themselves in a graphic and even dramatic form, well calculated to appeal to the imagination of loyal Scotsmen and to arrest the attention of their English fellow-citizens even after an interval of two centuries. It is the more remarkable that the bi-centenary of the Union of 1707, an event that created a powerful nation destined to play a leading part in the politics of the old world and in the colonization of the new, should have aroused only languid interest in Scotland, while meeting with almost cynical apathy in England. The tepid enthusiasm excited in Northern Britain in 1907 is the more conspicuous when contrasted with the warm and wide-spread rejoicings called forth in the previous year by so comparatively unimportant an occasion as the quater-centenary of George Buchanan's birth.

The contrast may be explained in part by the readiness of generous minds to respond to the personal appeal which the achievements of great men, dead or alive, always make to their affections, combined with the public's lack of interest in abstract questions. Other causes contributing to the neglect of the bi-centenary of the Union might perhaps be found, on one side of the Tweed, in the complacent parochialism of a section of English public opinion, and, on the other side, in a lingering feeling that the loss of nominal independence suffered in 1707 by the older and prouder monarchy calls for oblivion or sorrow rather than for noisy celebrations.

Yet all such considerations are inadequate to account fully for the strange and chilling apathy with which the mass of Britons, on both sides of the Border, have responded to the gallant attempts made by a few learned historians to arouse interest in the circumstances under which, exactly two hundred years ago, Great Britain took its birth. A partial explanation, it is here suggested, lies in the fact that the discussions of the subject have ignored the broad constitutional problems involved, dwelling instead on subordinate side issues or on comparatively trivial matters of detail. Much has been said about plots and intrigues, about the influence of individuals and the position of parties prior to 1707, about differences of opinion on questions

of religion, politics, and finance during the negotiations, and about the ultimate effects of the Union on Scottish trade, society, and literature ; but nothing, or next to nothing, has been said on the relations of the Scottish Parliament to the Scottish king and, through him, to the English ministers and the English Parliament. The instructive volume before us, so admirable in many ways, the outcome of the patriotic enterprise of the Editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, forms no real exception to the general rule. In its pages, every aspect of the Union is discussed, except the most essential.¹ Here, the history of the Scottish Parliament from 1307 is outlined by Mr. R. S. Rait in a few bright and lucid pages. 'The End of an Auld Sang'—an oft-told tale—is told once more by Mr. Andrew Lang, who in a second essay makes, upon slender and inconclusive evidence, a serious charge against the Covenanters of the western shires. The debates on the Act of Security are outlined by Dr. James Mackinnon. Some of the ecclesiastical and personal aspects of the Scottish Union, and a few points of comparison with the Irish Union, are discussed by Mr. Law Mathieson. The industrial aspects fall to Mr. W. R. Scott and the literary aspects to Mr. J. H. Millar. Some topics of special local interest for Glasgow and Edinburgh respectively are treated by Mr. Renwick and Dr. James Colville (who between them represent Glasgow historical scholarship in this enterprise due to Glasgow initiative). Two papers of unusual interest on 'The English Standpoint' are contributed by Professor Lodge ; while the text of the Articles of Union (to which the 'Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian Church government' ought to have been appended) concludes the volume. The result of the independent labours of so many experts, each writing to a prescribed theme on which he is well qualified to speak, thus lies before us in the form of a collection of disconnected essays, lacking unity because no attempt has been made to connect the various subordinate topics with the great central constitutional movement. Yet the frame-work of government forms the skeleton of the body politic ; and it is impossible for the political pathologist, without some knowledge of the anatomy of the figure, to understand what parts are diseased or out of joint.

¹ *The Union of 1707 : A Survey of Events*, by various writers, with an Introduction by P. Hume Brown, and the Text of the Articles of Union : Glasgow, George Outram & Co. Ltd. 1907. Pp. vii and 205.

Professor Hume Brown, searching in his introductory chapter for ground not already occupied by other contributors, might have found his opportunity in this omission; but he has endeavoured to show instead how the Union of the Parliaments has restored Scotland to the place of weight in European politics which she enjoyed previous to 1603, but lost at the Union of the Crowns. In what way, other than as an organic part of Great Britain, Scotland has, since 1707, exercised an influence over international affairs it is not easy to understand; but her impotence in the councils of Europe at the close of the seventeenth century may be accepted as an undoubted fact. If Professor Hume Brown had proceeded to lay bare the causes of this impotence—a task which perhaps no one in Scotland was better fitted by historical insight and equipment to accomplish—he would inevitably have been led to a discussion of those constitutional phenomena which lay at the root of the movement. He has not done so, however, and has explained neither the nature of the nexus between the English Parliament and the common monarch, nor the impossibility of Scotland, deprived as she was of a separate executive head, pursuing any foreign policy of her own. As these constitutional relations seem essential to a right understanding of the Union of the Parliaments, alike as to its antecedents and its far-reaching results, this article proposes to proceed to a short analysis of their leading features.

With the results of the Revolution of 1688, an event which secured to the English Whigs the final triumph of the principles of government they had long struggled for, Scotland was bitterly disappointed. Why? Briefly, because William might be compelled to serve one, but not two masters; and the more helpless he found himself to defy the wishes of the wealthier and stronger nation, the more completely was the weaker nation entangled in his chains and dragged with him at the heels of the English Parliament. The growth of parliamentary government in England crushed out all possibility of parliamentary government in Scotland. Such a result had not been dreamed of by the patriots of either country in the period between 1660 and 1688, when a consciousness of common aims and interests, as well as a sense of common dangers, had still united them in their struggles against a common enemy. If Charles II. had too often regulated his policy on lines that opposed the aspirations of patriotic Scotland, he had as frequently

offended his English subjects ; if James II. had persecuted the Presbyterians of the north, he had also plotted to overthrow Episcopacy in the south. Both kingdoms had suffered from the same divine-right monarchy, and expected to benefit equally from its overthrow.

When the Bill of Rights became law the English constitutionalists, indeed, entered their promised land. Yet, with public opinion unsettled at home and an invasion of Ireland pending, their position was insecure so long as Scotland delayed to acquiesce in the settlement of the Crown upon William and Mary ; and the Scots Estates might selfishly have dictated the price of their consent, demanding exemption from the operation of the Navigation Acts, or a closer union on terms of their own prescribing. The leaders at Edinburgh showed that they were not ignorant of the grave issues at stake when they passed, on 23rd April, 1689, an Act authorising the appointment of commissioners to treat of union. On the following day the Scottish Crown was offered to William and Mary on the conditions embodied in the Claim of Right. The letter which made this offer expressed a desire 'that as both kingdoms are united in one head and sovereign, so they may become one body politic, one nation, to be represented in one Parliament.'¹ The Parliament at Westminster, however, its immediate object now secured, took no steps to meet these advances—advances, it must be owned, of a somewhat half-hearted kind, since the course suggested by Scottish prudence was repugnant to Scottish pride. The golden opportunity had thus been lost ; and the events of the next two decades made it clear that the Estates at Edinburgh, whether through pride, ignorance, or credulity, had committed a tactical blunder in accepting the new ruler of England's choice without first safeguarding Scottish interests. The patriots of the north who had shared the sufferings and the strivings of their political friends across the Border reaped no share of the spoils of victory. William of Orange, against his better judgment, was forced to trample underfoot the liberties and aspirations of the subjects of his northern kingdom ; and the key to his conduct towards Scotland must be sought in English constitutional phenomena. William's reign is notable, in the eyes of students of political science, for the laying of the foundations of that modern cabinet system, which is the practical guarantee of

¹ Defoe, *History of the Union*, p. 311.

liberty in most of the free countries and self-governing colonies of the modern world. Politicians of the days of William and Anne, it is true, were far from understanding the essential features involved; and what they understood, displeased them. All the same, a distinct advance was being made throughout these years towards the evolution of the essentials of cabinet government, as we find them in the British constitution of to-day—towards the control, that is, of the royal prerogative by a small band of ministers united in adherence to a definite political creed, owning the authority of a common leader, each jointly responsible for the political acts of his fellows, and all brought by the operation of the potent principle of ministerial responsibility beneath the domination of the House of Commons.

Macaulay has recounted, once for all, the gradual steps by which Parliament enslaved the king; how the Commons adopted a niggardly policy of annual doles, enforced by a rigorous appropriation of supplies, and audit of accounts; how the leaders of the various parliamentary factions, disunited in all else, were yet united in their determination to curtail the prerogatives of the Crown; how William found it impossible to procure funds for his French campaigns without the support of the leading Whigs; how to please them he was forced to form his famous Junto Ministry, the earliest unambiguous anticipation of a modern cabinet; how gradually the financial drain of the long-continued war, combined with William's attempts at independent action in concluding the Partition Treaties, produced a Tory reaction that compelled him, in 1698, to dismiss Somers and other leading Whigs, and fill their places from the ranks of the party he disliked. With William's personal feelings and bitter humiliation this article has no immediate concern, except in their bearing on Scots affairs. It is evident, however, that if the king had at Parliament's dictation to choose his ministers from among men he distrusted and disliked; if he was powerless to carry out his most dearly-cherished schemes, or even at times to protect himself from indignities and insults; if he was compelled by insular prejudice to repay, with conspicuous ingratitude, the deep obligations that bound him to his faithful Dutch troops; in such circumstances, the wishes of his Scottish subjects could not long prevail against the prejudices of his English ministers.

It is true that a logical distinction might be drawn between

the separate prerogatives of the two Crowns ; but in the field of politics logical subtleties give way to practical requirements ; and it was the English House of Commons, not the Scots Estates, that regulated all matters *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. It is further true that the northern country possessed separate ministers of her own. Even in its best days, however, the Scots Privy Council had never rivalled the powers of its English counterpart ; while in the two decades that preceded the Union, no appreciable influence was exercised over the destiny of Scotland by the decisions of the Scots Privy Council as a whole, or of any inner circle of that body sitting at Edinburgh. Where William's ministers were indifferent, his attitude towards northern affairs was directed by Carstares or such other statesman as had gained the royal ear, while in all matters of international importance the king of Scotland was compelled to regulate Scots affairs according to the exigencies of English party politics. Thus, under William of Orange, the ancient kingdom whose independence had survived the attacks of Edward Plantagenet and Oliver Cromwell, while still nominally free and independent, was practically in a worse position than any British self-governing colony at the present day. The real centre of the political life of the Dominion of Canada lies at Ottawa, and that of the Commonwealth of Australia at Melbourne. The legislatures which meet at these colonial capitals are much more than mere law-making assemblies, for they exercise an active control over the colonial cabinets, the selection of which is dictated by the lower chamber, and the members of which are subject to the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. Scotland, on the contrary, prior to 1707, was in matters of importance governed from London, not from Edinburgh ; while such powers as remained to the Scots Privy Council were by no means subject to the parliamentary control of the Estates. North, as well as south of the Tweed, ministerial responsibility meant the same thing—responsibility to the Parliament that sat at Westminster. Even in the Transvaal, politically dominated by the Boers, recently in rebellion against British suzerainty, the earlier constitution framed by Mr. Lyttleton, which conferred representative institutions without responsible government, has been condemned and superseded as not sufficiently liberal. Yet Scotland between 1660 and 1707, had to endure an executive government which admitted no responsibility to the national legislative assembly.

It would be absurd, of course, to criticise the institutions of the seventeenth century by the standards of the twentieth. Yet such comparisons are instructive ; and it was specially galling to Scotsmen that the seat of the executive authority should be gradually transferred to a foreign capital at the very time when the principles of self-government were taking firm root in England. In two respects at least, defective constitutional liberty was a greater hardship to pre-union Scotland than it would be to a modern British colony. While, at the present day, the policy of the mother country towards its colonies is always sympathetic, the English ministers of William and Anne were hostile and contemptuous of Scottish prejudices. The very proximity of the two kingdoms, on the other hand, in that intolerant age, made it seem the more impossible to statesmen south of the Tweed to allow independence of action to a neighbour steeped in hostile traditions and with leanings towards the exiled Stuart race. Seton of Pitmedden rightly said : 'Two kingdoms subject to one Sovereign, having different interests, the nearer these are one to another the greater jealousy and emulation will be betwixt them.'¹

That the rage of Scotland was, to a great extent, blind and unreasoning rage affords no cause for wonder ; for many irritating symptoms diverted attention from the true seat of the disease. The Scottish lion, blind with fury, knowing it was wounded, but realizing neither the nature nor location of the wound, attacked such victims as chance flung in its path—Captain Green and his unfortunate messmates of the *Worcester* among the number. The root-causes of the discontent, if imperfectly diagnosed in 1707, seem clear enough to-day ; there may have been other subordinate causes rendering an ultimate union likely, but all other necessities flowed from the constitutional necessity. Scotland, it is true, after 1660, as a foreign land, was excluded from free trade with England and the plantations. The incidence of the Navigation Acts had been cruelly felt by the merchants of Leith and Aberdeen in the reign of Charles II. Yet, if Scotsmen had remained as completely aliens in England, as were the French or Dutch, they could not have reasonably complained. It was different when they found themselves constitutionally bound to their supercilious rivals, who were using the accumulated weight of the two crowns to prevent Scotland making treaties for war or commerce with other European powers. The friends of

¹ Defoe, p. 313.

the Darien scheme may have been selfish and unwise in the policy they expected William to adopt. Yet, whether they were reasonable or the reverse was not the point; but rather whether the national will or the king's will should prevail in Scots affairs. If, south of the Tweed, the Whigs had put in practice the doctrine that sovereigns exist to serve the community, why should Scotland be burdened with a king who (as in his dealings with the Hamburg merchants) thwarted her dearest aspirations? Scotland, like the American colonies before the war of independence, was treated in some respects as though it were a dependency not of the British Crown, but of the English Parliament.¹ The *status quo* had become intolerable, and the only question at the commencement of Queen Anne's reign was as to the form the inevitable change should take.

What new solutions were possible? Seton of Pitmedden in his famous speech of 2nd November, 1706,² clearly explained 'the three different ways proposed for retrieving the languishing condition of this nation; which are, That we continue under the same sovereign with England, with limitations on his prerogative as king of Scotland; that the two kingdoms be incorporated into one; or that they be entirely separated.' To these three he subsequently added a fourth solution: the words 'Federal Union,' he explained, had 'become very fashionable, and may be handsomely fitted to delude unthinking people.'³ To a brief discussion of these various solutions we may now proceed.

(1) Complete separation, in these days of Jacobite activity and acute trade rivalries, would have resulted in constant or intermittent warfare between the kingdoms, if not in the conquest of the smaller by the larger—alternatives equally repugnant to Scottish patriotism;—while from England's point of view, it would have seemed intolerable to allow a hostile Scotland, probably in alliance, as of old, with France, to remain unconquered as a constant menace to her northern frontier. Surely, to bring back the old unhappy days of the Anglo-Scottish wars was an impossible solution.

(2) The scheme known as 'the Limitations,' pressed by

¹ The grievance in 1660-1707 was not, of course, that the Parliament of Westminster claimed to impose taxes on or to legislate for Scotland; but merely that that Parliament controlled the monarch in the exercise of executive authority, and in the use made of the right to refuse consent to Acts of the Scots Estates.

² Defoe, p. 312.

³ *Ibid.* p. 315.

Fletcher of Saltoun, in season and out of season, upon the Estates, while conferring the empty title of King of Scotland on the new sovereigns called to the English throne by the Act of Settlement, sought to reduce their independent powers to zero in all vital questions. On its purely theoretic side, this arrangement had much to recommend it. No one of his contemporaries, indeed, has shown so clear an insight into the real nature of the evil as Fletcher did, when he declared, in one of his fiery outbursts: 'It is not the prerogatives of a king of Scotland I would diminish, but the prerogatives of English ministers over this nation.' His suggested remedy, however, was open to serious practical objections. So far as 'the Limitations' would have really secured an effective control by the Estates over the royal prerogative, this would have amounted to a transference of 'sovereignty' from the king to the Scottish Parliament, and would have destroyed to that extent the bond of unity with England. In so far, on the other hand, as the control of the Estates proved incomplete, Scotland would have remained exposed, as formerly, to the interference of foreigners in her affairs, with the added evils and confusions consequent upon a divided 'sovereignty.' The position of the monarch under such a scheme, upon either alternative, would have been so full of danger and humiliation that no self-respecting prince would have accepted it. Finally, England would never willingly have acquiesced in an arrangement which brought added responsibilities without adequate return.

(3) In explaining the disadvantages of a federal union, Seton of Pitmedden, in the speech already quoted, showed astounding penetration. After asking, among other searching questions, 'whether there can be any sure guarantee projected for the observance of the articles of a federal compact, stipulated betwixt two nations, whereof the one is much superior to the other in riches, numbers of people, and an extended commerce?' he proceeds to show from history how the weaker of the two kingdoms, united by such a compact, has invariably repudiated the connection with the stronger, 'unless prevented by open force, or secret influence on its government.'¹ To his two examples of Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Denmark, it is now possible to make several striking additions. Four important systems of government have been based, in modern times, upon a federal or quasi-federal principle—those of the United States of

¹ Defoe, p. 315.

America; Switzerland; Austria-Hungary; Norway and Sweden.¹ In the two first named, the federal tie is generally admitted to have proved successful; in the two latter it has failed conspicuously. Norway, rebelling against a burden that had grown intolerable, renounced in 1904 her allegiance to a monarch she respected, in order to free herself from the hated supremacy of Sweden. Hungarian patriots, while grinding beneath their heels Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, and Slovaks, chafe unceasingly against Austrian supremacy, complaining that Hungarian interests and political ideals are systematically subordinated to those of their uncongenial political yoke-fellows.

To which of these groups would a federal Anglo-Scotia, in 1707, have corresponded the more closely? Would it have resembled a more or less numerous group of cantons or states like the Republics of Switzerland and North America—united under a federal legislature in which the interest of each of the original members is so small as to be easily neutralised by a combination of the others? Or would it rather have resembled the dual monarchies, where a common executive head in one case still compels, and in another has failed to compel, a smaller nation to submit to the continuance of a hated tie? Such historical parallels, conclusive as they are, are hardly needed to prove that in 1707, a federal union, would have kept alive all the evils of the previous régime, leaving Scotland powerless in the hands of English ministers. By a process of exhaustion, it has thus been shown that the only possible solution of the pressing constitutional problem, consistent both with national interests and national pride, lay in such a complete fusion of the two nations on terms of equality, as would secure for Scotsmen a fair share of influence in the organic life of the new nation; and make, at the same time, adequate provision for preserving—so far as human ingenuity could preserve them—her national church, administrative machinery, and separate legal system. It is possible to ask, however, whether in truth all these objects have been successfully and permanently obtained.

It must be admitted, at least, that the mere fact of Scottish birth has not prevented individuals from holding high office in every department under the British Constitution, the office of Prime Minister not excepted; while the most sanguine antici-

¹ It is not necessary for our present purpose to fix the criteria of a federal state, or the exact difference, so much discussed among Germans, Magyars and Czechs, between a federal union and a confederacy.

pations of commercial advantages to be gained by Scotland from freedom of trade with England have been surpassed. It may still be asked, however, to what extent the guarantees of the Scottish Church and of the peculiar legal system, so jealously regarded in the Union debates, have stood the test of time. If an affirmative answer is here impossible, it is no slight on the statesmanship of the framers of the Treaty of Union to say that they failed to achieve what was logically impossible. A federal union, if adopted, might (like 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not') have permanently guaranteed existing institutions against attempts at legislative interference; but in the debates in the Cockpit and subsequently at Edinburgh, all idea of a union thus restricted was deliberately abandoned. The fundamental postulate on which the entire Treaty was built was that the Union should be absolute, complete, and irreducible, and that both existing Parliaments must surrender all their powers to a new Parliament, possessing legislative 'sovereignty' equally over the laws and institutions of both kingdoms. To attempt to combine with this postulate a legal (as opposed to a moral) guarantee that the Presbyterian Church or any of the peculiar laws and institutions of Scotland should remain perpetually unchanged, was like attempting to reconcile the contradiction in terms underlying the mathematical quibble which inquires what would happen if an irresistible force should meet an immovable mass? The new Parliament having been declared irresistible, it followed that nothing could be inviolable; while if any existing institution had been rendered legally unchangeable, it would have followed that as respects that institution at least, the Parliament was not supreme. There might be and there was a moral obligation upon the new legislature to respect the conditions of the Treaty, but such obligation could not have been made legally binding, without fundamentally altering the nature of the British Parliament as a sovereign legislative body. It is true that in the years following the Union, Scotland bitterly lamented the absence of legal guarantees, and had good reason to charge the overwhelming English majorities at Westminster with breach of faith in violating the spirit of the Treaty. It is true, further, that the Union would never have been effected, if the waverers at Edinburgh had suspected for one moment, when the crucial votes were taken, that the stipulated terms would not be scrupulously observed down to the minutest item.

It is necessary in this connection, however, to distinguish between those national institutions which the Act of Union deliberately left to the operation of the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament, and those others which it attempted, however illogically, to render permanent and inviolable. (1) Scotland stipulated to preserve her separate system of jurisprudence; but here there was no thought to stereotype the entire body of the existing laws. That would have been to turn a progressive Scotland into a second China. By the 18th Article all laws not inconsistent with the Treaty, were to remain in force 'but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain.' Well meaning directions were added—possessing, of course, no legally binding authority—as to the way in which that Parliament ought to use these powers. Laws concerning 'public right, policy, and civil government' should be uniform throughout the realm, while those concerning 'private right' should be altered only for the utility of the subjects of Scotland. The continuance of a separate Privy Council for Scotland was left entirely to the discretion of Queen Anne and her successors in Parliament by the 19th Article, the terms of which rather suggest that its discontinuance would be the more natural course. It was, therefore, no hardship that an Act was passed in the very year of the Union, exercising these powers of abolition. Nor was it a breach of faith that the House of Lords should hear appeals from the Court of Session and the Court of Justiciary, since in the Union debates the Upper House was systematically described as 'the only sovereign judicature of Britain,' with equal authority over both kingdoms.¹ It *was* a grievance, however, although not a legal one, that this right of review was sometimes influenced by political bias as it undoubtedly was in Greenshield's case, the fate of which was really determined by the Tory triumph, consequent upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell.

(2) In two important matters at least, when the Scots commissioners consented to the Union, they intended that Scottish institutions should remain inviolable for ever. The Presbyterian Church was to remain intact both under the original Articles of Union and also in terms of the special Act passed for its protection; while in Defoe's words, 'The Courts of Justice, and the general form of administration, such as session, justiciary, and all other Courts, were to remain in force for ever.'² The judicial system, thus secured by a law that was to be incapable

¹ Defoe, p. 159.

² Defoe, 151.

of repeal, included the various heritable jurisdictions, which chained Scotland to the feudal past. Defoe, with his usual prescience, regretted that the continued existence of these last had not been left for Parliament to determine.¹ That was not done, however; and it is therefore clear that the Act abolishing military tenures, which swept these anomalies away in 1747, was, however desirable, a deliberate breach of the terms of Union.

A more emphatic example of the incompatibility of parliamentary sovereignty with the stipulations of the Treaty of Union had been already afforded by three laws passed in 1712. The Toleration Act, the Act Restoring Patronage, and the Christmas Observance Act, whether wise or unwise in themselves, showed that the national sentiment of Scotland was subject to the over-ruling power of Westminster, and that this power might sometimes be exercised in a manner that was purely vexatious. It was bitterly realized that bigoted Episcopalian majorities in both Houses of Parliament had the legal power, if they chose to exercise it, of overturning the Presbyterian form of church government in Scotland in spite of express stipulations to the contrary in the Treaty itself, and in the Act specially passed for its protection.

Such incidents illustrate the inadequacy of the precautions taken in 1707 considered as legal guarantees of the permanency of existing institutions. They fall far short, however, of proving the Union a mistake. The incorporation of the two nations with each other, if accepted at all, had to be accepted by both sides, with all the faults inherent in the qualities of the measure. Scotland could not reasonably expect to retain all the advantages of separation while gaining in addition those attendant upon union. She surrendered her independence exactly as England did. In one respect, however, she found herself in worse case than England, since she accepted the domination of a legislative assembly in which her own representatives would have found themselves in a hopeless minority, if divisions had taken place on national as opposed to party lines. This was the risk she had to run—the price she paid for the Union. With the passage of two centuries these dangers and defects have disappeared from view, while the compensating advantages have become the more conspicuous. The recurrence of undue interference on the part of English majorities with exclusively Scottish affairs has been minimized, if not entirely obviated, with the growth

¹ Defoe, 152.

of a tolerant spirit in politics and religion ; while a feeling of mutual participation in the new and wider nationality—not incompatible with a sincere Scottish or local English patriotism—has done much towards consolidating the Union.

Time, then, has justified the framers of the Treaty. Scottish national institutions were protected in so far as was possible or desirable, and the successful termination of the negotiations in 1707 must be viewed as a triumph of Scottish diplomacy. At a time when Englishmen looked upon Scotland and Scotsmen with hatred and contempt, or at least with a half-contemptuous indifference—at a time when the mass of Englishmen were apathetic or antagonistic to the question of a closer union—it was surely a triumph for Scotland first to awaken English statesmen to a due sense of the urgency of the problem by passing the Act of Security—‘that masterpiece of policy,’ as Defoe aptly terms it,¹ and then to extort terms of perfect equality on lines which were strictly fair, if not generous, and which entirely satisfied the quick pride of reasonable Scotsmen, by ensuring the construction of a stable basis on which national prosperity, to an extent undreamed of at the time, was afterwards to be built.

If Scotland, in 1707, renounced for ever her ancient constitution along with her continued existence as an independent state—an apparent blessing which pressure of circumstances had turned to an actual curse—she gained in return an honourable share in the life of Great Britain, and the right to exercise her fair measure of control in shaping the destinies of the British Empire—a right of which her sons have not been slow to take advantage.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

¹ *Union*, p. 96. Swift maintained in 1714 that England would never have consented to the Union, but for the danger of leaving ‘a poor, fierce, northern people at liberty to put themselves under a different king.’

Scottish Students in Heidelberg, 1386-1662

HEIDELBERG, the most ancient University in Germany, was founded in 1386, and between 1386 and 1662 the names of thirty-one Scotsmen are to be found on its matriculation register. After the latter date there is a gap of about thirty years in the records, which suffered in the general devastation of Heidelberg wrought by the French invaders towards the close of the seventeenth century.

We shall take the names in the order of time. Where nothing has been discovered by the present writer in regard to any of them, they will simply be indicated as they occur in the Heidelberg register, with the date of their matriculation.

I. *Johannes Maluil de Scotia*, 20th Dec., 1423.

II. *Duncanus de Lythonn*, 5th May, 1434.

The appended description, 'cler. dyot.,' and the further note, 'primus diocesanus Abberdonensis,' are not clear to the writer. Some reference is manifestly involved to the bishopric of Aberdeen.

III. *Johannes Menteyt, Scotus*, 15th March, 1568.

IV. *Gulielmus Sivius, Scotus*, Cal. Aprilis, 1570.

A Latinised form of 'William Wood.'

V. *Olivarius Colt, Scotus*, Cal. Apr., 1570.

This name was introduced into Scotland by a fugitive Huguenot called 'Blais-Coult,' who obtained a professorship in St. Andrews. He is the ancestor of the Colts of Auldham in Haddingtonshire and Gartscherrie in Lanarkshire.¹

VI. *Johannes Jonstonus, Scotus*, 13th April, 1587, gratis.

A further note contains the name of this John Johnston, viz. '18th Feb. 1589—6 people were sent forward for the degree of M.A. promotore M. Joannes Jonsthono, Scoto, regente Contubernij.' He was probably a member of the family of Johnston of Crimond, and thus a relative of the Arthur Johnston to be later referred to.

He was born about 1570 and educated at King's College, Aberdeen. He is said to have studied subsequently at various places on the Continent besides Heidelberg, viz. at Helmstadt, Geneva, and Rostock. About 1593 this John Johnston obtained the Chair of Divinity in St. Andrews, and remained professor there till his death in 1611.

¹The above student may have been this professor's son, Oliver Colt, who was a lawyer in the time of Queen Mary.

He was eminent as a Latin poet and scholar. His chief works are: *Inscriptiones Historicae Regnum Scotorum*, which consists of epigrammatic addresses to Scottish kings from Fergus I. to James VI. This book was printed at Amsterdam in 1602-3; *Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica Lectissimi*, Leyden, 1603. This is a series of epigrams similar to the above in honour of Scottish heroes of the same period. He also wrote epigrams on the principal towns of Scotland, which are inserted in *Camden's Britannia*.

This John Johnston being, as we see, a man of considerable scholarship, is much more likely to have been the student at Heidelberg than another John Johnston (the eldest brother of Arthur Johnston before mentioned), who was Sheriff of Aberdeen in 1630. Apart from his literary eminence, he was in Germany, as we know from other sources, at the time specified.

VII. *Jacobus Robertson, Edinburgensis, Scotus*, 17th April, 1589.

VIII. *Robert Uimierus, Scotus*, 22nd Feb., 1593.

Otherwise Vinieus, Vimeus, Mag. Artium, exul et pauper.

The annals of the University have a further note regarding this Robert Hume or Wemyss (either of which might have been his name in Scotch), stating that he had 'taken up in the year 1593 the position which had been assigned to him as regent in the Collegium Casimirianum—a prince Buloneo ad philosophiae professionem invitatus' [A. U. xvi. 130].

IX. *Thomas Moravius, Scotus*, 22nd Febr., 1593.

X. *M. Alexander Arbuthnot, Scotus*, 30th July, 1594.

A further note says: Arbudnot (al. Arbudnot) rec. ad Stipendium quoddam in Contubernio Sept., 1595. Still held the same in July, 1599. Attended 'lectiones historicas et politicas.'

In all probability this was the son of Alexander Arbuthnot, who became the first Protestant Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1569, and who was described by Andrew Melville as 'patriae lux oculusque,' and by James Melville as 'one of the three learnedest men in Europe,' and 'a man of singular gifts of learning, wesdome, godliness, and sweitnes of nature.' Indeed he was of too gentle and refined a disposition for the stormy times in which he lived, and he died at the early age of forty-five, broken-hearted, as it appears, by the wayward opposition of a generation which fell so far short of his high ideals. He has recorded his feelings in a poem called 'The Miseries of a pure (poor) Scholar,' which is really autobiographical. The following is one of the verses:

'I think the world sa wrappit in mischief
That gude is yll and yll is callit gude.
All thing I see does bot augment my grief;
I feel the wo and can nocht se relief.
The Lordis plaig throuhout the world is went
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament?'

XI. *M. Thomas Landelus, Glascoviensis, Scotus*, 23rd Dec., 1596, gratis.

The following note is appended :

‘Die 15 Decembris 1596 ex Senatus consulto M. Thomas Landelus, Glascoviensis, Scotus (iam quadragenarius et pauper) testimonium habens a senioribus et ministro ecclesiae zu Pfaltzburg et nominatim commendatus a quadam de lenitate in curandis aegrotis, receptus fuit per hyemem in domum Casimirianum, hac lege ne faciat medicinam (in urbe) sed theologia det operam (*i.e.* ut instituta studia theologia persequatur).’

This ‘Collegium Casimirianum’ suffered destruction by fire in the year 1693. Its site is now occupied by the University buildings, within which there is a tablet recording the former presence of the ‘Casimirianum.’

XII. *David Duramenus, Bacholdensis, Scotus*, 27th January, 1597, gratis.

The only place in Scotland, known to the writer, the name of which bears a resemblance to Bacholdensis, is Badcaul, in the parish of Eddrachillis, Sutherlandshire.

‘David Durham’ is most likely the basis of the Latin surname. The name ‘Durie’ was generally rendered in Latin by ‘Duraeus.’ During his sojourn in Heidelberg a pestilence raged, which, from a contemporary surgeon’s account referring to ‘ulcera bubones et anthraces,’ appears to have been of an Eastern type. A prorector had, shabbily enough, been appointed as an interim ‘during the continuance of the plague,’ while many of his colleagues had fled from the town, and in a letter he complains of the action of those who desert their posts in time of danger, and entrust them to men such as he, sixty years old, ‘in qua aetate constitos ut ad rempublicam gerendam ineptos de ponte deiicere solebant veteres Romani!’

XIII. *M. Gwalterus Donaldsonus, Aberdonensis, Scotus*, 11th Sept., 1599.

This Walter Donaldson belonged, as stated, to Aberdeen. He was a member of the retinue of Bishop Cunningham of Aberdeen, and Peter Junius, Grand Almoner of Scotland, when on an embassy from James VI. to the Court of Denmark and the Princes of Germany. He subsequently returned to the Continent, and, probably when a student in Heidelberg, delivered at the latter place a series of lectures on moral philosophy, which were later published, from student’s notes, both in Germany and Britain, under the title of *Synopsis Moralis Philosophiae*. He afterwards became Professor of Physics, Ethics and Greek at the University of Sedan, and acted at the same time as Principal. He remained there for sixteen years. He also published *Ethica Oeconomica* and *Loci Communes* from *Diogenes Laertius*.

XIV. *M. Arturus Jonstonus, Abredonensis, Scotus*, 11th Sept., 1599.

A further note states that M. Arturus Jonstonus, Scotus, matriculated as a student of theology under ‘Doctor Tossanus,’ ‘in meo decanatu’ (4th Oct.).

We have here almost certainly the eminent Latin poet and physician, Arthur Johnston, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was born in 1587(?) at Caskieben, Aberdeenshire, the seat of his ancestors for many generations, and was the fifth son of George Johnston of Caskieben and Christian, daughter of William, Lord Forbes. After travelling through Germany, Denmark, Holland and England he settled in France, and his rapid development is marked by the fact that he was 'crowned' at Paris as 'poet laureate' in the twentieth year of his age. He remained twenty years in France.

His fame as a Latin poet chiefly rests on his Latin version of the Psalms, which has been held by many to rival that of Buchanan. Three editions of his Psalms were published at the expense of the Englishman Benson (one of the most ardent supporters of Johnston's superiority to Buchanan), with an elegant life of the translator. One of these was published in 1741, with a fine portrait of Johnston by Vertue after Jamesone.

Johnston had received the M.D. of Padua in 1610. He returned to Scotland in 1632. In 1637 he became Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and received the appointment of Physician-in-Ordinary to Charles I. He died in Oxford in 1641, while on a visit to a daughter who was married to a clergyman of the Church of England; hence the lament:

'Scotia moesta dole tanti viduata sepulcro
Vatis: is Angligenis contigit altus honos.'

His chief works are: *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, Aberdeen and London, 1637, and Middelburg, 1642, also at Amsterdam (by David Hoogstratanus) in 1706; *Canticum Salomonis paraphrasi elegiaca*, London, 1633, and along with the Psalms at Amsterdam, 1706; *Libri Jobi paraphrasis poetica*; *Parerga et Epigrammata*.

He also edited at Amsterdam in 1637 *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, in which many pieces of his own appear.

It must be admitted that the date of this Arthur Johnston's birth, as given, would necessitate his being at Heidelberg when under thirteen years of age. Allowing this date to be correct, however, the remarkable precocity of the youth, already referred to, would relieve the difficulty somewhat, while it is to be remembered that in those days students were often little more than boys.

XV. *Gulielmus Jonstonus, Scotus*, Magister artium, gratis, 26th Feb., 1603.

In all probability a younger brother of the foregoing, and also a gifted Latin scholar.

He was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and thereafter proceeded to the University of Sedan, where he lectured on philosophy. In 1626 he was appointed the first Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College. He died in 1640. He is spoken of as 'weall seen both in the mathematics and the medicine.'

XVI. *M. Andreas Aidius, Abredianus, Scotus*, 4th May, 1603.

This Andrew Aidié was later Professor of Philosophy at Danzig. He published, probably while at the latter place, *Disputationes Logicas Morales*, and in this work incurred (at least on the Continent) the suspicion of plagiarism.

He also wrote in 1614 *Clavem Philosophiæ Moralis*. In 1615 he was made Principal of Marischal College. This position, however, he resigned in the year 1619, as a result of difficulties in which he became involved with Bishop Alexander Forbes of Aberdeen, who, as we shall see presently, was a fellow-student of Aidié's in Heidelberg.

XVII. *Alexander Forbosius, Scotus*, iniuratus, 11th June, 1603.

We are doubtless correct in identifying this Alexander Forbes with the Bishop Alexander Forbes just mentioned. The latter was of the house of Ardmurdo, and was appointed to the Bishopric of Aberdeen in the year 1616. He died, however, not long afterwards, in the year 1618, being succeeded in his office by Bishop Patrick Forbes, the eminent prelate (born 1564).

XVIII. *Patricius Lyndesius, Scotus*, 21st January, 1603.

Very probably to be identified with Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow. He was born in 1566, and educated at St. Andrews. Associating himself with the Episcopal schemes of James I., he became Bishop of Ross in 1613. In the year 1615 he was appointed Privy-Councillor of Scotland, and in 1633 obtained the Archbishopric of Glasgow. He was deposed by the General Assembly of 1638, and died in 1644.

XIX. *Alexander Andersonus, Scotus, Abreptonensis*, 20th April, 1605.

There was an Alexander Anderson who was Principal of King's College from 1553 to 1569. The Alexander Anderson we have here is most likely to have been the son of this Principal Anderson. He went to Paris early in life as a teacher or professor of mathematics, in which subject he attained great fame. He published the valuable MSS. of Vieta, Master of Requests at Paris, who died in 1603.

XX. *Patritius Kymerina, Germanensis, Scotus*, 12th June, 1605, gratis.

This Patrick Cameron, which name, as we may best suppose, is represented in the Latin version, had evidently, either by naturalisation or otherwise, some close connection with Germany.

XXI. *Alexander Ramsaeus, Scotus, Baronis de Bamff filius tertio-genitus*, 8th Nov., 1606.

This Alexander Ramsay was clearly the son of George Ramsay of Bamff, the latter, in turn, being a descendant of Adam de Ramsay of Bamff who, among other Scottish Barons, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. He was Physician to James I. and Charles I. Sir James Ramsay, the present representative of the family, informs me that he has a portrait of this Alexander Ramsay at Bamff, which is dated about 1666.

XXII. *Patricius Dunaus, Scotus*, 9th May, 1607.

To be identified, in all likelihood, with Dr. Patrick Dun, who was 'mediciner' at King's College, and, for the period 1621-1649, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. In this connection we may note that medicine was only officially added to the curriculum in 1700, while not until 1823 were any lectures delivered on the subject.

He was the author of a treatise on medicine, and as a physician he had a widespread reputation. When he accepted office it was accordingly agreed that 'quhen he salbe burdenit be nobill men in the cuntrie in tyme of their seiknes to repair towards thame as phisicians, he may lesumlie do the same without imputioun of offence or bruck of dewtie on his pairt.'

This same Patrick Dun refounded the Grammar School of New Aberdeen.

XXIII. *Joannes Camero, Scotus*, 2nd Dec., 1607.

A further note states that he was 'Praeceptor of the three co-matriculated, Alexander, Abel and Franciscus a Caligno, Gratianopolitani nobiles Galli, fratres,' and among the matriculated students of theology in 1608 he appears as 'Johannes Camero, Scotus, a Burdegalsensi ecclesia vocatus, cui nunc in ministerio servit.'

This John Cameron, a representative of the Reformed religion, was a native of Glasgow, and was born, as we are told, 'of respectable parents.' He taught Greek in the University there for a year, and thereafter went to the Continent. After being engaged for some time teaching Latin and Greek at Bergerac he was appointed by the Duc de Bouillon Professor of Philosophy at Sedan. Remaining there for two years he proceeded to Heidelberg in charge of three sons of Calignon, Chancellor of Navarre. Heidelberg claimed him for a year. On the 4th of April, 1608, he maintained there a series of theses, *De triplici Dei cum homine foedere*, which is printed among his works. Thereafter he took up ministerial work at Bordeaux, and, following this, was Professor of Theology at Saumur. Leaving France as a result of the religious war raging at this time, he lectured privately on theology in London, and later, in 1622, was Professor of Theology and Principal in Glasgow University. Being disliked there on account of his attachment to Episcopacy, he remained only a year, and we find him again lecturing privately in Saumur, and subsequently Professor of Theology in Montauban. While holding this latter position he was attacked by some ill-disposed person—probably a Catholic zealot—and died, as a result of his wounds, in the year 1625, at the age of forty-six. He was famed as a fluent Greek scholar.

His chief theological writings are: *Praelectiones in selectiora quaedam loca Novi Testamenti una cum Tractatu de ecclesia et nonnullis miscellaniis opusculis*, Saumur, 1626-28; *Myrothecium Evangelicum in quo aliquot loca N.T. explicantur, etc.*, Geneva, 1632; *Of the Sovereign Judge of Controversies in matters of Religion*, Oxford, 1628.

He also wrote a treatise, *De Gratia et libero Arbitrio*, in regard to which subject he had a controversy with Tileno. This treatise, along with other of his writings, was published in 1642 at Frankfort, and in 1659 at Geneva.

XXIV. *David Nerneus, Andreapolitanus, Scotus*, 31st July, 1609.

This student was enrolled at St. Andrews in 1596, signing himself 'David Nairn.'

XXV. *Thomas Sincerf, Scotus*, 10th July, 1609.

The surname appears in Scottish biography as Sydserff, and is, of course, derived from 'St. Serf.'

This Thomas Sydserff was born in 1581, and took the degree of M.A. at Edinburgh in 1602. He played an important part in the introduction of the English Prayer-Book in 1633, and, having at one time been Bishop of Brechin, he was appointed Bishop of Galloway by Laud in the year 1635. While holding office at the latter place he suffered violence at the hands of the mob, and was deposed by the authority of the General Assembly of 1638, and, at the same time, excommunicated. At the Restoration he was reinstalled as Bishop of Orkney, being the only surviving bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church at that time. He died three years later.

XXVI. *Johannes Hagesius, Scotus, gratis*, 8th Oct., 1611.

'John Hodge' or 'John Hogg.'

XXVII. *Joannes Forbesius, Scoto. Bryttanus, Nobilis*, 24th May, 1613.

John Forbes was the second son of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen (who succeeded to the see in 1617), and was born on the 2nd of May, 1593. After studying philosophy and divinity at King's College in his native city, he proceeded to Heidelberg, where he attended the lectures of the famous Paraeus. While on the Continent he maintained in the year 1618 a public disputation against the Archbishop and the Lutherans at Upsala in Sweden. He was known in Germany as 'Fabricius à Corse,' the latter being the name of the family estate to which he succeeded on the death of his brother. After visiting several of the other Universities in Germany he returned to Scotland, and was appointed in 1620, at the age of twenty-six, to the Chair of Divinity and Church History in King's College, Aberdeen, which his father had been instrumental in founding.

In the hopes of securing a bishopric he attached himself to the Episcopal schemes of James I. and Charles I., and with other 'Aberdeen Doctors' he opposed the Commissioners of the Covenant when they visited Aberdeen. As a result of his refusal to sign this document he was ejected from the Chair by a Committee of the General Assembly in 1640. Sentence was deferred for a year, the reason, as recorded by Baillie, the Covenanting writer, being: 'Dr. Forbes's ingenuitie pleased us so well that we have given him yet tyme for advysement.' On the 20th April, 1641, however, he was finally deposed, 'because he refusit to subscribe and swear our Covenant.' Thereafter he sought

refuge from the ecclesiastical unrest by spending two years in Holland, where he worked at his *Institutiones Historico-Theologicae*, an unfinished treatise which has received high praise. In 1646 he returned to his estate of Corse, where he died on the 29th of April, 1648.

He had attempted to reconcile the religious sects in a treatise entitled *Irenicum Amatoribus veritatus ac pacis in ecclesia Scoticana*.

Among his other works are: *Vitae Interioris Idea*; *Diss. de Visione Beatifica*; *Theologiae Moralis Libri X.*; *Liber de Cura et Residentia Pastoralis*. They were published in two volumes by Nic. Gürtlern in Amsterdam in 1703, with a sketch of the author's life by Dr. George Garden.

XXVIII. *Thomas Knoxius, Ramberlaeus, Scotus*, 23rd Sept., 1613.

A further note states that 'Thomas Knoxius Ramfelreus, Scotus, matriculated as a student of theology on 24th Sept., 1613.'

In 1606 Andrew Knox, a younger son of John Knox of Ranfurly, Renfrewshire, was Bishop of the Isles, and in 1622 he was translated to the see of Raphoe in Ireland. He was succeeded in the office of Bishop of the Isles by his son *Thomas Knox*, in whom we doubtless have the above-mentioned student at Heidelberg. The male line of this family failed in the person of Andrew Knox's grandnephew, viz. Uchter Knox of Ranfurly, who had one daughter. The latter sold the estate to the first Earl of Dundonald.

With regard to John Knox's connection with this family, two sources are in favour of it. One of these is David Buchanan's *Memoirs of Knox* prefixed to the edition of the *Historie* in 1644, where it is stated that his 'father was brother's son of the house of Ranferlie.' The second source is a genealogical account of John Knox's family, which was in the possession of the late James Knox, Minister of Scone, where occurs the record that his (John Knox's) 'father was a brother of the family of Ranfurly, and proprietor of the estate of Gifford in Haddingtonshire.' Dr. M'Crie argues, on the other hand, that the family appear to have been in East Lothian in the time of Knox's greatgrandfather, adducing the conversation of Knox with Bothwell to be found in the *Historie of the Reformation*, ed. 1732, p. 306: 'My lord, my greatgrandfather, gudesir, and father have served your lordship's predecessors, and some of them have dyed under their standards.' If the Bothwell estates included lands in Renfrewshire, the latter argument would, of course, be invalidated.

XXIX. *Thomas Meluinus, Disartius, Scoto. Brittanus*, 25th Nov., 1613.

Some Thomas Melvin, apparently, from Dysart.

XXX. *Thomas Cumingius, Belga. Scotus, i.e. Belga parentibus Scotus*, 28th May, 1614.

A further note states that 'Thomas Cuminius, Belga, matriculated as a student of theology.'

'Belga parentibus Scotus' evidently means that he was of Scotch parents, resident, however, in Belgium.

XXXI. *Rodericus Macleannan, Scoto. Britannus*, 30th April, 1660.

With this Roderick Macleannan our list closes.

As indicated in the description of his nationality, we may surmise that (with, as we have seen, one or two others of these Scottish students in Heidelberg) he gloried at once in the name of 'Scotchman' and 'Briton.' The Macleannans are associated with the district of Kintail in Ross-shire.

When we consider the fact illustrated that so many Scotsmen attained to positions of academic importance on the Continent, both as lecturers and debaters, the question would arise as to how the difficulties of variety in language were got over, did we not remember that, in mediaeval times, Latin was a medium as widespread as literary culture, and formed the Academic language of Europe.

As will be noticed, a considerable number of the Scotsmen treated of were Episcopalians, a fact which may not be without significance, the literary interests of Scotland in those days having been largely represented by this body.

In his investigations the writer has made accuracy his aim. As will be readily supposed, however, the materials gathered and sources consulted have been more or less limited, and the writer should prefer that the notes be regarded by those interested in any of the names, more as points of departure for further inquiry than as final statements.

Foremost among those to whom thanks are due is Professor Adolf Deissmann of Heidelberg University, who first suggested the inquiry to the writer, and gave him the benefit, indeed, of the list of names and a few notes regarding them which he had himself gathered with a view to publication in some Scottish periodical. Professor Deissmann is not a stranger to Scotland, having received in September, 1906, the honorary degree of D.D. from Aberdeen University, in recognition of his well-known scholarship in the sphere of New Testament and kindred Greek.

The writer would like also to record his indebtedness to Mr. Maitland Anderson, Librarian of St. Andrews University, for his courtesy in reading over the article previous to publication, and making several suggestions and emendations.

Among the books which he has used as sources he would specially mention: *History of the University of Aberdeen*, by John Malcolm Bulloch, London, 1895, and *The Universities of Aberdeen: a history*, by Robert Sangster Rait, Aberdeen, 1895.

W. CAIRD TAYLOR.

The Bishops of Glasgow

From the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the
Reformation : Notes chiefly Chronological

AS was observed by the writer of the present article, when dealing with the Bishops of Dunkeld prior to the Reformation (*Scottish Historical Review*, Jan. 1904), the large amount of historical material that has become available since the publication of Bishop Keith's meritorious work, the *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (1755), makes it imperative to review again in the light of such new information the lists of the bishops of the several Scottish sees. An attempt is here made to readjust the chronology of the bishops of the important see of Glasgow, a see second only to St. Andrews in wealth and influence.

For the earlier bishops dealt with in the present number Eubel's recently published work, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (tom. i., 1898; tom. ii., 1901) is not available. Down to the year 1318 Eubel relies on Gams. In subsequent numbers his dates from the Papal Archives will be recorded. The value of Theiner's *Monumenta* has long been recognized. As will be seen, his labours have been carefully utilised in the present enquiry. And it need scarcely be said that the *Calendar of Papal Registers*, published under direction of the Master of the Rolls, has been employed down to the issue of the latest volume.

In an enquiry at once so extensive in range and so minute in detail it is scarcely possible that errors have been wholly avoided; and the writer will be grateful to historical students who may be so good as to inform him of any mistakes which they have detected.

In citing authorities the following abbreviations are used: A.P. = *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Record edit.); B.C. = *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Office*, edited by Joseph Bain; C.P.R. = *Calendar of Papal Registers* (Master of

the Rolls series); E.=Eubel's work referred to above; Extr.=*Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* (Edinburgh, 1842); K.=*Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, by the Right Rev. Robert Keith (Russel's edit. Edinburgh, 1824); M.=*Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club edit. 1835); Mas Latrie=*Trésor de Chronologie d'histoire*, etc., par M. le C^{te} De Mas Latrie, folio, Paris, 1889; R.M.=*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club edit. 1837); R.G.=*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club edit. 1843); R.P.S.A.=*Registrum Prioratus S. Andree* (Bannatyne Club edit. 1841); Sc.=*Scotichronicon Joannis de Fordun cum supplementis et continuatione Walteri Boweri* (Goodall's edit. Edinburgh, 1759); T.=*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia*: A. Theiner (Romae, 1864). The Chartularies of religious houses are cited by their English names, thus 'Kelso' for *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, and 'Holyrood' for *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, etc.

The names of bishops elect, but not consecrated, are printed in italic capitals.

MICHAEL. Although the bishop first named in this list is unknown in Scottish record, it would be improper to pass him over in silence. Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, writing in 1119 to P. Calixtus II., states that Thomas (who was archbishop of York from 1109, June 27, to 1114, Feb. 24) "quemdam Britonem Glasguensi ecclesiae ordinavit episcopum" (see Twysden, *Decem Script.* coll. 1743, 1746). Now this bishop cannot be identified (as by Keith, and by Grub, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 220) with John (see next entry), because not only their names differed, but also because the consecrator of each was different. The York historian, Thomas Stubs, in the second half of the fourteenth century, states that Thomas, archbishop of York, at the request of Earl David, ordained a holy man, Michael by name, for the see of Glasgow, who gave a profession of canonical obedience to York in writing (*Acta Pontif. Ebor.*; Twysden, *Decem Script.* col. 1713). According to the same authority, Michael, by command of the archbishop of York, dedicated churches in the diocese of York, and conferred orders (*ordines fecit*) in the church of Morlonnd [in Westmoreland], in which church he was afterwards buried. How much of T. Stubs' statement is to be believed? Such competent judges as Haddan and W. Stubbs apparently think it may all be believed (*Councils*, II. i. 14). Michael's conduct is like that of the nominal York-Orkney bishops; he acted as an assistant-bishop of York. His not appearing in Scottish record may perhaps be accounted for either because his death (as may be supposed) followed soon after his consecration, or Earl David may have resented Michael's having professed canonical obedience to York. There can be little doubt, I think, of the existence of this bishop bearing the title 'of Glasgow,' even if we regard him as only titular, and no doubt, if he existed, that he was a different person from John.

I. JOHN. A monk (*vir religiosus*, R.G. i. 4), formerly tutor to Earl David (*ib.*). He was consecrated, though reluctant, by P. Paschal II. (who was elected in August, 1099, and died 21 Jan. 1118) (*ib.*), and among other

authorities for Paschal being the consecrator of John, see the letter of P. Innocent II. to John, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 1187.

The earliest charter evidence which I have found is his witnessing the foundation charter of the abbey of Selkirk by Earl David, that is, at latest, before 23 April, 1124, when Earl David succeeded to the throne (Kelso, No. 1).

For the attempts of successive popes to induce John to render obedience to the see of York, see Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 40, 41, 81.

John, bishop of Glasgow, was consulted by Eadmer in his difficulties at St. Andrews in the year 1120 or 1121 (see Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*).

The writer, evidently not contemporary, who has penned the notes on Earl David's *Inquisitio* represents John as having been elected by Earl David *consilio clericorum* (R.G. i. 4). In a letter of Calixtus II. to John, 15 Jan. [1122], the Pope says that John had been elected *in capitulo* of the church of York, as a suffragan of that church, and had been consecrated by Pope Paschal *postulatione ecclesie Eboracensis* (*Reg. Alb. Ebor.*: see Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, No. xlv.). On 26 Aug. [1122] Calixtus wrote again to John requiring him to render obedience to the archbishop of York within 30 days (*ib.* No. xlv.). I do not think there is sufficient ground for seriously doubting the genuineness of these two papal letters. It is evident from the material before us that we cannot be very precise as to the date of John's consecration.

In 1122 John set out to visit Rome and Jerusalem, and was compelled in the following year to return to his see (M.). He went to Rome in 1125 to endeavour to obtain the pall for St. Andrews. We find him at Roxburgh, 17 July, 1127 (*Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, i. No. 27); but he seems to have been again absent from his diocese, to which he was recalled by Alberic, the Legate in 1138 (Richard of Hexham, *s.a.* 1138). We find him witnessing at Edinburgh, 1 Nov. 1140 (Newbottle, 4), and in 1144 granting Lesmahago to Kelso (Kelso, 149). On 3 May, 1147, he was with King David at Coldingham (Raine's *North Durham*, Appendix, No. 41). He must have died very soon after (see next entry).

He died in 1147 (M.). John of Hexham gives the year of his death as 1148. But Cosmo Innes remarks that the chronology of John of Hexham is a year too late after 1140, which year he divides into two. He was buried in the monastery of Jedwod (Jedburgh);—Sc. viii. 3, which authority makes John die in the 28th year of his episcopate. John was for a time chancellor (Dunfermline, No. 12). I have not traced the authority for John's death being on 29 May, 1147 (K); but it is a not improbable date. The statement in Sc. that John died in the 28th year of his episcopate is not consistent with his being consecrated by Paschal.

II. HERBERT (Hubert). Third abbot of Selkirk and first of Kelso, on the transfer of the monks of Selkirk to Kelso. We find him elect of Glasgow (Cambuskenneth, 72; A.P. i. 359), but the date cannot be very closely determined, at least from the witnesses. We have the authority of M. (and of John of Hexham as to the place) for his being consecrated on St. Bartholomew's day [24 Aug.], 1147, by P. Eugenius III., at Auxerre.

We know from other sources that Eugenius, having to fly from Rome, was in France in that year. Indeed Eugenius seems to have been at Auxerre from the middle of July to 25 August (Mas Latrie). He was at Auxerre on 29 Aug. (Camb. No. 23). Herbert made the church of Govan a prebend of his Cathedral (R.G. 11). He gave benediction to John, abbot of Kelso, in 1160 (Sc. vi. 35). The date of his consecration, compared with the date of his predecessor's death, enables us to fix within narrow limits the undated charter of King David to the church of St. Mary of Stirling, witnessed by Herbert, elect of Glasgow (Cambusk. No. 51). Herbert died in 1164 (M. and Hoveden, i. 224); and for the time of the year we can gather something from the date of his successor's election.

III. INGELRAM (Engelram, Ingeram, Ingeran, Engeram). Arch-deacon of Glasgow: only in deacon's orders: had been chancellor of K. Malcolm (Sc. viii. 15). There was an Engelram who was archdeacon of Teviotdale when Arnold was bishop of St. Andrews (original charter in the charter chest of Fletcher of Salton; MS. note in Joseph Robertson's copy of Keith in the Advocates' Library). We can, by a comparison of the statements of M. and Sc., fix the date of his election. It was on Sunday, 20 Sept. 1164. He was ordained priest on the following Saturday, 26 Sept., and consecrated on the 40th day (correctly the 39th) after his election (Sc. viii. 15) on Oct. 28, the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (M.), which in that year fell on Wednesday. He was consecrated by P. Alexander III. at Sens (apud Senonensem civitatem, M.); not at Sienna, as C. Innes. (R.G. i. 22.) Alexander, after laying the foundation-stone of Notre-Dame at Paris, retired to Sens, 30 Sept. 1163, and remained there for a year and a half. Alexander, in his letter, dated Sens, 1 Nov., to the dean and chapter of Glasgow, states that Engelram, then elect, now their bishop, had come to him with letters of commendation from King Malcolm; that he had also received expostulations from the envoys of the archbishop of York. He, Alexander, however, desiring to defer to the wishes of the king, had consecrated Engelram, and with his own hands (R.G. i. 18).

On 22 May, 1171, Ingelram, together with four abbots, opened the tomb of Waldeve, second abbot of Melrose, and found the body entire and the vestments intact (M.).

Ingelram died on the feast of the Purification of the B.V.M. (2 Feb.), 1174 (M.).

He witnessed the foundation charter of Paisley, and confirmed all the gifts to that monastery made by Walter Fitz-Alan (Paisl. 6, 115). There is no use in citing other charter evidence.

Ingelram had been chancellor under Malcolm (Sc. viii. 15; R.P.S.A. 202).¹

IV. JOSCELIN (Goscelin). Fourth abbot of Melrose, who had been advanced from prior to abbot, 22 April, 1170 (M.). He was elected to

¹ I have to call the attention of the learned to a serious difficulty presented by a charter of King William (Cambusk. 132). William came to the throne 9 Dec. 1165 (Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 77). Among the witnesses is 'Engelramo electo de Glasgu.' I shall not attempt a solution.

Glasgow, 'unanimiter,' 'concorditer' (R.G. i. 33, 34) by the clergy, 'the people requesting, and the king assenting,' at Perth on 23 May, 1174 (M.). The place of the election is well worth noting. Like the election of Roger to St. Andrews (1189) at Perth; of Reinald to Ross (1195) at Dunfermline; and of Malvoisine to St. Andrews (1202) at Scone; it seems to point to the desire to exercise the influence of the king on the election. Compare the requirement which for a time prevailed in England that the election of bishops should take place in the chapel royal. P. Alexander III. confirmed the election 16 Dec. [1174], and commanded that consecration should be given him, if it was extremely difficult (*intolerabile*) for him to appear in the Pope's presence (R.G. i. 35).

Jocelin was consecrated at Clairvaux by Eskil, Archbishop of Lund, Primate of Denmark, and Papal Legate, in 1175 (M., Sc. viii. 24). On 1 June, according to K., who does not give his authority.

The *Chronicle of Melrose* gives the date of Jocelin consecrating his new cathedral as July 6, 1197, 'anno episcopatus sui xxiiij.' This is an error unless we count from the date of election.

Attention may here be called to a bull of Alexander III., printed in *Regist. Episcop. Glasg.* (i. 30-32), and dated 'ij. Kal. Maii, Indictione vj. anno mclxxiiij. Incarnationis dominicæ,' addressed to Jocelin and his successors. It is obvious that the year must be wrong. I would offer the conjecture that the original reading was 'ij. Kal. Mart.,' which would make the year of the pontificate, viz. 'anno xvi.,' correct, and the year of our Lord, 1175. But the indiction, viz. 'vj.,' would still be wrong. The error, one may suspect, was due to the transcriber. No dates are more frequently in error than the number of the indiction.

Jocelin was one of the six Scottish bishops present at the Council of Northampton in 1176 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 483).

In 1182 Jocelin returned from a visit to Rome, bringing to K. William a golden rose from Lucius III. (M.).

In 1197 the cathedral, a new building begun by Bp. Herbert, was consecrated by Jocelin, two other bishops assisting (R.G. 611). The date as given by Wyntoun (Book vii. line 2140) was 'the ferd day off July.'

Charter evidence is abundant for Jocelin's episcopate.

Jocelin died at Melrose, 17 March, 1199 (M.), and was buried in the monks' choir in the north of Melrose Abbey Church. Hoveden (iv. 85), more particularly, says he died on a Wednesday, being St. Patrick's Day. This notice of the day of the week is not unimportant, because it shows that the year was 1198-99. We find him alive after 24 August, 1198, in the year of the nativity of Alexander II. (*Arbroath Vet. Reg.* 103). He had a brother, Helias by name, who gave the church of Dunsyer to Kelso (Kelso, 285).

V. HUGH DE ROXBURGH. Chancellor of Scotland. He succeeded Jocelin as bishop (Sc. viii. 60); but as he died 10 July, 1199, less than four months after the death of Jocelin, it is not probable that he was consecrated. And as much is implied by Hoveden (iv. 97), who writes 'eodem anno [1199] obiit Hugo Glasguensis ecclesiae electus sexto idus Julii.' From the same authority we learn that he was buried at

Geddewrde (Jedburgh) in the north part of the monks' choir. The *Chronicle of Melrose* takes no notice of his election, but merely states 'Obiit Hugo cancellarius vj. idus Julii' (s.a. 1199).

VI. WILLIAM MALVOISINE (Malevicinus): Chancellor of the king, in deacon's orders, archdeacon of St. Andrews.

He had been one of the *clerici regis*, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, and was made chancellor of Scotland 8 Sept. 1199 (M.).



SEAL OF JOCELINE, A.D. 1175-99.



SEAL OF FLORENCE, A.D. 1202-7.



COUNTER SEAL OF JOCELINE.



COUNTER SEAL OF FLORENCE.

Elected in Oct. 1199 (Hoveden, iv. 97).

Consecrated at Lyons by the archbishop of Lyons [Reginald de Forez] at the command of Innocent III., Sunday, Sept. 24, 1200; having been ordained priest on the day preceding, being Saturday in Ember Week (Hoveden, iv. 139). Postulated and translated to St. Andrews 20 Sept. 1202.¹

¹ If we accept the above statements we can assign the year to a charter of King William (R.M. 13) which gives only the day of the month (26 Dec.). It is

VII. FLORENCE (Florentius). Nephew of K. William, being son of his sister Ada and Florence III., Count of Holland, to whom she was married in 1161.¹

Elect apparently in 1202. There is a blank space at the end of the year 1202 in the original MS. of M., and in the margin is written in red ink, 'Florentius electus Glasguensis.' He was elect and chancellor of the king in 1203 (Holyrood, 36). Charters in which he appears as elect and chancellor will be found in R.G. (i. 85) and Arbr. (i. 50); and as elect in Melrose (i. 37, 117) and Paisl. (109, 113).

Under the year 1207 we find in M., 'Florence, elect of Glasgow, by leave of our lord, the Pope, resigned his cure.' See also Sc. viii. 66. That he was never consecrated and that he resigned, before Dec. 1207 (see next entry), is certain; and a confirmation of his never having been consecrated is found in a bull of P. Innocent III., in which he refers to 'Florentio quondam Glasguensi electo.' This bull is dated 15 May, in the tenth year of the pontificate, that is, 15 May, 1208.

We are ignorant why Florence remained unconsecrated for five years, and why he resigned.

VIII. WALTER. Chaplain of the king. Elected 9 Dec. 1207 (M.). Consecrated at Glasgow by leave of the Pope on the day of the commemoration of faithful souls (2 Nov.) 1208 (M. and Sc. viii. 68). Note that All Souls' Day fell in 1208 on a Sunday. He went to Rome in 1215 to the fourth Lateran Council and returned 'in the third year' (M.). P. Honorius III. sent a mandate (6 June, 1218) to the chapter of Glasgow and clergy to recognise as their bishop and pastor the bishop of Glasgow, who in the time of the wars between England and Scotland had so acted as to be excommunicated, he having now been absolved by the Pope (C.P.R. i. 55). Serious charges against the bishop were made by Master William, apparently one of the canons (de gremio Glasguensis ecclesiae); and Honorius III., on 7 Dec. 1219, wrote to the legate Pandulf, elect of Norwich, to investigate them. It was alleged that when the bishop was chaplain to the king he gave Philip de Valone, chamberlain of the king, 100 merks, and promised a larger sum to the queen, that they might induce the king to give him the bishopric of Glasgow; and that accordingly he was promoted without canonical election. Various other charges against him of corruption, and nepotism, and of his allowing his household to live immoral lives were added; and Pandulf was directed to commission discreet men in Scotland to investigate the charges and to report to the Pope (T. No. 29). Presumably the charges were found to be unproved, for we hear no more of them.

He died in 1232 (M.). His death must have been after 19 May, 1232, for on that day he granted a charter (Kelso, 229, 333) and a confirmation

witnessed by 'Willelmo electo Glasguensi, cancellario meo.' The year must be 1199, and not 1200 as given by Cosmo Innes in the *Tabula*, p. iv (R.M.).

¹ Florence III., in 1189, followed the Emperor Frederick in the Crusade. He exhibited great gallantry at the siege of Damietta. He died at Antioch, 1 Aug. 1190.

(Dryburgh, 40). The feast of St. Potenciana and the feast of St. Dunstan both fell on the same day, the 19 May, so that though the style of the drafting is different, the date of the two charters is the same.

The bishop had a brother Simon (R.G. i. 73).

Charter evidence is abundant for Walter.



SEAL OF WALTER, A.D. 1208-32.



COUNTER SEAL OF WALTER.

IX. WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON. (By an error of transcription, 'Hondyngton' in the MS. of Fordun, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. Sc. vol. ii. p. 59.) Chancellor of the king, to which office he had been appointed in 1231 (Sc. ix. 48). He had formerly been clerk of Thomas the Chancellor (*ib.*). He had been rector of Eddleston, prebendary of Glasgow, and archdeacon of Lothian (K.).

He was elected to Glasgow in 1232 (M.) and after 19 May (see last entry). He is still elect in Jan. and June, 1233 (Kelso, 309), and in July, 1233 (Arbr. 75), and in August, 1233 (Melrose, 204).

He was consecrated in the cathedral of Glasgow on Sunday, 11 Sept. 1233, by the bp. of Moray, Andrew de Moravia (M.). Hence the Sunday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 Sept.), 1245, is in the 13th year of his episcopate, not, as stated in Kelso (231), the 12th.

In 1240 William and David, bishop of St. Andrews, were summoned by P. Gregory IX. to attend a Council at Rome in the following year. They set out in December; but, together with many prelates of England and France, they were compelled to return home (1241) by the Emperor Frederick II. (M. Sc. ix. 56).

In 1244, June 7, he witnessed a charter of Alexander II., and is styled 'camerarius noster' (Blackfriars, Perth, 4). Is this an error for 'cancelarius'?

On 20 Sept. 1255 he was removed from the king's council (A.P. i. 419).

William granted a charter dated, Ancrum, the morrow of St. Laurence (*i.e.* 11 Aug.), 1258 (R.G. i. 166), and on St. Leonard's Day, 6 Nov. 1258; also at Ancrum, he, with consent of the chapter, granted the privileges and customs of Sarum to the cathedral of Glasgow (R.G.). Four days later he was dead. He died on the vigil of St. Martin (*i.e.* 10 Nov.), 1258, and was buried at Melrose on St. Brice's Day (13 Nov.) near the great altar (M.). Sc. (x. 11) concurs as to the year, but is silent as to the day.



SEAL OF WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON,
A.D. 1233-58.



COUNTER SEAL OF
WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON.

He³ appears frequently in charters. He is described as *vir dapsilis et liberalis in omnibus* (Sc. x. 11). His buildings at his cathedral are said to be *miro artificio lapideo* (*ib.*). He was a liberal benefactor of his cathedral.

A few other particulars from the Vatican records may be added.

1235, May 25. P. Gregory IX. grants the bishop of Glasgow and his successors an indult that neither they nor their clerks should, against their will, be summoned out of Scotland by apostolic letters, unless such letters make mention of this indult (T. No. 79).

1238, July 21. The same Pope grants an indult to the bishop of Glasgow that he shall not be summoned by papal letters beyond the realm of Scotland to appear before judges, a previous indult to this effect being evaded by his adversaries (C.P.R. i. 175).

1255, May 15. P. Alexander IV. commissions the prior of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow to dispense the bishop of Glasgow of a vow he had made not to eat flesh in his own house. On account of old age and weakness the vow is to be commuted into alms and other works of mercy (T. No. 175).

Bondington and the bishop of St. Andrews, summoned by Gregory IX. (9 Aug. 1240) to attend a General Council (C.P.R. i. 195) and, as we have seen, forced to return home, sent proctors to the Pope to explain the situation (Sc. ix. 56).

X. NICHOLAS DE MOFFAT (Muffet): Archdeacon of Teviotdale, to which office he had been appointed in 1245 (*Lanercost*, 53).

He must have been elected, or perhaps, to speak more strictly, 'postulated,' (see B.C. i. No. 2158) soon after the death of his predecessor, for after, that is, soon after, 2 Feb. 1258-59, he set out to the Apostolic See for confirmation. This he failed to secure, as well because he was unwilling to pay the money demanded of him by the Pope and cardinals, as because those of the canons who had gone with him to support his claim turned against him, more particularly R[obert] elect of Dunblane, who thought that if the election of Nicholas was quashed, he could easily obtain the bishopric of Glasgow. Nicholas returned to Scotland in 1259 (M.; Sc. x. 11).

As regards the temporality, the see of Glasgow was void at Martinmas, 1259, and at Whitsunday, 1260 (*Exch. Rolls*, i. 6). But before the latter date Cheyam had been appointed by the Pope.

XI. JOHN DE CHEYAM (Chiham, Chyum, Cheam): Archdeacon of Bath (B.C. i. No. 2158) and papal chaplain (T. No. 225). 'Vir de australi Anglia oriundus, sed Angliae nimis infestus' (*Lanercost*, 65). 'Vir exemie scientie' (*Extr.* 109).

Appointed by the Pope at least as early as 13 June, 1259 (B.C. i. No. 1259). There was no election by the chapter after the Pope's quashing Moffat's election. He was consecrated apparently at the Roman court (M.; see also *Lanercost*, 65, *Extr.* 103, and B.C. i. 2180).

The appointment was disagreeable to the king, and rendered more disagreeable in consequence of the letters for the execution of Cheyam's provision having been addressed to the bishops of Lincoln and Bath. The king represented his wishes to the Pope, probably early in 1260, for Pope Alexander IV. writes to the king (21 May, 1260) refusing to consent to the petition of the king that he would revoke the provision of 'John de Cheam, bishop of Glasgow.' The Pope adds that he did not desire to do anything contrary to the custom of the kingdom in regard to the temporality, and asks for a safe-conduct for Cheam that he may take the oath of fealty to the king, and obtain the temporality (T. No. 225). Among the documents found in the castle of Edinburgh in 1282 was a bull of the Pope directing John de Chiham to render fealty to the king before receiving the temporality (A.P. i. 108).

Lanercost, which is written by a friend of Moffat, tells a story, the point of which is that John, bishop of Glasgow, always preached piety, but never practised it (p. 53).

Cheyam came to Scotland by leave of the king, and is enthroned, 1260 (M.).

On 26 Oct. 1262, the Pope commands Master Albert de Parma, papal writer, to induce the bishop of Glasgow to pay 200 marks, due by the bishop to the College of Cardinals, and apparently to cause him to be excommunicated if payment was not made (C.P.R. i. 380). These 200 marks made the balance of 800 marks, of which 600 had been paid by the bishop to the Pope before 9 Feb. 1262, when the threat of excommunication had been held over him (*id.* 384).

John was employed by King Alexander to reconcile his mother Marie de Coucy with her second husband, Jean de Brienne, called 'd'Acre,' son of John, 'king of Jerusalem,' from whom she had fled to Scotland (Sc. x. 25).

John is at Ancrum in Oct. 1264 (Kelso, 275). He witnessed the treaty made at Perth, 2 July, 1266, between Alexander III. and Magnus, king of Norway (A.P. i. 421).

Cheyam not being in happy relations with the canons of his cathedral, who resented his intrusion, retired abroad in 1267 (Sc. x. 24). He died at Meaux, and there was buried in 1268 (M.). His death was after St. Barnabas' Day (June 11), on which day, 1268, he granted at Tournay a charter conveying land for the support of three chaplains in the cathedral at Glasgow (R.G. i. 178-9).¹

XII. NICHOLAS DE MOFFAT. See above. On the death of John he is elected for the second time, in the year 1268 (Sc. x. 25). He died unconsecrated in 1270 (*ib.* 27). He is represented as bearing himself 'nimis proterve' towards the monks and other ecclesiastical persons (Sc.). But a somewhat more favourable account is given by the writer of this part of the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, who says that as archdeacon he was one 'qui semper rixaretur et nunquam irasceretur.' The writer says that he officiated at his funeral, which took place in the archdeacon's church of Tiningham (*sic*). (*Lanercost*, 53.)

XIII. WILLIAM WISCHARD (Wiscard, Wiseheart, Wisheart and other variants) : Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Chancellor of the king, and holder of 22 benefices (Sc. x. 27). Elected, 'ad instanciam regis,' on the death of Moffat. He was still 'elect of Glasgow' when on 2 June, 1271, he was elected to St. Andrews (M.). Consecrated 15 Oct. 1273.

XIV. ROBERT WISCHARD. Nephew (*nepos*) of William Wischard (M.). Cousin (*consanguineus*) of William Wischard (Sc. x. 29) : Archdeacon of Lothian, 'juvenis aetate sed moribus senior' (*ib.*). Elected, apparently, in 1271; but not consecrated till Sunday before the feast of the Purification, 1273, that is, on Sunday, Jan. 29. The consecration was at Aberdeen by the bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Moray (Sc. x. 30). We have a precept of 'R. by divine mercy humble servant of the church of Glasgow,' dated 28 Nov. 1273 (R.G. i. 186).

¹ There are some notices of the early story of John de Cheam (presumably our bishop) in his early days in England in C.P.R. (i. 274, 279). Master John de Cheam, rector of Raikell (or Rukeull) in the diocese of Lincoln, value 20 marks, is allowed by Pope Innocent IV. (21 Aug. 1251) to hold an additional benefice. He is a papal chaplain on 29 Aug. 1252.

The important and stirring part played by this prelate in public affairs after the death of Alexander III., and more particularly in the contest with Edward I. of England, gives him a prominent place in the history of his time. On 11 April, 1286, he was chosen, at Scone, as one of the six guardians of the realm (Sc. xi. 1, 3). He was one of the three guardians who served in settling the treaty with the plenipotentiaries of Eric, king of Norway, at Melrose, 3 Oct. 1289 (Rymer, ii. 431). He was a leading figure at Brigham (a village on the north bank of the Tweed between



(No. 1.)



(No. 2.)

SEALS OF ROBERT WISHART, A.D. 1272-1316.

Kelso and Coldstream) on the occasion of the framing of the treaty with England, 17 March, 1289-90, and 18 July, 1290 (A.P. i. 85; Rymer ii. 482 sq.). After the death of the Maid of Norway he appears, like so many others, in the position of one frequently making oaths of fealty to Edward I., and frequently breaking his oaths (see Palgrave's *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*; Stevenson's *Historical Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306*, and Rymer's *Fœdera*). He joined the armed rising of William Wallace in 1297; yet on 9 July, 1297, he became surety for the loyalty and good behaviour of Bruce (Rymer, ii. 774, 775; Palgrave, 199). He surrendered himself at Roxburgh, a prisoner to Edward, in the same year (Hemingford, i. 125).

On 27 June, 1299, Boniface VIII. wrote to Edward, saying that he had heard that he had imprisoned and harshly treated Robert bishop of Glasgow, Mark bishop of Sodor, and other ecclesiastics, and urges their release (Sc. xi. 38). How long Robert continued a hostage is not very clear, but his release was before he took, in the most solemn manner, for the fourth time, the oath of allegiance to Edward, 7 Oct. 1300, at Holmcultram (Rymer, ii. 867; Palgrave, 344). Soon after he again joined Bruce and Wallace with an armed force. Pope Boniface VIII., now taking the side of Edward, wrote to Robert bishop of Glasgow rebuking him for his opposition to the king of England and bidding him repent, 13 Aug. 1302 (T. No. 372).

On the defeat of the Scots, Robert bishop of Glasgow came to Edward at Cambuskenneth and prayed for forgiveness, again took the oath of fealty, and received from Edward the temporality of Glasgow, which he had forfeited, 5 March, 1303-04 (Palgrave 345). At the following Easter he for the sixth time swore fealty to Edward at the high altar of St. Andrews Cathedral. It was Robert who, within eight days, absolved Bruce for the murder of Comyn (10 Feb. 1305-06). And he went heartily with the party of Bruce when he was crowned at Scone (27 March, 1306). He supplied from his own wardrobe the vesture in which Bruce was attired at his coronation. Soon after the battle of Methven (19 July, 1306) the castle of Cupar in Fife fell into the hands of Edward's troops, and among those captured was Robert bishop of Glasgow. He was sent in his coat of mail to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and thence to the Castle of Nottingham. Edward I. gave orders (7 Aug. 1306) that he should be kept in chains at Porchester Castle (Hampshire). He remained a captive in England till after the battle of Bannockburn, although Pope Clement V. petitioned the king for his release (9th April, 1308). Edward II. besought the Pope (1 Feb. 1311) to arrange that Robert should never return to Glasgow. On 20 Nov. 1313 Edward II. ordered that Robert should be imprisoned and kept at his own cost in the convent of Ely. After Bannockburn, Edward, at York, ordered Robert to be brought to him. Robert was exchanged for Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hertford, the king ordering Robert (2 Oct. 1314) to be conveyed to Carlisle. Barbour (285) says that the bishop was now blind.

Robert is at Glasgow 30 June, 1315 (Melrose, 393), and on the Friday after St. Mark's Day (25 April), 1316 (R.G. No. 263).

He died 26 Nov. 1316 (Spottiswood, i. 222). What early authority?

He was buried in his cathedral between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew (*ib.*)¹

J. DOWDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ On 11 May, 1306, Pope Clement V. sent a mandate to the archbishop of York to cite Robert bishop of Glasgow, suspended from spirituals and temporals, to set out for Rome within a month. On 13 May the Pope wrote to the archbishop to seize Robert and keep him in custody, obtaining for him, if he desire it, a safe-conduct from the king. The like letter was sent to Anthony bishop of Durham (C.P.R. ii. 6, 7).

Notes on the 'Scottish Trial by Combat Charter of 1167.'

Contributed by the REV. DR. JAMES WILSON to the *Scottish Historical Review*, July 1907.

IT should be borne in mind that we are discussing a very poor copy of the charter ascribed to King William the Lion (*S.H.R.* iv. 481).

Errors incidental to transcription, perhaps repeated transcription, are abundant and may be ignored, as we are not dealing with the original writing. If the textual imperfections, all of them obvious, may be set down to the transmission of the copy, there does not seem to be a single point which can be regarded by itself as fatal, though a series of doubtful and unusual phrases is enough to cause hesitation. Had it been proved, for instance, that one of the witnesses, say David Olifard, was dead in 1167, the whole aspect of the matter would be changed. In my opinion the names mentioned in the charter are its strongest defence. The forger, so far as I can see, has not shown his hand in principals or witnesses. How he could have collected all these names to bolster up an imposture passes my comprehension: they are not all prominent men: in fact some of them are obscure. But is there a single historical blunder in the charter? The date, about which he might easily have slipped, has been skilfully chosen, if we remember the death of Gospatric of Dunbar in the previous year, its international consequences, and the policy of Henry II. to keep the young Lion of Scotland in a good humour.

Must a charter be spurious because its contents do not fit in with our notions about the formalities of the duel or the jurisdiction of the Marshal of England, as they are supposed to have existed in the middle of the twelfth century? In matters of institutional history at so early a date, the mountain does not always choose to come to Mahomet: in some instances Mahomet has been known to accommodate himself to the rigidity of the mountain. On points of law as affected by this charter, one would like to suspend judgment.

From a study of the text and its contents I hesitate to pronounce the writing fraudulent. My doubts are suggested entirely by its connexion with the Lambert pedigree. The history of this compilation and the character of the compiler would bring any document under grave suspicion. Of John Lambert, who flourished in the first half of the sixteenth

century, I will make a quotation from Whitaker, the Yorkshire historian, and leave it as a clue to those who desire to probe this matter to the bottom: 'This person, whose name occurs so frequently in the history of Kirkby Malghdale, was born to the inheritance of a small estate at Skipton and bred to the law. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, steward of the courts of the Prior of Bolton, and in favour with the commissioners for the dissolution of the religious houses . . . in short, he was the founder of the family' (*History of Craven*, p. 257, ed. Morant, 1878).

Of the man's character Whitaker continues on p. 260: 'With respect to the two charters on which some persons have grounded their opinion of the early consequence of this family, I have already given several reasons, not one of which has been refuted, to prove that they are forgeries. I think so still, and in place of a very long investigation (longer by far than the subject deserved) shall content myself with saying that one of them, to a critical eye, manifestly appears to be written on an erasure: and that from the Roll of Thomas Lord Clifford, 15th Henry VI. [1436-7], it may be proved that Winterwell Hall itself, the possession of which first brought the Lamberts to Skipton, was then, and not before, granted out to one Joan (the surname is worn out in the MS.). Since the first edition of this work was published, I have met with some charters drawn by John Lambert, who in his earlier days was a scrivener, in which he availed himself of his antiquarian knowledge to copy the formulae of more ancient times. What he is known to have done in the course of business he was able to do out of vanity or whim: and it may be some consolation to his friends that whatever such a forgery detracts from his honesty is to be added to his skill.'

It cannot be said that the charter of King William is found in good company. But it is difficult to believe that a masterpiece like this could have been manufactured by the foolish and clumsy performer who concocted the amusing letters of Henry VIII. to this self-same John Lambert, which Trevelyan has printed from the Lambert pedigree in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*. The pedigree of Lambert, as given by Whitaker, starts with Sir Thomas Lambert of Skipton, temp. Henry III.

JAMES WILSON.

This deed was communicated by Mr. Trevelyan of Wallington to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1832, and was published in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ii. 103-104.

Mr. Trevelyan must have seen the original, because he states that part of 'the seal in white wax' remained, bearing 'a man armed on horseback,' and on the copy in the British Museum, it is added that a few letters of the legend were visible on the seal. It may still be in the charter room at Belsay.

The copy by Mr. Trevelyan, printed in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, and that given by him to the British Museum, printed by Mr. Wilson, are nearly identical. The former has 'Ecclie,' 'littre,' 'in presentiam

mea,' Thome de Maundeville,' 'de Colevill,' the latter has 'ecclesie,' 'litre,' 'in presentia mea,' 'Thoma de Maundeville,' 'de Colvill.'

It is said that this deed was part of a pedigree of the family of Lambart attested by Camden, W. Legar (Garter), R. St. George (Norroy), R. Tresswell (Somerset), who were in the Herald's College between 1603-1623. Their attestation of the pedigree is of little importance in the question whether the deed be a genuine document of the twelfth century. It shows that, if forged, it was forged before 1623.

It is admitted that, in the deed, there are abundant errors and many textual imperfections; it is fair to assume that Mr. Trevelyan made a correct copy; and must we not deal with this, not as a repeatedly transcribed copy, but as a correct version of the original?

The Latin seems to me to be of later date than the twelfth century: it is different from the old charter Latin, it is more like the composition of one translating later ideas and later English rather than of an official accustomed to the Latin of that age.

I had noted as an objection to the genuineness of the deed that the king styled himself W. Rex Scotie. In the majority of King William's charters he states that he is King 'Dei gratia'; Mr. Maitland Thomson, however, tells me that in the early years of the king's reign, when Nicholas was chancellor, the majority of the royal charters omit the 'Dei gratia,' that in 73 charters witnessed by Nicholas the chancellor, 12 insert 'Dei gratia,' 61 omit the words.

So the omission tends to credit, not to discredit the document.

Universis in Christo ecclesie fidelibus. Can 'In Christo' be right? The faithful in the church of Christ and not of the church in Christ. Such an address was used by ecclesiastics but not by a king who addressed his subjects, whether generally 'omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae,' or specially 'Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus.'

Ad quos litterae iste pervenerint. 'Ad quos' is unusual. 'hae litterae,' not 'istae.'

Anno 1167. King William's charters are seldom dated, and this date 1167 seems to me to be a year in which the events could not have occurred. King William was still a young man of about 24, and though he had been in France with King Henry in 1166, he had left the king on not the best of terms. King Henry II. went to Normandy in 1166, and did not return to England for four years. In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon had limited the sphere of trial by battle in England.

Venerabilium virorum. If this were a genuine document would not the names of some at least have been given?

Compositio. The Latin suggests that the whole proceedings were arranged beforehand, that though the combatants came armed, they were prepared to yield to a prearranged entreaty by King William, that they should shake hands and be friends. Why should they be sent to Scotland to abandon accusations which they had arranged to withdraw? The Latin seems to exclude the reading that they were sent to fight, and that the king at the last moment intervened.

Legatum ab Anglia cannot mean that Lambart was an ambassador and legate. Does it mean 'sent,' 'missum'?

Alexander de Olifard. The Olifards were not *de Olifard*. They wrote David Olifard, Walter Olifard, but never David *de Olifard*, etc. I know of no record of any Alexander de Olifard.

Fiendum is suggested by Mr. Wilson. Would not 'faciendum' be better?

Henricus Rex Anglie. He was in France in 1167.

In causa duelli ipsis concessi. Mr. Wilson values the document because of the reference to the connection of the Marshal of England with trial by combat.

Dr. George Neilson can deal with that; he had discovered no such connection when he published his book. If the deed be genuine it is remarkable that it does not describe the Marshal by name nor title; in 1167 the Marshal of England was Richard, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow); he was Marshal in 1154 at the coronation of King Henry II. It is likely that he was with King Henry in Normandy in 1167. He died in 1176.

The phrase *duellii ipsis concessi* seems clumsy. 'When battle was waged'; battle there must have been, unless by consent of the judge, to whom in such an event a heavy fine, called a concord, was payable (see Neilson's *Trial by Combat*). Nothing in this document is said about a fine to King William.

The witnesses do not discredit the deed, they support it, because Ingelram, Bishop of Glasgow, Nicholas the Chancellor, Richard the Chaplain, and other witnesses were in Scotland with King William in 1167. It is true that David Olifard was never called *de Olifard*. I think it is probable that old David Olifard died before 1167, but it is not of much importance whether the witness was the first David Olifard, King David's friend—or that David's son.

William Dolepen was a witness to some of King William's charters. Fantosme calls him 'Friar William Dolepen,' and describes his mission to King Henry in 1170.

The witnesses Thomas de Maundevile and William Latimer were not Scottish men, but they may have accompanied Lambert from England. *Peter de Colville.* None of the family in Scotland in that age was called Peter. *Barnard son of Brian* was a witness in King William's time. *Roger the Chamberlain, Wydo the Marshal, and Alexander de Nevill* are not known to me.

A serious objection to this deed is that it is vague. If it were genuine it would have stated what the dispute between the combatants was, whether it was civil or criminal; it purports to be a decisive decree, ending strife, but his document records nothing of the dispute. Does it not look like the work of a forger who desired to make evidence of the existence of a Lambart in the twelfth century, but who could not trust his knowledge to state of what crime Lambart either had accused Olifard or was accused by him? The deed is similar to the later forgery (also relating to a 'duellum') first printed by Lord Hailes

(*Annals Misc. Occ.* sub. 1312), reprinted with comments by Dr. George Neilson in *Trial by Combat*, pp. 207-208, and which Dr. Neilson rightly says must be branded as a fraud.

A. C. LAWRIE.

The Lambart charter is an exceedingly ingenious document and we are all indebted to Dr. Wilson for transcribing its text and ventilating the problem of its authenticity. Taking up Sir Archibald Lawrie's hint I venture to state certain points as regards the bearing of the charter on the generally accredited canons of Trial by Combat in Britain. The charter contains at least four distinct features which puzzled me, and which on full consideration I find difficult to reconcile with authenticity. (1) The Marshal is exhibited exercising a jurisdiction not only in an unprecedented form but at an unprecedentedly early date. (2) There is grave reason to suspect that the charter makes precisely the error of the Elizabethan lawyers and also of Shakespeare, viz. that of confusing the duel of law with the duel of chivalry. In the duel of law the judge had no authority to stop the battle. The duel of chivalry did not become an institution in England or in Scotland until a much later time, and it will be impossible to parallel the features of the Lambart instance in the records of either the duel of law or the duel of chivalry. (3) The reference to 'dignity' savours much more of the spacious days of the sixteenth century than of the simpler twelfth century. (4) The ceremony of reconciliation in a form stereotyped in the sixteenth century, and uncommon before, is another tell-tale voucher of date.

These elements converge towards the inference that the document grossly antedates the historical duel of chivalry. It contains too many contradictions of the understood canons of the evolution of the duel. While I admire the daring and wit of the invention and should for its picturesqueness have been happy to find it not spurious, I confess that (although I have been slow to conclude) the weight of objection seems to me to grow with examination.

GEO. NEILSON.

Having been allowed to peruse Sir Archibald Lawrie's note on the Lambart Deed, I am glad to find myself in general agreement with him. To me also both the law and the phraseology savour of a later period.

At the same time it might well be argued that if the terms of the preamble are unusual, they are not more so than the purport of the document: such a certificate was *a priori* likely to be differenced from an ordinary charter.

Some of the points objected to may be due to the copyist; e.g. the insertion of *de* before Olifard, which is never found in any original writ. But we have 'Willelmo de Olifard' in a notarial copy of a not

otherwise suspicious charter of Alexander II. (*Hist. of Carnegies, Earls of Southesk*, ii. 478).

In the objection taken to the use of *literæ istæ* instead of *hæ literæ*, I do not concur.

If the Deed is a forgery, the forger has chosen his witnesses well. All the names known to Scottish record are those of men living, and likely to have been at King William's court, in 1167. The others must be set down as Englishmen.

But this brings me to a grave objection not stated by Sir Archibald; viz. that arising from the application of the words *Scotis et Anglis*. King William was still addressing his subjects as 'Franci Angli et Scotti,' or 'Franci et Angli, Scotti et Galwelenses' (see *Facsimiles of National MSS.* i. Nos. xxxvi. and xxxviii.). By *Angli et Scotti* he of course meant Saxons and Celts. In this Deed the words are obviously meant to bear the modern sense. This cannot be laid to the account of the transcriber; if such a phrase in such a sense in 1167 is an anachronism (as I venture to think), then the document which contains it cannot be genuine.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

Reviews of Books

SCALACRONICA: THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I., EDWARD II., AND EDWARD III., as recorded by Sir Thomas Gray, and now translated by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart. Pp. xix, 195. Cr. 8vo. With 102 heraldic shields in colour. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1907. 24s. net.

NOT a century before this book was written St. Louis of France is reported to have said to his son, during an illness he had at Fontainebleau, 'Fair son, I pray thee win the love of the people of thy kingdom. For truly I would rather that *a Scot should come out of Scotland* and rule the people of the kingdom well and justly than that thou shouldest govern them ill-advisedly.' From which utterance of a usually gentle-speaking and fair-minded monarch it would appear that, although it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that a Scot might rule justly and well, yet it was extremely unlikely that any good thing could come out of the Nazareth of such a northern and barbarous kingdom. But really, in reading the pages of the gallant old author of the *Scalachronica*, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the Scottish knights were very like their neighbours, in no way inferior to them in bravery, and if they were rough, they were not rougher than King Louis's own chevaliers, some of whose deeds during their ill-fated crusades are not very pretty reading. Certainly Sir Thomas Gray has no word to say against the Scots. He writes about them and others with a singularly even pen and dispassionate mind. If he had only known it, he had reason to thank the Earl of March that summer day in 1355 when he ambuscaded him in front of Norham Castle, and carried him off a prisoner to Edinburgh, for he gave him an immortality which he would never have had if he had remained the brave but obscure constable of a Border keep.

For two weary years was Sir Thomas kept in the Castle waiting for that ransom which was so difficult to raise. Like a sensible man, however, he did not spend his time in fretting, but, finding there was a library in the place, he set himself to master its contents, and as a result resolved to write not merely the history of the wars in which he had been personally engaged, but a history of the world from the Creation down to the time of writing. He must have been a very diligent student, and evidently became fascinated with the work, as the ancient MSS., some of which at all events had probably been copied

in the scriptorium at Holyrood Abbey, yielded up their secrets to him. It must have been a great labour for him, for his is not the pen of a ready or practised writer. He plods along, a little confusedly at times, but he gets safely to the end of the incident he is narrating, and not without some graphic touches here and there. He has not the word-painting power of Froissart or Villani; but if he is to be compared with any foreign chronicler, he is more on a level with Jean de Joinville, the doughty Seneschal of Champagne, though he does not come up to his realistic vividness of detail. Still Gray is far from dull, and what is more important he is useful and interesting, giving us information which is to be found in no other writer. One naturally looks to the account of the battle of Bannockburn, and it is quite worth reading. After the first day's skirmishing, which ended in favour of the Scots, and in which the father of our author was taken prisoner, the English army is found 'upon a plain near the Water of Forth beyond Bannockburn, an evil, deep, wet marsh.' Here they remained all night rather sick at heart through the reverses of the day before. The Scots, on the other hand, were quite satisfied with what they had done, and did not think of following up their success, but were on the point of marching off during the night into the Lennox country. But Sir Alexander de Seton, who was in the English service, came across secretly to Bruce and said to him: 'Sir, this is the time if ever you intend to undertake to conquer Scotland. The English have lost heart and are discouraged, and expect nothing but a sudden, open attack.' His advice was taken, with brilliant result. We catch a glimpse of the flying Edward, beating down with his mace any who tried to stop him; and last, we have the noble speech of Sir Giles d'Argentin, as he contemptuously dropped the king's bridle when he led him out of the field: 'Sir, your rein was committed to me: you are now in safety: there is your castle, where your person may be safe. I am not accustomed to fly, nor am I going to begin now. I commend you to God.' Did Edward go with burning cheeks, as he saw his foreign knight spur back to the battle to find his death in the mellay?

There is a lively account of the battle of Dupplin, though the unpractised author rather spoils it by the indiscriminate use of the word 'enemy,' sometimes meaning one side and sometimes the other. The whole affair was sadly bungled, and what should have been an easy victory for the Scots was turned into a reverse. During the previous night the English, or at all events their followers and horses, had been so chased about that not forty of them were left together. 'But by the light of a house which was set on fire they drew together again like partridges.' The next day the tables were completely turned, and the English, taking advantage of an error in the attack, fell upon their opponents so fiercely 'that they fell back one upon the other, so that in a short time you might see a heap of men's bodies growing as the strangers surrounded them.'

The latter part of the book contains some interesting details about

the fighting which went on in the north of France during the course of the long war with that country. But the record is more one of isolated feats of arms than the history of a campaign. And the English engaged in it seem to have been fighting not so much from a sense of patriotic duty as for personal gain and love of excitement. We get quaint little peeps behind the scenes occasionally, which go far to show that in those mediaeval days war was not always conducted in so chivalrous a manner as is generally supposed. The great object of most warriors seems to have been to capture an opponent of sufficient importance to ensure a good ransom. There is rather a squalid tale of how the captain of an invested garrison 'came out and surrendered to the pennon of one of the English commanders, whereat one and another of the English took offence, wrangling for a share of his ransom, *so that in the strife he was murdered among them.*'

It is perhaps satisfactory to be told that the knight to whom the surrender was originally made went off in a rage, and the beleaguered garrison, plucking up spirit, made a desperate sally, with much shouting of war-cries and clashing of shields, and discomfited their enemies with considerable loss.

Many similar incidents are recorded, though differing in detail. We seem to feel that the whole war was regarded by the inhabitants more as a rough game, which might be to their pecuniary advantage, than anything else. The people who really did suffer were the unfortunate inhabitants of the country, who were probably pillaged indiscriminately by both sides. But the whole story is very engrossing, though, as might be expected, without much literary style: but the author is simple, natural, and to the point. There is as much incident in his pages as would serve a modern newspaper to expand into hundreds of columns of 'journalese.' Sir Herbert Maxwell is to be congratulated on the very readable translation he has given of this interesting book. It flows along with ease, and has not lost character in its English dress. While the different reigns are given separate sections, it might have been a concession to popular weakness had the work been divided into chapters, as there is no doubt the average reader likes resting-places, clearly defined stops where he may breathe apace before tackling the next portion of the narrative.

Not the least attractive part of the volume lies in the illustrations, no less than upwards of a hundred coats-of-arms being shown in colour. As these are from the practised hand of Mr. Graham Johnston, it is needless to say that they are admirably executed, and it is gratifying to see that the temptation to use real metals in the emblazonment has been wisely shunned, with the result that the shields look much more effective with the gold rendered by yellow and the silver left in the natural white. The arms borne are probably correctly enough given in the main; there can be no doubt, for instance, of the Chandos pile or the Percy lion; but whether Sir William Wallace bore the white lion surrounded by a bordure compony is a more questionable matter; and surely the orle of the Umphravilles was composed of

crosses patée, not of cross crosslets fitchée. But details like these do not detract from the pleasure with which the reader peruses a book like this, which both editor and publishers have done so much, and so successfully, to issue in an attractive form.

JAMES BALFOUR PAUL.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts i. to iii. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Pp. xliii, 352. With engraved portrait and two maps. Foolsap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907. 18s. nett.

MISS LUCY TOULMIN SMITH has placed students of local history and economics under obligation by her completion of the first section of the famous *Itinerary of John Leland* in England, which has not been reprinted since the editions, bearing the name of Thomas Hearne, Bodley's librarian, were issued in the eighteenth century. It is not easy to give a satisfactory explanation why a new edition should not have been called for sooner. Hearne, it is true, had done his work well, and much of Leland's text had been embodied in the older county histories. In recent years, however, topographical writers have been crying out for a handier edition, which should provide a continuous text, free from Hearne's peculiarities and easy to consult. There can be no doubt that Hearne had made the most of the opportunities at his disposal, but many things have happened since the beginning of the eighteenth century. New conceptions of the duty of an editor, fresh manuscripts, subsidiary aids to the right interpretation of an author's notes, identification of places, maps of probable routes, and indexes of names and places, call for a new edition and make it welcome when it appears.

It is too late in the day to criticise the value of Leland's topographical notes and observations made during the years 1535-1543. Miss Toulmin Smith rightly calls him 'the father of English topography,' though few of his successors in the same field were able to make use of his work till Hearne made it accessible in 1710. Camden was the favoured patron of local writers in the seventeenth century. But the *Itinerary* has another value in addition to its topographical descriptions. Leland often noted the economic condition of the districts through which he passed, occasionally stopping to mention wastes, inclosed land, bridges, meadows, forests, and parks. These stray observations are sometimes as valuable as his descriptions of castles, towns, and churches. The results of his laborious travels he had intended to embody in a continuous narrative, which was to be, as he told Henry VIII., 'a description of your realm in writing,' had not an unfortunate illness overtaken him, from which he never recovered. It was Bishop Gibson, the learned editor of Camden, who said that what Leland did was faithful and what he designed was glorious.

The editor's work in this edition leaves nothing to be desired. There is a full and interesting introduction, with a life of Leland so

far as it is known, a bibliography of his writings, a critical discussion of the manuscripts of the *Itinerary*, and some notes on the author's methods, all of which are excellent. The volume, embracing Parts i., ii. and iii. of the *Itinerary*, deals with the north-eastern and central portions of England, with the counties of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and contains some of the best narrative of the whole work. Good indexes and two maps, on which the routes followed by the antiquary are delineated, add much to the value of what must be called an indispensable book of reference. It is to be hoped that the talented editor, whose name is justly revered by English students of topography and parochial history, will see her way to undertake a new edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, as soon as her labours on the *Itinerary* are completed. Such service would confer a fresh obligation on a not unimportant class of local writers.

The present edition will be completed in five volumes, limited to 500 copies, of which the *Itinerary in Wales*, already issued, will form the third. The volume before us is well printed on hand-made paper, with wide margins, suitable for annotations, and it is bound in a way that makes consultation easy and agreeable.

JAMES WILSON.

CANON PIETRO CASOLA'S PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM IN THE YEAR 1494. Edited with Introduction and Notes by M. Margaret Newett, B.A. (No. 5 in the Historical Series of the Publications of the University of Manchester). Pp. vi, 427. Demy 8vo. Manchester: University Press. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

MISS NEWETT'S edition of Canon Pietro Casola's description of his pilgrimage from Milan to the Holy Land in the year 1494 is a note-worthy addition to our knowledge of the intercourse between Europe and Palestine in medieval times. Germany, France, Italy and England, during the last half-century, have vied with each other in collecting and publishing information about the stream of pilgrims who for centuries journeyed from all parts of Europe to see and worship at the places which witnessed the beginnings of the Christian religion. Germany has given us the *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (2nd and enlarged edition in 1900) and Röhricht's invaluable *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1097-1291). France has, through the *Société de l'Orient Latin*, published the *Itinéraires Français* and the *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, as well as one or two descriptions of voyages to the East. England has had its *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*. The Italian Geographical Society has published various details about voyagers to Palestine, and the texts of many pilgrim journeys have been issued from Italian presses. Miss Newett's work is by no means the least interesting and is as carefully edited as any of the others.

Pietro Casola was a canon of the Cathedral of Milan. He had desired to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem many years before he was able to accomplish it, and had suffered many disappointments. At

last he received the pilgrim's emblems—the cross, the staff, and the wallet—from the hands of his Archbishop and was solemnly blessed by him from the high altar of the Cathedral, in presence of a crowd of people. Casola had read carefully the account which a fellow-citizen, the Cavalier Santo Brasca, had written about his journey to Jerusalem in 1480. The two descriptions are almost complementary.

Like almost all Palestine pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the canon started from Venice, and was a passenger in one of the 'pilgrim galleys' dispatched by the Republic to Jaffa, under strict rules framed by the Senate for the regulation of the pilgrim traffic. He seems to have been what we should call a 'first-class' passenger, and paid 'sixty gold ducats of the mint of Venice' for his passage—thirty of which were given in advance. (The second-class fare was forty-five ducats.) For this he was entitled to passage and board—the latter at the Captain's table—by land and by sea to Jerusalem, and beyond it to the river Jordan.

Casola was evidently a shrewd, observant man, with a kindly heart, and not without humour. He tells us that every traveller to the 'Sepulchre of our Lord' must provide himself with three sacks—a sack of patience, a sack of money, and a sack of faith. The two first he had to open constantly on the voyage; the third came into use as soon as he landed at Jaffa.

The greater portion of his book describes the journey out and homeward. He has a great deal to say about Venice, the towns on the Dalmatian coast, Corfu, Rhodes, etc., etc. Compelled to wait long at Venice ere the ship sailed, he describes the town, its churches and its palaces. Like many a modern tourist he was surprised to find that every part of a city built on the waters could be reached on foot. He got on board the galley, which lay at the entrance of the Lido channel on the 4th of June. The vessel reached Jaffa on the 17th of July. There the unfortunate pilgrims, in sight of the country they had endured so much to visit, were compelled to remain ten days on board before the authorities would allow them to land. Once on shore their lives were made a burden to them by the exactions and insolence of the Moslems. The pilgrims reached Jerusalem 'almost dead of heat and thirst' on August 4th. They visited the brook Cedron, and a monument which they were told had been erected in memory of Absalom, but which the canon thought 'was more probably that of Helena, Queen of Adiabone, because so he had read in Josephus' *Wars of the Jews*.' They were conducted somewhat hastily to the Mount of Olives, the valley of Jehosaphat—'a small valley', says the canon, 'nevertheless it is said that it will be the place of the Last Judgment of Our Lord Jesus Christ'—the Holy Sepulchre, the house of Pilate, and the pools of Siloam and of Bethesda. 'Many of the pilgrims drank the water. When I saw the filth, I left it alone; it was enough for me to wash my hands there.'

The visits made within Jerusalem were generally occasions of Turkish extortion. The pilgrims were duly conducted to the Jordan,

to Jericho, and the fountain of Elisha. A special excursion was made to Bethany. The expeditions made in troops, with guides who expounded, and hurried the pilgrims from one sight to another, had a singularly 'tourist' flavour about them, but in modern days there is more comfort and less danger. On one occasion, indeed, almost all the pilgrims were arrested and were set free with great difficulty and after many exactions.

The account of the journey to and from Jaffa, and of the travel and troubles when once within the Turkish dominions, is singularly graphic and intensely interesting. The canon had his share of what he calls 'the tribulation due to the sea'; he was in two great storms: he experienced the terrors of an earthquake; and once he was almost shipwrecked.

Miss Newett's introduction is an admirable bit of work. She has studied carefully what the archives of Venice have to say about pilgrim ships and shipping laws, and her pages are a mine of information on such subjects. For one thing, she has told us how closely passengers packed in the fifteenth century. Every man was by law to have a sleeping-place 18 inches wide and as long as himself. In the days of St. Louis, crusaders had to content themselves with half that amount of accommodation; for they were made to lie, two in a berth 'each with his feet toward the head of the other.' The inmates of the berth must have experienced a great deal of discomfort all throughout the voyage, and one does not like to think of the unfortunates who suffered from 'the tribulation due to the sea.'

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

THE SCOTS PEERAGE. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms. Vol. III., pp. vi, 617; Vol. IV., pp. vi, 597. Ry. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1906-07. 25s. nett per vol.

SINCE we last noticed this important work two more volumes have appeared, and it is now about half done, and that not merely in the proverbial sense that it is well begun.

We wish that its successful production (for we gladly learn that its success is not confined to the quality of the book, but includes the demand for its acquisition) would stimulate someone to deal on similar lines with the peerage of Ireland, of which the accounts are now far behind both those of England and Scotland.

We called attention in our last review to the importance of giving the double year date in mentioning events occurring in the spring, and we regret that there is still much room for improvement in this respect in the volumes before us, even in the case of dates antecedent to the change of style in Scotland, although, as we have argued, the double date should be given until the new style was adopted also in England.

Let one instance serve for all. In vol. iv. p. 279, lines 11 and 12, this sentence occurs: 'This marriage appears to have been dissolved between March, 1501, and March, 1508.' Here the dates should have

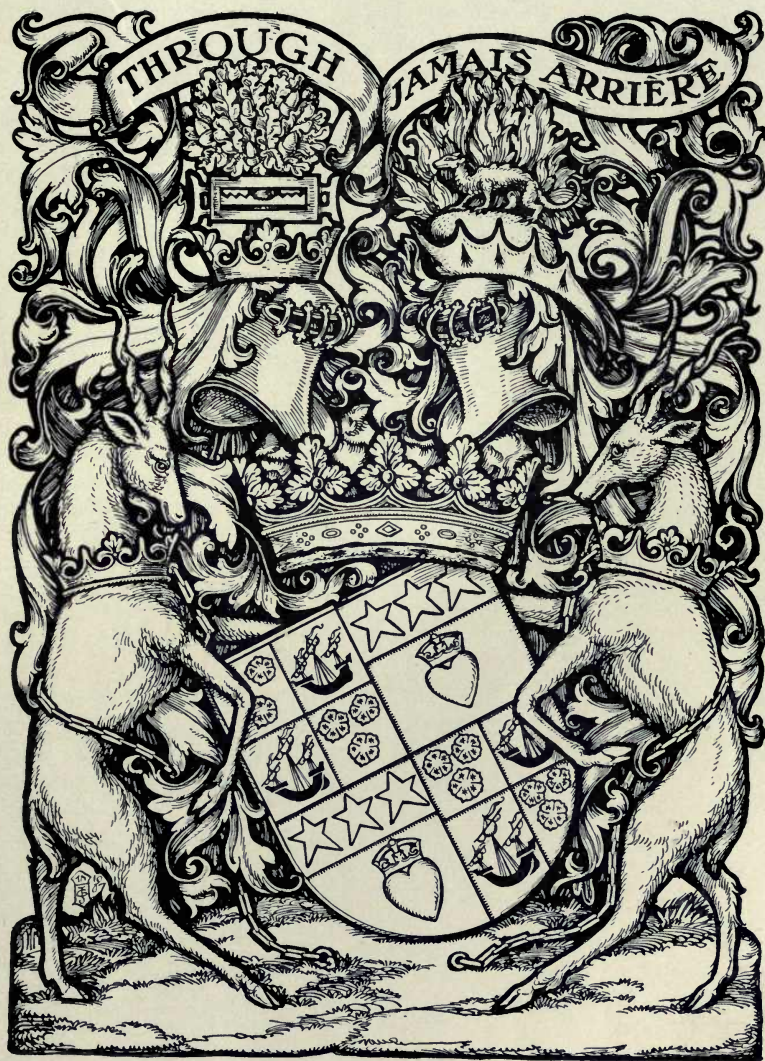
been 1500/1 and 1508/9, and it will be seen that Rothesay Herald has used the new style in the first date and the old in the second! To show that the double dates were easily ascertainable, it is only necessary to refer to Windsor Herald's article on the Earls of Crawford, vol. iii. pp. 23, 24, where they are given.

One of the good features of the book is the large number of marriage contracts that are given for the first time, and in genealogical work, if there is one thing more important than another, it is proof of marriage, although the light-hearted way in which the old-time Scots nobility entered into marriage contracts which they did not fulfil, and got rid of wives when they saw their way to a more profitable or attractive match, greatly increases the difficulty of giving satisfactory account of them.

Mr. John Anderson is responsible for several of the articles, and they are as scholarly and accurate as was to be expected. We hope he will not think us carping if we say that to state (vol. iii. p. 209, line 6) that Lord Duffus 'admitted the authorship of the letter' is an odd way of conveying the fact that the letter was not written by Lord Duffus, but by somebody else. The work of the same writer in vol. iv. on the ancient lords of Galloway is also highly meritorious, and it seems almost ungrateful to remark that these old chieftains, though very important people, have really no business in a peerage, as they were no more peers than Adonizedek and the other petty kings of whom Joshua made short work. We observe that in vol. iii. p. 448, note 7, he writes of 'James Montgomerie, *styled* Lord Lyle'; as this was not a case of a courtesy title, but of a wrongful assumption, we think 'claiming to be' or 'calling himself' would be a happier phrase than 'styled.'

Before leaving Mr. Anderson's part of the work, we must not omit to mention that his able account of the Dukes of Hamilton is, as far as we know, the only place where the wives of James, 2nd Lord Hamilton, are correctly given. In treating of this James' son and successor in the Earldom of Arran, he mentions the grant to him of the Duchy of Chatellherault in Poictou, in 1548/9, and refers to the late Mr. Stodart's able article thereon, but he does not touch on the vexed question of whether any French peerage dignity was so conferred on him. We think not; and even if any such dignity was then created, we entirely agree with Mr. Turnbull, writing in 1843, 'that His Grace of Hamilton, being neither heir male nor heir of line, has as much right to it as he has to the throne of China.' It is interesting to note that G. E. C. should have expressed 'some misgivings' about following Riddell, Nisbet, Bain, and other distinguished writers in treating the fifth feudal Lord of Hamilton as the first peer of Parliament, instead of his son James, who married Princess Mary of Scotland; and that 'the testimony of charter evidence unknown apparently to those writers' points to the 'misgivings' having been well founded.

Perhaps the most noticeable thing in these volumes occurs also in the Hamilton article, namely, the full account of the supposed first



HAMILTON

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

marriage of Lord Anne Hamilton with Mary, the wealthy heiress of Francis Edwards, which hitherto has been merely a matter of gossip. Evidence is given which raises a strong presumption that such a marriage did take place, though, curiously enough, the fact was denied by the lady who had borne him a son, in or shortly before 1733, of whom the present Earl of Gainsborough is heir male of the body, whilst the present Duke of Hamilton only descends from a son born in 1747, of Lord Anne, by Anna Powell whom he married during the lifetime of Mary Edwards. Accordingly the matter would have a practical as well as a genealogical interest, if the match could be established, for in that case the said Earl would be, as is pointed out, 'nearest heir male to the Dukedom of Hamilton.'

The editor and Mr. Anderson have combined to produce the Huntly article, and though G. E. C., following Riddell (generally a safe guide), alleges that the Setons, who later adopted the name of Gordon, were first ennobled about 1435 by the creation of the Barony of Gordon, we are inclined to agree with the arguments advanced and the conclusion adopted in the volume before us, viz., 'The creation of the title of Lord Gordon appears to be doubtful, and the title of Earl [of Huntly] was probably the first in the family.' Indeed, the whole of the early part of the Huntly article deserves special praise, as it really represents the sanest and most generally accepted version of the much-disputed descent of the 'Jocks and Tams.'

The puzzling problems involved in the various marriages of the uxorious 2nd Earl of Huntly, and the question as to which wife was mother of his son and successor, are also ably dealt with. Personally we incline to take G. E. C.'s view, that the 3rd Earl was son of the Princess Annabella, for if he was son of Elizabeth Hay, and was born in wedlock, it cannot have been before May, 1472, and he would then have sat in Parliament and been one of the Lords of the Articles in 1485, when aged 13, which seems incredible.

In his treatise on the Earls of Eglinton, Mr. Anderson follows the ordinary peerage accounts with regard to the parentage of the first wife of the thirteenth earl, making her to be daughter of Charles Newcomen of Clonahard, but this is not the fact; she was one of the eight illegitimate children of Thomas (Gleadowe-Newcomen), second and last Viscount Newcomen [I.] by Harriet Holland. We are indebted to that indefatigable genealogist, Mr. G. D. Burtchaell, for the ability to make this correction.

Lyon King has himself undertaken the difficult task of dealing with Halyburton of Dirletoun, and has been successful in making a great advance on all previous accounts, which are confused and inaccurate, though even now more definite information would be very welcome concerning the early holders of this obscure peerage. No one knows, within nine or ten years, when it was created, what was the precise title, nor with certainty whether Sir Walter or his son John was the first holder. We think the evidence which Lyon advances justifies him in dispossessing Sir Walter of the distinction he has hitherto enjoyed as first peer, and giving it to his son; but why, having done

so, does he speak at the bottom of p. 334 of '*Walter*, first Lord Halyburton'?

We take the liberty of suggesting to him that, where the daughters of Scots Peers themselves married Scots Peers, the accounts of them under their fathers should be of the shortest possible, so as to avoid swelling bulk by needless repetition, for they must be fully dealt with under their husbands, *e.g.* in the case of Christina Halyburton (p. 335) we should omit all discussion about the divorce, and merely put 'married George, Earl of Rothes (see that title).'

The editor is also to be congratulated on having given the correct parentage of John Ramsay, 1st Viscount of Haddington, (afterwards created Earl of Holderness in England), who has always been confused by Peerage writers with his namesake, the younger brother of the first Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie.

Colonel Allardyce contributes an excellent article on 'Forbes,' which not only corrects the error in Wood's *Douglas* as to the date of the creation, but gives much precise fresh and useful information. He has allowed one or two slips or printer's errors to escape correction. On p. 51 the 3rd Lord is said to have succeeded in July, 1462, but all we learn as to the 2nd Lord's death on p. 50 is that it was between September, 1460, and July, 1462. Again, the 3rd Lord is said to have sat in Parliament until 1488, and a few lines later to have died before 1483. From such little blemishes, however, volumes iii. and iv. are singularly free.

In conclusion it must be said that, it is a real pleasure to comment on the production of a work so capably, thoroughly, and conscientiously executed as is 'the Scots Peerage.'

VICARY GIBBS.

THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA. By J. A. Doyle. Vol. IV. THE MIDDLE COLONIES. Pp. xvi, 563. Med. 8vo. Vol. V. THE COLONIES UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER. Pp. xvi, 629. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 14s. nett per vol.

THESE two volumes—together with three preceding ones—(1) *Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas*, 1882; (2 and 3) *The Puritan Colonies*—constitute Mr. Doyle's comprehensive account of the English in America, which he was able to complete although he did not survive to enjoy fully the recognition by scholars of his long labour in furtherance of sound learning. In these as in their predecessors, which deal with the plantations successively made by Englishmen on the North American continent, he avoids tediousness by restricting the scale upon which he depicts the complex scenes of early colonial life. He has probably given as detailed an account in his volume on New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as the general reader—in Britain at least—can persuade himself to read. When contrasted with the bald and meaningless epitome supplied by the Cambridge History, Mr. Doyle's volumes are encyclopaedic and minute. His grouping of cognate facts and tendencies common to several colonies, achieved more especially in the last volume,



HOME

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

gives to his work a unity and an effectiveness which cannot be attained by any group of monographs, such as the otherwise admirable 'Commonwealth' Series, published in America. This noticeable excellence is enhanced by the fact that he brings the whole story of American institutions down, not to the War of Independence, but to the final achievement of the Conquest of Canada.

The events subsequent to the Conquest of Canada, Mr. Doyle rightly regards as outside of his domain, because just at this point distinctively American history begins. Only when a line of separation is drawn at this point can the early history of the American Colonies take its place as a part of the imperial experience of Britain. A prevailing point of view with Mr. Doyle leads him to hint at lessons from failures and half successes in the planting of America for the enlightenment of contemporary Colonial Secretaries. This is done in a spirit of judicial impartiality. Indeed the distinctively Puritan point of view finds more sympathy at the hands of Mr. Doyle than is quite agreeable to the tone of sentiment now prevailing in the Middle West of the United States.

Turning to *The Middle Colonies*, we find Mr. Doyle improving to the full the great opportunity afforded by the history of the Dutch planting of New Netherlands. The obvious inefficiency of Dutch aims and methods comes out at every turn, and the superiority of English ways is dwelt upon with much temperateness of language; but New England bulks so largely in early America that it is important to bear in mind that some of the best points in the English character were made of little or no account in the Puritan philosophy by which New England was guided. Mr. Doyle apparently recognizes this when he speaks (p. 5), *à propos* of Gilbert, of 'those conceptions of chivalry which formed the better side of the English Renaissance'; and he rightly no doubt credits Usselinx with similarly generous impulses. This is borne out where our author says (p. 67): 'The one inestimable benefit which New York owed to its Dutch founders, a benefit shared by the whole body of English-speaking colonists, was the secure alliance of the Five Nations.' This boon was only gained by some sacrifice, and the reverse side of the medal is shown by the fact dwelt on in this volume that, in the history of the New Netherlands, there was nothing like 'that solid and effective progress' with which New England stretched 'her robust grasp over the wilderness.' The robustness of the grasp was undoubted; but had it not been for the loving-kindness with which Roger Williams, the most recalcitrant of Puritans, met the Narragansett tribes—to the great scandal of Massachusetts, which gained everything by Williams' peace-loving ministrations—New England would have overreached herself, and might not have prevailed unscathed against the powers of the wilderness.

At certain points in Mr. Doyle's vast conspectus of complicated events he has not clearly conceived all the facts. This appears in his account (p. 100 f.) of the massacre on the borderland between Connecticut and New York of the widowed Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who took refuge there with her family—excepting Captain Edward Hutchinson,

who, be it remembered, was slain by the Nipmucks, ambushed near Marlboro', Mass. 'She only escaped from her Christian persecutors,' says Mr. Doyle, 'to fall a victim to the savage.' This is misleading, since Mrs. Hutchinson, with her husband and her son Edward, were of those who founded Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Mrs. Hutchinson's whole participation in the planting of Rhode Island is ignored, and her massacre is seriously antedated. Again, in the curious episode (p. 199 ff.) of the indictment and arrest of William Dyer, Mr. Doyle is imperfectly informed when he says: 'On Dyer's reaching England the case was brought before the Privy Council, and after, as it would seem, a perfunctory inquiry, was suffered to drop.' Documents easily available at the Record Office show that William Dyer—a son of the William Dyer for whom Dyre's Island was named—waited for more than a year in order that his prosecutor might appear. There was no appearance whatever, and Dyer was sent back to New York with enlarged powers. These were however annulled by the Revolution after which he retired to Pennsylvania. Errors in detail such as these are not lacking, but will doubtless admit of emendation in a second edition, which these volumes richly deserve to attain.

Although the bulk of the volume on the Middle Colonies is given to New York, the settlements on the Delaware come in episodically, and two chapters are given to New Jersey. Indeed, it is not always easy to keep the story of these two adjacent plantations apart. The single chapter which closes the book and deals with Pennsylvania is not quite adequate.

In the second of the two volumes, *The Colonies under the House of Hanover*, Mr. Doyle gathers together the scattered threads of narrative running through the four volumes preceding. Here are seven chapters dealing with general conditions of colonial life in America—population, administration, slavery, wealth, religion, education and literature. Some of these are very slight, notably that on ethnography and that on literature, but all are thoughtful and originally conceived. Mr. Doyle's chapter on Georgia and Oglethorpe is an achievement upon which he merits the heartiest of congratulations. It is the clearest and most telling account in print of what is, in many ways, the noblest of English colonizing ventures—the most high-minded, and also one of the most successful. A point especially well made (p. 438 ff.) has especial interest for Scottish antiquarians and historians, and that is, the inauguration by Oglethorpe and his Trustees of that policy which was carried out on a large scale by Pitt. Advertisements setting forth the tempting points of Georgia were inserted in the Scotch newspapers, and a hundred-and-thirty Highlanders were enlisted, especially to form a military colony on the southern frontier. Unterrified by the tragedy of Darien, these Scotchmen, with whom went a Macleod as ghostly ministrant, named their Georgian domain *Darien*, and declared that, if the Spaniards attacked them, they would 'beat them out of these parts and have their houses ready built to dwell in.' Such at least is the report of them given by Oglethorpe to his trustees.

LOUIS DYER.

SCOTTISH KINGS : A SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM 1005 TO 1625. With Notices of the Principal Events, Regnal Years, Pedigrees, Tables, Calendars, Maps, etc. By Sir Archibald H. Dunbar, Bart. Second edition. Pp. xix, 440. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh : David Douglas. 1906. 12s. 6d. nett.

WHEN Sir Archibald Dunbar's *Scottish Kings* was published in 1899 it was at once recognized as a valuable contribution to history. A second edition was issued a few months ago. There are a very few corrections or additions, and the fact that the author has not found it necessary to retract nor to correct shows how carefully his task was originally performed.

That task was 'an endeavour to settle as far as possible the exact date of the noteworthy events of Scottish history during six centuries, from the accession of Malcolm II. in 1005 to the death of James VI. in 1625.'

As Sir Archibald Dunbar observes, 'Unfortunately there are many noteworthy events in the early history of Scotland to which it is impossible to assign an exact date.'

Malcolm II., Duncan, Macbeth, Lulach are almost prehistoric personages, and so imperfect is the record that we do not know the years of the births of Malcolm Canmore, Donald Bane, Edgar, Alexander I., David I., nor of John Balliol nor Robert III.

It is well nigh impossible to give exact dates to any events before the middle of the twelfth century, even the period between 1150-1250 is in comparative darkness.

Sir Archibald Dunbar has, however, done 'more useful work than to fix the exact date' of great events; he has collected, with infinite care and accuracy, references to the passages in the works of all writers who can be called authorities. Unfortunately only a few were contemporary, but others who wrote later may have had access to writings which have perished or may have heard traditions which were sufficiently recent to be trustworthy.

To each statement in his text Sir Archibald has appended a note of the authorities. These notes fill nearly half of each page; they are not mere dry references: the difference between the statements of one chronicle and another, the mistakes which they made, are so noted that it is plain that the completeness of the collecting and collating was due to the learning and the knowledge of the compiler.

If it be not ungracious, in accepting this great gift, I would say that the gift would have been greater had Sir Archibald, from time to time, discriminated between the worth of the chronicles he cited. Some of them did no more than to copy from their predecessors, and as copyists they have no independent value. So in many cases, though the list be a long one, the statement in the text rests on only one of the books.

In dealing with the events of six centuries, the *Scottish Kings* is exposed to the criticism of those who have made part of that time a special study. Each student of the history of a century or of a reign will regret the

omission of some event, will doubt the accuracy of some statements, will wonder why what seems to him very doubtful is treated as certain.

There are omissions and curious assertions as to events prior to the accession of Alexander II. in 1214 which I desiderate and with which I cannot agree. This is not the proper occasion for a minute criticism and for doubt or disagreement as to details. In common with all who have consulted Sir Archibald Dunbar's volume, I give unstinted praise and thanks for the full references to the authorities; his notes will greatly help all future workers in Scottish history.

Some of the Tables and Calendars are admirable, others are of less use. For instance, the 'Scottish Calendar,' pp. 364-387, seems to me unworthy of a place in the volume. Many of the entries are irrelevant. Under 2 January, 'The earliest known instance of impaled arms in Scotland, 1351-2'; '8 January. Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, born 1864'; '24 January. H.R.H. Albert, Prince Consort, naturalized 1840,' and so on.

The 'Church Calendar,' pp. 343-355, is not particularly interesting to Scotsmen. The 'Notes on Eras, Calendars, etc.,' is by no means exhaustive. Though the Act of Parliament, 17 Dec. 1599, ordained that the New Year should commence on the 1st of January instead of on the 25th of March, it is certain that the Parliament did not so much make a change as give official sanction to a custom which had been common for many years.

A careful examination of George Buchanan's history shows that he, when dealing with an event as early as the murder of James I. in February, 1436-37, gives the year as 1437, calculating the year as beginning on the 1st of January, so following the usage of many Popes. The uncertainty as to whether an event which took place between 1 January and 25 March should be dated the one year or the other requires some care before a decision is arrived at. Sometimes the answer is obvious; for example, the queen of Alexander III. was present at the coronation of Edward I. on 19 August, 1274; she died in February following; it would be misleading to put her death in 1274, though the year did not end till 25 March. Similarly, Alexander III. was married to his second wife on 14 Oct. 1285, was thrown from his horse and died on the 19th of March following; that, of course, was in 1286; but there are many cases in which it is not clear in which year the event occurred.

Let me express again how valuable Sir A. Dunbar's work is, though those in search of the minutiae of history may sometimes be disappointed because the work does not give an itinerary of our kings. Materials for making a diary of the earlier kings is wanting, but in the reign of Robert Bruce and afterwards a fairly complete itinerary diary might be framed which would assist in fixing the dates of charters; but that was not Sir Archibald Dunbar's object: the object of his book was to fix as far as possible the date of the principal events of Scottish history, and that object has been admirably attained.

A. C. LAWRIE.

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM DUNBAR. With Introduction, Notes and Glossary. By H. Bellyse Baildon. Pp. xlii, 396. Cr. 8vo. London : The Cambridge University Press. 1907. 6s. nett.

THE want of convenient text-books has been hitherto a serious obstacle to the study of Scottish literature. In the case of Dunbar specially, the outstanding poet of an outstanding age, there is no edition suitable to the student's needs. The three volumes of Laing are out of date, and also a bibliographical rarity ; the several parts by the several editors for the Scottish Text Society, and the unwieldy quarto of Dr. Schipper are too cumbrous, and are also difficult to procure. So Dr. Baildon deserves the thanks of all those who desire to have the old poetry of Scotland brought within easy reach. The editor is to be congratulated on the scholarly and sensible manner in which he has carried out his undertaking. He has acted wisely in selecting the complete text of the Vienna edition as the basis of his work. Small's text is constructed on too conservative lines for practical use, and, on the other hand, Dr. Schipper has so classified the poems as to make them correspond with the different periods of Dunbar's life. The arrangement may not be perfect, for want of sufficient data, but it illuminates wonderfully the darkness of previous editions. The text is very correctly printed ; in fact, in the course of an extensive comparison of many passages, only a very few mistakes have been discovered, and all of them belong to the source of origin ; none is due to the present editor, who however might have reduced their number if he had consulted the list of 'Additions and Corrections' at the end of Dr. Schipper's volume. The Glossary is practically the same as in the Vienna edition, with a few alterations, insufficient at times, to make it fit with the different plan of editing. It was no easy task to select from the superabundant wealth of annotation and illustration accumulated by the zeal of previous scholars ; the task has been judiciously performed. The editor has also added many remarks of his own, the responsibility of which he boldly assumes by the novel and commendable addition of a special editorial mark.

It would be out of place to discuss any of the many *cruces* still abounding in Dunbar in spite of his numerous commentators, but attention may be called to one or two points of some interest historically. 'Calicut' is the place meant in 53, 62, as Dr. Gregor explained, and not 'Calcutta', as Dr. Schipper emphatically asserts, and as the present editor repeats. Calcutta did not come into existence till the end of the seventeenth century ; on the other hand, Calicut must have been famous in Dunbar's time as the place where Vasco da Gama first landed in India in 1498, not long before the poem was written. Stewart d'Aubigny, the French ambassador, is called in the title of a poem dedicated to him 'Erle of Beaumont (le) Roger and Bonaffre.' Dr. Gregor, on the suggestion of a distinguished French authority on the history of that period, identified the latter place with Bouafles (misread Bonafles by Dr. Schipper, and Bonafleo here), a village in Normandy. The true explanation is quite different, as appears from the 'Chronique de Jean d'Anton' (*Soc. Hist. de Fr.*) : 'Or (août 1501) s'en alla ledit sire d'Aulbigny en la conté de Benaffre, près de

Cappe, laquelle conté lui avoit donnée le Roy, et la fut par l'espace de six semaines.' Vol. ii. p. 98. That is to say d'Aubigny was created earl of Benaffre by Louis XII. in 1501 during the Naples expedition. The Italian name is Venafrò, a small town between Rome and Naples, the Venafrum of Horace.

F. J. AMOURS.

THE LAND IN THE MOUNTAINS, being an account of the past and present of Tyrol, its people and its castles. By W. A. Baillie-Grohmann. Pp. xxxi, 288. Illustrated with 82 plates, and maps of Modern Tyrol and Ancient Raetia. Demy 8vo. London: Simpkin Marshall & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

MR. BAILLIE-GROHMANN, who many years ago published a charming work on *Tyrol and the Tyrolese*, has compiled in this interesting volume much valuable if miscellaneous information regarding the past and present of that fascinating country. He deserves all credit for his labour of love since no other English book on Tyrol contains a like amount of historical information drawn from printed and even unpublished records. Two long chapters give an outline of its history from Roman times (when the ancient province of Raetia was important as possessing in the Brenner the lowest and oldest pass over the Alps) through the Middle Ages, when it saw some of the fiercest fighting and held the richest silver mines in Europe, down to the Napoleonic era, when Andreas Hofer, 'der Sandwirt im Passeyer,' waged his famous guerilla warfare against Napoleon's Bavarian troops in defence of his country and the Empire. The mediæval history is remote enough from our present interests, and yet the country was twice connected with our own, first in 1448, when Sigismund, Duke of Tyrol (excited, it is said, by the description brought home by his tutor Aeneas Silvius of the beauty of the daughters of the Scottish Royal house), married, at Innsbruck, the Princess Eleanore, daughter of James I., and again in 1554, when Mary of England married Philip II., by which union Tyrol came to figure in the great seal of England. The Duchess (whose bedroom is still shown in the Burg at Meran, with a beautiful coat-of-arms of Scotland over the door) must have found the court for which she exchanged the semi-barbarism of Scotland an agreeable change, for it was one of the gayest and pleasantest in Europe, the vast mineral wealth of the Unter Innthal having just been discovered, to produce untold riches for her husband and herself.

Other chapters give an interesting account of the Tyrolese castles past and present, of which the country, though but twice the size of Yorkshire, possessed an incredible number. No less than 1250 aristocratic seats have been counted by a friend of the author's. Numbers of them have disappeared, but of some 600 the sites at least are known, and many have been restored. Of these Schloss Tyrol, Tratsberg, Sigmundskron, and Matzen, which is in the author's possession, are the best known. The art treasures which these castles once contained were of priceless value,

forming as they did part of the booty which the Tyrolese mercenaries brought back from the wars. But information as to these riches comes to one now several years after the fair, for the dealer in antiques has already descended on the land and bled it white.

As his earlier book showed, Mr. Grohmann has an unrivalled knowledge of the peasantry past and present, and he makes some interesting observations on the effect at the present day of compulsory military service on the economic conditions of a country which is the most conservative of ancient customs and habits in Europe. The young men who leave their mountain farms to serve in the towns will not go back to the land, and the frugal Italian field-labourer, to whom even the hard life of a Tyrolese farm-servant is economic advancement, is gradually supplanting the old peasantry in possession of their lands. The process is helped by the law of succession, which gives each of the children a *pro indiviso* share of their ancestor's estate, forming a burden on the income of the person who works the farm.

Not the least interesting part of the book are the chapters dealing with topics only remotely connected with the principal theme. Thus there is a fascinating account of the rise of the house of Fugger, that astonishing Augsburg family which, beginning as simple weavers of fustian, became in three generations the Rothschilds of the seventeenth century, 'the dear and faithful sons' of Popes, 'the honoured and trusty friends' of Emperors, and left as many descendants as there are days in the year. It is only because they worked the silver mines in the Unter Innthal and held Schloss Matzen, the author's castle, from 1589 to 1657 that this family comes into the picture. We are told also of famous Tyrolese knights, and especially of the heroic giant Georg von Frundsberg, Maximilian's lieutenant, the founder of the first body of drilled mercenaries in Europe; the inventor of fire-tactics, and victor (under Lonnay) of the battle of Pavia with his Landsknechte. It is interesting to note that Mindelheim, the seat of this Renaissance soldier, formed part of the reward presented to the victor of Blenheim at the end of the Spanish War of Succession, and remained in Marlborough's hands until the peace of Radstadt.

A great charm of the book is the illustrations, which are very numerous and uniformly interesting, many of them representing famous scenes in the Tyrol, others objects of vertu and art from its castles, others again views of the Schloss Matzen, in which the author has naturally so great an interest. They must arouse Heimweh in any reader who has visited Tyrol.

The author writes with a careless ease that does not disdain colloquialism, and now and then his sentences are not under command. Of the introduction—a kind of obituary notice of the author, from the hand of an American admirer—the less said the better.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

112 Munro : Seigniorial System in Canada

THE SEIGNIORIAL SYSTEM IN CANADA: A STUDY IN FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY. By William Bennett Munro, Ph.D., LL.B., Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. Harvard Historical Studies. Vol. XIII. Pp. xiv, 296. 8vo. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. London and Bombay. 1907. 8s. nett.

THIS volume, which is thirteenth in the series of Harvard Historical Studies, published under the direction of the Department of History and Government from the income of the Henry Warren Torrey Fund, is in no way behind any of its predecessors in careful and comprehensive treatment. As a sketch of Canadian feudalism, it was first presented as a thesis for the doctor's degree at the University of Harvard, and was afterwards awarded the Toppan Prize in 1900. In the seventeenth century France transplanted into her North-American territories whatever survivals of the feudal system she then possessed, and in the new environment, when the feudal lords or seigniors were brought into closer relations with their dependants, it acquired to some extent a new vitality. Under favourable conditions in French Canada the system grew and flourished long after its decay in the mother land. When the colony passed to the dominion of England in 1760, the administration of the seigniorial system of land tenure was thrown into unsympathetic hands. There was little chance that the new masters should look with favour on a system they had deliberately abolished a century before as burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial to their own country. Owing, however, to the articles of capitulation, the traditional customs of the conquered race were respected and the system was continued till 1854, when it was abolished, with the concurrence of the people, as unsuitable to the new social and economic conditions of the state. The student of English and Scottish feudalism will find many points of interest and instruction in this study of its latest manifestation in the New World, where, it may be noted, the survivals were 'more prolonged than in any other territory controlled by a European state or peopled by men of European stock.' It need scarcely be said that Dr. Munro, in his clear and well-arranged essay, has had recourse to trustworthy materials. In addition to a long list of printed books which he has consulted, much has been gathered, both on the legal and economic aspects of his subject, from the Canadian archives, inaccessible to most students, and from Government publications not within easy reach of the general reader.

JAMES WILSON.

HIS GRACE THE STEWARD AND TRIAL OF PEERS. By L. W. Vernon Harcourt. Pp. xii, 500. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 16s. nett.

FOR thoroughness of workmanship, adequate equipment, sound method, and penetrating criticism, this work, by an unknown author, asserts its right to a place in the front rank of English historical scholarship. All

available authorities in print and manuscript bearing on the topics discussed have been subjected to an exhaustive analysis; every conclusion arrived at, or conjecture hazarded, is supported by an array of excerpts from the original authorities, enabling the reader to formulate judgments for himself, while the entire work is written in a style that is trenchant, lucid, and pleasant to read.

Mr. Harcourt's main conclusion is that the Court of the Lord High Steward was in its origin 'a fraudulent device for the degradation of the nobility generally; it was intended to supersede and altogether deprive them of trial in Parliament' (p. 442). This famous court, if we interpret our author aright, had never been heard of prior to 1499, but was invented in that year by Henry VII. in order to clothe the judicial murder of the Earl of Warwick with some slight show of legality and decency, when the Court of Chivalry was prevented by a technical defect of jurisdiction from acting as the instrument of his tyranny, while Parliament could not be absolutely trusted to supply the necessary *pro forma* condemnation. Precedents of some sort had to be furbished up for this extraordinary innovation. One such was found by the Crown lawyers in the ambiguous circumstances of a trial that had taken place in 1415 before a commission of peers presided over by the Duke of Clarence, who happened to be Lord Steward at the time. Henry VII. failed to find a second precedent, even of this doubtful kind, and thereupon, if we may believe Mr. Harcourt, deliberately forged one. Finding that in the first year of Henry IV. the Earl of Huntingdon had been done to death at Pleshy, uncondemned, at the hands of a mob under somewhat obscure circumstances, Henry, with Tudor-like anxiety scrupulously to observe the letter of the law, thought it feasible and prudent to instruct the deliberate falsification of the records of that year by the insertion of a fictitious narrative of legal proceedings against the Earl, that had never taken place. Such is the astounding explanation given by our author of the appearance in the Year Book for 1400 of what purports to be the judicial record of the indictment and judgment of the Earl of Warwick by eighteen of his fellow peers, presided over by a Steward of England appointed *pro hac vice*. If we can bring ourselves to believe that Henry VII. executed this extraordinary forgery without detection, we may well agree with Mr. Harcourt when he says: 'It is, I think, quite the most interesting fraud in the whole legal history of England' (p. 399).

The most valuable parts of this treatise, however, lie in the chapters introductory to the main theme. Many valuable discussions will be found there upon topics of interest to the constitutional historian, such as the early history of the offices of dapifer and seneschal in England and elsewhere, John Lackland and the peers of France, the successful claim made by the Earls of Leicester to act as sole hereditary Stewards, and the rise of the Court of Chivalry. Chapter VII. contains an important contribution to the controversial literature that surrounds the 39th chapter of Magna Carta, which protects freemen from John's interference with their life, liberty, or property *nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae*. Our author, while declaring in his hearty way that all

writers who have suggested free translations of these words 'have grievously blundered,' attempts no rendering of his own, falling back (wisely no doubt) on the old literal translation, which evades all difficulties by leaving them unexplained. On two points, however, he is definite enough: '*lex terrae*' he holds to be used here in a loose popular sense like the modern 'law of the land,' not in the technical sense of ordeal or other test or 'trial'; while '*vel*' is used in its ordinary disjunctive sense of 'or,' and not (as it has been the tendency of recent commentators to maintain) as practically equivalent to '*et.*' So far his meaning is clear; but it is a little difficult to reconcile the sharp antithesis drawn on p. 281, that 'the king must proceed by the law of the land; or, if that fails him, then by judgment of the peers,' with the admission on p. 276 that these two things 'are treated as being in many respects coextensive.' If it is true, as our author informs us on p. 236, that 'after a critical examination of the whole original document there can be no reasonable doubt as to the true meaning of this chapter,' he has not been specially happy in explaining that meaning unambiguously to his readers. He complains elsewhere (p. 216) that 'the leading modern authorities have ultimately arrived at contradictory and wholly inconclusive conclusions.' If it is unfair to blame Mr. Harcourt, on the argument *ad hominem*, for bringing a not wholly conclusive conclusion of his own to contradict the others, he ought at least to avoid every appearance of contradicting himself. His penetrating arguments, however, on the interpretation of this passage of the Charter, together with the carefully collected evidence on which he supports them, are worthy of respectful consideration, although we are not so thoroughly convinced as Mr. Harcourt is, that he is entirely in the right and all previous commentators entirely in the wrong. In particular, his failure to discuss the meaning of '*lex*' in the 38th chapter of Magna Carta materially weakens the force of his reasoning as to the meaning of the same word in chapter 39.

We are unwilling to take leave of this valuable and delightful work with any note of disapproval; but the author, it must be owned, shows more gusto in exposing the errors of his fellow-workers than in acknowledging points of agreement. From cover to cover there occurs no word of gratitude to earlier writers, while condemnation is frequent and heartily administered. 'This is quite a mistake' is the curt phrase in which Bishop Stubbs is corrected (p. 392 n.). Judge Littleton (p. 393) is 'grievously in error.' Statements made by Judge Foss (p. 129) and the *Complete Peerage* (p. 135) are 'quite untrue.' Sir R. Cotton (p. 175) shows 'a magnificent disregard for chronology.' Mr. Pike (p. 343) is 'a blind leader of the blind.' Mr. Round and Professor Prothero (p. 130), Sir James Ramsay (p. 394), and Mr. Gardiner (p. 434) are equally censured. 'So inaccurate and unscholarly a work as the *Foedera*' (p. 137) is the phrase in which the three editions of Rymer are dismissed. Three of the leading historians of modern France, MM. Charles Bémont, Petit-Dutaillis, and Guilhiermoz, meet with equally cavalier treatment. 'I cannot pretend to appreciate the ratiocination of these eminent French publicists' (p. 265) he says of two of them, and afterwards apologises

to his readers for 'attempting a serious reply to so frivolous an argument.' On the question under discussion he concludes characteristically: 'In my opinion the problem has been entirely misconceived, and the facts are as I have stated them' (p. 269). Such war-whoops are entirely out of place in a book which demands, on its solid merits, a hearty welcome from all serious students of English institutions. Historians will await with interest further treatises from a writer who has shown himself endowed with all the qualities of a scholar—with one exception.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, A MEMORIAL, 1506-1906. Contributions by various writers compiled and edited by D. A. Millar on behalf of the Executive of the Students' Representative Council of St. Andrews University. Pp. xix., 490. Demy 8vo. St. Andrews: W. C. Henderson & Son, University Press. London: David Nutt. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

Two Scottish Universities were dutifully occupied last year in commemorating the greatest of the Scottish Humanists—St. Andrews, which boasts him as her *alumnus*, of right taking the precedence; and Glasgow following suit on the ground at once of his birth in her near neighbourhood, of the life-long interest he took in her welfare, and the tokens of the same which she still possesses—the valuable books he bestowed upon her Library, and the Latin Prayer, of his composition, it is said, with which to this day she opens her Graduation ceremonies. In the course of both commemorations exhibitions were held of portraits of Buchanan, of books that had belonged to him, and of certain minor relics; and papers were read and addresses given dealing with various aspects of his life and works. And each of the two commemorations has found an appropriate record and memento in the shape of a handsome volume. Both these books were decidedly worth printing. We agree with the *Athenaeum* in giving the palm for thoroughness of work to Glasgow's contribution. This from St. Andrews suffers, as a book, from the restrictions of a rule which was no doubt very suitable to the actual festivities—the extremely short space allotted to the several articles; for subjects of the kind cannot be dealt with in a series of snippets. We notice, moreover, that, brief as these papers are, they are not free from errors. To call David Beaton the first Scottish cardinal may indeed be justified on the plea that Clement VII., who in 1381 bestowed the red hat on Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, was not the legitimate pontiff; though Scotland did not stand alone in owning him. But we hardly expected this line to be taken in a volume emanating from a University which owes the bull of its foundation to a Pope of no better title, Benedict XIII. (Peter de Luna). A good many of the articles are too slight to be of any use. Others are marred by an excess of hero-worship, or by the omission of any reference to certain of the more questionable actions of the poet; while, to mention but a single instance, the

discussion here of the question whether the seventeenth century translation of Buchanan's 'Baptistes' was, or was not, the work of John Milton, looks very thin when compared with Mr. J. T. Brown's masterly treatment of the same theme in the Glasgow volume. At the same time there is not a little in this book that deserves the attention of the serious scholar—we may mention, as an example, Mr. Maitland Anderson's learned paper on 'The Writings of Buchanan'; and there is also much likely to interest the casual reader. Moreover, the book, besides fulfilling its immediate purpose as a memorial of a successful celebration, supplies a pleasing proof that, even in these days of all-absorbing Science, the *Literae Humaniores* still count many loving devotees in our oldest University.

The 'get up' of the book is more suggestive of the drawing-room than of the study, for which the absence of a proper title on the back is a real disqualification; and among the wealth of its illustrations, if there are several of real interest, there are others whose connexion with the theme is not very apparent. One of them has much interest for the ecclesiologist: it shews the ancient gateway—of which the stones had been carefully preserved—restored to its proper place in front of St. Salvador's College.

JAMES COOPER.

EAST LoTHIAN. By Charles E. Green. 398 pp. Edinburgh: William Green & Sons. 1907. 10s. nett.

It is a real pleasure to read this pleasant book, which points out the places of interest in the county of Haddington, 'the Garden of Scotland,' and describes their history in a very attractive manner. Mr. Green has divided his work into three parts—the coast parishes, the Lammermoor or hill parishes, and the central or agricultural parishes, which contain, as R. L. Stevenson said, 'the fat farms of East Lothian.' As the soil of Haddington was very rich, it was settled early, and was soon covered with fine churches, abbeys, castles, and mansions, the remains of many of which are depicted in the 186 illustrations with which this volume is decorated. The county, however, suffered constantly from the depredations and ravages of the English. In 1216 and 1244 Haddington was destroyed by them. Under Edward III. they burned the church called 'the Lamp of Lothian,' which 'was the singular solace of the pious of that part,' and during the invasions of Surrey and Hertford the fields were 'salted down' with 'the bones of thousands slain in battle.' But the wealth of the county caused the lands always to be resettled soon and the destroyed buildings to be restored or rebuilt. Mr. Green leads us through East Lothian, parish by parish, and describes it, as he says, seeking 'what seemed most interesting to himself,' and he has made an admirable selection from his knowledge of its history and traditions. He cites among its worthies Black Agnes of Dunbar, John Major, Knox, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Mr. Secretary Lethington (by the way, the Duchess of Lennox from whom Lethington changed its name

to Lennoxlove was not daughter, but granddaughter to Lord Blantyre), Bishop Burnet, the patriot Fletcher of Salton, the historian Robertson, and Jane Welsh Carlyle. He forgets, among his varied information and quaint county-lore, neither the Pilgrimage of Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.) to Whitekirk in 1435, nor the foundation of the 'cheap magazine' in 1813. He narrates the sufferings of the Covenanters imprisoned on the Bass, and recalls the fact that at Spott the last witch is said to have been burned. He recounts the nefarious doings of the pious custom-house officer Nimmo, and the retorts of the song writer Adam Skirving, and he gives an account of the unfortunate colliers of Tranent, serfs liberated from bondage only in 1775. The castles and towers of Elphinstone, which, according to tradition, 'cracked' when George Wishart was imprisoned in it, Tantallon, Bothwell, Hailes, Saltcoats, and Redhouse still exist, and are all figured in this book as East Lothian fortresses, and also Winton House and Nunraw, both famous for their decorated ceilings. Among the older churches, S. Bothans, Whitekirk, Dunglass, Prestonkirk and Seton are described, and this book will cause many pilgrimages to be made to these places of old renown. This sumptuous work is evidently the result of a labour of love, and to make it complete as well as delightful the author has added a modern map of the county and Bleau's Map of East Lothian in 1654.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. Vol. VI. AUSTRALASIA. By J. D. Rogers, Barrister-at-Law. Formerly Stowell Fellow of University College, Oxford. Part I. Historical. Part II. Geographical. With Maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1907.

THIS is a thoroughly good book and may be recommended not only to teachers, for whom it is a necessity, but also to the rapidly increasing number of those who, without having a professional interest in the subject, are intelligently curious about our Antipodal fellow-citizens and their country. The volume is in two parts, historical and geographical, and both are written with fulness of knowledge and considerable vivacity of style. But the quite unusual liveliness of expression, unusual, that is to say, in a book of this kind, is here consistent with painstaking care, and the student will be glad to have the many references that are embodied in the footnotes. The history will be gratefully received by many whose access to the sources is barred, and who will be stimulated in their reading by such pungent sentences as this, describing E. G. Wakefield: 'His philosophy was shallow, his knowledge limited, his self-confidence profound, and his zeal illimitable.' The geographical description is often vividly picturesque, although at times the grammar is not beyond cavil, as in this about coral islands: 'Coming from the sea the ruins look like tiaras of silver inlaid with emerald, for the eye only sees white breakers and white coral sand surmounted by coco-nuts.' There is a good deal of such writing in this interesting book.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THE ROMAN OCCUPATION. By Andrew Lang. Vol. IV. Pp. xvi, 621. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh : Blackwood & Sons. 1907. 20s. nett.

'WITH this volume ends my History of Scotland,' says its author. It begins with the death of Dundee and concludes with 'the last armed attempt to make Scotland once more an independent and a separate nation.' May we indulge in the hope that Mr. Lang will reconsider the matter, and add yet another volume to those which have come before. For he is not one of those who consider that the history of Scotland ended in 1745 : he only leaves to the 'energy of some other hand' the story of subsequent events. Scottish history may at least be continued up to 1832, when our country at last secured a rational constitution. During the intervening period we have the overthrow of territorial power, a great stride in the march of civilisation, the gradual disappearance of the tyranny of the Kirk, forced to witness the existence of tolerated dissent, and the rise of schools of independent thought, the whole history of Scottish philosophy, and the creation of a Scottish literature. If Culloden was the last of our battles, it was not the last of our struggles, nor did our roll of martyrs cease so long as we had judges of the Braxfield type.

The period included in the present volume is not only one of great interest, but one with which Mr. Lang is peculiarly fitted, both by his individual tastes and a long and careful study, to deal. The two most attractive, because most romantic, characters of Scottish history, Mary Stuart and her descendant, Prince Charles Edward, may be said to have, for years back, fascinated our author : he is always dealing with either one or other, and the materials for his history overflow and form separate works. In these recent days much light has been thrown upon Prince Charles and his rising. Mr. Lang himself, in his *Pickle the Spy*, has dealt with the darker and more hidden events ; the valuable literature of *The Lyon in Mourning* has been rescued from the obscurity of MS. ; every day of the Prince's Scottish visit has been accounted for by the *Itinerary* of Mr. Blaikie ; while in the *Elcho Memoir* we have the narrative of a participator in the movement, the close companion of its hero, whose estimate of his character may perhaps be set against the extravagance of popular and still current sentiment.

A glance at the contents of this volume is sufficient to show how attractive they are, not only to the student of politics, who will turn with interest to the Glencoe incident or to the great crises of the Union and the Rebellions, but to all, indeed, who are fond of studying the emancipation, long delayed, of this country from barbarism and intolerance, having for its result the altered standard by which matters came to be judged, superstition and fanaticism sinking into the background and giving way to some measure of secular common sense.

As was to be expected, Mr. Lang lingers long and lovingly in the bye-paths of the subject. The history of Scotland during this period,

although not quite so domestic and social in its character as it afterwards became, nevertheless abounds, as indeed has all Scottish history since the Reformation down, certainly to 1904, in quaint theological disputes and strange bickerings of sects, the fighting always the keener the smaller the body. The dark shadow of witchcraft, so closely connected with theology, was only beginning to be dispelled when the seventeenth century closed, and still continued to influence society until the eighteenth was well advanced. Mr. Lang approaches such subjects somewhat in the spirit of Gibbon, but throws a thinner veil over his satire.

Mr. Lang has again revived the miserable tragedy of Thomas Aikenhead, hanged for alleged blasphemy in 1697. This case, which theological historians have most conveniently ignored, was brought into fresh light by Macaulay, who was attacked at the time for inaccuracy by the *Edinburgh Witness*. It is a sad tale, and one worthy to rank with that of Servetus. Aikenhead did die for his opinions upon religious questions, which, strictly speaking, the Covenanters of Scotland—the popular martyrs—never really did, although the politics for which they suffered had, no doubt, their root in their religious beliefs. The unhappy youth, it seems, attributed a post-Exilian date to the Pentateuch, and some such view, seriously enough, has in these latter days been advocated by Professors of the very Church whose organ attacked Macaulay.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, was intolerant, and bid fair to become intolerable. Men might be neither rationalists nor prelatists. In so far as Episcopacy was concerned, the persecution of its adherents was an easy matter, as they were chiefly rebels; but the case of Greenshields, in 1711, clearly shows that the Presbyterians aimed at its suppression, apart from any political considerations. For Greenshields had taken the oath and officiated in a chapel with which the non-juring Bishop had nothing to do. Nevertheless, 'He was summoned before the Presbytery, handed over to the secular arm and imprisoned.' He owed his ultimate triumph, as did in our day the modern representatives of his persecutors, to the British House of Lords. As the Church grew cold and formal, she took to prosecuting the warm Evangelical section known as 'The Marrow Men,' whose doctrines were founded upon a long forgotten book imported from England, as much of the theology of Scotland has been. Mr. Lang enters into the controversy with much interest and at some length. His sympathy seems rather with the majority of the Church upon the matter, and he considers the Neonomian less dangerous than the Antinomian.

The revival of patronage under Anne had laid the seeds of secession, as possibly some of its promoters hoped it would. Its result in secessions, carrying off with them the extreme men, was ultimately to bring about that easy-going tolerance which accompanies lightly held convictions. Probably the ever increasing intercourse with England had also to do with this. Scottish divines began to dread the reputation of eccentric provincialism. But the actual reign of the Moderates belongs to that period with which Mr. Lang refuses to deal.

The quarrels of the Presbyterians are well known. It is curious to find that the small body of Episcopalians, the suffering remnant of a church once established and powerful, was at an early date convulsed by its own little controversies. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Established Episcopacy, out of motives of policy, was a mere name. In doctrines and form of worship it was identical with Presbyterianism. It had no form of liturgy, no vestments, and upon the majority of its ministers no Episcopal hands had been laid. But after the Revolution the Scottish Episcopalians were drawn by natural ties to the non-jurors of England, for were not they all supporters of the same exiled king? The non-jurors were High Churchmen, and their northern brethren caught the infection. Questions which had fallen asleep in the days of Laud were revived. These disputes were not without their political bearing. Lockhart of Carnwath seems to have thought them of sufficient importance to report to James. The disturbances arose over what were known as the 'Usages,' and the king had to interpose in the interests of peace and unity. A compromise was arrived at: the Church might have adopted 'High' views, but it was still essentially, as became its origin, Erastian. 'It is to be feared,' says Mr. Lang, 'that these men were less earnest than the Seceders, since a noble opportunity for protests and excommunications and schisms was neglected by them.' Mr. Lang, however, overlooks the fact that the tendency of Episcopacy makes for unity just as that of Presbyterianism is towards schism. 'To your tents, O Israel!' has ever been the cry of the Presbyterian who does not get his own way. For this chapter of Scottish History we refer our readers to page 326 of the present volume.

Another theological matter into which our author enters with a psychological interest is the share taken by Whitefield in the Scottish religious work of his day, and the conflict between him and the more extreme Seceders over the revivals. The Seceders called Whitefield 'a limb of Antichrist, a boar, and a wild beast.' The great preacher may to modern ideas seem to have been unduly obsequious in his dealings with titled folk, but it is hardly fair of Mr. Lang to write of him thus, 'Whitefield suffered the attacks on him unconcernedly. He was strong in the knowledge that he had been brought acquainted with three noblemen and several ladies of quality.' The temptation to satire in dealing with such subjects may be great, but Mr. Lang should resist it.

Mr. Lang has but a poor opinion of the Revolution Government, with whose doings this volume begins. 'It was a bungling Government,' saved by the 'death of Dundee, the tenacity of the Cameronians, the imbecility of Cannon, and the courage and conduct of Mackay.' The leading politicians of Scotland displayed 'every vice of treachery and greed which Thucydides ascribes to the influence of Revolution.' It would have been remarkable had it been otherwise. The misgovernment of the past generation, however conducive to the development of heroes and martyrs, afforded no training for independent and upright statesmen. Government of any sort was difficult: the whole country was in a state of upheaval: those hitherto oppressed had now become the oppressors. Many had, or

thought they had, claims for redress, which they were not slow to press. Those who were or felt neglected had always the threat of falling back upon James, whose emissaries were ever ready with fair promises and bribes. Crawford, President in Parliament, 'was very poor—very Presbyterian.' 'Office and the spoils of office were what he desired.' Polwarth was 'pragmatic'; Stair 'the most unpopular if the most scrupulously serviceable' of the Ministers. The Constitution stood in sore need of reform, and a national creed had to be fixed. Many a storm raged round the Lords of the Articles, who had hitherto, after a summary fashion, done the work of Parliament. Were they to be ended or mended? Ended they were in 1690, and for seventeen years Scotland experienced the development of constitutional government in training for the Union.

This volume begins with stormy scenes, and closes a history that has been little but a record of wars and rumours of wars—of civil and ecclesiastical strife—the story of a country which, in addition to suffering from great physical difficulties due to climate and soil, has had its civilisation retarded by the eccentricities of its inhabitants, and the persistent enmity of its nearest and more prosperous neighbour.

Mr. Lang has done his work faithfully and with much ability. He expects criticism. Indeed, he pictures to himself the specialist joyfully detecting errors. Doubtless they will be found. The satire to which reference has been made, with which certain religious and kindred subjects have been treated, will to a certainty offend. He nevertheless impresses us with the character of an honest, careful inquirer. But has not Scott taught us that 'if the Scots do not prefer Scotland to truth, they certainly prefer Scotland to inquiry'? W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

DUBLIN: A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CITY. Written by Samuel A. Ossory Fitzpatrick; illustrated by W. Curtis Green. Pp. xv, 360. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen, 1907. 4s. 6d. nett.

THE STORY OF DUBLIN. By D. A. Chart, M.A.; illustrated by Henry J. Howard. Pp. xvi, 355. 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1907. 4s. 6d. nett.

IT is a curious circumstance that in this age of popular handbooks Dublin should have so long escaped the attention of the projectors of the various series of topographical histories. But it is even more curious that the Irish capital, hitherto neglected in this regard, should simultaneously be made the subject of two similar but quite independent works. Both have indeed been long announced as in preparation. But in both cases the publication has obviously been accelerated with the very natural object of catching the special market provided by the Dublin Exhibition of this year. This business-like expedition has not been to the advantage of the authors. In the case of Mr. Fitzpatrick's work it is plain that those responsible for his volume have yielded to the temptation of converting what ought to be a history into something not very easily to be distinguished from a guide book. In a

series entitled 'Ancient Cities,' it is surely somewhat incongruous to find an appendix taken up with so modern a convenience as the Dublin Tramways.

Even the plea of haste can scarcely excuse such errors as those with which Mr. Fitzpatrick has disfigured his otherwise agreeable pages; and in a series directed by so competent a general editor as Dr. Windle we have a right to expect a higher standard of accuracy. The following examples, taken almost at random, are only a few out of many instances of the carelessness which mars the book throughout. At p. 324 Sir John Gilbert, the well-known author of the best-known history of Dublin, is cited as Sir James. At p. 171 the statue of *Sir* James Whiteside is mentioned: Chief Justice Whiteside was never knighted. On the same page the familiar name of Richard Lalor Shiel, the orator, is misspelt Shiel. At p. 158 we read of Lord Clare's house, 5 Ely Place; at p. 323 the same house is described as No. 6. Edmund, not Edward Dwyer Gray is the correct name of the well-known Lord Mayor mentioned at p. 242. Simpson's Hospital (p. 181) is in Great Britain Street, not Jervis Street; and Sir P. Dun's is in Grand Canal Street, not Denzille Street. More serious historical inaccuracies are those which illustrate the lawless condition of Dublin after the Restoration by an outrage which took place in London (see p. 90), and the attribution to Henry V. of a visit to Ireland which he never paid in the character of a monarch. The Sir John Temple mentioned at p. 329 was an ancestor of the Viscounts Palmerston, but never held that title himself; Sir William Petty (p. 146) was never Earl of Shelburne; and the Earl of Arran referred to at p. 95 was the son, not the grandson, of the 1st Duke of Ormond. Orthographical errors, such as Atherlee for Atherdee (p. 100), Middleton for Midleton (p. 109), are equally numerous, and the familiar name of Mr. W. B. Yeats, the poet, is given as Yeates. Enough has been said to show that whatever merits Mr. Fitzpatrick's work possesses it has not the merit of accuracy; and it is much to be regretted that a book for which there was abundant room has been marred by defects which make it impossible to accept the author as a trustworthy expositor of the history of Dublin.

Mr. Chart has, however, supplied in his *Story of Dublin* a very admirable alternative to Mr. Fitzpatrick's decidedly disappointing performance. In lightness of touch and in its just sense of proportion, this little book is a model of what a topographical sketch ought to be. The book is not entirely free from errors, which show some of the writer's limitations. Thus it is ecclesiastically and historically incorrect to speak of the bishopric of Londonderry. The see of 'Derry dates back to a far earlier century than that which witnessed the plantation of Ulster and the peopling of the ancient city upon the Foyle by a colony of Londoners. But we have observed singularly few errors of fact in Mr. Chart's pages, which are fully worthy of the series to which they are contributed, and may be read with pleasure and advantage by all who wish to make acquaintance in an easy and agreeable way with the historical associations of Dublin.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

Home : Old Houses in Edinburgh 123

OLD HOUSES IN EDINBURGH. Drawn by Bruce J. Home. Fol. in 2 vols. 54 plates. 24s. nett. Edinburgh: William J. Hay.

THE second series of Mr. Bruce J. Home's *Old Houses in Edinburgh* has now been issued and worthily maintains the quality of the earlier portion of the work. The illustrations reproduced from pencil drawings done on the spot, with two exceptions, are technically accurate and pleasing, though in some instances they lack softness and atmosphere. It is a pathetic record bearing testimony to the wholesale demolition of picturesque landmarks that has taken place in this ancient city within the most recent times, for though many of Mr. Home's illustrations bear dates of only a few years back, the stranger may now look in vain for some of the subjects of them. It is hoped that the publication of these sketches may arouse the citizens of Edinburgh from their apathy to prevent any unnecessary destruction of the few remaining memorials in stone and lime of their historic past.

A. O. CURLE.

A HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE. Vol. II. 'THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY.' By David Jayne Hill, LL.D. Pp. xxv, 663. Dy. 8vo. With four maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1906. 18s. nett.

THIS substantial volume, covering the period from 1313 to 1648, forms a second instalment of Dr. Hill's ambitious and comprehensive work, the first part of which, under the sub-title 'The Struggle for Universal Empire,' treating of the years that separate B.C. 30 from A.D. 1313, appeared in 1905. The conception of the uses of history which has guided the author in this arduous undertaking, seems to us a sound one. If the sifting of original materials constitutes the highest form of the historian's craft—a proposition that has not always been pressed so uncompromisingly as it is at the present day—there is room also for those who desire to build with the materials provided by others. Dr. Hill's method has been to read widely, to select whatever had a bearing on his chosen theme, and thus to focus as much light as possible upon one limited and specific subject. His performance, however, has not entirely realized his own ideals. He has, perhaps, allowed himself too wide an interpretation of his theme. 'A History of Diplomacy,' as he states in the preface to Vol. I., 'properly includes not only an account of the progress of international intercourse, but an exposition of the motives by which it has been inspired and the results which it has accomplished,' and also 'a consideration of the genesis of the entire international system and of its progress through the successive stages of its development.'

We sympathize with this refusal to accept too narrow a definition of 'diplomacy'; but such breadth of view brings with it dangers of its own. These volumes, admirable as they are in many ways, contain a history, not so much of diplomacy itself as of all the important matters

that have ever been made the subjects of diplomacy. That is to say, they form contributions to the general history of the periods of which they treat; and it is doubtful whether a student of the methods, as opposed to the results of diplomacy, will find here the information he desires, more explicitly than in any of the ordinary books on European history.

The title of the work is thus, to some extent, a misnomer, although we may accept the claim made in the preface to Vol. II., that 'the emphasis is laid upon diplomatic policy and action rather than upon military operations.' Considered as an accurate, orderly and interesting epitome of European history, these volumes may be warmly welcomed. In view of the wide and complicated field they cover, they are remarkably free from errors, both major and minor. A sense of proportion and a special aptitude for the methodical treatment of intricate subjects form pleasing features of the whole. The author's conclusions are expressed in language that is dignified and well chosen, and in a style conspicuous for lucidity and sobriety; while the admirable apparatus, consisting of Tables of Popes, Emperors and Kings, Lists of Treaties, Maps and Authorities, together with a comprehensive Index, enhances the value of both volumes as convenient and trustworthy works of reference.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE PROSE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D. Edited by Temple Scott. Vol. XI. Literary Essays. Pp. ix, 440. Cr. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907. 5s.

It is always interesting to read again the essays of a bygone generation, and it is peculiarly refreshing to read those of Swift. Much of Swift's condemnation of his contemporaries might with justice be repeated in our own day, and some of his maxims in the 'Treatise on Good Manners' are for all time.

The first essay in the volume is a letter to the Earl of Oxford, 'A Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue,' which he suggested should be undertaken by a society of learned and cultured persons, in order to bring the language up to a standard of perfection and prevent its rapid deterioration. He talked scornfully of the 'dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour nor significancy.' Have we not suffered severely from this very thing of late years? and also from the habit of using what he described as 'manglings and abbreviations,' of which he gave what seem to us now very mild instances. We wonder what words Swift would have found strong enough to denounce such horrors of mutilation as *bike*, *'phone*, and others of the same sort in daily use. Unlike Mr. Roosevelt, Swift thought language had been maimed by 'a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of,' each county and town having its own way of pronouncing

the same word, 'all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography.'

The longest papers in the volume are the 'Polite Conversation' and the 'Directions to Servants.' An interesting feature of this volume is the publication, for the first time, from Swift's autograph manuscript, of the 'Holyhead Journal,' with its pathetic account of the Dean's somewhat comic distresses while detained by stress of weather, or private reasons of the Captain's, at Holyhead; and also the 'Fragment of Autobiography,' printed from the text prepared by Mr. John Forster for his Life of Swift.

Mr. Temple Scott furnishes the valuable notes to the essays. An engraving from an excellent and characteristic bust of Swift by Cunningham is prefixed to the volume.

THE EARLY DIARY OF FRANCES BURNEY, 1768-1778; WITH A SELECTION FROM HER CORRESPONDENCE, AND FROM THE JOURNALS OF HER SISTERS, SUSAN AND CHARLOTTE BURNEY. Edited by Annie Raine Ellis. Two Vols. Vol. I., pp. xcii, 338; Vol. II., 381. Cr. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907. 3s. 6d. per volume.

ALL who love their 'Evelina' and her creator will welcome this new edition of Fanny Burney's Early Diary. The two compact volumes are substantially a reprint of Mrs. Raine Ellis's edition, published in 1889. The type is good and clear, and there is a useful index. Certain alterations have been made with the object of restoring the text, as far as possible, to its original condition before Mme. D'Arblay herself, in her old age, altered and amended it, fifty years after the Diaries were written. The preface gives an account of all the circumstances and surroundings among which the Diaries had their origin, and in a most helpful list of 'Persons of the Drama,' we have all the members of the Burney family who are mentioned. To one cousin, Edward Francis the painter, we owe the portrait that is prefixed to the Diaries. How grateful we are as we turn over these pages that Daddy Crisp's 'shy, silent and demure' Fannikin 'never pretended to be so superior a being as to be above having and indulging a Hobby Horse,' and so contrived to bequeath to generations after her these inimitable records, which contain a mine of valuable information about the manners and habits of the eighteenth century.

The letters of Susan and Charlotte Ann Burney, which are appended, fill in the gaps left in their sister's narrative. It is difficult to say which is the better raconteuse, but the lights of Sukey and Charlotte are almost extinguished by that more brilliant luminary—Fanny.

HISTORY OF THE LANGOBARDS. By Paul the Deacon. Translated by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. 437 pp. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1907.

THIS translation is published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, and has been made to supply a want, as until

now there has been no complete English version of Paul the Deacon's history, though Mommsen called it the stepping-stone from the culture of the ancient to that of the modern world. Waitz's text has been used, and the translator has done his work well and presented a useful and copiously annotated work. He furnishes appendices containing an elaborate examination of the sources of the history, Frankish, Langobard, and Roman, he gives a life of Paul the Deacon, and among his writings, a poem in honour of St. Benedict, and he prints also an interesting enquiry into the perplexing ethnological status of the Langobards, where the rival theories that they were Suevi or Ingvæones is discussed.

Messrs. George Bell & Sons have just issued some delightful additions to their York Library, which contains in a clear type and a handy form a number of books which are not easily accessible, and some well-known classics, which can be had in this pretty and handy form. Among the recent additions to this Library are: *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare*, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (564 pages, 2s. nett); *Zadig and Other Tales*, by Voltaire (483 pages, 2s. nett); *An Egyptian Princess*, by George Ebers, translated by E. S. Buchheim (480 pages, 2s. nett); and a reprint, with maps, of Hooper's *History of the Waterloo Campaign* (356 pages, 2s. nett).

The Viking Club is printing much good matter for Norse and Scottish history. Thus the July issue of *Orkney and Shetland Old Lore* contains besides some Orcadian pictures a Shetland legend from the *Fljotsdaela Saga* translated by Mr. W. G. Collingwood and a calendar of Orkney and Shetland sasines of 1624-25 by Mr. Henry Paton.

Among the recent contents of the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* may be noted (from the April number) an instructive bibliographical note on the historical theses for the faculty of law in Lorraine. Some account is given of several important examples of a form of legal study much needed but unheard of in this country. The customary law of the fiefs in Lorraine, the justiciary institutions of the province, burghal customals, the widow's rights (*gains de survie de la veuve*), wills historically traced with their formalities, discussion of the source of origin of the famous Formulary of Marculfus, enquiry into the office of notary 'seriously documented'—these are specimens of theses from which beyond doubt much gain is to be expected regarding the history of law. Monsieur Gavet has good ground for his inference from them that year by year the value of such treatises will increase. A centre of interest is the degree to which under various conditions the law of Lorraine has kept the Roman tradition on the one hand or has exhibited 'deromanisation' on the other.

The *Rutland Magazine* (April) has a well illustrated paper on the bell gables of the county. *Cum voco venite* is a recurrent bell motto, temp. James I.

In *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* for April one subject is Thomas Coryat, author of the *Crudities*. An extract is printed from the books of St. Mary's Church, Westonzoyland, Somerset, recording the battle of Sedgemoor, fought in the vicinity on 6th July, 1685. This contemporary note says that after the battle about 500 prisoners were 'brought into our church, of which there was 79 wounded, and 5 of them died of their wounds in our church.' A subsequent fumigation of the building is attested by the following financial item: 'Paid for franckemsense and peitch and ressom and other things to burn in the church after ye prissoners was gon out, 5s. 8d.' Macaulay probably had access to this note in some direct or indirect form, as his statement tallies so exactly.

The Genealogist is quarter by quarter invaluable as a collection of pedigree and heraldic facts, presented by skilled hands, and documented with care. Licenses to pass from England beyond the seas during the year 1632 are indexed in the April and July issues. A number of Scottish persons occur on the list. Among these are Henrie Nisbitt, going to Dieppe; George Oustend, going to Rouen; James Calvin, his brother Thomas Calvin, and his four servants, William Alexander, Andrew Ramsay, James Bunting, and Robert Abercrombie, 'all borne in Scotland, who are to passe to Paris'; James Scott, Walter Scott, John Rea, Andrew More, and James Robertson, also going to Paris; James Richardson, going to Nancy; George Hadden, going to Rotterdam; Andrew Dunlop (27) and Robert Downey (46), 'Scots resident in Rotterdam,' going to Rotterdam. Mr. Gerald Fothergill edits the list of these licenses, which are often tantalising in their reticence, yet many a time throw out little significant facts about the persons concerned and their occasion to travel.

The *Revue Historique* (July-August) prints some striking documents regarding Freemasonry and its progress on the Continent, especially in regard to the frauds of Count Cagliostro, that 'liar of the first magnitude,' as Carlyle called him. Apocryphal oaths and curious correspondence—the documentary part of M. Bourgin's article—are drastically commented upon for their bearing on the network of imposition.

Sources from which genius has drawn inspiration increasingly receive attention from the critics in spite of classic prejudices. In the *Modern Language Review* (July), while Margaret de G. Verrall seeks traces of Plotinus in *In Memoriam*, Mr. Arthur Tilley examines the voyages in Rabelais by the help of the cartographers and navigators whose works were published from 1500 until 1533, and proves that as often as not the good Pantagruel sailed by the card. We may remember that in like fashion Gulliver professed acquaintance and friendship with Herman Moll.

Queries

DEDICATIONS TO ST. JOHN. In pre-Reformation documents, in references to ecclesiastical buildings dedicated to St. John the Evangelist or St. John the Baptist, there is sometimes nothing to distinguish the one from the other. Can ethnology guide one in determining whether the Evangelist or the Baptist was the patron? In Scandinavian districts was it usually the latter?

J. M. MACKINLAY.

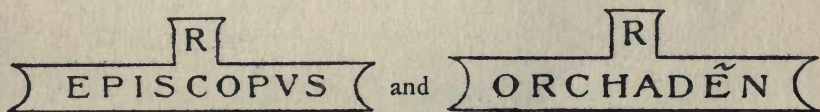
ST. MARIOTA AND HER PROVOSTRY IN EAST LOTHIAN. Bishop Forbes in his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (p. 392) says: 'Of Mariota we know nothing beyond the following notice in the Retours: Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, Nov. 8, 1569, is retoured heir "in terris de Markle cum molendino et praepositura et Capella Sanctae Mariotae et prebendariorum ad eandem pertinentium" (Retours, Haddington, 388).' Has antiquarian research since the publication of Bishop Forbes' work in 1872 thrown any light on the identity of the Saint? Mariot was not unknown in Scotland as a female Christian name. The Provostry in question is styled a monastery in the article on Prestonkirk parish in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, where we read, 'The only other ruin in the parish (besides Hailes Castle) is an old religious house on the farm of Markle, the property of Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton. It appears that a monastery was early established here, and continued till the Reformation; but it is testified in the Parliamentary records that, in 1606, a considerable part of the land originally belonging to the monastery was resumed by the Crown, and annexed to the Chapel Royal of Stirling. That the whole lands were not resumed is manifest, because the park in which the ruin is situated, and another adjoining to it, still called the Provost's Park, have for more than a century and a half belonged to the proprietors of the barony.' Is the date of the foundation of the Provostry known?

J. M. MACKINLAY.

Communications and Replies

SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS UPON OLD SCOTTISH BOOK-STAMPS (*S.H.R.* iv. 430). Mr. Gordon Duff's interesting paper in the July number of the *Scottish Historical Review* suggests a few supplementary remarks.

I. As to Bishop Robert Reid's collection of books, we learn from Ferrerius that he established at the monastery of Kinloss a considerable library in all kinds of literature (*satis copiosam in omni disciplinarum genere bibliothecam*); and that at Kinloss he built for its reception a very beautiful structure of dressed stone. We still possess books of Bishop Reid exhibiting three different book-stamps (or, at least, impressed marks of ownership) on their covers. The simplest of these shows the lettering



on the one side

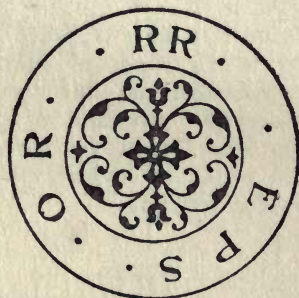
on the other.

The lettering is in gold, cased by a single line of gold. One may suspect that this was not, strictly speaking, a book-stamp, but was produced by the bookbinder's tool and the impression of separate letters. This mode of marking Bishop Reid's books is pictured in Rev. J. B. Craven's *History of the Church in Orkney from the introduction of Christianity to 1558* (Kirkwall: 1901). It appears on the cover of two folio volumes of the *Commentarii Joannis Arborei* (Paris: 1553), which formerly belonged to the writer of these lines, but which are now in the library of Mr. Craven.

The second of Reid's stamps is circular, and consists of a floral device, surrounded by two concentric circles, while within the space between the circles are the letters 'RR · EPS · OR ·' on the one stamp, and on the other the word 'MODERATE.' This stamp appears on the covers of an octavo volume of Duns Scotus on the Sentences (Lugdunum: 1520). The book is in the custody of Mr. Craven, and he has pictured the stamp in his *History of the Church in Orkney*, referred to above. I would suggest that these marks may have been produced

by the binder, with the help of his ornaments and letters, and without separately cut book-stamps.

The third of Reid's book-stamps is that described by Mr. Gordon Duff. It is pictured, as Mr. Gordon Duff has observed, in Dr. John Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (Preface, p. lv). By the gift of Miss Stuart, daughter of the late Dr. John Stuart, a folio volume, in which is bound (a) *Dn. Georgii Wicelii Postilla* (Coloniae: 1553) and (b) *Quadragesimales Wicelii Conciones* (Coloniae: 1555), bearing this stamp on both covers, is the property of the Library of St. Mary's Cathedral (Palmerston Place), Edinburgh, and is exhibited in a glass-case in the Chapter House. I may add that the volume possesses the interest attaching to the former ownership (beside that of Reid) of two well-known Scottish ecclesiastics of the pre-Reformation Church, John



Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen. It bears on the title-page, in contemporary handwriting, 'Lib. Reverendi Patris Wilhelmj gordonij episcopj abd. Ex Dono Johannis episcopj rossen modernj.'

In March, 1884, in view of the approaching tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh, I presented to the University Library a little octavo volume bearing this stamp. I thought it might be regarded as interesting in consideration of Bishop Reid's bequest for founding a college in Ediburgh. The little book contains some helps for preachers, entitled *D. Eustachii Fidensae episcopi Albanensis. . . . Auctoritatum Sanctarum libri quatuor . . .* together with *Antonii Broekiveg a Konigstein Evangeliorum Monotessaron* (Coloniae: 1542).

A few other books which had belonged to Bishop R. Reid are recorded in Mr. Craven's work already noticed. There are, doubtless, other volumes of Bishop Reid's library scattered throughout the country. It would be interesting if their owners would record the titles of such books in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

2. I have now to call attention to a book-stamp which, so far as I know, has never been described. It appears in gold on one cover, and in blind on the other cover, of *De sacris Ecclesiae Ministeriis ac Beneficiis Libri VIII. . . .* Authore Francisco Duareno Iureconsulto (Parisiis: 1557). Within an oval border of two lines is the legend,

* ALEXANDER * BETOVN * ARCHIDIACONVS * LAVDONIÆ * 1556. Inside the border is a shield bearing arms, quarterly, 1 and 4, a fess between three mascles: 2 and 3 on a chevron, an otter's head erased. Underneath, on a ribbon, is the motto SVI SIMILIS. The cover is simply a parchment wrapper, which apparently had once been stiffened by boards. This Alexander Betoun was a son of the Cardinal by Marion, daughter of Lord Ogilvy of Airly. The book is in the possession of the writer.

3. In addition to what Mr. Gordon Duff has said about the stamp of Andrew Durie, bishop of Galloway, it may be observed that the metal stamp is still in existence and is preserved in the museum of the Antiquaries of Perth.

JOHN DOWDEN.

[The Editor is indebted to the Rev. J. B. Craven, Kirkwall, for his kindness in having lent the blocks which illustrate this note.—ED. S.H.R.]

GEORGE BUCHANAN. Professor Hume Brown in his recent little book on *George Buchanan and his Times* (Edinburgh, 1906) says (p. 48), 'Another thing that Buchanan did, made the Catholics still more angry with him. One of his friends was lying very ill, but would not eat meat on Fridays and Sundays because he said it was forbidden by his religion. Buchanan told him how foolish this was, and that it was quite right that he should eat meat on these days for the good of his health, and to encourage him he ate meat himself on the Fridays and Sundays, though he had not the excuse of being ill.' As is known to Catholics, fasting, or abstinence from flesh, is not enjoined on Sundays. It seemed probable that Professor Hume Brown had written Sunday instead of Saturday. The recent publication of the work by Guilherme J. C. Henriques, entitled *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition*, Lisbon, 1906, sets at rest the question raised. George Buchanan's own words run as follows: 'Per idem tempus amicus quidam meus gravissimo morbo laborabat: neque in extremo periculo carnem attingere audebat diebus veneris ac sabbati. Ego non solum hortatus sum illum ut carnem ederet, sed etiam, quo libentius id faceret, una cum illo edi idque simpliciter, ac bona fide adhuc actum est.'

The thanks of historical students are due to Mr. Henriques for the publication of the original documents, recounting the several examinations of Buchanan before the Inquisition. But the editing of the record is very far from being ideal in merit.

X.

A QUAKER WEDDING IN OLD ABERDEEN IN 1737. At Aberdeen the Twenty ninth day of December 1^m vii^o and thirty seven years In presence of William Forbes Esquire Sherrieff depute of Aberdeen

The said day Compeared James Gray Gardener and Merchant in Old Aberdeen As also Barbara Bannerman lawfull Daughter to the deceast George Bannerman in Baldevinn and represented that they hade agreed some time agoe to enter together into the Bond of Marriage and that in order to execute their said purpose orderly and decently they hade applied in the usuall manner to both the Ministers of the parish

of Old Machar within which both partys have resided more than year and day and doe presently reside for Proclamation of Banns as the custom is and as the law directs But that they were Refused that priviledge by the said Ministers for no other Reason Except that one of the partys vizt the said James Gray was Quaker by profession whereas the other was protestant And to verafy their said Representation They produced a Prory.¹ wrote on Stamped paper Signed by both partys before witnesses to Patrick Milne Writer in Aberdeen dated the tenth of December instant Authorizeing him to repair the then nixt Sabath day to the parish Church of Old Machar and at the usual time to make publick intimation in the usuall form of their said purpose of marriage And Also authorizing the said Patrick Milne to doe so on the two nixt succeeding Sabaaths Whereof the Tenor follows² As also produced a written Instrument of Requisition under the hand of Andrew Cassie Nottar Publick of the same date with the forsaid Prorie.¹ Bearing the said Patrick Milne as Pror. forsaid to have Gone to the personall presence of the forsaid two Ministers of Old Machar and to have required them to cause their Precentors Proclaim the above parties in the ordinary way and manner concluding that if that was refused the saids Partys might not be deemed Transgressors of the law or of Good order if the nixt best method they could think of was taken for their being proclaimed and that the said Patrick Mill as pror. forsaid conform to the powers Granted to him by the said Prorie. would proclaim them himself in presence of a Nottar Publick and witnesses in case they were Refused Which desire the Ministers refused for the causes sett furth in the Instrument itself Whereof the Tenor follows² and Sicklike produced ane Instrument under the hand of the said Andrew Cassie Nottar publick bearing the sd. Patrick Milne to have past to the Cathedrall Church of Old Machar upon the Eliventh Eighteenth and twenty fifth days of December instant Being Sabaaths or Lords days Respectively & successively after others and there in presence of the said Andrew Cassie & witnesses mentioned in the said Protest and Congregation convened for the time betwixt the Ringing of the second & last Bell That he the said Patrick Milne as Pror. forsaid did proclaim the Bands or purpose of Marriage of the said James Gray & Barbara Bannerman after the due and legall manner as the said Instrument Bears Whereof the Tenor follows² And Sicklike produced ane Instrument of Requisition under the hand of the said Andrew Cassie Nottar Publick Bearing the saids James Gray and Barbara Bannerman To have passed to the personall presence of Both the saids Ministers of Old Aberdeen upon the twenty sixth day of December instant and there to have represented that seeing they the Ministers hade refused to cause proclaim their Bands of Marriage after the ordinary way and

¹ Procuratory.

² Neither the Procuratory nor the Notarial Instruments were copied into the Diet Book of Court.

that the said Patrick Milne as Pror. for them and as having their Commission for that effect had the three successive Sabaaths or Lords days preceeding duely and lawfully proclaimed the said James Gray and Barbara Bannerman their Bands of Marriage after the legall & ordinary way In presence of the Congregation Conveened for the Time Therefor they required the saids Ministers to Marry them in the due and ordinary manner Which they refused to doe for the reasons sett furth in the above mentioned Instrument of which the Tenor follows¹ And farther the said James Gray & Barbara Bannerman craved that seeing they intended no Disrespect to the established legall order anent Marriage the Sherriff would be pleased to receive the above mentioned Instruments and vouchers and appoint them to be lodged with the Clerk and cause to be recorded this present application made by them to the Sherriff And that he the said James Gray and she the said Barbara Bannerman might be from this time Repute and hereafter considered as married persons and the said Barbara Bannerman declared judicially she could not write.

(Signed) William Forbes

(Signed) James Gray.

Thereafter the Sherriff Interrogate the said James Gray upon his Parents being alive and if they consented to his present design Answered by him that they were both dead And he was farther Interrogate if there was any Blood relation or nearness in consanguinity betwixt him and the said Barbara Bannerman Which he judicially declared there was not And Sicklike the said Barbara Bannerman was interrogate upon the above Questions and gave the same Answers Except that her Mother was yet alive and gave her consent to her marrying the said James Gray And they both declared themselves to be above the Age of Twenty one years

‘(Signed) William Forbes.’

The Sherriff having considered the foregoing Representation & desire made by the said James Gray & Barbara Bannerman to him and there appearing no objection from any Person to their present Intended Purpose of marrying together and living hereafter as becomes married persons Therefor the Sherriff for himself considers them the said James Gray and Barbara Bannerman to be married persons and Recommends to all whom it may concern to consider and look upon them as such hereafter and ordains the severall papers above deduced to be lodged in the Clerks hands and Extracts thereof and of this present judicial Act to be Given out to both partys as demanded Whereupon the saids Partys took Instruments

(Signed) William Forbes.

[The Editor of the *S.H.R.* has to thank Mr. David Littlejohn, LL.D., Aberdeen, for this communication.]

¹ Neither the Procuratory nor the Notarial Instruments were copied into the Diet Book of Court.

THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION. Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, has received a communication from the Secretary of the Historical MSS. Commission in answer to the petition (*S.H.R.* iv. 359) sent to the Commission by the Scottish Record Society, of which Sir James Balfour Paul is Chairman. The reply is as follows:

‘With reference to your letter of 8th of March last accompanying the petition of the Scottish Record Society, I have now to inform you that this petition was laid before the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners at their meeting on the 9th July, and duly considered. The Commissioners observed that the information furnished to the Society, to the effect that “in future as a general rule no charters or other ancient documents of a kindred nature are to be reported upon or calendared in their reports,” is hardly in accordance with the facts, as will be seen from the enclosed copy of the instructions sent to an inspector in Scotland in March, 1900, after careful consideration by the Commissioners.

‘I am to add that the subject was again fully discussed, and that it was the unanimous opinion of the Commissioners that, in view of the small amount annually voted by Parliament, they should not depart from the position already laid down, but leave the more detailed treatment of deeds and charters to local societies.

‘I am also to enclose an extract from the ‘*Instructions to Inspectors*,’ issued by the Commissioners to show within what limits reports upon local deeds are in general to be confined.’

The instructions sent to an inspector in Scotland in 1900 were as follows:

‘The Commissioners do not at all agree with you in the opinion that there is a lack of historical letters in the Scottish muniment rooms, and two or three collections were at once named as likely to prove on inspection very rich in such material, though not medieval. . . . Moreover, even though there was a scarcity of such letters, the Commissioners consider that they ought not as a rule to spend their grant for Scotland on charters so long as there is matter of more general interest, and therefore falling more within the scope of the Commission in other parts of the United Kingdom.

‘The Commissioners resolved, therefore, that you should be informed that, while it was not desired that Scottish charters should be altogether disregarded in future—indeed those of very early date, say the twelfth century or even the thirteenth, might always be described at length—preference should in all cases be given to such collections as are chiefly rich in letters and papers illustrative of history and biography, as distinguished from genealogy and topography.’

The following is the extract from the ‘*Instructions to Inspectors*’ to which the Secretary refers:

III. The following classes of documents are often found in local collections, and should be treated as a rule in the manner indicated, namely:

- a. *Letters Patent: Quietuses from the Exchequer*: Not to be noticed singly, as there are enrolments of them in the Public Record Office.

Except Royal Charters of earlier reigns than Henry III.

- b. *Deeds prior to the end of the 12th century*: Should be copied in *extenso* or abstracted fully, and the names of the witnesses given.
- c. *Ordinary conveyances of land, etc., of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries*: Not to be noticed separately, unless they give genealogical details of families of importance or throw light on philological or economic questions. As a rule it will suffice to say that there is a series of deeds relating to a particular person or place.

A SILVER MAP OF THE WORLD (*S.H.R.* iii. 519). Sir John Evans, K.C.B., has reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi., Fourth Series, his paper on 'The Silver Medal or Map of Sir Francis Drake,' with 'Supplemental Remarks.' In the first paper Sir John Evans describes the medal, of which three or at most four examples are known to exist, and of these the best is in his collection; he also sketches shortly Sir Francis Drake's life and the voyage of circumnavigation as shown on the medal, a reproduction of which is also given. In the 'Supplemental Remarks' Sir John draws attention to Purchas' reference to the silver map which was noted in the *Scottish Historical Review* (vol. iii. p. 519). Purchas' explicit statement, at second-hand certainly, that the map was 'cut in silver by a Dutchman, Michael Mercator,' seems to have puzzled the cartographers, who had come to the conclusion that the silver map was engraved by 'F. G.,' the engraver of the well-known map of the New World in Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*. Sir John suggests an ingenious solution of the difficulty—that Michael Mercator was the actual cartographer and 'F. G.' the actual engraver of the map. A short biographical note on Michael Mercator concludes the reprint.

THE LATE MR. ROMILLY ALLEN. By the death on 5th July of Mr. John Romilly Allen, editor of the *Reliquary*, archaeology has lost an exponent of the highest talent and distinction. Born in London in 1847, he became an engineer, and was an authority in his profession on such subjects as the construction of dock walls. But it is as an archaeologist that he achieved his chief celebrity. For many years he studied the ancient monuments of Great Britain, and his industry in research, combined with his practical grasp of their structural and artistic characteristics, soon gave him an acknowledged place as a leading scholar in the field which in Scotland has been so remarkably filled by Dr. Joseph Anderson. His archaeological writings comprise *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain* and the *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, besides many contributions to periodicals, including specially the *Reliquary*, which under his guidance became a repository of rare excellence for an infinite variety of things of beauty

and antiquarian interest as well as for their scientific classification and description. Rhind Lecturer in 1886 and Yates Lecturer in Archaeology at London University in 1898, he did not fail to have his unique accomplishments recognised. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland elected him an honorary Fellow, and under the Gunning Fellowship he was for a number of years engaged in the preparation of the materials for the volume published by that Society in 1903. A long cherished design of the Society was carried out with great success by that massive tome, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (reviewed, *S.H.R.* i. 58), which represented not merely the ripe product of Romilly Allen's labours in detailed description, artistic analysis, and archaeological classification, but also the consummation of the finest work of Joseph Anderson and of the policy which, largely on his initiative and under his influence and direction, the Society of Antiquaries had so persistently pursued. This great work was Romilly Allen's signal service to Scotland, and it will always honourably, and indeed monumentally, associate his memory with a triumphant advance of Scottish archaeology upon the dark confine of history, where art, though far from rude, is inarticulate, and record has scarcely begun.

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Allan Cameron's Narrative, February-April,
1716

THE END OF THE '15

THE MS. of the following narrative is in the possession of Mrs. Cameron Lucy of Callart, and by her kind permission is printed for the first time. The manuscript was clearly intended as a report upon events in Scotland after the departure of James and Mar from Montrose on February 4, 1716. The writer speaks of Achnacarry as 'my brother's dwelling,' of young Balhaldie as 'my nephew,' and without question is Colonel Allan Cameron, the veteran Sir Ewen's third son. He had been closely concerned in the negotiations between Bolingbroke, Mar, and Ormonde in the spring and summer of 1715, and had accompanied James to Scotland in the following December. After his endeavour, told in the narrative, to organise continued resistance to the Government, he escaped to France in July, 1716. The present document was possibly among several, 'all in Cameron's own hand, and in a very indigested method, and not fit to be exposed to critics,' which were sent to Mar at his request in September, 1716.¹ It supplies a valuable note upon the last phase of the '15, and supplements the materials recently provided by the Windsor *Stuart Papers* bearing upon a chapter of the rising which has been obscure hitherto.

¹ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 437.

ALLAN CAMERON'S NARRATIVE.¹

The army being arriv'd the second day after we march'd from Montrose at Aberdeen² in very good order, Generall Gordon³ call'd a meeting of the nobility, officers and most of the gentry to the Earle Marishals house,⁴ where the Kings Letter and his majestys Commission to him as Commander in Chief were Publickly read.⁵

The Generall afterwards call'd the heads of Clans who were present by themselves and ask'd what they thought fitt to be done. They all agreed to march in a Body to Huntleys Lands and to take their measures ther how to proceed after Huntley and his frindes had been discours'd. At the same time on M^r Farquarson, Brother to Inverey, who had been sent north with Letters to the Marquess Seaforth and to My Lord Glenaircha and frindes in Kathness, mett us ther with account that the marquess Seaforth hade all his men in readiness to march, and that frindes in Kathness both horse and foot were likewise so, and added that my Lord Huntleys frindes were all preparing themselves to march, whatever part Huntley himself would act; but when M^r Farquarson was return'd with this answer frindes in the north could know nothing of the Kings going off from Montrose nor of our retreat to Aberdeen.⁶

That night great numbers of the gentlemen who serv'd in the horse dispers'd, being extreemly discouraged: some went to seaport Towns to gett shiping, and others chuse rather to lurk in the Contry. All the Irish officers went to Peterhead in order to embark. My Lord Marishall, Marquess Tilliberdin,

¹ I have reproduced the original spelling, but have supplied a modern punctuation.

² James and Mar sailed from Montrose for France on February 4, 1716. Ignorant of their flight the army marched the same night from Montrose and reached Aberdeen about noon on February 6 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 110).

³ Lieut.-General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul.

⁴ 'The 6th . . . at two o'clock a meeting of the noblemen, general officers, and chiefs of clans was appointed to be kept at Marishall's Hall, which was punctually observed' (Clanranald to Mar, 11/22, 1716, *Ibid.* p. 110).

⁵ Both documents are dated February 4, 1716. The former, endorsed 'Letter of Adieu to the Scotch,' is printed in *Stuart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 505-7.

⁶ Gordon produced to the meeting a letter from Huntly 'full of loyal protestations.' Farquharson, no doubt, was the bearer of it. Cf. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 149. Huntly supposed Gordon to be still at Perth (*Ibid.* p. 111).

my Lord Lithgow, my Lord Southesk, my Lord Killisyth, Lord Edward Drummond, M^r James Keith, M^r Charles Flimin,¹ Sir John Forrester, and severall other Gentlemen went along with the army. The Irish officers with severall other Gentlemen being dissappointed at Peterhead went to Frasersburgh, where when they were ready to embark, having gote two ships ther for that purpose, an English man of war came up to the harbours mouth, which oblidg'd them to leav that place and to follow the army.²

It was determin'd at Keith, after General Gordon and my Lord Marishall return'd from Huntley, they having gone to Gordon Castle to know his last resolution,³ that we should hold straight to Badonick through the Hills, which prov'd a very sever march, considering the great snow that lay on the mountains and the bad weather which came on.⁴

As soon as we arriv'd at Rivan Badonick⁵ there was a Letter writ to Ardgyle to know what tearms could be hade, with an Intreaty to Ardgyle to interceed for them. Some would not signe it, but it was sign'd by the General, some of the nobility, and some of the Clans, and I doe not learn that there was any return made to it.⁶

After the Letter was writ and sign'd the Generall call'd all the heads of Clans who were ther by themselves,⁷ and I hade likewise the Honor to be call'd, having the Command and charge of my Brothers⁸ men on that march. He ask'd what they thought best to be done, and how and where these officers

¹ Fleming.

² They rejoined at Rhynie on the 10th. Cf. *Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 112.

³ The army marched from Aberdeen on Feb. 7 and arrived at Keith on the 9th (*Ibid.* p. 111).

⁴ The march was resumed from Rhynie on Feb. 11 to Strathdon and thence to Strathspey and Badenoch (*Ibid.* p. 112).

⁵ Part of the army reached Ruthven in Badenoch on February 12 (*Ibid.* p. 112).

⁶ The meeting was convened on the 14th, at which it was agreed to approach Argyll (*Ibid.* p. 112). The letter, dated Feb. 15, is printed in *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 512. It was signed by General Gordon, Linlithgow, Southesk, Robertson of Struan, Clanranald, James Ogilvie of Boyne, T. and C. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and J. Dougal. According to Southesk (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 149), Ogilvie and Struan were 'the great promoters of it.'

⁷ Presumably at Cluny Macpherson's house, which Gordon made his headquarters (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

⁸ *i.e.* Lochiel.

could live in safty, since the Clans were to seperat at that juncture and goe to their severall dwellings, ther not being money nor provision to subsist them so as to keep them in a Body together.¹ The nobility hade determin'd to goe to the Isles as the safest place for their retreat, so it was agreed that the officers should goe thither likewise, the Isles being at a greater distance from the enimie then the main Land, and that probably the first ships from France would come in ther.

Sir Donald, Clanronald, Apine, &c. were desyrouse to enter into a concert amongst themselves in case they should get to arms again,² or whatever might hapen, that they should keep a close correspondence. This I urg'd as much as I could, and therefore, seing my Brother was not present, it was agreed they should meet at his house and take their measures ther, where they arriv'd in two dayes. My Brother (who hade then begun his march with his men, he being ordered from Pearth to bring with all expedition his own recruits and those of the other Clans to the army, which would make in all about 14 or 1500 men, and afterwards hade a second order to march north towards Inverness and there to joine Seaforth and Huntly in order to reduce that place) was within twelve myles of us and only the night before hade account that the army was thus dispers'd. So he came to us, but Glengary would not enter into any concert, on the Contrary apear'd as if he design'd to act a seperat part from all the rest. I propos'd that they should not leav Badonick the same day, and that they should devyde so as the one half might goe by Glengary and the other by my Brothers to facilitate their march. But Glengary would not countenance nor give them any maner of encouragement or assistance to hold his way: on the contrary Coll. Fitsymons, Capt. Colliar, M^r Strickland, and about twenty more of the Irish officers who attempted it were forc'd to return. This oblidg'd the nobility and all the officers and other gentry, with such of the Clans as went to the Isles, to march all by my Brothers at the same tyme, which so Crowded them by the

¹ 'All the Athole and Breadalbine men having left us, some at Aberdeen, some at Inverury, the clans, who till now kept in a body together, from hence (Ruthven) went by different routes to their respective countries.'—Clanranald to Mar (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

² A loyal letter to James signed by Sir Donald Macdonald, Clanranald, and J. Macdougall, dated April 11, 1716, is in *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 114.

Badness of the weather and roads that there march prov'd very troublesome.¹

The nobility, with the officers, Sir Donald, and Clanronald went all to the Isles together.² Generall Gordon and Brigadier Ogilbie stay'd in Badonick,³ and Brigadier Campbell for some dayes, but afterwards Brigadier Campbell⁴ went to Mull and from thence to Uist.

All continued prittie quiet untill towards the later end of March that we hade account of Cadogans making preparation to march with any [*sic*] army into the Highlands.⁵ But having no account what measures my Lord Seaforth was to take after Huntley hade surrendred and given himself up prisoner and ordered his men to give up their arms,⁶ which was the first example of that kinde, I went to Kintail to wait on my Lord Seaforth and to know his resolution. This hapen'd a litle after Capt. Tulloch came to my Lord Seaforths Contry with a shipe wherin there was some officers and a litle money.⁷ His Lop. gave me a deal of satisfaction and say'd he was willing to goe into any measures with the rest of the Clans for his majestys service.

How soon I return'd I sent express to Generall Gordon to Badonick to aquent him of my Lord Seaforths ansuer, and went myself to Glengary after I hade given my Brother likewise account of what my Lord Seaforth hade determin'd. Glengary appear'd then very hearty and seem'd to make preparation in order to defend his house. My Brother was oblidge'd to be

¹The march appears to have begun on Feb. 16, and to have been delayed by bad weather (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

²They arrived at Ormaclett on March 25 'after incredible fatigues' (*Ibid.* p. 149).

³With Cluny Macpherson.

⁴Colin Campbell of Ormidale. He was afterwards captured.

⁵General William Cadogan, whom Lovat was supplying with information, was at Blair Atholl. He proposed to march towards Badenoch on April 1, and to reach Ruthven on April 4. Major-General Wightman, the victor at Glenshiel in 1719, was at Inverness (*Ibid.* p. 75).

⁶On February 18 (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 516).

⁷Captain Tulloch in the *Robert* or *Speedwell*, who had sailed from Havre on Jan. 17 (new style), returned from the Lewis on March 3, having left Seaforth 400 lbs. of powder and some money, which he gave up 'half force and half good will.' The officers Tulloch had with him (except two) returned to France, finding the rising at an end (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 40).

every night on his guard for fear of being surprys'd by the garison at InverLochy, which is within eight or nine myles of his house, it being no wayes strong.

General Gordon having account that Cadogan was come with his army, which then consisted of about 3500 foot and Dragoons, the length of Blair in Athole,¹ being the nixt Contry to Badonick, he came straight to Glengarys house, where I mett him. That night we hade account that one Coll. Cleyton² hade entered Apines Lands with 500 foot, and that Apines men hade begun to take protections and to deliver some arms,³ and that the said Cleyton was on his march to InverLochy on the one hand, whyle Cadogan was marching towards that Contry by Badonich on the other, this was the more surprysing because Apine hade sent us no account of this party nor march. The Generall on this advertisment sent straight to my Brother and to Kepoch desyring them to meet him nixt day, they being the nearest to him of the Clans, half way betwixt my Brothers house and Glengarys, where accordingly the Generall, Glengary, my Brother, Brigadier Ogilvie, Kepock and I met. This was Fryday 30th March. It was agreed that my Brother, Glengary and Kepock should Rendevouz each of them at their own houses what men they could get together thursday or fryday nixt thereafter,⁴ and in the mean tyme the General should goe to meet my Lord Seaforth so as to know what number of men he could expect from his Lop. and to get what Capt. Tulloch left in his hands of the Kings money. It was also concerted that the General should return so as to be at Glengarys or my Brothers against the day apointed for the Rendevouze, and at the same tyme the General wrote to those in the Isles and to the rest of the Clans that they might march their men with all expedition to Lochaber in order to opose the enimie who were near that Contry on their march, and to bring with them what provision they could, the Contry being very skairse at that juncture, and it not being possible to provyde themselves from any part which the enimie posses'd untill there was once a Body form'd.

Nixt day after the General came to Glengarys house,⁵ one of my Brothers frindes, who serv'd as Capt. in his Regiment,

¹ Cadogan reached Blair Atholl about March 30 (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 75).

² Colonel Jasper Clayton.

³ Appin arrived in Paris on October 1, 1716 (*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 15).

⁴ *i.e.* April 5 or 6.

⁵ *i.e.* March 31.

interiented a Lieutenant going from Cadogan to the Governor of InverLochy with Letters, who was then at Blair in Athole, who told us there was a gentleman on the road from the Duke to Glengary, who accordingly came that very night with some message from Athole to Glengary. This gave us some ground of jealousy, but Glengary having then assur'd the Generall that he would stand it out to the last extreamity remov'd the Generalls fears.

At our return to Glengarys house from the meeting with my Brother and Kepoch, Glengary entreated of the Generall to set this Lieutenant of Cadogans at Liberty and to let him goe on to InverLochy. Brigadier Ogilvie and I was not for it, but the General, tho with some reluctancy, condescended, being in Glengarys house at the tyme.

When this Lieutenant Hardy (so they call him) and the other gentlemen went away, Glengary walk'd out with them and was very seriouse and sent his footman with the Lieutenant to InverLochy, who conducted the sd. officer neer the bounds of Badonich in his way to Cadogan, otherwayes the Contry would have seiz'd him over again, but seing Glengarys footman with him they did not think it needfull.

Nixt morning, being munday the 2d. of Apryle, the Generall made ready to goe to Kintail to meet my Lord Seaforth, and desyred I would goe along with him, by reasone that I hade been a litle tyme before with his Lop. when he gave such good encouragement.

As we were ready to goe off there came an expresse from my Brother to the General shawing that he hade gote certent account that Coll. Cleyton was to march from the Garisone of InverLochy nixt day, being Twesday,¹ with 8 or 900² men to my Brothers house in order to attack him. He likewise sent a Letter which a frinde from InverLochy wrote to advertise him, that upon the representation made by the officer who was prisoner at Invergary, Cleyton hade determin'd to march to my Brothers house, which he could doe in three or four hours tyme the Generall did read this Letter. The Letter likewise mentiond that it was believ'd for certent at InverLochy that Glengary hade setled affaires with Atholl and Cadogan, so as they were sure he would not draw a sword against them. This we were all loath to believe.

¹April 3.

²The number is elsewhere given as 600 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 133).

My Brother wrote to Glengary likewise that he was very well inform'd that he was to be attackt nixt day by a strong party from InverLochy, that he hade not tyme to get a sufficient number on such short advertisment to opose them, therfore hop'd he would come with what he could get together of his men to his assistance, seing he (Glengary) nor his Contry was not in any danger nor to be troubled untill they did his business first, my Brother and his Contry being betwixt Glengary and the Garison.

Upon this account I entreated of the Generall to allow me to goe back to my Brother that I might be assisting in rysing his men and to witness whatever might follow. But Glengary press'd the Generalls going off to my Lord Seaforth and that I should by all means goe along, to that degree that the Generall would have me either goe or otherwayes that I might own I wrong'd the Kings service. I thought myself oblig'd to obey, so could not help it. When I press'd very earnestly to return, Glengary sayd, you need not be so uneasy, for you will return tyme enough to get your share; for, sayd he, we will not medle without we have a good advantage, and perhaps they will not fall in blood for some dayes. At the same tyme he told us that he was to order his men to bring each of them three dayes provision on that account: besydes, said he, I can hardly think the party will come out so soon as your Brother is told.

This being on munday the 2d of Apryle, the Generall, Brigadier Ogilvie and I persued our journey to Kintail. But nixt day the Party under Cleyton actually march'd, as my Brother was inform'd, straight to his dwelling house: but those of his men who live on the road betwixt the Garisone and his house took up all that fornoon to put their Catle out of the Partys way, and those who were fardest off in Morvine and Swinart¹ hade only tyme to be with him against fryday,² which was the day apointed for the Rendevouze, so that very few join'd him untill it was night.

Glengary came to my Brother only about half an hour before the party appear'd, with a hundred men or therabouts. Its true betwixt what they both hade they were not in a condition that day to attack the Party, they not having the fourth part of their number. Some of my Brothers and of Glengarys men offer'd to fyre at them at a pass, but Glengary would not allow it; for, say'd he, we will but lose our men to no purpose. My Brother did not press it either, seing there was so few of his

¹ Sunart.

² April 6.

men ther that night, but say'd to Glengary, that he hop'd he would keep his men together nixt day, since he, my Brother, doubted not but he would have a sufficient number of his men together then, which with Glengarys men might very well attack the party. They parted so that night, and nixt day, when those of my Brothers men came to him who were nearest and who were putting their Cattle out of the way, he sent to Glengary to acquaint him therof and withal that he expected to have his men together, but gote no return.

This was on wednesday, and on thursday¹ night my nephew young Balhaldy² came express from my Brothers frindes who live in Morvine and Swinart signifying that they were on their march and would be with him tomorrow, being Fryday, as he apointed. Upon which my Brother went early in the morning to Glengarys and at the same tyme he thought to finde the Generall and others ther, as had been concerted. But finding none but Glengary and his own frindes he stay'd that night, both to wait the Generalls coming and know Glengarys last resolution. Wherefore he told Glengary that his men were come against the day of the Rendevouze, so that iff he would joine his men with them they were in a condition to beat Clayton. My Brother added that the Enimies being at his house signified nothing, for that none suffer'd by that but himself, and that otherwayes it was an advantage, they having no way to retreat, for that they were encamp'd and lay in their Tents, as not thinking his house any defence at all for them, and that only the officers lay in it.

Glengary ansuer'd in plain tearms, that he hade determin'd to deliver his house and himself up to Cadogan, that nixt night he expected a party to take posession of the house, and that in a day thereafter he would goe to Cadogan and afterwards to Athole,³ and added that his advyce to my Brother was to doe the same.⁴

¹ April 5.

² William Macgregor (or Drummond) of Balhaldie. His mother was a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. He played a leading part in the intrigues which brought Prince Charles from Italy to France in 1744.

³ Glengarry was at Perth on April 21, after visiting the Duke at Blair (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 133).

⁴ Glengarry's motives were variously interpreted. Whatever they may have been he did not lose James's favour. His name appears in November, 1716, in a list of chiefs deserving distinction, and on December 9, 1716, a warrant was issued for a patent creating him 'a lord and peer of Parliament of Scotland, by the title of Lord McDonald' (*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 303, 572).

This ansuer of Glengarys suprys'd my Brother extreamly, who told Glengary that in the first place he would not take his advyce, and secondly that he ought to have told his designe sooner to the Generall and to him and his other nighbours, and that there was People in the Goverment who made offer of doing all the good offices in their Power to him when the army dispers'd, to whom he return'd ansuer that he design'd to doe nothing but in concert with other worthy Persones who were equally engag'd in the same cause.

When my Brother was inform'd at first that the party was to come out in order to attack him, he wrote to Keppoch likewise desyring his assistance, who sent him a Letter in return a day after the party came the length of my Brothers dwelling.¹

My Brother finding that Glengary hade left him thus and hade given up his house to be garison'd by the enimie, and considering that that house lyes in the passe betwixt Inverness and my Brothers, that a Party of nine hundred men lay now at his house, which is half way betwixt Glengary and InverLochy, that the Garisone of InverLochy is in the center of his estate and frindes, and no account from the Isles nor of any maner of succour, concluded that it was to no purpose for him to act alone, that it would end in the intyre destruction of his men and Contry and not in the least advance the Kings service, Therefore he ordered part of his men to disperse and take protections as others hade done to save their goods and familys in hopes they might as yet have an oportunity to serve their King and Contry. Never were men more uneasy then they were upon their being oblidge'd to return without having done something against the Enimie.

The Generall could know nothing of these particulars, my Brother not thinking it needfull to write to him till the day of the Rendevouze, against which tyme he expected himself back as was concerted, and likewise untill he knew Glengarys last resolution. However, as soon as we arriv'd at Kintail, the Marquess of Seaforth told the General that there was some money left in his hands when Captain Tulloch came to his Contry, but that it was not possible for him to get at it then, the enimie being in possession of the place where it was con-

¹Writing to Mar on April 11, 1716, Clanranald remarks: 'Keppoch is suspected to follow Huntly's measures, whose vassal he is' (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 113). Keppoch, in fact, escaped to France with Allan Cameron (*Ibid.* p. 322).

ceal'd, and at the same tyme say'd he would order his men to be in a readiness to march how soon others would draw to a head.

Nixt morning there came a Letter from Glengary to the Generall, which he wrote wednesday morning,¹ showing that no body would joine. This Letter, which my Brother knew not of, made no mention of Glengarys being ready to deliver himself and his house in the enimies hands. At the same tyme my Lord Seaforth hade account that there was a ship arriv'd from France in the Isle of Sky with necessares for the Highlanders, and others say'd it was come to cary away the nobility and officers who were then in Wist,² upon which the Generall and Brigadier Ogilbie resolv'd to stay with my Lord Seaforth untill he hade certent account what ship this was and her Cargo, and that in the mean tyme I should return straight to Glengary and my Brother with account of this, and to encourage them the best I could, which accordingly I did.

The Generall wrote a Letter, which he gave me open, adress'd for Glengary and my Brother, aquenting them of the arrivall of this ship and of my Lord Seaforths ansuer, and that how soon he understood what the said ship carried he would let them know.³ He ordered me to send the Letter to the one and to

¹ April 4.

² On April 5 Captain Owen O'Sheridan arrived at South Uist on board the *Marie Therèse* from Morlaix. He sailed again on April 18 and reached Roscoff in Brittany on May 10 (new style), having on board the Earl Marischal, Southesk, Tullibardine, Linlithgow, Kilsyth, Lord Edward Drummond, Lord George Murray, and other Jacobite refugees, besides the Irish officers (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 109, 142, 148).

³ The following extracts from letters of Clanranald and Southesk to Mar vividly represent the relations between those who escaped to France, and Gordon who held himself still bound to act militantly in James's behalf. Clanranald writes to Mar: 'Mr. Sheridan arrived here [Uist] upon Thursday the [5th] instant, and after delivering me your Grace's letter to General Gordon, and another for myself . . . the nobility and gentry that were here at the time seeming to have an inclination to know what might be in them that concerned the King's service, I thought that things of that kind was not to be kept a secret from them who had already suffered so much for it. Therefore I thought fit to communicate to those of the first rank what my letter imported, and though I would not take upon me to break open General Gordon's letter, there was amongst them who did, and accordingly it was broke up and the contents read in presence only of a few of the nobility and myself. The contents agreeing in the main with what your Grace had suggested in mine, and Mr. Sheridan's instructions from your Grace being of a piece with both as to what concerned the ship and cargo, I proposed to conform myself in all things to your Grace's

goe myself to the other, wherfore I sent the Letter to my Brother and went on straight to Glengary. Mean tyme I sent one before me who could march very hard the nearest way over the hills with the contents of the Letter in write, who delivered it some hours before I arriv'd. My Brother had been with Glengary that night at his own house, as I have already mention'd with Glengarys ansuer to him, yet Glengary told him nothing of the Letter he receiv'd from me, and before I came to Glengary nixt morning my Brother was gone back.

I must own that tho I was doubtfull all along that Glengary was acting under hand with Athole, of which I told the Generall, yet I was mightily suprys'd to finde him just ready to goe off for Inverness to Cadogan, and his house Immediatly to be delivered up to be garison'd by the enimie. I found Gordon of Glenbucket with him. It would be too tedious to insert hear all that pass'd betwixt Glengary and me. I imediatly went to my Brother, who had only return'd from Glengary a litle before I arriv'd. He told me all that pass'd betwixt him and Glengary, upon which he hade ordered his men of Swinart and Morvine to disperse, they being in Ardgyleshyre and consequently their familys would be ruin'd in their absence, since ther was none then on their march and in arms but themselves.

How soon I gave my Brother account that ther was such a ship arriv'd and that it was the reasone which detain'd the Generall from coming straight back, he ordered his men not to take protections for some dayes, for at that tyme there was

commands, which was to secure the ship and cargo, and without delay to forward General Gordon's letter to himself. This was first agreed to by the most part that were present, but it was afterwards thought dangerous to lose much time here . . . [and] though I objected that it appeared plainly from what your Grace had writ in your letters that a return from General [Gordon] would be absolutely necessary before the ship should depart, I added besides, it was but just that the clans, who were the only body of men now in the nation that made any appearance for the King . . . might be allowed some reasonable time, that they might lay the state of their condition before his Majesty. Notwithstanding of this objection, it was resolved next morning to call a council of the lords and general officers, to vote which was most for the King's service, the ship to wait, or to be immediately unloaded and dispatched. All the votes excepting a few was for the latter' (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 109). Southesk says that he was against that course. He adds that between April 13-18 'there came an express from General Gordon ordering the ship, I must say in a very uncivil manner, to stay till his further orders . . . for in sending that order he never so much as writ to one of us, and at the same time he writ for volunteers to come up, as my Lord Marischal says, and join him, for that the Highlanders would still stand to the last man and never deliver up their arms' (*Ibid.* p. 149).

only a few of those who were most expos'd to the Garison of InverLochie who hade given in any arms and hade gote protections. My Brother wrote that minute to the Generall, which I sent off by express to Kintail, and wrote myself at the same tyme to know what he would have done.

I having account that my Brothers men of Swinart and Morvine were within twelve myles of me after they hade gote orders to goe home, I went with all expedition after them in hopes to be with them before they dispers'd, with a resolution iff I gote them together to attack Cleyton with them and with what other men would joine me.

When I came to the head of Locheill, where they hade been waiting my Brothers orders, I found the most of them were dispers'd according to the message my Brother had sent them on his return from Glengary, but I overtook severall of the Gentlemen who commanded them and some of the comon men. The Gentlemen asur'd me iff I thought fitt they would convine a good party in a few dayes in order to attack Cleyton or any other party of the enimie I pleas'd. Upon which I sent another express to Generall Gordon to Kintail to aquent him of all this, and that iff he gave me orders with any encouragement, that I was getting so many of my Brothers men and some of the Moidart men who hade promis'd to joine me in a meeting I hade with them some dayes before, and likewise part of Apines men and of Glengarys men, tho he hade surrendred himself, together, as I would undertake to attack Cleytons party or some other party of the enimie and doubted not of success.

After I sent off this express I kept the most of the gentlemen with me, and dispers'd the comon men into different places near me for want of provision to keep y^m together, so as they might be ready on some hours advertisement. In the mean tyme Cadogan having gote posession of Glengarys house, by which the passe betwixt Inverness and InverLochy was open'd to him, especially since Cleyton lay at Achnacary with his party betwixt Glengary and InverLochy about half way, he was therby encouraged to alter his march, and in place of going from Badonich by the braes of Lochaber towards InverLochy with his army, he countermanded the Troops who lay at Inverness, whome he hade formerly ordered to joine him in Badonich, and marched straight to Inverness with his army, and came up to the Castle of Invergary himself with a Convoy of a few

horse, and as hard as he could ryde came under night to Achnacary, my Brothers dwelling, where Cleyton lay, but gave out the night before that he was to return to Inverness. Nixt morning he sett off early for InverLochy, which is not above an hour and halfs ryding, the road being good.

I being at some myles distance had only account nixt morning that he had pass'd, but I resolved without waiting any orders from the Generall to attack him as he return'd, for which I prepar'd myself and gote a suffitient number of prittie young fellowse together under night without making much noise, with whom I march'd that night over hills, which I was oblidg'd to doe for fear Cleyton should get notice, having march'd near the place where he was encamp'd, so as to be ready to attack Cadogan at a pass about half way betwixt InverLochy and Invergarry. I hade the missfortune to miss him very nairrowly. Never any man rode with greater expedition then he did, and so gote by the passe before I came up. Iff I had effectuated this designe, whatever might have been the event, it would have confounded their measures a litle, he having all the orders concerning Scots affaires in his breast at that juncture.

After this I waited Impatiently sometyme for the Generalls return. The first account I hade was from a Gentleman who came from Kintail, that the Generall was gone for Wist in order to embarck for France in Shirradines¹ ship, which suprys'd me mightily, not having receav'd any word from him directly or indirectly. But I had this account, however, from such good hands that I must believe it. Upon this I went straight after him, Leaving all those gentlemen and sojers in suspence untill I would aquent them from the Isles with what they were to doe. As I was on my way to the Isle of Sky I mett on of the expresses whom I sent to the Generall, who told me that the Generall was certontly gone, but that he could not learn any word he left for me at Kintail.² C. SANFORD TERRY.

¹ Gordon, in fact, did not embark in O'Sheridan's ship. See the following note.

² Here abruptly ends Allan Cameron's MS. He himself, Gordon, Seaforth, Lochiel, the stalwarts, were convinced by now that to continue the insurrection was futile in face of Cadogan's activity and the defection of the other leaders. On April 7 (new style) Captain Tulloch again sailed from Havre, in the *Vendôme*. The vessel was captured off the Long Isle, but Tulloch seized a barque, and with Seaforth, Gordon, Ogilvie of Boyne, Lochiel, Keppoch, Campbell of Glenderule, and Allan Cameron himself, arrived at Roscoff at the end of July, 1716 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 203, 218, 322).

The Relations of Mary Stuart with William Maitland of Lethington

THE most brilliant and patriotic statesman of his time, the personality of William Maitland of Lethington has none the less ever failed to awaken any sentiment of enthusiasm amid the great bulk of his fellow-countrymen.

The entire absence of fervour in his composition; the ironical bent of his mind; the subterranean methods of his diplomacy, and the seeming inconsistencies of his career have combined in varying degrees to alienate affection and substitute for it what is at best a reluctant and grudging admiration.

Virulent and clumsy daub as the *Chamaeleon* of Buchanan undeniably is, its title at least served the purpose of that hired literary janissary, and, in conjunction with the 'Michael Wylie' of Richard Bannatyne, invested the name of Maitland with sinister associations that adhered to it for a good three centuries. The grotesque rendering into Lowland Scotch of the appellation of Machiavelli, detracted to only a very limited extent from the full measure of its significance. Of the cold-blooded indifference which distinguished the great Florentine, Maitland was perfectly incapable, and any attempt to establish a parallel between men of so dissimilar a temperament is necessarily doomed to failure. Both indeed were patriots and both were Secretaries, but here all resemblance ends. There was but little of the philosopher in Lethington's composition. He was a practical politician who took things as they were and endeavoured to make the best of them from his own standpoint. Abstractions possessed no interest for him. Yet the suspicion that in some undefined form, he was the counterpart of the Italian philosopher whom the Florentines themselves treated at last as a criminal, took a profound root in the Scottish mind, and even now has been hardly eradicated.

Fascinating and picturesque as are the volumes in which Sir John Skelton has vindicated the character of Maitland, it can none the less hardly be denied that, not content with giving the 'Secretar' full credit for possessing the wisdom of the serpent, he has endowed him somewhat over-liberally with the harmlessness of the dove. Modern as in many aspects of his character Maitland appears, he was yet essentially a man of his time, and the humanitarian ethics of to-day found no place in either his moral or political outlook. Infractions of the sixth commandment were in his eyes but venial transgressions. Throughout the entire period of the Reformation, Gordian knots of whatsoever description were usually cut by the knife of the assassin. Even when not actively practised, murder was connived at by the leaders of every political Scottish faction—Knox and the preachers not excepted.

The charge of faithlessness to his mistress brought against Maitland by Buchanan, Lesly, Camden, and, in our own day, Mr. Andrew Lang, remains, however, a wholly different matter. Heavy as the indictment may at first sight appear, it rests upon no substantial basis, and when Lethington's career is regarded as a whole, and not subjected in portions to a distorted analysis, breaks down altogether.

The first count against the 'flower of the Scottish wits'—as Elizabeth described him—which is the betrayal, not of Mary but of her mother, demands little in the way of refutation.

Entering the service of the Dowager at an early age, Maitland continued in it until her ultimate determination to convert Scotland into an oversea province of France rendered his position, alike from a religious and a patriotic standpoint, utterly intolerable. Convinced from the very outset of his career that the true interests of his country lay in a union with England, it was impossible for him to remain in Leith as the instrument of a policy which he believed to be fundamentally wrong. With the Bible at his finger-ends, controversy with the doctors of the Sorbonne was inevitable, and as resignation in those days was an unheard-of thing, there was no door open to him but flight to the Lords of the Congregation. Maitland's very life was in jeopardy, and as the whole aspect of affairs had altered since his first employment by Mary of Guise, no blame can possibly be attached to him on account of his desertion of her.

It is the opinion of so unbiassed an authority as Mr. T. L. Henderson that 'in securing the triumph of the Reformation Maitland is entitled to rank alongside of Knox.' His singular power of persuasion undoubtedly won over to that cause many of the nobility to whom the great Reformer was absolutely antipathetic. The detachment of Huntly from the party of the Dowager was due to his revelations and instrumentality. It is in the highest degree improbable that any other envoy except Lethington could have allayed the suspicion with which Elizabeth regarded the growth of the Scottish democratic theocracy, and procured from her the military and naval assistance without which the cause of Protestantism must temporarily at least have been shipwrecked.

As Secretary of State, it cannot be deemed surprising that, serving under the *régime* he did, and with the construction which could be placed upon the abandonment of the Dowager present to his mind, Maitland at its first mootings should have viewed the arrival of the Queen with some apprehension. Though perceiving with characteristic prescience, that, in his own language, 'her coming might cause wonderful tragedies,' he none the less recognized clearly that it was inevitable, and strove to make the best of the situation, unpromising as it was.

In the matter of the English succession, Maitland left no artifice untried to secure its reversion for his mistress, but, against the fixed determination of Elizabeth, all the wiles of diplomacy were vain. No blandishments upon earth could have melted her obduracy, and if Lethington failed to achieve the impossible, it was through no fault or failing of his own.

During the comparatively peaceful and prosperous period which followed immediately upon Mary's return, Maitland did his utmost to mitigate the hardships of her position, and by doing so forfeited entirely the confidence of the Knoxian party. He was almost unceasingly at controversial war with the preachers on her behalf, and in him they found, so far as fence of tongue was concerned, their only formidable opponent. So far indeed did the Secretary carry his regard for the Queen's susceptibilities, that he contrived to recast a supplication addressed by the fourth General Assembly to their sovereign in such a fashion that it became wholly unintelligible. Couched in its original shape after the manner

of the prophet Isaiah, whom the divines maintained 'had used such a manner of speaking,' the document on its final presentation to Mary proved merely bewildering, and she turned away from it, remarking only that 'here are manie faire words, but I cannot tell what the hearts meane.' Thus, indignantly adds the worthy Calderwood, were the 'brethren turned into flatterers and dissemblers.'

In judging of Lethington's debates with Knox, it cannot be borne too steadily in mind that the relation of these conflicts has been left entirely in the hands of one of the combatants. It would be unfair to accuse the great apostle of the Reformation of any deliberate intention to distort or suppress facts, but, believing as he did that the mantle of the Hebrew prophets had descended upon him, it was not to be expected that his spiritual arrogance would permit of any admission of defeat. The victory which he obtained over Maitland in regard to the question of acquiescence in the mass—to cite but a single instance—was certainly one of a most Pyrrhic description. To the believer in the verbal infallibility of Holy Writ, the vanquishing of Paul and James along with Lethington must surely have seemed an astounding triumph. So far as it was possible to avenge the insults offered to his mistress, the Secretary shrank from no effort. Upon one occasion only did Knox bring himself within reach of the jurisdiction of the ordinary law, and, idol of the Edinburgh populace as he was, Maitland pushed matters against him to the uttermost length that the safety of the Court warranted.

As to the part played by Lethington in the murder of Rizzio, it is still to a considerable extent shrouded in mystery. That he should have resented the encroachments of a Savoyard musician upon his own political domain was inevitable. The restoration of the Earl of Moray—then an exile—was a matter upon which he had avowedly set his heart, and the only way to it lay through the sacrifice of one whom all at Court regarded in the light of a low-born, foreign, and Papist upstart. Rizzio was undoubtedly leading the Queen away from his pet project of the English alliance and into political relations of which every Protestant disapproved.

The extent and nature of Rizzio's ascendancy over Mary has never been absolutely defined. Vehemently as her apologists have resented the aspersion, they were certainly currently held to be something more than Platonic. Darnley undoubtedly

disbelieved in their innocence. When Henry IV. of France remarked of James the First's claims to sagacity that the 'only resemblance which he possessed to Solomon consisted in his being the son of David who played upon the harp,' he merely gave expression to what at least was a widely disseminated suspicion. In our own day, Mr. Swinburne, with habitual energy of expression, has explained the character of James VI. by the light of this unedifying supposition, and Maitland could not have been otherwise than aware that scandal, whether justly or unjustly, was busy with the reputation of the Queen.

Viewed from every standpoint, the Italian was a danger to all that the Secretary valued, and it must be frankly admitted that it is more than likely that he took a hand in the disposal of this impediment to his plans. There is practically only one construction to be placed upon the passage in his correspondence with Cecil, where he speaks of the necessity of 'chopping at the root,' and all the indirect evidence that can be garnered points in the same direction.

Of the clumsy butchery in the Queen's apartments at Holyrood, Maitland, it may safely be assumed, knew nothing. At the time of its perpetration he was in another portion of the palace among the Queen's partisans, and a shambles was in no way likely to be a thing of his organizing. The conspiracy had, in all probability, passed into the hands of the extremists, and was carried through without the knowledge of the milder or more statesmanlike section.

That Mary suspected Maitland of complicity in the murder of her favourite, seems clear from the discredit into which he fell throughout the period that immediately followed the Holyrood tragedy. Ere long, however, he was reinstated in the full enjoyment of his office, and, to all appearance, in the confidence of his sovereign.

After a prolonged betrothal, Lethington wedded in January, 1567, the 'flower of the Queen's Maries'—Mary Fleming. It has been generally assumed that his matrimonial relations must be taken into account in judging the later phases of Maitland's political conduct, but it is difficult to trace throughout them any evidence of wifely interference. The Flemings of Cumbernauld had ever been closely allied with the house of Lennox, and it was anticipated that, in the words of Randolph—the English ambassador—'he will bear much with the

Lennox Stuarts for the love he bears to Mary Fleming.' So far, however, from this turning out to be the case, Maitland is found not long after his nuptials engaged up to the hilt in the intrigues for the removal of Darnley. Mary herself has affirmed that at the Craigmillar conference he suggested the murder of her husband, though she omitted at the same time to point out that this was only done in tentative fashion, and followed as a result of her own declaration that a divorce was an impossibility. In view of the Secretary's further assurance that Moray would 'look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings saying nothing to the same,' it seems perfectly evident that the Queen could not be ignorant of what was intended. Failing divorce, there was no other alternative, and of that Mary must have been fully aware.

The truth was that, in modern parlance, Darnley was a hopeless Degenerate, and all Scotland longed to get rid of him. No prejudice was in these days entertained as to means, and so far as Maitland acted as the original mover in the matter he was only, as a practised orator, the mouth-piece of both the Court parties. Of responsibility for the manner of the deed, he was at least innocent, and there exists no recorded instance of any European politician who, during the various crises of the Reformation, shrunk from the employment of murder upon either moral or religious grounds.

The connection of Maitland with Bothwell can hardly be viewed from any other light than that of impairing the credit for super-subtlety in statecraft, which the Secretary possessed in the estimation of the whole diplomatic world. The defects of that 'glorious, rash and hazardous' personage seem obvious enough, and in addition he resented bitterly the grant to Maitland of the abbey-lands of Haddington that the Queen had conferred upon her minister. Even upon Lethington itself, he was reputed to cast covetous eyes, and, alike in their interests and their temperament, the two men were from the first singularly opposed.

The probability is that Maitland failed until too late to fathom the depths of the Queen's infatuation for Bothwell. Even after the murder of Darnley he conducted the correspondence on Mary's behalf, and did his utmost to throw dust in the eyes of Europe regarding its real character.

He refused, however, to subscribe the Ainslie bond, and by that time had doubtless realised the extent of Bothwell's

influence over Mary and the true nature of his designs. Incurring, by this declinature and his general attitude, the animosity of the would-be husband of his sovereign, the position of Maitland became one of extreme danger. Seized along with Mary at the abduction of Almond Bridge, he was carried off along with her and Sir James Melville to Dunbar Castle, where Bothwell was upon the point of taking his life. It seems to have been only by the intervention of Mary, who flung herself in front of Lethington, that this amiable intention was frustrated. After such an experience, it can hardly be deemed surprising that Maitland should have abandoned the Queen to the fate she courted, and fled to the Lords.

After the surrender at Carberry Hill, Lethington was the first man whom the Queen asked for, and this certainly goes far to prove that her confidence in him remained unshaken by whatever had previously occurred.

The intractability of Mary in regard to the abandonment of Bothwell, placed her well-wishers in a position of extreme difficulty. With the chief nobles, the populace, and the preachers in the mood they were, imprisonment seemed the wisest course in the Queen's own interests, and it was for the sake of securing her personal safety that Maitland advocated it. No other choice indeed was open to him. In his own words, used to Craig when describing the memorable interview held with Mary in her High Street lodging, 'I myself made the offer to her that, if she would abandon my Lord Bothwell, she should have as thankful obedience as ever she had since she came to Scotland. But no ways would she consent to leave my Lord Bothwell.'

During the confinement of the Queen in Loch Leven, the behaviour of Maitland was somewhat ambiguous. There is a general concurrence of testimony, including that of Du Croc, the French ambassador, that he sent her a gold ornament with the emblem of the mouse delivering the lion taken in the nets enamelled upon it, as a hint of the means by which her escape might be most easily accomplished. Buchanan maintained that 'he tarried with the Regent only to keep a colour of honesty,' and Calderwood gives equally strong expression to the same view.

None the less at the Battle of Langside, Lethington was found fighting among the enemies of Mary. It is equally certain, however, that he was regarded with the profoundest

mistrust by everyone round about him. Equivocal as his attitude appears, there was no disloyalty to his mistress involved in it. Suspecting the Hamiltons, and considering that the time was not 'ripe' for a restoration, he had probably arrived at the conclusion that he could render more effectual service to the Marian cause amid the ranks of its foes than among its pretended friends.

Passing under the nickname of the 'necessary evil,' Maitland continued to be a sore thorn in the flesh of Moray and his friends. He was taken as a Commissioner to York, 'not because they wanted him, but because they were afraid to leave him behind.' Prior to the assembling of the Conference, he fully justified whatever misgivings might have been felt towards him by sending on to the Queen private copies of the charges against her, made by Mary Fleming. He was in communication with his captive mistress throughout its entire progress, and when despatched to the subsequent conclave at Westminster, he was accompanied by Mr. James Macgill of Rankeillour, whose mission it was 'not to assist but to watch over him.' As Skelton justly says, 'all Scotland knew that Maitland was Mary's friend.' Yet had he come bull-headed into the open, as his modern literary assailants apparently consider that he should, it would have been impossible for him to extricate Mary from the snares that encompassed her in the fashion that he most desired.

The project of the Norfolk marriage was entirely the handiwork of Maitland, and, notwithstanding its disastrous termination, the scheme—granted a share of good fortune—was one admirably designed to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the Queen.

The gaining-over of Kirkcaldy of Grange was another triumph of persuasion on the part of Lethington which very nearly turned the balances in the final struggle between the parties of the Queen and her infant son. Even prior to his arrest by Moray and liberation by Grange, he was admitted on all hands to be the life and soul of the Marian cause. His house was, therefore, says Knox, 'called the school and himself the schoolmaster.'

Semi-paralysed in body but undaunted in spirit, it was as much by the infection of Maitland's determination as by Kirkcaldy's military skill that the standard of Mary was kept floating over the walls of Edinburgh Castle for the years

which it did. The confidence inspired among the adherents of the Queen by their 'Greit God the Secretar' failed only in the very end when the English cannon was shattering the fortifications of their last stronghold, and Huntly, despairing of success, had come to terms with Morton.

The death of Lethington a few weeks after the surrender was entirely attributable to the disease from which he was suffering. He had been dying by inches long before the capitulation of the castle, and the theory of his quitting the world in the Roman fashion rests upon no foundation except that of scandal. Yet, so notoriously was he the mainstay of the defence, that had it been protracted any longer the garrison would have hanged him over the ramparts.

In the end, the 'crafty head and the fell tongue' of which Randolph stood so much in dread seems to have done little for its owner, but it was the impossibilities of Mary's character that brought to ruin the career of her Secretary. Though she herself doubtless preferred the blind fidelity of a Seton or a Fleming, Maitland was incomparably the best friend that she ever possessed. Loyalty ran in his very blood, but to save the Queen from the consequences of her disastrous impulses was a task beyond his or anyone else's powers. The only smooth passage in Mary's tempest-tossed life was achieved under Lethington's guidance, but, with the advent of Rizzio and subsequently that of Bothwell, it was converted into a monotonous tragedy. The infatuation for the Byronic moss-trooper Earl was the first stage in the downward slope leading to Fotheringay, and from that point the culmination was inevitable.

In treating of Maitland it is impossible to ignore the attitude recently adopted by Mr. Andrew Lang towards certain phases of his career. In his hands, indeed, the Mystery of Mary Stuart becomes infinitely less of an enigma than the Mystery of William Maitland of Lethington. Mr. Lang generally contrives to put a sinister construction upon even the simplest proceedings of the Secretary, and his main contention, that Maitland was driven into support of the Queen's cause through fear of unknown relations to which she held the key, seems singularly untenable. Such disclosures as lay within the compass of her knowledge could have related only to the Darnley murder, and of that he was never accused by any of the Confederate Lords 'so long as he was a pillar

to maintain their unjust authority, nor would he ever have been.'

The charge against Lethington of vamping-up the 'Casket Letters' is not new, and such force as attaches to it is derived merely from its re-statement by so distinguished an authority as Mr. Lang. He is in entire disagreement on the subject with Mr. Henderson, who has dealt with it in so conclusive a fashion that it is impossible to enter upon further adverse discussion of this contention without a recapitulation of his arguments. According to Mr. Lang, 'whoever held the pen of the forgers, Lethington must have directed the scheme.' In this connection, it would be peculiarly interesting to know the circumstances attending the discovery of this most ingenious of all the members of his tribe, as to many minds the strongest argument in favour of the genuineness of the 'Casket Letters' lies in the incredibility of anyone existing at that period in Scotland being capable of such an achievement as their forgery.

The gist of Mr. Lang's indictment of Lethington is summed up in the narrative of Claude Nau, Mary's Secretary. It was not published until after the death of Maitland, and he had no opportunity of refuting it. To what extent the manuscript embodies the opinions of Mary, or the distortions of Nau, is virtually the point at issue. Notwithstanding Mr. Lang's acceptance of the former version, it must be borne in mind that whatever view may be held of Maitland's attitude towards Mary, no doubt whatever can exist of her betrayal by Nau. Though in her Testament, the Queen laid it down that Nau was to have the pension formerly bequeathed to him if he could be proved innocent, she certainly held uncompromisingly that he was the cause of her death. Nau—to employ her own words—'had many peculiarities, likings, and intentions that I cannot mention in public, but which I much regret, for he does me great injustice.' In none, there is every reason to believe, did he do her greater injustice than in regard to Maitland.

THOMAS DUNCAN.

Mr. Lang and the Casket Letters

MR. LANG'S disposement of my examination of his Casket Letter theory is somewhat peculiar. His *Morning Post* promise was that, if convinced I was right, he would announce his conversion to my opinions. We are now told why that announcement has not appeared, and never will appear there, and why another announcement has appeared in the pages of this *Review*. In one way matters have turned out as he seemed to expect; in another they have not. After he had, so he states, in solemn silence refuted me, he proceeded to convert himself to an important portion of my conclusions. He proved, to his own satisfaction, that while my arguments were wrong, my conclusions were correct, and that while his arguments were pretty immaculate, his conclusions were wrong. As I understand, he refuted me and tore up his reply, *before he had converted himself*.

Mr. Lang, without any kind of announcement, might have refuted me privately. If, as in the *Morning Post*, he lets it be known publicly that should he find himself able to demolish my arguments he will probably do so privately, then his pose assumes a certain singularity; and if again he announces that he has written a reply to me 'point by point,' and unanswerable, but private and confidential, then he need not be taken at his own valuation. 'Simple allegation' is, in the words of Byron, 'no proof'; and historical allegation, unbacked by reasons, is worth nobody's attention. Had Mr. Lang, while announcing his conversion to a portion of my opinions, wholly ignored my argument, then I should have ignored both his announcement and his assertions. It is because of his mingled avoidance and recognition of my argument that I venture to express an opinion both on his main and most interesting announcement, and on the categorical affirmations and casual and perfunctory references to my argument, with which that announcement is bedecked.

Mr. Lang's discovery—that notwithstanding his specious arguments to the contrary, no part of Letter II. is based on Crawford—is all the more notable in that, unlike the majority of sinners, he can claim the, as he proudly puts it, 'glory' of his own conversion. As for his soft impeachment that I had aspirations towards that happy achievement, I beg humbly to deprecate and even disown it. His arguments, which were so plausible that they deceived himself—those remarkable arguments I did hope that I might, 'under providence,' and with patient toil, be able to refute: the possibility of converting the author of them never occurred to me in my most blessed dreams. Why? Simply because, while the arguments seemed to be less convincing than strange and subtle, their strangeness and subtlety I regarded as mainly an indication of his passionate predilection for his own pet 'blood-thirsty' theory. His prodigious efforts on behalf of that wonderful theory did not, in my case, tend to produce conviction, and therefore they merely multiplied my wonder: surprise at their ingenious cleverness never ceased to be blended with amazement—amazement that he should spend such stupendous skill and toil in, unconsciously, seeking to erect such a 'towering pyramid of impossibilities.' To all of this Mr. Lang now tells us that he, 'point by point,' replied—replied so effectively that he actually *tore up his reply*, and tore it up not only once, but, it would seem, twice: once before he had made his great discovery, and again, when resurrected in a 'draft for this article.'

Now those paper-rendering performances of Mr. Lang have interested more than they have impressed me. Some of the readers of this *Review* may have thought, could anything be more convincing! And possibly others may have ventured to conclude that nothing could be less so. As for myself, my interest in this form of Mr. Lang's destructiveness arose more from its bearing on his own historical condition than from its bearing on my arguments. And this reminds me that I ought here to remove a misunderstanding that has evidently given Mr. Lang pain. Never for a moment did I doubt either the honesty of his historical convictions, or the sincerity of his historical struggles. No more should I dream of doubting the honesty of his historical convictions than of doubting the honesty of the theological and ecclesiastical convictions of the 'Wee Frees,' who are quite untroubled by mental struggles. No more did I doubt the sincerity of his arguments than the

sincerity of his convictions. Who, for example, can doubt the even passionate sincerity of this [*S.H.R.*, vol. v. p. 6]: 'There is no limit to the crass self-contradictory averments of that crew!' In the *Mystery of Mary Stuart* we behold him in the very throes of his sincere struggles against the sincere, but, as he now admits, wrong, historical prepossessions, which belong to human frailty: as he puts it, it expresses the waverings of his judgment, his balancing of probabilities.

But had this unique book been put forth as a mere psychological revelation it could hardly have produced on many minds the historical effect—the effect against Mary's accusers—that it did; and it ought not to have been dealt with as I endeavoured to deal with it. It is much more than a record of honest doubt. While it expresses very manifest waverings of judgment, etc. it has all the while a very definite, and even remarkable aim. That, as stated in the fourth edition, is to show 'that the methods of her [Mary's] accusers—some of them, if she was guilty, her accomplices—were so clumsy, and so manifestly perfidious, that they all but defeat the object of the prosecution.' Here it will be observed that Mr. Lang slumps all Mary's accusers together—Lennox as well as Maitland, Moray as well as Morton, to name but these—as to be proved 'manifestly perfidious.' In what way could this most effectually be done? In what way could it be done with any effect at all, more particularly in the case of Lennox? By seeking to prove that they either tampered with Letter II. or contemplated the production of a 'Blood-thirsty' Forgery. Be it observed, it was absolutely necessary that, in this matter, the simple-minded Lennox—who ingenuously expressed to Moray on June 11th, 1568, his belief in the genuineness of the Letters—should be deemed as bad as the others, for unless he is so regarded, they cannot be deemed as bad as they are assumed to have been. And by what methods does Mr. Lang seek to establish his strong conclusion? 'My book,' he says, 'expresses tediously the waverings of my judgment, my balancing of probabilities.' If, therefore, certain playful similes of mine, borrowed from the military, the forensic, or other arts, have seemed to Mr. Lang to have been too suggestive—more suggestive than I intended—I can only plead the exceptional difficulty I had in expounding clearly the character of a very exceptional book, a book the plausibility of which depended mainly on a skilful blending of dubious certainties

and uncertain doubts, and its hot denunciation largely on speculation.

Mr. Lang is particularly surprised, and even offended, at my inability to make head or tail of his statement in the Preface to *The Mystery*: 'The author's opinion is now more adverse to the complete authenticity of the Casket Letters than it was, for a variety of reasons which appear in the text.' I observed that, unhappily he refrained from stating (1) how much his adverseness now amounted to, (2) how little it formerly amounted to, and (3) when and where he stated how little it amounted to. In answer to this, he now refers us to a statement in his *History of Scotland* (1901): 'I cannot entertain any certain opinion as to the entire or partial authenticity of the Casket Letters.' Now I cannot entertain any certain opinion as to what that means. It is not even clear whether he is uncertain both about the entire and partial authenticity, or only about the entire authenticity. But he goes on: 'I had in 1904 an additional shade of doubt. Mr. Henderson asks how much my adverseness amounts to, with two other equally sagacious queries. What questions! How can I make the quantitative estimate of a shade? Perhaps I may put it thus. In 1901 I would have laid seven to five; in 1904 I would have laid seven to four against the complete authenticity.' Now, I submit that my 'sagacious queries,' as Mr. Lang jocularly terms them, were quite natural and quite fair; and they are more than justified by his explanation. His first edition of *The Mystery* was published before the second volume of the *History*. If between the publication of the first and fourth editions of *The Mystery* he had discovered 'various reasons' for a more adverse opinion against the Letters, it would have been handier had he stated what they were. If they are in the text, they are not easily discernible. Indeed they could hardly be discernible if they are reasons for such a minute shade of adverseness. If then he deemed it incumbent to make special reference to this additional shade of adverseness, he surely ought to have done so in less imposing terms. He might, for example, have put it thus: 'Though the quantitative estimate of a shade is very difficult to make, the author thinks it proper to state that instead of being, as in the first edition, perhaps seven to five, his opinion is now perhaps seven to four against the complete authenticity of the Casket Letters, for reasons which, slight though they unhappily are and must be, he hopes the reader will appreciate,

after he succeeds in the inevitably difficult task of discovering them, in which he cordially wishes him all success.' Had he informed his readers of the change in his opinions, in terms which would have enabled them to discern its insignificant character, I might have been surprised at his taking the trouble to do so; I should not have been puzzled as to what he meant.

Disregarding details—which in such a matter are all-important—Mr. Lang supplies a kind of bald summary, or indefinite indication of the character of his private refutation of certain isolated points of my argument. I shall here mention the first, returning to the others, after a reference to Mr. Lang's conversion of himself. The first has to do with the mechanical task of forging Letter II. Here Mr. Lang replies by, unhappily, evading the point at issue, and refuting an argument I never advanced. In order to show how astonishingly easy it was to imitate Mary's 'large Italian hand,' he took the trouble to publish certain lithographed forged specimens of her handwriting, which, it so happened—quite undesignedly—were particularly easy to forge. This must have greatly impressed many clever people, who could not tell the real specimens from the forged; and amongst those whom it did immensely impress was Mr. Lang himself, who expressed doubt as to whether, even if the original Casket Letters were discovered, we should be able to tell whether they were forged or not. To remove this impression I showed in detail that the mechanical task of forging Letter II. would be exceptionally difficult, and that therefore Mr. Lang's illustrations, instead of being enlightening, were misleading. Mr. Lang now admits the 'hardness,' but who would suppose, from his manner of doing so, that he had published special illustrations to prove the contrary? More than this; what he mainly conveys is that I had argued that therefore Letter II., if forged, could not at Hampton Court have escaped detection. I did nothing of the kind. What I wrote was that 'so far from there being any presumptive evidence against the genuineness of the Casket Letters, on account of the ease with which Mary's hand could be imitated, the presumption, owing to the peculiar character of Letter II., is all the other way.' I never either said or supposed that it was in itself decisive of the whole matter, or that the whole question turned on the difficulty of the forgery. So far from this, I pointed out that, owing to the overwhelming character

of the other evidence, the question of the ease or difficulty of the forgery might be a minor one; and I, in effect, argued that in this case it was so. Thus if this example, specially selected by himself, be a fair specimen of Mr. Lang's method of meeting my argument 'point by point,' it quite fails to indicate the cogent character of his defunct reply.

As regards Mr. Lang's reference to his solution of the supposed internal difficulties of Letter II. I may state: (1) he exaggerated the difficulties, representing them as impossible, which they could not be, since he said later that they depended on a statement of Paris; (2) his discovery, which he was 'not glad to make,' he had almost no faith in, for it depended on a supposition 'which does not seem probable'; and (3) had he regarded it as a discovery, he ought to have mentioned that it would more particularly prove the genuineness of those portions of the letter specially under dispute; but he did not do so; he used it merely as a balanced probability, and as a contribution to his general balancing of probabilities. Having now, however, convinced himself that the whole of Letter II. is genuine, his former possible, if improbable, solution becomes an unqualified discovery; no 'dim sadness' now attaches to its possibilities, and he is not aware that the discovery had 'previously been made.' May I be excused for expressing the modest opinion that Mr. Lang's earlier estimate of his 'discovery' is, possibly, more correct than his later one. I am unable to convince myself either (1) that it is a correct solution, or (2) that another solution is not possible, or (3) that a likely supposition is not that Paris (whose evidence, by the way, was not before the English commissioners) told a lie, for the absence of Bothwell from Edinburgh best accounts for Mary's lack of an answer, as indicated in Letter I., which properly should be letter II.

But the matters that specially concern Letter II. are no longer points of vital dispute between me and Mr. Lang; for he is now convinced of its complete genuineness. On this point he has 'attained to that certainty in which Mr. Henderson abounds.' He did previously abound in a kind of certainty—the certainty of uncertainty. He now abounds in my kind; but he has not been infected by mine; his is a quite spontaneous outbreak. While, however, it is evident that Mr. Lang has been convinced of his errors by new arguments of his own, I should have liked had he gratified us by giving some inkling

as to the state of the odds, just before, or immediately after, he *tore up his reply*. Had I really produced no impression on him either way? Perhaps he did not himself know; but I infer that he was now so—unconsciously or not—convinced of the unauthenticity, that he, rashly, resolved to dare all hazards, and make a quite different kind of experiment. He tells us that he did not make the comparison between Crawford's statements and Letter II. so carefully before. Why did he not? There must have been a cause; but I see no evidence that he did not. His remarks in *The Mystery* (pp. 253-8) indicate a very minute comparison. He, then, noted as much as he notes now; but he noted it with a quite opposite result. He also, on this point, abounded as much in certainty as he does now. He had very little doubt that Crawford told the truth; and if that were so, he was certain that Letter II. was borrowed from Crawford, or, if not, then the Lords employed in Crawford a deliberately perjured witness, who took his facts stupidly, because verbally, from Letter II. In his converted state he is certain that Letter II. is not borrowed from Crawford, and he is at the same time convinced that in Crawford we have not a deliberately perjured witness. His former impossibilities have become not merely a possibility but a certainty. It seems advisable to press this point, for a special reason. Some may say that it detracts from the value of his new arguments. I do not: on the contrary I think it enhances their value; for the rooting out of old opinions is a very difficult process.

I who, otherwise, had convinced myself that Letter II. is genuine, may, or may not, be biassed in favour of Mr. Lang's special arguments, but I venture to give my opinion on them for what it is worth. I agree that the most cogent of them are the two on which he lays special stress: the one concerning the affair of Cunningham, and the one concerning Darnley's references to the English ship. Those two arguments are put in a very convincing way. But are they, in themselves, absolutely convincing; and are they either the only convincing, or the most convincing arguments in favour of the complete authenticity of Letter II.? I neither think that they are the only convincing, nor the most convincing, nor, in themselves—at least on Mr. Lang's conditions—perfectly convincing. They would be more convincing on my terms, for I think it impossible that Crawford or Lennox, or both, could, *knowingly*, be concerned

in concocting the forgery. But Mr. Lang has to contend with more than a probability of an opposite character; and I, for my part, am not prepared to maintain that the wickedly clever Maitland of Mr. Lang's imagination, could not, with the direct help of Lennox, or Crawford, or both, have done what Mr. Lang now deems impossible. Besides, the soundness or value of that kind of internal evidence which depends not on facts but on opinion, is very difficult to estimate. If the balance of the external evidence seems to be against it, then we cannot be so certain of its soundness; and this was Mr. Lang's case. He now politely appropriates a condensed remark of mine as a true, if undetailed, definition of the combined force of the arguments; but his politeness resembles that of the courteous highwayman: he has not the slightest right to these external arguments: he must earn external arguments for himself!

With some of Mr. Lang's other new arguments—of less moment—I do not quite agree: they are indecisive; they might be used either way. If Crawford's 'original points' do not, as Mr. Lang originally sought to show, almost necessarily point to forgery, they, in themselves, and, apart from other evidence, point rather to forgery than authenticity; and, again, they may be explained, not as Mr. Lang explains them, but simply by the desire of Crawford and Lennox to put Darnley's case in the best possible light. This might even explain the better expression for 'familiar with zow'; but here Mr. Lang has failed to note the stronger internal proof that 'familiar with zow' is a French idiom. Other French idioms, in the Crawford portion of the Letter and not in Crawford, are cited by me in *Casket Letters* (pp. 77-8). Other internal proofs are also referred to there (pp. 76-7). Some do not quite meet the later arguments; one or two are not altogether cogent; but among the majority that are, is, 'other conversations with Darnley in regard even to matters not mentioned by Crawford.'

Mr. Lang is now convinced that *the differences, not the verbal resemblances between Crawford and Letter II., are the important matter*. This is quite in the teeth of his previous conviction. Formerly he elaborated the coincidences: they were the extraordinary thing; now he elaborates the differences: they are the main conclusive matter. But is this not again to be 'pleased too much,' though pleased to quite a different tune? Were they, then, groundless—those old objections on which he and others laid such tremendous stress, those objections which

seemed so fatally to bar the way against the acceptance of Letter II.? Have those verbal coincidences vanished, or have they all but vanished, at the touch of this new alchemy of Mr. Lang? Not at all. They never were quite so extraordinary as it was sought to make out; but they are still, palpably, there; though they can be transformed—not by Mr. Lang’s alchemy, but, as I sought to show, by the alchemy of the Draft Deposition—into one of the strongest proofs of the complete authenticity—a more reliable proof than that now elaborated by Mr. Lang, for it has to do with definite facts, not with mere opinion.

Whether Lennox had lost Crawford’s notes is not a vital question; but I think he had lost them. He had, of course, no notes of Crawford’s conversation with Mary, and none of his conversation with Darnley about his going to Craigmillar. Originally the Deposition (see Appendix C of my *Mary Queen of Scots*) was in three divisions, the middle one being, ‘The words which the King spake unto me at hys departinge for the of Glasco’ (*sic*). Moray’s List of the Papers handed in (Goodall II. 88) does not favour Mr. Lang’s supposition that Lennox preserved his notes. The whole Deposition, originally in three divisions, is referred to as ‘the declaration of Thomas Crawford, alsua spokin by his awin mouth and writtin with his hand’; he is not represented as getting any of it from Lennox. The notes of Lennox, if he had them, ought to have been handed in separately, from the other two declarations of Crawford.

Mr. Lang’s theory about the original autograph text of the notes being retained by the Lords is quite untenable; for only one document is mentioned as handed in, and it must have been that in two divisions. Crawford must have copied the final text as representing what he remembered. Or does Mr. Lang mean actually to suggest that the copy handed in was earlier than the draft (Appendix C)! This impossibility he must mean, if he is to retain belief in his theory.

As for the supposition that Lennox, on June 11th, 1568, should have written for notes which he had already in his possession, Mr. Lang says, ‘it is an error of Mr. Henderson’s.’ Mr. Lang might easily have misunderstood me, but I was here pointing out (*Casket Letters*, p. xxvi) the contradictory character of Mr. Philippon’s hypothesis. The substance of what Lennox wrote is stated by me on p. 85.

My old belief as to Wood not showing the letters to Lennox was a mere probability, and there was not then quite the same evidence available; in the new circumstances I at once recognised the cogency of Mr. Lang's statement, backed up by an additional proof of my own (see Appendix D). But this conclusion is more needful for Mr. Lang than for me. I can afford to do without it; he cannot (see *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 642). And this brings me to the question of the evidence for the 'Blood-thirsty' Forgery.

In 'a not unsportsman-like spirit' Mr. Lang has told us much. But what about the 'Blood-thirsty' Forgery? Why leave us in the dark about this? If he has ceased to believe in its possibility, why not say so? If he still thinks it possible, why not say so? Or if he be merely wishful to show that *I* did not dispose of its possibility, why not say so? Its existence cannot now affect the authenticity of Letter II., but then how does the authenticity of Letter II. affect this startling creation of Mr. Lang's historic fancy? Is he still consoled by this fond day-dream? Or does it now live only in his memory, and is he merely wishful to excuse himself for ever having entertained it? This, for whatever reasons, he leaves us to discover.

Only the possibility of this theory stood—placed there by Mr. Lang—between the acceptance of the full authenticity of Letter II. Wherever it now is, it does not stand there; but for Mr. Lang, the possibility is, whatever he may think, in a sense—if not absolutely—as important as ever; for without it he can hardly but admit the general cogency of my argument. This argument, he says, was 'long and intricate'; but it was so, simply because it had to pursue the intricate windings of his own 'waverings': or, as it might be otherwise put, I had to expose the trail of his red herring. The question, in itself, is a simple one; it seemed not to be so, merely because, in the course of his 'waverings,' Mr. Lang had amassed a large collection of what he supposed were probabilities. These I sought to show were impossibilities; and I further maintained that when massed together they formed a towering pyramid which no human intellect could scale. To all this Mr. Lang now affirms he replied in his 'draft for this article.' He tells us only vaguely how he did it, but so far as I can gather, it was by putting all the accusers of Mary into one boat, and—after adding to them the Lords of the Articles, the members of the Scottish Parliament, and a large percentage of the Scottish

public—shipping them off, figuratively, to Botany Bay, whereas their destination, clearly, ought to have been a quite different sort of settlement.

My impression from this strange procedure of Mr. Lang, as well as from his deeds of derring-do in behalf of an imaginary 'First Indictment,' is that he has still a strong trust in the theory of the 'Blood-thirsty' Forgery; but 'you never can tell'—until you are told by Mr. Lang. That my change in the heading of the document caused him alarm I deeply regret, but in the case of history it is not quite safe to imitate the habit of the too sentimentally-curious lady novel-reader. As he very soon discovered—when he took the proper means to do so—I had no intention of seeking to convince by a mere heading. I was, in fact, only giving Mr. Lang 'tit for tat.' He was absolutely convinced—he said it could 'easily be proved'—that the document was prepared for an English Court of Justice; and, because there could be no English Court of Justice before Lennox saw Wood, he was absolutely confident that it was prepared after that event. His whole argument depended, and depends, upon his heading this document, 'The First Indictment.' Part of my reply was to point out that a Bill of Supplication against Mary was presented by Lennox and his wife shortly after Mary's arrival in England, and that this disposed of Mr. Lang's argument that the document could not have been prepared before Lennox saw Wood. Since also, as I showed, his theory was self-contradictory, he was, on his own terms, bound to accept my conclusion; but, nevertheless, absolute confidence in the Supplication theory was not so necessary to me as absolute confidence in the Indictment theory was to him.

Mr. Lang now affirms: 'Nothing [than my argument] could be of less consequence' to his argument. Could, then, the document not have been a draft for the Bill of Supplication? 'No,' says Mr. Lang: 'It is not a Bill of Supplication, there is no such document in the Lennox MSS.' Is it then the First Indictment? 'No,' I might reply: 'There is no such document in the Lennox MSS.' But, says Mr. Lang, the document 'is a bungling, self-contradictory, and perhaps mutilated history of the relations between Mary and Darnley:' therefore it could not have been a draft for the Bill of Supplication; it must have been prepared for an English Court of Justice! 'I insist,' so, in effect, he addresses the poor document, 'I insist that you are, or ought to be, an indictment, prepared for an

English Court of Justice after your stupid and crassly self-contradictory author saw Wood.' But though, figuratively, he proceeds to shake and belabour and abuse it, and to twist it this way and that, the stubborn, wicked thing refuses to be what it is not.

Mr. Lang now admits a 'confusion' of his in regard to this document, and vaguely attributes the confusion to a vague remembrance of an 'earlier document' [actually another 'Indictment'!] not now to be found. But there are no signs in *The Mystery* (pp. 182-190) that this was the character of his 'confusion'; and my exposure of the 'confusion'—that is contradiction—did not depend upon his having imagined the existence of another document (see *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 645). It is as applicable to what he affirms of this document now, as it is to what he affirmed then.

Affirming that Lennox must have known the confessions of Powrie, Tala and Bowton, Mr. Lang's comment is: 'There is no limit to the crass self-contradictory averments of that crew!' 'That crew' must here be supposed to be self-contradictory in order to save Mr. Lang from being proved to be so; but there is not a shadow of evidence that Lennox knew of these confessions before he saw Wood. The presumption is the other way. After Moray accepted the regency, Lennox ceased to have official connection with Scotland; and not only so: since Moray and his associates did not wish to bring Mary to trial in Scotland, they would avoid sending evidence of her guilt to Lennox. The self-contradiction is thus merely a creation of Mr. Lang's imagination: the absence from the document of information in these confessions only proves that the document cannot be what Mr. Lang supposes it to be.

Further, Mr. Lang affirms that this document is 'rich in reports and sayings derived from Mary's servants.' *It is not* (see *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 658-9). Most of Mr. Lang's supposed 'servants' reports must have been merely those of Darnley. Even that about what was said at Jedburgh might have been Darnley's; and in any case, since it was 'openly spoken,' Lennox could very well have heard of it before he left Scotland.

Finally, Mr. Lang says: 'We even possess a document from Scotland containing some answers to Lennox's requests for servants' reports,' and after giving samples he concludes with the categorical assertion: 'So Oo. 7. 47. f. 17. b is subsequent to

June 11, when he asked for the reports.' Now it may be asked, are any of the 'answers,' which this paper contains, embodied in the 'First Indictment?' *None whatever.* This I can vouch for, as I possess a copy of the paper: and therefore the paper tends not to establish Mr. Lang's conclusion, but an exactly opposite one; it tends to show that the 'document' was prepared *before*, not *after* Lennox received the 'paper.'

Lately it has been not unusual to belittle the Casket Letter controversy as a mere side issue—as concerned rather with an antiquarian puzzle than a vital historical problem. Even Professor Hume Brown, in his *History of Scotland* (II. 131), expresses himself thus: 'Whether Mary wrote the Casket Letters, therefore, can hardly be considered a historical question.' On the contrary, is there a question more vitally historical, so far, at least, as history has to do with historic personalities? More than this: is there in the Scottish history of the sixteenth century a much more momentous event than that lucky, or unlucky, find in the squalid garret of the Potterrow? The artificial mists of dubiety that, in the course of centuries, gradually gathered round the authenticity of the Letters, have prevented many from realizing the enormous political effect produced not in Scotland merely, but in Europe, by their discovery. Whatever the doubts of the pamphleteers, who were not behind the scenes, we may be sure that in the sixteenth century, no doubt of their authenticity was entertained by the chief European politicians—including even the Pope himself. The Guises evidently had none, nor the French sovereign and ministers, nor Elizabeth and Cecil, nor Mary's accusers, nor her defenders, nor herself. The discovery broke for a time Mary's own spirit; it paralysed the efforts of her friends both in Scotland and abroad; it was a very Godsend to her enemies; it tied the political hands of France; it immensely strengthened the hands of Elizabeth; it foiled the policy of Rome; it gave a new impetus to the Scottish Reformation; it remained a suspended sword over Mary's own head; it induced her to consent to her own deposition; it practically sealed her fate both in Scotland and England.

But here I confine myself to the bearing of the question on the conduct of her accusers. Professor Hume Brown is, for example, persuaded of the truly brotherly conduct of Moray towards his sister. But this, whether otherwise maintainable or not, cannot be maintained so long as there rests on him the dark shadow of a possible connection with such a base political

forgery against her. Again, to the late Sir John Skelton belongs, so I humbly think, the credit of being the first adequately to appreciate the character, abilities and motives of Maitland; but this spirited attempt to draw a consistent portrait of that notable man ended in lamentable failure, because of Sir John's belief in the forgery of the Letters. Mr. Lang again, unlike the two historians now mentioned, has not failed to recognise the vital bearing of the question on the character of Mary's accusers. To give a semblance of credibility to his theories, he had to depict the Maitland of Sir John Skelton's admiration as perhaps the meanest political villain in all history. Is he still of opinion that Maitland—for the one forgery, if not for the other—was the object of Mary's direst hate? Or what now is his opinion of Maitland? To render sufficiently plausible his version of the tragedy, he had to crowd his piece with villains, to jumble their motives together, and to double-dye them in hues too deeply and monotonously dark. Should he get quit of his remaining theory, he may be able to discover that some of the supposed villains—as Lennox and Maitland—were, in their conduct towards Mary, no villains at all, and that none of the others were quite so black as he has sought to paint them.

T. F. HENDERSON.

[The Editor has received the following note from Mr. Andrew Lang: 'I have to thank Mr. Henderson for his assurance that he did not doubt "the sincerity of my historical convictions." I quoted, in my recent article, those passages of his which, to myself, appeared to impeach my honesty; to attribute to me the purpose of misleading my readers. To reply in detail to Mr. Henderson's long paper would demand more space than I like to ask from "The Scottish Historical Review."'

Ed. S.H.R.]

The Market Cross of Aberdeen

THE market cross of Aberdeen, the finest and best preserved of all the seventeenth century market crosses of Scotland, occupies a site in the Castlegate of the city on which a market cross has stood since, at least, the days of Robert the Bruce. Like other towns—Elgin, for example, at the present day—Aberdeen once had two crosses. One was the ‘fish cross,’ in the east end of the Castlegate, round which the fisher folk displayed their wares until the removal of the fish cross in 1742. The other, situated at the western end of the spacious market place, was known as the ‘flesh cross,’ from the circumstance that the booths of fleshers stood near it for many years in times when flesh meat was allowed to be sold on only certain days of the week.

The present market cross dates from the year 1686. About the previous crosses very little is known with certainty, apart from the fact that at the Reformation the ‘crucifix’ on the market cross of Aberdeen was so much a stone of offence to the zealous Reformers that they ‘dang it down,’ as they did also the sacred symbol on the market cross of Old Aberdeen. But while little is known of those earlier crosses themselves, we know them as the centre of many notable events in local and national history.

The celebrations most familiarly associated with our earlier market crosses were the rejoicings on the occasions of a royal visit, royal birthdays, coronations, and such like. We are often told how, on such occasions, as William Dunbar tells of a visit of Queen Margaret to Aberdeen in 1511, that

‘The Croce abundantlie ran wyne.’

It was a form of celebration that subsisted for a very long period of time, and it is curious that when the present cross of Aberdeen was moved from its former to its present site in 1842, a pipe was found running up the centre column, from

which it was supposed wine flowed on some occasions of the kind.

The supply of wine, however, that ran on such occasions was not quite so plentiful as is popularly supposed. No doubt, at the coronation of Charles II., when the whole country made extravagantly merry, no less than 'twa punsheoners of wyne, with spycerie in great abundance,' was dealt out at the market cross of Aberdeen. But that seems to have been exceptional. On the birth of a prince to James VI., the amount of wine distributed at the cross was five gallons, and when a royal Duke was made a burghess of the town in 1594, the only expense incurred was £4 Scots 'for a galon of wyne spent at the croce.' It was often the case that only a very limited number of persons partook of the wine that flowed at the market cross. Thus, amid the great popular rejoicings that took place in Aberdeen at the absolving of the Earls of Huntly and Errol, after their rebellion in 1595, only eighteen persons drank of the wine at the market cross, who followed the practice, still indulged in sometimes, of breaking their glasses when they had finished.

The market cross, as the centre of burghal life, was naturally often the scene of punishments when it was desired to make a public example of any specially gross offender, or any specially heinous offence. In 1563 two Flemings were ordered by the Magistrates of Aberdeen to be taken to the market cross and have their right hands struck off, for cutting the cable of a ship in the harbour and stealing the 'cutt'; but the punishment was remitted by the Town Council on the culprits appearing at the cross and bringing the cut cable with them, and by holding up their right hand and giving praise to God and thanks to the Council for the favour that had been shown them.

Twenty years later, two persons convicted of adultery were sentenced to be bound and exposed at the market cross for three hours, thereafter to be burned with a hot iron on the cheeks and banished from the town. In 1617 a person was pilloried at the cross and banished from the town for insulting one of the baillies; and in 1640 a female, for unbecoming behaviour, was sentenced to be scourged at the cross, to be drawn in a cart through the streets, bearing a paper crown on her head, the bellman going before proclaiming her offence, and her banishment from the town.

Proclamation at the market cross was at one time held to

be an essential element in the promulgation of a new law. Indeed, we find the Scots Parliament in 1581 solemnly discussing the question of how far the public were bound to observe Acts of Parliament unless they had been proclaimed at the market crosses of the chief burghs throughout the country. And in order to remove all doubt, an Act was passed that in future all statutes should be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh only, which publication was held to be 'als valiabill and sufficient' as if the publication had been made at the market crosses of all the shires within the realm.

Notwithstanding this Act of 1581, practically all national proclamations continued to be made at the market cross of Aberdeen—and in the other larger towns as well. One of the most singular was made only two years afterwards, 1583, when the national authorities were taking alarm at the use being made of the new printing press for the issue of anonymous political squibs in the form of ballads and other publications. Proclamation was made of an Act of the Privy Council that 'Na prenter sall presume or tak upoun hand to prent any buikis, ballettis, sangis, rymes, or tragedeis, ather in Latine or Inglis tounge, unto the tyme the same be sene, vewit, and examinat be wise and discreit personis depute thairto.'

One of the earliest proclamations of which there is a record in Aberdeen has some resemblance to the Act anent undesirable aliens of a few years ago. It was in 1348, and embodied an Act of Parliament then passed prohibiting Flemings—mariners excepted—from resorting to Scotch towns for business purposes and so depriving Scotch merchants of legitimate trade in Flanders. The original proclamation is one of numerous ancient documents still preserved in the charter room of the Aberdeen Town House, with its seal in white wax still entire.

Before the old cross of Aberdeen was removed, a very interesting and solemn ceremony took place there, which recalled the exploits of the great Montrose. The execution of Montrose took place at the market cross of Edinburgh on 21st May, 1650. He was captured in the end of April, and was ordered by the Estates to be hanged at the cross. Says a contemporary record: 'This sentence wes punctuallie execute upon him at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh upon Tysday, the 21st day of May, 1650, and he hangit upon ane high gallows, maid for the view of the pepill more than ordinar, with his buikis and declarationnis bund upon his bak. He

hang full thrie houris; thaireftir cut doun, falling upon his face, nane to continance him bot the executioner and his men. His heid, twa leggis, and twa airmes tane frae his body with ane aix, and sent away and affixit at the places appoyntit thairfoir, his body cassin in to ane lytill schoirt kist, and takin to the burrow muir of Edinburgh, and bureyed thair amang malefactouris. His heid was spiket on the 'Tolbooth.'

About a dozen years after Montrose's death, his son and successor petitioned the Town Council of Aberdeen—as of other places where the Marquis's limbs had been exhibited—to restore for decent interment one of the dismembered limbs of the Marquis, which had been exposed on the Justice Port of the town and afterwards buried in St. Nicholas Churchyard. The Council agreed not only to restore the dismembered limb, but to make some measure of public atonement in the doing of it. Accordingly, guns belonging to the town were brought up to the market cross, and were discharged while a procession of the Town Council and inhabitants of Aberdeen, carrying the recovered limb in a coffin, marched from St. Nicholas Church to the Town House, where the remains lay in semi-state till arrangements were made for their transport to Edinburgh for interment in Holyrood. The town suffered much from Montrose both when he was a Covenanter and when he became a Royalist, but by 1661 popular opinion had given him that martyr's crown which has remained with him ever since.

It was shortly after this, in 1664, that the Town Council of Aberdeen felt the necessity of providing a more imposing market cross. 'Taking to consideratioun,' says the register of their proceedings, 'that notwithstanding this burgh is ane of the most antient royall burghs of this kingdome, the mercat croce thairof, which should be ane ornament thairin is farr inferior to many meaner burghs; therfor ordanes the dean of gild to caus mak up the mercat croce of the said burgh in the west end of the Castellgait with hewin and cut stanes, according to the stane and forme of the mercat croce of the burgh of Edinburgh, and to caus bring home stanes, and to do everie thing thair anent.'

The new cross was not actually begun till 1686, but in that year John Montgomery, of the rural Aberdeenshire parish of Old Rayne, who had, however, formerly been a prominent member of the mason craft in the burgh, contracted with the

Council to provide this fine new cross for the sum of £100 sterling, with £7 14s. additional for the making of a wooden model. It was to be strictly according to the design of the then existing market cross of Edinburgh, 'with chops underneath.'

The only cross that can now compare with the market cross of Aberdeen is the cross of Preston, Haddingtonshire—a county rich in interesting market crosses; but although Preston cross is sixty years older, having been erected in 1617, it lacks the grace of the Aberdeen cross, with its open arcade, and the latter is unique in having sculptured on its octagonal sides, above the arches, portraits of Scottish monarchs, with the royal arms and the arms of the city. From an architectural point of view the cross is not pure, but reflects the mingling of the 'styles' that went on all over the country in the Jacobean period.

Like the Preston cross, as also the ancient and long since demolished market crosses of Edinburgh, Dundee, and Perth, the cross of Aberdeen was built of solid masonry underneath the arches, and 'chops' were located there (it once accommodated the Aberdeen Post Office), from which a needy Town Council drew a modest revenue for a century and a half. In 1842, as already stated, the cross was removed to a more eastward site on the Castlegate, and on its being rebuilt on its present site the arches were left open, and the graceful appearance of the structure was thereby very much enhanced.

This was, it may be said, the second rebuilding of the cross. In 1821 the Magistrates ordered it to be thoroughly cleaned and repaired. After operations were begun, it was found necessary to take down the whole structure, and re-erect it from the foundation. Although great care was taken, the beautifully floriated Corinthian column which rises from the centre of it unfortunately fell, and was broken in three parts. It still stands, however, and the careful mending of 1821 is easily discernible. At that time a singular discovery was made in regard to the unicorn which surmounts the central column. When the cleaning operations began the whole structure was black with the grime of years, and seemed to be made entirely of sandstone, as had been agreed upon, but as the cleaning went on the unicorn began to assume a whitish tint, and it was then found that it was made of pure white statuary marble.

We have already noted some of the punishments that were inflicted at the market cross. The most curious episode of this kind is said to have taken place soon after the new cross of 1686 was erected. It is told of Peter Gibb, father of James Gibb (or Gibbs, as he came to be called), the noted Aberdeen architect, designer of the Churches of St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; the Senate House, Cambridge; Radcliffe Library, Oxford, and other well-known buildings, that, being a Roman Catholic, and something of a wag, he wished to cast some ridicule on his Protestant fellow-townsmen, and so named one of his two terriers Calvin, and the other Luther. The Magistrates are said to have publicly reproved him, and sagaciously ordered the two dogs to be hanged at the market cross.

The public records of Aberdeen contain no reference to this, but they do make mention of an incident which happened at the market cross in 1745. When the Jacobites possessed themselves of Aberdeen in that year, they obtained the keys of the market cross, from which they proclaimed Charles Edward king. Meantime, a party of them had seized Provost Morison, whom they dragged to the cross, but they completely failed to make him drink the health of the new sovereign, and had to be satisfied with pouring the wine down his breast. From the resistance he made, Provost Morison—who was the father of Dr. James Morison, originator of the Strathpeffer Spa—was afterwards known as 'Provost Positive.'

The Aberdeen market cross narrowly escaped complete destruction in the early years of last century, when many, even of the leading citizens, looked upon it merely as an obstruction on the street. Fortunately, it was saved. It is now cherished as perhaps the most interesting of the older structures in the whole neighbourhood. Within the last few months, by order of the Magistrates and Town Council, it has undergone a process of repair and cleaning, and the milk-white unicorn once more keeps guard over the grim portraits of the Scottish kings.

G. M. FRASER.

Henry Ker of Graden

HENRY KER of Graden,¹ perhaps the most picturesque, if one of the least known, figures in the '45, came of a warlike stock. In Border annals the Graden-Kers play, as moss troopers, an important part, and the site of their moated keep is still pointed out at the upper end of the parish of Linton in Teviotdale. Owing to the destruction of their early muniments by the English, let alone the sasines 'lacerate and destroyed by rats,' and the confusion arising from the existence of another Graden in the Merse, also 'owning the rule of Ker,' the family history is hard to unroll; still, enough is known to establish their tenure of lands and a Tower in Teviotdale prior to the Reformation.

In later days, the family politics were strongly Cavalier. Thus, when Montrose was on Tweedside, in the autumn of 1645, we find Andrew Ker of Graden closeted with the Marquis at Kelso, and carrying despatches about the country. After Philiphaugh, he and his retainers turned their nags' heads for Graden Peel, and seven Sundays, in sackcloth, at the door of his Parish Church was the penalty Andrew Ker paid for 'correspondence with excommunicate James Graham.'² In the summer of 1648, Ker of Graden joined the army of the Engagement, under Hamilton, crossing the Border as 'Lieutenant Colonell to an English Regiment of Horse.' Along with him rode his two sons, 'Captain Harrie' and 'Coronet Andrew.' Thirty years later 'Captain Harrie' reappears, a Justice of the Peace for Teviotdale busy suppressing conventicles. In short, what with English marriages, disputed rights of sepulture, and qualms of conscience about taking the

¹In addition to Church records, private papers, and the MS. Collections at the Public Record Office and British Museum, the writer is mainly indebted to the Graden Forfeited Estate Papers, preserved at the Edinburgh Register House.

²Kelso Presb. Reg.

Covenant, the family during many generations had 'murdered sleep' for the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Towards the dawn of the eighteenth century, they settled down into prosaic law-abiding husbandmen, financially somewhat out at elbows. Under a wadset, Pringle of Crichton claimed the oldest corner of their estate in 1688, when the family settled across the valley at Wester-Hoselaw, which they renamed Place-Graden,¹ and here, about the year 1698 apparently, Henry Ker the Jacobite first saw the sun.

'Born,' to use his own words,² 'in the shire of Teviotdale in Scotland,' and having 'had the misfortune to lose his father,' Archibald Ker of Graden, while still a child, Henry was reared under the guardianship of his mother Helenor, a daughter of Sir James St. Clair of Roslin, who 'brought him up a Roman Catholick, and sent him early into the Spanish Service.'

That Lady Graden should select the Spanish army for her son was natural enough, since she had kinsmen in that service, while her youngest brother, Thomas St. Clair, went shortly after to live in the Peninsula, where he had come in for a windfall of doubloons on 'the death of his brother-in-law, Captain Wachup.'³ Thomas St. Clair was a 'St. Germain's bird' and as a Jacobite go-between unequalled. Lockhart of Carnwath commends him, in that capacity, to the old Chevalier at Avignon, as 'the cliverest fellow in Europe. . . . He knows all the ports in most countries, he has wayes peculiar to himself (of which he gave good proofs at Perth, 1715) in going about such errands; he's zealouslie honest and as closs as a stone.'⁴

Oddly enough the name of Ker, about this period, in Spanish diplomatic circles, was almost a household word. In

¹ New, or Place-Graden, had been in the possession of the family since 1528 when Hugh Lord Somerville granted the lands of Wester-Hoselaw, formerly belonging to Mark Ker of Dolphinston, to Andrew Ker of Graden, by charter, the duty being two white roses at the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John-Baptist, if asked.

² S. P. Dom., Geo. II. 86.

³ According to Father Hay, Helenor St. Clair was born on 15th March, 1670, but he is at fault in describing her as 'Lady Gredane in the Mers.' Thomas St. Clair, born 4th March, 1676, married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Wauchope, a brother of Niddrie, vid. *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*, p. 165.

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 390.

the cypher correspondence of Ormond and Cardinal Alberoni for instance, 'Ker's House' spelt Spain, while 'Mr. and Mrs. Ker' were cant names for the King and Queen.

As regards Henry Ker's fifteen years' sojourn in the Peninsula, 'ever since 1722, when a little above twenty years of age, he had been a Captain in the Service of the Crown of Spain. First, in the Regiment of Limerick, as appears from the Register with Counto Doria, Principal of Valentia, and afterwards by order of Don Lucas de Espinola, Director-General of Foot, he was removed in 1728 to the Regiment of Irlanda.'¹ This latter Regiment was founded by Philip III. for those Irish Catholics who emigrated to Spain after the suppression of Tyrone's Rebellion, and a glance at its muster-roll reveals the fact that Henry Ker must already have made the acquaintance of Stapleton, and others, who afterwards served with him in Scotland. On quitting the Spanish Service, Henry Ker came home to till his patrimonial acres in Teviotdale, and in 1738, as 'grandnephew and heir of line to the last Lord Rutherford,'² he appears in an action for reduction before the Court of Session at Edinburgh. 'Soldiers in peace,' says Herbert, 'are like chimneys in summer,' but, as landlord and country gentleman, Henry Ker found ample vent for his energies, and took an active interest in parochial affairs. Years before, possibly to launch him in life and purchase his first uniform, Walter Douglas, the then parish clergyman, had lent Henry Ker £700 on bond, and in the summer before the 'rising' we find the laird of Graden presiding over a conclave of heritors deep in school fees, pauper doles, and the recovery of two years' stipend, which it was alleged, apparently without foundation, had been annexed by Lord Haining, the patron.

When, and where, Henry Ker joined the Highland army is uncertain. He first comes into view 'two or three miles to the westward of Edinburgh,' the night before the Jacobite entry, 'wearing a white cockade, a broadsword by his side, and a pair of pistols before him as he rode.' Home's³

¹ Henry Ker's Memorial and Petition, docketed 4th Oct., 1746.

² Through the marriage of his grandfather, Henry Ker of Graden, with Lillas, sister of Robert, 4th Lord Rutherford. The marriage contract is dated at Holyrood House, 1. December, 1666. This Henry was no doubt the '*Laird Gredden-Kar*,' who appears as a Juror at the trial of Argyll in December, 1681. vid. *The Scotch Mist Cleared Up*.

³ *History of Rebellion*, p. 111.

description of Ker of Graden reconnoitring in the meadows below Tranent, on the eve of Prestonpans, is valuable, as the work of an eye-witness: 'He came down from the Highland Army, alone; he was mounted upon a little white poney; and with the greatest deliberation rode between the two armies, looking at the ground on each hand of him. Several shot were fired at him as he went along; when he came to a dry stone dyke that was in his way, he dismounted, and, pulling down a piece of the dyke, led his horse over it. He then returned to Lord George Murray and assured him that it was impossible to get through the morass, and attack the enemy in front, without receiving several fires.'

In England, Henry Ker's most notable exploit was the capture, at a village tavern in Staffordshire, of Captain Weir, Cumberland's 'Principal Spy.' Nominally Colonel Ker's post was that of Aide-de-Camp, and, 'whenever there was a halt anywhere,' he was 'always waiting at the Prince's quarters for orders'; but he played many parts, and had the reputation of being the 'most vigilant and active man in the rebel army.' So active was he, indeed, that his movements are hard to follow. But, whether raising a redoubt on the quay at Alloa, paying his cess to the 'Chevally's Collector' at Jedburgh, scouting towards Wooler to amuse the enemy while the Prince lay at a house belonging to Sunlaws in Kelso, attending to the comfort of the men on march, riding through the fields at Clifton under fire, 'as if it had been a review,' in the drawing-room at Holyrood House or at Culloden, with his sword drawn, 'endeavouring to rally the rebels after they began to run away,'—his services to the expedition were many and varied. O'Sullivan bore the title, but to all practical intents Ker of Graden did the work of Quarter-master-General in the '45.

Schooled as a tactician in one of the first armies of Europe, he had evidently little patience with the clansmen's guerilla mode of warfare. The contempt of the old regular for the militiaman, mingled perhaps with a touch of the racial disdain of the Lowlander for the Celt, leaks out at times, and on one occasion gave umbrage to Lochgarry: 'As to Mr. Ker's writing on this subject he must be but ignorant concerning our clans so I cant see what he can say on that head. . . . All I know about him is that he is very brave,' and Lochgarry adds that 'if the whole aid du camps had minded their

duty on the day o' Falkirk' (as Ker did) 'the affair would have been otherwise.'¹

Throughout the expedition Henry Ker was 'much in the company of Lord George Murray,' who counted him 'an excellent officer,' and, when blows were imminent, he was almost invariably sent on ahead to reconnoitre, and 'choose the properest ground to come to action.' At Drummossie, his opinion was, we know, overruled, for Lord George quotes Henry Ker as voting with himself against 'the plain muir,' and in favour of the rough ground across the Nairn, which Ker and Brigadier Stapleton had just examined. Only to gratify the Irish party, 'too unhardy to enjoy a hill warfare,' Culloden Moor was chosen.

After attending the fruitless rendezvous at Ruthven in Badenoch, Henry Ker set his face for the Braes of Angus. Three weeks later he was taken, by a party of the King's troops, near Forfar, and lodged in Perth Tolbooth. Here he found a hundred and thirty Jacobite prisoners; among others, Lady Strathallan, Stormonth of Pitscandle, Sir James Kinloch and his two brothers. The following account of his examination before Sheriff Miller on the 6th of May we found in a small green chest, full of Jacobite and other papers, preserved in the Municipal Archives at Perth: 'Examined if, or not, he did bear arms in the Pretender's eldest son's army, Mr. Ker answered that he refuses everything. The Sheriff having askt him if he is a Protestant, he answered in the negative and says he is Roman Catholick or Popish. Then the Sheriff required Mr. Ker to subscribe what is above written which he refused to do, and what passed between the Sheriff and him is in open court, in presence of several gentlemen of honour.'

Transported to Inverness in the end of May, Henry Ker along with many others was put aboard a Government tender bound for the Thames. If one may credit the accounts² given in Jacobite Memoirs, the treatment of the captives, during their three weeks' voyage, was worthy a slave dhow in the Middle Passage, and official reports survive to prove the Government vessels 'very unhealthy, and the prisoners very sickly.' On Saturday, the 21st June, the ships came up the river. Landed doubtless at the cluster of quays beneath Old London Bridge, Henry Ker and his companions were marched,

¹ *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, Scottish History Society, p. 126.

² *Vid. Lyon in Mourning*, Scottish History Society, iii. 157.

through a scowling and curious mob, to the New Gaol, Southwark. This building, in which he spent the next two years, although styled by courtesy the New Gaol, was in reality one of the oldest¹ in London.

A hold of debtors and felons, what with 'dirt, vermin, and Gaol fever,' the Scots officers must have found it a sorry residence. Thirty years later, when Howard² visited the place, he found 'no chapel, no infirmary, when sick felons lay on the floor, no bedding, not even straw,' while the prison fare, apart from Nell Gwynn's loaves, consisted of 'three ha'porth of bread a day.' Granted 'pen, ink and paper to draw Petitions,' Henry Ker's first care was to send the following letter³ to 'Mr. William Ker, writer and town clerk of Kelso.'⁴ The forerunner of many similar epistles, duly docketed by the receiver, 'Gradon calling for'—money:

'Southwark, New Gaol ye 24th. of June 1746. Dr Sir, as I have the misfortune to be involved in the almost general calamity. Money is a thing absolutely necessary here, for which pray send me twenty pound with all diligence. I doe not doubt but creditors have done all for their own security. I presume that they can have no access till affairs be decided here, so that I think that I have access to the current rents which you'll apply no other way but to the support of my sister (who I hope you will not let want) and myself. As I have had a violent fever, my head is very confus'd but

¹The White Lion Prison, or New Gaol, which stood hard by the Old Marshalsea, immortalised in *Little Dorrit*, originally formed part of the religious house of S. Mary Overies, annexed by Henry VIII. It was pulled down in 1879.

²*State of the Prisons*, p. 233.

³Forfeited Estate Papers, Edinburgh Register House.

⁴From an old Diet Book it appears that William Ker was Clerk to the Duke of Roxburghe's Baron Baillie Court. In August, 1745, he became Clerk to the Justices of the Peace for Roxburghshire. In that capacity he writes to the Lord Justice Clerk: 'Kelso. 10 o'clock before noone . . . a party of 40 rebels arrived here last night. Six Highlanders arrived this morning with an order from Kilmarnock. . . . We are all here in utmost confusion.' Kilmarnock's letter is dated, at Blackbaronney, 3rd Nov., 1745, and orders the Provost to 'provide billets and provisions for 4000 men, and 1000 horse, tomorrow night. This you are to do at your peril.' William Ker, it may be noted, was still alive in Sir Walter's youth, and may well have furnished him with the prototype of 'Provost Crosbie' in *Redgauntlet*, as his Quaker neighbours, the Waldies of Henderside, undoubtedly suggested 'Joshua Geddes of Mount Sharon.' Vid. Sc. S. P. Geo. II. and Lockhart's *Life*, i. 118.

hope in my next to be more distinct. . . . P.S.—Andrew Moir will give you his brother's address here, to whose care you'll please direct to me. Adieu. H. K.'

The address given was that of 'Mr. Wm. Moor, attourney at law near Wapping Church.' This Wapping attorney, not improbably the 'council' who defended Graden at his trial, was a Scotsman, and brother of Andrew Moir of Otterburn in Teviotdale, who had 'married a daughter of the family of Graden.' Mrs. Jean Ker, the sister referred to in this letter, had been reduced to penury by the 'rising.' From her place of retirement in Edinburgh, on 19th February, she thus writes:¹

'To Mr. Wilam Ker, Clark in Kelsay. Sir, I received yours yesterday with the 5 pound for which I am veray much obleged to you for I thought to have sen my brother bifor this team. I heard last wick that he was well. As for what pepars you want, send me word, and you shall heve them, for my brother order me to give you what pepars you cal'd for. I wish you were in toun and you would tak eany you heave ockeson for. They are just now out of the hous, for my hous at present is not safe for them. The Puris² pays to mi 2 ston of buter and 2 ges. The ges I got, not the buter. They sent me some.'

'Sundry witnesses' from Graden had been 'called to London about the tryal,' and on 26th June, Henry Ker made his first appearance in the Court House on St. Margaret's Hill. At the final trial on 6th November he rested his defence solely on the fact that he was a Spanish officer, and 'Spain being at war with England he could not be guilty of treason in obeying his master, whom he served.' But 'offering no evidence that he was born out of the Kingdom, or pretending that he was so,' his commission moreover having been 'lost, with great part of his baggage, at the battle of Culloden,'³ the court would not admit this evidence; and having no other, he was found guilty, and condemned to die, on 28th November. The actual death warrant lies before us, a sufficiently gruesome document. Happily, however, Henry Ker

¹ Forfeited Estate Papers, Edinburgh Register House.

² George and William Purves were tenants of Place-Graden, and their rent was payable partly in kind, viz. '2 stone of cows butter on 1 November, and 2 fatt geese at Christmas.'

³ S. P. Dom., Geo. II. 92.

had powerful friends. 'Don Pedro de la Mare, his Catholick Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague,' had already been 'ordered to signifie to the Court of London,' through Mr. Trevor, the British Ambassador, that 'Henry Ker was a Spanish Officer, and hoped he would be treated as a prisoner of war.'

Early in summer the Duke of Roxburghe had written, begging a pardon for Henry Ker, whom he describes as 'a gentleman related to my family.'¹ Fortunately also the case of James Hay, a French officer, reprieved at Carlisle, could be quoted as a legal precedent, with the result that three days before the date of execution a reprieve for two months was granted, and, after some delay, a pardon. The pardon, however, was 'stopped at the Privy Seal,' and Henry Ker lingered on in gaol. No doubt one fruit of that winter in Southwark was 'Colonel Ker of Gradyne, his Account'² of Culloden. Better at his sword than his pen, writing in the third person, and occupying himself mainly with military details, the personal note is rarely struck; hence 'Gradyne's Account' may appear to the modern mind rather a dull document. By his own generation, however, it was eagerly devoured. It crept north to Edinburgh. Bishop Keith had a copy, and, down in the Canongate, we find elect dames like the Countess of Dundonald and Lady Mary Cochrane poring over its pages in their closets.

Many letters passed that winter betwixt Henry Ker and the town clerk of Kelso, who kept him in touch with his tenantry. Thus, on 31st January, 1747, the prisoner sends minute instructions regarding the renewal of a lease: 'If you have not Laidlaw's tack desire my sister to send it you, and in writeing the new one take care to insert the clause about the houses which, in compairing his copy and mine, you'll find was overlook'd, in one of them, in the transcribeing.'

Laidlaw was an ancient tenant who for fifty-three years had occupied the now vanished holding of Hoselaw-hill. 'During which time' (so he tells the Barons of Exchequer) 'he had endeavoured to maintain a good character in the worst of times, and remained unshaken in his duty and allegiance to the Government.' Regular in paying his rent to 'Graden

¹The Duke's letter is unaddressed. It is dated from 'Braywick, July 19, 1746.' Vid. Brit. Mus. Add. MS., No. 32707, f. 435.

²Vid. *Lyon in Mourning*, *Scottish History Society*, i. 355.

himself,' as appears from a book of receipts, commencing in 1725, he was slow to swell the Hanoverian Exchequer. After the Forfeiture, it is evident that Graden's old tenants did not take kindly to the new regime, although William Ramsay of Templehall, the Crown Factor, at his first coming, laid out some Government gold, in '*recommending their new master.*' After much bickering and some litigation, several were 'thrust out,' among them William Laidlaw. One act for which posterity will scarce thank the Crown Factor was the taking down of the old Tower¹ of Graden, a nest of mosstroopers since Flodden.

The same summer which saw Henry Ker emerge from Southwark, witnessed the death at Richmond of his famous countryman, James Thomson, the 'Scottish Virgil.' Whether poet and soldier ever met is uncertain. As Thomson's small ancestral estate of Widehope lay upon a spur of the Cheviots, not many miles from Graden Tower, they can hardly have been unknown to each other by name. They had at least one friend in common, since it was to Sir Andrew Mitchell, the Prussian Secretary, Thomson's Executor, that Henry Ker owed his release from Southwark.

The warrant for his removal to the house of William Ward, King's Messenger, bears date 6th April, 1748, and on 10th June he is still 'in the custody of Mr. Ward.' At this point Henry Ker disappears. In an official 'list of rebels pardoned on condition of Transportation for life' his name occurs, indeed, but with this note appended: 'Pardoned on condition of remaining in such *place in England*, as shall be appointed.'² Whether the place was never named, or whether the Government winked at his escape, we have been unable to learn. At any rate he got off, oversea, for, when the curtain rises on the last act three years later, we find him back at his old trade, soldiering in sunny Andalusia, the garden and granary of Spain.

Despite Cervantes, who makes San Lucar a den of rogues, Ker of Graden might, by all accounts, have lighted on many a less pleasant spot in which to end his days. San Lucar was a garrison town, the residence, since 1645, of the Captain-

¹The contract is dated 28th June, 1760, and runs: 'To taking down the old house, and winning out of ye old Tower £2-15s.' By November 24th the work is reported as done.

²S. P. Dom., Geo. II., vol. 109.

General of Andalusia. From the battlements of its Moorish Castle he might see daily the glittering spires of Cadiz, the scattered pastures across the river, which furnished the bull-rings of Seville, and the woods of Medina Sidonia, rich in game. One likes to picture the old Jacobite, easily recognisable by 'the flesh mark upon one of his cheeks,' hunting with his brother officers in the coto, at the British Consulate with Mark Pringle,¹ or in garrison, after mess, fighting his battles over again. When conversation flagged round the charcoal brazier, we may be sure the exile's thoughts would often turn to his old neighbours and tenants in Teviotdale, his grey Peel on the dry marches, where

'Cheviot listens to the Northern blast,'

and the little kirk, crowning 'Linton's hallowed mound,' where, under the choir pavement, moulder the bones of many generations of Graden-Kers.

It was decreed, however, that the last of that race should sleep elsewhere, for Henry Ker died at San Lucar, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service, on Wednesday, the 22nd of December, 1751.

J. F. LEISHMAN.

¹ Vid. S. P. Dom., Geo. II., for Petition from Mark Pringle to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Edinburgh, 30 September, 1746, begging his Grace to 'use his influence with the King to continue him in the Consulship of Seville and San Lucar.' According to the *Royal Calendar*, he still held that post in 1753.

The Green Island ¹

IN the Hebrides, there are traditions of an Island away in the West, submerged by enchantments, in which the inhabitants continue to live as formerly, and which will yet become visible and accessible. Traditions regarding its position vary, each locality placing it near itself, and the tales are of interest as showing the direction popular imagination has taken on such a topic. It would be strange if men, placed on the margin of a boundless sea, and in whose evening entertainments song and poem occupied a prominent part, did not people the cloudy distance with inhabited islands.

The *Sgialachds*, or winter evening tales, often make mention of the 'congealed sea' (muir-teuchd or m. tiachd), the name now commonly given to jelly-fish. It was supposed to be the region where sea and sky meet. The water there is like jelly-fish, and boats cannot move through it from its consistency. This fancy very likely originated in vague rumours of the Polar ice. Before arriving at this distant region lay 'The Green Island in the uttermost bounds of the world' (an t-Eilein Uaine an iomall an domhain tur),² which is at present invisible from being under enchantments (fo gheasaibh).

In the same ancient lore about giants, Lochlin, the kings of Ireland, and distant voyages, Tíree figures as the 'Remote Island' (an t-Eilein Iomallach), and the cave, in which, according to one of the tales, Sir Olave O'Corn killed the giant, is the Big Cave in Kennavara hill, at its western extremity. It was also known as 'Kingdom Tops-under-waves' (Rioghachd Bharrai-fo-thuinn), there being a current belief that it is lower than the surrounding sea. The extremely

¹ This paper was written about twenty years ago by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell of Tíree, author of *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. It is now published for the first time.—ED. S.H.R.

² Others say, '*an domhain dàmhair*,' but can give no explanation of what *dàmhair* means.

level character of the island is so much in contrast with the rest of the Hebrides that such a belief might naturally arise. During a heavy surf, the sea is seen in several places right across the Island, from the one shore, breaking in foam upon the other. A fisherman in the west end said there could be no doubt on this point, as the boats always took longer going out to the banks than coming in again. In the latter case they were coming down an incline!¹ There was also a tradition that the Island was at one time separated from Barra only by a narrow sound. A woman, milking a cow in Tìree, could throw the cow-shackle (*buarach*) across to another in Barra. Probably the tradition has originated from the existence of peat-mosses under the sandy beaches of the island and the neighbouring sea. After heavy storms, large pieces of peat are cast ashore. These are known as *moine thilgte* (i.e. cast peat), and are dried and used as fuel.

According to the Barra people, there is an Island away to the north-west of themselves, at present submerged, but to reappear in the time of 'Roderick of the three Rodericks' (*ri linn Ruairaidh nan trì Ruairaidhean*), a chief of the M'Neills of Barra. Others say, the man prophesying with a shoulder-blade said, that in the time of the last of seven Rodericks, every one of whom was to have a black spot on his shoulder (*ball dubh air a shlinnein*), and of the miller with three thumbs (*muilleir nan trì òrdag*), *Rôca Barra* would appear, or (as the expression may also be explained) a heavy burden was to come on Barra (*thig Rôc air Barra*). The name of the imaginary island is *Roca Barra*, and it is alleged to be the property of the ancient family of the MacNeills of Barra. It was sunk by an earthquake at the time a great part of Tìree sank, and its inhabitants every year put past the rent in the eye of a lime-kiln (*sùil àth*) till a chief of the MacNeills comes to claim it. The Island is not large, but is very beautiful, and, according to the Barra people, is the real 'Green Island' of old tales. Barra itself has been sold by the M'Neills, and the fourth Roderick in a direct line has been chief, but *Roca Barra* has not yet been seen.

It was said in Tìree the Green Island was attached to itself, as *Roca Barra* was to Barra. There was even a popular saying,

¹ It is quite true, that it takes a longer time to go to the fishing banks on the west of the Island than to return again, but the reason is, that the 'set' or swell of the sea is always from the west.

that it was mentioned in the charters of the Island. The following will suffice as specimens of the tales told of it and Roca Barra:

A stranger came to Mull and asked to be ferried across to the Green Island. The boatmen said they did not know where that place was. He said it was near Tíree, and he himself would guide them to it. On arriving at the place, he took them up to his house for refreshments. The only person in was an old woman, who was busy eating. In reply to the inquiries of the man, with whom the boatmen had come, she said her appetite was failing, but she could still take 'seven little cod, and seven large cod, one from off the embers, a drink of juice, and three bannocks.'¹ The Mullmen were seen safe on board this boat, and when they looked about, after setting sail, no island was to be seen, nor has the Green Island been seen since.

A native of the Green Island stayed long in Barra, married, and had a large family. Whenever he brought home peats, he was in the habit of leaving a creelful on Ben Tangavel, the highest hill in the place, till the heap at last was very large. When very old, he asked to be taken out fishing. He told those who remained at home the night was to be very dark, and if the boat was not home before nightfall they were to set fire to the pile of peats on the hill. He made his companions row far out to sea, farther than they had ever been before. They began to fish, and caught immensely large fish. At last the boat was observed to be on dry ground that formed the shore of an island. At the old man's desire, the fishermen left her, and accompanied him through the island. They found only one house, and an old woman within. In a while the old man told them it was time to return. He went with them to the boat. When they went on board, a heavy mist came on, the bank on which the boat rested disappeared, and the old man along with it. The boat returned home, guided by the blazing fire on Ben Tangavel.

A Tíree version of the same story runs thus: An old blind man asked to be taken out to fish on the banks to the north-west of the island. The fishers had previously met with little success. He said this was owing to their not finding the right place. After going a long distance, he asked them

¹ Seachd truisg bheaga, 's seachd truisg mhóra, fear far na gríosach, deoch an t-sùgh, 's trì bonnach.

how they saw Tíree, and, not satisfied with their answers, made them still row on. At last, when they said they saw Tíree like two islands, he told them to cast anchor and begin to fish. He asked for the first fish caught, and on feeling it over with his hands said, they were not yet in the right place. Refreshed by the rest, the men rowed further out to sea, till at last they could row no further. Again the same thing occurred, and thrice the anchor was cast and raised. Then the old man asked if anything was in sight. The men said they saw an island. He told them to row towards it, and not to take their eyes off till they landed. They did this, and on reaching jumped out and made fast the boat. The old man was left in charge, and the rest went up through the island. They fell in with no one, but an old woman in a solitary house. She had a creelful of potatoes (*pūntat' air craoileig*) before her, and was busy eating. She said never a word, and paid no attention to the intruders, but continued eating. When they returned to the boat, the old man asked them what they had seen. They told, and he said, 'Aye, Big Sense has got her appetite yet.' By his advice they made ready to return, and went into the boat, leaving the old man on the shore. They bent down to get ready the oars, and when they looked about again the island had disappeared, and the old man along with it. Neither have since been seen. Had the old man, or anything belonging to the island, been taken away, or had the men even kept their eyes upon it, the mysterious island would not have disappeared.

A native of Barra was one day fishing in the Western Ocean, and feeling a weight (*trom*) on his line, pulled it in and found a man entangled upon it. He took the strange fish home, and kept him for seven years. During that time his captive never said a word, but on three different occasions was heard to laugh. He ate whatever was set before him, but was never heard to speak. The occasions on which he laughed were, on hearing the servant man abusing a pair of new shoes, on seeing his host pulling some barley beards off his wife's clothes, and on seeing a young woman weeping bitterly. At the end of the seven years, a beautiful day occurred in the middle of tempestuous winter weather. Such days may be calculated on in the Hebrides, and are taken advantage of for thatching houses, straw being at the time in

greatest abundance. The man from the submarine land remarked, that this was a very fine day for thatching the houses in the place he came from. The conversation being followed up, his host promised to let him down where he had been fished up and restore him to his own country, if he would tell the cause of his laughter on the three occasions mentioned. On the first occasion, when he heard the servant man abusing the new shoes for being too thin, he laughed to think that the man would never wear them. It was a case of

‘New shoes little valued,
And no one knowing who was to wear them.’¹

The servant man died soon after, and another wore the shoes. On the second occasion he saw his host's wife coming in with barley beads on the back of her clothes. He laughed to see her husband pulling them off, as her too great intimacy with the servant-man in the barn was the cause of their being there. He laughed at the young woman weeping, because he knew she was weeping for her laughter of last year. Others say one of the occasions of the laughter was hearing people rating the two dogs belonging to the house, in ignorance that the animals were barking at robbers coming to plunder the house.

Exactly the same story is told in Tíree of a man fished up near Biesta, on the north-west of the island. The tradition has now almost become extinct, but old men averred, in proof of its truth, that the fishing place called ‘The Place of the House’ (āite ’n tighe) near Port Biesta derives its name from the mysterious man having been fished there. His name was MacKelloch (MacCeallaich), and in his own country he was a Prior or sort of judge. This became known when he was lowered down, according to promise. The people below were heard heartily welcoming him, and saying, ‘Have you come, Prior? Your life and health, Prior,’ etc. (an d’ thāineadh tu, Bhrithair? Do bheatha ’s do shlāinte, a Bhrithair). He is also called the Fair-haired Prior (am Britheir Bān).

It is said that in Hamilton Moore's *Book of Navigation* the latitude and longitude of Roca is given. Tradition says a ship once called there, and its crew was very hospitably entertained by the islanders. When leaving the sailors were

¹ Brōg thana ’s i gun mheas
Gun fhios co chaitheas i.

accompanied to the shore and made to leave their shoes. Whenever they left the shore the island disappeared. If they had kept their shoes, and anything belonging to the island, even a particle of its dust, had adhered to them, Roca Barra would be still visible.

A native of Barra found a dun cow (mart odhar) on the shore, and on being taken home it remained with him like one of his other cows. Its calves were kept, till at last the man's stock consisted nearly all of that breed. When the dun cow was getting old, and, as he thought, not profitable to keep any longer, he spoke of killing it. Unfortunately this was done in the hearing of the cow itself. Before next morning the cow and all its progeny disappeared. No one saw or heard them going, or could say where they had gone. It was supposed the cow came originally from Roca Barra.

On another occasion a reddish and speckled calf (laogh breac ruadh) was found on the shore. It became a most excellent milch-cow, but whenever its calving time came it disappeared mysteriously for a time, and none of its calves were ever seen. It always, however, came back itself. It also was believed to have come from the Green Island.

In the following ballad an account (though only in outline) is given of the expedition of Sir Olave O'Corn to some island in the remote west to fetch a wife for the King of Britain. In the prose tales, Sir Olave is said to have been a sister's son of Kinarthur MacIvor, a king *in* Ireland, and to have gone to the Remote Island for a wife to the King of Ireland. The ballad is probably not old. This copy was got from three different individuals, who did not get their version from a common source, at least within the present generation. The name of the hero is given by some as Sir Callovaich.

SIR OLAVE O'CORN.

The King of Britain dreamt in his sleep
 Of the fairest woman beneath the sun;
 Sir Olave spoke generously,
 I will go to seek the wife;
 Myself, my servant, and my dog,
 We will go, we three alone.
 For five weeks and nine months
 We were wearied traversing the ocean,
 Before we saw land or soil
 Or place where ship could rest.

In the outskirt of the rough ocean,
Was seen a fresh grey-blue building,
Glass windows on its gable,
More numerous were dogs there than deer;
On a day when sailing close by it,
A chain was seen descending.
I caught it without awe or fear,
And swiftly up I made my way.
A woman of fresh white teeth was seen,
Sitting inside in the tower,
A mirror of glass on her two knees,
And I blessed her fair face.
'Youth, who hast come across the sea,
Wretched is thy welcome to my house!
When the master of the house is come,
He asks not whether thou art strong or weak.'
'As to thy lament, kind dame,
Alike to me are his love and hate.'
Sir Olave was placed in hiding,
And the big man came in,
'Darling, delight, and love,
Great is my care for thee;
Rest thy head on my knee,
And I will play to thee on the harp.'
The harping of the fair young woman,
Of bluest eye and whitest tooth!
They stole the sword from his belt,
And unawares took off his head.
And rather would he fall by her,
Than in combat with an equal foe.

Another tale, connected with some unknown remote western land, is that of *Screuchag* (*i.e.* a shrill-voiced female), who was speechless for seven years. It seems to have been at one time well known in Argyllshire, though now rare. Verses of it have been got in Tiree, at Loch Awe side, and from a native of Morven. The expressions in the original are remarkably smooth and graceful, and it would confer a boon on students of Gaelic if the composition, of which the following verses are but fragments were rescued from oblivion.

The Tiree story is, that a man found a young and beautiful woman sleeping on a hillock. When wakened she would not speak. He took her home, and, though apparently deaf and dumb, married her. He had three children by her. For seven years she never uttered a word. At the end of that time his mother said she would make her speak. On the

occasion of a cow being killed, she put her on the other side of a fire placed on the floor, with a 'grey candle' (coinneal ghlas), *i.e.* a candle in which the cloth that serves for a wick is wrapped round the tallow. The house was filled with smoke, and the candle was dripping on her hands. At last she spoke, and her mother-in-law followed up the conversation :

- 'By my dignity, black candle,
Though my hand is black beneath thy smoke,
Methinks that was not my wonted work,
In the great house of my father or mother.
- 'Cheerful lark, wonderful bird,
That came from the land of wild birds,
Thou hast called with stately cry
At the end of thy seventh year.
- 'I know how it fared with you
When you chanced to be in your father's house ;
A lean cow, blind of an eye, and with three teats,
A blind man and four of a company.
- 'That is a lie,
For like we were there,
Silken banners raised on high,
A silken shirt on every man,
And the brown wine gurgling there.
A hundred young dames, of loftiest looks,
Were there with brown steeds and their bridles ;
Seven team were ploughing,
Making bread for my father's house,
There were yew wands and neck wands,
And ornaments of gold and silver,
And nine chains of twisted gold,
In the house of my magnanimous big king,
In the house of King Sionnach ;
In the big house of lofty battlements,
On its roof-tree lies no root ;
Not of holly is it,
Nor of ivy,
Nor the alder,
Full of knobs,
But the wild fig, spear-like, full of sap, (?)
With hosts around, and lofty smoke.
A mounted youth, of whitest limbs,
At speed over land and over waves,
And a brown maid with narrow eyebrows
Making sweet music in a rounded hillock.'

It is, perhaps, mere conjecture to look in these idle tales for a foundation of fact, or any reference to the distant lands of the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, the manner in which popular tales originate makes such a supposition tenable. Frequently tales owe their origin and tenor to some real occurrence, though just as frequently they are overlaid and coloured by the unrestrained imagination to such an extent that the original truth is lost sight of, and for historical uses they are best treated as fictions. Independent records, the Icelandic sagas, create a probability that in this case the tales may have a slight historical value.

Iceland was first discovered by the Norwegians in A.D. 860, and was colonized by them in 874. About a century afterwards, in A.D. 982, Greenland was discovered by the Norsemen from Iceland, and for upwards of four centuries a Christian community from Iceland occupied its far distant shores. How that community disappeared, or why the colony was abandoned, whether from some natural catastrophe and changes of climate, the ravages of the Black Death that swept Europe in 1348, or the violence of the numerous pirates that at the time infested the north, is not known.

When the Norsemen made their way to Iceland, they found there Irish books, wooden crosses, bells, etc. St. Brendan, first abbot of Clonfert, Galway, Ireland, in his marvellous voyage of seven years in search of the island which contained the identical paradise of Adam and Eve, about A.D. 560, came, after being driven many days to the northward by a strong south wind, to a land full of demons, armed with red-hot hooks and hammers, and where there was a hill all on fire, and a foul smoke coming from thence, etc. The adventures of the saint are of a class with those of Sinbad the Sailor, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from them is that the voyagers fell in with incidents which suggested the marvels of which they gave an account. Iceland is the only land to the north in which they could have seen a burning mountain. Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, mentions in a geographical treatise he wrote, that Iceland had been discovered by his countrymen, as ancient Icelandic documents state that Christian men, called by the Northmen *Papae*, were on the island before their arrival. Modern writers suppose them to have been fishermen from the north of Ireland and the western islands of Scotland.

In the *Laxdaela Saga*, a composition supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century, we are told that in the middle of the tenth century Höskuld, an Icelander, went to Norway for timber, and there bought from a Russian trader a young and very pretty girl, who was to all appearance deaf and dumb. He took her home with him, and he had a son by her, whom he called Olaf. For a long time she maintained her assumed character of being deaf and dumb. One day Höskuld found her talking to her son. She then told that her name was Melkorka, and that her father was an Irish king, Mirkjartan.¹

The *Lochlunnaich*, or Scandinavian sea-rovers, began at a very early period to infest the western islands of Scotland and the coasts of Ireland, and during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries their vessels swept the seas as far, it is said, as the coasts of Italy. In the ninth century they were in possession of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, and various sea-coast towns in Ireland. In 880, Rollo, the future founder of the Norman Empire in France, following the footsteps of many of the Norwegian nobility who left their native country when Harold Harfagr made himself master of the whole of Norway, retired with his fleet among the Hebrides. Being there warmly welcomed by his fellow-exiles, he thence started on the expedition that terminated in making him master of Normandy. His name Rollo, or Raoul, is the same as the Gaelic Ronald (Raonull, colloquially Rao'ull), which is a common name among a sept of the Macdonalds, Ronald MacRonald being as common as Donald Macdonald, Gillan Maclean, or Gregor MacGregor. An ancient Gaelic name for the Isle of Skye is *Innse-Gall*, 'the stranger's place of shelter,' a name likely derived from these far-off days.²

¹ Blackwell's *Mallet's North. Antiq.* p. 313.

² *Innse-Gall* is usually translated 'the Isles of the Strangers,' and is made to include the whole Hebrides. *Innis* (the sing. of *Innse*) is rendered in dictionaries 'an island, a sheltered place for cattle,' but in no poem, proverb, or name of place is it found meaning simply 'an island.' The places in the name of which it occurs are in many cases not islands at all, but sheltered places in woods or valleys, where cattle were collected in the evening to be milked and to rest for the night. The islets in the name of which it occurs, like Inch Kenneth near Mull, are in sheltered places, and hence *Inch* is common in the names of islets in inland lakes. In the saying, 'a cold shelter is the cairn' (Is fuar an innis an càrn), the cairn means the tops of the hills where a person under hiding seeks security from his pursuers. That Skye was the original *Innse-Gall* is conclusively

In 984, a century before its discovery by Columbus, the voyages of the Norsemen extended to America. In an old Icelandic geographical treatise it is said that to the south of inhabited Greenland, beyond the land of the Skraellings (Esquimaux) and Markland (Nova Scotia?) and Vinland the Good (New England and Massachusetts?), lay Hvitramannaland, *i.e.* Whiteman's land, 'whither vessels formerly sailed from Ireland.'¹ There is a tendency to scout any statement of this kind, which was unknown to, or unnoticed by Latin writers and civilized Europe as undeserving of attention, but it may be looked upon as *certain* that the Norsemen were acquainted with the northern part of the American continent before the voyage of Columbus. 'Neither is it at all improbable that trading voyages may have occasionally been made from Limerick to some part of the American continent.'²

From all this the widespread wanderings of the tribes in the north-west of Europe in early ages, and the communication between Iceland and the Western Islands and Ireland, it may be argued that the 'Green Island in the uttermost bounds of the world' is Greenland, that the island where Sir Olave got a wife for the King of Britain is Iceland, and that the young woman, who so long held her tongue, and by her inarticulate cries earned for herself the name of *Screuchag* (shrill-voiced female), was Melkorka, the daughter of an Irish king. The mysterious manner in which the Christian population of Greenland disappeared finds its counterpart in the Green Island disappearing by the force of enchantments, and the fact of the population being Christian and the man from the submarine land being a Prior. The incident of Melkorka is too romantic

shown by the Ossianic ballad of *Brugh Farala*, which describes the burning of Farala, a brugh or mansion, in which Fionn and the Fians lodged on the mainland, it is said in Ardnamurchan. It begins:

'A day Fionn went with his Fians
To the green straths of Innse-Gall,
They let slip their dogs along the hill sides
Among the glens that nearest lay.
Earthly coloured mist arose,
Brugh Farala was flaming high,
Each vaulted on his spear-shaft head,
And MacRethinn was left on the sound.'

Hence the name of Ryle rhea (Caol Redhinn), the sound between Skye and the mainland.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 265.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

The Green Island

to have occurred twice, and is possibly only a popular story, localized both in the west of Scotland and in Iceland. As an actual fact, the Icelandic story is probable enough. At the same time, it will not excite the wonder of the storyologist, as those who study such lore have called themselves, if a similar story should be found in the East. If accounts of the mythic Green Island went from Scotland to Iceland, we have a clue to the reason of the name Greenland being given to that forbidding region. A resemblance of names is, however, a portion of what Hume calls 'the dark industry of antiquaries,' to which little weight can be attached.

The Bishops of Glasgow

From the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the
Reformation : Notes chiefly Chronological¹

A.D. 1316—A.D. 1446

DURING the struggle for Scottish independence in the days of Bruce, the action of successive Popes was consistently in favour of the kings of England. But sometimes requests were made which the Popes did not consent to grant. Thus the efforts of Edward I. to induce the Pope to substitute another for Robert Wischard, bishop of Glasgow, were unavailing. On 4 Oct. 1306 Edward wrote to Clement V. beseeching him to make his (the king's) clerk, Master Geoffrey de Moubray, bishop of Glasgow in place of 'the traitor' Robert Wyschard. We hear no more of it. The letter is printed in full in Prynne's *History* (p. 1157).

In a writ of Robert I., dated 26 April, 1309 (R.G. i. 220), Master Stephen de Donydouer, canon of Glasgow and chamberlain of the king, makes his appearance (with Bernard, the chancellor) as vicar and *locum tenens* of Robert, bishop of Glasgow, then suffering chains, imprisonment, and persecutions 'borne patiently for the rights of the Church and of our realm of Scotland.' He appears as bishop-elect some seven years later.

XV. STEPHEN DE DONYDOUER was probably elected in December, 1316, or early in 1317. He was elected *concorditer*, and went to the Apostolic See to obtain confirmation. The Pope despatched him to Scotland, without confirmation, in *prosecutione quorundam negotiorum*. On his journey he died at Paris (T. No. 424). On 13 July, 1317, Edward II. thanks the Pope for having refused to accept, as bishop of Glasgow, Stephen de Donydor, a Scot (Rymer, iii. 654). Stephen's death must have been at latest early in August, 1317, for on 18 Aug. 1317, on the death of Master Stephen, the Pope reserves to his own provision the See of Glasgow (C.P.R. ii. 132).

¹Continued from *S.H.R.* vol. v. p. 88. Sir Archibald C. Lawrie has communicated to me reasons (and they seem to me weighty reasons) for questioning the accuracy of the statement (p. 79) said to be derived from the charter chest of Fletcher of Salton. It is intended to examine and reconsider this point, and such others as may arise, at the close of this series of papers.

After the death of Donydouer we find Keith much confused. He introduces a John Wiseheart, for whom at this time there is, so far as I know, no evidence. He appears later. Cosmo Innes (R.G. i. p. xxxvi) is no less puzzled. But more recently published documents clear the matter up, and they reveal the appointment by the Pope (John XXII.), before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424), at the request of the king of England (C.P.R. ii. 426), of

XVI. JOHN (DE EGGLESCLIFFE), penitentiary of the Pope, of the Order of Preaching Friars. Appointed and consecrated, at command of the Pope, by Nicholas [Alberti, a Dominican], bishop of Ostia, at Avignon before 17 July, 1318 (T. No. 424). The letter printed by T. states that, on the death of Stephen de Dundore, the chapter of Glasgow, 'perchance ignorant' of the Pope having reserved the appointment to himself, had elected John de Lindesay canon of that church. The Pope declared such election, as being contrary to his reservation, null and void. John de Lindesay had himself gone for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The Pope, after declaring the election null, 'to avoid too long a vacancy of the see,' provided John, his penitentiary (*i.e.* Eggescliffe), to the bishopric. It is interesting to note that the customary concurrent Letters were addressed, not to the king of Scots, but to Edward, king of England. King Robert complained that an English Preaching Friar had been placed by the Pope in the see of Glasgow, for the Pope replies to his objections on 16 Aug. 1319 (C.P.R. ii. 427; compare 428). The Pope's letter is addressed to 'Robert calling himself king of Scotland.' In Scotland this appointment seems to have been disregarded; for the see is spoken of as void, 3 Feb. 1318-19, *Paisley*, 238; July, 1321, *Melrose*, No. 387;¹ Christmas, 1321, *Arbroath*, i. 214; and 31 Dec. 1321, *Dunfermlin*, 245.

The new bishop, who is doubtless Eggescliffe (not Wyschard, as Mr. Bain supposes; see Index to vol. iii. of his *Calendar*), writes (through the king of England) to the Pope, saying that he gets nothing from his bishopric, and hoping that the Pope will overlook the non-payment of the *servitia* due to the Pope and the cardinals. This is at the end of March, 1323, and before the bulls of his translation could have reached him (B.C. iii. No. 608). He had represented to the Pope that he was unable, *ex certis causis*, to govern and instruct the flock committed to his care (T. No. 448).

Before 15 March, 1323, he was translated by the Pope to the see of Connor in Ireland (*ibid.*). But he was not to remain there long, for he seems to have been translated to Llandaff on 20 June, 1323 (C.P.R. ii. 232). Gams assigns the translation of John de Eggescliffe to Connor to the year 1322, but this is obviously an error.

There is a parish called Eggescliffe in the county of Durham.

An indulgence granted by John, relying on the merits of the blessed Virgin, St. Dominic, and 'St. Kentigern, bishop, our patron,' on 6 Jan.

¹ The chapter of Glasgow express themselves cautiously: 'Cum non sit episcopus ad quem possit haberi recursus.'



SEAL OF BISHOP EGGLESCLIFFE

(Slightly larger than the original)

From the Brackley Charters in the muniment room of
Magdalen College, Oxford

1320-21, is in 'the third year of our pontificate' (Brackley Charters of Magdalen College, Oxford).

Egglescliffe's seal (pointed oval) represents, under tabernacle work, a bishop fully vested, with mitre, and pastoral staff in his left hand, the right hand being raised in benediction. On the dexter side is a shield bearing the three lions (or leopards) of England; on the sinister side a shield bearing an eagle (?). The legend is S. FR[ATR]IS IOHANNIS DEI GRA[TIA] GLASGUENSIS EPISCOPI.

Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii. 619) cites the Harleian Manuscripts for John elect of Glasgow being present at King Robert's Parliament at Scone 3 Dec. 1318. This, of course, was John de Lindesay.

XVII. JOHN DE LINDESAY, canon of Glasgow. For his election (quashed) about the year 1317, see last entry. He was now provided by



SEAL OF JOHN DE LINDESAY, A.D. 1323-1335.

the Pope to the see, void by the translation of John de Egglescliffe to Connor, on 15 March, 1323 (T. No. 448). He was consecrated (at Avignon?) at command of the Pope, by Vitalis [de Furno], bishop of Albano, before 10 Oct. 1323, when he was commanded to betake himself to his diocese (T. No. 451). We find John, bishop of Glasgow, at the General Council at Scone on Thursday before the Annunciation (25 March), 1324 (*i.e.* 1324-25), where he defended himself for conferring at the king's command a prebend reserved by the Pope (R.G. No. 270); 22 Nov. 1325 (Cambusk., 200). John, bishop of Glasgow, was in Parliament at Scone in 1326 (A.P. i. 483). That he was 'de Lindesay' we gather from a charter of his successor, Bishop William (Raa), where he speaks of his predecessor, 'John de Lindesay, bishop of Glasgow' (Kelso, No. 501), doubtless to distinguish him from John Wyschard, the immediate successor of Lindesay. He is in Edward Balliol's Parliament of 1333 (A.P. i. 542), and he, with the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, witness a grant of King Edward Balliol to Edward III. of England, 12 Feb. 1334 (Rymer).

There is a charter of John, bishop of Glasgow, in Kelso (No. 468), which must be John de Lindsay's.

His seal (pointed oval) exhibits a bishop, under a canopy of tabernacle work, with at the sides two shields; over the dexter shield a salmon, over the sinister a bird. The dexter shield bears the arms of De Coucy; the sinister shield bears an oral vair surmounted by a bend (Lindsay). It is figured in Laing and R.G. See Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1669. The connexion of the family of De Coucy with that of Lindsay will be found in the *Scots Peerage* (Balfour Paul), vol. iii., article *Crawford*; but who the bishop was is not apparent. There is mention of this seal being lost, and of the two shields, one bearing the arms of the nobleman 'Willelmi de Coucyaco,' and the other bearing the bishop's arms (R.G. No. 271).

John de Lindsay died about 15 August, 1335 (not in 1337 as stated in *Lanercost*, 291). The see was treated as void 8 Feb. 1335-6 (R.G. No. 286), where John is 'nuper episcopus Glasguensis.' With this before him it is strange that Cosmo Innes should in the Preface (R.G. p. xxxvii) assign his death to 1337, following the inaccurate reasonings of Hailes (*Annals*, s.a. 1337). It is absolutely certain that Lindsay did not die in August, 1337, for his successor, John Wiseheart, was consecrated before 16 Feb. 1336-7. That John, 'nuper Glasguensis episcopus,' was John de Lindsay there can be no doubt, for he is represented in the charter (R.G. No. 286) as confirming a grant made by 'Edward (Balliol), king of Scots,' to Holmcultram.

There is an account of the death of Lindsay in Walsingham (*Hist. Reg. Angl. s.a. 1335*). Two ships from Flanders, with many Scots on board, were taken by the English, under the command of the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon. Among the prisoners were several men of distinction (including the bishop of Glasgow) and several noble ladies. The bishop was mortally wounded in the head, and died. *Lanercost* gives a more sentimental account, stating that the bishop and some of the noble ladies were so affected by grief that they refused to eat or drink, and died before the ships made the land. Their bodies were buried at Wytsande in England. I do not know what place is intended, but there is a Whitsand Bay in the south-east of Cornwall. This place, however, is very remote from the course which would have been taken by ships sailing from Flanders to Scotland (unless indeed the Scottish port intended as the place of landing was on the west coast), and perhaps some other place is meant.

As we have seen, the see was void 8 Feb. 1335-6, and it continued void till Feb. 1337. See next entry.

XVIII. JOHN WYSCHARD (Wiseheart, Wyscard, Wishard), Archdeacon of Glasgow [John Wyschard was archdeacon of Glasgow in 1321 and 1325, R.G. 228, 233, 235, and probably much earlier], who had been elected (the see being void by the death of John), *per viam compromissi*, resorted for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The election was confirmed, and, by order of Benedict XII., John was consecrated, apparently at Avignon, by Annibald [de Ceccano], bishop of Tusculum,

probably a few days before 16 Feb. 1336-37 (T. No. 540). Concurrent letters to David King of Scots.

John Wyschard's episcopate was brief. The see was void 11 May 1338 (*Melrose*, No. 450) by the death of John (see next entry).

The succession of three bishops bearing the same name, John, makes the testing clauses of charters, and such like evidence, of little value in determining the identification of each. Keith, Cosmo Innes, and Grub were each suffering from the disadvantage of having written before the appearance of Theiner and C.P.R.

If this John Wyschard is to be identified with the John Wiseheart, 'quondam archidiaconum Glasguensem,' who was a prisoner of the king of England at Conway, Chester, and the Tower of London in 1310 (Rymer), he must have been an old man when he was appointed bishop in Feb. 1337.

XIX. WILLIAM (RAE, RAA), precentor of Glasgow, elected *concorditer, per viam compromissi* (the names of the *compromissarii*, five in number, are given) on the death of John. Confirmation of his election by Benedict XII. 22 Feb. 1339 (Eubel gives 20 Feb. 1339), who had caused him to be consecrated by Annibald [de Ceccano], bishop of Tusculum (T. No. 543), apparently at Avignon.¹

William's episcopal rule was long. He died 27 Jan. 1367 (Martyrology, as corrected by Cosmo Innes, R.G., p. 615), *i.e.* 27 Jan. 1366-67: see next entry.

Little is known about Rae. He was in Parliament 17 Sept. 1341 (A.P. i. 512) and in Council 26 Sept. 1357 (*ib.* 515). William is bishop 15 June, 1362 (R.G. 265), when a dispute between him and the chapter of Glasgow was submitted to arbitration; and 17 May, 1363 (*Melrose*, 435). He received from Clement VI. in June, 1350, an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary indulgence at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 369). In 1351 the bishop of Glasgow refused to induct Richard de Swynhope, whom the king of England had presented to the prebend of Auld Roxburgh (B.C. iii. No. 1558).

The name *Rae* is given on the authority of documents which were in the Scots College at Paris when Keith wrote his *Catalogue*.

XX. WALTER WARDLAW, archdeacon of Lothian, canon of Glasgow, Master in Theology, in priest's orders, on 14 April, 1367, is advanced by Pope Urban V. to the see of Glasgow (T. No. 675, so also E.). The see, now void by the death of William, had been reserved by the Pope, but an election (*concorditer*) of Wardlaw had taken place, and the election having been declared null, as being contrary to the reservation, the Pope provides Walter to Glasgow 'by Apostolic Authority.' Nothing is said of his consecration.

When, where, and by whom was Wardlaw consecrated?

¹The name '*Peter*, bishop of Glasgow,' to whom the Pope addresses a letter on 5 Kal. Jan. 1339, must be an error (C.P.R. ii. 546).

Walter, bishop of Glasgow, is with David II. at Stirling 4 July, 1367 (A.P. i. 172), presumably consecrated.

During the episcopate of Wardlaw, Scotland had to take sides in the question of the Great Schism, and it threw in its lot with those in after times reckoned the Anti-popes. It was by Pope (Anti-pope) Clement VII. that Wardlaw was made a cardinal priest (without title) 23 Dec. 1383 (Eubel, i. 27). Holinshed (quoting from Onuphrius) had given this date correctly. *Scotichronicon* (xiv. 49) in giving the year 1385 is in error. He is granted the next year (24 Nov. 1384) the powers of a legate *a latere* in Scotland and Ireland (C.P.R. iv. 251). At this date (the rule had ceased before Beaton was made cardinal) it was the rule that bishops on being made cardinals should vacate their



SEAL OF WALTER WARDLAW, A.D. 1367-87.

bishoprics. Walter therefore ceased to be 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he was granted by the Pope the administration of the diocese (24 Nov. 1384), C.P.R. iv. 250. He does not after his appointment as cardinal style himself 'bishop of Glasgow,' but he still uses his old seal, and sometimes states expressly that he uses the seal he had used when he was bishop (*Dunfermline*, 414).

It may be remarked that cardinals without title (that is, not bearing the name of some church at Rome to which they were technically attached), though comparatively rare, were not infrequent in the medieval period. A list of such will be found in Eubel (i. 51). Alphonse Chacon (*Ciaconius*), in his great work, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum et Cardinalium*, shows his entire ignorance as to Wardlaw by making him bishop of 'Glasconia sedes episcopalis in Anglia, vulgo *Glastenbury*' (Tom. ii. 680).

We find the 'cardinal of Scotland' petitioning the Pope for the archdeaconry of Argyll, on its voidance by the consecration of John,

bishop elect of Argyll, and the petition was granted by Clement VII. on 30 May, 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw died in 1387 (Sc. xiv. 50), yet it would appear after 30 May, for on 26 Oct. the Pope grants the petition of Alexander Wardlaw, nephew of the late Walter, cardinal of Scotland, for the archdeaconry of Argyll, void by the death of the said cardinal (C.P.R. Pet. i. 568). Wardlaw's death may perhaps be placed early in September. It was not known at Avignon on 3 Oct. 1387 (C.P.R. iv. 255).

Wardlaw was an ambassador to England in June, 1369 (B.C. iv.). He was one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating a truce with England in 1384 (Rymer).

A few particulars as to Wardlaw derivable from C.P.R. Pet. i. may be added here. In 1349 Master Walter de Wardlaw (presumably the future bishop) appears in the roll of the University of Paris as one of the Masters of the English nation, petitioning for a dignity or office in the church of Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he has a canonry and prebend in Glasgow, and the church of Dunenach in the diocese of St. Andrews (p. 175). In 1359, 12 May, he is S.T.P. and rector of Erol, and is confirmed in the archdeaconry of Lothian, conferred on him by the ordinary (p. 325; compare p. 339). In 1378 he petitions for benefices for three nephews (548). He is in the same year designated as 'papal chaplain' (p. 550).

Wardlaw was archdeacon of Lothian and secretary of King David II. 1 Jan. 1363 (*Reg. Mag. Sigil.* p. 203). He was perhaps archdeacon of Lothian as early as 1359 (see Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii. 620). We find him archdeacon in 1362 (R.G. No. 301).

After the death of Wardlaw there are large lacunae in the Papal Registers, and for a time we are thrown back upon other sources for information, excepting a few notices in the volume of *Petitions*.

Wardlaw's seal exhibits a shield bearing arms: on a fess between three mascles as many crosses couped (Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 2840). The shield has supporters which Mr. Macdonald, with hesitancy, calls lions.

XXI. MATTHEW DE GLENDONWYN (Glendonning). Pope Boniface IX. provided (1 March, 1391) JOHN FRAMISDEN, a Friar Minor (see Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, i. 95, and C.P.R. iv. 383); but the Anti-pope had anticipated this action, for it appears that Glendonwyn had succeeded shortly after the death of the cardinal. We find a Roll of his petitions granted on 30 Dec. 1387 (C.P.R. Pet. i. 569). He must have been consecrated after 26 May, 1387; for 26 May, 1399, is in the 12th year of his consecration (*Lib. de Melros*, 510); and 10 May, 1391, is in the 4th year of his consecration (R.G. 293); and, assuming that Wardlaw died in September, still later in the year or early in 1388. He was holding the church of Cavers, in the diocese of Glasgow, at the time of his consecration (C.P.R. Pet. i. 573).¹

¹ Glendonwyn was not free from the nepotism so common in the ecclesiastical world of his day. In 1395 he petitions on behalf of his nephew,

He died, according to the Martyrology of Glasgow (R.G. ii. 615), on 10 May, 1408. See Paisley, 337.

Matthew is a witness to a charter of Robert II. at Edinburgh 10 April, 1389 (*Diplomata Scotiæ*, pl. 56). He pronounces a decree arbitral in a dispute between the monastery of Paisley and the Rector of Cambuslang 17 Sept. 1394 (Paisl. 108). He confirmed an agreement 17 Oct. 1406 (Kelso 414). He is present in Robert III.'s Parliament at Scone, 7 March, 1390-91; and again on 8 March, 1393-94 (A.P. i. 216, 218). He was conservator of the marches, July, 1390 (B.C. iv. No. 416); and a commissioner of peace with England, May, 1399 (*ib.* No. 519).

On 21 May, 1401, with the consent of the dean and chapter, he imposes a tax on the prebends of the cathedral (given in detail) to supply the deficiency of the *ornamenta*, more particularly copes, chasubles, dalmatics, etc. (R.G. i. No. 320).

He is a frequent witness of deeds under the Great Seal.

For his history before his elevation to the episcopate we know that he had from the king of England a safe conduct 29 Oct. 1377 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 4). On the 7 April, 1386, Master Matthew de Glendonwyn acts as ambassador and receives a safe conduct to Berwick-on-Tweed together with Adam de Glendonwyn 'chivaler' (*ib.* 81).

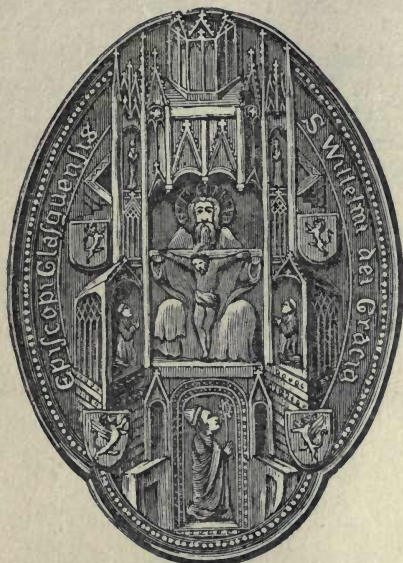
XXII. WILLIAM LAWEDRE (Lawdere, Lauder). Archdeacon of Lothian.¹ Doctor utriusque Juris (E.). His appointment by the Pope (Anti-pope) Benedict XIII. was on 9 July, 1408 (E.). He probably went in person to the Apostolic See, and probably received consecration there. At all events we find that the king of England grants William Lawdre, bishop of Glasgow, a safe conduct to return from France to Scotland through England, on 24 Oct. 1408 (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 189). He had probably not returned to Scotland till after Martinmas (see below). The 19 May, 1415, was in the seventh year of his consecration (R.G. ii. 314), which shows that he was consecrated between 9 July, 1408, and 19 May, 1409. As regards the Temporality, the see was vacant both at Whitsunday and Martinmas 1408; but before 20 May, 1409, the bishop had been admitted to the Temporality, and by royal favour was granted half the fermes due at Martinmas 1408 (*Exch. Rolls*, iv. 99). This suggests that his consecration had been in the summer, perhaps in July.

'Simon de Mandavilla M.A. of noble origin,' for the canonry and prebend of Dorysdere in the church of Glasgow (C.P.R. Pet. i. 584). In 1394 he petitions for dispensations for two nephews, William and Adam Glendonwyn, the former aged 15, the latter aged 14, to hold benefices when they reached the age of 18. Which petitions Benedict XIII. granted (p. 614).

¹ He was son and heir of Robert de Lawedre and Anabella, his consort. For this and his foundations in the cathedral of Glasgow, see R.G. ii. 304-7. On a shield which appears in his episcopal seal is 'a griffin segreant' (Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1552). These arms, Cosmo Innes says, shows that he was of the ancient family of the Lauders of the Merse.

Lauder was chancellor 8th Jan. 1421-2 (R.M.S. ii. 169), and so continued apparently till his death.

William Lawedre was uterine brother of Alexander Lawedre, appointed bishop of Dunkeld in 1440, who died before his consecration (Sc. xv. 26). See *Scottish Historical Review* for July, 1904.



SEAL OF WILLIAM LAUDER,
A.D. 1408-25.



SEAL OF JOHN CAMERON,
A.D. 1426-46.

He was frequently employed in affairs of state (see B.C. iv.).

William, bishop of Glasgow, tests a charter of James I. at Edinburgh 10 July, 1424; *Laing Chart*, No. 102. Lauder is alive on 27 May, 1425: R.G. 318. Lauder died 14 June, 1425 (R.G. ii. 616).

The see was still void 19 May, 1426 (*ib.* 319), that is, the information of the Pope's provision of Cameron had not yet reached Scotland: see next entry.¹

XXIII. JOHN CAMERONE (Cameroun, etc.). Canon of Glasgow; Licentiate in decrees (E.); Provost of Lincluden; Secretary to the King; Official of St. Andrews.

Elect, provided by Martin V. 22 April, 1426 (E.). The provision states that the see was void by the death of William; that it had been specially reserved by the Pope; that in ignorance of the reservation the chapter had elected John, a priest, a canon of Glasgow, who consented to the election, but who on learning of the reservation had caused the matter of the election to be set forth before the Pope in consistory (C.P.R. vii. 478).

¹ Thomas de Lawedre, vicar of Erskyn, in the diocese of Glasgow, son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman, the bishop's nephew, is dispensed by Martin V. to hold four other benefices (C.P.R. vii. 248).

On 16 July, 1426, he was granted by the Pope a faculty to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop, assisted by two or three others. His consecrator was to send John's oath of fealty to the Pope (*ib.* 465).

We find him elect, confirmed of Glasgow 18 July, 1426, and as late as 18 Feb. 1426-27 (R.M.S. ii. Nos. 54, 81, 83).

Cameron was Keeper of the Great Seal, 15 April to 2 May, 1426 (*Exchequer Rolls*, iv. 400, 428).

On 20 Sept. 1426 he made payment at the Apostolic See of one 'minutum servitium,' 113 gold florins and four shillings and sixpence, by the hand of another (B. 153). In paying his taxa he was allowed a 'dilatio'; and on 15 July, 1432 (the figures are printed 1423 by Brady, but that must be an error), he paid 100 florins, and on 15 Oct. of the same year 700 florins (B. 154).

Consecration. As bishop and chancellor he grants a charter 1 Nov. 1427, in the first year of his consecration (R.M.S. ii. No. 2477); and as (see above) he was only elect confirmed on 18 Feb. 1427, his consecration must be placed between these two dates.

Martin V. on 6 May, 1430, states that because Cameron had before his promotion to Glasgow incurred disability more than once, and perpetrated such crimes as to have forfeited all right to the said promotion, and for action in Parliament after his promotion had been the author of statutes about collation to benefices, even reserved, which statutes were against ecclesiastical liberty and the rights of the Roman Church, and for having collated to benefices simoniacally, he (the Pope) had given a commission, *viva voce*, to two cardinals (named) to inform themselves. The cardinals judged him to be guilty, and cited him to the Apostolic See to hear and see his deprivation. Afterwards the orators of King James, sent for the purpose, set forth that many of the charges were untrue, and that if he had done amiss, Cameron was ready to make amends. At the king's request, on the promise of Cameron that he would help to obtain the abolition of the said statutes and behave laudably in the future, the Pope absolves him from excommunication and other sentences, annuls the citation to the Apostolic See, rehabilitates him, and dispenses him on account of irregularity contracted (C.P.R. vii. 18).

The action of the Scottish Parliament here referred to and the bold line of James I. will be elucidated by a reference to Joseph Robertson's masterly Preface to *Statuta Ecclesiae Scotticanae*, pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. The passage cited above from the Calendar of Papal Registers would lead us to think that Robertson is incorrect in saying that the embassy to Rome of the king's orators (John, bishop of Brechin, and Alex. de Lawder, archdeacon of Dunkeld) commissioned on 6 Dec. 1429 was unsuccessful. But it would seem that Cameron got soon after into fresh difficulties with the Roman See.

The dispute with William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, acolyte of the Pope, is complicated;¹ and the reader is referred to the Preface

¹The subject of the early stages of the dispute can be gathered from the judgment of the dean and certain canons of Glasgow in favour of the bishop, 14 Jan. 1427-28 (R.G. No. 332).

of the *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* pp. lxxxiii-lxxxviii and Theiner (No. 745). It was not till 27 Dec. 1438 that Eugenius IV. commissioned Croyser to proceed to Scotland and absolve John, bishop of Glasgow, from all and singular the sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, which he had incurred (T. No. 747).

John served on embassies to England in 1429, 1430, and 1431. It was intended in 1432 that he should be one of the representatives of Scotland at the Council of Basle; but the design was abandoned, and in Nov. 1432 he had a passport through England on his way to Rome. But this journey was not undertaken till Oct. 1433. He is found in Bologna in July, 1436. He returned to Scotland before Sept. 1437, when he was appointed ambassador to England. In 1439 he ceased to be chancellor (J. Robertson in Preface to *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* p. lxxxii, note).

He died 24 Dec. (the night before Christmas) 1446 (R.G. 616) at his house of Lockwood, some seven miles from Glasgow (Spottiswoode, i. 223); at the castle of Glasgow (Roslin additions to *Extracta*, 238); 1446 'thar decessit in the castall of Glasgw Master Jhon Cameron bischop of Glasgw apon Zule ewyne,' *Ane schort memoriale*, etc., p. 6.

Joseph Robertson dismisses with contempt the attempt to make the bishop a brother or cousin of the chief of clan Cameron. 'Contemporary records leave scarcely a doubt that he sprung from a burgher family of Edinburgh, deriving its name from the lands of Cameron in the neighbouring barony of Craigmillar' (*Statuta Eccl. Scot.* i. p. lxxxii).

Some references to charter evidence: It is probably the future bishop who appears as John Cameron, licentiate in degrees, and secretary of Archibald, earl of Wigton, 2 Dec. 1423 (R.M.S. ii. No. 13); provost of the collegiate church of Lincolndane and keeper of the privy seal, 25 Feb. 1425-26 (R.M.S. lib. ii. No. 23).

George Buchanan's account of Cameron's death-bed (*Historia*, xi. 25) is based upon a probably untrustworthy tradition.

A shield on Cameron's seal bore arms: Three bars (Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Shields*, p. 36). Attention may be called to an error in the assignment of the episcopal seals by the editor of the Bannatyne Club edition of R.G. The seal of John, pictured in Plate iii. No. 3 is not the seal of John Cameron, as stated, but of John Laing (1474-1483). Cameron's arms, a shield bearing three bars, with two salmons, having rings in their mouths, as supporters, was sculptured on the great tower of the episcopal palace. The shield was placed over a pastoral staff, and is surmounted by a mitre with the initials I.C. in Gothic letters. This sculpture, from a pen and ink sketch made in 1752, is pictured in Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, i. 501.

J. DOWDEN.

(To be continued.)

[The Seal of Bishop Eggescliffe from one of the Brackley Charters in the Muniment Room of Magdalen College, Oxford, is reproduced by permission of Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. For the other illustrations the Editor is indebted to Mr. David Murray, LL.D., who owns the engravings which appeared in Gordon's 'Glasghu Facies.'

Ed. S.H.R.]

Reviews of Books

A HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee. Vol. VIII. THE PARISH OF TYNEMOUTH. By H. H. E. Craster, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Pp. xiv, 457, demy 4to. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Company, Limited, 1907. £2 2s. nett.

THE members of the Northumberland County History Committee have added to their laurels by the production of the eighth volume of the great series which will ultimately embrace every district of the county of Northumberland. It is no disparagement to the work expended on previous volumes to say that the history of the parish of Tynemouth has established a record for a well-digested and exhaustive review of the historical materials at their disposal.

One of the causes which have contributed to make this volume a notable member of the series must be ascribed, without a doubt, to the accomplishments of the editor, who has brought to his task a trained scholarship for the tackling of historical problems, and a literary skill for their exposition and presentation. The subject, too, must be reckoned as contributory in some measure to this excellent result, for the volume is confined to a single franchise which has occupied a conspicuous place in northern history. Mr. Craster has been fortunate in succeeding to the editorial chair at the very juncture, when a stage in the enterprise was reached which afforded him such a fine opportunity for the display of his critical abilities and historical knowledge. Northumberland has produced several topographical writers of the first rank who have placed their gifts at the disposal of their native county, and there is no sign that the genius of the race has been exhausted. It should be mentioned, also, that the editor is assisted by a county committee, with the Duke of Northumberland at its head, all the members of which are well-known antiquaries distinguished in some department of Northumbrian history. In any case, to whomsoever special credit may be due, the sum of their united labours is making the history of their county a model for the rest of the English shires.

The history of the priory is marked at every period by careful research. There is no need to keep in mind the caution of Dugdale's editors that, 'as far as the Saxon period goes the reader must form his own judgment from the testimonies adduced.' No such uncertainty accompanies us in the perusal of these pages. There is no attempt to write history where history does not exist. Nor is there a dogmatic repetition

of venerable legends: a sound critical judgment points us to the most trustworthy sources. The same remark may be made about such difficult matters as castleward and cornage, and other institutional and economic problems, about which there is room for divergence of opinion. Intelligent reasons have been given for the conclusions favoured by the author, and the reader is left to accept or reject them as he thinks fit.

There is one epoch, however, and that not the least important of the history of Northumberland, which does not appear to have been so fully emphasized as its undoubted obscurity required. No clear distinction has been made in dealing with institutions in their relation to native as distinguished from feudal law, and the gradual absorption of one law by the other. Northumbria had characteristics of early law and custom which differentiated it from the rest of the kingdom, and tenaciously resisted the inroads of Norman ideas. The danger is that these archaic survivals should be interpreted in the light of feudal prepossessions. For instance, Mr. Craster says (p. 214) that, 'as the lands of the monastery were held in frankalmoin, they were free from the feudal obligations of military service.' But he did not tell us that freedom from military service was not originally inherent in tenure by frankalmoin. Feudalism made it so, or rather it grew to be reckoned as such under that influence. Nothing is clearer than that all the land of Northumbria was obliged to contribute to its own defence. If religious men held their lands free from that obligation, it was because the original donor had burdened the rest of his land with the quota due from that which he had alienated. There is a classical illustration of the usage among the Coldingham charters (No. 21) when King David I. broke through the crystallizing process by transferring the military burden of some of the lands of the monastery, held in free alms, from the shoulders of the donor to those of the beneficiaries. Then, too, what is the meaning of the next sentence, where it is stated that, 'on the other hand the prior maintained the castle of Tynemouth at his own cost and so contributed to the work of national defence. His men were not required to go out with the fyrd, except in cases of actual invasion of the earldom'? Now, if the prior's lands were held in frankalmoin, which meant freedom from military service, why was he obliged to maintain a castle, and why did he enjoy immunity of the fyrd, except in a certain specified contingency? Is there not confusion here? Is not the author mixing up cornage with knight's service? It is becoming more and more evident that the traditional view, to which some scholars cling with superstitious idolatry, is not sufficient to explain the problems of early Northumbrian institutions.

The chapter on the manor is of great interest and value. Few single manors could be discussed with such fulness. There is, of course, a sameness about manorial customs everywhere, but especially within the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, but we do not fail to meet with fuller explanation of obscure points in individual manors, not to be expected in all of them. Where can we look for this guidance if not in a great ecclesiastical franchise where agricultural economy had reached

216 Craster : A History of Northumberland

a high standard? The student will not be disappointed in his perusal of this section of the work. Seldom has it been one's good fortune to meet with such a comprehensive survey, thanks to the clearness of the scholarly narrative, no less than to the abundance of the material.

English county volumes have, as a rule, little attraction for students of Scottish history, but the history of Northumberland is an exception to this rule, and no English county can compete with it for close connexion with the national history north of the Tweed. In order to prove what a mere platitude this statement is, the Scottish antiquary has only to consult this volume. So long as the great repository of Durham continues to pour out its unrivalled store of early evidences, no worker in Scottish history can afford to shut his eyes to what the English side of the Borderland can teach him. In addition to these, the Register of St. Alban's (Cott. MS. Tib. E. vi.), the mother house of the priory of Tynemouth, has been ransacked for charters bearing on the franchise with the most happy results for Scottish history. It would be tedious to enumerate particularly the scope of the editor's diligence in this respect. The abstracts of early Scottish charters, embodied in the notes, are a sufficient indication of what has been accomplished.

The eighth volume, like its fellows in the series, is enriched with many illustrations of seals, charters, ground plans, elevations, views, maps, old prints, drawings, and other miscellaneous antiquities, all of which are conceived and executed in the best style. In this connexion it should be noticed that the descriptive narrative on the architectural features of the monastic buildings is due to Mr. W. H. Knowles, who superintended excavations in 1904-5 for the purpose of ascertaining the Norman plan of the conventual church. Technical articles on such subjects as geology, coal-trade, and sea-fisheries have been supplied by competent contributors, while the pre-Conquest stones at Tynemouth have been described by the veteran expert, Dr. Greenwell, and the pedigrees have been prepared by Mr. J. C. Hodgson, the editor of previous volumes of this history. Not the least valuable and welcome service to the reader has been performed by Miss B. M. Craster, who has furnished a full and trustworthy index. The typography of the volume is a credit to the Newcastle press.

JAMES WILSON.

CROMWELL. By Wolfgang Michael, Professor in the University of Freiburg. 2 Vols. Pp. Vol. I. xi, 281; Vol. II. vii, 244. 8vo. Berlin: E. Hofmann & Co. 1907.

THIS latest Life of Cromwell is a welcome addition to the brilliant series of biographies published under the title of *Geisteshelden*. Professor Michael (who is already known by his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* and by his article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* on the dissolution of the Long Parliament) has made a very thorough study of authorities, both contemporary and modern, as appears from the

admirable bibliography at the end of each volume. As a foreigner, he is not hampered by the prejudices and traditions which overpower most Englishmen and Scotsmen, to say nothing of Irishmen, when dealing with the figure of the Great Protector; and a new light is often thrown upon the events of the Civil War by analogies or contrasts with the Continent. Charles's government without a Parliament is compared with Louis XIII.'s policy towards the States General, the career of Strafford with that of the German Landesherren. The disasters which befell the Protestants in the early stages of the Thirty Years' War are directly ascribed to the absence of the chief power on whom they might fairly have counted. In the admirable chapter on the Cromwellian Army, in which full justice is done to Professor Firth's researches, the New Model is brought into line with the army systems of Maurice of Orange and Gustavus Adolphus. On p. 214 the author probably underestimates Cromwell's personal dislike of Charles and his share in the King's execution; though with the clearer perspective of a foreign observer, he realises that it was the Irish and Scottish campaigns, far more than the tragedy of Whitehall, which laid the basis of Cromwell's commanding position. It is worth noting that he invariably repels the old charge of hypocrisy made against Cromwell, since 'the Puritan manner of speech, which certainly hides practical thoughts under devout phrases, can none the less only be regarded as hypocritical by those who fail to understand the men of that age.' A good deal of space is devoted to the political theories of the Civil War (and here it is pleasant to note the influence ascribed to Buchanan's *De Jure* as a handbook for the men of the Long Parliament) and to the verdicts of contemporaries, both at home and abroad. Among the latter the most noteworthy are Andrew Gryphius' *Die ermordete Majestät, oder Carolus Stuardus*; the comparison drawn by Petrus Negeschiuss between the Protector and Tiberius; and the *Dialogue between Cromwell and Charles*, published in triple rhymed verse at Hamburg in 1651 and reproduced in full at the end of the first volume. No attempt is made to conceal the fact that Cromwell proved unequal to the constitutional problems before him, or that Finance was the weakest side of his rule. But Gardiner's argument, that faulty finance was bound to prove fatal to his foreign policy, is met by a reference to the victories of the Great Elector under far worse financial circumstances. For at the very time when West Prussia was being won, that prince could not afford to save his envoy in London from imprisonment for debt; while his envoy at the Hague had to abandon his mission to England from sheer lack of money.

Undoubtedly the most valuable portion of the book is that which deals with Cromwell's Foreign Policy. This is partly based upon fresh material from the Archives of Stockholm and Berlin, notably the Reports of Johann Friedrich Schlezer, the Brandenburg envoy in London from 1655 to 1659, which, though consulted by Erdmannsdörffer for his German History, have never as yet been printed. Schlezer was at first regarded with scant favour by Cromwell, who held that the Elector should have sent an envoy of higher rank; and latterly his position

was impaired by his imprisonment for debt. But he seems none the less to have been intimate with President Lawrence of the Privy Council, with George Fleetwood, brother of Cromwell's son-in-law, and with Bate, the Protector's physician, and his reports are full of interesting matter.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the great position which Cromwell had won for himself in Europe, than the success with which he assumed the rôle of mediator among the Northern Powers. At his accession to power, he found Holland and Denmark in commercial alliance, and the Sound was closed to English ships during the Dutch War. Cromwell's main aim in pressing for an alliance with Sweden, apart from Protestant sympathies for the land of the great Gustavus, was to secure the freedom of Baltic trade; and partly as a result of this rapprochement, partly as a natural consequence of the Dutch War, Denmark in 1654 conceded to British vessels in the Sound the same rights as those already enjoyed by the Dutch. The war of 1657 between Denmark and Sweden caused Cromwell great annoyance, and the peace of Roskilde was due to the exertions of his envoy Meadows. Henceforth the Sound ceased to be in a single hand, and British commerce derived still further encouragement from Cromwell's design of sending a warfleet to the Baltic. Of far more doubtful expediency was Cromwell's dream of territorial acquisition in Germany, though at the moment the strategic value of the Duchy of Bremen—as a wedge between Holland and Denmark, an outpost of British trade, and a point of contact with the German Protestants in their struggle against the Habsburgs—may well have outweighed the less obvious drawbacks which its later acquisition by George I. were found to involve for Great Britain. Meanwhile Professor Michael vigorously defends Cromwell's policy in occupying Dunkirk. 'The disgust of the French, the anxiety of the Dutch, speak volumes for the advantage which the acquisition of Dunkirk was bound to bring to England. But even more conclusive is the fact that later on Dunkirk, when held by the French, formed a permanent danger to British trade, and that in the wars against Louis XIV. it was one of the most important objects of struggle.' Professor Michael is perhaps least convincing when he writes of the Protestant policy of Cromwell. Thurlow was no doubt quite correct in reporting Cromwell as eager for a league of Protestant princes and republics, and the project of union with Holland was a dream worthy of such a champion of Protestantism. But after all, where practical politics were concerned, Cromwell was before all else an intensely patriotic, almost insular Englishman, who placed the greatness and even the material interests of his country before the vague ideals of cosmopolitan Calvinism. No one who reads Professor Michael's account of the Dutch and Spanish wars, and of the Protector's Northern Policy, can refuse to admit his contention that Cromwell's 'contribution to the rise of modern British sea-power cannot be estimated too highly,' and that his services to British commerce are hardly less important. 'England's power under the Protectorate seemed all the more imposing to the Continent, because under the first two Stuarts it had almost

been forgotten'; and this fact is emphasised by the disgraceful change which took place under the Restoration.

The book contains two interesting portraits of Cromwell, from the castle of Gripsholm in Sweden. There cannot be too many good books on Cromwell, and this volume, which combines German thoroughness and scholarship with an attractive style, is well worthy of an English translation.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. Vol. vii. A.D. 1538-1541. Pp. liii, 627. Roy. 8vo. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House. 1907. 15s. nett.

MORE colour and variety of history may be said to characterize the finance of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland than can be found in any other official record. His circle is the court; the centre of interest is social and personal; and round about the king and his energies the whole story of the time revolves. From 1538 until 1541 the royal horizon, which had but recently been darkened by the death of Queen Magdalene, was clear and bright at the coming of Marie of Lorraine, although probably few observers suspected how brief would be the interval of repose and how soon the storm was to break at almost all points of the compass in military disaster, religious conflict, and civil war. The present instalment of the royal accounts comprises part of detailed costs of three ships—the *Mary Willoughby*, the *Morisat*, and the *Salamander*—employed in the king's service to and from France between 1536 and 1538 relative to the wooing and home-bringing of the successive brides.

More attractive points of these French Accounts, as the preface styles them, are the general receipts and outlays, including the dowries of the two queens, on the one hand, and the costs of apparel, napery, and new-year gifts of the king while in France, on the other. Goldsmith work ran away with money, and the wine bill and the scale of tips were alike kingly. Particular items of all kinds abound: a random few may be cited. There are 400 crowns 'gevin to the gentilman that brocht the suerd and hatt fra the Papis halines to the Kingis grace'; there is mention of Ralf Sadler and continual allusion to Oliver Sinclair; there are payments for spying in the Straits of Dover—'throu the pace of Cales to vesie the Inglis schoir'—to secure the home-coming bridal party, while the 'lard of Grange' saw to the furnishing of the ships and Johne Barton saw to the sails. Gunners, 'lavanderis,' 'the pantreman,' 'Johne Scot, Frencheman, quhilck wes maister of the Kingis schip,' 'the maister tymmerman quhilck maid the *Salamander*,' the organist, the 'tapister,' the maister-cuke, the 'minstralis of the Quene of Frauncis,' and the king's tailors, drew in their several manners and degrees upon the royal treasury.

Domestic facts are still more important, and might tempt quotation without end. It is the tale of a Scotland full of life and progress. There is much making of artillery and gunpowder, and there is record of

extensive fortification at Edinburgh Castle as well as at Leith, and even in 'the Kingis grace castell in Bute.' Evidently there was plenty of work for court goldsmiths. In architecture there were operations on Linlithgow which Sir David Lindsay vaunts as fit to be 'ane pattern in Portugall or France.' On shipping matters there are many passages about the building, repairing, and outfitting of vessels, and concerning voyages, such as that of the *Unicorn* 'to seik the pyrotis,' and that of the king himself to the Isles, and the disposal of such things as 'the auld puldir barrellis resavit furtht of the schippis efter thair returnyng fra the Ilis.' Personal items include the costs of scabbards for the king's rapiers, the purchase of 'jousting gear' and the stabling of his great jousting horse. Though gunpowder figures largely in the war-stores, we hear also of 'hand-bowis,' some being 'Scottis bowis' at 9s. and others 'Inglis' at 16s. each. Signs of the age appear in the burning of a man at Cupar in 1539 and the forfeiture of a heretic's effects. Interesting also are the references to mining enterprises in Crawford Muir, in which the quest of gold was furthered by Englishmen and Frenchmen.

Sir James Balfour Paul's annotations are well chosen and well thought out, and his consideration for his readers includes the last favour of leaving them some things for themselves. The present reviewer has been glad to note one or two points. The first is that a dog of the king's, which is named, is the hound 'Bagsche' whose 'complaint and publict confessioun' give Sir David Lindsay so bright a theme. Geordie Steill, mentioned in that poem, whom Bagsche cursed so heartily, appears in these accounts doing many messages for the king. 'Patrick Strivling' (whom Bagsche—a dog who bragged of making many 'bludie sarkis'—very nearly worried to death) was a groom of the king's chamber. 'Black Makesonn,' another victim in the poem, was one of the king's lackeys. How far the poetical episodes of Bagsche's career are historical it is of course impossible to say, but from the accounts it is certain that in 1536 £4 Scots was paid to a 'leiche, for the mending of the Kingis dog callit Begsche.'

Squire Meldrum, famed as a subject of Lindsay's verse, makes his appearance in these official pages, as does Sir David himself. Another interesting name we meet with here is that of Alexander Orrock of Sillebawbye, master of the mint from 1538, to whom almost without a doubt the base silver bawbee owed both its first coinage and its name. Well edited, prefaced and indexed, these records are invaluable additions to the social, military, industrial, marine, and even the literary, history of the age of James V.

GEO. NEILSON.

GEORGE BUCHANAN: *GLASGOW QUATERCENTENARY STUDIES*, 1906.
 Edited by George Neilson, LL.D. 8vo. Pp. xxxiii, 556. Glasgow:
 James MacLehose & Sons. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE Introduction to this comprehensive volume supplies us with an interesting account of the celebrations of the four-hundredth anniversary

of the birth of Buchanan held at St. Andrews and Glasgow during the summer and autumn of 1906. The volume itself begins with the admirable Address delivered by the Rev. Principal Lindsay at the University, Glasgow. Then follow papers of varied interest on Buchanan's connexion with the University and Grammar School of Glasgow, on the Scottish, and on the First English, Translation of his Latin *History of Scotland*, on an English translation of the *Baptistes*, attributed to Milton, with some verse-renderings of short passages from his other poems. The volume also includes Mr. T. D. Robb's Prize Essay on *Sixteenth-Century Humanism as illustrated by the Life and Work of George Buchanan*, Dr. McKechnie's paper on the treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, Dr. G. Neilson's footnotes on the *Franciscan*, Dr. Bell's on a musical setting of Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms, a genealogical note by Mr. A. W. Gray Buchanan, with papers on the Portraits of Buchanan by Mr. W. Carruthers, and on his *Marginalia* by the Rev. P. H. Aitken, and, finally, the great Catalogue of Printed Books, MSS, Charters, and other Documents, by Dr. David Murray, followed by one or two Ana, and an Index.

The volume, as a whole, reflects the highest credit on the editor and on all who have taken part in its preparation and production, and Glasgow is to be congratulated on the important share which it has taken in the Quatercentenary commemoration of the birth of one of the greatest representatives of Scotland, in the world of Scholarship and of Letters. A pre-eminent degree of literary interest belongs to Principal Lindsay's Address, which is a masterpiece of its kind, being a graphic account of the salient points of Buchanan's career, clothed in the same attractive style which made the Principal's Chapter on Luther one of the most interesting portions of the volume on the Reformation in the *Cambridge Modern History*. We are here enabled to follow the general course of Buchanan's life as a student and as a lecturer in Paris, and as a teacher at Bordeaux and Coimbra, and also to learn something as to the trial before the Inquisition at Lisbon, on which new light has since been thrown by the publication of the official minutes of the trial of Buchanan and his companions in tribulation, for which we are indebted to Mr. Henriques of Lisbon, whose work was published in December, 1906. As is well known, it was mainly during this time of residence in Portugal that the celebrated Latin Paraphrase of the Psalms was composed. The life of Buchanan after his return to Scotland is much more briefly sketched in the Address, space being thus gained for an estimate of his genius, in the course of which he is justly described as 'great as a teacher, great as a poet, and, above all, great as a political thinker,' while the *Baptistes* and the treatise *De Jure Regni* are singled out as those of his works which 'have done most to influence and to mould mankind.' There is only one point in this admirable Address on which one might perhaps be permitted to express a respectful doubt. In the contrast between the 'New Learning and the Old,' on p. 5, the former is apparently identified with the new interest in classical studies during the Revival of Learning, and the

latter with the attitude towards the Classics which prevailed among the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Similarly, on p. 24, 'the New Learning, as it was called, had revived the study of the treasures of a cultured literary antiquity.' Such an identification is, I am aware, quite common; it is frequently to be found, for instance, in Green's *Short History of the English People*. We there read of 'the group of scholars who represented the New Learning in England,' of Erasmus, during his 'long scholar-life,' as embodying 'the quickening influence of the New Learning,' and how 'as yet the New Learning, though scared by Luther's intemperate language, had steadily backed him in his struggle' (pp. 306, 308, 321). But it would be interesting to ascertain on what authority this identification ultimately rests. We are assured by the learned Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation, Abbot Gasquet, in the Second Chapter of his volume on *The Eve of the Reformation*, that, 'in the Reformation days,' the term 'New Learning,' 'was in no sense connected with the revival of letters, or with what is now understood by learning and culture; but it was a well-recognised expression used to denote the novel religious teachings of Luther and his followers.' Abbot Gasquet supports this opinion by several cogent examples, e.g. a Catholic preacher, whose sermons were printed in 1557, praises the olden times 'before this wicked "New Learning" arose in Saxony,' and there are similar examples in 1531 and 1537, while there is 'an absence of any contemporary evidence of the use of this expression to denote the revival of letters' (pp. 15-20). Ever since Abbot Gasquet's book was published in 1900 a ban has fallen on this familiar phrase in its popular modern acceptance, and one is, consequently, compelled to take refuge in inconvenient periphrases, in the endeavour to avoid its use. If there is really any example of the 'New Learning' being used as a synonym for 'the new interest in classical studies,' either in the British Isles or in Germany, or elsewhere, during the Age of the Reformation, no one is better able to point it out than the learned author of the *Life of Luther* and of other works on the History of the Reformation, and we should be grateful for any light that Principal Lindsay would kindly throw on the subject.

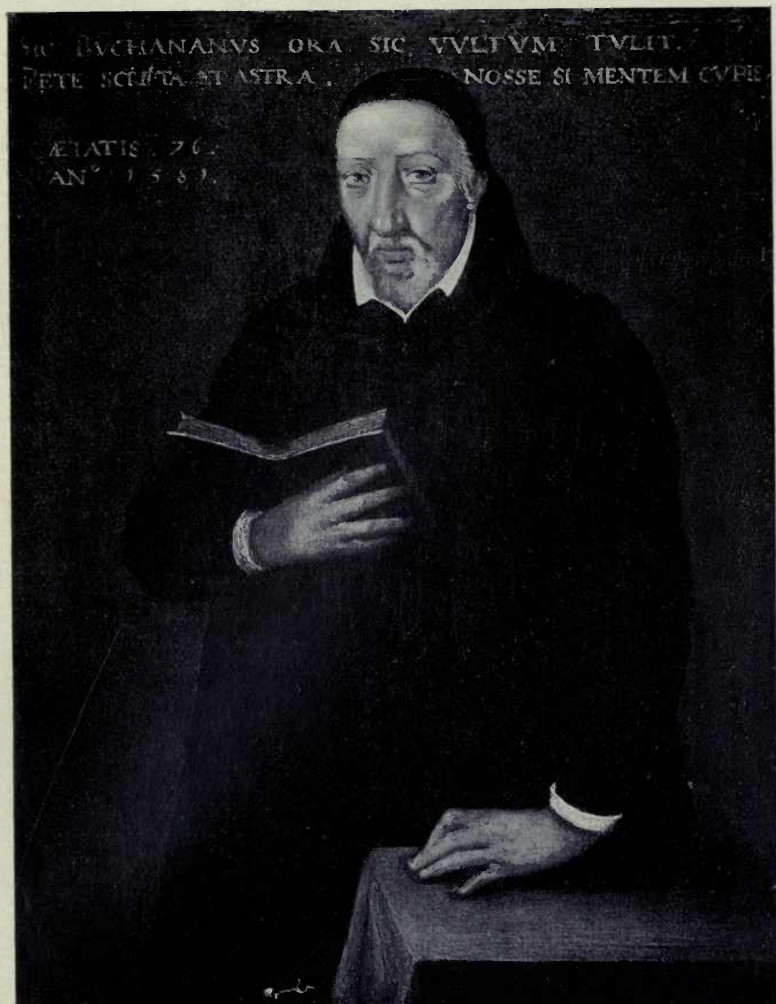
Not unnaturally we find Mr. Robb, in his excellent essay on *Sixteenth-Century Humanism* (on p. 196 and elsewhere) similarly treating 'the New Learning' as synonymous with Humanism in some of its earlier phases. Mr. Robb's essay abounds in those broad and general statements which are not unwelcome to most readers, but, here and there, a little more precision might perhaps be expected by scholars. Thus, in the very first paragraph, we are told that, when Buchanan left Scotland as a lad of 14 (the date implied being 1520) 'every university was full of the Greek and Trojan clamour.' This may have been true of some universities; it was certainly true of Oxford, but it was not true of Cambridge. We have only to turn to a letter of Erasmus (No. 380), written in 1519, to find him saying, in a well-known passage, 'England has two celebrated universities, Cambridge and Oxford. Greek is taught at both, but at Cambridge without dis-

turbance (*tranquille*), as its school is under the government of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a divine, not only in learning, but in life.' It was at Oxford, in the year 1518, that the battle broke out between the 'Greeks and the Trojans,' a battle that was easily quelled by the judicious letter sent by More, who was then in attendance on Henry VIII. at Abingdon in the immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Robb writes with discrimination on the subject of Humanism, and indicates the points in which Buchanan (in some respects like More and Erasmus) stands apart from others who belong to the same general movement. But, incidentally, we here find him observing that 'Cardinal Bembo, telling a hopeful disciple to avoid reading Scripture, lest he should contaminate his Latin style, is the typical Italian humanist of his time.' The 'hopeful disciple' is meant for Sadoletto, and the story is possibly derived from the *Cambridge Modern History* (i. 564), or (more probably) from its necessarily unnamed source in J. A. Symonds' *Revival of Learning* (p. 398, ed. 1882). Symonds' authority, which is not given, was doubtless the article on Bembo in the well-known *Dictionary* of Bayle, who states that certain persons, 'allege that, having learned that Sadoletto was expounding the *Epistle to the Romans*, Bembo said to him: *Omitte has nugas, non enim decent gravem virum tales ineptiae*. The only authority quoted by Bayle is a note by Gregorius Michaelis, in his Latin edition (Hamburg, 1676) of the *Curiositez Inouyes* (Rouen, 1632), of the French cabalistic writer, Jacques Gaffarel. This note, which is an absolutely unsupported statement, written more than a century after the death of Bembo, is surely unworthy of credit. Mazzuchelli, in his far longer article on Bembo, published half a century after Bayle's death, omits the story, while he significantly observes that there is no authority for a similar story about Bembo's having requested permission to read the Office in Greek for fear of spoiling his Latin. It may be hoped that we have now heard the last of this apparently unfounded fabrication. Cardinal Bembo was 'a typical Italian Humanist,' but not for the reason alleged in the above sentence by Mr. Robb, and by his precursors who have unfortunately led him astray. Similarly, he has been accidentally misled by Froude in making Erasmus use the word *coaugmentatus* (which has no authority) instead of *coagmentatus*, which is duly found in the original text,—the Commentary on 1 Timothy i. 6 (p. 664, ed. 1535). Mr. Robb's English renderings of his quotations from Buchanan's poems are generally excellent; it is quite exceptional to find such an imperfect line of blank verse as 'Mustiness is anything raked out,' which is a flaw in an otherwise fine rendering of a passage from the *Baptistes* (p. 178). Mr. Robb's able and suggestive essay is followed by Dr. McKechnie's weighty and important paper on Buchanan's political philosophy, showing at some length that the only reason why his treatise *De Jure Regni*, which aroused so much discussion in its day, is now neglected, is the fact that the author's 'chief theories of government have been quietly absorbed into the stock of ideas that form the common heritage of mankind.' There are other articles over which one is tempted to linger. One of the most attractive is that on Buchanan's portraits, by Mr. W. Carruthers,

which is illustrated by no less than ten of the existing paintings or engravings. The frontispiece is taken from the painting in the National Gallery, London, and the 'general effect' of the engraving in Boissard's *Icones* (1598), also reproduced as the frontispiece of Dr. Hume Brown's classic *Life of Buchanan*, and followed (by the way) in the Greyfriars memorial in Edinburgh, is recognized as 'satisfactory.' The ambiguous monogram on this engraving is here read I. G. T. H., i.e. Jacques Granthomme, and this solution should presumably be substituted for the reading P. C. H. on p. 503.

An important feature of the Commemoration at St. Andrews in July, 1906, was an exhibition of books which had formerly belonged to Buchanan, together with examples of all the editions of his works that could then be collected. By the friendly co-operation of St. Andrews, this collection was exhibited anew at Glasgow in the first fortnight of November, with such additions as further opportunity made possible. The many interesting items in this extensive collection have necessarily gone back to their respective owners; but, although the books have been thus dispersed, we happily have a permanent memorial of the exhibition in the admirably 'Catalogue of Printed Books, MSS., Charters, and other Documents,' which fills as many as 150 pages of this volume. It is the work of Dr. David Murray, whose extensive and accurate bibliographical knowledge has already been exemplified in the papers on *Some Early Grammars and other School Books in use in Scotland, more particularly those printed at or relating to Glasgow*, published by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow in 1905-6. Dr. David Murray is evidently one of those thorough and genuine scholars who can make even a catalogue attractive by enriching it with many items of biographical or literary interest—by doing, in fact, much more than is in the bond.

The Latin poems of Buchanan are dealt with in various parts of this volume; they have also been recently the theme of an excellent article by Dr. E. K. Rand, of Cambridge, U.S.A., filling eight columns of the *New York Nation* for November 7. This article is, happily, accessible to all students or admirers of Buchanan, while only a few of them have had the privilege of seeing the privately-printed poem of 1906, consisting of some 250 Latin hexameters from the skilful pen of Professor W. R. Hardie,—the *Buchanani Genethliacon*, which stands by the side of Dr. Hume Brown's *Biography* as one of the scholarly tributes which have been paid in Edinburgh to the memory of the greatest Humanist of Scotland. I trust that this poem may some day be published in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review* or elsewhere. Meanwhile, the Memorial Volume produced by the patriotic co-operation of many eager and able workers in Glasgow is one which every one who is interested in Buchanan is bound to buy. By far the greatest part is of much more than local interest, while all its contents contribute towards enabling us to form a more perfect picture of one who is eloquently described, by Principal Lindsay, as 'a genuine Scot to the marrow of his bones, who had obtained an almost unique



GEORGE BUCHANAN
National Portrait Gallery, London

Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles 225

position among the learned men of Europe,' and, by Mr. Robb, as 'the greatest Scotsman of his time, and one of the greatest men in Western Europe.'

J. E. SANDYS.

ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES : Two Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems. Edited by George Philip Krapp, Lecturer in English in Columbia University. Pp. lxxxix, 238. London : Ginn & Company. 1906.

THESE two poems have already been the subject of notice and discussion in the *S.H. Review* ; the present edition ought to have been commended before this to those readers who have taken an interest in problems of authorship, and even more to those who wish to read the poems and understand them. Mr. Krapp's work is thoroughly good, and delightful to follow and to praise. If there is any fault to be found, it can only be that he has left scarcely anything for his pupils to do ; everything is provided and made easy for them.

As to the relation between *Andreas* and the *Fates of the Apostles*, Mr. Krapp holds that they are separate poems, and that *Andreas* is probably not by Cynewulf. In support of this opinion he brings forward as his chief argument the fact that each poem has a source of its own, and 'its own internal development.' The case is stated clearly and impartially, and is not easy to refute. The more one looks at the poems and the account of their origins, the less likely it appears that they should have formed the continuous work.

The separation of the two poems of course still leaves it possible that *Andreas* may have been written by Cynewulf ; here there is room for private judgment, only to be controlled by strict enquiry into the language and style of the poem. Mr. Krapp gives a list of the chief differences in language between *Andreas* and the poems known to be Cynewulf's. The value of this evidence will be variously estimated by different readers according to their own experience in this sort of study ; Mr. Krapp's summing up is not peremptory. His caution and his clearness of statement are very welcome in contrast to some of the logic employed by other students of old English literature. We cannot forget the historian who proved that Cynewulf could not have been a Northumbrian—because there were 15 kings of Northumbria in the eighth century as against 7 in Mercia—Northumbria plainly a disturbed unhappy country, not fit for a poetic child.

W. P. KER.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Vol. VII. THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION, 1603-1660. By F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A. Pp. xix, 514. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 7s. 6d. net.

MAINTAINING throughout a steady level of achievement, this volume of the new *Political History* has many admirable features. It is moderate

226 Montague : Political History of England

in tone, well balanced, well proportioned, and well written. Yet the very evenness of its merit results in a defect. Professor Montague has undertaken almost too conscientiously the heavy and perhaps thankless task set him by the editors, and has tried to pack everything—or almost everything—of importance, connected with these sixty momentous years, into his 500 pages. His book, crowded as it is with lucid narrative and instructive commentary, has become monotonous in its uniformly adequate attainment. As a standard by which the tyro may measure and correct the extremes of partisan writers, or for purposes of ready reference, it could hardly be improved; but no one portion of the praiseworthy whole rises sufficiently high to fire the enthusiasm of the most impressionable reader. There is too much of the level plain; too little of the mountain top with its possibilities of bird's-eye views. The dread of omitting anything of moment, and the endeavour to keep each topic in due subordination to the whole, have produced a general effect of flatness. Among many shrewd observations upon men and events, there occur too few of those broad generalizations and estimates of far-reaching tendencies that help to raise such a history to the highest rank. The sense of disappointment experienced in consequence is not lightened by the conviction that this defect proceeds from no fault on the author's part, but from the regulations wherewith his task has been surrounded and conditioned. Those, indeed, who have learned from Professor Montague's earlier works how thorough is his mastery of the principles of constitutional law and political theory, will realise that he might have produced a more interesting book, if he had been left at liberty to fill his pages with topics of his own selection, confining himself to a full and adequate treatment of those matters in which his deepest sympathies were engaged, or wherein he had some special message of his own to convey.

Of his estimates of individual men and causes it is unnecessary to speak here in any detail. While never striving after originality, Professor Montague does not defer unduly to accepted estimates—not even to those of Mr. Gardiner. His verdict on Bacon's moral delinquencies, for example, is more severe than that pronounced by the majority of recent writers. Wentworth, again, is represented as an apostle of liberty who lapsed to the king's side mainly through 'motives of self-interest' (p. 226). In spite of the high authority of Macaulay (whom he might have cited in support of his contention), this is surely an erroneous conception of that haughty and consistent upholder of prerogative (and of progress through prerogative), who found himself for a brief season thrown by the neglect of the court into alliance with the uncongenial leaders of the Puritan opposition. The account given of Cromwell's quarrel with his parliament on the question of the 'fundamentals' and the right of veto, seems somewhat inadequate (pp. 424-5). In the final summing up of the Protector's permanent contribution to history (pp. 459-462), two vital factors are omitted—his scheme of finance, which, adopted by the advisers of Charles II. at the Restoration, laid the foundation of England's future greatness

among European powers, and his anticipation of the main lines on which the Union of 1707 was ultimately achieved. In treating incidentally of Scotland and its affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, Mr. Montague shows his usual moderation and fair-mindedness. His statement, however, that 'the highlands, a full half of the kingdom, were still barbarous' under Charles I. (p. 203), requires some qualification ; while the description of the Scots at the time of the signing of the Covenant as 'a shrewd and sceptical race' (p. 207) arouses curiosity as to his grounds for the latter half of this opinion.

Mr. Montague could not be expected to make any startling discoveries in dealing with a period that had been subjected so recently to an exhaustive scrutiny by the untiring labours of Mr. Gardiner, especially as that writer has been followed by quite a number of historians eager to glean what little he had left. The results of modern research, however, have been here reduced to reasonable dimensions, sifted and arranged by a thoroughly competent authority, and presented in a straightforward and readable form.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE ROMAN JOURNALS OF FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS 1852-1874. Edited by Friedrich Althaus and translated from the second German edition by Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton. Pp. xxiv, 473. Post 8vo. London : George Bell & Sons, 1907. 10s. 6d.

THIS excellent rendering into English of Gregorovius' *Tagebücher* is from the pen of the translator of his *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, and a word of praise is due to the competent manner in which the *Journal* has been made accessible to English readers. The book well merits the labour which has been spent on it, for it has a double interest, historical and psychological. The twenty-two years of the author's residence in Rome, of which the *Journal* forms a record, were full of critical events, and throughout the period 'the Roman question' was the key which unlocked most of the secret chambers of European diplomacy. Of these events Gregorovius was an interested and, with certain limitations due to his character and mental training, a well-informed observer, and the *Journal* contains many dramatic side-lights on the death struggle of the Temporal Power of the Papacy, and on the social life of Rome 'before the Deluge.' But the strong anti-clericalism of the author necessarily limits the value of his impressions, and while his point of view was greatly modified as the period of his residence in Rome lengthened out, the change was due to the spell of the Eternal City working on a poetic spirit which had lived and suffered in her midst, and not to a widened outlook over the field of human activity. But while he thus failed at times rightly to estimate the aims of the actors who played their parts in the tragi-comedy of the latter years of Pio Nono, his powers as poet and historian enabled him to produce telling partial portraits of many of them. In 1855, for example, he wrote of Louis Napoleon: 'He has no genial virtue, is nothing but a legacy hunter'; and of Tosti: 'Nevertheless in his look there is

228 Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius

something of superior sagacity, that suddenly reveals the material of the prince of the Church. It is the inherited spirit of the Benedictine aristocracy that dwells within him. Tosti lives in communion with the minds that from Monte Cassino have influenced the world.' Of Manning at the time of the Vatican Council he wrote: 'Sat near Manning at Arnim's last evening party and closely observed the fanatic; a little grey man, looking as if encompassed by cobwebs'; and on discovering the exiled Royal family of Naples on their knees on the vast pavement of St. Peter's he likened the melancholy group to 'a heap of withered leaves.' The death of Gervinus evoked the penetrating judgment: 'It would appear that he wore himself out in the conflict between his doctrinaire convictions and the realities of the present. He was an entirely noble-minded man, inflexible, of firm convictions, and far reaching intelligence, a great prosaic spirit.' Gregorovius had a clear insight into the general trend of European politics, and the forecasts of events which are to be found in this *Journal* were frequently very near the mark. He divined the future of France and Austria when many observers with more accurate knowledge of the course of events were woefully at sea.

The autobiographic aspect of the *Journal* yields nothing in interest to its historical side, and in this respect its pages must appeal strongly to every worker in the field of history, for they record with poignant simplicity the painful struggle without which no *ouvrage de longue haleine* can be brought to completion. When Gregorovius reached Rome, in October 1852, he was a disappointed student of thirty-one, filled with the unrest which dogs the footsteps of one conscious of powers for which he cannot find an outlet, and two years passed before he recorded in his *Journal*, with austere joy, the inception of his life's work.

It was not until after twenty years of unremitting labour in what was then a virgin field that he could write: 'It is the result of a life and the product of personal enthusiasm. The bell which I have cast will be rung by many sacristans.' During the intervening period his *History* was an obsession; he gave himself body and soul to the work, grimly marking in his *Journal* the stations of what, to the creative artist, must always be a *via dolorosa* with such entries as: 'Have begun the third Chapter of Book VIII. This great work forms my real life,' or, in the fateful month of December 1870: 'Am agitated—and how can I finish the History of Rome at a time like this.'

Such entries, which seem perhaps commonplace apart from their context, strike the reader of the *Journal* with strange force as he comes upon them standing out against the dark background of Teutonic melancholy which is never absent from its pages. This constitutional melancholy which is familiar to readers of modern German memoirs, almost invariably accompanies healthy and intense mental activity and is a sign, not of a morbid state of mind, but rather of the conflict between a deep tide of racial emotion and the disillusioned self-knowledge of our times. This sad note which sounds, to take a recent instance, through the Hohenlohe Memoirs, gains an unwonted appeal in the case of Gregorovius whose *Journal* is steeped in the indescribable atmosphere of Rome. For

the historian of the city, in spite of his anti-clericalism, yielded himself more and more as the years of his residence passed to those elements of its charm most intimately associated with its religious aspect, and when it became the capital of the Italian kingdom he returned sadly to Germany, divining that his own past, with its quiet love tragedy, had vanished with the temporal power. But these suggestions must suffice to indicate the intense psychological interest of the journal, which will enable readers to turn to the *History* with a new appreciation as the work of a severe and noble spirit.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By Thomas Hughes, S.J. Vol. I. FROM THE FIRST COLONIZATION TILL 1645. Pp. xvi, 658. 8vo. With Maps and Facsimiles. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. 15s. nett.

THE history of Jesuit life and work in the British Colonies of North America is but a small portion of the great and comprehensive design which has occupied the attention of the promoters for a considerable period, and which, when completed, will embrace in different languages the official and authoritative account of the missionary enterprise of the Society throughout the world. It is very appropriate that such an undertaking should have the countenance and support of the Fathers of the Order, inasmuch as free access to original documents was indispensable if the work could claim to be regarded as trustworthy and complete. The Anglo-American section of the general scheme has fallen to Father Thomas Hughes, a member of the Society, who has brought to the execution of his task a wide acquaintance with his subject, literary and documentary, a sympathetic and lucid method of exposition, and a pleasing and easy style; for though the latter is sometimes disjointed and his facts not always well arranged, the reader is able to follow the argument without disconcerting effort.

It is somewhat unfortunate that the introductory volume has been issued separately from the volume of evidences which is to follow. In some measure the reader is left to accept the author's conclusions on faith when the opportunity of verification is denied him. We have no reasons, however, for assuming that the volume comprising the documentary material will not fully substantiate the narrative contained in the literary introduction before us. In a work planned on such a large scale it is very satisfactory that we should have, not scraps and quotations, but complete documents without revision or expurgation.

Under the stress of religious disability in England, the eyes of those earnest men, who were unable to accept the ecclesiastical settlement under Queen Elizabeth, were turned westward to find a new home and freedom of conscience in another land. So far back as 1574 Sir Humphrey Gylberte, who was at the head of these schemes, enjoyed the confidence of English Roman Catholics in looking for relief to a new world. If the Papists were willing to emigrate, it was supposed that the councillors of the Queen would place no obstacles in their way. In 1578 letters

patent were issued to Gilbert for the purpose of pegging out claims in the northern parts of America. The expedition had a colonial as well as a missionary character. The adventurers landed in Newfoundland in 1583 with their little fleet, and took possession in the Queen's name. Then followed a succession of maritime enterprises, which finally resulted in establishing a colonial empire in these regions for Great Britain. So rapid was the development of colonial activity, when the first English settlements had been made, that in the course of eighty years from the date of Gilbert's expedition no less than fifty-nine charters were granted for what had cost the British Crown nothing. The settlements, so authorized, were seen to range from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the equatorial line at the mouth of the Amazon. But unfortunately these charters were coloured by the national religion established at home, which made it impossible for any society or order in sympathy or communion with the Roman Church to feel enthusiasm about the enterprise. A distinct variation for the better, however, came in the letters patent of 20th June, 1632, which were drawn up from the Roman Catholic point of view, for the colonization of Maryland. The conversion of George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, in 1625, gave a new direction to colonial activity and laid the foundation of Jesuit Missions in the West.

One of the most interesting chapters in the volume is taken up with the establishment of the Maryland Mission during the years 1633-1640, when Father Andrew White was selected to supervise the enterprise. He was the author of the *Declaratio Coloniae*, or 'An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore in Maryland near Virginia,' in which the first conditions of plantation were set out. The primary object of colonization in the New England, as stated in the Declaration, was of course spiritual, not without a flavour of the old motives which prompted Pope Gregory in a distant century to send missionaries to evangelize the Old England. But the scope of the enterprise was not to attract missionaries and ecclesiastics only: religious zeal was not enough to found a colony. The principles of Loyola were applied concurrently with those of Gregory in giving the enterprise a secular or commercial aspect for the purpose of winning over adventurers or men with money to invest. Lord Baltimore, with an eye to business, took care to have these conditions embodied in his instructions to the commissioners of plantation in 1633. As the new colony developed, and as the colonists co-operated with the governor in enriching each other, the missionaries had cause for complaint by reason of their non-recognition in the territorial administration. No provision was made for the maintenance of the ministry, though the Jesuit Fathers contended that they should be treated on the same terms as the clergy in all the countries of Europe.

In treating of this colonial injustice to the Jesuit missionaries, the author has been a little harsh with the other religious communities who were working in the same field. It is notoriously unfair to select a few shady incidents in the life of a rival in order to

throw out in stronger relief the virtue of the hero of the tale. The work of the Puritans and Huguenots, it is true, receives a scant recognition, but the Anglican contribution to America in point of men, in the opinion of Father Hughes, depended upon the tithes and glebes which were to attend the ministry. The ministers of the Church of England professed themselves to be helpless without the money of the establishment. 'No tithes, no ministers' was the motto of the Anglicans. But Rome had poor priests to fall back upon, if she had not poor bishops, as the author says with delightful irony, who undertook to go whithersoever the Pope sent them without asking for viaticum or travelling expenses. Another disadvantage the young Anglican graduates had in the mission field: they were veritable dunces in theology, and easily foiled in argument. Father White, when he took up his mission, had little difficulty in pulverizing the logic of those untrained controversialists. No sensible man will complain of these side-lights on colonial history. Even respectable Roman Catholics, like Gregory Panzani and others, who had not the good fortune to be Jesuits, were but poor creatures at best.

The volume is so full of historical material and moral reflections that no student of the seventeenth century can well dispense with it. It is enriched with appendices of more than ordinary interest. The study of Indian land titles and the critical discussion of the Statutes of Mortmain in their application to America are well worth perusal. The bibliography, register of sources, lists of generals and provincials, the maps and indexes, show how exhaustively the scheme has been carried out in this the first instalment.

JAMES WILSON.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., and Stanley Leathes, M.A. Vol. X. Restoration and Reaction. Pp. xxviii, 936. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1907. 16s. nett.

THIS volume deals with a period of history the latter part of which is within the memory of some still living. The difficulty of adequate treatment is consequently great, it being well-nigh impossible to reach a point of view sufficiently detached for thorough impartiality. The editors recognise this drawback, and, while giving it due weight, yet point out in their preface that 'for this period the authentic records are for the most part accessible though as yet imperfectly worked.' Regarding the material, abundance but faintly describes the wealth of authorities, printed and in manuscript. One has only to turn to the bibliography, occupying 107 pages, in order to see that the task of selection and rejection amid this mass is sufficient to dismay any but the stoutest hearted.

The book opens with an account by Mr. Alison Phillips of the Congresses—'the Confederation of Europe'—by which an attempt was made for a few years after the fall of Napoleon to govern the western world. The idea is a fascinating one, that Europe 'forms but a single family,' and that therefore, with a single eye to the welfare of mankind,

it should lead the world in the paths of international wisdom, which are peace. But the rising sentiment of nationalism, which the struggle with Napoleon had done much to strengthen, and the distrust of each other evinced by the Powers, could not be got over, and the attempt was foredoomed to fail. Alexander I., that interesting personality who prayed and wept with Quakers, and was received in London with enthusiasm as the embodiment of courtesy and enlightened humanity in a ruler, in his latter years became the tool of the reactionary party. The Tsar was doubtless sincere in his efforts to support the Quadruple Alliance, and for a time he succeeded, becoming 'the central figure of the Confederation of Europe, and arbiter of the world.' Events, however,—among them the murder of Kotzebue and the subsequent assassination of the Duke of Berry—proved sufficiently powerful to draw him back to the policy of repression, and the 'Holy Alliance' sank into a reactionary league of the three powers of eastern Europe. In this chapter Mr. Phillips is treading on, to him, well-known ground, and he marshals his facts with skill and a sense of due proportion.

To the same author have also been entrusted the chapter dealing with Greece and the Balkan Peninsula, and that which treats of Mehemet Ali and the invasion of Syria by his son Ibrahim. This latter chapter is full of stirring events, and in view of more recent developments in Egypt its interest is great. It closes, however, with the 'Convention of the Straits' and a reference to the failure of intellect which overtook in his old age the brilliant ruler of Egypt.

The chapters devoted to French history are in the hands of Professor Bourgeois, who discusses 'Reaction and Revolution in France' (Chapter III.), and also writes Chapter XV., dealing with 'the Orleans Monarchy.' This latter is an illuminating account of French affairs during that portion of the reign of Louis-Philippe from the Revolution of 1830 till the year 1840, to which is appended a short sketch of the literary activity of the period in France. This is excellent so far as it goes, but it is, perhaps unavoidably, hardly detailed enough to be serviceable to the student. Four lines to Alfred de Musset and seven to Balzac are manifestly inadequate.

The last seven chapters in the volume deal with British history, including therein chapters on 'The Revolution in English Poetry and Fiction,' 'Economic Change,' and 'The British Economists.'

Turning to Mr. Temperley's account of the period between 1815 and 1832, we have a clear, though compressed, history of the reactionary Liverpool Administration dominated by Castlereagh, and one is glad to see that Scottish affairs are not altogether forgotten, as the repression which culminated in 1820 in 'The Battle of Bonnymuir' is duly noted. We could have wished that space had been found for a reference to the abortive trial of the six Duntocher operatives for treason in the same year, at Dumbarton, before a special commission of four judges. The witness with 'a sair leg at the time,' and who consequently 'could not "look" long,' deserves to be immortalized in serious history.

Events hurry on towards the Reform Bill of 1832. Canning succeeds Castlereagh in 1822, and the era of reforms in legal and judicial

procedure, and in commercial policy, and of measures leading to social and industrial improvements sets in. Rampant abuses were gradually got rid of, not without opposition even from Canning's own colleagues, thus pointing Palmerston's shaft when he declared that 'the real opposition sat on the Treasury bench.'

Mr. Temperley, in the latter half of the chapter, refers to the political thinkers of the period leading up to the Reform Acts, including Bentham, James Mill, Francis Place, Cobbett, Macaulay, and Mackintosh. In summing up his survey he points out that while 'popular influences altered the character, and increased the extent of the Reform Bill, middle-class opinion was the deciding factor in its initiation.' It might be said in addition that the opposition, while outwardly violent, was so from the very knowledge that it was fighting a losing battle. It was felt on all hands that existing anomalies could not be seriously defended. Hence many opponents were timid and half-hearted, and there was a disposition on all sides to accept the inevitable. Even Sir Walter Scott could write in his *Journal* calmly: 'It has fallen easily, the old Constitution; no bullying Mirabeau to assail, no eloquent Maury to defend. It has been thrown away like a child's broken toy. Well trained, the good sense of the people is much trusted to; we will see what it will do for us.'

To Mr. Courthope has been assigned what, from its subject and handling, is one of the most inspiring chapters in the volume, 'The Revolution in English Poetry and Fiction.' In it one gets, in short compass, a penetrating and graceful survey of literary activity in Britain during the period under review. The author, who is a past master in the domain of the history of his subject, after a reference to the gradual revival of medieval and democratic ideas, which succeeded in lifting English poetry out of the slough into which it had fallen at the end of the eighteenth century, proceeds to a consideration of the vernacular poetry of Scotland, as exemplified in Ramsay, Fergusson, and especially Burns.

Here Mr. Courthope is able in a couple of pages to point out both the strong and weak points of the poet's temperament.

Burns is at his best in the Scottish vernacular, not because he was unable to write English, but because in his native dialect he threw off the trammels of tradition, and gave free play to the wealth of his fancy and imagination, and to the passionate outpourings of the poet's soul.

The chapter on 'Literature in Germany' is an able and illuminating contribution, and one that well repays careful perusal. Professor Robertson has a thoroughly congenial theme, and the great writers of the period of *Sturm und Drang*, and of the later so-called Romantic School, are brought before the reader, and their contributions to the national literature of Germany dwelt on and described in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired. A survey beginning with Gottsched and Lessing and ending with Börne and Heine is, from the period covered by it, of great importance, and Professor Robertson has done it justice by his discriminating analysis of the forces which moulded the literary activities of the successive writers under review.

We can only glance at the theme handled by Lady Blennerhasset, who writes on 'The Doctrinaires' (Chapter II.) and 'The Papacy and the Catholic Church' (Chapter V.). In the former the writer brings out the influence on events in France wielded by the constitutional royalists such as Royer-Collard, who was largely indebted to our own Thomas Reid. He in turn influenced Guizot and Charles de Rémusat.

In Chapter V. we have an interesting account of the career of Cardinal Consalvi, the trusted minister of Pius VII. His influence was ever on the side of reform in the internal affairs of the States of the Church, but it was his misfortune to be thwarted by reactionaries all through. The corruption engendered by long misgovernment could not be got rid of, and when the Pope returned to Rome in 1815 reaction set in. Murders increased; beggary, which had been suppressed by the French, became again rampant. Under Cardinal Pacca, who restored the Inquisition and the Jesuits, all political publications were 'placed in the Index,' and numerous accusations of heresy were received. The religious Orders were restored. Yet Consalvi was so far successful in his external diplomacy that he was largely instrumental in postponing for fifty-five years the fall of the pope's temporal power. Reform from within in religion, all down the ages, has been genuine and thorough only in a very small degree. Here it required to be reinforced by pressure from without, and the era of Garibaldi was not yet. Lady Blennerhasset seems to think that Gregory XVI. was responsible for preparing the way for the downfall of the temporal power. The truth, however, appears to be that the rising forces making for the eventual unification of Italy were too strong to be effectually resisted by any pope, however able.

A few maps at the end of the book would have greatly increased its convenience as a work of reference.

JOHN EDWARDS.

MARGARETA VON ANJOU VOR UND BEI SHAKESPEARE VON KARL SCHMIDT.
Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906. 8vo. pp. xi, 286. 8 marks.

WITH an industry that knows no flagging, our German friends pursue their way of source-searching and collation, treating the 'histories' of Shakespeare in almost exactly the same manner as if they were professed history. An earlier number of the same series of publications, Palaestra X., had for theme and title *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*. In the present work, Palaestra LIV., Dr. Karl Schmidt deals also with the Wars of the Roses, especially as illustrated in the actual career and in the Shakespearean characterisation of the Queen of Henry VI. Of course it is essentially a Shakespearean study—an examination of historical sources for the episodes and dramatic biography of Margaret as she appears in the first, second, and third parts of *King Henry the Sixth*, and in *King Richard the Third*. It is not at all a general biography, although its full treatment of the fifteenth and sixteenth century annalists will make it of a particular historical as well as literary utility within the field it covers. And that is no narrow one, for Shakespeare's Margaret, like the Margaret of history, is the centre of

action from beginning to end of the long drawn out tragedy of her career. Her story comprises all the fortune and misfortune of the Lancastrian cause. How much, then, we ask, of Shakespeare's Margaret is documented by the chroniclers? How much of it is unhistorical and to be attributed to the dramatist? Dr. Schmidt's answers are admirably concrete: his examination of the contributory authorities is for the most part complete and satisfactory: and a table at the end summarises for ready reference the state of the case as regards each section of these historical and quasi-historical episodes. Here it is enough to remark how intensely more living is Shakespeare's Margaret than all the historical biographers together made her. Yet his art was a glory of fusion: invention only here and there comes in to bring episodes and speeches which are not mere poetically expanded exegesis of history. But to these belong such splendours as Margaret's reminiscences of her stormy voyage (2 *Henry VI.*, iii. 2), her appearance in Parliament (3 *Henry VI.*, i. 1), and the meeting of the queens (*Richard III.*, iv. 4). Dr. Schmidt's work systematically contrasts the unwrought matter of chronicle which Shakespeare found with the product of art into which he shaped it. It is like a skilful analyst's certificate, which determines what was leaven and what was dough.

GEO. NEILSON.

STUDIES OF POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM GERSON TO GROTIUS (1414-1625). By JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS. Pp. viii, 258. London: Cambridge University Press. 1907. 3s. 6d.

ADMIRATION for the suggestive and at times brilliant lectures, delivered at Cambridge in 1900, and here given to a wider audience, is somewhat tempered by the difficulty of following with sufficient ease the trend of the argument. The book is not altogether easy reading; and if this is due in part to the complexity and inherent difficulty of the subjects discussed, and to the tightness with which each page is packed with luminous thoughts, it likewise arises in part from the learned lecturer's expectation of finding in his audience learning equal to his own, from the sequence of ideas being governed in places by the exigencies of literary expression rather than by logical necessity, and because the author aims at epigrammatic effects in preference to making his meaning superabundantly clear. It is an interesting question, indeed, how far it is advisable, in expounding problems at once intricate and important, to sacrifice lucidity to excellence of artistic presentment. In works intended for the use of students and the general public, much is to be said in favour of the practice that leans to mercy's side. Mr. Figgis, however, has chosen the path of brilliancy; and in it he has achieved, on the whole, a marked success. The straining after literary effects is most noticeable in the introductory lecture, which is more fitted to dazzle than to enlighten the ordinary reader, abounding as it does in flashes such as these, that 'The Middle Ages ended with the visit of Nogaret to Anagni' (p. 24), or that 'the *praemunientes* clause was the herald of the Reformation' (p. 26). This introduction,

236 Figgis : Studies of Political Thought

indeed (like the prefaces to certain of Mr. George Meredith's best known novels), may be read with advantage after perusal of the body of the book, rather than before it. The reader will be well advised, notwithstanding, who does not allow himself to be repelled on the threshold of what is undoubtedly a remarkable and stimulating volume. Mr. Figgis has steeped himself in the political philosophy of the Middle Ages, and in this book makes his readers free of his varied treasures. If his admirers cannot claim for him a place by the side of Dr. Gierke, whose calm judgment and encyclopedic sweep he entirely lacks, Mr. Figgis has certain good qualities of his own not to be found in the German publicist. Mr. Figgis shows, in particular, a special aptitude for singling out from the endless mass of theories those which have played leading parts in the drama of the world's history, and for stating these in a form fitted to challenge and retain the attention of the reader.

There is hardly a page in the whole book that does not suggest food for thought or furnish some striking phrase. Some of the statements made or conclusions arrived at, however, call for supplement if not for correction. The account of Machiavelli's theories, for example, lays too much stress on one aspect of his teaching; while the interpretation of the Jesuit doctrine of 'probabilism' appears to be erroneous. Differences of opinion, however, are inevitable, and any errors of omission or commission hardly detract from the value of a book whose chief merit lies, not in any claim to comprehensiveness of treatment, but rather in its capacity for stimulating thought on some of the deepest problems of society and the theory of government.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

OCHTERTYRE BOOKE OF ACCOMPS, 1737-1739. Edited, with introduction and glossary, by James Colville, M.A., D.Sc. Edin. Pp. li, 259. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed for the Scottish History Society, by T. & A. Constable. 1907.

THIS book is an excellent addition to the other Household Books which have been given to us, as, hitherto, we knew little of social life in Scotland during the few years immediately before 1745, when its conditions changed. We have here the 'Booke of Accomps' which was kept by an anonymous scribe for Lady Murray of Ochertyre (a daughter of Lord Lovat) at the two houses over which she ruled, Fowls Easter, which lay not very far from Dundee, and the older estate, Ochertyre, near Crieff, to which the Murray family, who had possessed it before they gained their baronetcy in 1673, migrated during the 'game season.' The book is kept carefully, but is not complete. Its keeper was only charged with the kitchen department and food supply, but the entries under these heads he made fully, and, by the skilful guidance of the editor, who is now a well-known authority on Scottish House Books and Domestic Economy of former days, we are enabled to see of what the domestic life of a county family in Scotland at

the time really consisted. It embraced many things; stock-raising and poultry-keeping, gardening, fowling, fishing, brewing, cooking, and marketing; and all these items we find alluded to, directly or indirectly, in this book. Service appears little in it, as the feudal service was still in force, and vassals supplied poultry as 'kain.' Fowls were therefore rarely bought, but beef was purchased often both in small and large quantities (the entry, 'beefe for servants' peices' is frequent), and 'a veal' occurs occasionally, whereas sheep (the staple food) seem to have been invariably home-bred. In the winter (when the family were at Ochertyre) they lived much on game, which was procured by the fowler either with snares or by hawks, and much of the game thus acquired (which included, besides the ordinary kinds, such species as 'feltefers,' 'tarmikines,' 'blackbirds,' and 'doltereles') went as 'compliments' to the neighbours. Hares were much used as food, but, oddly enough, there are only two entries of rabbits in the whole book. Fish was brought from Dundee to Fowlls, and included every kind, from salmon to 'partons.' That the garden was well supplied, and the fruits of it preserved, is shown by entries like that in February of 'a goose-berry tart,' and in June (1738) 'a sallad and strawberys.' Dried fruits, such as 'currans, reasons, cordictron, orange peel, prewins, amons,' were purchased for puddings, and 'pees,' artichokes, cucumbers, 'asparragus,' 'sallad,' spinage, 'brockla,' 'collyflowr,' and 'cabbag' were among the numerous vegetables. Potatoes were an occasional dish, and we read 'onions are noted, but not leeks.' All those entries indicate much more garden wealth than we would have thought existed in Scotland at the time, and that it was fully used the long menus show. We quote one dinner (May 19, 1738), 'Dinner—lambs head stoved, lamb in the stove quarters. Veall rost, joints, pickled pork and greens, peices, Asparragus and fryed trouts, puddings and hagas for servts. Supper—hare collops, mutton rost joints, Artichoaks, eggs, and pancakes. Veall for broth joints'; and this itself indicates that, though breakfast was then a meal of little account, the Scottish baron's family fared pretty well. That the Ochertyre household was rather more extravagant than usual is not unlikely, but in order that we may have a just notion of food supplies, Mr. Colville compares this book with other household books extant in an exceedingly instructive manner, introducing much knowledge of old Scottish life and customs, and to his excellent introduction he has added a valuable glossary.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

GREENOCK STREET NAMES—THEIR HISTORY AND ROMANCE. By Gardner Blair. With an introduction by Sir Hugh Shaw-Stewart, Bart. Pp. xv, 146. Crown 8vo. Greenock: The *Greenock Herald* Offices. 1907. 3s. nett.

THE study of place-names is becoming of increasing interest, not only to the historian, the philologist, and the antiquary, but also to the general public, as tending to throw light on a bygone age. Especially is this the case in the lowlands of Scotland, where so many races—the

Scoto-Picts, the Strathclyde Celts, the Norsemen who ruled the Western Isles, and the Saxons—have come into contact, and left their traces on the nomenclature of the land. But, in the book before us, there is almost a complete absence of such information, owing to the fact that the town of Greenock is only about 300 years old, and even so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century it was merely a fishing village consisting of a 'single row of thatched hovels' along the beach. The only names in the book, among the 110 streets referred to, which bear on local topography, besides the name of the town itself, are Dellingburn Street and West Burn Street, on the lines of these streams, which now run in drains beneath the streets. The derivation of Greenock is a matter of dispute among philologists. Mr. Blair, following the Statistical Account of Scotland of 1842, gives *Grian*=sun and *cnoc* a hill. The name is found in charters of the fourteenth century, and the genesis of the spelling onwards is Grenok, Grinnock, Greinock, Greinnock, Greenhocke, and, at the close of the seventeenth century, it assumes its present form of Greenock. There seems little doubt that *Grian*, gen. *greine*, is the ground root, reappearing in Inchgreen, the site of the Corporation gasworks, but we are rather inclined to the opinion that the affix 'ok' must be taken as a diminutive, and that the whole word thus means 'little sunny spot.' This may seem sarcasm, when we consider the character generally given to Greenock as the rainiest town in Scotland. But, on the other hand, when the name was given, the town itself did not exist, and the castle of Wester Grenok then stood on the brow of the hill, where the first rays of the morning sun, rising behind Cardross, at once shone upon it, and continued to do so all day—when it did shine—thereby differentiating the spot from the site now occupied by Port-Glasgow, which, for six weeks in the year, does not see the sun at all, owing to the abrupt ascent of the hill behind. The diminutive ok also appears in a great number of names in the neighbourhood (e.g. Gourock, Cornhaddok, Finnockbog, etc.) which are not in any way connected with cnok a hill.

The book consists of 146 pages, and its contents, as stated in the introduction, originally appeared in Greenock's weekly newspaper, the *Greenock Herald*, on the staff of which, we understand, Mr. Blair is employed. While showing a good deal of painstaking research, the book is, from the nature of the subject and its original form of publication, somewhat scrappy in character and wanting in due perspective. The streets mentioned in the book include in their parentage the names of historical characters, notable townsmen, local magnates, and royal personages. In speaking of the origin of the names George Square (p. 118) and Princes Street (p. 120), the lengthy *verbatim* extracts from Thackeray's *Four Georges* should have been indicated by quotation commas.

The book is clearly printed, well bound, and contains illustrations of various magistrates and others who have been, or are, connected with Greenock, as well as views of buildings illustrative of the story told within its pages. It is prefaced by a neat and appropriate introduction by Sir Hugh Shaw-Stewart, lord of the manor.

A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. By Thomas Henry Dyer, LL.D. Third edition, revised and continued to the end of the nineteenth century. By Arthur Hassall, M.A., student of Christ Church, Oxford. 6 volumes. New edition. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907.

DR. DYER'S *History of Modern Europe* is well known and has a high reputation. It is a work of immense learning and labour, designed, in the main, to exhibit the origin, the nature, and the development of the system of combined political action which is known by the name of the European Concert. The third edition was published six years ago, and is now reissued.

Mr. Arthur Hassall, of Christ Church, Oxford, has revised the whole work in the light of the great quantity of new material, much of it bearing specially upon the Napoleonic period, which has become available since Dr. Dyer's book first appeared, and has brought it down to the end of the nineteenth century. It is furnished with maps, chronological and other tables, and a copious index, and will be found a most useful and convenient history, whether for study or reference.

MASTER ROBERT BRUCE, MINISTER IN THE KIRK OF EDINBURGH. By D. C. Macnicol, B.D. Pp. 320. Post 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1907. 5s. nett.

WE welcome the life of this 'stately Presbyterian divine,' although it is written in a style that can only be called uncritical panegyric. Master Robert Bruce was in many ways a central figure in the early part of the reign of James VI., and his ungenerous treatment at the hands of that king cannot be forgotten. The author's method, however, prevents him doing any justice to the attitude of Bruce's opponents, and leads him to attack Mr. Andrew Lang's *History* with unnecessary vehemence.

SCOTTISH SOCIAL SKETCHES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., D.D. Pp. vii, 132. Crown 8vo. Stirling: R. S. Shearer & Son. 1907. 3s. 6d.

FEATURES of social life in the midland shires of Scotland during the seventeenth century are prominent in Dr. Fergusson's gleanings from Presbytery and Kirk Session records of districts mainly within the Forth region. Ecclesiastical and parochial administration, and the poor-law of the period, as well as the spiritual jurisdiction exercised by Kirk Sessions, are all seen in operation in these sketches of local episodes from the Revolution time until the Union. Witchcraft themes occupy a considerable part of the volume, in which it is pleasant to recognise chapters that have already appeared in our columns. A query on the name Cuningar applied to the witch hill at Alloa (see *S.H.R.* iv. 48) has elicited a discussion which, however, contains no appeal to the decisive history of the word contained in the *Oxford Dictionary* s.v. Conyger. Dr. Fergusson's studies in parish archives are examples of meritorious research.

THE SCOTS IN SWEDEN. By the late Th. A. Fischer. Edited, with an Introductory Note, by John Kirkpatrick, LL.B. Pp. x, 278. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh : Otto Schulze & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

WE welcome this last work of the late learned Dr. Fischer (whose scholarship and historical zeal Professor Kirkpatrick praises in his short prefatory biography), as it is the third book with which he provided us on the Scots in Northern Europe, and he has got together in it much interesting information. In few countries have Scotsmen risen to such high positions as in Sweden, although there was little trade between it and Scotland in early times. Anders Keith was envoy between Sweden and James VI., and married a kinswoman of King Gustavus Vasa; and in his time the enormous body of Scots joined John III. under Ruthven and Balfour, who together hatched the Scottish Plot in 1573 (see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 191). Of this 'Treachery' Dr. Fischer tells us much that is new and interesting, and he tells us also that Keith and another Scot, Jacob Näf, were faithful to King Sigismund when he lost the Swedish crown. Under Gustavus II. Scots poured into his Swedish armies, and gained the utmost glory and wealth in the Thirty Years' War. Dr. Fischer had already fully treated of this period of strife in his *Scots in Germany*, so that he is able to note here more particularly the soldiers who made a special mark in Sweden—like the families of Douglas, Hamilton, Forbes, and Lichton,—and to give an account of the faithful servant of Gustavus Adolphus and friend of Oxenstierna, Sir James Spens of Wormiston, of whose family we should like to know more. Many of the descendants of the Scots whom the Thirty Years' War drafted abroad, and who claimed, and in many cases were allowed or granted nobility, fought in Sweden (and some in Russia) under Charles XII., and have left families in Sweden and Finland; lists of the Scottish houses extant and extinct are given, which will be found to be of much use. In addition, the author has a note on the merchants of Scottish origin in Göteborg, and, under 'Literaria,' claims for the Scots two Swedish bishops, some theologians, and many physicians, the most interesting of whom was the famous Casten Rönnow, whose patronymic was Dunbar.

Although we are very glad to see this book, as it fills a want, it is by no means the last word on the subject. Dr. Fischer was not a Scot, and could not be expected to grasp fully the intricate subject of Scottish genealogy. Thus he calls the Earl of Orkney in 1612 (Patrick Stuart) at one time a Douglas, at another Robert Stuart. The Earl of Brentford appears as Bramford, and 'Trail of Blebo?' should have no query. He was also, in many instances, unable to connect the Scots in Sweden, some of whom changed their name, with their progenitors in Scotland, and thus, as far as genealogy is concerned, has not added much to Horace Marryat's delightful *One Year in Sweden*.

A. F. S.

M'Iver: An Old-Time Fishing Town 241

AN OLD-TIME FISHING TOWN, EYEMOUTH. By Daniel M'Iver. 356 pp.
Greenock: James M'Kelvie & Sons. 1907.

THIS book is devoted in a great measure to recounting the 'great disaster' of 14th October, 1881, when 189 fishermen—among them half of the male population of Eyemouth—were lost at sea. The rest of the work contains notes on the civil and military history of the town, which is scanty enough, though the writer has done what he could with d'Oysel's fort and the connection of Fast Castle with the Gowrie Conspiracy. Eyemouth's connection with the smuggling fraternity is more interesting reading; and the account of the lives, customs, nicknames, and superstitions of the fishing folk who are the inhabitants of this east-coast town is attractive.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Luke Owen Pike, M.A. London: Henry Frowde. Pp. 39. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a stimulating little study, showing how the growth of the Constitution involved ever fresh creations of public records. So complicated is the evolution that Mr. Pike's skeleton sketch plan is eminently necessary to illustrate his thesis that 'the history of England since the Conquest runs parallel with the history of England's records,' and that neither history can be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the other. All roads in England from the time of the Conqueror have led to Chancery Lane: this is the essence of Mr. Pike's chart of the public records in the custody or under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls. A Scottish chart on similar lines would well repay the task of compilation by the light it would cast on obscure passages in our annals. Can we offer no temptation to Mr. Maitland Thomson to follow Mr. Pike's admirable example?

RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES ET TOPOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES COMPAGNONS DE GUILLAUME LE CONQUÉRANT. Par Etienne Dupont. Pp. xliv, 185. 8vo. Saint Servan Imprimerie J. Haize. 5 fr.

THIS is one of a series of 'Études Anglo-Françaises' in a field of great difficulty, where, as is obvious, the industry of the author is severely handicapped by an insufficiency of modern works of record and first-class research. Even the older authorities are handled rather loosely by him. For instance, in referring to Henry de Bailleul, he states: 'Un de ses parents Jean de Bailleul (1297) fut roi d'Ecosse: il épousa Dornagille dont il eut Edouard de Bailleul que succéda à son père après la bataille de Dupplin (2 août 1332). Il abdiqua en 1356. Jean de Bailleul se retira dans sa terre de Bailleul (près Dieppe). Il y fut inhumé avec sa femme dame de Galway dans la chœur de l'église de Saint Waast de Bailleul sur Eaulne.'

Confusion could hardly be worse confounded than here. The real value and chief interest, however, to Scottish readers of M. Dupont's book lie in its topographical notes, where the wide local knowledge of the President of the Historical Society of St. Malo enables him to light up many a line of the *Roman de Rou*.

242 Portraits in Parliament House, Edinburgh

PORTRAITS IN THE HALL OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN EDINBURGH.

With an Introduction and Biographical Notes by A. A. Grainger Stewart, M.A., LL.B. Pp. xxxvi, 72. Crown 4to. With 70 illustrations. Edinburgh: William Green & Sons. 1907. 21s. nett.

WE are a little disappointed by this book. The Parliament House has an interesting history and many curious associations, but the editor has confined his introduction to a mere description of the building, with extracts from the writings of those who have seen it, from Sir William Brereton and Jorevin de Rocheford, to Robert Chambers, Lord Cockburn, and R. L. Stevenson. The rest of the book consists entirely of reproductions of the portraits of the *Gens de Robe*, which decorate the walls of the Parliament House. These are well reproduced and are interesting historically. The biographical notes deal almost entirely with the legal career of the subjects of the portraits, and are adequate as far as they go.

THE GLEN O' WEEPING. By Marjorie Bowen. Pp. xii, 342. Crown 8vo. London: Alston Rivers, Limited, 1907. 6s.

CRITICISM of novels is hardly for these pages, or Miss Bowen's romance-setting of Glencoe might call for more than passing notice of its vivid if melodramatic rapidity of action and colour of life, which certainly have but faint suggestion of the end of the seventeenth century. But the preface calls for a word upon the bright audacity which finds all the professed histories in all ages quite untrustworthy, and declares for the most part the poets and romancers the true historians. So, plainly, if we are in quest of wisdom we must distrust the historical theory of the preface, and look for the real truth in Miss Bowen's admitted fiction. This is a harder problem than the measure of Lord Stair's blood-guiltiness. We decline to read Miss Bowen for seventeenth-century history, but she is a good twentieth-century story-teller.

Several offprints from the *Transactions* of the British Academy have reached us. In one, the Very Rev. Dr. Armitage Robinson, presents the facts for identifying *An Unrecognised Westminster Chronicler*, 1381-1394 (pp. 32, London: Frowde, 1s. 6d.). He was one of the many continuators of Higden's *Polychronicon*. Canon Robinson's inductions lead to a sort of short leet, and although the author's preferences are rather towards John Lakyngheth, Treasurer of the Convent in the Abbey, the unrecognised is frankly unrecognised still. A lucid disquisition, vouched by many citations from the muniments of Westminster, includes in an appendix the passages which demonstrate a Westminster author, including the curious episode of the 'blessed shoe,' of red velvet embroidered with fleurs-de-lys in pearl, which Richard II. received from Pope Urban VI., and lost in the throng at his coronation in 1390. In another, Professor Ridgeway makes bold essay at a hard question, *The Date of the first shaping of the Cuchulainn Saga* (pp. 34, London: Henry Frowde, 3s.). Starting with the hero not as a Celtic god, but as the historical person, nephew of Conchobar MacNessa, King of Ulster,

he applies himself by methods of archaeological analysis to reach some equilibrium in the unstable data. The arms and harness indicated in the earliest forms of the legend are collated with late bronze or early iron age relics discovered in Irish graves, so as to align certain proofs that the culture represented in the Saga is that known to British archaeologists as 'late Celtic,' and as 'La Tène' by continental writers. This late Celtic culture is believed to have died out in Gaul by A.D. 1, in Britain by A.D. 100, and in Ireland probably by A.D. 150. The fair-haired warriors of the Saga (1) fought from scythed chariots. Cuchulainn himself came to Scotland to learn the craft of using that equipment of war. (2) Their swords were sometimes used with both hands: and one is referred to as 'an ivory hilted bright faced weapon.' (3) They wore helmets, ridged, four-cornered. (4) Their shields were round, bearing devices. (5) They wore several tunics one over the other, and (6) they wore breeches, and (7) brooches, sometimes leaf-shaped. (8) They cut oghams on wood. (9) They rode black and grey horses. Professor Ridgeway finds all these characteristics in the archaeology of the period of his choice, and infers that the poems originally took shape when the 'late Celtic' or 'La Tène' phase of culture was still flourishing in Ireland, so that he concludes that the poems were first shaped about A.D. 100. Obviously, however, there is here a very long and very heavy chain of hypotheses, for the explorers of legend have chartered liberties in chronology. Every one of the characteristics indicated was long-lived. Not one of them is definite except, perhaps, the Oghams, which it is scarcely possible to accept as a probable feature of the first century. Not one of them would be difficult to reconcile with, say, the sixth century, for such, if any, as were then historically extinct might well be poetic tradition, and certainly the Oghams might fit that century far better as a working date. Yet a bow must be shot at a venture into the indefinite, and the shaft of Professor Ridgeway, headed with solid archaeological learning, if feathered with much theory, will at least help materially as a trial-shot to find the range.

Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688 (pp. 47, Oxford, Blackwell), have been compiled by Professor C. H. Firth and Mr. S. C. Lomas to facilitate the study of the relations of Britain and France during the Stuart period. The pamphlet gives a chronological list of British ambassadors to France and French ambassadors to Britain which is invaluable for the study of international relations. Varied and unexpected sources have contributed to the mass of annotated information which this little work succinctly tabulates. The series thus so well begun is well continued under the editorial guidance of Professor Firth by a list of diplomatic representatives between 'England' and North Germany, 1689-1727 (pp. 55, Oxford, Blackwell), compiled by Mr. J. F. Chance, M.A. The rarity of Scots on the embassies, even after the Union, is noteworthy. John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair, stands almost alone. Mr. Chance's list contains a large body of references and biographic annotations.

In the neat and convenient format of the York Library, we have Leopold von Ranke's classic work, *The History of the Popes* (vol. i. pp. xviii, 548; ii. pp. vii, 573; iii. pp. xii, 500: George Bell & Sons: 1907: cloth, 2s. nett per vol.), in the translation of Mrs. Foster in 1848, brought down to date by Mr. G. R. Dennis, who has incorporated the newer sections with the alterations made by Ranke in his definitive German edition of 1874. Macaulay in 1840 expressed the hope that some future historian as able as Ranke would trace the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century. This, although on a small scale, was done by Ranke himself, whose final chapter extends the story down to 1870, and registers the acts of the Vatican from Leo X. to Pius IX. A good index, with large annotated extracts from contemporary authorities, completes the equipment of this desirable edition.

Mr. James Sinton has privately reprinted fifty copies from the Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society of his paper entitled *Dr. John Leyden, Poet and Orientalist* (Hawick, 1907, pp. 8), in which the career of the great-spirited borderer is traced with enthusiasm, and good use is made of several unpublished letters.

On the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of St. John Chrysostom (born *circa* 347, dead 407), celebrated at the University of Louvain, an essay of permanent value was presented by Dom Chr. Baur, O.S.B., entitled *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses Œuvres dans l'Histoire Littéraire* (pp. xii, 312; Louvain, Bureaux du Recueil, 1907; 5 francs). It succinctly traces by the footprints of literature the progress of Chrysostom from modest beginnings to the leading place in the theological literature of Greek Christendom, including a narrative of the struggles of dogma from the sixth to the ninth centuries, and the later epoch of canonised authority and appreciating celebrity, culminating in his recognition as one of 'the three Hierarchs' and the consecration of his axioms in the canon law of the Greeks. All this is reflected, first, by his Greek historiographers, and afterwards by the early translations of his works, spreading his reputation equally through the Latin Church, which rivalled the Greek not only in its cult of the saint, its study of his writings, and its liturgical solemnisation of his memory, but also in its afterglow of legend. Dom Baur's work is basally a bibliography conceived on true chronological lines for tracing the growth of ideas (such as the *os aureum* found as early as A.D. 547) and following the ever-widening course of his dogmatic and exegetic fame from his death until to-day, when he still stands high among the Doctors of the Church—still 'the great clerk,' as our old historian, Wyntoun, called him. It is pleasant to note that an Englishman, Sir Henry Savile, was the first to edit the *Opera Omnia*, which issued from an English press. Praise is accorded, among British authors, to John Eadie and to R. W. Bush (under note, however, that the latter 'ne dissimule pas son point de vue anglican'), but chiefly to W. R. W. Stephens, and we are warned that 'avant tout, M. Stephens aime a trouver l'Anglicanisme

dans Chrysostome.' It is well for us to be on our guard: happily Dom Baur finds no Anglican traits in Dr. Eadie! Bibliography is of course a bottomless task; the *omissa et corrigenda* must turn up till the crack of doom; but for the scientific study of the place of Chrysostom among the Fathers and in the life of all the churches the work of Dom Baur is a fine performance. It is quite incomplete in its notes of manuscripts, which do not in detail enter into the scheme of the bibliography. Nor does it by any means cover the field of Chrysostom legend. But it amply warrants the author's confidence that in its ensemble it approximately registers the influence of a great saint and scholar on the Christian world for fifteen centuries.

Mr. W. R. Scott has sent us an offprint from his paper in the *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1907, on 'The Constitution and Finance of an English Copper Mining Company in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: being an account of The Society of the Mines Royal.' It represents a great deal of study on the enterprise of the Society established in 1564 authorising a search for gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver in York, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Wales. There were twenty-four shares, of which in 1568 fourteen were held by Englishmen and ten by Germans. After many ups and downs, traced by Mr. Scott from numerous records, printed and manuscript, the Society found results unsatisfactory in Cornwall and Cumberland, but had some good fortune through the discovery of silver in Wales; it not only struggled through the Civil War, but continued to maintain itself until 1710, when it was incorporated with the 'Mineral and Battery Works,' to pass in 1718 to 'Onslow's Insurance Company,' which used the charter rights of the original concern for the rather anomalous purposes of marine insurance until parliament declared them unwarrantable. The legitimate powers, however, continued in exercise until the end of the eighteenth century. It was a long-lived Society, and its career well warrants the great pains Mr. Scott has taken to ascertain the elements of so interesting an industrial biography.

A pleasant little pamphlet reaches us, entitled *Der Britische Kaisertitel zur Zeit der Stuarts*, von Arnold Oskar Meyer (Rom: Verlag von Loescher & Co. 1907. Pp. 9), being a reprint from the *Quellen und Forschungen* of the Royal Prussian Historical Institute in Rome. Noting one or two references to earlier declarations that the realm of England was an empire, the writer specially discusses a proposed coronation medal of James VI. and I., styling himself Jacobus I. Brit[anniarum] Cae[sar] Aug[ustus]. Contemporary thought reckoned him at that time a very likely man for the 'kaiserstuhl' of the German Empire itself. Perhaps Dr. Meyer might have found more suggestion than he has from the 'Imperial Crown' and its significance in the regalia from at least the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A passage in a Scots Act of Parliament of 1469 begins with the declaration that 'Oure

Soverane lord has ful Jurisdictione and fre Impire within his Realme'—the business in hand being the creation of notaries. A quaint phrase in a Franco-Scottish romance of the early thirteenth century says of a Queensferry shipman that there was no greater villain 'En tout l'empire d'Emgleterre.'

The *English Historical Review* (October), if more than ordinarily technical, covers an even more than ordinary range of topics. Professor Haskins brings fresh light from Normandy on the forty days of knight service. Mr. C. G. Bayne collates and prints several accounts of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. A Magna Carta theme, the amercement of barons by their peers, is debated by Mr. L. W. V. Harcourt, who, against recent critics, interprets and upholds Bracton's statement. Mr. P. S. Allen prints some letters of masters and scholars between 1500 and 1530. Those of an Englishman, Nicholas Daryngton, in 1522, are lively with scholastic gossip, and a German correspondent appears as a warm approver of the doctrine of the rod: 'verberibus aurum in sinum junioribus conjicimus.'

The *Saga Book of the Viking Club* (April) contained a useful summation by Mr. Collingwood of the leading features of the English archaeology affected by the Norse influence, especially in relation to the crosses, of which Mr. Collingwood has long made a study. Illustrations of many examples show the relationships of the art exhibited on both sides of the Border, and bring out the occasional pagan survivals visible in work produced during the transition to Christianity.

In *Scotia* for Lammas Mr. David MacRitchie writes a memorial sketch of the late David Macrae, to whose note of combatant patriotism high tribute is paid, as well as to his vigour of thought and character, his humour, and the attractiveness of his uncontroversial side.

In *Scottish Notes and Queries* Mr. Robert Murdoch has been rendering good service by the compilation of an annotated bibliography of the literature of the Scottish clans, alphabetically arranged.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (September) has a list, with dates, of old inn-signs in these shires. Noteworthy among them are 'The Chequer,' 1643; 'The Three Widows,' about 1650; and 'The Miremaide,' 1629. There are printed some letters from Disraeli connected with the Taunton election of 1835, while an inset consists of a most interesting reduced facsimile of his election address of May, 1835, 'to the Worthy and Independent Electors.' It is brisker than such things nowadays, and refers to his quarrel with O'Connell; Disraeli declares that no one shall ever with impunity brand him as a 'liar' or stigmatize him as a 'miscreant.'

To *The Seven Hills Magazine* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co.) Dr. William J. D. Croke is contributing a very full study of the life and literature of St. Patrick. The Rev. J. P. Conry in the June issue

describes the services of the Irish Brigade in Italy in 1860, when—brave but unsuccessful—they marched in the Papal army against King Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi.

Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore for October has an article by Mr. R. Stuart Bruce on some historic wrecks in Shetland in the seventeenth century. Mr. Smith Leask gathers facts about the cutting and shipping of peat from Orkney. Lovers of old text, however, will find many an oddity and not a few verbal puzzles in Professor Taranger's collection of documents—passports, declarations, conveyances, precepts of sasine, and decrees. They range from 1422 to 1538, and are written in Latin, Norse, and Scots, with many terms, such as 'hovsum ok herberghium toptum ok tvnmolum,' which sound uncanny even to the experienced ear of Scots law, ignorant of 'tunmall' or 'tomel,' a name in the Orkneys for a grass plot in front of a house. The Viking Club is rendering right good service to history.

The Reliquary for October, frontispiced with a beautiful plate of Peel Castle, illustrates and collates the dragonesque forms sculptured on many early fonts. Dr. J. Charles Cox, veteran antiquary and ecclesiologist, whom we cordially salute as the new editor, contributes a paper on the old Manx crosses and is full of the praises of Mr. Philip M. C. Kermode, their accredited interpreter. Other pictorial topics are the Trinity in medieval art, detached wooden belfries, Romsey Abbey, a medieval paten, and another Manx discovery by Mr. Kermode of a fragment of rune-written cross from Kirk Maughold.

In *The Genealogist* (Oct.) Mr. Fothergill's list of Licenses to pass from England beyond the seas includes 'Thomas Boyde 38, Scot, to Delft, to remain with one Mr. Forlush, 19 Nov., 1632,' and 'George Barkley, Scot, 16, to Deepe, to learn the language, 20 Dec., 1632.'

The rarity of matter historical in the *American Journal of Psychology* doubles the pleasure of acknowledging the interest of Mr. L. W. Kline's article in the October number on 'The Psychology of Humour'—a clever analysis punctuated with capital examples of the sources of laughter.

The extraordinary cult of genealogy in the United States is aptly indicated by a list of genealogies in preparation issued last year by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, comprising upwards of 650 families whose pedigrees are being compiled. The American woman in this list maintains her reputation as a very determined genealogist.

A very readable essay in the *Revue Historique* (September-October) is by M. Alex Schürr, on the chronicle of 'Gallus Anonymus,' a French monk in Poland, writing between the years 1109 and 1113. M. Ch. Bémont writes a long appreciation of Dr. McKechnie's *Magna Carta*. The conclusion is emphatic:—'Il a sa place marquée à côté de Stubbs dans la bibliothèque des érudits.'

The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record, always a treasury of local chronicle, genealogy, and antiquity, has seldom presented a feature of Scottish interest so curious as the old engraving of 'Saint William, King of Scots, surnamed the Lyon,' which commemorates him as 'the first Founder of the Trinitie-Friers at Aberdeen, where he had his Chapel the chief Place of Retirement.' The picture illustrates an article on Exton, a manor and village in Rutland, which was once the property of the Earls of Huntingdon. That Honour, restored by Coeur de Lion to the Scottish King William in 1189, was bestowed by him in 1190 upon his brother, the well-known Earl David, ancestor of both Baliol and Bruce.

The Revue Historique (Nov.-Dec.) has an entertaining dissection of the romance of *Raoul de Cambrai* in search of the many historical elements it contains. M. Bedier's criticism raises many awkward points against the orthodox opinion that this romance, written towards 1180, reproduced, with little embellishment, the rude legend of Bertolai, who wrote the poem in its first form *circa* 943. The critique is not yet finished, but a main position is that most of the authentic history in the romance is contained in a few lines of Flodoard's *Annales*, and that there are numerous errors in the supposed 'history' which Bertolai could not have made. Students of feudalism on its legal side may be referred to M. Flach's study of the Code of Hammourabi, in which he finds neither the pretended 'feodalité militaire' of some critics nor a military aristocracy, while he does find many traits of collective proprietorship in Chaldea. M. Lauer, examining a monograph of M. Leroux on the capture of Limoges by the Black Prince in 1370, accepts as demonstrated the view that Froissart has grossly exaggerated the tale of 3000 slain and prisoners. *Robert Owen, 1771-1858* (Paris: Alcan, pp. 374), a biography by M. Ed. Dolléans, is reviewed. The critic says: 'Owen fut un industriel de premier ordre: le succès prodigieux de New Lanark a démontré que la prospérité de l'industrie est liée au bien-être des ouvriers; et en même temps les idées et les utopies d'Owen dont il tenta sans succès la réalisation à New Harmony tiennent une place importante dans les origines du socialisme collectiviste.'

The Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Oct.) has a long critique of the Italian scholar, Att. Profumo's extensive work on the burning of Rome under Nero. Other notices include commendations of Baur's *Saint Jean Chrysostome* and Lallemand's *Histoire de la Charité: Le Moyen Age*. A very sceptical estimate of the Ninian legend is taken by a critic of M. Kinloch's paper on that saint, which appeared in the *Dublin Review* for July. Miss Kinloch's French critic, however, may be reminded that Dr. Metcalfe's 'refutation' did not convince those of an opposite opinion about the authorship of the metrical legend attributed to Barbour, and marked by special local knowledge.

The October issue describes the relics of St. Albert of Louvain, and examines the legend of St. Beatus, the apostle of the Swiss, regarding



Engraved by B. Longmate.

ST. WILLIAM KING OF SCOTS,

Surnamed the LYON.

*The first Founder of the Trinitie-Friers at
Aberdeen, where he had his Chapel, the chief
Place of Retirement.*

Published as the Act directs by J. Nichols July 26. 1794.

Printed by permission of the Editor of the *Rutland Magazine*

whom there are current three conflicting views—not altogether unheard of about some other saints: (1) that he never existed; (2) that he was a historic but unknown person; and (3) that he was another saint altogether—St. Beatus of Vendome or St. Beatus of Hohenau. Henri Moretus, S.J., postponing all debate on the ultimate issue, traces the evidences of the cult of the saint since A.D. 1230, and edits a *Vita Sancti Beati presbyteri* from MSS. which carry back to the ninth century.

In the *Analecta Bollandiana* for July Monsieur H. Delehaye edits large sections of Greek texts concerning the Saints of Cyprus, many in number.

The *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* for October contains two articles on 'matter of Britain,' which arrest attention. One is by Prof. Albert S. Cook on Chaucer's *Troilus*, 3, lines 1-38, in relation to ultimate sources behind Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. Many parallels are adduced from Seneca, Virgil, Ovid, and Lucretius, and it must be acknowledged that some of them are recognizable. But for a search after sources and for convincing discoveries of them, the palm must be awarded to another paper in this number by Dr. H. Anders, being his *Neue Quellenstudien* of Burns, in which many undetected helps to the poet's wit are shown to come from Pope, Goldsmith, Gray, Young, Ramsay, Fergusson, and others. There are signs of exhaustion in this field of study, and Dr. Anders may be congratulated on the fruits of his labours. Plums are getting scarce.

Queries

JAMES ADAIR. 'To the most invincible and puissant Prince Rodolp, by Divine Grace Emperor of the Romans, perpetual Augustus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, etc., James, by the same Grace, King of Scotland, greeting.

Whereas the bearer of these presents, James Adair, our subject, hath purposed to make a journey to Vienna of Austria; and conscious of the perils which attend an alien and one born under another sun when abroad among the natives with whom he may come into controversy concerning the rights of inheritance; hath besought of us to recommend his cause and proceedings to the protection of your Imperial Highness. We, therefore, etc. Given at our palace of Strivelin, April, 1578.'

The James Adair mentioned in the letter from which the above is an extract, was one of a Galloway family who, originating from a Fitzgerald of Ireland, became a well-known family of Dunskey Castle, Kilhilt, Drumore, Curgie, and other places in Wigtownshire, but who in the seventeenth century went back to Antrim and became owners of Ballymena, Donegore (Loughanmore), and other places.

Who was James Adair of 1578, and whom did he marry?

Had he a son or grandson, Captain James Adair, of Donegore, Antrim, who died in 1686?

If so, how does the second James Adair obtain his title Captain?

T. B. S. ADAIR, R.N.

9 Blythswood Square, Glasgow.

SCOTTISH STUDENTS IN HEIDELBERG. The Rev. W. Caird Taylor, author of the paper on this subject in *S.H.R.*, vol. v., pp. 67-75, sends us the following notes, received from Mr. J. L. Anderson, on the names in his Heidelberg list.

No. XII., 'David Duramenus,' is David Drummond of, or of the family of Balhaldie, as it is now called, near Dunblane, Perthshire. The name of the place has been variously spelt Bachaldy, Bacholdy, Balhaddie, etc. The Drummonds possessed the property when David matriculated in 1597. There were never any Drummonds or Durhams settled in Badcaul, in the parish of Eddrachillis, Sutherlandshire.

As regards No. XXIX., 'Thomas Meluinus,' the Dysart mentioned

is not the well-known burgh on the Fife coast, but a barony of the same name in Maryton parish, near Montrose, long owned by the Melvilles, and so owned when Thomas Melvin (Melville) matriculated.

In the prefatory notice to James Melville's *Diary* (Wodrow Society), it is stated, p. 5, that James was of the Baldoocy family of Melvilles, and that the Dysart Melvilles were acknowledged as the chief family of which the Baldoocy was a branch.

Is any further information available with regard to any other names in the list?

JOHN MURRAY, R.N. Who were the parents and ancestors of John Murray, Lieut. R.N., born 1737-8, who died in Bath in December, 1820? He was secretary to his cousin, James, fourth Earl of Dunmore, while Governor of Virginia, and a schoolfellow and intimate friend of Henry, Second Viscount Palmerston.

C. H. MAYO.

Long Burton Vicarage, Sherborne, Dorset.

DEAN SWIFT. Having undertaken to edit Swift's correspondence, and being anxious to make this new edition as complete as possible, I should be grateful for notice of any unpublished letters by Swift. Since Sir Walter Scott edited the correspondence nearly a century ago, many of Swift's letters have turned up, but it is believed that many more letters are still unprinted and in private hands.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

Mount Mapas,
Killiney, Co. Dublin.

Communications and Replies

A BALLIOL CHARTER OF 1267. The following charter comes from the muniment room of a baronial house in Cumberland. The purport of the deed seems to be that Alexander, son of John de Balliol, quit-claimed to Ranulph de Dacre the land of Thackthwait, a manor among the fells of the English Lake District, near Cockermouth, which belonged to Thomas, son of Alan de Multon, and which Henry III. had bestowed on Alexander by reason of the war lately in England. It was a simple transaction, but its meaning, owing to its somewhat obscure phraseology, is not altogether as plain as one might desire.

Hemingburgh (i. 319-20, Engl. Hist. Soc.) tells us that several northern barons, including John de Balliol, lord of Galloway, were with the king at Northampton in 1264. From subsequent events it may be gathered that Alexander, son of John de Balliol, was also on the king's side: his friendship with Prince Edward and his crusading exploits in his company are a sufficient explanation of his acquisition of an escheat caused by the war.

The difficulty, however, arises when we ask for the name of the owner on whose account it escheated as a result of the barons' rebellion. Thomas, son of Alan de Multon, was lord of the barony of which Thackthwait was but a very small portion. The manor was, therefore, held of him. As it is certain that the whole barony was not forfeited at that time, it may be inferred that Multon himself was not in rebellion, though the phraseology of the charter would appear to imply it. There is, however, no contemporary evidence that he had joined the revolt. It may be noted that Ranulph de Dacre, who acquired the manor in 1267 from Alexander de Balliol, was brother-in-law of Thomas, son of Alan de Multon, and that Thackthwait was reckoned among his possessions at his death in 1286.

CHARTER.

‘Omnibus hoc scriptum uisuris uel audituris, Alexander filius Johannis de Ballioll, salutem. Noueritis me concessisse et remisisse domino Ranulpho de Daker totum ius et clameum quod habui in terra de Thakthuayt cum pertinenciis, que fuit Thome filii Alani de Multon, quam Rex mihi dedederat ratione guerre nuper in Anglia habite. Ita quod ego nec aliquis pro me decetero aliquod ius uel clameum in predicta terra cum pertinenciis habere uel uendicare poterimus. In cuius rei

testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Data apud Stretford die lune proxime ante festum sancte Potentiane uirginis, anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis 1j^{mo} (16 May, 1267).

JAMES WILSON.

AN OSSIANIC FRAGMENT.¹ Fionn and his men had been scattered. A band of them was pursuing its way north, but whether in flight or in pursuit is unknown. 'Haste' was the watch-cry. A mysterious personage, Macmhurchaidh, controller of the winds, 'was on the steer.' The Fenian leader, impatient at the progress they were making, turned to this individual, saying, 'Mhic Mhurchaidh, ask for wind.'² 'A west wind calm,' was the rejoinder. An interval having elapsed, the Fenian leader spoke again. 'Mhic Mhurchaidh, ask for wind.' 'A north wind as swift as a rod,' was the reply. Shortly afterwards the Fenian leader lifted his head and spoke a third time. 'Praise will not reach her yet; Mhic Mhurchaidh, ask for wind.' 'If there be wind in cold Ifrinn (Hell), send her after her (the ship); and let no one get ashore but Macmhurchaidh, his gillie and his dog,' was the reply. And it is said that Macmhurchaidh had his wishes satisfied.

Another band was fleeing north, pursued by the curses of the Irish Druids or magicians in the service of their foes. A water-carrier accompanied them with the water-skins slung on his shoulder. All went well till they reached the meadowlands and sandy flats of the north-west of Lewis. Then the water-carrier lagged behind, for every step he took he was in danger of sinking. His masters were making for the mountains of the west, and as evening approached he saw the hopelessness of his struggles to keep up with them. At length he sank to the waist, borne down by the weight of his burdens. The note of the verse which he uttered is despairing:

'Carrier am I after the Finns (Feinn),
Journeying lonely after the rest;
Westward sad my face is turned,
Bog-immersed up to the waist.'

A giant monolith, Clach an Truiseal, standing sharply out of the level flats of north-west Lewis, is pointed out to the traveller as the poor

¹Translated by Mr. Kenneth MacLeod from Gaelic tales heard in Stornoway.—ED. S.H.R.

²*Dialogue in Gaelic:*

'Mhic Mhurchaidh, iarr gaoth'; arsa an ceannard.

'Gaoth an iarr chiuin,' fhreagair Macmhurchaidh.

'Mhic Mhurchaidh, iarr gaoth'; arsa an ceannard.

'Gaoth a tuath cho luath ri slat.'

'Cha ruig moladh fhathast oirr; Mhic Mhurchaidh, iarr gaoth.'

'Ma tha gaoth an Ifrinn fhuar, cuir na deidh i, gun duine dhol air tìr ach Macmhurchaidh, a ghille, 's a chu.'

water-carrier, who as night approached was slowly transformed into a pillar of stone by the incantations of the Irish wizards. Under the same adverse influences the band proper of the Feinn, caught by evening ere they had reached 'Ceann Thulivig,' experienced a calamity similar to that which had overtaken the water-carrier, and slowly turned to stone on the slopes of Callernish. Here their grey masses tower up above the plain, the famous stones of Callernish.

Notes and Comments

THE movement for the endowment and establishment of a Chair of Scottish History and Scottish Historical Literature in the University of Glasgow, which was initiated exactly a year ago by Professor Smart, and which has received the highest academic approval, will be vigorously prosecuted during 1908, by appeals to private citizens, to Burns Clubs, and to societies of Scotsmen all over the world. As Chairman of the Committee charged with the duty of organizing the movement, I may be permitted to say a few words by way of justifying and recommending it. Happily, my task has been simplified, if not indeed rendered unnecessary, by the exhaustive discussion which has taken place since Professor Smart wrote his letter on the subject. Indeed, after the valuable contributions made to that discussion from different standpoints by such experts as Professors Medley and Lodge, and Dr. W. S. McKechnie, the question is less one of the advisability of a Chair of Scottish History than of the method of dovetailing it into the University curriculum in such a manner as to complete, or at least to very greatly strengthen, the existing excellent but not thoroughly organized department of History. The occupant of the Fraser Chair of Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh has already quoted in this *Review*, with much effect, the almost sinister lament of the Permanent Secretary of the Scotch Education Department in 1905. 'It was disappointing to note a widespread ignorance of Scottish History even among the more picked pupils who may be supposed to represent the outcome of the most advanced teaching.' Professor Hume Brown himself at once elucidates and emphasises the weakness pointed out by Mr. Struthers when commenting on the treatment of Scottish History in school books. He says: 'The achievements of Scottish statesmen, soldiers, men of science, and men of letters, are put down to the account of England, with the result that, in the eyes of the world, England has all the glory, which in justice should be fairly proportioned between allied peoples.' In order that the teaching of Scottish History in schools may be conducted in such a fashion as to remove the reproach conveyed in Mr. Struthers's remarks, it is necessary that the teachers themselves should be efficiently taught. To attain this object, no better step can be taken than the establishment of such a chair as that proposed to be added to the equipment of Glasgow University. From my point of view, the question is one less of fervid patriotism than of

*Proposed
Chair of Scot-
tish History.*

truly scientific education. The Union of 1707 is past repealing, even if such a step were desirable; the 'auld enemy' has been reduced to the innocuous position of 'the predominant partner' in the firm of the British Empire; I am free to confess that the use of the word 'England' for 'Britain,' as the general designation of the co-partnery, does not greatly gall my patriotism, although it may move me to an occasional protest in the interests of accuracy. But, now that the great task before the Empire—a task in my opinion calculated to demand all its energies—is clearly that of concentration for the future based on a full knowledge of the facts of the past and of the present, it seems to me to be absolutely necessary that in all the schools of the British Islands, the history of each of the three should be fully and thoroughly investigated.

This can be done only by the establishment of a complete department of History, in which that of Scotland should have ample justice done to it. Scotland may not have been so closely bound up with the 'European movement' as England, although, as I think, the influence exerted by such *clara ac venerabilia nomina* as James Watt, Adam Smith, David Hume, and Thomas Carlyle, testifies that it has played a conspicuous part in the still greater 'world-movement.' Besides, the arguments condensed, if not in every particular endorsed, by Dr. McKechnie, bear the stamp of good sense. 'A Scotchman's first duty is to know his native land; European history will give him a culture which loses in intensity what it gains in breadth; a small field thoroughly mastered is better than a smattering of wider knowledge; no subject is more likely to rouse his dormant faculties than what lies nearest to his life and home; what the heart grips tightest the intellect will most quickly absorb and the memory longest retain.' Such minor though important questions as the place to be assigned to a Chair of Scottish History in present or future schemes of graduation and honours teaching should, I think, be postponed till the necessary endowment—I hope not less than £20,000—has been raised. I for one am quite content to leave this matter, now that it has been thrashed out so effectually, in the hands of the University authorities.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

FROM time to time we receive offprints of contributions to the Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society. Amongst recent papers may be remarked *The Black Rood of Scotland*, a well worked-out story of the fortunes of that remarkable relic. It is from the pen of Mr. George Watson, formerly of Jedburgh, who sends us also a biographical and topographical study of the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale, in which he has assembled in some six-and-twenty pages the marrow of many ecclesiastical and national records bearing on the district. His paper on the Black Rood is an excellent tabulation of evidence. While it fails to establish the earlier history of the relic, it essays with success to shew that the black rood of St. Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore, was the black rood of Scotland: that it was not the cross of

Holyrood at all: that it was as a royal relic taken possession of by Edward I.: that it was, probably, restored in terms of the treaty of Northampton in 1328; and that it, probably, again fell into English hands by capture at the battle of Durham in 1346, after which it remained in the Cathedral of Durham until that august fabric was rabbled in 1540. From that time forth the black rood is heard of no more. Evidence of the actual restoration of the cross in 1328 is only moderately good, and that of the recapture in 1346 is very late and open to criticism. Mr. Watson's handling of all the questions relative to the historic palladium is clear, thorough, and shrewd, although his conclusions do not at all points foreclose debate.

ANOTHER Ecclesiological Society reprint is a notice by Mr. John Edwards of *The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland*, being a further chapter on lines of study diligently pursued by him in our columns and elsewhere (see *S.H.R.* iii. 179, iv. 361, v. 13). Early settlements of the Minorites at Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Dundee, Lanark, Inverkeithing, Kirkcudbright and Elgin are described. It is good to note that Mr. Edwards (like some local critics) discredits the attribution of the foundation of Greyfriars at Dumfries to Dervorgilla de Baliol. Misconception may have arisen through a confusion between Dundee—where undoubtedly Dervorgilla founded a friary—and Dumfries. Edward I.'s stay in Dumfries was in July, 1300, not June, as stated by error in a Wardrobe Account recording payments to the house. The picturesque story about the blood of Comyn being spattered over the walls of the church, which Mr. Edwards quotes from a MS. *Brut*, is a feature of embellishment not found in the original French version, of which the English *Brut* is chiefly a translation.

THE year ending in October 1907 has been one of some importance to the Royal Historical Society. In it the Society has settled in a new home, 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, on a lease of twenty-one years, thus securing to its Fellows a sense of permanency such as they have not hitherto enjoyed; in it the Society has also issued the first volume of its Third Series of Transactions.

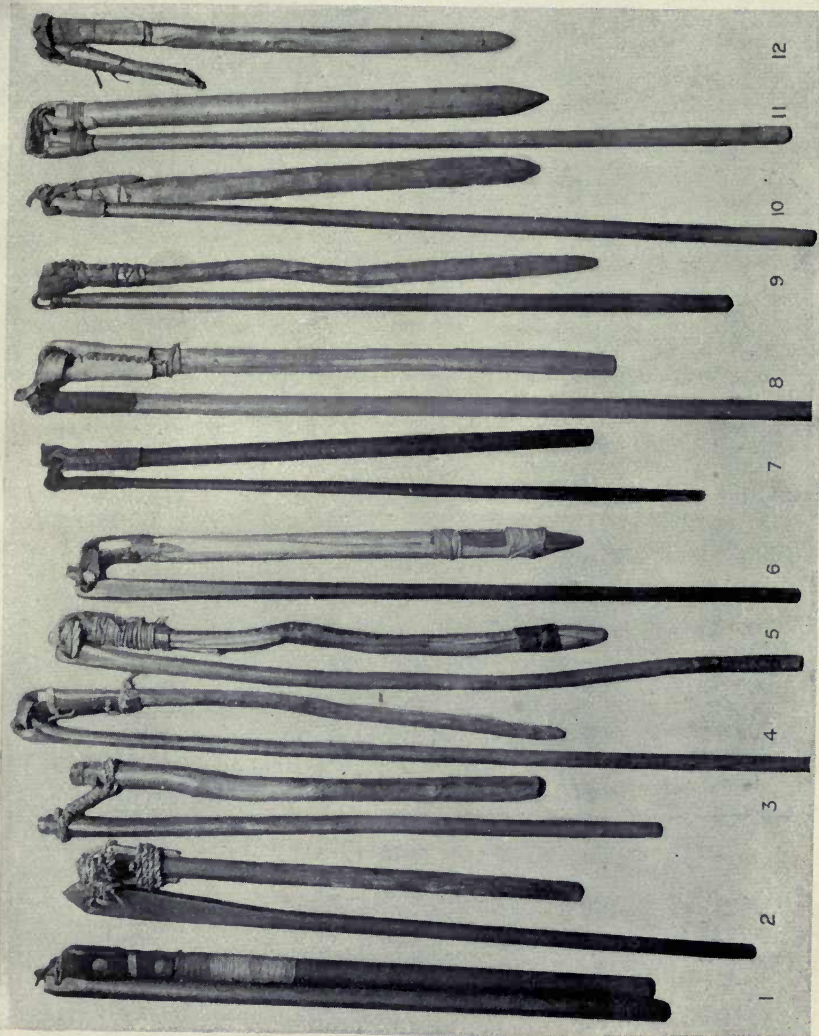
In connection with the new premises, Dr. Hunt, its President, makes an appeal for the Library. 'We now,' he says, 'have a room in which Fellows of the Society can work in comfort; unfortunately,' he adds, 'with the exception of our excellent collection of the publications of kindred societies in other countries, our Library is not yet well furnished with books.' Such works of reference as Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Rymer's *Foedera*, the *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores* of Pertz, the *Recueil des Historiens* of the Benedictines, the publications of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*, Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, and our own *Dictionary of National Biography* are still wanting.

The volume which ushers in the new series is one of much interest and variety. It contains a paper 'On a Contemporary Drawing of the Burning of Brighton in the Time of Henry VIII,' by Dr. James Gairdner, with a reproduction of the drawing; a long and delightful account of 'The Rise of Gaius Julius Caesar, with an Account of his Early Friends, Enemies and Rivals,' by Sir Henry H. Howorth; a valuable essay on 'The Northern Treaties of 1719-20,' by Mr. J. F. Chance; another on 'The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal,' by Miss Wallis Chapman; an excellent essay on 'The Minority of Henry III,' by Mr. G. J. Turner, in which the writer makes some useful remarks on the relative value of chronicles and records as historical data; papers on 'Some Early Spanish Historians' by Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly; on 'Some Elizabethan Penances in the Diocese of Ely,' contributed by Mr. Hubert Hall; and an account of the fascinating 'Diaries (Home and Foreign) of Sir Justinian Isham, 1704-1735,' by the Rev. H. Isham Longden. A new feature in the Transactions is the printing at the end of each paper of any discussion on it considered worth recording.

In his Presidential Address, Dr. Hunt draws attention to two new historical movements: one, The Fund for providing Advanced Historical Teaching in London, and the other, The Historical Association, whose object it is to urge the interests of history on authorities which exercise control over the education of the young. Both are closely connected with the Royal Historical Society. The first provides two lecturers, Mr. Hall, Director of the Society, who lectures on the equipment of the historical student, and Mr. Unwin, who is delivering a course of lectures on Medieval London. The second already numbers about five hundred members, and has branches in the more important towns of England, and others in the course of formation in the British Colonies and in the United States. Its President is Professor Firth, who is also a Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society.

THE Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, with an ordinary membership of about 350, steadily pursues its statutory function of 'inquiry into antiquities in general, but especially into those of the North of England and of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham in particular.' Its present secretaries, Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. R. O. Heslop, have much credit by their annual of transactions, *Archaeologia Aeliana* (Third Series, vol. ii. 4to, pp. li, 215). Capital work is being done on all the lines of local research. The Roman wall, of course, is always with the Aelian archaeologists: and there are prehistoric graves to describe, pedigrees and annals of families to trace, and books of heraldry to annotate.

A subject of wide interest is dealt with by Dr. Allison. 'The Flail' has a body of lore and science all to itself, and the examination of specimens, with tabulated results of comparison shewn by illustrations, could not fail to prove instructive. The 'flinging tree' has many names, and its parts 'souple,' 'swipple' or 'swingle' (Gaelic 'bualtein'),

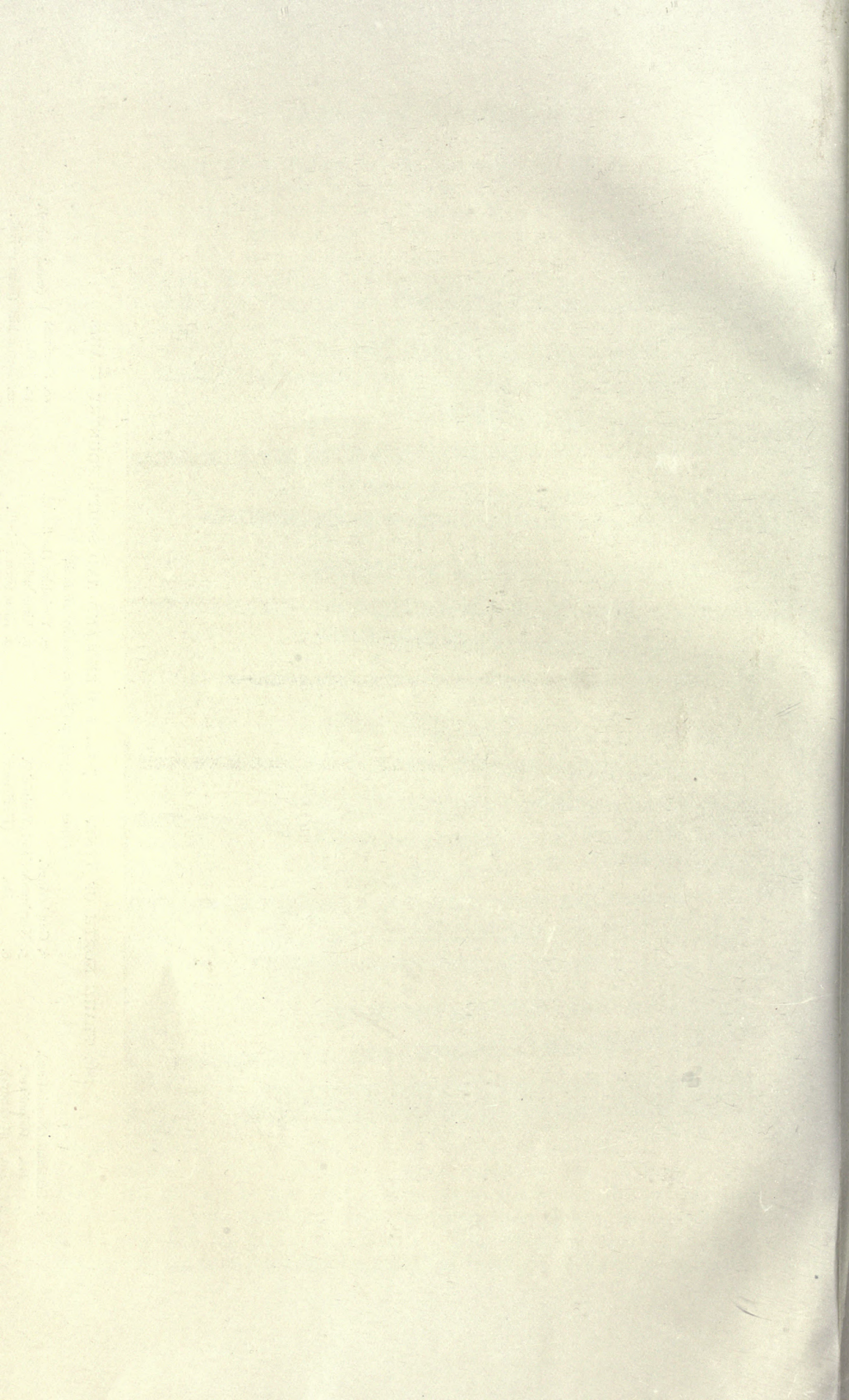


1-6. FLAILS NORTH OF TYNE. 7-12. MID-ENGLAND AND SOUTH COUNTRY FLAILS.

From Photographs by Mr. Parker Brewis.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Scotland (North-East). | 4. Cumberland. | 7. Yorkshire (Leyburn). | 10. Somerset | } (wood swivel). |
| 2. Do. (Glenlivet). | 5. Northumberland (Whitfield). | 8. Lincolnshire. | 11. Do. | |
| 3. Do. (Orkneys). | 6. Do. (Hexhamshire). | 9. Kent (iron swivel). | 12. Devonshire (horn swivel). | |
- The flails north of the Tyne resemble those of Ireland, and have perforated handles. The Orkney handle is pegged. The mid-English forms, with staple-topped handles, resemble those of Saxony. The south country flails have swivel-topped handles, and resemble the flails of Norway and Sweden.

25-8-9



'haft' or 'handstaff' (Gaelic 'lorg'), 'hat,' or 'capping,' 'hudden,' 'hanging' or 'couplin,' display little diversities of structure as curiously indicative of a mixed tradition as do the vagaries of the names. We gladly avail ourselves of the society's courtesy in reproducing here some typical illustrations. Dr. Allison has found an attractive subject, opening into folk-lore as suggestively as into the history of agriculture.

MR. HESLOP's paper on some documents relating to an incident at Newcastle after the battle of Flodden, possesses unusual interest for both sides of the Border. The fortunes of the day were, according to the best accounts of the battle, materially influenced by the greater efficiency of service from the English artillery than from that of the Scots. We now possess (see *Memories of Flodden*, *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. iv.) exact information that the whole artillery of the Scottish army captured in the disastrous engagement was conveyed to Berwick. Orders were sent by King Henry VIII. that these guns were to be forwarded to Newcastle by land, so as to avoid the risks of a sea passage. But the Berwick authorities, apprehensive of an attempt to recapture the prized artillery, refused to let it go without express letters of command from the king. Captain Loveday, of the 'Mary Kateryne,' was sent north and 'with the said ship sailed to Newcastle upon Tyne to convey suche ordnance as was lately wonne, obteyned and gotten of the Scots at Branxton felde and thenne remayning at Berwyk.' The new orders were to carry it by water to London upon its arrival in Newcastle. While the vessel lay in the Tyne rumours of war on the Border appear to have been current, and proclamation was made in Newcastle on 27th May, 1514, 'that every person their able shulld be redy within an howres warnyng to rescue Norram Castell if nede requyred.'

Suspicion was rampant, and the documents edited by Mr. Heslop relate to trouble which arose in consequence of the double arrest of a Scot found in the market-place. Captain Loveday declared that 'one George Carre a Scot cam from Scotland as a spy sent by one Dan Carre, and there in the same towne craftely solde lether in the said towne in the market as he had bene an Englishe merchaunt,' wherefore Loveday arrested him. But he released him on surety given, and John Brandling, alderman, and late mayor of Newcastle, took him away and refused to surrender him. A fierce quarrel arose, and (to quote Loveday's 'lamentable complaint') 'in the altericakon one George Burwell, kynnesman unto the said Branlyng, violently ranne upon your said suppliaunt, and pulled his shirte and his cheyne thenne being aboute his nek in sundre, which cheyne they toke from hym, and thenne the said Branlyng bad stryke, whereuppon the servaunt of the said Branlyng stroke your said suppliaunt with a staffe upon the hed so greuously that he therewithe felle unto the grounde.' The alderman answered this 'bill' with quite a different story of the disturbance. He had arrested Carre because he had no safe-conduct. Carre alleged he was English, and the alderman kept him in his own

house till he knew the Lord Warden's pleasure. When Captain Loveday claimed the prisoner he was met with a refusal, and the brawl only began after the captain had 'with violence pulled' the alderman, 'and then the said George Burwell, for dred the seyd Walter Loveday wold have strokyn the same Branlyng, leyd his hond of the seid Walter and putt hym from hym.' However the fray began, blood was hot, and Captain Loveday's brother, William Loveday, was killed in the encounter.

The whole incident is of interest as a fatal conflict of jurisdiction, but of interest still more for the indication the circumstances afford of the apprehension of active measures of reprisal by the Scots, and probably of a strenuous attempt by them to recapture the lost artillery. 'If' (says Mr. Heslop) 'the crushing and disastrous action at Flodden left the Scottish nation defeated, they were yet unsubdued. That reprisal was feared is evident from the reference to the Lord Warden's proclamation. . . . The capture of the entire field ordnance of the Scottish army was a prize of war so great as to make an attempt at its recovery highly probable. Dacre's task was thus a hazardous one. The twenty-two pieces of artillery, though safe within the walls of Berwick, were yet on the confines of the Border. To leave the fortifications was to turn his park of artillery into a long, straggling line of guns, tempting attack as it defiled along the roadless lands of the eastern coast of Northumberland. This might well explain procrastination in the setting forth of Dacre's convoy.'

One or two further circumstances should, perhaps, have been considered in this connection. Lord Dacre had, early in May, 1514, made a most destructive raid on the West March, burning and laying waste, as he boasted, the territory of 400 ploughs. The proclamation at Newcastle referred to in the answers by Brandling to Loveday's 'bill' was made on 'the Saturday next after the Ascencion Day last past,' i.e. Saturday, 27th May, 1514. The guns had not then reached Newcastle, and probably never did so, for Pitscottie expressly tells in his narrative of Flodden that the victors 'had away the kingis artillarie with thame to Barwick, quhair meikle of it remaines to this day.'

VOLUME III. of the Third Series (pp. xlvj, 382) is a capital Border miscellany containing the Society's transactions for 1906-7.

*English
Invasion
of 1542.*

Mr. Richard Welford contributes an elaborate bibliographical account of Newcastle Typography from 1639 until 1800, as well as a short article on 'The Three Richardsons,' whose hereditary, artistic, and archaeological gifts made them celebrities of Northumberland. Sir Gainsford Bruce writes (with copious extracts from despatches and correspondence in the published State Papers) on the English expedition into Scotland in 1542. The Duke of Norfolk (victor of Flodden, whose thin resolute face, still so lifelike, looks out from Holbein's canvas) arrived at Berwick to assume active command on 16th October, and set out on a marauding northward march on the 22nd, with a force probably over-estimated at 20,000 men, encamping that night at Gainslaw. The

expedition practically achieved nothing, and ingloriously, 'for lack of victuals,' marched into Berwick again on the 28th. 'The result,' says Sir Gainsford Bruce, 'was wholly disproportionate to the great preparations made in bringing so large an army on to the Borders, and the king did not hesitate to express his disappointment at the ill-fortune of the expedition.' Mr. Lang has, with dry wit, summed up the campaign by saying that King Henry's forces 'marched across Tweed and—killed some women.'

MR. C. H. BLAIR contributes a full and well-illustrated description of a book of North Country Arms of the sixteenth century, now the property of Mr. F. W. Dendy of Newcastle. Heraldic study in north England is advanced by the publication of those armorial drawings, 160 in number. Mr. Blair's suggestion is, that the book containing them was compiled soon after 1553 as a record of the arms of the associates of the fifth Earl of Northumberland. Mr. H. H. E. Craster edits a Northumbrian hundred roll of matters criminal, dating about 1274-75, and containing complaints of misgovernment by the sheriffs. One sheriff is accused of keeping two approvers, John of Matfen and Stephen of Scotland, and thereby (probably by the medium of wager of battle) promoting false indictments. An unlooked-for number of Scottish references occurs in Mr. Crawford Hodgson's *Proofs of Age or Heirs of Estate in Northumberland*. David de Strabolgi, Earl of Athol, has his birth in 1309 proved. Bannockburn repeatedly appears, sometimes as a means of fixing a date, once in the deposition of a witness, Robert de Morton, whose father was killed in the battle, and once in that of Roger de Wodrington, who was at the battle with Sir Robert Bertram, his lord—'and there his said lord died.' Another witness fixed a birthday by remembering that on that Monday in 1316 a Scot named Donald de Duns was taken in war and beheaded in Bamburgh. Book-lovers will find a valuable catalogue by Mr. R. W. Ramsey of incunabula and other early books in the library of Houghton le Spring, County Durham. Mr. W. W. Tomlinson closes an unusually varied volume with an obituary sketch of George Irving, a kindly Scot of Annandale, well known among the antiquaries of the Tyne.

EXCAVATIONS being made at Corbridge-on-Tyne, the Roman Corstopitum, are provisionally reported upon by Mr. C. L. Woolley to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. Interesting facts have emerged which make clearer the character of the bridge which in Roman times here crossed the Tyne. Mr. Woolley mentions that about eighty yards lower down there were found remains of what seemed to have been a medieval quay or ferry landing, considerably made up of large stones, evidently Roman. Architectural finds include voussoirs, which must have belonged to an arch with a span of 12 feet 6 inches, said to be the largest known on any Roman site in northern England. A sculptured lion, an engraved carnelian, a terra-cotta relief, the base of a large amphora having Vinum inscribed on it, and one fine painted vase, are among the finds.

*Memories of
Bannock-
burn.*

*Exploration
of
Corstopitum.*

MEDIEVAL writings on the Crusades have received a remarkably interesting and instructive supplement in a Latin treatise—the *A Crusade Manifesto of 1330*. *Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum* addressed to Philip VI. of France in 1330, and edited for the first time by Mr. C. Raymond Beazley in the July and October numbers of the *American Historical Review*, eighty pages of which are occupied by the text. The *Directorium* is of unknown authorship, but clearly the production of a man who knew the whole ground and the whole conditions of the time for an enterprise in the East; it recalls in some respects the gazetteer features of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis* (circa 1224), while partaking still more of the political and hortatory character of the French lawyer Pierre Dubois' *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, addressed, circa 1306, to Edward I., to whom he gave among his other titles that of 'Scotie rex.' But Dubois wrote largely for educational and religious ideals, and in practicality of purpose compared ill with the far better informed and, it must be owned, far more ruthless author of the *Directorium*, whose one commanding motive is to urge the king of the French to a great expedition to the East, ostensibly 'for the liberation of the land consecrated by the blood of Christ,' but really and primarily for the conquest of Constantinople and the Byzantine empire.

Every side of the subject is considered by the author, whose only autobiographical mark of identification is that he was a friar preacher. All the routes to the East are discussed, with the difficulties and the advantages of each, including always a shrewd estimate of the fighting and other qualities of the various peoples to be passed through. Motives are discussed also,—the advancement of Christianity, the superiority of the Western races over those of the barbaric East, the compassion due to the down-trodden Christians there, and the glory of recovering Jerusalem from those who had laid waste the place of God and the sacred city, polluting the temple and casting to the fowls of ravin the bodies of the saints. Ways and means are set forth with deliberate and business-like recognition of the needs of military discipline; and the 'third preamble,' and the fourth also, as well as many incidental paragraphs, are applied to an exposition of the sea passage for which, above all, the sea power of Genoa and Venice is to be called into request. The good friar knows acutely the pains of sea sickness, which is reckoned among the difficulties which specially affect the Franks and Teutons, not accustomed to the sea. 'For,' he says with evident feeling, 'at the motion of the water and various too great tossings and storms men are often driven almost out of their senses, so that they may often be deemed more dead than alive. Besides the sudden change of air, the smell of the sea, the insipid and coarse food, the foetid and tainted water, the crowding of the passengers, the straitness of quarters, the hardness of the bed, and other too numerous ills of the like sort generate and bring on many sorts of ailments.' The 'army of the Lord' has many obstacles to encounter, and there are divers ways to overcome them, but the best, in the friar's view, is to make a dash for the Greek empire and assail Constantinople. A full

plan is laid down for the siege and capture of that city, including special warlike gear, such as rams and beaks, etc., on the vessels (including *uxeria* = *huisseria*, ships of burden, not, as Mr. Beazley interprets, 'siege-machines'), by means of which, drawing close in to the walls towards Pera, the storming of the Byzantine capital may easily be accomplished. The emperor is a poor craven creature, and, despite all the tricks of the heretic Greeks, it will be easy to overcome so perfidious a traitor. The conquest should be made secure: 'for who would ever reckon himself victor over a dragon until he had cut off its head?'

Most curious are the comparative estimates of the various peoples of the Greek empire and of Russia (as he calls the Sclavonian region), especially the blended races of Asia Minor, which, whether Turk or Christian, are set down in terms which nearly exhaust the categories of vice—false, cunning, seditious, bloodthirsty, drunken, and gluttonous—the only redeeming virtue of the Christians being that they are capable guides, know the roads and passes, and are skilful spies. Space fails, however, to give anything like an adequate outline of the friar's elaborate book, which, in part a geographical and ethnographical description, in part a religious philippic against the heathen and the corrupt half-breeds, and in whole a fiery exhortation to a great crusade of Eastern conquest, is a singularly energetic utterance, unique in its vivacity, its mixture of knowledge, prejudice, calculation, and ambition, and its sustained force and individuality of style. It has all the zeal of Peter the Hermit diverted not a little to concerns more of the earth than of the Promised Land.

Pierre Dubois urged the king of France to acquire for his family the kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and to invade and colonise Egypt at the same time. The friar who preached this later crusade to Philip of Valois was similarly minded to aggrandize his country. A good Frenchman if a dubious moralist and a bad prophet, his appeal to his royal master is a first-rank document of medieval thought concerning the aspirations of Christendom in that phase of the Eastern Question which prevailed while the Turk was still far from the gates of Stamboul. Mr. Beazley, whose editorial commentary is equally learned and attractive, may be proud of introducing to modern history the friar and his piquant discourse.

THE interlacing of literature with history, so frequently exemplified in the publications of the Scottish Text Society, is finely exhibited in the latest of their volumes, which is volume V. of Wyntoun's chronicle, under the exact and well-ordered editing of two texts, with variants from other manuscripts, by Mr. F. J. Amours. The present instalment brings us down to 1335, but as it begins with the reign of William the Lyon, its reach is wide and its interest necessarily corresponds. Although the bulk of the text is merely a bettered reproduction of text already printed, it comprises not a few new passages of value for history, and of interest for expression. Notable are a few new lines which extend the number of known citations from Barbour's *Brus*.

*Andrew of
Wyntoun.*

These include a reference to the grief of King Robert over the fall of his kinsman, Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester, at Bannockburn. For piquancy of diction and, it must be owned, severity of judgment none of the new readings can be compared with the long passage in which the fighting bishop of Durham, Anthony Beck, is condemned—here and hereafter—for his unpriestlike cruelty and his uncanonical blessing of massacre at Berwick in 1296, when that Scottish city was stormed by Edward I. Wyntoun is vitally historian, but at times he is poet too. When the time comes, it will be no surprise if Mr. Amours, pronouncing his ripe verdict after such long and faithful labour on his author, should protest for a more generous adjustment of Wyntoun's degree among our Scottish poets.

FLORENCE has been doing honour to Pasquale Villari, biographer of Savonarola and Macchiavelli and historian of Florence, on his eightieth birthday. From an Italian journal we note that a *Pasquale Villari*. biography, with bibliography, has been published, and that a Villari prize has been instituted for the best work 'sulle condizioni del Mezzogiorno.' A graceful Latin ode for the occasion has been written by Dr. Steele of Florence (best known to us of late for his share in the Buchanan quatercentenary) who is designated as 'uno studioso scozzese ammiratore di Pasquale Villari.' It compliments the historian as combining the gifts and the years of Nestor, and as a leader of Latin studies, and it prays that Flora, goddess of the city, may grant him always a long springtime and a short winter, and that at last her snowy lilies (armorial insignia of the city) may cover his tomb. Villari has many Scots admirers to echo Dr. Steele's greeting and praise to the philosophic archivist.

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A Roxburghshire Mansion and its Contents in 1729

THE valley, or 'watergate,' of the Rule may well claim to be one of the fairest in Teviotdale. In contrast with the lone moors, brown with the bents and heather, that hedge it in, lie its green haughs and woodlands. Here where the southern slopes of Ruberslaw have almost disappeared in the meadows by the margin of the stream, is situated the mansion house of Wells. The long avenue of ancient limes, the trim lawns and the sundials, show that the present house has usurped the site of older homes of gentlefolk.

In the year 1687 the estate passed for the second time into the hands of Rutherfurds after a lapse of nearly two hundred years. From the character of the stone moulding on the lintel of a doorway preserved in the basement of the last house, we may presume that Thomas Rutherfurd, the new proprietor, built himself a mansion suitable to the requirements of a country laird. Of that house but two stones now remain as visible mementoes. One bears no less than eighteen coats of arms showing the descent for many generations of Thomas and his wife. The other, apparently the lintel of the main entrance, has carved across it a pious exhortation rendered into Latin after the fashion of the times, '*Ne des tua robora scortis.*'¹ Through failure to act up to this motto, or from some less unworthy cause, the Rutherfurds in 1706 ceded possession of the property to William Elliot, still known in the district as 'the laceman.' He claimed to be descended

¹ *Ecclesiasticus*, c. 9, v. 3.

from the family of Elliot of Brough, and, previous to returning to his native land, he had made a considerable fortune in London as a manufacturer of gold and silver lace and as a financier. In 1728 he died, leaving a son and successor, William, then a captain in the army, and a daughter, married to Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs, whose descendants on failure of the male line succeeded to Wells.

Being a soldier unlikely to be regularly resident, Captain Elliot appointed as factor one Archibald Jerdon to manage his property in the country, and generally to look after his household and estate at Wells. Mr. Jerdon thereupon procured a thin narrow folio volume of 72 pages, bound in sheepskin, wherein to keep an accurate account of his intromissions with the rents, etc. This volume lies before me. A consideration of its contents may enable us to realise to some extent the conditions of life of a well-to-do border laird in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Here we have his rental, a year's expenditure in 1729 when he was living on his estate, and a year's outlays in 1735 when he was apparently absent, a note of the timber sold, and lastly two inventories of the goods and chattels belonging to him in the house, one of which includes his books, his clothes, and his plate.

The rental of 1729 drawn from lands at Wells, Ormiston, and Hadden, amounted to £744 5s. 4½d., from which, however, there fell to be deducted £286 3s. 2½d. of arrears. In 1735 it is £921 7s. 7½d., but the arrears have increased to £463 6s. 4½d., which seems to imply that farmers at this time were not prospering.

The estate of Wells appears to have been by no means destitute of timber. The 'account of ash timber of the Greenwood' enumerates 206 trees, sold at prices varying from sevenpence to one pound seventeen shillings, and realising in all £94 5s. 9d. Some of these ash trees must have been giants, for 'One hundred and twenty-six valuable Firrs cutt down in the West Avenue' only realised £4 17s. There was timber also cut in the Hilloch sold for £2 8s. 8d., but of what quality we are not told. Unfortunately, this timber account is undated, but it must have been between the years 1728 and 1760, the first and last dates in the volume, and probably not long after 1728, as the accounts show an entry in October, 1729, for proclamation of the sale of the avenue timber, and refer to a timber book wherein the details were entered.

Further, there are charges for proclamations of sales of timber at Ormiston and Oxnam in the same year. Between 1734 and 1735 the amount realised by the sale of timber and brushwood was £9 19s. 11d. Nor was good forestry being neglected, for the Captain buys in 1729 from Robert Dixon, one of the earliest of our Scottish nurserymen, 500 firs for 16s. 8d., and a little later 2 lbs. of fir seed from Wm. Torrie for 10s. The foregoing shows that the south of Scotland was not, in all parts at any rate, the dreary treeless waste it has been usually depicted. 'Through Roxburghshire,' says Mr. Henry Gray Graham, 'there was bleakness and barrenness of nature . . . until round Floors Castle some trees were planted and jealously guarded about 1716.'¹

Though we can only guess at the external appearance of the old house, the inventory shows the number and character of its rooms. There were six rooms, several with closets adjoining, the dressing and powdering rooms of those days, a kitchen, a servants' room, and a garret. In the dining room the chairs, ten in number, were of oak, as also were the oval tables. Over the chimney was fixed a glass, probably flanked on either side by the pair of large glass sconces with the brass candlesticks. On the walls hung the portraits of the Captain's father and mother, and of his sister, Lady Elliot of Stobs, while somewhere on the floor stood the 'modele of Wells House sent from London.' The laird's own room, with its closet, contains 'a dressing chair and four stools covered with silk serge cases,' 'a chimney glass,' a foot carpet, a dressing-glass, and a little shaving glass. The green room is provided with the usual chimney glass over the fire-place, while various pictures hang around. 'Provost Lindsay, Moses Striking the Rock, the Good Samaritan, a Hunting-piece Landskip by Edima and four sea-skips by different hands.' There is a Winchester chair and 'six chairs of walnut tree with blue water tabby bottoms,' a cane couch, 'a close stool,' a washing stool, a table, a piece of tapestry, a bedstead, probably with green hangings and 'bedding conform.' This we may surmise from its furnishing was the best room of the mansion, and here, perhaps, it was that Lord Heathfield, the future defender of Gibraltar, who was born at Wells in 1717, first saw the light of day. The closet adjoining contains a miscellaneous collection—six brass locks, two looking glasses,

¹ *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 196.

three beech-framed chairs, a fire grate and fender, and two brass arms belonging to the dining-room sconces.

The Captain, as is but natural, is comfortably lodged. He has a fine yellow camblet bed and 'bedstead on castors,' whereon lie a checked mattress and a hair mattress, a Holland quilt, a feather bolster and pillow, two pair of fine English blankets, and one coarse blanket. He has the only armchair, so named, in the house, covered with silk and yellow serge, and four stools to match it. Against the wall stands a 'buroe wainscot' (oak bureau), and there is also a 'wainscot table.' The usual glass hangs over the fire-place, where there is a grate with a fender, tongs, poker, shovel, and bellows.

A piece of tapestry he also has, and a 'foot carpet,' and somewhere there is still room for a large chest containing papers, tea things, etc., as well as for his books. In his closet, whose size must surely be greater than its name implies, are five beech chairs, a shaving glass, a 'lanthorn,' 2 table matts, 4 maps, a Spanish fowling-piece, a chocolate mill, a deal table, a box of bullets, five canisters, 2 dog collars and couples. In the room described as 'unfinished' are stowed away a yellow bed and a blue bed, six black cane chairs, ten wainscot cane chairs, two mats and a bridle. In the servant's room the simple furnishings which Mr. Jerdon has claimed as his own consist of a bed and a table. The factor's own den holds but an iron chest, a grate, and a 'Forrest chair,' while the kitchen seems well provided. Only the garret remains for us to pry into. Here there are some old broken chairs and window frames, a couple of marble chimney pieces, a linen press, ropes, pulleys, and a ladder, with lastly, a strange item, 'a pattern windo for ye roof of a house (in a case).'

Washstands and their necessary fittings are conspicuously absent from the furnishings of all these rooms except the green room, where there is a washing stool; but associated with milk pots and empty hampers are three basins and some other articles which we might reasonably have expected to find in the bedrooms of the house. It is possible, therefore, that the metal basins of those days were not permanently kept in bedrooms as now.

We are pleased to learn from the account that the windows, or at least three of them, are hung with pulleys and ropes,

while we also gather that some, if not all, were glazed lozengewise. It informs us too that a marble chimney piece was erected in one of the rooms, probably the dining room, and that one of the 'chimney glasses' cost £6 6s., a very considerable sum in those days.

The laceman seems to have neglected his cellar. His son, however, proceeds at once to put it in order and to replenish the bins. A lock and key are bought for the door and wine is laid in. George Halyburton supplies 9 dozen 9 bottles of wine (*kinds unspecified*) at £13 13s., 16 bottles of arrack at £3 4s., 5 dozen of claret at £4 10s., and 2½ dozen of white wine at £2. Mr. Russell also supplies £11 6s. worth of liquor, and a Mr. M'Ewen sends for 16s. 6d. a dozen 'periment water.' Magdalen Henry is brought in to brew, and ale comes from various local sources, corks and punch ladles are purchased, and a supply of wine glasses is obtained.

There are dishes and plates of pewter, china and delft; a delft and a china punch bowl with a 'timber' (*wooden*) ladle, a 'bottle stroup' (*a spout*), a pair of 'hair teams' (*sieves*), a 'chocolate pot and stick,' 'a coffee pot,' '2 tea milk pots,' 4 dozen ale glasses, 2 water glasses (a lip broken in one of them), 6 beer glasses and 5 dozen and 2 wine glasses, 2 dozen tumbler water glasses, 6 wash mouth tumbler water glasses and saucers, 3 flat low glasses, 8 glass decanters (1 broke) and dozets (*stoppers*), 3 oyl and vinegar glasses, 2 delft decanters and a delft mug (all cracked), 4 black hafted knives and 6 forks, 6 china hafted knives in a case, 6 chocolate cups and a tray.

The plate at the time the inventory was made was under the care of John Hope, the gardener, and consisted of 'a shagreen case with twelve silver hafted knives, twelve forks and twelve spoons, a shagreen case with six gold hafted knives and forks and six gold spoons,' another similar case of gold plate, two pairs of silver candlesticks, one pair of silver snuffers and a snuff pan, one silver cup, two silver salt cellers with spoons, two silver salvers, a silver oil and vinegar frame with a pepper box, and two 'crewat with tops' and a marrow spoon. There were also in the house 'a mahogany tea box with six cups and saucers, pot, sugar dish, and cover, two canisters and 6 silver spoons and milk potts.' 'A Backgammon table w^t ye men compleat, a pair of dice and two boxes' figure here as they do in other inventories of the times.

There is a supply of 'linens and woollens' which does not, however, call for particular comment.

Being still a bachelor when he succeeded, the Captain needed no large staff of servants to minister to his comfort while in his country home. A single female, Bessy by name, served him at a trifling wage and a pair of shoes to cover her naked feet, an invariable addition to the wages in Scottish households. Her wage, as seems to have been customary, was paid to her in small irregular instalments, the money being no doubt as secure in the hands of her master as sewed up inside her garments,—the alternatives to the 'kist' and savings bank of modern times. Nor did the country towns boast any brightly dressed shop windows to lure the domestic of those days to waste her substance on fripperies, and the pedlar's pack contained doubtless little beyond essentials. Bessy's ordinary wage when in residence is not revealed, but her board wages amounted to £1 6s. a quarter.

Outside the house, John Hope, the gardener, lived in a thatched cottage with his wife, keeping a cow and poultry, and from time to time supplying the mansion with their produce. James Gladstone, another outdoor servant, seems to have been employed as the 'handy man.' A number of occasional labourers were engaged, chiefly in ditching, their wage being sixpence a day. A thatcher, however, earned a shilling, and no doubt had his time well occupied thatching the cottages with heather or straw.

Gardening was one of the laird's hobbies, as his choice of books bears evidence, and a considerable amount of labour was evidently expended on the amenity of his place. The lawns or bowling greens were well cared for, there being no less than five rolling stones and frames with a number of garden scythes and shears to keep the grass and shrubs in order; and there being 22 playing bowls and 5 jacks, we can picture to ourselves the laird, arrayed in his coloured coat and knee breeches, buckled shoes on his feet and his tie wig surmounted with a three-cornered hat, playing with his country neighbours at bowls on the summer afternoons. There are garden and footpath rakes, weeding irons, 'swallow tails,' a hedge bill, a pruning ladder, and various other usual garden implements. The nine gilded lead flower-pots may have flanked a green alley in the garden or decorated a lawn. There stood in some sunny spot six bee-skeps, whose

occupants in September were smoked with brimstone, their honey run into 'pigs' bought for the purpose, and covered with leather.

The Captain, as might be expected, kept several dogs, had a fishing rod, for the Rule has always been famed as a trout stream, and though he shot, his bag of game was insufficient for his requirements, so Walter Whillans, the fowler, on 16th August, supplements it with 8 gray fowl at a cost of 6s. 6d., and twice again the same month with wild fowl. And here for comparison it may be noted that a chicken cost 2d., ducks 5d. each, pigeons 12 for a shilling, a goose 1s. 8d., and eggs from 2d. to 3d. a dozen.

That the Captain could cut a fine figure when required the inventory of his wardrobe testifies. The list includes besides his ordinary apparel, probably some items of uniform, as well as a few articles of toilet and some horse 'graith.'

One case with two raisors,
One whoon, one strap,
A wash ball case,
Two tye wiggs,
One que wigg,
One bob powder bag and puff,
5 pair of shoes,
One pair of slippers,
Two pair of boots,
One deammy (*demi*) peack
saddle,
One hunting saddle, two girts,
Two bitt bridles,
Mail pillion with 4 stropes,
A pair of black velvet breeches,
One pair of Lether breeches,
One blew camlet coat and
breeches,
One brown coat and waistcoat,
gold laced,

One white coat and waistcoat,
silver laced,
One gray frock,
One blew frock,
One blew coat embroidered
with gold,
Two white fusten frocks,
One white coat and waistcoat,
Two rug wastecoats,
One white salute coat,
One scarlet coat,
One Holland wastcoat with
silver lace,
One scarlet cloak,
One white drab great coat,
One flesh brush,
One coat brush,
Two brushes for shoes,
A caparison cloath,
Two horse cloaths.

We may appropriately mention at this point the existence of 'one lether portmantu,' a gray cloth portmanteau, and three pair of pistolls, necessary equipment for the traveller.

His books, forty-four in number, show him to have been a man of some culture with varied tastes. Gardening and forestry are well represented. There is Gerard's *Herbal*, James's *Gardening*, Bradley on *Husbandry*, *The Gardiner's*

Dictionary, Bradley's *Gardening*, Cook on *Forest Trees*, Switzer's *Gardening*, and London and Wise's *Gardening*; a handful of historical works, viz.: Thucydides, Rapin's *History of England*, the *History of the Bible*, Clarendon's *History* and Caesar's *Commentaries*; poems and plays—Lee's *Plays*, Prior's *Poems*, Ramsay's *Collection of Songs*, and Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. There are a few linguistic books—grammars and dictionaries—some of them relating to Italian. Bacon's *Natural History*, marked as lost, *The Compleat Horseman*, and a couple of military works, the *Art of Gunning* and Bland's *Military Discipline*. Of books in foreign tongues there are *L'Histoire de Don Quichote* in 6 vols., *Cyrano Bergerac*, Bocace, *La Vie de Richelieu*, *Memoire de Goulon*, *L'Academie des dams*, *Les Amours d'Horace*, *Le Moyen de Parvenir*, *Avis d'une mere a son fils*, opposite to which there is a note, 'donné a mi Lord Minto'; *Ye Conscious Lovers Italien*, etc. A volume of the *Compleat Court Cook* has been given to Lady Minto, and a collection of thirteen pamphlets with a Bible and a copy of Witchcote's *Sermons* practically completes the library.

In the account there are a few miscellaneous entries which call for comment. The cost of sending letters does not seem so great as might have been expected, but it must be borne in mind that the purchasing power of money was approximately six times what it is to-day. The following rates for letters may be of interest. To Edinburgh, about 60 miles distant, 1d., to York 4d., and to London 6d. Commodities were frequently purchased from neighbours. Butter, both salt and fresh, was taken in considerable quantities from the lady of Cavers, while Drygrange did a trade in linen. There were few bridges spanning Tweed, and travellers were taken across the river in ferry boats, 6d. being charged on each occasion for 'Boating Tweed.' Coals were laid in at mid-summer, the loads being brought on horses' backs, probably from near Berwick, the long days enabling the journey to be performed with least waste of time. No coal is worked in Roxburghshire, but the following entry shows that an attempt had been made to find it: '4 iron hooped buckets and several bonny rods, handles, wimles (*wimbles*) and ropes for boring for coal.'

Finally, it is worth noting that the factor who looked after all these matters received a salary of £12 a year, his horse's grass valued at another pound, and a trifling allowance for paper, ink, and wax.

ALEX. O. CURLE.

Economic Condition of Scotland under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate

THE period of the union of Scotland with England under the rule of the Commonwealth and Protectorate is sometimes said to have been a time of material prosperity for Scotland, accounted for chiefly by the complete freedom of trade between the two countries. But it is difficult to see what evidence can be given to prove that the country, in the six years of peace between Glencairne's rising and the Restoration, was able to recover from the interruption to trade and the desolation of the land caused by the previous wars, much less to enter upon a new career of commercial activity. The English rule entailed upon the country heavy financial burdens for which the boon of free trade with England did not seem sufficient to compensate. Nor was the policy of commercial union an original scheme, by which Cromwell and the Commonwealth Parliament foreshadowed the work of the statesmen of 1707, but rather a return to the policy of the two last Stewart kings.

James VI.'s accession to the English throne was followed by a series of negotiations, lasting about four years, for the complete union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. James himself was the originator of the scheme, and also almost the only person who was really anxious for its success, for neither the Scottish nor the English Commissioners showed any readiness to make those concessions which were necessary for the completion of the scheme of union.

The only results of the negotiations, as far as the Statute books were concerned, were :

'An Act for the utter abolition of all memory of Hostilitie and the Dependances thereof between England and Scotland, and for the repressinge of occasions of Discord and Disorders in tyme to come,'¹ and an 'Act anent the Union of Scotland

¹ 4 Jac. I. c. 1.

and England'¹ which declared: 'That all the particular hostile Laws . . . maid . . . be Scotland aganis England as Enemies sall be abrogat and in all tyme cuming allutterlie extinguished.'

There was a good deal of discussion on the subject of a commercial union, but English jealousy of the ancient league of Scotland with France, by which Scotsmen were naturalized in France and had all the privileges of citizens, while Frenchmen held the same position in Scotland, proved the chief stumbling block in the way of any statutory arrangements.

During the period of the negotiations, however, trade was carried on freely between the two countries, and even though no definite arrangement was then made, for the next few years the payment of customs was only enforced spasmodically. In 1615 James declared by Proclamation that 'ever sithence Our comming to the possession of the Imperial Crowne of the kingdomes of England and Ireland, Our ful resolution . . . wes and alwayes hath bene by all good meanes to set forward and advance Trade, Trafique and Merchandize, as well Within Our Kingdome of Scotland, as in Our Kingdomes of England and Ireland, . . . And for that purpose and to give the better encouragement unto Our naturall subiects of the said Kingdome of Scotland to set forward and increase their Trade, Shipping and Commerce, Wee have heretofore given divers and sundry private directions . . .'² that Scottish merchants, merchandize and ships should be charged with no greater duties in any ports in England and Ireland than were English and Irish merchants and ships.

But for the occasional imposition of a duty on the export of wool or hides from one country to another, the policy of free trade was continued, with the exception of the time of the Bishops' Wars, until the invasion of Scotland by the English army in 1650. All commerce and correspondence between the two countries was then forbidden by Act of Parliament.³ A declaration for the union of the two kingdoms was indeed published in Edinburgh, April 21, 1652, but the resumption of commercial intercourse was not officially recognised until the Ordinance for uniting Scotland and England into one Commonwealth,⁴ April 12, 1654.

¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, iv. p. 466.

² *State Papers, Domestic, James I. Proc. Coll.* 39.

³ Scobell, *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, pp. 124, 143. ⁴ Scobell, *Acts*, p. 293.

This ordinance declared that all goods were to pass custom free between the two countries, and that all prohibitions of imports and exports in England were to hold good in Scotland. The first part of the clause was only a return to the policy initiated by James I. and continued by his son, while the second imposed burdens on Scottish trade, which it had not hitherto borne.

Although the greater part of the fighting during the Civil Wars took place in England, yet Scotland had also suffered very severely. After the Bishops' Wars, which the Covenanters complained had ruined their trade, the absence of so many Scots with the army in England, and the destruction brought by the Montrose Expeditions, all contributed to injure Scottish prosperity. But these injuries were slight in comparison with the devastation caused by Cromwell's invasion and the Dunbar campaign. All the south part of the country was then laid waste, and all trade was interrupted.

Nicoll writes: 'So, to end this yeir of God 1650, this Kingdome was for the moist pairte spoyled and overrun with the enymie, evin from Berwik to the town of Air, their being Inglishche garisounes in all quarteris of these boundis; and land murning, languishing and fading, and left desolat.'¹ In 1651 the same writer says: '. . . this pure land wes brocht to oppin confusioun and schame, the Inglishche airmy ramping throw the kingdome without oppositioun destroying our cornes, and raising money quhairevir they went for maintenance of thair airmy and garisoune . . .'

The Worcester campaign was also disastrous. Professor Firth says between 1648 and 1651 'at least 40,000 of her (Scotland's) hardiest sons had been either slain or swept into captivity.'

Although the land then had rest for two or three years, the poverty of the country increased, and many of those who were ruined flocked to join Glencairne in 1654. 'Bankruptis and brokin men throw all the pairtes of the natioun incresit, and for feir of captioun and warding wer forcit to flee to Glencairne and Kenmure, quha wir now in armis againis the Englisches.'²

By this rising, according to General Monk, the people were £200,000 poorer than before, 'because of the greate destruction and waste made by the enemy, and of what wee found necessary to destroy that they might be deprived of sustenance.'³

¹ Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 40.

² Nicoll, p. 122.

³ *Scotland and the Protectorate*, C. H. Firth, p. 212.

Besides the laying waste of the country which seemed to be the work of the English and Scots alike, the Scots also suffered by the loss of their ships. A few weeks after the publication of the Ordinance prohibiting intercourse with Scotland, Admiral Deane issued a warrant to Captain William Penn,¹ authorising him to seize all Scottish ships which he should meet with, and to deliver them to the collectors of prize goods. But Scottish shipping had been attacked before this order was given; for in June the Scottish Parliament wrote to Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Governor of Newcastle, and also to Lord Fairfax, complaining 'that English shipps have searched and seized divers shipps, with the persons and goods therein belonging to this Kingdome.'²

In 1650, after Dunbar, the ships of the ports round Edinburgh were ordered to be 'brocht in to Leith for serving the Inglishes thair demandis.'³ In 1651 others were taken by Monk from the Fife ports, and also from Dundee, where Lamont says: 'they gatt many ships in the harberey, nire by 200 veshells great and small.'⁴

A few of these vessels may have been returned after the Union was declared, but the number of complaints from the Convention of Burghs during the Commonwealth, and the declaration of the Scottish Commissioners treating for a Union, in 1667-70 that: 'almost all the ships and vessells belonging to his Majesty's subjects of Scotland were during the late usurpation taken, burnt or destroyed,'⁵ show that a great many of the Scottish losses were not repaired.

The great disadvantage of English Government was its expense. In a country like Scotland, which, at the best of times, was comparatively poor, and which was suffering particularly at this time from want of money, a respite from heavy taxation would have been necessary to restore commercial prosperity. But England also was exhausted and could not be forced to pay for the entire cost of maintaining the garrison in Scotland.

To support the army of occupation a general assessment of £10,000 per month was levied on Scotland, by order of

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Portland Papers*, ii. p. 69.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, vi. pt. 2, p. 585.

³ Nicoll, p. 34.

⁴ Lamont's *Diary*, p. 35.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Charles II. ccxxxiii. 13.*

the Commissioners,¹ February 18th, 1652. Abatement not exceeding £2,000 per month might be apportioned amongst localities which had suffered by the war. The assessment was based on valuations made in 1629, 1644-5, and 1649, and £8,500 was raised until Glencairne's rising. After this the amount was fixed at £7,300, but was reduced in 1657 to £6,000, and this sum continued to be levied until the Restoration.

The authorities in England declared that: 'In ascertaining of assessment, Scotland to be considered as well in its integrity and intrinsic value before the late wars, and in its present poverty through devastation and spoil by the wars':² but the English officers and commissioners, Monk and others, who were on the spot, found it quite impossible to raise the sums which were expected. Their letters on this subject give unimpeachable evidence as to the poverty of the country. In 1654 Monk wrote: 'I have thought fit to acquaint your Honours that albeit the assesse of £10,000 a month could never be raised in this nation (even before this late warr, by which this people are at least £200,000 worse than before) yet I considered how farr the cesse of any place therein might be raised . . . and I have laid the Assesse as high as it can be raised, but find it cannot come to more than £7,300 a month.'³

(In 1621 and 1625 when Scottish industry and commerce were in a prosperous condition, grants of taxation of about 1,200,000 lib Scots, to be collected during three years, were made; *i.e.* about £33,500 sterling a year, which was said to be 'the grittest taxatioun that ever was grantit in this kingdome'.)⁴

The various reductions made in the assessments were not made because of any decrease in the cost of governing Scotland, but for the simple reason that it was impossible to squeeze any more money out of the country. The assessments, too, were not fairly made, for Scotland was, in proportion to her wealth, more heavily burdened than England.

Monk, writing to Secretary Thurloe in June 1657 about a new assessment to be levied on the three kingdoms, says: 'I must desire you will consider this poore country which truely I can make itt appeare that one way or other they pay one

¹ *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, C. H. Firth, p. xxx.

² *S. P. D. Commonwealth*, cxxxviii. p. 60-2.

³ *Scotland and the Protectorate*, C. H. Firth, p. 212.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd Series, vol. i. 151. 3.

hundred pounds out of fower for their assessment. . . . And unlesse there bee some course taken, that they may come in equality with England, itt will goe hard with this people: . . . And since wee have united them into one Commonwealth, I thinke itt will bee most equall, to bring them into an equality.’¹

The Burghs also complained of the ‘great disproportione betwix thame and England.’

An excise had been levied in Scotland in 1644.² In 1655 by an Order of the Protector and his Council the rates were declared to be the same as those in England.³

The burden of the assessment was so great, and money at any rate was so scarce, that no capital was set free for employment in industry or commerce. ‘The assessments take up above a fifth part of the rents throughout Scotland, and the people are so generally poor in some parts, all their stock being lost, that they are not able to pay for lands (I mean tenants) so much as formerly by $\frac{1}{3}$.’⁴

Nicoll too in his diary makes constant reference to the country’s poverty. In 1654 he writes: ‘Povertie still increist in the land and thairfoir much pepill . . . wes brocht to great miserie and distress . . . Quhairthrow . . . and by the dayly quarteringis, cassis and uther heavy burdeningis, thair being also lytill or no tred, the land wes forcit to grone under these calamities and burdingis.’⁵

Matters did not improve as time went on, even though the country was at peace after Glencairne’s rising had been crushed.

In 1657 ‘Povertie and skaircitie of money daylie increisit, be ressoun of the great burdingis and chargis . . . imposit upone the pepill, quhilk not onlie constraynit thame to sell thair landis and estait, bot evin thair household geir, insicht and plenishing and sum thair cloathes and abuilzementies.’⁶

Robert Baillie, ‘one of the most eminent and learned of the Presbyterian clergymen of the Covenanted period,’⁷ writing in 1656 says: ‘In our state all is exceedingly quiet. A great army, in a multitude of garrisons bides above our heads, and deep poverty keeps all ranks exceedingly under; the taxes of all kinds are so great, and trade so little, that it is a marvel

¹ *Thurloe Papers*, vi. 330.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scot.* vi. part. 1, p. 75.

³ *Acts of Parl. of Scot.* vi. part 2, p. 827. ⁴ *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 59.

⁵ Nicoll, p. 132.

⁶ Nicoll, p. 207.

⁷ Mackintosh, *History of Civilisation in Scot.* ii. p. 376.

if extreme scarcity of money end not, ere long, in some mischief.' ¹

Two years later he writes: 'The country lyes very quiet; it is exceeding poor, trade is nought; the English hes all the moneyes.' ²

The poverty of the country and the expense of governing it contributed to the final bankruptcy of the Protectorate Government, for Scotland was far from being self-supporting.

In 'An Estimate of the monthly charge in Scotland,' ³ made up in July 1654, the monthly cost of the army is stated to be £41,236 17s. 9d., while the assessment because of 'the broken condition of the country' only amounts to £4,000 monthly. Therefore England has to furnish £37,000 a month. The customs and other revenues of the kingdom 'will but defray the charges of the civill list, and hardly that.'

In December of the same year, £60,415 12s. 7½d. was needed to make good the pay of the forces in Scotland till that date. ⁴

A statement presented to the House of Commons, from the Committee for inspecting the Treasuries, in 1659, shows that Scottish finances must indeed have been a heavy burden to the Government. ⁵ The debt to the forces in Scotland was £93,827 13s. 0¾d., and to the citadel at Leith £1,800; and the annual issues for the pay of the forces in Scotland was £270,643 4s. 2d. The income was only £135,836, so the deficit in Scotland amounted to £230,435 17s. 2¼d. The deficit in the total revenues of the three kingdoms was £1,468,098 12s. 2½d.

As may be supposed this period of extreme poverty and exhaustion was not a flourishing time for trade, nor did the supposed boon of free trade with England seem to improve matters. As has been said, a great part of the shipping of the country was destroyed and appropriated by the English in 1650 and 1651. The Scots therefore were without the means for pursuing their trade, unless they could buy new ships or use foreign vessels. But difficulties were put in the way of their procuring new ships by a duty levied by the

¹ Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, iii. p. 375.

² *Ibid.* iv. p. 31.

³ *Acts, Scotland*, vi. pt. 2, p. 888.

⁴ Thurloe, iii. p. 43.

⁵ *Journals of House of Commons*, vii. p. 160.

Government on these purchases. This was complained of by the Royal Burghs 'being informed that the commissioners for the customs excys doe exact the 20 peny of custome and the 20 peny of excys of all schippis bocht from straingeris and brocht home for the necessarie service of the natioun and increas of tread which exactionis doe much frustrat and hinder the restoring of the decayed and lost schipping of this cuntrie.'¹

Their trade in foreign ships was put a stop to by the Navigation Act of 1651,² which forbade the import of goods into any of the Commonwealth dominions, except in native ships, or ships belonging to the country whence the goods were brought. This was also complained of by the Burghs. In 1656 a letter was sent from the Convention to their Commissioners, attending the Parliament in London, to demand permission to transport their coal and salt to 'whatsoever places within or without this Island in what boddomes the merchant may be best served with for their advantage';³ also to import all commodities from France and Spain in the ships most convenient for the merchant.

Another source of grievance and check to trade was the prohibition laid on the export of certain articles which were the staple commodities of Scottish trade—skins, wool, hides etc.—on the ground that the said articles should be made use of in manufactures.⁴ But they were 'the onlie meannes quhairby thair tread subsisted and forraine commodities and money imported in the natione—without the which they ar altogether unable for erecting of manufactories and improving of the saidis commodities thairin.'⁵

There was also some new restraint on goods imported, commodities which, according to the Burghs 'wee cannot subsist without.'⁶ With this complaint was bracketed the request that they should be allowed to import these goods although not the growth of the country from which they are brought.

Another result of complete commercial union was that the tariff of customs on imports and exports was the same for

¹ *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, iii. 435.

² Scobell, *Acts*, p. 176.

³ *Royal Burghs*, iii. 394.

⁴ Proclm. $\frac{669f20}{36}$ and Scobell, *Acts*, 138.

⁵ *Royal Burghs*, iii. p. 391.

⁶ *Royal Burghs*, iii. p. 393.

Scotland as for England. The English rates were considerably higher than the Scots were accustomed to pay, and to a country already impoverished this difference entailed a burden which the traders were neither willing nor able to bear.¹

The commodities which suffered most from this equality of customs were coal and salt. Coal was said to be the best staple commodity of the kingdom;² and the manufacture of salt, also an important export, depended upon the coal works, for, unless the great coal could be sold, the small coal, which was used in the salt manufactory, was not worked. The duty imposed was 4s. per ton exported by natives, and 8s. on that exported by foreigners.³ This enhanced the price so much that the Netherlanders, who bought most of the Scotch coal exported, could not purchase it, and began to bring coal down the Rhine from works at Luyck.⁴

Petition was made for lessening the duty on Scotch coal on the ground that it was less able to bear it than the English. The English coal, the petitioners said, was more used in the country than Scotch; also, Newcastle coal was absolutely necessary for the Dutch iron manufactures, while Scotch coal was used in breweries and soap works and could easily be replaced by coal from elsewhere.⁵ If both coal and salt works were to be closed, about 20,000 of the population would be ruined, and the customs very much lessened.

In March, 1658, the Council reduced the duty to 2s. 6d. and 5s. per ton respectively for great coal, until the matter should be more carefully considered.⁶ It would seem, however, that the higher duty was reimposed, for in January, 1660, the Burghs wrote to the Protector urging that 'the extraordinarie imposition upon coall and salt may be moderated.'

Besides these disadvantages resulting from the English rule in Scotland there were other hindrances to trade, which affected English merchants also. Dr. Cunningham says: 'It is . . . quite illusory to suppose that the navy was able to give adequate protection to British shipping; . . . The old evil of the Algerian pirates remained unabated; the Earl of Derby and other royalists had fitted out numerous privateers; the French were ready to prey on English commerce in the

¹ *Royal Burghs*, iii. p. 397.

² *S. P. Dom. Commonwealth*, clxxix. 65.

³ *Scobell, Acts*, p. 384.

⁴ *S. P. Dom. Commonwealth*, clxxx. 12.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Commonwealth*, clxxx. 12.

⁶ *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, i. 78, p. 481-3.

Mediterranean; and the Spaniards and Dutch rendered the Channel and coasting trade most insecure.'¹

Scotland's trade, small though it was, probably suffered more in proportion than that of England. The communications of the Burghs to their agents in London contain many requests for convoys for their ships, and complaints of the loss they have suffered, both by pirates and on account of the Commonwealth wars with Spain and Holland.

It was particularly disastrous for Scotland to be dragged into a war with Holland, for Scottish trade with Holland had always been considerable. There apparently was, during this period, some interference with the Scots staple port at Campvere, where they had been established since the fifteenth century. This was probably partly due to the war, and partly to the prohibition of Scots staple exports.

The English merchants regarded Dutch commercial intercourse with Scotland with jealousy. As early as 1650 the Council of State recommended that Dutch trade with Scotland should be forbidden. 'They get the main trade into their own hands, and beat out the English. . . . Whatever may seem to be wanting by prohibiting them . . . will be furnished by our own merchants . . . when they shall have an assured market by the exclusion of the Dutch.'² The Council apparently consider that the Scots show a peculiar ingratitude by allowing the Dutch to trade there. 'Their malignancy is such, notwithstanding all the favours they have received from you . . . that they will buy nothing of the English if they can have it from the Dutch.'

The Spanish war, too, ruined several merchants, for Scotland had had some trade there, especially from the time of the English wars with Spain in the sixteenth century. While it went on, Scotland's chief trade was along the coast to England, although some merchants sailed abroad under pretence of being Dutch with Dutch skippers and mariners.³

There seems to have been very little employment in trade for Scottish sailors during the wars. According to Nicoll, writing in 1656, 'many skipperis and maryneris were taken to sea to serve the Inglishes. Many of thame without compulsion wer content to tak on and serve, thair being lytill or no employment

¹ *History of English Industry and Commerce*, W. Cunningham, ii. p. 188.

² *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*. i. 96, p. 318.

³ *Tucker's Report on the Customs and Excise*, p. 44.

for thame utherwayes in tred or merchandise and seas being foull with pirattis and robberis.’¹

There were also some very violent storms during these years, especially in 1654 and 1656, in which many ships were lost, and other damage was done. The Burghs complain of the loss of their ships, stocks and trade, and that the storm had also demolished ‘the maist pairt of thair herberis.’²

The letters of the English Commissioners and the complaints of the Convention of Royal Burghs show that there was little improvement in the state of trade in Scotland. In March, 1659, the Commissioners of the Burghs ‘now convened, taking to consideratione the pressing burdingis this natione with the estait of borrowis lyeth undir and the great decay of tread which was the meane of their subsistence,’ send instructions to their Commissioners in London requesting a reduction in their cess, relief from the system of quarterings, and the removal of the prohibition of the export of those Scotch goods which were formerly transported, until manufactures could be set up.³

Although the time of English rule cannot be said to have promoted commerce or industry, or to have brought much material prosperity, it was on the whole efficient and successful in some other directions. In the administration of justice the place of the Court of Session was taken by a commission of justice, the members being both English and Scotch. They acquired a reputation for giving more equitable and impartial decisions than had ever obtained before. ‘Thair justice,’ says Nicoll, ‘exceedit the Scottis in mony thinges.’

The preservation of order in the country was also efficiently maintained. Forts were built and garrisoned at Inverness, Inverlochy, Perth, Ayr and Leith, and there were also about 20 smaller ones built. As a result the Highlands were controlled, and internal communication was facilitated. ‘A man may ride all Scotland over with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, which he could not have done these 500 years.’

Nevertheless Tucker says that various causes, the barrenness of the country, the poverty of the country, which he ascribes partly to their own laziness, ‘hath quite banished all trade from the inland parts, and drove her down to the very seaside.’

Schemes were also drawn up for the abolition of heritable jurisdictions and military service, and for removing some of

¹ Nicoll, p. 174.

² *Royal Burghs*, iii. p. 429.

³ *Royal Burghs*, iii. p. 482.

the difficulties in the way of transferring land, but these do not seem to have actually taken effect.¹

The first attempts to improve the sanitary condition of the Scottish towns have often been ascribed to the Commonwealth authorities. In Edinburgh, however, they seem to have promised more than they could perform: ‘. . . thair was ane new cess imposit upone the inhabitants of Edinburgh for bying of hors and kairtes for carrying away and transporting of the filth, muck and fuilzie out of the clossis and calsey of Edinburgh, quich much grevid the pepill, and so much the moir, becaus the pepill resavit no satisfacioun for their money, bot the calsey and clossis continued moir and moir filthie, and no paynes taken for clynging the streitis.’²

On the whole, therefore, it does not seem that the country benefited materially during the Interregnum. Poverty was great, manufactures could not be set up. Trade, both inland and foreign, had decayed, and showed little sign of recovery, and the bankruptcy of the country contributed towards the bankruptcy of the whole government, and the downfall of the Protectorate.

THEODORA KEITH.

¹ Burton, *Hist. of Scot.* vii. 60.

² Nicoll, p. 167.

The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745

THE following letter,¹ one of a number of letters and other papers about the marches of Prince Charles's army through Lancashire, is the production of a typical English bourgeois. That the army took so many women and children with them is rather surprising. The Highlanders behaved better in the advance than in the retreat, as we know from all sources. The young officer who intended to take service with the Czarina cannot be identified. The date of the march to Macclesfield is December 1, 1745. Lord George Murray made his feint by way of Congleton towards Litchfield, causing the Hanoverians to retreat to Stowe, and then marching through Leek to Ashbourne, and joining the Prince at Derby. The other papers, or extracts from them, will be given later.

A. L.

Dr. Sr.

I thank you for yr. kind advice, but it came too late, for within a few hours after I recvd. yr. Letter we were alarmed with ye approach of ye Rebels. It was then too hazardous to remove my family so I determined to stand my Ground, especially as my wife seemed to be in good spirits and noways affraid. And indeed I must own she had more Courage than all ye whole family besides. My brother Tatton and his Lady were with me y^e morning but they went to Ashenhurst. And Fanny (who when ye Rebels were at Carlisle was as valiant as an Amazon and of all things would like to have a peep at ye Pretenders Son) durst not stay to see 'em march by ye Door, but rode off in great haste with her Bro- abt a Quarter of an hour, before they reached ye town.

We had heard of their coming into Manchester and of

¹The Editor is indebted to Mr. Walter Jerrold, Hampton-on-Thames, for this letter, which was written by Mr. John Stafford, Attorney, Macclesfield.—Ed. S.H.R.

ye great rejoicings there, and that they raised Recruits very fast from whence we concluded they would have made some stay at that town. But a party of about 20 Dragoons of ye King's forces coming into this town on Saturday evening pretty late the Rebells had immediate Notice of it and I believe they hastened their march hither in expectation of surprizing 'em.

Before the dragoons came in a party of ye Rebells that morning crost a ford above Stockport Bridge (wh. with others was very swiftly broke down some time before) and coming into ye town Rode round the Cross and Dispersed papers to Encourage men to Inlist in ye P's Service But not meeting with ye least Countenance they soon retired. However it was expected a larger body of 'em wo^d have marcht in there that evening.

We acquainted ye Officer who comanded ye Dragoons wth. wt. we heard, upon wh. he sent one of our townsmen to Stockport as a Spy to bring him intelligence of their motions. He not returning we Concluded that ye rebels stayd at Manchester. But ye next morning being Sunday ye 1st instant, about 10 o'clock we had Notice from ye country people that ye Rebells were within Quarter of a mile of ye town. The young officer who comanded ye party of Dragoons was at breakfast wth Mrs Mayoress when ye alarm was given And he was just saying Never fear Madam we Sl protect you Down went ye dish and he and his party of dragoons made full as much hast out of town as Madam Frances did. The good folks at Church ran out before half ye Service was over in ye utmost Confusion and ye whole town was in great consternation.

When ye first emotion of my own fright was a little abated I ventured to peep out of a Garrett window, but seeing my wife and her two sisters below at ye Gates, shame raised my courage and I ventured to stand by 'em and saw ye whole army pass by my own Door, except a regimenot of Horse comanded by Lord Elko and some forces wh. came in late But those I saw ye next day.

The Quarter Masters first came into town who with their Guard were 20 in Number; they Rode to the Cross and inquired for ye Constables. By this time I was grown so Manfull, that verily I followed this party to ye Cross (But by ye by my wife went along with me) they Inquired for

The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745 287

St. P: Davenports' house whether he was in town or not and being answered not they gave him a Curst and askt when he left it and soon after rode to his house and after vieweing it inside and out markt ye Door with ye word Prince. I had now so much valour that I adventured to Speak to one of ye best of 'em and inquired wt. Number of forces wo^d be in town that day. He answ^d. 10,000, upon which I returned home much Dismayed.

Immediately afterwds came in a Regiment of horse by way of advance Guard said to be comanded by the Duke of Perth and the 2^d or 3^d Rank was the poor fellow (our Clyent Sampson Salt by name) who had been sent out as a Spy Guarded by 4 terrible fellows with their Drawn Swordes. They soon found he was a townsman and that ye Eyes of ye Inhabitants were on him. But fear had so metamorphosed our friend that his neighbours scarce knew him: He was shorter by half a yard at least than ye day before. If he cast an Eye to ye right—D—m you (says a ruffin) you must not look yt way. If he lookt to ye left—D—m you Don't look that way so yt he was forst to Conduct his Eyes directly betwixt ye two ears of his Palfry—and all ye while the Guards kept laughing and pointing at him and to ye people who beheld his Distress.

This Regiment seemed to be very poorly mounted I believe for ye most part on such horses as they picked up in ye Country as they came along. But many of ye men were lusty? fellows.

Not long after them came ye Foot in very regular ord with Bagpipes playing instead of Drums marching at ye head of the Colloms of each of their respective Regiments And all ye Forces as well Horse as foot were in Highland Dress except ye body Guards wh. wore Blue bound wth Red.

After abt. 4 or 5 Regiments had passed by us it was said the P: was coming up. You may easily imagin we were all very attentive to see him, and it happened a halt was made just opposite to my Door for a minute or two which gave us an opportunity of having a full View of him: He was in highland dress with a blue wastcote bound with Silver and a blue Highland cap on, and was surrounded by about 40 who appeared as his Guard. He is a very handsome person of a man rather tall, exactly proportioned and walks well, He is *in my thinking not much unlike Mr. N: Wetenhall but his face is not markt with ye smallpox.*

He walkt on foot from Manchester as he had done 'tis said all the way from Carlisle And I believe they made their best appearance into the town expecting to be recvd. as they were at Manchester But there was a profound silence and nothing to be seen in ye Countenances of ye Inhabitants but horror and amazement. Endeavours were made to have given 'em a peal of ye Bells for fear of Insults But 4 Ringers were all that co^d be got and they rung ye bells backward not with design but thro' Confusion.

Soon after the P's Son came into town and got to his Quarters at S^r P's (wh. we now call Holly Rood House) an Order Came to the Mayor to proclaim the Pretender and he and the Aldermen were directed to attend in their formalities. I had 2 or 3 messages to have gone with my Gown but I sent word it was out of the way but that I wo^d come for by this time I had got some of the Rebel Officers in the house and many more at the Gates watching the Procession amongst whom I stood out of Curiosity and therefore durst not say I wo^d not go for fear abused By which means I Escaped being present at so Shocking a Scene. Poor Mr. Mayor was obliged to be at it and I hear 2. or 3 of the Aldermen were. They tell me they made the Town Clerk repeat the Proclamation after 'em and when it was over they themselves gave a huzza or 2. There was not one townsman Joined 'em, *but I believe there was not one Englishman Joined in the huzza except what they had picked up at Manchester.*

Soon after the Advanced Guard Came into Town there was a young Lowlander (but in a Highland Dress) quartered himself and horse upon us for sake of my Stable. His dress was very unpromising but his manner and behaviour showed he had had a Genteel Education and was a person of sense and acc^t amongst 'em. As he was Exceeding Civil the women took courage and soon fell into Discourse with him. He stood with 'em at the Gates ye greatest part of the Procession By wh means we had an Opportunity of learning the Names of the Chiefs as they passed by wh added greatly to the Curiosity Many of the Officers appeared very well. Some few indeed were very old In particular Glenbuckett who seemed to be 80 at least and bended almost Dble on horseback. Some of those who stood by us said he had been bed rid 3 years before the P^r Son arrived in Scotland but he no sooner heard of his coming than he had a kind

of new life and joined him with his whole Clan and Family there being no less than his 2 sons 2 Grandsons a Great Grandson and a nephew along with him.

Many of the Comon men tho' they were Dirty and Shabby appeared to be lusty active fellows. Indeed there were some old men amongst the Comon Soldiers and a great N^o of Boys but I observed they appeared to be near all of a size and of an age viz^t abt 12 and I afterwds was informed that the use they intended to make of those boys, which were to be armed with Pistolls and knives only, was upon an Engagement to Disorder the King's Cavalry by going amongst the ranks and Cutting the legs of the horses.

It was dark before the Artillery came in and as it grew duskish orders were given that the Inhabitants sho^d Illuminate their houses upon pain of Military Execution, Upon wh. most of the houses were Illuminated but with great Ill will.

The young Lowlander I before mentioned whilst at Dinner talked pretty freely and said Manchester was a very glorious Town, that they had been very well recvd there. Asked whether they shod be Joined by any Charlie's Gent and where Lord B was I told him in London, and that they had nothing to expect from anybody in this County for most of the Young Gentlemen of fortune in the Co. had accepted of Co^mons in L. Ch^r Regiment and that all the rest of the Gent of any account had left their habitations to get out of their way To wh. he said it was Strange the English co^d not see their own Interest. Says he they will not let us have the honour of restoring ———. We have not been joined by 5 Englishmen of any Acc^t since we came from Scotland, but added he thought if they co^d get into Wales they sho^d be joined by a Great Many there.

He pulled out some printed papers and delivered 'em to the Women the like having been distributed in the Streets—I had the curiosity to read 'em all. They seem to be drawn up with a Great deal of Art and to be applyed to the passions But the whole is founded upon false principles and begging the Question and I think most of the reasons and Arguments are picked out from our own Debates in Parliament.

Upon reading one of these papers wh is called ye pretenders Sons Declaration wherein he talks of preserving our Religious libertys my sister Molly observed that he said nothing on his own

Religion at which ye youngster Seemed to be a little startled but after some pause he said, why Madam If he had s^d he had been a protestant who wo^d have believed him? It might have Discredited the whole of the Declaration but I can assure you he's no more a Bigot in Matters of Religion than myself who am a Protestant My Wife amongst other discourse mentioned the Confusion the people were in at Church in the morning when they Came in Upon wh he asked her Well Madam and who did you pray for Says she for his Majty King George upon wh he said you did very Right but says she Supposing you had Come here last night sho^d we have been interrupted in our publick prayers by any particular Directions No, the minister wo^d have been ord^d to pray for the King with^t naming Names as had been done at Kendal Church ye last Sunday. He pufft much of his Master's regard for ye Clergy and gave an instance of a Clergyman's horse being on ye rode in their march hither, that as Soon as he knew it belongd to a Clergyman he ord^d it to be restored—But by ye by this appr^d afterwds to be a lye for I saw the Clergyman's serv^t in this town ye next morning inquiring after his Master's horse.

As to No of the Rebels there was no judging of their number from their March into the Town as they seem to be very artfull in Concealment their numbers.—They bespoken Billetts for 10,000 and said 5000 wo^d Come in the next Day but for my own part I Don't think they Exceed 6000 in the whole. All along as they marched they had partys Reconnoitring the Country for 8 or 10 miles round abt. These partys wh are Inconsiderable in N^o and a Regiment of Horse commanded by L^d Elcho were quarter'd ye day before at Prestbury were all that came into This Town the next day, wh Instead of being 5000 were far short of 500, and their was no Forming any Notion of their Number by the Billetts, because in many places where 40 or 50 were billeted on a house not half the Number Came and others had dble the Number that were billeted on 'em—The 1st Billet I recv^d was for 10 Men and 5 horses but with this no body Came only the officer I before mentioned his servants and 5 horses, but abt 9 o'Clock at night there Came a very ordinary Fellow with a billett in these words and figures—Mr. Stafford 408—I read it four hundred and Eight and was (you may Easily imagine) in no little hurry, but he soon told me it was only 40 Men and 8 Officers. And after he had sat with me a very little time he s^d he

believed no more of that N^o than himself wo^d Come in that night—He gave us to Understand he was a Doctor but we all thought him a highwayman and I verily believe he was one. We misst sev^l odd things ye next day and place 'em chiefly to his acc^{ott} for it was very visible he had tryed all the Locks in my Beaurow and in my Wifes Closet, which were in the room where he lay. You may easily imagine we cod have no heart to go to bed with such Company in the house so that we passed a very miserable night, but I had taken Care to get some Townemen in my house for a guard or else I durst not have staid.

The next morning I was very Early abroad and had the Curiosity to step over the way to a poor neighbours house who had above 50 common men quartered on him to see how they lay. The house floor was Covered with straw and men women and Children lay promiscuously together like a Kennel of hounds, and some of 'em stark naked. As soon as it was day light the Streets appeared in the Edinburgh fashion being Beshit all along on both sides from one end to the other; even Holyrood House was in this kind of furniture of any part of ye Town as one of ye Pretender's serv^{ts} told me. I went to sev^l of my neighbours who had Some of the Chief Officers quartered on 'em to enquire what they heard abt. their motions, when finding they did not intend to stir that day I was greatly alarmed and my wife and Sisters being no less terrified and it being apprehended that some skirmish wo^d be that Day in or near the Town I applyed to the person who I have before mentioned to know how I co^d get my familly safely out of Town, when he told me there was no other way but by a Pass all the Avenues being Stopt, and that if I wo^d go with him to the Secretary he wo^d get me one, wh accordingly I did do leaving the care of my house to my Clk and Serv^{ts} and in a very short time afterwds I marched away on foot thro' by Roads with my wife and Sisters and a Great train of other females of our acquaintance to Shrigley where we were no sooner got but a party of Highlanders came to search the house for Arms. Another party had been there that morning before we Came and had taken all away with 'em. Mr. Downes told these fellows of it but they s^d they were Informed we had a great many more Arms and in particular we had 3 Cases of Pistols whereas he had only delivered 2 and that he might thank his Neighbours for the Information. There was something very

particular in this for in fact he had three Case but had sometime before leant one to me These villians co^d not come to the knowledge of these things but through greater Villians than themselves. We gave them very good words, and I showed them my pass upon which they went away without further trouble.

They searched most of the neighbouring Gentlemens houses for arms as they did every house in the Town and took all they found as well bad as good wh I don't think was through the want of arms (for most of the men seemed to have more than their Compliment) but in order to disarm the Country that they might not be disturbed in their Marches. When they searched at Adlington they brought an acc^{ott} in writing of the Arms wh were in the house and cod tell in what Rooms they were. They enquired for a Couple of French horns, mentioned the place where they usually were and enquired for the silver mouth pieces. Mr. Legh thinks they got their Intelligence Either from a Roman Catholick, who had been a workman at the house or from some of the Manchester . The French horns were out of the way wh made 'em storm but being soon afterwds produced, they were appeased and went away wth the arms with^t doing much Damage but took the Butler and Steward to Macclesfield to swear there was no more Arms Concealed that they knew of.

Soon after I had left my house I had twenty Comon men three officers & 6 horses (more or were) quartered on me. These officers were very scrubby fellows and behaved rudely. One of 'em broke me a good looking Glass and the Comon men wo^d have plundered me If they had not been restrained by the men I had in the house.

You may easily imagine I recvd the News of their leaving the Town on Tuesday morning with Great Joy upon wh I took a walk homewards but was met by many persons within a mile of my house who said that a party of the Rebels were returned back and threatened to burn the Town down because one of their men had been wounded by a Townsman, but I hastened forw^d and found the Case was this. One of their men was cheapening a pair of Stockings at a Hosier's Shop when a young Fellow Came in (who had deserted twice from the King's Army) and Standing behind the Rebel drew out the Rebels Sword Cut him on the head and Stabb'd him in the thigh and then ran away upon wch there was a great Outcry, wch alarmed a party of abt 30 or 40 that still rem^d in the Town who Came to the place with the greatest fury

threatening to burn the Town. They offered a Reward of 50^{lb} to any one would wo^d apprehend the man who had given the Wounds but he being fled they took a Mercer and an Innkeeper, being the masters of the two next adjoining houses to the Shop where the affair happened, as hostages till the offender was delivered up, and after Exercising some fury on the Goods in the Shop they went off taking the wounded man along with 'em, who upon their return home said they were let out upon their Parole of Honour that they wo^d collect all the Arms and things the Rebels had left behind 'em at and use their endeavours to apprehend the offender. The hostages say that they were treated with civility whilst they stayd amongst 'em but under these directions I lost a broad Sword a Target and sev^l other amunitions (?) which I picked up out of Curiosity. On my return home after I had enquired a little into my own affairs I went amongst my neighbours familys The Story of each family was like a Short History or rather a Dream every one having something new.

The main body marched from hence on Tuesday morning to Leek but they concealed their design very artfully for I believe none of the Inhabitants imagined they intended to march thither, but that their design was for Congleton and Newcastle and I believe their Rout was known to but few of their own officers.

I returned back the same day to Shrigley and brought my wife and sisters home the next. We thought ourselves very happy the Rebels had left us but we had not been above two days at home when we were alarmed with their retreat from Derby and that they wo^d make to this place in their Road back

This Second Alarm was a much greater Shock than the first we being apprehensive they might come upon us in the night time and treat us with Severity on acc^t of ye abuse their man had recvd Upon this a messenger was despatched to Leek on the Fryday Evening to bring us Intelligence of their Motions and all my family sat up all that night ready prepared for a march as Soon as we co^d be at Certainty of their coming back to this place. This night (If possible) was a more disagreeable one than the former as we were afriad of ye Messengers falling into their hands and in the Expectation of their Surprising us every moment. About 9 in the morning we had certain Intelligence of their approach and so went back

to Shrigley—And for my own part I expected to be tuckt up if ye Messr was taken he having a Letter of mine upon him wherein I had not used any Ceremony wth 'em.

Upon this second Alarm M^r Mayor and many of the inhabitants fled Some of them lockt up their Doors and those that were left were under the utmost Consternation. About 5 or 6 on Saturday Evening came in 1500 at least and were quite outrageous that the Mayor had left the Town, but they soon quartered themselves and I heard their orders to the High Constable threatening military execution agt all who had locked their doors or refused to provide for 'em what they wanted.

My Clerk sent me an acc^t of this upon wch I walked home from Shrigley the next Morning to give Directions. The Town was very thin of Inhabitants and very dismal were the Countenances of those who were left in it. The only comfort I had was to find the Rebels lookd full as Dismal themselves. The main body came in soon after I got to town and the P—s Son was amongst 'em on horseback with a Guard of Abt. 40 and seemed to be in a good deal of hurry. I accidentally stood at the End of the Street when he passed by to his old Quarters.

I had the Curiosity to go into the Artillery Park and counted the N^o of their pieces wch are 13 Cannon, some English some French but all small ones and 2 Mortars.

The Officer I before mentioned tho he was not quartered on me this time Came to my house. He s^d they were going back to Join the Recruits raised in Scotland and the French who were landed there and puffed much abt. 15,000 French that were to land in ye South, but upon the whole I thought him greatly Disjointed; he said If they had come forward Immediately after the battle of Preston Pans he thought they sho^d have carryed their point, and that they had ruined their Cause by not doing it but for his own part, If they miscarried he did not doubt but to get into the Czarina's or some other Foreign service. The Quarter Master asked what was the reason why the Town was so thin adding that he supposed the Inhabitants lookt upon 'em as a retreating Army But those who had lockt up their Doors would repent of it. I got back to my wife in Shrigley that Evening as soon as I co^d, leaving a good guard of Townsmen in my house and was hearty Glad to hear the next morning the Rebels were all gone, but upon my Return the account of the sufferings of the Inhabitants

shocked me beyond Expression. Those who had lockt their doors and the houses of others who were not able to guard their effects were plundered and many others were robb'd of what money bedding and Cloaths they had and nothing Escapd that was portable and co^d be of any use to 'em. This Calamity fell Chiefly upon the poorer sort But the better End of people suffered a very particular hardship of an^r kind. The Rebels had heard from their Manchester friends or from some other private villians that this Town as well as other Loyal ones had associated and subscribed to raise money for the support of the present Governm^t. They took no notice of this till about 11 o'Clock on Sunday night the 8th Instant and then issued out an Order that If all the Subscribers did not pay their Subscription money by 6 o'Clock the next morning their houses sho^d burned abt. their Ears. They demanded the subscription paper from Mrs. Mayoress It having been some time before lodged with Mr. Mayor but had been sent out of the way some time before they ever came hither. She s^d she knew nothing of it Upon wch Sev^l of 'em drew their Swords upon her and threatened to murder her instantly and to set the house on fire that moment. Mr. Mayor's Clk being in the house at this time and fearing they wo^d put their threats into Execution said he believed he co^d find a copy and soon after delivered one to 'em.

My Clk Immediately sent me this Order to Shrigley upon which I directed him to pay my money rather than to stand the fury of a Refusal, and they were so Civil as to Give me a Receipt for it, a Copy of wch and of my protection you will find among the Orders. Most of the other Subscribers paid, but some Escaped thro' ye hurry ye Rebels were in.

It appeared that the Officers had little Comand over the Comon men and that the Highlanders wo^d be restrained by none but their own Clans. As they went from hence to Stockp^t in stragling partys of 'em pilfered and plundered all the way. Mr. Legh of Adlington and his Ten^{ts} suffered prodigiously—They robb'd sev^l of his serv^{ts} of all their money and were going up stairs to rob the Ladies when by Great Chance some of their officers hearing of it turnd back and drove 'em away—He was with me yesterday morning and says he has lost 6 horses and 2 of his Serv^{ts} wch they have taken along with 'em and Great Quantitys of Hay and Corn besides other Valuable things—They have taken only 2 horses of

296 The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745

Mr. Legh's of Lyme What other Damage they have done him I can't tell but I fear some of his Ten^{ts} are almost ruined.

Pretty early in my letter I mentioned our Clyent (Salt) who had been sent out as a spy and taken by ye Rebells He made his Escape from 'em the next day and went directly to the King's Army where he was taken up as a spy by them—The Rebells had frightend him out of what little senses he had, so that when he was taken up at Stone he co^d give no rational acc^{ott} of himself and was therefore Confined 2 or 3 days They then turn'd him out and he Came home again He was no sooner got back to Macclesfield but the alarm was given that the Rebells were coming hither again upon wch he sunk'd down and died instantly.

I hear they were very rough as they went thro' Stockport and took Mr. Elcock and 2 or 3 more wth 'em with Halters abt their Necks, but have since Discharged them.

I doubt not but by this time you are sufficiently tired and therefore shall shift this Horrid Scene to an^r ye most agreeable one I ever saw, for the day after the Rebells left us the Duke of Cumberland wth the Kings Forces came hither and it was a particular (?favour) to me that my house happened to be ye most Convenient in ye town for his Quarters—Never was greater Joy seen in ye Countenances of any people than in those of the good folks of Maccd And every man seemed to have forgott his former Calamities.

I cannot conclude without a kind of short prayer that Good may arise out of ye Evills we have suffered as I verily believe it will. For surely these proceedings must open the eyes of those who were before either luke warm or wavering in their principles and entirely ruin the Pretenders Cause: the people in these parts say they are sure the Rebells are no Christians, nay they are Devills.

May the just vengence of heaven overturn 'em and all other Disturbers of ye peace of Mankind And so ends ye prayer of

2 Decr. 1745.

J. STAFFORD.

Peculiar Ordination of a Cumberland Benefice

THE appended ecclesiastical instrument, dated 21st February, 1285, presents curious features, not often found in the appropriation of English benefices in the thirteenth century. The deed has been transcribed by Mr. William Brown, secretary of the Surtees Society, from the Register of Archbishop John the Roman of York (MS. ff. 131-2), and is now printed with his approval. As there are no diocesan muniments of Carlisle for that date, we are indebted to the good old custom of confirmation by *inspeximus* for its preservation in the archiepiscopal registers of York.

For a right interpretation of the instrument it may be explained that the parochial benefice of Dalston extends over an area of about 12,000 acres, a few miles to the south-west of Carlisle. The Bishop of Carlisle was lord of the manor, which was almost conterminous with the parish, and patron of the parochial church. Rose Castle was the capital messuage of the manor of Dalston, and, at the date of this transaction, had almost become the favourite residential seat of the Bishop. The appropriation of the endowments of parochial benefices for the support of ecclesiastical corporations had been known in the diocese of Carlisle so far back as documentary evidence carries us. It was a well-established custom in the opening years of the twelfth century, but it was held in check by the bishops till the outbreak of the War of Independence, when the Bishop of Carlisle and the local monasteries were so impoverished by Scottish depredations that the revenues of parochial benefices were eagerly seized for the maintenance of the hierarchy. At the outset, in many instances, these appropriations were for the advantage of the parochians, though they do not appear to have had a voice in the matter. As things turned out, however, in subsequent history, they may be described as disastrous. Most of these appropriations were confiscated and secularized by Henry VIII. and his son Edward,

and those that remain are now enjoyed, for the most part, by bishops and diocesan chapters. In the case of Dalston the parochians, for whose use the revenues of the benefice were originally set apart, were very much in the hands of the Bishop, by reason of his ecclesiastical and feudal relations to them. To the credit of Bishop Irton, be it said, that his redistribution of the fruits were for their immediate advantage. A few years later, when this ordination was annulled under the pressure of external troubles, a new diocesan arrangement took place whereby the people or the district were consigned to the ministrations of a perpetual vicar 'passing rich' on Goldsmith's not too generous allowance.

From Bishop Irton's ordination it will be seen that the revenues of the benefice were divided into three portions, allotted respectively to the parochial vicar, the archdeacon of Carlisle, and the diocesan school of Carlisle; they were evidently meant to be equal, but were taxed in 1291, that is, six years after the ordination, as follows: portion of the vicar, £12 16s. od.: portion of the archdeacon, £15: and portion of the school, £16 (*Pope Nich. Tax*, pp. 318-9, Rec. Com.). The terms of this redistribution are most interesting in the history of eleemosynary institutions. It was a time of peace and the Bishop was able to 'think imperially,' untouched by the red claw of personal discomfort. Though there may be a difference of opinion whether parochial revenues were meant to be inalienable from the district which supplied them, it must be conceded that the fruits of this rich benefice were redistributed in such a way that the religious interests of the parochians did not suffer. One cannot withhold a word of admiration for the administrative ability of the statesman prelate who embraced in one comprehensive scheme such a heterogeneous assortment of diocesan agencies.

It should be pointed out that the ordination cannot properly be called an appropriation as that ecclesiastical act was then or afterwards understood. It is the peculiarities of the instrument which make it so historically interesting. If we take the portions in order of allotment we shall find curious features in all of them. In addition to personal residence, the parochial incumbent was under obligation to maintain the ornaments, books, altar and chancel, and to provide one priest and one sub-deacon to assist him in parochial ministration. The upkeep of the chancel as a burden on the vicar is of itself enough

to distinguish the ordinance from the well-known provisions of a stereotyped appropriation, which invariably allotted that duty to the rector or impropriator. It is also curious that the portions of the archdeacon and the school should have been set out as benefices or prebends. The Bishop adroitly got round the difficulty of appearing to create sinecures by obliging the prebendaries to supply substitutes to minister in the parochial office. As it is not definitely known what provision was made for the maintenance of the archdeacon of Carlisle before this period, apart from certain official fees, the ordination throws a welcome light on this obscure department of diocesan action. By the nature of his office the archdeacon was of necessity like 'a bird that wandereth from her nest,' if indeed he can be said to have had a nest at all. At Carlisle, at all events, there was no suitable provision for his maintenance (*propter evidentem ipsius exilitatem*), and the Bishop very wisely undertook to remedy the defect. With this view the prebend in Dalston church was created and annexed to the archidiaconal office. The prebend of the twelve poor scholars, which made up the remaining portion, was also burdened with the provision of a residentiary priest with specified duties in the parish church. Four of these scholars from the diocesan school were enjoined to attend divine service at Dalston on Sundays and Holy Days unless prevented by bad weather or some lawful hindrance. It was stipulated that the chantry priests provided out of both prebends should celebrate masses of the Blessed Virgin and *De Defunctis* in turn at fit times, while the parochial vicar or his priest should be responsible for the daily service. According to the subsequent custom of chantry foundations, all the clergy on the parochial staff were obliged to give due obedience to the parochial incumbent. It will be noted that the archdeacon and the school had to find fit residences for their priests on the respective portions allotted to them.

Another peculiarity of this singular ordination may be seen in the method of dividing the endowments of the benefice. In ordinary appropriations the procedure was very simple: there was either a partial or a total appropriation. In the former case provision was made for the parochial incumbent, who had the cure of souls, and the impropriator took the rest: in the latter, the impropriator took the whole with the obligation of allowing a specified yearly stipend to a resident curate appointed by him. Bishop Irton adjudicated in another way. A schedule

of the parochial endowments, temporal and spiritual, was drawn up, and allotments were made, each independent of the other. It will be observed that the portion of the archdeacon was composed of temporalities as well as spiritualities, just like the others. That this diocesan official had liberty to hold real property at this period is evident from the Constitutions of Archbishop Langton, whereby archdeacons were allowed to let to farm the temporal estate annexed to their office, with the licence of their superiors, but were forbidden to farm spiritualities (Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 282, Oxford, 1679).

The tripartite division of Dalston did not last for a long period. In after years, when the Bishop of Carlisle was reduced to great poverty by the Scottish Wars, he obtained by licence of Edward I. the appropriation of this benefice to his own table, cut the school adrift, and provided for the archdeacon with another benefice of his patronage, which was annexed to the archdeaconry, and of which the archdeacon became *persona impersonata* with cure of souls, a diocesan arrangement which lasted for nearly six centuries, so long as the diocese had only one archdeacon.

Attention may be called to the word 'annexed,' which is the official designation invariably used in connexion with archidiaconal endowment. Appropriation is a misnomer. It was this characteristic which induced me to examine the manuscript authority for a statement in the printed book of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., where we find (p. 320) that the rectory of Great Salkeld was 'appropriated' so early as 1291 to the archdeaconry of Carlisle. Apart from the misuse of a legal or canonical term, I had doubts whether this rectory could have been annexed at so early a date. The editors had access only to two late manuscripts for the diocese of Carlisle, in one of which, and that said to be the earliest (Cotton MS. Tib. C. X. f. 314), the disturbing phrase—'archidiaconatui Karliolensi appropriata'—occurs. In this instance the later manuscript is the more trustworthy authority. The additional words in the Cotton MS. are a late interpolation written in a different hand and with different ink to the body of the manuscript, and crowded into a space manifestly not intended for them. There is a manuscript copy of the Taxation in the diocesan registry of Carlisle (Reg. of Bp. Kirkby, MS. ff. 432-4), which appears to be of date about 1341, that is, a century earlier than either of the London manuscripts, and in this

there is no mention of either annexation or appropriation. No trace of the original returns for Carlisle could be found at the Public Record Office when this investigation was made.

JAMES WILSON.

TEXT, DATED 21ST FEBRUARY, 1285.

Confirmacio metropolitica ordinacionis facte per episcopum Karliolensem super ecclesia de Dalston', sue diocesis.

Per hoc presens scriptum pateat uniuersis quod nos, Johannes, permissione, etc., literas uenerabilis fratris nostri, Radulphi, eadem gracia, Karliolenis episcopi, super ordinacione ecclesie de Dalston', sue diocesis, per eundem fratrem nostrum facta, sigillo suo et sigillis Ricardi, archidiaconi Karliolensis, ac Thome de Leycestria, perpetui uicarii ecclesie prelibate, signatas, tenorem infrascriptum continentes, inspeximus et examinauimus diligenter :

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, ad quorum noticiam peruenerit hec scriptura, Radulphus, miseratione diuina Karliolensis episcopus, salutem in Eo quem genuit puerpera salutaris. Ecclesiasticorum prouentuum dispensacio, prudenter et fideliter administrata, per quam ministrorum ecclesie, in Creatoris preconia uoces continuas extollencium et precipue sacerdotum diuina celebrancium, numerus augmentatur : insuper et juniorum scolarium, literarum studiis ab euo primario deditorum, indulgentie subuenitur, inducit complacenciam et efficit gratiam Salvatoris peculiariter promereri. Hinc sequitur quod effrenata cupiditas quorundam, ad diuicias numerosas anelancium ac modicum de spirituali profectu curancium, decenter reprimitur, et in conuentibus catholicorum dignitas Regis regum attenditur, cum contra serpentis antiqui uersucias deuotus crescat exercitus bellatorum, Christo per suos milites reuerencius famulatur, ac decus ecclesie ac clericalis ordinis celsitudo uehemencius decoratur. Ea propter affectantes diuine laudis cultum in ecclesia parochiali Beate Michaelis de Dalston', nostre diocesis, ad nostrum patronatum spectante, uenerabiliter ampliari : aduertentes eciam terras, fructus et obuenciones ecclesie predictae, que in usus unius rectoris solummodo cedere consueuerunt, ad sustentacionem posse sufficere plurimorum : solempni tractatu et diligenti prehabito, consenciente et fauente domino Johanne de Berdefeld', tunc rectore ecclesie memorate, ac se et ecclesiam suam nostre ordinacioni totaliter submittente : In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ad honorem eiusdem gloriose Uirginis Marie, Beati Michaelis archangeli, et omnium Sanctorum, auctoritate diocesana, de terris, fructibus et obuencionibus ecclesie prefate cum omnibus pertinenciis et aysiamentis, ad eam qualitercumque spectantibus, irrefragabiliter ordinamus quod perpetuis temporibus de bonis predictis tres fiant et sint porciones, quarum unam assignamus perpetuo uicario, qui pro tempore fuerit, in eadem ecclesia continue ministranti et residenti, qui curam tocus parochie predictae suscipiat, habeat et agnoscat. Aliam porcionem archidiaconatui Karliolensi, propter euidentem ipsius exilitatem, annectimus. Terciam vero porcionem ad

sustentacionem duodecim pauperum scolarium, per nos et successores nostros eligendorum, propter honorem et utilitatem ecclesie nostre Karliolensis, in ciuitate Karliolensi studio applicandorum, caritatis intuitu assignamus. Et has duas porciones ultimas uolumus appellari et esse simplicia beneficia uel prebendas, quarum porcionarii seu prebendarii a prestacione omnimodarum decimarum sint immunes inperpetuum et quieti. Quequidem porciones tales sunt. Uicarius perpetuus eiusdem ecclesie, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat et percipiat capitale edificium cum omnibus suis pertinenciis. Item omnes prouentus altaragii. Item omnes decimas minutas tocius parochie, exceptis duabus porcionibus ultimis supradictis, preter decimam feni: de qua tamen habet decimas fenorum de Magna Dalston', et Parua Dalston', et de dominico prato nostro in Cartheumyre. Item omnes terras dominicas, ad ecclesiam spectantes, cum suis pertinenciis et aysiammentis, absque prestacione decimarum, preter sexdecim acras in Brakanhou, in territorio uille de Unthanck, et preter grangiam decime de Raghton', et preter tofta et crofta que iacent inter terras Willelmi filii Ade et Rogeri Warde, et preter tofta et crofta que iacent propinquius tofto et crofto Symonis Scort uersus occidentem. Item omnes decimas maiores uille de Magna Dalston'. Idem uicarius supportabit omnia onera ordinaria debita et consueta. Ornamenta, libros et reparaciones altaris et cancelli, propriis sumptibus sustinebit, ac unum presbiterum et unum subdiaconum, sufficientes et ydoneos, preter seipsum, in eadem ecclesia continue ministraturos, exhibebit, et personaliter ibidem continue residebit. Archidiaconus, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat et percipiat in eadem ecclesia duo tofta que iacent inter terram Willelmi filii Ade et Rogeri Warde in Magna Dalston', et sexdecim acras terre arabilis in Brakanhou in territorio uille de Unthank et grangiam decime de Raghton', cum omnibus pertinenciis et aysiammentis, et omnes decimas bladorum et feni uillarum sitarum ultra riuum de Caldeu uersus orientem. Item decimam feni uille de Cartheu. Idem uero archidiaconus inueniet in ipsa ecclesia unum presbiterum, sufficientem et ydoneum, suis sumptibus, secundum formam nostre ordinacionis continue ministrantem: et in toftis superius sibi assignatis, edificia honesta construet in quibus idem cum uenerit decencius hospitari et capellanus ejusdem continue ualeat receptari. Scholares, qui pro tempore fuerint, habeant et percipiant tria tofta que iacent propinquius tofto et crofto Symonis Scort uersus occidentem, omnes decimas garbarum et feni baron[ie] de Dalston', a riuo de Caldeu uersus occidentem tam in nostris dominiciis quam aliis, preter decimas garbarum de Magna Dalston' et preter decimas fenorum de Magna Dalston' et Parua Dalston', et de dominico prato nostro in Cartheumire et de prato uille de Cartheu. Idem uero scholares inuenient unum presbiterum, sufficientem et ydoneum, in ipsa ecclesia sumptibus suis propriis secundum ordinacionem nostram continue ministrantem, et in toftis sibi superius deputatis sufficientes domos construent, in quibus eorum presbiter possit morari. Insuper et quatuor ex ipsis, diebus dominicis et festiuis, ad eandem ecclesiam teneantur uenire, nisi aeris intemperie uel alia legitima causa fuerint prepediti. Uolumus eciam et ordinamus quod presbiteri archidiaconi et scolarium, in ipsa ecclesia

de Dalston' pro tempore ministrantes, uicario ejusdem et suis successoribus infra ecclesiam in obsequiis diuinis subsint et obediant humiliter et deuote : quorum unus missam de Beata Uirgine, et alius missam de defunctis uicissim celebret horis et tempore oportunis : ipso uicario uel suo presbitero de die cotidie celebrante. Uolumus insuper quod huius ordinationis nostre sub nobis et successoribus nostris archidiaconus, qui nunc est, ac successores sui, curam, patrocinium et tutelam habeant et prestant inperpetuum. Uicarius autem et scolares predicti archidiaconis memoratis in hiis que ordinationis huiusmodi defensio exigit et requirit, fideliter teneantur assistere et deuote parere. Set et uicarius in prima sua institutione corporale sacramentum prestare tenebitur, se presentem ordinationem inuiolabiliter obseruaturum et nullatenus contrauenturum. Uolumus, igitur, et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris hanc nostram ordinationem in omnibus suis articulis secundum tenorem superius annotatum omni tempore ualituram robur obtinere perpetue firmitatis. Et in huius ordinationis euidenciam plenioram hanc scripturam per nostri sigilli appensionem fecimus communiri. Et magister Ricardus, tunc archidiaconus Karliolensis, et Thomas de Leycestria, tunc perpetuus uicarius ecclesie de Dalston', singuli pro se et suis successoribus, hoc scriptum signorum suorum munimine roborarunt. Acta in ecclesia parochiali de Dalston' nono kal. Marcii anno Domini M^oCC^o octogesimo quarto (21 February 1285) et pontificatus nostri quinto.

Prefatam igitur ordinationem piam et prouidam attendentes, eam in omnibus suis articulis approbare censuimus, quam eciam auctoritate metropolitana confirmamus : salua nostra et nostre Eboracensis ecclesie in omnibus dignitate, testimonio presencium quas sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari. Data apud Rypon x kal. Septembris anno gracie M^oCC^o octagesimo septimo (23 August, 1287) et pontificatus nostri secundo.

Count Florent V. of Holland, Competitor for the Scottish Crown

AMONG the brave Scottish warriors of the second quarter of the thirteenth century, we find, in the first rank, a Prince named Henry, heir to the Crown. Dying, in 1152, before his father, King David, whose death occurred in the year 1153, Henry left a widow—Ada, daughter of William, Count of Warenne, and the following children: Malcolm II., King, died without issue; William, also King, successor to Malcolm II.; David, ninth Earl of Huntingdon; and Ada, who married Florent III., Count of Holland. Alexander II., son and successor to the aforesaid King William, having no children by his marriage with Queen Joan, allowed Robert Bruce to be recognised as his successor; but his Queen having predeceased him, he married, as his second wife, Mary de Coucy; by her he had a son, who, after the death of his father, reigned under the title of Alexander III. As no son was born to this monarch, he, in his turn, designated Robert Bruce as his successor. Here, then, was a kind of elective kingdom twice proclaimed!

One might have expected that after the death of Alexander, Robert Bruce would have succeeded peaceably; it was not so. The daughter (already deceased) of the late King had left by her marriage with Eric, King of Norway, a daughter, Margaret. This young girl was proclaimed Queen of Scotland by Edward, King of England, and was betrothed by him to Edward of Caernarvon, his eldest son, with the consent of her father and after securing the Pope's dispensation, because of the affinity of blood between the future husband and wife. Edward's object was clear; it was to gain Scotland in a peaceable manner. These projects naturally did not please Robert Bruce; and he rose in insurrection against Margaret. But the plans of the English King were suddenly destroyed. Margaret, for whom

a ship had been sent to Norway, died, in the month of September, 1290, during her passage home.

By this death many things were changed. Edward, having once recognised a female descendant of the late King as sovereign of Scotland, could not consider that country as having lapsed to him (*feodum rectum*), nor could he any longer regard it as an elective kingdom. There only remained to consider Scotland either as a freehold or allodial property (*bien allodial*) in the old family, or as a '*feodum hereditarium mixtum*' of which he would consider himself as lord paramount. We will see that he chose the second alternative.

It is not necessary here to follow the course of the lengthy proceedings so well known in history. The object of this paper is only to note certain historical facts concerning one of the claimants—Florent, Count of Holland—in the disputes between the party of Bruce and that of Balliol. In the first place, we shall consider a letter written by the party of Bruce. By this letter, addressed to the King of England, the partisans of Bruce demanded the King's interference on behalf of their client. They, however, must have understood that if the King really chose to consider himself suzerain of Scotland, the chances for Bruce were not great. They were obliged, therefore, to offer some consideration to the English King. Knowing that, in the month of August previous, a contract of marriage had been signed between the son of Count Florent of Holland and a daughter of the King of England, the Bruce faction admitted the candidature of this Count under certain conditions and in very diplomatic terms. Here are the terms :

Memorandum¹ quod Comes de Holand processit de sorore Domini Regis Willelmi et cognitum est per anticos regni Scocie quod totus comitatus de Ros collatus fuit in maritaggio cum predicta sorore Domini Regis Willelmi et predictus comitatus elongatus fuit a predicto Comite de Holand sine aliqua racione et sine [forisfacto] merito² suo vel antecessorum suorum et injuste sicut recognitum est. Et est memorandum quod similiter recognitum est per anticos regni quod si casu contingente de heredibus David Comite de Huntingtun aliquo modo deficiat ita quod non possunt hereditare in Scocia recognitus est predictus Comes de Holand pro justo herede

¹ Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, pp. 20, 21.

² This word has been 'expuncted.'

et propinquiori ad regimen Regni Scocie optinendum ratione predictæ sororis Domini Regis Willelmi.

From this document it follows that the faction of Bruce had found one argument (amongst others) in favour of the descendants of the Count of Holland by the sister of King William, in the fact that the lands of the County of Ross given in marriage portion, had been unjustly kept back from the Count of Holland without any reason or forfeiture either of himself or his predecessors, and therefore declared that he was the nearest heir to the kingdom of Scotland, supposing the heirs of David, Earl of Huntingdon, could not inherit in Scotland. Can it be that the partisans of Bruce had already thought of making an alliance with the Count of Holland for the purpose of obtaining a future indemnity for their client, in case the Count should become King of Scotland?

The King left the last word to the law. It may be that Count Florent was kept informed of the English King's journey to Norham and sojourn there, by 'Nicholas de Durdraught and Walter, his son, men and merchants of Florence, Count of Holland, coming from Holland and Zeeland to trade with England,'¹ but again, on the 17th of April, 1291,² the Count was sojourning in Holland; although already on the 8th of March, 1291, safe conduct is given, for 'Florentius, Comes Hoylandiae, qui ad regem in Anglia est venturus, habet literas regis de conductu duraturas usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis proxime futurum. Teste rege apud Ishintone Episcopi, viii die martii.'³

On the 10th of May following an assembly met before the King of England; it was the opening of the great plea for the kingdom: some days later—the 16th of May, 1291—Edward gave an order to his treasurer to pay to the Count Florent a sum of One Thousand Pounds Sterling to diminish the debt incurred by the proposal of marriage between the son of the Count and a daughter of the king.⁴

On the 28th of June,⁵ 'P. de Campania et J. Druet assignantur ad inquirendum per sacramentum etc., per quos etc., qui malefactores etc. in homines et servientes Florentii, comitis Holandiae, ad regem versus partes Scotiae nuper accedentes,

¹ Safe conduct of 6 Jan. 1291 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edw. I. 1281-1292, pag. 413).

² v. d. Bergh, *Vorkondenboek van Holland*, T. ii. No. 768.

³ Stevenson, *Documents*, T. i. pag. 215.

⁴ v. d. Bergh, ii. No. 771.

⁵ Stevenson, *Historical Documents*, Scot. i. 237.

apud Graham et Merston vi et armis insultum fecerunt et ipsos vulneraverunt et male tractaverunt, et eos bonis et rebus suis depredati fuerunt, et alia enormia, etc. ad dampnum ipsorum hominum et regis contemptum manifestum et contra pacem regis, et ad transgressionem illam audiendam et terminandam secundum legem.'

At a session of the 3rd of August the Count presented his claims, and at a later session of the litigation for the Scottish crown, that of the 12th of August, Edward fixed the second of June of the following year, 1292, as the date of the following and principal session, and search was ordered for¹ 'Scriptum illud . . . quod Comes Holandie ad fundandam excepcionem suam allegaverat inveniri: ita quod illud ad predictum diem possit haberi una cum aliis si qua reperiri contingeret que ad rem facerent seu prepositum alicujus vendicantis jus ad Regnum Scocie memoratum.'

From these words it almost certainly follows that a journey on pressing business pertaining to the Count had been the cause of the adjournment of the session. But the Count had not yet started for his own country. Then, on the 26th of September, 1291, the King of England gives the order to pay Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds Sterling, being the rest of the sum due on account of the projected marriage between the two families.² Finally, in the following December, we find the Count setting off for his own country, if one may judge from a charter of that date guaranteeing a 'protection with clause "volumus" for one year, for Gilbert Heyrun, staying beyond seas with Florent, Count of Hoyland.'

Meantime in Holland many grave affairs had taken place or occurred after the return of the Count. Already on the 19th of July of the same year, the King of France had given an order to his bailiff of Vermandois (and probably to others) to confiscate the goods of the Dutch. At the same time, the quarrels of the Count with Flanders were continued. Whether or not the Count had made his peace with, among others, the Van Brederode and the Van Renesse before his departure for England,³ it certainly appears that this peace had not always been strictly observed by all concerned;⁴ and we also find charters⁵ showing

¹ Palgrave, i. 35-6.

² v. d. Bergh, ii. 785.

³ See Des Tombe, *Geslacht V. Renesse*, page 33, note 6.

⁴ Kluit, *Hist. Crit. Comitatus Hollandiae et Zeelandiae*, I. i. 363.

⁵ v. d. Bergh, ii. No. 793, 794, 796¹.

that after his return from England the Count received oath of fidelity from persons who in 1289 were among his enemies.¹

But in the midst of all these quarrels, Count Florent did not forget his engagement to return to England to plead his cause in his own person at Berwick when the sittings began at the appointed date. Thus we find among the minutes of June the 2nd, 1292, this notice: '*venerunt etiam omnes*² petentes ad proseguendum petitiones supradictas et praeter eos nuncii et procuratores Erici, regis Norvegiae.' The claims being stated, Edward pronounced sentence that first of all it must be set forth whether any one of the three lords, Balliol, Bruce, and Hastings, had a better right to the Crown than the other. This being done, the claims of other pretenders must be examined into. In this decision everyone agreed, notably Count Florent, who is separately mentioned.

The months which followed were given up, in the first place, to the pleadings of Balliol and of Bruce. Without entering here into details, it may be mentioned that Balliol contested every right which Bruce might have to the succession on the ground that he had taken part in the insurrection under the reign of Margaret, Princess of Norway.

Whilst the proceedings were dragging on, it appears that the two parties formed within the ranks of the competitors themselves, of which traces are already evident in the election of the eighty-four members of the Court, became more marked. It cannot surprise us that Count Florent³ took the side of Bruce, since, as we have already seen, it was the partisans of this same Scotch claimant who first suggested the possible right of the Count. It may be that in each of the two factions the contracting parties guaranteed mutual advantages in case one or other was admitted to the Crown. The true nature of such contingent contracts is seen in the only agreement actually known. It is a mutual contract⁴ between Count Florent and Robert Bruce. It follows from this charter, given on the 14th of June, 1292, at Berwick, that both of the contracting parties promise mutually that in case that one of them shall

¹ v. d. Bergh, ii. 666.

² The italics are mine.

³ Count Florent used as a kind of private mark throughout his pleadings the figure of a horse. This figure is not found on the Dutch documents of the Count. Can it be that it occurs in the arms of the County of Ross which he used while in Scotland, as the arms assumed by him as claimant?

⁴ See Stevenson, 318-321.

have Scotland, the other shall receive in fief the third of all the lands and pertinents under pain of heavy fines. Among the witnesses there are only two Dutchmen, Johannes, Sire de Arkle, et Willelmus¹ de Houtshorne.² At the sitting of the 14th of October at Berwick, Edward addressed to the members of the Court the three following questions, to which he received the following answers—

What laws do you follow here?

Those of England and of Scotland.

But if there exist no laws?

Then those which the King of England may make with the advice of his subjects.

On the basis of an undivided kingdom?

Yes.

At the following sitting, that of 6th November, Bruce at first demanded the whole of Scotland, or a part of it; Hastings only asked for the third, which induced Bruce to present a similar claim. From this we see that these two lords were aware that their cause was going ill. It was probably a last effort to obtain something which made them propose to divide the country between the three descendants of David, Count of Huntingdon, but Balliol persisted in demanding the whole. Then Edward once again made the Court declare that the kingdom of Scotland could not be divided.

At the last sitting on 17th November, Eric, King of Norway, Florent the Count, and one other of the claimants, were represented by proxies, but it is stated later that all excepting Balliol, Bruce and Hastings withdrew their pretensions. (In this fact I see a proof that the two parties all were in some way under contract.) The King ended by pronouncing the following sentence. Bruce and Hastings had at first declared Scotland indivisible, but later they had asked for a part—they should have nothing. *Balliol receives Scotland*; wherefore it follows that ‘per eosdem leges et consuetudines utriusque regni in casum presentem concordantes, remotior in gradu, in prima linea descendente, praeferendus est proximiori in gradu in secunda linea in successione hereditaria impartibile.’

What then were the consequences which resulted from the connection between Count Florent and Robert Bruce the elder?

¹ ‘De getromve goede heer’ (the good and faithful gentleman). The hero of Woeringen fell in the battle of Vronen in 1297. (Melis Stoke.)

² v. d. Bergh, ii. 856, 999.

It is clear that since by the decision of Edward, Balliol gained everything, the charter, already quoted, of 14th June, 1292, was valueless. The King of Scotland also demanded restitution from Count Florent (see App. 1). How then can we explain the assertions of Stoke,¹ of Procurator,² and of Beka, that Count Florent received a very large sum in compensation, an assertion to which the first chronicler cited above appears to add that it was Balliol himself who granted it to him? (see Appendices 2, 3, and 4).

Unless it is that there is here some confusion with the money received by the Count because of the proposed marriage of his son, I cannot reply to this question save by a supposition. We know by what has preceded that the County of Ross (to which the Counts of Holland had certain rights by their descent from David of Huntingdon) had been unjustly taken from them by no fault of their own. We know also by a charter of the 26th March, 1293, that the King of England pledged Balliol as king to pay to Eric, King of Norway, a sum of 7000 marks, forming the remainder of the dowry which had been guaranteed to the Scottish Princess, his wife. May we not believe that a similar justice had been done for that which related to the dowry of Ada, Countess of Holland? Dutch authors have generally misunderstood the whole question of the pretensions of the Count to Scotland. Melis Stoke asserts that this kingdom had lapsed (*an bestorven*) to the Count, and asks, with much irritation, how one could sell a kingdom for money? Procurator asserts that it was 'jure hereditaria devoluta' to the Count. Huydecoper³ does not appear to know the difference either between heritage and fief or between the different kinds of feudal goods. If in our days a would-be historian could not distinguish between these categories, and declared that we cannot imagine a person descended from a younger branch entering, after a long series of years, on the feudal rights of the elder branch, and if, after the example given by this study, he still persists in these views, I would address

¹ Melis Stoke, contemporary of Count Florent and author of a celebrated rimed chronicle.

² Wilhelmus Procurator, an honest chronicler who lived in the first half of the fourteenth century.

³ Huydecoper, Dutch writer, living in the eighteenth century, and known principally as editor of the Chronicle of Stoke, mentioned above, which he has furnished with notes.

to him the reproach which Kluit¹ addressed to Huydecoper on the *very same question*

‘*Talia ignorare in nostris huius aevi historiis non licet.*’²

HANS TOLL.

Stockholm.

APPENDIX I.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Roberto de Brus domino Vallis Anandi Salutem Quia ordinatio dudum facta inter nos et nobilem dominum Florentem comitem Holland et Zeland ac dominum Frisie unde altera pars littere inde confecte et sigillo vestro consignate in custodia venerabilis prioris A. Dunolmensis episcopi in castro ipsius episcopi de Norham residet sicut nobis constat et alia pars sigillo dicti comitis signata in custodia vestra existit teneri non potuit secundum prolocuta Vobis mandamus rogantes quatinus recepta altera parte predictae littere a prefato Dunolmense episcopo per manus constabularii ipsius episcopi castri predicti illam partem ut predictum est penes vos existentem predicto comiti Holand vel dicto constabulario ad opus ipsius comitis sine dilacione restituatis Et hoc nullatenus omittatis.

Teste Rege apud Aber Conewey vi die Aprilis [1295].

Rotuli Scotiae, i. 21.

APPENDIX II.

The Count had been in England before, for Scotland fell to him. Afterwards the King gained it. Edward gave it to another who paid the Count a great deal of money. I should like to see that man hanged by the neck who advised the Count to this. How could he think of such a misdeed? How counsel the Count to sell a kingdom which had fallen to him? But one may well find such a man, one who esteems money before all other things.

Translation from the *Rimed Chronicle of Melis Stoke*.

¹ Kluit, celebrated professor of Leyden, died at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He is the greatest historian of the Low Countries since the time of Janus Douza. His best known work is *Historia Critica Comitatus Hollandiae*. In publishing an old Dutch Chronicle he added to it commentaries, scholarly criticisms and an important list of charters. He frequently found himself in opposition to the erroneous views of Huydecoper.

² *Hist. Crit.* Tome i. pars i. p. (110), not. 81.

APPENDIX III.

Et nota quod iste Florentius Comes Hollandiae primo causa possessionis Regni Scotiae ad ipsum jure hereditario devoluti versus Angliam dirigitur, cuius quaestio per Regem Angliae quadam summa pecuniae solvitur.

Wilhelmus Procurator (Matthaeus, *Analecta*, ii. 532).

APPENDIX IV.

Grave Florens : = : voer over in Enghelant totten Coninc Edewart om te besøeken, of hy in enigher manieren mochte comen int Conincrike van Scotland, datten Grave Florens toe behoirde, als een recht erfname, dat hy niet geeriegen en couste overmids sommige Scoten, die hem tiegens waren, en de dat wederstenden. Ende bij des Conincs rade so verco-coekte hi dat Conincrike om een Som van gelde, dair sy een hurvelic makeden, als det Elisebeth des selven Coninc dochter soude hebben Johan Graven Florens soon tot een manne, op dattie Coninc ende die Grave Florens te meer gevertigt soude bliven in getrouwer vrientschappe. Grave Guy benyde dit vrientschap . . . versamende veel seepen tot Cassant ende woude anderwerf varen i Walcheren met heercracht. Ende doe Grave Florens dat vernam, quam hij hastelic nyt Engeland ende sette met sinen seepen te Vlissingen.

Beka, *Chronijke* [Matthaeus, *Analecta*].

Translation. Count Florent . . . set out to Edward, King of England, with the intention of getting by one way or another into the kingdom of Scotland, which country belonged to the Count Florent as rightful heir, but he could not obtain it, as certain Scotch lords were opposed to him. And by the advice of the King he sold the country for a sum of money, with which they arranged a marriage by which Elizabeth, daughter of the King, was to have as husband, John, son of the Count, whereby the King and Count Florent were to be confirmed in their faithful friendship. The Count Guy, envying this intimacy . . . gathered together a number of vessels at Cassant in order to invade Walcheren with his army, but having received this news, Count Florent came quickly from England to Vlissingue [Flushing] with his ships.

Beka, *Chronique van Holland* (publiée chez Antonius Matthaeus, *Analecta veteris aevi*, Hagae Comitum, 1738).



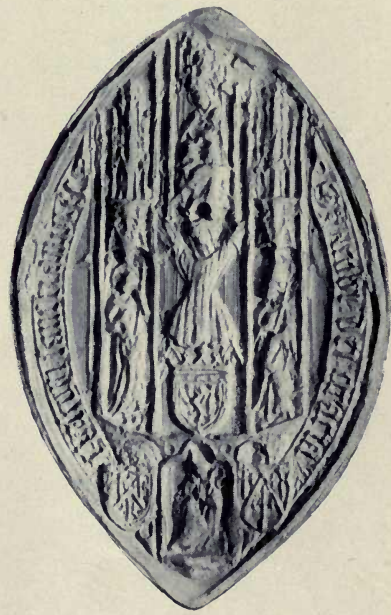
SEAL OF RICHARD,
BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS. (1163-1177.)



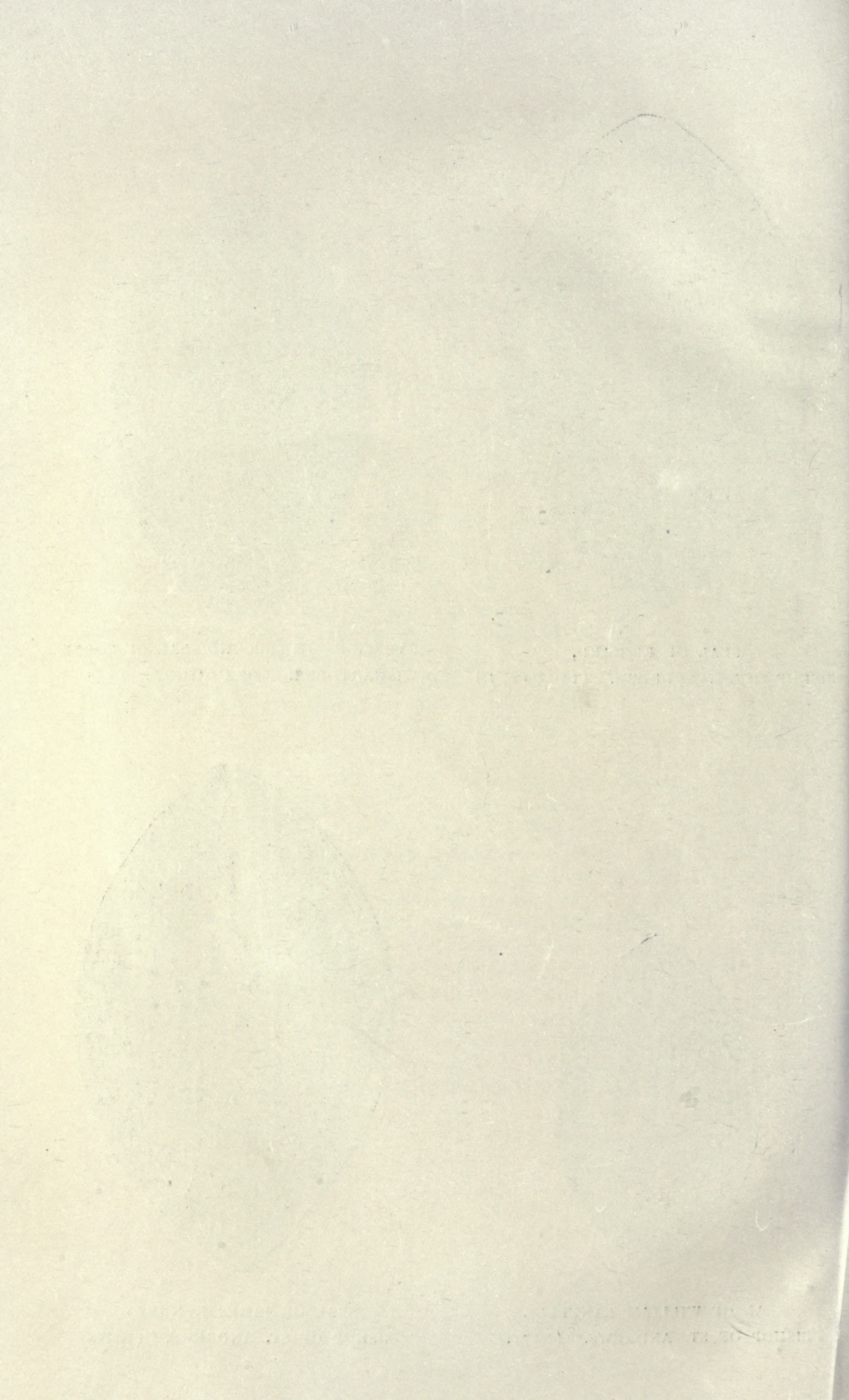
REVERSE OF THE SECOND SEAL OF ROBERT
WISHART, BISHOP OF GLASGOW. (1315.)



SEAL OF WILLIAM LANDELLS,
BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS. (1371.)



SEAL OF JAMES KENNEDY,
BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS. (1450.)



Did Ecclesiastical Heraldry exist in Scotland before the Reformation?

IT is pleasing to find that the expressions of appreciation which we ventured to use in these pages (*S.H.R.* vol. iv. p. 326) regarding Dr. Birch's first volume,¹ on Royal Seals, are as applicable to the present volume on the seals of the Church. The author's method is to pass those seals in review which appear to be the most remarkable and important, beginning with the 'simple and unpretentious work' of the twelfth century, describing at greater length the achievements of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which he recognizes as their best period, and leaving them only when, after the Reformation, their artistic interest had dwindled to extinction.

Before the arrival of that last epoch of decadence, however, Scotland had 'been peculiarly fortunate in possessing among her prelates of the Church many dignitaries of notable taste, who selected for their seal artists, men fully up to the foremost mark of their age in this respect, and capable of producing work not the least inferior to English or French contemporary execution.' It is not improbable, thinks the author, that 'the earliest seals of the bishops demonstrate, to some extent, a Gallic influence in the same way that this same influence is seen on the English seals of a corresponding epoch. . . . But later, the seals of the bishops appear to have been designed and executed by natives, with the result that the French elegance gave way to the less polished, but perhaps more virile treatment brought forward by indigenous exponents of art workmanship.'

The seals of the monasteries of Scotland form, says Dr. Birch, 'a class by themselves, different from the contemporary seals of English Houses by their greater simplicity and chasteness, but equal to them in taste and feeling. . . .'

Dr. Birch's opinion on this subject and also his observations on the particular seals which he selects for notice are the more interesting and valuable from his long study of seals in general. We regret to differ from him in anything, but we do on some things, and on this,

¹ *History of Scottish Seals from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century.* By Walter de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., late of the British Museum. Vol. II. Ecclesiastical and Monastic Seals of Scotland. Pp. 263. With seventy-three Illustrations. 4to. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

among them, that we think there is no evidence that any of the sees of Scotland possessed armorial bearings before the Reformation. There is no doubt that the embellishment of the bishops' seals, as well as their distinctiveness, owed much to their heraldry, but that heraldry was confined to the arms of the king (by Henry Laing and Dr. Birch habitually called 'the arms of Scotland') or those of some other laic patron or protector of the bishop, such as the Earl within whose territories the diocese lay, and to the arms of the particular bishop himself, whose seal it was. To examine each of the half-dozen cases in which the arms of a diocese is said to appear ought not to take very long.

Dr. Birch fancies he detects the arms ('the earliest arms') of the see of St. Andrews in a seal of Bishop William Landells (A.D. 1342-85). That seal contains, among other things, four shields: the first two, which balance each other in the design of the seal, flanking the principal figure in it, are, each of them, the tressured lion of the king. A pair of identical representations of the Royal Coat was not uncommon in the seals of the bishops of St. Andrews, and was to be found elsewhere too; but the author describes the second of the shields in the seal of the bishop as the royal shield surmounted of a staff and sceptre in saltire. This is the shield which he takes to be the shield of the see. Any representation of the seal which we have seen, including that furnished by Dr. Birch (Fig. 61), is too weak at the place where this shield occurs on it to enable us to agree or differ regarding his reading of its bearings. But when he continues that the second pair of shields which flank the effigy of the bishop, in the base of the seal, consists of, first, on the dexter, a repetition of this royal shield with the staff and sceptre, and, second, on the sinister, a shield bearing an orle for Landells, we must appeal to his own illustration, on which both these shields bear an orle, and are identical, save that the first is surmounted of what may be two bishop's crooks or croziers in saltire. It was by no means unknown for a bishop to place thus on his seal a shield of his own arms, and, opposite it, a shield of arms of the family from which he was sprung. Bishop Wardlaw, one of Landells's successors, appears to do so. His seal, which in Dr. Birch's opinion, 'demonstrates the culminating excellence of the seals of the bishops of St. Andrews,' bears in its base the bishop's effigy flanked on the sinister by the arms of Wardlaw of Torrie, three mascles, and, on the dexter, by the same arms with the addition of what seems to be a fess charged with three crosses patée. They are clearly the arms of the bishop, as the bishop's staff is placed behind the shield. There is no tressured shield nor royal lion on Bishop Wardlaw's seal, nor does Dr. Birch find any repetition of that supposed royal shield with the difference added to it in any subsequent seal connected with the diocese. When he comes, however, to the seals of the next two bishops of the see, he finds in both a bishop's effigy flanked, on the one side, by the arms of his name, and, on the other side, by the same arms augmented by the addition of the Royal tressure. 'Apparently,' he says, 'the use of this tressure

corroborates the suggestions made above that the earliest arms of the see of St. Andrews were connected with those of the kingdom.' The seals of these bishops, however, do not support even this modified statement of the suggestion: they are identical in their heraldic scheme with the seals of Landells and Wardlaw. They are the seals of bishops James Kennedy (1440-1466) and Patrick Graham (1466-1478). Each of these personages placed on the sinister side of his effigy the ancient arms of his house; in the one case Kennedy of Dunure, in the other Graham of Kincardine; and on the dexter side, he placed, for himself, these same arms within the double tressure which he derived from their royal mother, the Princess Mary, daughter of Robert III., for, as it happened, the bishops were half-brothers. Their tressures, therefore, were personal, not official.

When Dr. Birch compiled the fourth volume of his Catalogue of the great collection of seals in the British Museum, he thought that the arms of the see of St. Andrews were borne on the seal, of the same fifteenth century, which was used by the Bishop's Official. In the words of the Catalogue, the seal bears 'In base, a shield of arms: a saltire, SEE OF ST. ANDREWS.'¹ This clashes somewhat with the theory of the tressure. If the tinctures of this shield were but known to be *azure and argent*, we should at last have an instance of the arms of the 'kingdom' above mentioned, which were a saltire, not the king's personal tressured lion. If, indeed, tinctures or none, the saltire had appeared to any extent on the seals connected with the diocese, an argument in support of Dr. Birch's earlier view might have been formulated, but it is impossible to found upon this single case: for the saltire, so far as we know, never appeared before, and never appeared again on a shield connected with the see, till more than a hundred years after the Reformation, when Archbishop Sharp obtained a grant of arms from Lyon King of Arms, which consisted of a St. Andrew's Cross impaled with the arms of Sharp. Scores of families have borne saltires of different tinctures, and this fifteenth century official's saltire, which may have been *azure upon or*, or *argent upon sable*, occupies the place upon his seal in which, in the seals of succeeding officials, are found the undoubted patrimonial bearings of the officials themselves.

Thomas Murray, bishop of Caithness (1348-60), placed on his seal the shield of the arms of Murray, three stars, and a shield bearing a lymphad or galley within a double tressure. Laing read the legend on the seal, 'Thomas, by the grace of God Bishop of Caithness and the Isles' (*Cathensis et Insula* are the words with which he terminated it). Dr. Birch, in the *British Museum Catalogue*, pronounces Laing's reading erroneous, and substitutes *Cathanensis in Scotia*. In the volume before us, however, he seems (p. 34) to retreat from his criticism. The lymphad and tressure he here says are 'perhaps' for the bishop's See of Caithness, 'but called by Laing for his See of the Isles, while Burke blazons the arms of Caithness, a galley in full sail.'

¹ *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, London, 1895, No. 14960.

In passing we may observe that John, Earl of Caithness, as early as the end of the thirteenth century or thereabout, bore a lymphad within a royal tressure.¹ There is no evidence that this is the shield of Orkney rather than that of Caithness at that date. Woodward, thought that the lymphad and tressure on Bishop Murray's seal might stand for Caithness or Orkney, but even he does not go further than to suggest that the arms were 'quasi diocesan.'² In no case, however, can the shield be reasonably held to be anything else than the arms of a line of temporal lords, placed, from motives of prudence or loyalty, upon the seal of the bishop of the diocese which lay within their territories, as the arms of Randolph Earl of Moray are found along with those of the king on the seal of one of the Bishops of Moray, those of the Earls of Ross appear occasionally on the seals of the bishops of the See of Ross, the chevrons of the Earls of Stratherne appear on the chapter seal of Dunblane, and on the seal of one of its bishops, and the arms of Lennox and Stewart decorate the seal of the Abbey of Paisley.

Dr. Birch interprets the shield of arms of one of Bishop Murray's successors, Andrew Stewart (1490-1518), as a continuation of Bishop Murray's design, 'with the substitution of the arms of Stewart quartered with a lymphad for Caithness, and in fess point an annulet' (p. 34). But that is a very different thing from a continuation of the design of Bishop Murray, whose seal bore the galley in a separate shield, within a double tressure. It is scarcely necessary to produce more evidence of the fact that this lymphad is a paternal not an official bearing, than that we have found it, as we do in the very case supplied to us, *quartered* with admittedly paternal arms. These arms also strike one at once as obviously the arms of a Stewart of Lorne, or Innermeath, which is much the same thing. This bishop is actually said by Crawford, *Officers of State*, followed by Keith, *Catalogue*, to have been a natural son of the house of Innermeath. Crawford refers for his authority to the Public Records. We cannot find what he alludes to in the Scottish Records. He is supported generally, as we have seen, by the bishop's seal, but it appears that his statement is at anyrate not strictly accurate, for Dr. Maitland Thomson draws our attention to the fact that Eubel, quoting the consistorial act of the bishop's appointment, says that the bishop was 'consanguineus regis Scotiae, defectum natalium patiens, utpote a presbytero de illustrium genere et soluta genitus.'³ Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness, was thus certainly not literally a son of the house of Innermeath. The priest who was his father may have been, nevertheless; and the truth is that we have not very far to look to find a personage who combined in himself the characters required by the terms of the act of the Consistory. This personage is Andrew Stewart, bishop of the neighbouring diocese of Moray, third son of the widow of James I. by her second marriage, with the Black Knight of Lorn, Sir James Stewart, a younger son of Sir John Stewart of Lorn and

¹ Macdonald, 308, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 15884-5.

² *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, 218.

³ *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*.

Innermeath. Andrew, bishop of Moray's seal, like that of Andrew, bishop of Caithness, bears, among other things, a quartered shield. The specimen of the seal, which has been described successively by Laing, Dr. Birch and Mr. W. R. Macdonald, is very indistinct. Laing made nothing of the shield it contains. Dr. Birch (*Catalogue*, 15069) gives a curious reading, if, indeed, there is no mis-print in it. The arms of Stewart appear, he says, on the first and third quarters [*i.e.* the two dexter quarters], and the bearings of the third and fourth are uncertain. Mr. Macdonald says the first and fourth may be the arms of Stewart, and the second and third may bear a galley. On the whole, we are entitled to say that there is no probability that the galley in the arms of this Andrew, bishop of Caithness, is anything other than the galley of Lorne. How the bishop came to choose a ring as a difference by which to distinguish his arms from, presumably, those of his priestly father, or some other bishop of the same name, we have no idea.

If we are right, the only remaining symptom of diocesan arms in Scotland detected by the author is in the shield of arms of James Stewart, bishop of Moray. This shield (A.D. 1459), 'a fess chequy between three crowns, all within a double tressure,' seems to be a compounded armorial bearing referring not only to the family of Stuart, but to the See of Moray' (p. 40). The same thing, says Dr. Birch in the *British Museum Catalogue* (No. 17269), may be said of the shield on the seal of the bishop's successor, Bishop David Stewart, vizt.: 'a fess chequy, between two crowns in chief, and a cross crosslet in base.' The seal is engraved in Laing, *Seals*, ii. 1039. The arms of the earlier shield, however, are nothing else than the arms of Alexander Stewart, natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, and Earl of Mar in 1404. Bishop James Stewart was a brave man if he compounded arms at his own hand out of Stewart and his diocese which were identical with the Stewart arms of the Earl. His shield also is thus clearly and wholly paternal, borne, according to the custom with priests, without any heraldic difference. As to the shield of his successor of the same surname: Bishop David, clearly of the same family, would very naturally assume the cross crosslet fitchee¹ in base to distinguish his seal from that of Bishop James.

The Scottish abbeys, like the sees, had no arms; and the heraldry of the abbots and priors is as retiring as that of the bishops was conspicuous. The Order of the Knights Hospitallers, whose knightly priors' arms appear on their seals, affords no exception in the matter of the arms of houses. Their preceptories had no arms. The cross of St. John—gules a cross argent, which appears as a chief on the shields of the preceptors—constitutes the arms of the Order, not the individual house. Dr. Birch, however, considers that an instance of arms of a Priory is afforded by a common seal of the House of the Preaching Friars in St. Andrews. 'In base,' says the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, No. 15436, 'a shield of the arms of the Priory: a boar passant of St. Dominic,

¹ Macdonald, 2656.

in chief a saltire of St. Andrew.' The case of a saltire appearing in the arms on a priory seal clashes again with the author's theory above mentioned—that the saltire was the arms of the See of St. Andrews. He is probably right in dropping that theory and saying, as he does here, that the saltire was the saltire of St. Andrew. As to the boar, is it the boar of St. Dominic or the boar of St. Andrews?¹ It does not appear in any other of the known seals of the Friars Preachers in Scotland. Is there any likelihood that the shield is not merely that of the head of the house for the time being? We find a somewhat similar shield used in 1520 by Alexander Kirk, a St. Andrews bailie, namely, a saltire coupé at the top, with, in base, a cinquefoil.² Let us look at the chapter seals of Trinity College Kirk, Edinburgh. The earliest of these, used in 1502 A.D., has, in base, a shield charged with a chevron between three buckles. This does not look ecclesiastical, and we know that the Provost of the Kirk at the time was Sir Edward Bonkle. The next seal, used in 1558, bears, similarly, in base, a shield charged with a cross patée. Personally we are not aware what arms George Clapperton, the then provost, bore. The only Clapperton arms we can discover, are those on a detached seal of probably the same century, namely, a chevron charged with three stars, between a chief, and, in base, an anchor. Still, and though the cross patée looks quite churchy, we must presume it to be the Provost's. The shield on the obverse of the common seal of the Provostry of Abernethy, which was in use in 1557, bears only the undifferenced, and simple arms of the Abernethy family, the representative of which had for long borne these arms quarterly. But it is doubtful if even the survival of the Abernethy arms in the seal of that house can ground a qualification of the general statement that in Scotland, before the Reformation, ecclesiastical heraldry properly so called, did not exist.

J. H. STEVENSON.

¹ See the arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs, *s.v.* St. Andrews.

² Macdonald, 1517.

The Bishops of Glasgow

From the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the
Reformation : Notes chiefly Chronological¹

A.D. 1447—A.D. 1508

XXIV. JAMES BRUCE² (de Brois, Brewhouse), bishop of Dunkeld, and chancellor of Scotland ; said to be a son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan (K.). Compare his burial place (see below).

Translated to Glasgow, 3 Feb. 1447 (E.). Spottiswoode (i. 254) says the translation was in 1446, which is true of 1446-47.

He was probably elected very soon after the death of Cameron, for he is styled bishop of Glasgow and chancellor, 19 Jan. 1447 (*Exch. Rolls*, v. 258).

He died in 1447 at Edinburgh (Sc. xvi. 26), and, at latest, in the early autumn : see next entry. A deed dated 4 Oct. 1447 is executed *sede vacante* (R.G. 367). According to *Liber Pluscardensis* (lib. xi. c. 7) Bruce was buried at Dunfermline, in St. Mary's Chapel (i. 381).

XXV. WILLIAM TURNBULL (Turnbol, Trumbil), who had been elect and confirmed to Dunkeld (see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 424), was advanced to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1447 (Sc. xvi. 26). Eubel gives the date of the appointment at Rome as 27 Oct. 1447. On 13 Nov. 1447 Robert, bishop of Dunblane, proctor of William, elect of Glasgow, 'then translated from the church of Dunkeld to the church of Glasgow,' *obtulit* 2000 gold florins of the *camera* (B. i. 154).

Consecration : 30 Aug. 1448 is in the first year of his consecration (R.G. 369), and 1 Dec. 1453 is in the sixth year (*id.* 399). He was consecrated, therefore, after 1 Dec. 1447, and before the end of Aug. 1448. He appears as bishop on 7 May, 1448 (R.M.S. ii. 1791). The *Short Chronicle of James II.* (p. 41) says : 'In that samyn yer [*i.e.* 1449] master William Turnbull said his first mess in Glasgw, the xx day of September.' For the loans made by merchants of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee, and transmitted abroad for 'lifting the bulls' of Bishop Turnbull, see *Exch. Rolls*, v. pp. 306, 310, 370.

He is in Parliament 18 July, 1454 (A.P. Supplement 23).

¹ Continued from *S.H.R.* vol. v. p. 213. See also v. 76.

² For his appointment to Dunkeld and consecration, see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 424.

He died 3 Sept. 1454 (R.G. 616): at Glasgow according to the *Chronicle of King James II.*, which document is, however, certainly incorrect as to the year, and possibly as to the month, in assigning his death to the year 1456, 3 Dec. (p. 55). The statement that he died at Rome is noticed later on.

On 24 Jan. 1449-50 Turnbull and seven other Scottish bishops, on their knees, supplicated James II. to abolish the evil custom of the king seizing on the *bona mobilia* of deceased prelates (A.P. ii. 37, 38).

Turnbull procured the bull of Nicholas V., bearing date 'Rome vii. Id. Jan. 1450 anno Incarnationis,' fourth year of Nicholas V., that is, 7 Jan. 1450-51, founding a *studium generale* (a University) at Glasgow. Bishop William (Turnbull) and his successors were to be 'Rectores, Cancellarii nuncupati.' The bull is printed in Theiner (No. 758) and in R.G. (No. 361).

During his short episcopate Turnbull did much for Glasgow. Beside procuring the bull for the erection of the University, James II., who boasts that he is a canon of the cathedral (R.G. No. 356) grants to the bishop of Glasgow and his successors, that they should hold the city and barony of Glasgow and the land commonly called Bishop's forest in pure regality: 20 April, 1450 (*ib.*). The blench was a red rose on the nativity of St. John Baptist, if asked.

With much labour and expense Turnbull procured a bull, permitting the citizens to use butter and *laticinia* instead of olive oil on certain fast days (R.G. No. 364). The date of the bull is 26 March, 1451. He procured also a bull allowing, in the year of Jubilee, the benefits of the Jubilee indulgence to be granted to those visiting Glasgow Cathedral. A third part of the offerings was to go to the repair of the Cathedral (R.G. Nos. 359, 360).

Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii. 622), without citing an authority, states that Turnbull's death took place at Rome. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart*, i. 222) makes the same statement. Keith says, 'it seems that he [Turnbull] took a journey to Rome, where he died 3 Sept. 1454.' What is the authority for this? Perhaps Keith had no better evidence than the fact that William, bishop of Glasgow, and Master Andrew de Duresdere, dean of Aberdeen, received from Henry IV. a safe-conduct as being about to visit Rome, 27 July, 1453 (Rymer).

XXVI. ANDREW DE DURISDERE (Durrusdur, Dursdeir, Dusdeir), or, in late writers, MUIRHEAD, dean of Aberdeen, sub-dean of Glasgow, canon of Lincluden, holding the church of Kirkandris (Kirkanders), perpetual vicar of the church of Kirkpatult (*sic*, ? Kirkpatrick) in the diocese of Glasgow (T. No. 772).

In Spottiswoode (i. 224), Keith, and Cosmo Innes (R.G. Preface, p. xlviii) this bishop appears as Andrew Muirhead or Moorhead, I suppose on the authority of an entry in the *Glasgow Martyrology* (R.G. p. 616), where we read 'Obitus Andree Mureheid episcopi Glasguensis,' 20 Nov. 1473, 'qui fuit fundator Collegii Vicariorum Chori Glasguensis.' This list of Obits is from a MS. in the Advocates' Library, and was written after 1553. I think the name, as given in the *Martyrology*, must be an

error, for the evidence for *Durisdere* (or its variants) seems to be conclusive. There is the Papal Letter cited above (T. No. 772). Again, Bishop Lesley (*Historie*, Bannatyne Club edit., p. 37) speaks of 'Andrew Dusdeir bishop of Glasgow' in 1469. In the extracts from the old chronicle quoted by Pinkerton (*History*, Appendix, i. 502), under the year 1454, we read, 'Deit that bischoip William Turnbull, to quhome succedit bischoip Andrew Durrusdur.' But that there was a connexion between the family of the bishop and the family of Muirhead is certain, for we find Thomas de Murhede clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, a *nepos* of Andrew, bishop of



SEAL OF ANDREW MUIRHEAD, A.D. 1455-73.

Glasgow, in Oct. 1460 (T. p. 454). See also note at the end of this entry on his heraldic arms.

Andrew de Durisder, sub-dean of Glasgow, was evidently a person much esteemed by Pope Nicholas V. (see the bulls in R.G. Nos. 359, 360). He is associated with Bishop Turnbull in collecting and guarding the money offered at the high altar of Glasgow Cathedral in the year of Jubilee. We find Master Andrew de Durisdeer as dean of Aberdeen in 1450, when, on 26 March, he (clerk and counsellor of James II.) was made procurator of the king for making requests at the court of Rome to Pope Nicholas V. (R.M.S. ii. No. 330) and in 1452 and 1453 (B.C. iv. p. 407 and No. 1263).

Writing to Andrew Stewart, brother of James, king of Scots, Pope Calixtus III., on 5 May, 1455, says that on that day he was providing to the church of Glasgow, Andrew de Dursder, dean of Aberdeen, and holding the various benefices enumerated above (T. No. 772). This is the date given by Eubel for Andrew's provision to Glasgow. On 28 May, 1455, Andrew offered *personaliter* 2500 gold florins and the customary five small *servitia*. He was accordingly at Rome at this date. He had (see last entry) received with Turnbull a safe-conduct (available for three years) in July, 1453.

Andrew was not (apparently) consecrated on 31 Jan. 1455-56 (T. No. 775). The date of his consecration can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. The 16 Sept. 1457 was in the second year of his consecration (*Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.* vi. 93), and 12 May, 1459, was in the fourth year of his consecration (R.G. 412). Hence he was consecrated between 16 Sept. 1455 and 12 May, 1466. But he was not consecrated

on 31 Jan. 1455-56, therefore we can further limit the period within which his consecration took place.¹

An interesting fact is brought to light by T. (No. 775) : when Durisdere was provided to Glasgow he was only in minor orders, that is, he was not even a sub-deacon.

To Andrew was addressed the bull of Pius II. (23 Oct. 1460) authorizing the annexation of the hospital at Soltray to the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity near Edinburgh : and as executor of the papal mandate he gave sentence on 6 March, 1461-62 (Marwick's *Charters relating to Trinity Church and Hospital*, pp. 3-13).

The bishop of Glasgow is a frequent figure in Parliament in 1464, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1471 (A.P. ii.). According to Bishop Lesley (*Historie*, p. 33) he was, on the death of James II., appointed one of the seven who made the council of regency.

Andrew was from time to time employed in affairs of state. He appears to have been one of the commissioners who treated for a truce with England towards the close of the year 1463 (Rymer, xi. 509). And again, at a later time, he was one of those who negotiated the prolongation of the truce with England. In 1468 he with others were sent to Denmark to treat of the marriage of James III. with Margaret, daughter of Christiern I., king of Denmark (Lesley, *Historie*, p. 37 : Torfaeus, 184-188).

In 1467 (16 May) Andrew ratifies and confirms certain grants of land and rents to the vicars of the choir of his cathedral (R.G. No. 391). On 29 Nov. 1469 Andrew, with the provost and bailies of Glasgow, obtained a judgment in their favour from the Lords Auditors against the provost and bailies of Dumbartain, who had impeded the purchase of wine from a Frenchman out of his ship in the Clyde (*Act. Audit.* 9).

In 1471 he founded an Hospital for twelve old men, and a priest to celebrate divine service. The Hospital was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and it was situated close to the bishop's castle at Glasgow (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 658).

As late as 6 Aug. 1473 the bishop of Glasgow is found acting in the court of the Lords Auditors (*Act. Audit.* 28).

The Obit-book, as we have seen, gives the date of the obit of 'Andrew Muirhead' (Durisdere), bishop of Glasgow, as 20 Nov. 1473 ; and this date fits in well with the appointment of his successor.

Hector Boece, in his *Vitae Episcoporum Aberdonensium* (p. 85 New Spalding Club edit.) makes blunders as to the founding of the University of Glasgow. He attributes it to 'Wilhelmo Dursdeir Episcopo.' But the fact is mentioned here because he evidently knew of a bishop of Glasgow called Dursdeir, though he gives him a wrong Christian-name.

As bearing on the question of the name and family of Bishop Andrew, attention may be called to the heraldic arms appearing on a shield at the base of his round seal (see Plate ii. Fig. 5, R.G. vol. ii.), 'on a bend three

¹ Since the above was in type I have noticed a confirmation by Andrew (printed in Marwick's *Charters of the City of Glasgow*, ii. 453) dated 6 March, 1458-9, in the third year of his consecration. This shows that his consecration was after 6 March, 1455-6.

acorns.' Acorns appear on the seal of Martin Murheid (A.D. 1542). Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, p. 239. Whether it is an accidental circumstance or not, it may be observed that the final syllable 'dere' of the word 'Durisdere' is generally supposed to be the Celtic 'dair,' meaning an 'oakwood,' which may have suggested the use of acorns on the shield.

We find Andrew de Durisder sub-dean of Glasgow in 1450 (R.G. No. 360) and in 1451 (*ib.* No. 359) and in 1452 (*ib.* No. 373). In the latter year he was employed in affairs of state (Rymer).

It is to be noted that the parish (the rectory) of Durisdeer was a prebend of the cathedral of Glasgow; but I have not been able to connect it with the sub-deanery, the prebend of which was the parishes of Cader and Badermannoch (Monkland).

These facts are mentioned in view of what I think is a wholly unsupported conjecture, viz. that Andrew's name was Muirhead, but that he was known as Andrew of Durisdeer from the benefice which he held. There is no trace of any connexion of Andrew with the possession of the parish of Durisdeer.

Andrew appears in the Index of R.M.S. vol. ii. under 'Murehed'; and it is not improbable that the name will stick, though there appears to be no contemporary evidence to support it.

XXVII. JOHN LAING (Layng), of the family of Redhouse in the shire of Edinburgh (K.): rector of Tannadice, in the shire of Angus, and vicar of Linlithgow (*ib.*). Rector of Newlands, in the diocese of Glasgow, at the



SEAL OF JOHN LAING, A.D. 1474-82.

date of his provision to Glasgow. Lord Treasurer, in which post we find him in the year 1465.

It is a matter of highly exceptional rarity to find a bishop's Bull of Provision recorded in a Scottish Cathedral Register. We are so fortunate as to possess John Laing's (R.G. No. 402). It was addressed by Sixtus IV. to John Layng, elect of Glasgow, an expression which does not necessarily imply that there had been a capitular election; and no mention is made of such an election in the bull. The Pope declares that during the life of Andrew he had reserved the appointment to himself. On the vacancy occurring through the death of Andrew, the Pope appoints John, presbyter

of the diocese of St. Andrews, and councillor of the King of Scots. Dated St. Peter's, at Rome, 28 Jan. 1473-74. Eubel gives the same date. In January, 1473-74, and probably on the 28th (the deed is imperfect), he receives leave to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop in communion with the Roman see (R.G. No. 403). On the 8 Feb. 1474 he pays 1339 florins, 14 shillings, and 3 pence, and on the following day the elect of Glasgow pays 1250 gold florins for *commune servitium*, and 89 florins, 9 shillings, and 3 pence, for one *minutum servitium*, and 67 florins, 4 shillings, and 9 pence, for three *minuta servitia* (Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, i. 154). We have occasional examples when the *taxa* is not paid so promptly.

Though nothing is said about there having been a capitular election, the form was probably gone through, for we find that John is described as 'elect of Glasgow' on 9 Jan. and 19 Jan. 1473-74 (*Invent. Pious Donat.* 441). Still, on 8 Feb. 1473-74 he is described simply as 'rector of Newlands, Treasurer of the King, and clerk of the Rolls and Register' (R.G. No. 400). The 'elect of Glasgow' is in Parliament 9 May, 1474 (A.P. ii. 106). He had an acquittance from the king for his accounts as Treasurer 2 Dec. 1474 (R.G. No. 406), and a further acquittance 11 Oct. 1475 (*ib.* No. 408), and again, 3 Feb. 1475-76 (*ib.* No. 409). As to the date of his consecration, we have the evidence that 24 Feb. 1477-78 was in the fourth year of his consecration (R.G. No. 415). He therefore received consecration not long after his provision.

He appears as chancellor of the kingdom in 1482 (R.M.S.).

Laing died 11 Jan. 1482-83 (R.G. 615).

Those who are interested in Laing's occupancy of offices of state, such as Treasurer, Lord Register, etc., will consult the invaluable Indexes of R.M.S.

In 1478 the king confirmed benefactions of Laing to the altar of St. Kentigern, 'our patron,' and to the altar of St. Duthac, both in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh (*Regist. Cart. Eccl. S. Ægidii*, p. 128).

A similar benefaction by John, bishop of Glasgow, to the altar of St. Catherine, in the same church, was confirmed in 1498-9 (*ib.* 181). There is other evidence that he had property in the burgh of Edinburgh. Six stones of wax annually for candles for the choir of Glasgow Cathedral (9 Feb. 1481-2) were derived from the rent of two booths in Edinburgh (R.G. No. 427). See also his gift of a tenement in Edinburgh in 1478 to the cathedral church of Glasgow (*ib.* No. 417).

Laing's seal contained a shield bearing arms:—1st and 4th; a pale. 2nd and 3rd; three piles. Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, p. 194. It is pictured in R.G. vol. ii., but is wrongly assigned to John Cameron.

XXVIII. GEORGE DE CARMICHEL (Carmichael, Carmighell, Carmychell), treasurer of the cathedral of Glasgow. We find him rector of Tynninghame on 7 June, 1475 (Fraser's *Douglas Book*, iii. 106). Master George de Carmychell is rector of Flisk in Fife, and is in Parliament, 14 April, 1481 (A.P. ii. 134). He was treasurer of Glasgow 25 April, 1474 (R.M.S. No. 1169), and frequently (see *Act. Audit.* and *Act. Dom. Concil.*) and 5 June, 1480 (R.G. No. 426).

For the family of which he was a member, see Sir J. Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage*, article 'Carmichael, earl of Hyndford,' which differs from Wood's edit. of *Douglas' Peerage* as to his parentage.

Carmichael must have been elected by the chapter of Glasgow very soon after the death of the preceding bishop, for we find George elect of Glasgow witnessing 18 Feb. 1482-83 (R.M.S. No. 1560): and 'the elect of Glasgow' sitting in Parliament 1 March, 1482-83 (A.P. ii. 145). On 22 March, 1482-83 'George elect of Glasgow' witnesses a charter of James III. at Edinburgh (Laing Charters, No. 189). The king's orator at the papal court, George Browne, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, urged the claims of Carmichael, but in vain (see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. 427).

On 13 April, 1483, Sixtus IV. declares the *de facto* election of George to be null and void as being contrary to his reservation of the see (T. No. 873), and in a lengthy document denounces, under the highest ecclesiastical censures, all who did not reject George and accept Robert (see next entry). There are expressions in the papal letter which seem to point to the Duke of Albany as being a supporter of Carmichael; and it is not improbable that the Pope, for political reasons, was opposed to his appointment. On 29 Nov. 1483 'Dominus Georgius de Carmighell electus Glascuensis' received from Richard III., at the request of the king of Scots, a safe-conduct as a commissioner on state affairs (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 461). As late as 28 Feb. 1483-84 we find 'the elect of Glasgow' sitting as one of the Lords Auditors (*Act. Aud.* p. 111). The same had appeared on earlier occasions. This must, one cannot help thinking, be Carmichael.

Spottiswoode (i. 224) says that Carmichael died on a journey to Rome for confirmation of his election. If he went to Rome with a view to the deposition of Robert, which is highly improbable, and died on the journey, it cannot have been till the year 1484. Carmichael seems to have been an associate of Archibald, earl of Angus (Bell-the-cat) in 1483 (*Douglas Book*, iii. 406) on whose council he appears 9 July (*ib.* 105).¹

XXIX. ROBERT BLACADER² (Blacadyr, Blacadir, Blakadir, Blakatar, Blaccater), bishop elect and confirmed of Aberdeen (provided to Aberdeen 14 July, 1480: Eubel).

He was translated to Glasgow 19 March, 1482-83 (E.). The denunciation of supporters of George (see last entry) is dated 13 April,

¹ I have to thank Mr. Evelyn G. M. Carmichael, author of the article, 'Carmichael, earl of Hyndford,' in the *Scots Peerage*, for many references to 'George Carmichael,' the more important of which I have used above.

² From a charter of Rolland Blacader, sub-dean of Glasgow, nephew of the bishop, we learn that the bishop was a brother of Sir Patrick Blacader, of Tullieallan, knight (R.G. No. 495). He himself represented to Pope Sixtus IV. that he was 'de nobili genere ex utroque parente.' (T. No. 868).

In 1494 'Patrick Blakater of Tullyalloun' had by assedation half the customs of Glasgow (*Act. Dom. Audit.* 197). In 1503 Sir Patrick is styled the brother germane of the archbishop (R.G. ii. p. 506).

1483 (T. No. 873). Blacader is there styled by the Pope 'our son': but on 20 May, 1483, he (now styled 'our brother') received from the Pope a *littera passus*, he having come to Rome on the king's business and his own. It would therefore seem that Blacader was consecrated at Rome on some day between 13 April and 20 May, 1483.¹ The see of Aberdeen is spoken of as void 12 June, 1483 (*Regist. Aberdon.* i. 315); the news of Elphinston's translation from Ross not yet perhaps having reached Aberdeen.

We find Robert, bishop of Glasgow, witnessing a royal charter at Edinburgh on 20 Nov. 1483 (*Regist. Brechin.* p. 208).

Blacader, in 'prosecuting his translation' from Aberdeen to Glasgow at the Roman See, had dipped himself heavily in debt, and he resorted, with the help of a papal bull (T. No. 882) dated 31 March, 1487, to



SEAL OF ROBERT BLACADER, A.D. 1484-1508.

(No. 1.)

compel, by ecclesiastical censures, regulars as well as seculars to supply him with a 'benevolence' (*carativum subsidium*), collegiate churches, and also monasteries, even those of Cluniacs and Cistercians (ordinarily exempt) being included in the demand. If what was collected in one year was not sufficient, he was entitled to make a second claim. He was also granted by the Pope half of the first fruits of all benefices in his diocese. A citation of Robert, at the instance of the dean and chapter, to appear at Rome within a hundred and twenty days by himself or by his proctor, in litigation as to first fruits and other matters, dated 18 April, 1487, will be found in R.G. No. 448. He was abroad on 30 March, 1487 (the chancellor, archdeacon, and official were his vicars-general): see deed summarised in *Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*: Sir J. Stirling Maxwell's MSS. p. 66.

Steps which led to the erection of the church of Glasgow into a Metropolitan church. As is well known, the erection of St. Andrews

¹ A writ of Robert's (printed in *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, i. 40) is dated 30 April, 1501, in the nineteenth year of his consecration. This further narrows the limits, and shows that his consecration must have taken place *before* 30 April, 1483.

into the Archiepiscopal and a Metropolitan See of the whole kingdom (bull of Sixtus IV. is dated 17 Aug. 1472) was received with the strongest disfavour by the bishops of the other sees, and was highly distasteful to the king. The first effective opposition was made by the able prelate Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen, who obtained from Pope Sixtus (14 Feb. 1474) a complete exemption for himself and his diocese, as long as he lived, from all jurisdiction of the archbishop of St. Andrews (T. No. 858). In 1487 (27 March) Innocent VIII. added a new dignity to the archbishop of St. Andrews: he was henceforward Primate of all Scotland and *Legatus natus*. But in less than a year the Pope, to appease the contentions which arose



SEAL OF ROBERT BLACADER, A.D. 1500.

(No. 2.)

between the archbishop of St. Andrews and Robert, bishop of Glasgow, exempted the latter and his diocese from all jurisdiction, visitation, and rule (even such as might arise by reason of the primatial and legatine dignity) of the archbishop of St. Andrews, so long as Robert lived (T. No. 885). The powerful see of Glasgow was not content with such a temporary favour. James IV., who held the honorary dignity of a canon of Glasgow, warmly espoused the cause of that see. Letter after letter was despatched by the king urging on the Pope that Glasgow should be raised to a primacy like that of York in the Church of England. (These letters will be found in substance in R. Brown's *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, i. pp. 199, 200, 203-6).

The Scottish Parliament, 14 Jan. 1488-89, enacted the following statute: 'It is concludit and ordanit be oure souerane lord and his thre estatis that for the honour and gud public of the realme the sege of glasgw be erect in ane Archbisshoprik with sic preuilegiis as accordis of law, and siclik as the archbisshoprik of york has in all dignitez

emunitis and priuilegiis as vse and consuetud is, and salbe compakkit and aggreit betuix the said bischop of glasgw and the prelatiis and baronis that Oure Souerane lord will tak with him to be avisit with, And that nane of the kingis liegis do in the contrar herof vnder the kingis Indignacioun and panis of brekin of his actis of Perliament' (A.P. ii. 213).

This Act was communicated to the Pope by the chancellor in the name of the 'Three Estates,' and the king again wrote to the Pope urging that the bishop of Glasgow should be raised to the rank of metropolitan, primate, and *legatus natus*.

Erection of Glasgow into an Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan Church. It was during the episcopate of Blacader that Glasgow was raised by a bull of Innocent VIII. (dated 9 Jan. 1491-92) to the dignity of a Metropolitan church. Blacader became first archbishop, with the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Lismore (Argyll) as suffragans.¹ Another bull, bearing the same date, addressed to the four suffragan bishops and commanding them to render obedience to the archbishop of Glasgow, is also printed (R.G. No. 458).

It has hitherto been uncertain when Dunkeld and Dunblane were restored to St. Andrews. But as regards Dunblane, Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has lately discovered in the Vatican (*Reg. Lat.* 1065, fol. 130) a bull of Alexander VI. dated 1499, 5 Kal. Feb. *anno* 8, in which, after citing the bull for the erection of Glasgow into an archbishopric, it is added that at the instance of James, administrator of the church of St. Andrews, and with the consent of Robert, archbishop of Glasgow, the church of Dunblane is restored to its former subjection to St. Andrews. It will be observed that the dignities of the style Primate and *Legatus natus* and the Pall were not granted; but during the life-time of Robert, the new archbishop, the see of the archbishop of Glasgow was exempt from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of St. Andrews, and the same privilege was accorded to the suffragan sees of Glasgow during the lives of the bishops of those sees (T. No. 889). As to the time when Dunkeld was restored to St. Andrews, the information as yet available does not allow us to be so precise as in the case of Dunblane. All we can say for certain is that when Leo X. provided Gavin Douglas to Dunkeld, as Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has discovered at the Vatican, the provision was accompanied with a letter of recommendation to the archbishop of St. Andrews as metropolitan. The date is 25 May, 1515 (*Reg. Lat.* 1325, fol. 135). This falls in consistently with the fact that James Beaton, I. archbishop of Glasgow, appears in R.G. (ii. 531) as having as suffragans only Candida Casa and Lismore.

In 1495 King James IV. besought the Pope to make the archbishop of Glasgow a cardinal. He was supported by King Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille. But the request was not granted (*Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, i. p. 69.)

¹ The bull is printed in R.G. No. 457 and in T. No. 889.

In 1501 Robert was one of the commissioners under the Great Seal for negotiating the marriage of the king with Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. (8 Oct., R.M.S. ii. 2602).

On 27 Jan. 1507-08 Robert founded a chaplainry in the church called St. Mary's of Welbent, in the parish of Casteltarris (Carstairs) where the bishops of Glasgow had a manor (R.G. No. 486). He annexed certain benefices to the University of Glasgow 5 Feb. 1507-08 (*Munimenta Universit. Glasguen.*).

Archbishop Blacader died 28 July, 1508 (R.G. p. 616) on a voyage in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On 16 May 'a rich Scottish bishop' appears to have been at Venice. On Ascension Day (1 June) he accompanied the Doge in the *Bucentaur* to the wedding of the sea. He afterwards set out from Venice in a ship bound with pilgrims for Palestine. On the return of the ship in November it was found that out of 36 pilgrims 27 had died, and among them the Scottish bishop. There can be little doubt that this bishop was Blacader, archbishop of Glasgow. See Dr. David Laing's paper (based on Maria Sanuto's *Diaries*) in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ii. 222-226.

For the date of Blacader's death we have Lesley (confirming the martyrology in R.G.). After recounting how 'the Queene partit with ane madin barne the xv day of July [1508],' he says, 'About this time the bischop of Glasgow, quha wes passit to Jerusalem, or he come to the end of his journey, deceissit the xxix day of July. He wes ane noble, wyse, and godlie man' (*Historie*, p. 78). He had probably left Scotland early in the year. He was 'in remotis agens' 11 March, 1507-8 (*Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, ii. No. 382). He was 'itinerans ad sepulchrum Domini' 16 June, 1508 (*ib.* No. 322).

The news of Blacader's death (or probable death) must have reached Scotland at latest in Oct., for see next entry; his successor's election was on 9 Nov. 1508.

Blacader's arms: on a shield, with an archiepiscopal cross behind it; —On a chevron three roses. Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals*, p. 20.

Additional notices of Blacader with clues to authorities for those desiring fuller information. In 1471, several years before his appointment to Aberdeen, Robert Bakadire (*sic*) was a messenger of James III. to Pope Paul II. (T. No. 850). At a later period he was at Rome on the king's business and his own, and received from the Pope a *littera passus* on 20 May, 1483 (T. No. 876). Blacader was a member of several embassies of importance to England, to France, and apparently twice to Spain (A.P. ii. 224: *Rot. Scotiae*, ii. 495, 499). He arrived at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella on 24 Aug. 1495; and on 12 Sept. those potentates wrote to the Pope urgently begging that Archbishop Robert might be made a cardinal (Bergenroth's *Calendar of Spanish Papers*, i. Nos. 103, 104). He appears to have returned in the winter and to have arrived at Stirling two days before Christmas (*Excheq. Rolls*, No. 308). He seems to have again gone to Spain in the following spring: see Dr. T. Dickson's Preface to *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (vol. i. p. cxxiii).

Blacader was present at St. Paul's Cross, London, at the 'hand-fasting' (espousals) of Margaret Tudor, afterwards Queen of Scotland, on St. Paul's Day, 25 Jan. 1502-3: Leslie (*Historie*, 70). It was Blacader who, with the Earl of Morton and a brilliant train, met Margaret at Lambertoun, near the border, and convoyed her to Dalkeith, prior to the marriage at Holyrood, 8 Aug. 1503, which ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Archbishop of York reading the bull of the Pope assenting thereto (Leland). Blacader was one of the god-fathers of James, the infant son of James IV. and Margaret, at his baptism in the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood 23 Feb. 1506-7 (Leslie, 75). This child died 27 Feb. 1507-8 (Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 2nd. edit. p. 219).

Contentions between the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow. The Act of Parliament forbidding the two archbishops to carry on their strife, with the certification that, if they will not cease and leave their pleas in the court of Rome and be obedient to the king, his Highness will command and charge his lieges that none of them make finance nor pay to them fermes, rents, nor males to the sustentation of the said pleas, 26 June, 1493 (A.P. ii. 232, 233).

Notices of the earlier history of Robert Blacader. On 11 March, 1477-78, Pope Sixtus IV. states that he had received a petition from Robert Blakidir, rector of the parish church of Lesuarde [Lasswade], in the diocese of St. Andrews (which church he held *inter alias ecclesias*) and Papal Notary. Robert proposed to erect near the church a hospital for poor people, pilgrims, sick and feeble folk, and other miserable persons, to be known as the Hospital of St. Mary of Consolation. He desired authority from the Pope for charging on the revenue of the rectory (which was more than 150 lbs. Scots) 20 lbs. Scots for the hospital and a chaplain to officiate there. The Pope, knowing the merits of Robert, who was then 'orator' of King James at the Apostolic See, grants his request, and exempts the hospital from all jurisdiction save his own (T. No. 865). The Pope appoints executors and conservators to give effect to his bull (T. No. 866). A few days later (17 March, 1477-78) Blakidir obtained leave from the Pope to make the parish church of Lasswade the prebend of a canon of the Collegiate Church of St. Salvator in the city of St. Andrews. His love for learning shows itself in the requirement that the holder of the new canonry should be either a doctor or licentiate *in utroque jure* (T. No. 867).

In 1480 (5 June) Blacader subscribes a charter of the dean and chapter of Glasgow as 'Prebendary of Cardross' (R.G. 444). He sat as 'elect of Aberdeen' among the Lords of Council on 12 and 23 June, 1480 (*Act. Dom. Con.* 49, 59). Notices of his history at Aberdeen must be reserved.

In addition to the structural features of the architecture of the cathedral of Glasgow due to Blacader (for an account of which the reader will look elsewhere), he founded a chaplainry at the altar of the Name of Jesus; and another at the altar of St. Mary of Pity. He made an endowment for the singing of an *Ave gloriosa* or *Salve regina*, with versicle and collect, at night after compline by the vicars of the choir,

in the nave of the cathedral, before the image of St. Mary of Consolation. In honour of St. Kentigern he built a church and founded therein a chaplainry near the monastery of Culross (on the Forth) 'where the same (St. Kentigern) was born' (1503). Not long before he left Scotland on his pilgrimage to Palestine he founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. John in the nave of the cathedral near the image of St. Mary of Consolation, while his brother, Sir Patrick, founded a chaplainry at St. Kentigern's altar in the lower church, near the tomb of the saint (27 Jan. 1507-08) (R.G. ii. pp. 505, 519).

It was in the court of the archbishop of Glasgow that the Lollards of Kyle were brought up for examination in 1494. They seemed to have escaped without punishment. Knox, who says that the articles against them were received by him 'furth of the Register of Glasgow,' is our chief source of information (*History*, i. 7-12). No Register containing an account of the trial is now known to exist.

J. DOWDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

Reviews of Books

ENGLAND IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR : a Study in Combined Strategy.
By Julian Corbett, LL.M. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. Pp. Vol. I. xi,
476, Vol. II. 407. London : Longmans, Green & Company. 1907.
21s. nett.

THIS is a most masterly work, of which it is not possible to speak in terms of praise which shall be too high. While to the ordinary reader its description of the events of that great war, which definitely established the position of Great Britain as a power of world-wide empire, is intelligible and graphic, to the student it brings lessons of the greatest possible value. The Diplomat and the Commander, whether naval or military, will find it instructive, as to the conduct of war in all its branches. Throughout its pages, the lessons of the different scientific divisions of warfare are taught with clearness, the lines which divide them being sharply drawn. The greater strategy, which is the province of the statesman in consultation with his combatant advisers, determining the main purposes of the war, and the carrying of these out in the most effective way, looking to the questions of co-operation to be obtained from allies, and the attaining of the main purpose by striking in the best place for attainment, although that place be in a part of the earth far distant from the centre of Government, is expounded and illustrated with exceptional efficiency. The wonderful strategic instinct of the elder Pitt, which led him, in spite of strenuous opposition by his own colleagues and his Sovereign, to hold fast the leading idea that our issue from the War with power to dictate terms favourable at home was best to be effected by our striking effectively at the power of France on the American Continent, constitutes one of the greatest episodes of higher strategy that is to be found in history. It was a brilliant illustration of grasp by a master mind, which, having instruments which it can depend upon, as Pitt had in Anson and Hawke, ably seconded by Boscawen, Howe, Saunders and others, uses them with courage and indomitable resolution. Mr. Corbett illustrates in his narrative how, while Newcastle was alternately trembling and elated, cast-down and hesitating one day and buoyant the next, as news of progress of the contest came from the different spheres of action, Pitt held on with far-seeing determination, with the glorious result that at the end of the struggle our enemies had a very poor show for barter when the adjustment of the distribution of spoils took place—they holding but few places which were valuable to us, and we holding the

whole of the east of North America by conquest of Canada, so glorious a prize, and ever since to this day such an invaluable possession for the prosperity and strength of the Empire. Pitt, by the confidence that his firmness and manifest insight inspired, carried the country with him, a thing essential to the final success of the greater strategy, for, as the author truly says, 'The spirit with which a country goes into a war is as much an element of strategic calculation as its army or its navy.'

Pitt, knowing that the country was with him, knew that the nervous fears of his colleagues about the invasion of the country from the shores of France need not be so regarded as to compel a crippling and confining of the operations of our fleet, while he used the forces he had at home to threaten diversions here and there towards different parts of the coast, so as to keep our French neighbours in constant dread of an invasion by us, and so to hinder them from supporting by adequate reinforcements their own generals, Richelieu and Soubise, in the land war in the region of the Rhine, and of Hanover and Stade. Thus, as regards our defence against invasion, the sound maxim of strategy, that 'no defensive disposition is perfect unless it threatens and conceals an attack,' was given due and effective weight. No war is brought to a successful issue by the mere contests of fleets on the water, nor by tamely waiting to fight an enemy on your own land, in disregard of the wise word of old Polonius, as to how a man should conduct himself when in a quarrel. The merely defensive is the weakest form of defence, and never was this more clearly discerned than in the Seven Years War.

Mr. Corbett is equally successful in his treatment of the lesser strategy of the War, that strategy which consists in so conducting movement, whether on land or sea, and while the opposing forces are not yet in contact or nearly so, that when they do meet the advantage of the position, as distinguished from the question of numerical strength, shall be obtained. And in describing this, he enunciates very clearly how the action of the fleet in the area selected for the major strategy is not that of merely finding and fighting the enemy's ships, but that its function is in close connection with the action on land, actual or contemplated, by which alone operations of war can be conclusive. For, as he points out, the expression 'the command of the sea' is often misunderstood, and particularly so in these islands of ours, as if that command was something final in itself, and not a means to an end. The true function of the fleet is to enable the nation to which it belongs to cover its country's commerce with protection, to stop and harass the commerce of the enemy, to ensure that whatever expedition the nation may have to send abroad shall not be destroyed on the sea, and to make certain that any expedition sent against us shall be dealt with as completely as may be on the water, and if it succeeds in landing shall be cut off from its base and trapped. In all this work its efficiency may ensure its success in every encounter, but beyond this its known power in minor strategy will have a weighty effect on the strategy of an enemy, hindering or making impossible proposals which may be brought forward in Council on questions of major strategy.

It is only necessary to say further that Mr. Corbett is as successful in description and criticism of the tactical aspects of the war, both on sea and land, as he is in his dealing with the higher matters. Tactics being the name for those separate or combined military or naval operations which take place in the region of dispositions for and conduct of action when the opposing forces are practically at one another's throats, the story of such is always most interesting to the ordinary reader. And nowhere will such a reader find more graphic pictures of such stirring events as the siege of Quebec, and the naval operations in America, in the Channel, and in the Mediterranean during the Seven Years War, than are given by Mr. Corbett.

To all who love to read of the great deeds of our statesmen and heroes of the eighteenth century, who may in truth be said to have made our empire by a just enforcement of our rights, this truly great work can be heartily recommended.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

THE SHIRBURN BALLADS, 1585-1616. Edited from the MS. by Andrew Clark, Honorary Fellow of Lincoln College. Pp. viii, 380. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 10s. 6d. nett.

MR. CLARK has laid all students of Elizabethan history and literature under a heavy debt of gratitude, by the publication of the Earl of Macclesfield's manuscript collection of ballads. It may be questioned whether anywhere there exists so admirable a means of gauging that discordant medley, the popular Elizabethan mind, as may be found in this volume. Our only quarrel with the editor is that his modesty has prevented him from doing complete justice to his knowledge in an adequate introduction. It is true that, throughout the book, Mr. Clark has scattered freely his social information as comment on the individual ballads; but his purpose, at least for general readers, would have been better served by an inclusive introduction on popular manners and popular taste in literature in Shakespeare's day.

Lovers of the heroic, and the ancient supernatural will find little to please them here, but for readers of Shakespeare and students of Elizabeth's reign the book is treasure trove. In matter of ballad form there is much to interest us. The average tale or moral reflection runs, of course, to the old jogging rhythms which Dr. Johnson scorned:

'If ever words did move a wight
To shed a wofull teare,
Then can no creature choose but weepe
This dolefull tale to heare.'

But there is a wonderful variety of chorus forms, of the sort familiar to readers of Elizabethan comedy, with its snatches of song; and here and there occur variations, such as the strange jingle on Christmas:

'Is not this a blessed wonder?
God is man, and man is God.
Foolish Jewes mistooke the thunder
Should proclaim the king abroad.

Angels they syng, "Behould the kinge!"
 In Bethlehem where this was done.
 Then we, as they, rejoyce and saye,
 We have a saviour; God, a sonne.'

Lest any wonder at sacred themes cropping up in a profane collection, one should explain that everywhere things holy and unholy rub shoulders here, and sentiments of devotion, such as 'Jesu, my loving spouse,' go to the tune, 'Dainty, come thou to me.' Apparently what Professor Huxley used to call the Corybantic elements in Salvation Army ritual had sixteenth-century exemplars. Of all the formal variations, perhaps the most interesting is that designated a 'jig,' defined by Mr. Clark as 'a dramatic ballad or ballad-drama written to dance music and capable of presentment by dance action on the stage.' To quote once more. 'A piece like that named "As I went to Walsingham" has four acts, each with its own tune, and its own distinctive stanza. . . . In all



A right excellent and godly new Ballad, shewing the uncertaintye of this present lyfe, the vanitie of the alluring world, and the unspeakable joyes of heaven prepared for those that unfainedly beleefe in the Lord Jesus.

four acts the stanzas are oddly broken up by distribution between the four *dramatis personae*.' The result is a lively confusion, with suggestions in it of both dramatic action and ballad narrative. Everywhere in the subject-matter contemporary history finds rhyming expression. Among the Elizabethan proletariat these rude poems were the substitute for the *Daily Mail*, selecting their subjects from stirring foreign news, loyal gossip, and popular crime, to please the great slovenly mind of the people. You may see here how dearly Englishmen then loved a king, or a lord, and gloated over a coronation. Essex, even as traitor, still seems to dominate the popular imagination by virtue of his earlier feats of derring-do.

'He never yet hurt mother's sonne;
 His quarrell still maintaine the right;
 Which makes the teares my cheekes downe runne
 When I thinke of his last good-night.'

Popular imperial sentiment or story goes into hobbling rhyme, and Elizabeth finds here, as she does in all contemporary poetry, a literary throne erected for her. But the ballad-writers and readers are anything but fastidious in their desire for news. Odd accidents, like the falling of Norwich Cathedral pinnacle during a thunderstorm, meet with serious record, and every monstrosity of the time has its ballad. Indeed the frontispiece of the book is symptomatic of this popular sensationalism, for it represents 'Eva Fliegen, the miraculous mayd that lived at Muers



The first part of the widow of wailing streete and her 3 daughters.

in Cleveland,' for sixteen years without food, and who had this additional claim on the British public that she was visited by James I.'s daughter Elizabeth. But let the portent speak for herself and tell of royal largess given in exchange for a nosegay :

'The which the gentle lady took,
 In kinde and humble wise,
 As if they had been Jemmes of worth
 And Jewells of great prize ;
 And, for the same, returnd me backe
 A guift of good red gold,
 An hundreth Dollers presently,
 The which my keeper told.'

Already it is evident how direct a bearing the ballads have on popular opinion in the early seventeenth century ; and one may recommend

them to all students of mob morality. Their history and their romance reveal what Mr. Clark calls, with needless force, 'the baseness of popular taste in Shakespeare's day'—it is rather the contemporary form of a permanent inability in the crowd to think nobly. The moral standards of the poems amuse by their variations and contradictions. Here and there, throughout the volume, one comes across the most admirable morality—'a right excellent and godly new Ballad, shewing the uncertaintye of this present lyfe, the vanitie of the alluring world,



A most excellent ballad of S. George for England and the king's daughter of Egypt, whom he delivered from death; and how he slew a mighty dragon.

and the unspeakable joyes of heaven . . .'; or morals drawn from famous crimes to such a tune as this:

'All children behould what heare hath bin tould;
Accuse no man falsely for lucre of gould.
Now fie upon falshood and forgery fraile!
And great is the truth, and it will prevaile.'

But where the morality does not proceed, as it usually does, from such crude eschatological terrors as still give the crowd its chief sanction for religion, it stands in suspiciously close juxtaposition to enjoyment of criminal detail. Happy is the people who can admire the murderer (granted that he be bold), enjoy his hanging, and still depart with a moral sentiment. The balladists love what modern journalism would

describe as 'double murder and suicide,' and if the main figure be a gentleman, with a capacity for eloquent repentance, the hero stands complete :

‘A gentleman he was of courage bould ;
His like I never sawe before.
But whenas I did him behould,
My greefe it grew still more and more.’

Detail for detail, the student of modern popular melodrama may recognize sixteenth-century parallels to catch a crowd, that loved and loves sentiment rather than reality. To be fair to Shakespeare's groundlings, if these be their songs, the broad outline is one extremely moral. But the moral rule is everywhere broken into by exceptions. In the love motives which occupy many of the ballads, youthful peccadilloes, more than half excused, form the central incident :

‘Most maidens nowe and then,
Will do as I have done,’

says one fair ballad frailty ; picturesque repentance is permitted to cover a multitude of sins, and even ‘Philip, the devil of the west,’ a swash-buckler with a genius for breaking out of gaol, is softly dealt with for his violent gallantry. Shakespearean critics, who idealize the minor details of their author, and find philosophies of life in drinking catches, might do worse than study here the originals of Autolycus' songs, and realize at first hand the material Shakespeare used—expressions of a dislocated popular mind, sensual and pious in turns, but always sentimental ; religious where no austerity need enter, gallant in extolling useless freaks of courage from a safe position in the rear ; patriotic in a fashion that sets together infant monsters and popular heroes. Superstition in these verses is always degraded and grovelling ; never tinged with the nobler paganism of a bygone day, but cunning to discern the pathology of human nature, and loving to be crammed with tales of two-headed babes, or crude and incredible visitations of God on crime. It may be unfair, but one cannot refrain from a comparison of the ‘Wife of Usher's Well’ :

‘It fell about the Martinmas,
When nights are lang and mirk,
The carline wife's three sons came hame,
And their hats were o' the birk,’

with the Shirburn substitute : ‘Miraculous newes from the cittie of Holdt in Germany, where there were three dead bodyes seene to rise out of their graves upon the twentieth day of September last, 1616, with other strange things that happened.’ The truth is, that, judged by aesthetic standards, these rude verses can hardly aspire to literary rank. Their justification is rather historical and comparative ; Shakespeare's greatness and his loans from all things, common and unclean as well as transcendental, have made these verses essential to his students. Apart from ‘My mind to me a kingdom is,’ which is in, but not of, this collection, the only lines with any charm of feeling are those

entitled, 'The mery Life of the countriman,' which Mr. Clark includes in an appendix from a Bodleian MS., and which smack of country joys not unworthy of 'the sea-coast of Bohemia':

'When corne is ripe, with tabor and pipe,
 Their sickles they prepare;
 And wagers they lay how much in a day
 They mean to cut down there.
 And he which is quickest, and cutteth down cleanest the corne,
 A garlande trime they make for him,
 And bravely they bringe him home.'

The volume is elaborately illustrated from the rude woodcuts which adorned contemporary broadsides; Mr. Clarke's notes introductory to each ballad are admirable in their fulness of detail; there are adequate indexes and a glossary sufficient for its purpose.

J. L. MORISON.

INNOCENT THE GREAT: An Essay on his Life and Times. By C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, B.A. Pp. xxiii, 273. Medium 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 9s. nett.

MR. PIRIE-GORDON has chosen a worthy subject for his book. For Innocent III. competes only with Gregory I. and Gregory VII. for the highest place in the long line of the successors of St. Peter. And as we read we feel that the author of this work has many qualifications for the task which he has undertaken. He has made himself familiar with the original authorities, he bases his narrative directly upon them, he is an enthusiastic, though not indiscriminating, admirer of Pope Innocent, he can write in an attractive style—marred occasionally, it is true, by a fondness for unusual words and awkward parentheses—and he has the art of seizing hold of the central incident of a tortuous train of events, or the guiding principle of obscure diplomatic negotiations. But notwithstanding all these things, rather because of them, his monograph is somewhat disappointing. Mr. Pirie-Gordon makes an attempt to accomplish the impossible. He aims at being brief; and a short biography of Innocent the Great cannot be satisfactory. The history of his Pontificate is really the history of Europe for sixteen years of surpassing importance and complexity. Such a history, if it is to be well written, imperatively demands more than a couple of hundred octavo pages of large type.

That Mr. Pirie-Gordon has expended enormous labour on the biography will be evident to anyone who examines only his eight elaborate genealogical tables, his six appendices, and his excellent maps. All of these have their value; but their relation to the text is not always obvious. They ought to have been adjuncts of a much bigger book.

The chapter on 'Innocent and England' is a fair specimen of the merits and the defects of the volume. It is readable, interesting, and often acute. But it leaves unnoticed Innocent's action, or inaction, in regard to King John's desertion of Havise of Gloucester, and it compresses into a single paragraph, two pages long, the story of the Great Charter of Liberties.

Scanty treatment of such things as these entails incompleteness in the picture which is presented to us of the great Pope. Throughout this chapter, so far as we have tested his statements, the writer exhibits the rare merit of accuracy ; and he corrects a mistake of some eminent historians as to the status of Pandulf, in a perhaps needlessly lengthy note. But does he not himself fall into error when he places the famous meeting between the king and the nuncio at Northampton ?

It may perhaps be thought that no one will derive much benefit from the portentous list given in an earlier chapter of names and titles of men 'who took part in the fourth Crusade'—of whom the first on the list, by the way, 'died before it started.' And we are a little disconcerted to find an elaborate itinerary of the Pope taking up more than a quarter of the short chapter on his character. Elsewhere it might have been explained that those 'remarkable phantastic persons' who were summoned to the fourth Lateran Council—the Kings of Lumbricia, Corkaia, and Mindiensia' were, in fact, the petty kings of Limerick, Cork, and Meath. The list of cardinals created by Innocent, compiled from Ciacconius and Oldoinus and Cristofori, would have been more useful if it had been compared with Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*. Such a comparison, moreover, would have saved the writer from contradictory statements about the date of Stephen Langton's promotion to the College.

But it is ill work picking holes in the first book of a very promising author. We hope that Mr. Pirie-Gordon will, in the future, give us a biography of Innocent, on the scale, let us say, of Mr. Dudden's *Gregory the Great*. Such a work would supply a much felt want in historical literature.

H. J. LAWLOR.

ANCIENT BRITAIN AND THE INVASIONS OF JULIUS CAESAR. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). Pp. xvi, 764. 8vo. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1907. 21s. nett.

SEVEN or eight years ago Dr. Rice Holmes, who had already made his mark in the field of Indian history, published a notable study of Caesar's Gaulish campaigns. At once compendious and thorough, it immediately established his reputation as a leading authority on the *Commentaries* and everything connected therewith. Many who read it must have regretted that the expeditions to Britain did not fall within its scope. The gap is much more than filled by the substantial volume now before us. The narrative portion of the book covers 373 pages, and it is not until page 300 that Caesar appears upon the scene at all. What precedes is a comprehensive and connected account of 'the story of man's life in our island from the earliest times,' so far as it is possible to reconstruct it without the aid of written record. Each of the Ages—Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron—is discussed in turn. The multifarious evidence is marshalled in masterly fashion, difficulties being fairly faced and an independent judgment exercised on controversial points. The result is a really valuable contribution to archaeological literature. Nowhere else will the student find such a

convenient summary of 'prehistory,' or so useful a mass of references to original sources. He may not always agree with Dr. Holmes's conclusions; but he cannot but be deeply impressed by the wealth of industry and acumen that are displayed on every page. Probably he will miss the perfect clearness of exposition which marked Dr. Joseph Anderson's memorable series of Rhind Lectures. The fault, however, lies rather in the writer's method than in his power of expression. In the earlier chapters, at all events, there is overmuch striving after completeness, and the canvas consequently tends to become too crowded. Little is gained, for instance,—and some valuable space is lost—by speculations as to the extent to which totemism and the practice of magic may have prevailed amongst the palaeolithic inhabitants of Britain; there is not a tittle of evidence either one way or another. Mommsen's paradox about imagination is profoundly true: it is the mother of all history, just as of all poetry. But Pegasus must be bridled, or he will carry us into regions where contact with reality is entirely lost. Not that Dr. Holmes often errs in this direction. And, on the other hand, he knows how to make skilful and legitimate use of the imaginative faculty. A case in point is the striking picture of neolithic life on page 119, and other passages equally good could be cited from his chapter on the Bronze Age.

The treatment of the Age of Bronze is not improbably the portion of the book that will appeal most strongly to the general reader. To begin with, there is a human link in the person of the adventurous traveller, Pytheas. Then the megalithic monuments are peculiarly impressive, pre-eminently so Stonehenge. Lastly, weapons, implements, and ornaments are all attractive, while the ceramic material is sufficiently abundant to provide the fascination of definite problems to be solved. Dr. Holmes has handled the theme in a manner worthy of his opportunity, and he is to be congratulated on the vivid and coherent sketch he has produced, albeit most readers are pretty certain to find here or there inferences which they will hesitate about accepting. The discussion of the Early Iron Age is also good. This is followed by an illuminating account of Caesar's actual invasions, obviously based on independent research of an unusually thoroughgoing kind. To the casual eye Caesar's statements in the *Commentaries* appear straightforward and simple. When they are probed, however, puzzles emerge that have taxed the wit of the keenest thinkers. Some of them have up till now defied the combined efforts of geologists, astronomers, historians, and practical seamen. Where did Caesar muster his fleet? Where did he land? For answer to these and many other enquiries, the curious may safely turn to Part II. of Dr. Holmes's book. Here we get the laboratory work, as it were, the detailed reasoning of which Part I. is the outcome. It is a veritable mine of information and of reference. Scottish archaeologists will appreciate its exhaustiveness when they learn that there is a niche not only for the 'Pictish question,' but also for Dumbuck, Langbank, and Dunbuie. Withal it is far from being dull. When we read of the 'laborious puerilities' of one eminent man or of

the 'fascinating lack of humour' of another, when we are told that a third 'blunders in a way which makes me hesitate to accept his statements about archaeological details that I have not myself studied,' or when it is written of a fourth, 'whose competence I neither affirm nor deny,' we cannot help wondering whether Dr. Rice Holmes aspires to have inscribed on his tomb, '*Malleus Professorum*.' Certainly in this portion of his book he drinks delight of battle with his peers in the fine old-fashioned style of literary controversy.

There is an extremely good, though not absolutely perfect, index, and we have noted an abnormally small number of misprints. We should like, however, to know the authority for the statement (p. 226) that Agricola visited Thule.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

LUTHER'S TABLE TALK: A CRITICAL STUDY. By Preserved Smith, Ph.D., New York (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of the Columbia University). Vol. XXVI. No. 2. Pp. 135. Imp. 8vo. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1907.

THIS is a useful bit of work well done. Few books are so often quoted and referred to by friends and foes as that which goes by the name of *Luther's Table Talk*. It is a quarry for biographers. It has been searched through and through by Romanist partisans for sentences which may exhibit the Reformer in the most unfavourable light. It has been printed in innumerable editions, and translated into many languages. Yet the book, as we have it, is a mere uncritical hotch-potch in which the first-hand notes of contemporary guests at Luther's table have been blended with all manner of unauthentic material, arranged without reference to chronology and without being checked by the mass of autobiographical information to be found scattered through Luther's multitudinous writings. A critical edition of the *Table Talk* has been called for again and again, but the magnitude of the task has probably deterred conscientious editors. We are promised one by the editors of the Weimar edition of *Luther's Works*, and meanwhile must wait patiently for it.

What Dr. Preserved Smith has given us may be looked upon as useful prolegomena to such a critical edition as is needed.

The author has described the elder and younger group of guests who sat at the Master's table and took down everything—good, bad, and indifferent—that fell from the lips of one, who, in his strength, was careless of what he said. Twelve men have left a record of such conversations. The notes taken by four of them are extant—those of Conrad Cordatus, Johann Schlaginhaufen, Anton Lauterbach, and Veit Dietrich. The actual note-books of the first three have been carefully edited; Dietrich's MS., preserved in the Nürnberg city library, still awaits an editor. The notes of five others are preserved more or less fully in a collection of *Lutheriana* made by Johannes Mathesius—they

are Mathesius himself, Magister Plato, Hieronymus Weller, Antonius Corvinus, Hieronymus Besold, and Caspar Heidenreich.

These note-books are the real sources of the *Table Talk*—sources not equally trustworthy. Much depended on the reporter's ability to write fast and on his carefulness to date his notes. If we put them all together it may be worth while to see what ground they cover. They give us reported conversations of Luther during the years 1531-1533, 1536-1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1542-3, and 1544, all of which may be more or less proximately dated.

Some of these note-takers also made collections of the notes of others, and out of one of these collections mainly, by varied manipulations, the present *Table Talk* has come. Lauterbach, the most conscientious of the note-takers, collected a great quantity of copies of other reporters. He kept them beside him till 1558, when he put his own and the notes of others into one volume, which he worked over and over again during four years. His method was to arrange Luther's sayings in sections, and then group them together under chapters which followed a theological arrangement. This book of Lauterbach's was almost completely superseded by that of Aurifaber, also one of the original note-takers. He really adopted Lauterbach's collection, adding some things of his own. This edition is practically the *Table Talk* as that is commonly known. Luther's sayings have been continually re-touched; they have been torn from their context; chronology has been discarded for a mechanical arrangement.

Dr. Preserved Smith gives us useful and informing chapters about the printed editions of this *Table Talk*, about the translations, and about the use made of the book in literature and in history. One of the most useful parts of the book to a scholar is the third part of the appendix, where the relations of the MSS. to each other are described and illustrated with a diagram.

T. M. LINDSAY.

GREENOCK AND ITS EARLY SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT. By William Auld.

Small 4to. Pp. 85, with 21 Illustrations. Greenock: J. M'Kelvie & Son. 1907.

THIS is a short, but interesting, survey of a little corner of Scotland during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. It might be described as a bird's-eye view—only people have different conceptions of what a bird's-eye view may signify. Quite recently we were invited by a farmer to take 'a bird's-eye view' of his prize bull: by which he meant keeking in at the door of its loose-box. But we obtained a clear, if swift, impression of its proportions, size, colour, and general appearance, and that is all that can be hoped for in a rapid survey either of a living object, or of a town as it appeared a century or two ago, whether we permit our imaginations to hover over the old times, or to peep in at the half-opened door of the Past.

We are shown how the place developed from a few thatched hovels to a considerable town with steepled kirks, gabelled houses, and a

344 Greenock, its Early Social Environment

custom-house quay. We obtain glimpses of Sir John Shaw, 'the maker of Greenock,' of James Watt, of John Galt, of Burns' Highland Mary, and of poor Jean Adam, immortal for her song of 'There's nae luck about the house.'

To those who only know Greenock as it appears to-day, it may be remarkable that, as Mr. Auld points out, the hill-slopes down to the shores of Clyde were, formerly, clothed with forest trees. 'Crow-mount,' 'Thrush-grove,' linger in the local language, telling of the stems and branches which once swayed in the autumn blasts and blossomed in the spring sunshine, where now the busy factories are crowded together.

No notes on Greenock would be complete without references to its ancient herring industry, or tales of the press-gang, or the influx of Highlanders after the '45, and we find them here. To show how extensive was the Highland invasion, Mr. Auld reminds us that the minister of the East Parish, writing at the close of the eighteenth century, mentions that one might walk from one end of the town to the other, passing many people, without hearing a word of any language but the Gaelic.

Before the close of the epoch chosen by our author, we catch a view of the tall chimney-stalk of the 'Comet' sweeping by, and may hear the echo of the cheers which greeted the completion, in 1827, of the wonderful waterworks by Mr. Thom, the engineer after whom the great reservoir in the heathery hinterland is named. From this reservoir Thom cut an aqueduct to the town around the shoulders of the hill of Dunrod, and to this day the water-power thus provided is regularly utilized in several industries.

Mr. Auld has attempted no more than a brief glance over past days, but his facts are carefully founded, and his story is illustrated by reproductions of contemporary sketches and pictures, pleasantly recalling the older times.

HUGH SHAW-STEWART.

THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT, A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS. By Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B., priest of Downside Abbey. Pp. xvi, 595. 8vo. With seven portraits. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907. 15s. nett.

THOUGH the literature of the religious settlement in the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign is becoming extensive, if not to say wearisome, it cannot be doubted that there was room for a book like this, in order that we may have an opportunity of learning how the momentous events of that period are viewed by an intelligent Roman Catholic. The facts themselves have been long known to students, but it is only right that we should welcome their interpretation from every point of the intellectual compass. One may deplore the religious bias in history, but, do what we will, it has a way of presenting itself in the most unexpected quarters. Dom Birt very properly disowns at the outset all taint of religious prepossessions, and takes as his guide the familiar maxim that the historian should be impersonal, and hold himself

aloof from every form of prejudice. But if it were the author's aim to be a narrator of facts and not the advocate of a cause, it is extremely odd that he should have stepped down at once from this pious position to tell us why he had undertaken to go over again ground so often trodden in recent years. One can understand his objections to the beautiful romances of Froude, or even to the general deductions of Bishop Mandell Creighton, but the severest critic will scarcely ascribe exuberant imagination to the exhaustive analysis by Dr. Henry Gee, or to the more extended review by Mr. W. H. Frere. With every desire to be just to the author, it must be acknowledged on his own admission that the book is designed as a counterblast, not to Froude or Bishop Creighton, who did not profess to give special attention to the narrow limits of this inquiry, but rather to the later scholars who sifted the evidences with the minutest inspection. How far the most recent excursion into the region of debate is justified by the new facts brought to light, every reader must judge for himself.

The importance of the period covered by the book can scarcely be equalled in the history of the English Church. In these few years the last battle of the New Learning was fought and won. The papal power in England was veritably in its 'last ditch' when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and for a short interval there was a pause as the stream of tendency, which received a temporary check in the previous reign, continued to struggle with the old elements in its onward progress. In estimating the relative strength of the rival forces in conflict, the main point now at issue, hotly debated since the days of Nicholas Sandar, is how far the *suscepta religio* established under the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity was agreeable to the English clergy. As it is by admission difficult to judge of motives and opinions, we are driven to gauge them entirely in the light of definite acts. If the vexed question is to be decided by the counting of heads, as Dom Birt seems to contend, we must have a more minute examination of the evidences of the period, diocese by diocese, than has hitherto appeared, after the manner of Mr. Frere's discussion of the Marian reaction, and as Dr. Gee has attempted for the period under review. It is clear that the clerical attitude to the national settlement can only be appraised by the number of deprivations or sequestrations which resulted from resistance. Surely this is capable of ample proof. Dom Birt is not satisfied with the Anglican figures, but when he undertakes to amend them his success is not at all encouraging.

If the diocese of Carlisle be taken at random, by way of supplying a test to the author's methods, it will be seen into what miscalculations he has fallen. Many things contributed to make this north-western corner of England a papal stronghold. In the eyes of their reforming bishop, the clergy were 'wicked imps of Antichrist,' while they appeared to Fuller, the historian, as 'nuzelled in ignorance.' What was the net result of the acceptance of the national religion in this region? Dom Birt begins by telling us a story of the deprivation of the Dean of Carlisle, and of his return to his allegiance to the Holy See. It is

346 The Elizabethan Religious Settlement

a pure myth. Dean Salkeld was not deprived, but died Dean of Carlisle on 3rd September, 1560, as the author might have known, had he consulted two letters of Sir Thomas Smith to Secretary Cecil preserved at the Record office (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* xiii. 30, xiv. 27) and compared them with *Exchequer Certificates, Bishops' Institutions, Carlisle*, No. I., in the same repository. As Sir Thomas Smith's letters have been in print for some years, the slip is inexcusable. Then, again, the mistake is made that those clergy who did not appear before the commissioners in 1559, and were in consequence pronounced contumacious, were men of papal sympathies. There is no ground for such an inference. As pluralism was not uncommon in these days, it can be proved that not unfrequently a parson who attended before the commissioners in respect of one benefice and satisfied the requirements, often failed to do so at another session of the commission in respect of his other benefice, and was pronounced contumacious. For this reason the record of the proceedings is untrustworthy in estimating the number of recalcitrant clergy. Nor is sequestration an infallible test. The instance of William Bury, rector of Marton, which the author quotes, may be taken as a case in point, for though the sentence of sequestration was delivered against him, it is known that he died incumbent of that benefice. Back, then, we must go to the records of deprivation as the only unsuspicious warrant for assuming allegiance to the Holy See. When tried by this test, religious uniformity was secured in the diocese of Carlisle by the loss of the bishop and two parish priests, and if the cases of the latter be still further scrutinized, other influences, in addition to their papal proclivities, will be found to have contributed to this result.

JAMES WILSON.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS. Vol. I. By John Herkless, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and Robert Kerr Hannay, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. viii, 271. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS first volume deals only with the first four Archbishops, Graham, Schevez, James Stewart, and Alexander Stewart. The writers have very laboriously exhausted almost all the available sources of information as to the personal histories of these prelates. The Papal Registers of the period concerned have not yet been reached in the series of volumes which Mr. Bliss is editing for the Master of the Rolls. Nor do Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay appear to have made any independent research in the Vatican archives. But they have used with effect transcripts of papal records found in the British Museum and elsewhere. It is not probable that anything of serious importance remains to be discovered, though in such matters one must always speak with hesitancy. Certainly historical students have reason to be grateful for what has been done.

The appreciation of the documents and their handling on some occasions show a want of familiarity with the manner and style of writs issued

under papal authority; and in consequence a true perspective is sometimes missed. Thus, when it is stated (p. 21) that when Graham was provided to Brechin it was contemplated by the Pope 'that the vacancy [of the benefice of Kynnell, which he held] would occur through the lapse of the canonical period for consecration,' the authors seem to attach a significance to a customary formula in such cases, which it does not deserve. If worth mentioning at all, the words 'might occur' should be substituted for 'would occur.' The same formula will be found elsewhere in Theiner's *Monumenta*, for example, in the case of Forstar in 1462 (No. 820), of Lyell in 1459 (No. 796), and of Andrew Stewart in 1455 (No. 772).

Again, here and there a more minute examination of the documents would have revealed particulars which are sought. Thus, we are told with reference to Graham's appointment to the See of Brechin, that 'Nothing is known of the installation [by the word "installation" in this place it is clear that "consecration" is meant] beyond the fact that a document signed at St. Andrews in 1466 specifies that year as the third of the bishop's consecration.' Now, it is interesting to find that a careful comparison of two documents (both mentioned at p. 23) enables one to fix the date of Graham's consecration within extraordinarily narrow limits. The document from the Arbroath Register, dated 29 Dec. 1466, is in the third year; and the other document, dated 3 Nov. 1467, is also in the third year. It is plain then, if we may venture to rely upon the accuracy of the dating, that the consecration of Graham must have taken place after 3 Nov. 1464 and before 29 Dec. 1464. But no doubt errors in dating by the year of a bishop's consecration are not infrequent.

Again, the contest of Graham for the teind sheaves of Rhynde would have been rendered intelligible if it had been stated that Rhynde was connected with Pittenweem. And some of the moralizing might have been spared (pp. 34, 35).

In the list (p. 45) of the Cathedral churches of Scotland subjected to St. Andrews, when it was elevated into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan See, Orkney is omitted, though it is mentioned in the bull of 17 Aug. 1472, which is referred to.

As regards Archbishop Graham's supposed reforming tendencies, it is almost a case of slaying the slain to expose the absurdities of George Buchanan's account of that prelate. Yet, though serious students of history have for many years corrected the statements of Buchanan, it was still perhaps worth while to examine the evidence with care, when we find a writer like the late Dr. James Rankin, in a volume edited by the late Principal Story, speaking of Graham as 'one of the best, but most unjustly treated and unfortunate, of our bishops.' Readers of the volume before us will find material for estimating the value of such a way of talking. My own view is that we have no ground for supposing Graham was in any special way given to self-seeking or personal ambition (and here my view-point is somewhat different from Prof. Herkless's), but I concur with our authors in believing that the best explanation of some of the charges brought against him before Huseman,

the papal commissioner, is that the unfortunate man's reason was unhinged. In passing I may notice what is, doubtless, a mere slip of the pen, where our authors (p. 61) speak of one of the charges made against Graham being that 'he had created prebendaries.' That was what all bishops did when new canonries were founded in their cathedrals. But the charge was that he had created 'protonotaries.' And what is pointed at is the invasion of a papal prerogative.

Long ago Archbishop Spottiswoode corrected the error of Buchanan in making Patrick Graham the uterine brother of Bishop Kennedy, and rightly called him Kennedy's 'nephew.' But subsequent writers, including such careful students as George Grub and Joseph Robertson, reverted to the opinion that Kennedy and Graham were both sons of the Lady Mary, daughter of King Robert III. And following Robertson, I have to plead guilty of the same error in the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies*. The matter is now set at rest for ever by Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay. Graham was Kennedy's 'brother-son' (pp. 12, 25, 95).

It is stated (p. 62) that the promulgation of the sentence upon Graham was committed by Pope Sixtus IV. to the 'Bishops of Brechin and Orkney, and the Chancellor of Aberdeen.' I venture to suggest to our authors that the word 'Orkney' here is an error. The original as given by Theiner is 'Breachinensi et Archadensi Episcopis'; and it is certainly an excusable error (if it be an error) to suppose that 'Archadensi' appears here in mistake (and the Vatican records abound in curious forms of Scottish place-names) for 'Orchadensi.' But the general practice of the Roman *curia* was to associate in such cases some outsider with two local commissioners; and this fact suggests that the Latin word is not an error, and that the bishop of Achonry (*Archadensis*, a variant of *Achadensis*) in Ireland is the person intended.

It is a somewhat misleading way of putting the facts to say (p. 74) that 'on 1 Oct. 1467, Graham and his chapter erected the collegiate church of Dalkeith into a parochial church distinct from Lasswade.' What happened was that the parish of Lasswade was divided, and the parishioners who lived in the direction of Dalkeith were allowed to regard the altar of St. Mary in the collegiate church of St. Nicholas as their parochial altar. The collegiate church of St. Nicholas, at Dalkeith, continued to be a collegiate church down to the Reformation.

I have drawn attention only to some particulars in the treatment of the life of Patrick Graham. Similar merits (and they are great) and similar defects will be found in the subsequent part of the volume. The laborious gathering together of material from various quarters claims the gratitude of students of the period of Scottish history that is dealt with. But, it seems to me that the writers of the book have not been in many cases silent when it would have been better to be silent. For a just estimate of the characters of these prelates (with the exception perhaps of Alexander Stewart, the youth so full of promise, who fell at Flodden) the material does not exist. The book would have been better if we had had less comment and less moralizing.

The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela 349

It may be added that Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has recently discovered in the archives of the Vatican a note of the provision of Alexander Stewart to St. Andrews, which Professor Herkless and Mr. Hannay had contented themselves by referring it in a general way to the year 1504. On 10 May, 1504, Alexander Stewart was granted the administration of St. Andrews till he was twenty-seven years of age, when he was to become in reality archbishop.

JOHN DOWDEN.

THE ITINERARY OF BENJAMIN OF TUDELA: Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary. By Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A. Pp. xvi, 94 and Hebrew Index. Demy 8vo. London: Oxford University Press. 1907. 5s. nett.

WHAT appears here in book-form was communicated by Mr. Adler to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, volumes xvi. to xviii. It is not only a new translation, but an improved text of a work that has been long known chiefly through the edition of Asher, published in two volumes in 1840 and 1841. The text of that edition was based on the Editio Princeps, printed at Constantinople in 1543, and the Ferrara Edition of 1556; and Asher lamented the fact that he had not the benefit of a single manuscript to aid him in cases of doubtful or divergent readings. Curiously enough, about twenty years after Asher's death, the British Museum acquired from Messrs. Asher & Co., as part of the Almanzi Collection, a volume containing, among other things, a complete manuscript of the work. The text of this MS. has been taken by Mr. Adler as the basis of his edition. He has had, moreover, the benefit of two other complete MSS. as well as large portions of other two, the variant readings of all of which are given at the foot of the page. We have thus a carefully prepared critical text, much superior to that of Asher; and, though it is not vowelled as in Asher's edition, neither the Hebrew scholar nor the ordinary English reader will feel inconvenience, for the Hebrew is simple and fluent, and the English translation is excellent. To the translation are attached valuable foot-notes, of a topographical, historical, and archaeological character, embodying much that has come to light since Asher's day, although the elaborate notes and essays contained in Asher's second volume are of permanent value. The book is also provided with seven facsimiles of pages of the MSS. employed, and with a good map of Western Asia at the time of Saladin, A.D. 1190, on which the Itinerary is traced. This is almost indispensable, because Benjamin, while giving the distances of the places mentioned, is not careful to state the direction in which he travelled.

Though Benjamin was not the earliest Jewish traveller, he is the first who has left us a detailed record of his travels. Even before the destruction of the second Temple, Jews had found homes in most of the countries of the then known world, and kept up communication with their native land; and, after the great dispersion, movements on a larger scale were a matter of course. In the Middle Ages the people were scattered to every corner of the earth, and wandering Jews kept up communication between one country and another, the bond of a common religion and a common language assuring them a hospitable reception wherever they went. In the

great upheaval of the Crusading period, when the Jews suffered bitter persecution on all hands, their common sympathies would be quickened by the common danger, and reports of travellers as to the condition of the people in the Dispersion would be eagerly listened to. At such a time, and in such circumstances, Benjamin started on his travels. There is some uncertainty as to the exact date and duration of the journey. It must be placed between the years 1160 and 1173, but Adler thinks that the actual period spent out of Europe must be limited to the years 1166 to 1171. Leaving his native place, Tudela, in Navarre, he visited most of the countries in which the Jews were to be found. Passing through Catalonia, Southern France, Italy, Greece, and the islands of the Levant, he traversed Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, as far as Bagdad. And, though he does not seem to have visited them, he gives interesting accounts of countries farther to the East and North. He returned by way of Khusistan, the Indian Ocean, and Yemen, from which he proceeded to Egypt, in which country he made a prolonged stay, returning to Spain by way of Sicily.

The style and method of the narrative are very simple: 'In every place which he entered, he made a record of all that he saw or was told of by trustworthy persons'; and an unknown writer, who speaks thus in the Preface, seems to have compiled the narrative from these travellers' notes. It is not made clear what prompted Benjamin to make his journey. He is careful in recording the numbers and occupations of the Jews in the various places visited by him, and in noting the names of distinguished persons, living or dead, connected with the places. He also shows a manifest interest in trade and commerce; but there is also the broad human interest of the sightseer, who is quick to note anything new or strange. The result is a collection of matter of great interest and of no little antiquarian value bearing upon a most interesting period of history. We may specify his notes on Alexandria and its famous lighthouse and extensive shipping; his description of Constantinople under the decadent Greeks, who 'hire from amongst all nations warriors to fight with the Sultan,' 'for the natives are not warlike, but are as women who have no strength to fight'; or again, the graphic touch in his description of the republics of Pisa and Genoa, where 'each householder has a tower to his house, and at times of strife they fight from the tops of the towers with each other.' At Bagdad he gives a glowing account of the Caliph and his public procession to the mosque, as well as a detailed account of the various Jewish Academies, and the princely magnificence of the Exilarch, 'Our Lord the Head of the Captivity of all Israel.' Interesting particulars are also given, among other things, about Prester John, David Alroy, the Assassins, and the Druzes. It is true, we cannot always accept Benjamin's identifications of ancient places with sites visited by him; for, in the tales of early travellers, the names of famous places had a habit of flying far abroad and attaching themselves to most unlikely localities. But, as regards the Holy Land at least, it is well known that Jewish pilgrims were much more accurate in this respect than Christians; and the English reader of this edition will, with the help of Adler's notes, be saved from uncertainty or confusion on this head. Legendary matters, which give a piquancy to the narrative, will

be estimated at their true value, and allowance must be made for cases where our traveller got his information at second hand. But wherever Benjamin states what he saw or learned directly himself, he gives us the impression of a careful observer and a truthful narrator.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

THE JUNTO. By Teresa Merz, with introduction by W. F. Lord, M.A. Pp xv, 192. Demy 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid and Company, Ltd. 1907. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume, which obtained the Gladstone Prize for 1903, consists of a series of interesting biographies of the five men who formed what was known in the slang of the day as The Junto, a word derived from the Spanish Junta, meaning an assembly. Curiously enough the number was the same as that which suggested the Cabal, of a slightly earlier period, that word, as is well known, representing the initial letters of the statesmen who composed it.

From a constitutional point of view the Junto is of great interest. It formed the beginning of the modern Cabinet, that is to say, a selection of men representing, not the different parties in the State, but the majority for the time being in the House of Commons. Up to this period the House might make, or refuse to make, a law, but it had no direct share in the government of the country. The result was evil. 'Its mood changed,' to quote Mr. Green, 'as William bitterly complained, with every hour. It was, in fact, without the guidance of recognized leaders, without adequate information, and destitute of that organization out of which alone a definite policy can come.' The suggestion of a change to somewhat of our present system, we owe to Sunderland, a man of little principle, and more than doubtful loyalty, but in this matter he certainly acted for the good of the nation. William it would appear took slowly to the idea, but was probably influenced in its favour by the nature of the material he had at hand, in this union of prominent men all bound together by the same views and interests, and in themselves capable of forming a strong Government. 'The binding force of the Junto,' says Mr. Lord, 'was its devotion to the principles of 1688.' These were the principles which had brought William III. to the throne, and which had kept him upon it. The five members of the Junto were John Somers, Thomas Wharton, Edward Russell, Charles Montagu, and Charles Spencer. Prominent in the reigns of William and Anne, they were less fortunate after the accession of King George. Within two years of its date (18 Sept. 1714) Somers, Wharton, and Montagu were dead, Russell spent the rest of his life in obscurity, and Spencer fell into political disgrace over the failure of the South Sea Company. Of these biographies the longest is that of Somers. Although the greatest man in the Junto, he was its least aristocratic member, but he did not spring, as Swift said he had, from the dregs of the people. His family had been men of landed estate for several generations. The son of a lawyer, it was by his legal ability that he first rose to fame. At the

trial of the Seven Bishops he made a weighty speech, which barely lasted more than five minutes; it must have been indeed a remarkable speech to have come from one of his profession. After the Revolution, to the success of which he contributed, he became the favourite minister of William, and although for a period following the accession of Anne, he was in opposition, he soon regained great influence. By Scotsmen he ought to be remembered as one who 'gave all his thought and energy to the great work of the union of Scotland.' Both Mr. Green and Miss Merz attribute its success largely to him. The latter says: 'his one desire was to make it entire and complete, and so enthusiastic was he that he corresponded with the ministers and the leaders of party in Scotland, which largely helped to reconcile them to the change.'

Wharton was one of the best hated of men, 'the most universal villain I ever knew,' says Swift. But Swift also spoke ill of Somers. Of Wharton's profligacy there seems no doubt, and it is somewhat curious that a man so exhibiting the vices of the Restoration period should have proved a successful minister in the graver times which followed the Revolution. But he had a great zeal for the Protestant Succession. Russell, a scion of the famous house of Bedford, had a naval career, and was, so to speak, the man of arms of the Junto. He was the hero of the Battle of La Hogue, but Miss Merz is not disposed to give him much credit for that. She says: 'his share in the victory can hardly be called a noble one, it was more a matter of chance than of will. He had tried to remain on good terms with both William and James; by underhand dealings he had been preparing to act traitor to William, and probably because of this he had not brought the French to action in the preceding year, in spite of considerable superiority of force.'

Perhaps the most brilliant of the Junto was Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax. Like Somers he was a patron of learning and of the Muses in those days when the Muses needed patrons. He wrote verses, admired by his own age, which admitted him to a place in Johnson's edition of the Poets, although the editor did not rate them very highly. Doubtless Montagu's patronage was of more value than his poetry.

Spencer, the youngest member of the Junto, was the son of that Sunderland who secured for it a political position. The father had shifted about in search of a safe policy, the Whiggism of the son was a 'violent and domineering passion,' but 'corrupt and narrow.' He was the only one of the five who retained a prominent position in the reign of George I. 'Considered,' says our author, 'either in his political life, or in his personal life, it is impossible to admire him. His personality and his career are singularly unattractive.'

Miss Merz writes intelligently. There is a certain amount of repetition, not easy to avoid in successive biographies of the same period. We have noticed only two mistakes. Who is Lord Macpherson? Russell was not the younger brother, but the nephew of the first Duke of Bedford. Had he been the former, he could not easily have been the cousin of the Duke's son, the political martyr, William.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN TWELVE VOLUMES. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M.A. Volume XII. The Reign of Victoria, 1837-1901. By Sidney Low, M.A., and Lloyd C. Sanders, B.A. Pp. xviii, 532. Medium 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

THE scope of the work has been deliberately limited by its projectors. It is a 'political' history, and the authors of this volume point out that the political history of the age does not always correspond to its widest movements—the national growth, material and moral, the advance in activity, in the knowledge and mastery of the forces of Nature, in civilization and in humanity.

Another limit has been set to this last volume. The picture is drawn on a scale reduced to half that of its predecessors. Volume XII. is the history of sixty-five years; volume XI., of the same bulk, is the history of but thirty-seven; volume X., of forty-one. Measured by its duration, the England of Victoria might have had, in proportion, two volumes. Measured by its greatness, its power, its influence, the number of its people and the amplitude of their conscious political life, by the fullness and minuteness of its public records, more.

But if the book has defects due to the plan prescribed for it, it owes many excellencies to the high accomplishments and the honest work of its authors. It opens with a short introductory summary or 'argument,' in which the reader is at once attracted and engaged by the clear and comprehensive view, the firm grasp, the felicity and accuracy in expression, of the writers. Here, as elsewhere in the volume, there is a happy example of the advantages of a literary partnership, in which mutual revision has ensured moderation and exactness, without obliterating charm and distinction of style. In these opening paragraphs the authors set down English foreign politics in the reign of Queen Victoria as having been hesitating and confused, and as having gradually resulted in England ceasing to regard herself as a European power, but rather as the head of an extra-European confederacy, more interested in the politics of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific than of Europe. And English domestic politics they describe as having seen the triumph of the *laissez-faire* system in trade and legislation. They find that the United Kingdom became a democracy, in the sense that political power passed into the hands of the majority; and that, for the first time, the country had a really constitutional sovereign, and a cabinet system working without impediment. But they are careful to add that, at the end of the reign, signs were not wanting that some of these attainments had already been modified, and that against others a distinct reaction was perceptible.

After this introduction the story turns to the accession of Queen Victoria, and the opening chapter tells of the election of her first parliament and the subjects which immediately claimed its attention; insurrection in Canada, the perennial trouble with Ireland, the Queen's marriage, the temporarily disastrous economic revolution caused by the introduction of labour-saving machinery, with the misery of the working-class, the migration from the country to the towns, the Chartist riots, the

growth of the free-trade propaganda, the failure of statesmen and politicians, absorbed in party controversy, to meet, or even to perceive, the needs of the country; the going out of the Whigs and the coming in of Sir Robert Peel. The second chapter is devoted to Peel's ministry, and the third chiefly to the victory of free trade. The remaining sixteen tell of the evolution of new political parties; the invention of the Empire; reforms, political, legal, and economic; the great figures that played their part on the political stage; Britain's many wars in three continents and her vast colonial expansion. They carry the history down to the death of the Queen and Empress in the first month of the new century.

There follows a single chapter on literary and social development, and the book closes with a brief and brilliantly written sketch of the condition of the English people at the end of the reign; the general advance in wealth, education, and refinement; the deterioration of fashionable society, the widespread eagerness for amusement and excitement, the vulgar worship of riches and disregard of all that did not make for pleasure or worldly success; the higher standard of comfort, but the deeper poverty of the poor; and, finally, a two-fold tendency—in circles of wealth and aristocracy to imperialism, among the industrial masses towards socialism.

The authors have been forced to much compression and omission, and the plan of selection they have followed is not always beyond criticism. They have told a great deal twice over, that is to say, both in the text and the appendix, and have given much space needlessly to the details of party votes, party forecasts of gains and losses, party victories and disappointments. They can only find two lines for the Volunteer Movement, but there is always plenty of room for Lord Beaconsfield's epigrams. No one can doubt that the writers wish to be perfectly fair. Yet they are not altogether unbiased, although they are seldom so misleading as when they describe Huxley as 'bitterly hostile to Christianity,' and include Sir Conan Doyle in their catalogue of authoritative historians.

But the chief defect in this political history is one which was unavoidable. It gives no sufficient account of Queen Victoria's part in the politics of her time. The selection from the Queen's Letters, published a few months ago, was too late to be consulted.

A conventional figure of the Queen has been established in the public imagination. The true figure, should it ever be revealed, will be found different, though probably not less heroic. The Queen Victoria of this history is the conventional Queen Victoria.

But in the Queen, of whom we get some glimpses in the Letters, the English monarchy was rather becoming genuinely constitutional than already become so. She inherited German ideas of royalty, such ideas as tinged the very bones of her most beloved and constant advisers, Stockmar, her uncle King Leopold, and her husband. For her, as for them, the Divine Right was by no means extinguished. When her people and her ministers were in favour of a free Italy, she protested that the attempts to overthrow the Sicilian despotism were 'morally wrong,' and, on the same principle, she and the Prince Consort were partisans of Austria against the cause of Venetia and the Duchies.

Writing to her ministers, she passionately appealed to the treaty of 1815, that already discredited compact of the European princes who met at Vienna after the fall of Napoleon to scramble for such territories as they could seize, and who distributed among themselves the possessions of the smaller states with no more regard to nationalities or ancient rights than Napoleon himself had shown. Austria had got some portions of Italy a hundred years before, as part of her plunder at the close of the war of the Spanish Succession. Now she laid hold of the States of Venice. The Italian people were consulted in neither case, and hitherto few had heeded their 'cries of anguish' under what Lord John Russell, in writing to the Queen, called 'Austria's ruthless tyranny.'

Against the Austrian doctrines of 1815, Lord John quoted to Her Majesty the British doctrines of 1688, and added that the power of sovereigns might be forfeited by misconduct, and that each nation was the judge of its own government. His argument made no impression, although by 1859 very different ideas of government and of humanity from those of 1815 had become current in Europe.

The published Letters are not given *in extenso*, they belong to a comparatively small period of the Queen's reign, and the portions selected for publication have passed through the winnowing hands of an experienced and discreet official of the court. No historian has yet been permitted to examine Queen Victoria's letters and official papers. But we now know authoritatively that they fill many hundreds of volumes, and that they form 'what is probably the most extraordinary series of State documents in the world' concerned with 'all the complicated machinery of the monarchy and the constitution.' No political history of the reign can be authoritative while what these documents have to tell is unknown.

The volume is furnished with two appendices, one on authorities, the other a complete list of the cabinets of the reign. It has an index, which rather disappoints by its omissions, and two maps, the second of which is not so clear as it might be.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF VENICE. By Horatio F. Brown. 2 vols. Vol. I., pp. xii, 366; Vol. II., pp. v, 349. Demy 8vo. London: John Murray. 1907. 18s. nett.

THESE comely volumes by an acknowledged master of his subject will mainly interest students who have progressed some distance along the Flaminian Way of historical research. Mr. Brown is too much of the archivist to darken the sober progress of his investigations with theories or generalizations, and the reader is usually left to draw his own conclusions from the framework of correlated evidence of which the more valuable of these Studies consist. The wider the reader's knowledge of European history, the more fruitful will be his conclusions. The wisdom of this self-denying ordinance of the author is realized when he neglects it, and attempts, with somewhat disappointing results, in the case of several studies, to pass beyond the political thought or methods of Venice.

To the beginner the history of Venice offers fewer attractions than most other fields; her life, if gorgeous, was impersonal and was pitched in a low key, with the note of fear for ever sounding. It is only when the student passes behind the bright curtain of romance, which to the casual reader constitutes history, and reaches the region where are fashioned the great institutions of the race, that he begins to taste the flavour of the dry ferruginous vintage, which was the product of the age long working of the cruel winepress of the Venetian Constitution. As the salt air of her lagoons plays havoc with the wines which Venice imports from the mainland, so on another plane the dry and calculating policy of her sons, always at work beneath her seemly and luxurious surface, has had an insidious effect on those who have served or opposed her. The Italianate Englishman, the *bête noire* of our National writers of the sixteenth century, was the Northerner who had sipped the poison of the Venetian spirit, and the contribution of the Republic to European thought and character is to be found not so much in the study of her internal history as in the portrayal of her influence on the course of Italian history and in the estimation of her contribution to the working out of the problems of political philosophy. The Venetian constitution and policy were completely developed and finally fixed at a time when the other states and forces of Europe were, with the exception of the Papacy, fluid and undetermined, and the interest of her future depended not on herself, but on her effect on younger and more generous growths. She represented the penetrating realism of the Italian spirit consciously limited to practical and material ends. This limitation leads the student of Italian history who has an inkling of the power of the National realism, when applied to more exalted aims, to pass on to a field where it received fuller scope. Returning to the metaphor contained in our first sentence, it may be said that the Flaminian Way, which in the realm of history takes a different course from that which it followed topographically, leads through Venice straight to the Eternal City. The study of Venetian history is but a halting-place on the progress to the study of the Papacy. No inquisitive mind can remain satisfied with the limited and grimly disillusioned handling of events and tendencies which constituted the contribution of Venice to Italian thought, and must pass on to the complete exposition of the National spirit which is to be found in the history of the Papacy. It is difficult to view Italian history from a Venetian standpoint without distortion, while in the history of the Papacy is to be found the key which unlocks the secret of the strange political development of the Peninsula. The same truth holds in the wider field of general history, where the conscious limitation of her activities to material ends prevented the Republic from being a formative force even in a region like the Levant, to which she specially devoted herself. The Papacy stepped into her *cuvée réservée*, and while she still sold the vintage the Pope had given it a new bouquet.

In this self-imposed limitation of the Venetian spirit lies the explanation of the corresponding limitation in the scope of Mr. Brown's

Studies. The Studies may be divided into two classes, those which deal with the relations between the Republic and individuals, and those which deal with general questions of policy. The first are usually excellent, notably the exhaustive study of the career of Carmagnola and the account of the relations between the Republic and Cararresi. The Republic set no limitations to herself in dealing with her mercenaries; she hired them, watched them, paid them, cajoled them, and strangled them. There was no discharge in that war between the terrible impersonality of the Venetian policy and the instruments which were used for its ends. To the same class belong the carefully articulated analysis of the Spanish Conspiracy of 1618 and the valuable account of the Venetian State Archives. The subjects of these Studies give full scope to their author's skill as an accomplished student of Venetian records; but when the reader turns to those Studies which deal with wider questions, he is somewhat disappointed. The want of grasp which one feels in some of the latter is probably due to the combination in a compressed form of special and valuable information from Venetian Archives and somewhat banal views on general questions. This defect may be attributed in part to the limited point of view of the Venetian Republic, to which reference has been already made. The historian is unconsciously influenced by his material, and long years of work in Venetian Archives have probably inoculated the author with the perfunctory attitude towards deeper and wider investigation which characterized the Venetian rule even when, as in the case of her commercial policy, her vital interests were at stake. A limitation of range almost invariably implies a corresponding limitation of depth, but with this reservation all the Studies merit careful perusal.

Mr. Brown has the art of happy characterization and is the master of an easy narrative style. An instance of the former is to be found in the portraits of Contarini, Sadoletto, and Reginald Pole, in the study which bears the name of the first. Again, the following description of Paolo Sarpi's style could not be bettered, 'It is a masculine, athletic style; a style of bronze, polished and spare. . . . His manner was precise, parsimonious, hard, positive, pungent.' Students have been too long satisfied to read Sarpi in Le Courayer's translation for the sake of the notes, and Mr. Brown's essay will not have been written in vain if it sends them back to the exhilarating Italian of the witty friar.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

MARSHAL TURENNE. By the author of 'A Life of Sir Kenelm Digby,' etc. With an Introduction by Brigadier-General Lloyd, C.B., D.S.O. Pp. xxiii, 401. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a very agreeable and entertaining book. It is no easy matter to write lucidly on strategy for the ordinary reader. Perhaps the author has succeeded so well because he is, as he tells us, himself an amateur in these affairs. He is quite free from the bad ambition to tell too

much, and he has taken the trouble to procure excellent plans. The map at the end is not so good. It is overcrowded with unnecessary names; and places so important on one occasion as Rain and Lauingen are not marked. He was wise in quoting so freely from Napoleon's criticisms: they greatly increase the value of the book. Napoleon thought Turenne the greatest of all modern generals before his time, and studied his campaigns minutely; for he recognised in his strategical marches a new development in the art of war, and he was well aware that since strategy is the permanent element of that art, its lessons can never be out-of-date. This is insisted on in the excellent Introduction by General Lloyd. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that which deals with the methods and implements of war in the seventeenth century. Among much that is good there are, however, some inaccuracies. The author has confused the 'Swedish feathers' first used by the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus with the forked gun-rests introduced about a century before; and this is the more surprising since he goes on immediately after to describe the real 'Swedish feathers.' 'Hargobusier,' too, on the same page (41) and elsewhere, is almost the only form the word does *not* take.

It would, of course, be impossible to write a life of Turenne without saying a great deal about the complicated politics and intrigues which occupied so many of the distinguished personages of the time. This is well done, and makes very interesting reading. But there are considerable defects to be noticed. It is scarcely fair to quote largely throughout from De Retz on the most important matters, and then inform the reader somewhere well on in the book (p. 154)—what is very far from true—that of course De Retz is only a gossip, and is not to be regarded as a witness. It is still harder that, when he is quoted, he should be quoted inaccurately, or mistranslated, as on pp. 18, 37, 38, and 140. The italicised words on p. 38 are a clean mistranslation, which gives the author's italics a point he did not intend; and De Retz's antithesis about La Rochefoucauld, *il n'a jamais été guerrier, quoiqu'il fût très-soldat*, becomes nonsense when rendered as on p. 140, 'he never was fit for war, though an excellent soldier.' *Dévotés* for *dévots* on p. 289 is also unfortunate. His account of the Fronde is, on the whole, well adapted to his purpose, but it is not free from blunders. To call the Parliament of Paris 'the French Parliament,' as he does several times, argues a considerable misconception in his own mind, and is bound to mislead many readers. This appears most clearly when he talks of that body 'dismissing' a minister of the Crown (p. 128)! Nobody would guess from reading this and some neighbouring passages that the Parliament of Paris was one of a number of Parliaments throughout France, and that all were simply close corporations of lawyers doing the judicial work of the country. Their likeness to the English Parliament scarcely extends beyond the name. They represented nobody but themselves; and it was an accident that made them, in the absence of a States-General, the only body to which the people could readily appeal. There are some errors of detail also.

Only two members of the Parliament of Paris, not four, were arrested before the 'Day of the Barricades.' There had been an arrest some time before, but then the number was five. On p. 129 we read, 'Mazarin blockaded Paris!' (1649). This quite misses the truth of the affair. What about Condé, who conducted the blockade? At that moment he was the hero of the Court party and controlled its actions, while Mazarin humbled himself almost out of sight. On pp. 134, 135 the author talks as if the New Fronde of 1650 differed from the Old by having certain nobles in its ranks. This is a very inadequate distinction; for most of the nobles he names were in the Old Fronde, and defended Paris against Condé—a point not brought out in his account of the Old Fronde.

The author writes better than most historians: with a certain familiar ease and life. Now and then, unfortunately, he is betrayed by his qualities into calamitous things like this on p. 54: 'if six was the quantity represented by Cardinal Richelieu, that represented by Cardinal Mazarin may be roughly estimated at half-a-dozen,' or like the staled metaphor on p. 135, where he tells us that 'the apparently ridiculous thin end of the wedge of discord had been jestingly inserted into the highest society of France'—a cutting jest! Now a man who can write so well has no business to do these things. I must not forget the excellent portraits. That of Turenne by Charles Le Brun is very fine, and finely reproduced.

G. S. GORDON.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Part III. By the Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Pp. xi, 530. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN's readers have come to look with genuine but unexcited expectation for fresh instalments of his book on the American Revolution, and the latest volume will cause no disappointment. Its author has long been recognized as a master of leisurely picturesque narrative and one of a great historical school, now unhappily dying out. In the present volume it is not the novelty of the views expressed, or the evidence of hard work at original sources, which wins the critic's approbation, but the calm, interested treatment of a great subject by one whose chief contribution to historical literature is his own point of view. It may be questioned whether Sir George has presented us with any new light on the events of 1777-1778; but he has given us a kindly, well-informed comment on facts that cannot lose their interest. His best work in the present volume—the Saratoga campaign, the winter in Valley Forge, or such an incident as Franklin's embassy to Paris—consists in reproducing, not too reconditely, but very humanly, the personal records in which the period abounds. He has drawn liberally, and advisedly so, on 'The American Archives,' and everywhere elaborates the broader historical events with sidelights from contemporary letters and diaries. We may see Mrs. Washington knitting stockings for herself and her husband; watch American generals intrigue and

scheme against their great leader, and follow the course of Burgoyne's heady eloquence, as 'Julius Caesar Burgonius' wrote, as well as fought, his fatal campaign. Everywhere the narrative is enlivened with passages of gentle irony, half-epigrammatic—judgments on men and on affairs, by an old parliamentary hand—as when he says of Gates that 'he was qualified by nature to make his way fast and far in any profession where advancement goes by favour'; or of a speech of Burgoyne's that the Indians 'relished the perorations, of which there were several in the course of the speech'; or of Louis XVI. addressing Franklin, 'on such occasions Louis XVI. seldom found much to say and never said the right thing.'

The most interesting chapters in a book which quietly, but firmly holds one's attention are those which deal with Saratoga, Valley Forge, and the Continental attitude towards American independence. The military passages are written with zest, and a fine discrimination in the praise and blame dealt out to individual commanders. Their only defect is that the eye for country and the vivid background of American landscape which one recognizes as the elements of Francis Parkman's greatness are not so clearly present here. Sir George Trevelyan does indeed draw from past and present geographical sources for the Saratoga campaigns, but no reader of Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* will be quite satisfied with the Englishman's rendering of Burgoyne's advance along that historic waterway, which had figured in the campaigns of the Seven Years' War.

It is interesting, as a sidelight on War Office methods in Colonial campaigns, to be reminded that perhaps the main reason for the surrender at Saratoga was simple and sheer neglect of obvious duty on the part of a British Cabinet minister. Burgoyne was depending on co-operation from the South as he advanced from Canada, and yet, as the author reminds us, the command to co-operate was never decisively given from England. 'On the twenty-sixth of March,' says Sir George, 'the London War Office transmitted to Howe a copy of the letter of instructions addressed to Governor Carleton and General Burgoyne, and that letter contained a sentence to the effect that the Secretary of State would communicate with Sir William Howe by the next packet. No such communication ever reached Howe.'

The European incidents are quite as charmingly rendered as the American. In a gentle and most readable manner Sir George passes from court to court, recalling Choiseul, Vergennes, Beaumarchais, and more notable figures, to our minds; nowhere achieving the highest architectural unity of design, but never failing to let us see the actors, to follow their motives, and to hear the verdict of a man of the world on their actions. One may indeed characterise the work as a relic of mid-Victorianism, with all the sound good sense, and social knowledge, and mild sententiousness of that epoch, and with not a little of the capacity for picturesque detail which marked that age of novelists; a species in literature too rare now to meet with anything but joy and approbation in critics, just a trifle bored with pretentious scientific probings into the unimportant new.

J. L. MORISON.

HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE ET SECONDAIRE EN ECOSSE PLUS SPÉCIALEMENT DE 1560 À 1872. Par Thomas Pettigrew Young, Docteur ès Lettres, Maître ès Arts de l'Université d'Edimbourg, ex-Lecteur d'Anglais à l'Université de Dijon. Pp. xi, 403. Imp. 8vo. Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1907.

THIS book, as the author tells us, is a history of primary and secondary education in Scotland, that is of education up to but not including the university standard. The main topics under review are pre-Reformation education dating back to St. Columba in 563, the Education Act of 1496, the subjects and condition of school instruction prior to and immediately after the issue of the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560, the confusion arising out of the multiplicity of grammars and the attempts to reach uniformity, the growth and influence of the parochial system, the rise of the burgh schools, school education in general from 1803 to 1900, and education in the Highlands. There is also a short chapter on the educational systems of Bell, Wood, Owen, and Stow. An excellent bibliography is appended and some interesting photographs of certain of the high schools of Scotland at various stages of their history. The work throughout is suitably illustrated.

The volume is written in French and intended primarily for French readers. This may to some extent justify the author in being throughout historical rather than critical. The one subject which receives adequate treatment is the parochial system. Here the author shows an accurate appreciation of the work of the Reformers, giving them full credit for what they did, and not falling into the common error of overlooking the fact that the nucleus of this system was in existence prior to the Reformation. His treatment of the burgh schools is brief and inadequate, and his reasons for brevity unconvincing. More might also be made of the transition from the control of the church to the control of the state. Further, the deliberate exclusion of the university limits the value of the work. In conclusion, it is interesting to note that in the chapter and appendix on Latin grammars, the author owes much—and acknowledges his debt—to the papers on that subject by Dr. David Murray which have been recently published in volumes xxxvi. and xxxvii. of the *Transactions of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*.

J. CLARK.

THE SPIRIT OF JACOBITE LOYALTY : An Essay towards a better understanding of 'The Forty Five.' By W. G. Blaikie Murdoch. Pp. 166. 8vo. Edinburgh : William Brown. 1907. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS little book bears evidences that it is the result of wide reading and very considerable thought. The author has been struck by the want of real understanding which has been shown by many writers of history towards the '45, which has led them to style the loyal devotion as 'decrepit affection for a dynasty,' and the Jacobites who took part in the movement as 'men in the mood for adventure, living in poverty at home, whose condition might possibly be made better, but could hardly, in any extent, be made worse.' He has therefore written this essay to show the nature

362 Murdoch : Spirit of Jacobite Loyalty

of the loyal spirit which was felt by those (or most of those) who followed Prince Charles's banner. He demonstrates that the three men who made the enterprise possible, Lochiel, Lord George Murray, and Lord Pitsligo, regarded the Stuart cause as a Religion, and, with success, that most of the Jacobites who 'went out' were neither venal nor self-seeking but believers in 'Divine Right.' Far from being an uncultured host, the prince's forces included poets, painters, lawyers, dreamers, and many men trained in the arts of war and peace, not only in the mountains, but in court and camp.

Though many of the Jacobites were Lowlanders, the writer admits that the rising of the '45 was in the main a rising of Highlanders and so influenced by Gaelic tradition, and thus he is led to examine more particularly the causes which made the clansmen Jacobite. Mr. Blaikie Murdoch is an admirer (apparently whole-hearted) of the Irish Celtic revivalists, and we need not follow him in his citations of their praises, but he shows that among the Highland clans, the love of the past and its traditions, the belief in destiny, and the vague idealism, all helped to make the Jacobite cause the one for which so many Celts were ready to sacrifice all and show such wonderful fidelity. The rest of the work refutes (if it is necessary) the charges of want of discipline brought against the Highlanders. We think the author perhaps exaggerates the sinking of clan feuds in the Jacobite army, but he brings many cogent examples of extraordinary humanity and discipline. The book ends with a review of the flickering hopes of the Jacobites, and the wonderful and beautiful loyalty of some of the survivors of the '45 to the ideas and vanished ideals of their youth for which they had sacrificed so much.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By Thomas Hughes, S.J. Documents. Vol. I. Part. I. Nos. 1-140 (1605-1838). Pp. xvi, 600. S.R. 8vo. With Maps and Facsimiles. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s. nett.

THE collection of original documents illustrative of the History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal, satisfies our most sanguine expectations. Though only the first part is before us, it forms, so far as it goes, a complete body of evidence in support of the religious history of North America after the colonization of Newfoundland, Virginia, New England and Maryland, recently given us by Father Hughes and noticed in this *Review* (v. 229-31). With the original documents now before him, the student is not dependent on the editor's deductions in the introductory volume, but he can read for himself and form his own estimate of the evangelistic enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries in the West. These originals, which cover the period from 1605 to 1838, are skilfully arranged in a documentary apparatus, comprising the correspondence of the Jesuit General in Rome from his own autograph register, letters of papal envoys in the Vatican, and a heterogeneous assortment of Jesuit documents collected from various sources in Europe and America. Preliminary papers relating to the early colonial period,

Hughes : History of the Society of Jesus 363

1605-1633, are followed by certain documents of an administrative character bearing on American affairs from 1629 to 1744, to which are added controversial documents of a civil nature, which throw a welcome light on the dispute which raged so long between the secular authorities and the Jesuit missionaries on questions of property and civil disabilities.

In the arrangement of this vast mass of historical material, the editor has had an excellent opportunity for the display of his critical judgment, and few readers will feel disposed to take exception to the plan that has been pursued. A thousand documents, he says, running on continuously, did not promise a sufficient organic unity, unless we divided them analytically into parts or members, and added illustrative observations to make a synthesis of the whole, organically complete. It is for this analysis that our thanks to the editor are due, that is, for bringing the subordinate parts together under separate headings and inserting a connecting thread of historical explanations as we travel from one department to another. The wisdom of this arrangement becomes apparent when the author had to deal with the period, 1773-1805, during the interval of suppression when the Jesuits may be said to have no history.

From the nature of the subject and the thoroughness with which it has been treated, it may well be imagined that this volume of original documents supplies an important contribution to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. We are present at the laying of the foundation and we watch the progress of the building. From time to time it is possible to catch glimpses of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, secular and regular, relations of church and state, lay and ecclesiastical trustees, the rise of secondary education, the limitations of seminary and liberal studies, and a host of other constitutional and subsidiary matters of great interest. The editor's candour in supplying such a wealth of papers and documents cannot be too highly commended.

JAMES WILSON.

THE LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE CONSTITUTION. Third edition. Vol. II. The Crown. Part I. By Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L. Pp. xxxii, 283. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE two well-known volumes of this standard treatise are in process of transformation into three. The frequently consulted volume on the Crown, of which the second edition has for some years been out of print, has now been split into two, of which Part I., corresponding to the first four chapters of earlier editions, has now appeared in an enlarged form. Notable additions are made to the chapter on the Councils of the Crown, the author claiming to have 'been able to throw some fresh light on the beginnings of Cabinet Government'; while there is a new introduction, in which stress is laid on recent changes in the actual working of the constitution since Walter Bagehot described it in the days of Lord Palmerston. Sir William Anson, in modifying opinions expressed in earlier editions, is confessedly influenced by the recent work of Mr. Sidney Low on the

Governance of England, who has perhaps exaggerated the differences between the Constitution as it was previous to 1867, and as it is to-day.

W. S. M^cK.

In *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* (pp. xxv, 272. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett), Abbot Gasquet publishes a second edition of a work which, appearing in 1893 under the title *The Great Pestilence*, has been received as a standard treatise on the subject for England. The book traces the plague in its approach to British shores, and contains accurate information of its progress throughout the various English counties; but does not follow its devastations into Scotland.

The *English Historical Review* (January) opens the year with a study by Mr. J. F. Baldwin on the history of the King's Council from Edward I. to Edward III., showing the many changes brought about, chiefly by the fluctuating power of the Crown, and illustrating the necessary conclusion that the Privy Council of the later period was not a separate organisation but a continuation. Miss S. Kramer on 'The amalgamation of English mercantile crafts,' collates important facts of guild history in the greater towns of England. The Master of Peterhouse reviews *Queen Victoria's Letters*, and Mr. R. L. Poole discussing undated charters of Henry II. offers data as tests of date, which give the paper value for its propositions in diplomatic.

Notable in the contents of *The Reliquary* for January are representations and descriptions of various magnificent reliquaries in the Cathedral Church of Saint Antonio at Padua. Two of them belong to the fourteenth century and are simple figures of a saint and a bishop, but the others are achievements of the silversmith's art in the first half of the fifteenth century. Among these—all remarkable—the Censer of Sixtus IV. is indeed superb. Other themes of this number are tapestries made from designs by Rubens and some Essex brasses with good types of legal and lay costume. That of Sergeant Thomas Rolf (1440) has an inscription, *Es dedit ipse satis miserisque viis mamlatis*; translated, 'Large sums in charity he spent: the lepers were relieved.' One wonders whether the *viis* may not rather mean a grant for the repairing of roads—*ad emendationem viae*—a common subject of such bequests.

The Genealogist for January deals with the Glynns of Glynn, whose armorial salmon spears connect the family with a ford over the Cornish river Fowey.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset in December congratulated itself, as we do, on its completing twenty years of existence. It shews a very vigorous readiness to enter on its third decade, which we trust will be fortunate. A number of useful items are printed illustrative of Somerset bell-founding in century xvii.

In the *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (May-July, 1907) Lieut.-Gen. Tyrrell briskly sketches the history of the relations between Russia and Persia, beginning with an Arab description of tenth-century Russian piracy and coming down to international politics of last century. Episodes of Russian experience in Persia include astonishingly close parallels to some of our own in Afghanistan.

In the *American Historical Review* for January, Prof. G. B. Adams writing on the origin of the English constitution, lays emphasis on the contribution of Magna Carta, in transferring from the feudal to the modern State the principle that there is a body of law above the King. He insists on the principle itself coming from feudalism. Mr. A. B. Hart has a Scottish subject, which he handles briskly, pictorially, and critically. It is of John Knox as a man of the world that he writes. The great impression made on this writer by the Reformer's career and writings is that of his immense personal force and democratic influence—though Mr. Hart is no worshipper and can see the unlovable side.

The *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Feb.) sees the conclusion of M. Bédier's study on the historical part of the legend of *Raoul de Cambrai*. It establishes a notable relationship of the romance with the monastery of St. Géri and with a Countess Adelaide, mother of a Count Raoul. Besides it indicates less clearly influences from and upon records and legends of other monasteries in the Cambrai region. There is a most circumstantial account of the assassination in 1617 of Marshal Concini, favourite of the French queen-dowager, Marie de Medici. Among British subjects discussed is the tennis-ball episode between Henry V. and the dauphin before Agincourt. This is the theme of a German student, O. Emmerig's dissertation. The critic, M. Bémont, does not seem to be convinced by the author's relegation of the incident to the realm of myth. Another review is an estimate of M. Jacques Bardoux's *Essai d'une psychologie de l'Angleterre contemporaine*, which describes the 'two great phenomena, a violent reaction in favour of protectionism, and an energetic forward movement of the Radical party.'

In a later number of the *Revue* (March-April) M. Achille Luchaire begins a close study of the fourth Lateran Council held in 1215—a great assembly, including representatives of Scotland, as appears from an official list of the time recently recovered and edited by M. Luchaire. Matter of Britain very notable was part of the business, and the autograph chronicle of Matthew Paris contains a marginal sketch of the council. Magna Carta was one of the affairs of the hour, and especially the Archbishop Stephen Langton's part in procuring it. The bull confirming his suspension is discussed along with the parallel incident of the Pope's refusal to approve the election of Stephen's brother as Archbishop of York. A number of letters of Hotman, the famous Protestant jurist and political writer, dating from 1561 until 1563, attract attention by their vigorous comment on the civil war of religion which was imminent in 1561, and broke out in France in 1562. Some references of Scottish

interest occur. On 19th March, 1561, some three months after the death of Francis II., Hotman writes that the Guises appear to have designs on the crown of France, that they are intriguing with Philip II., and that 'people talk already of betrothal between the Infanta of Spain and the Queen of Scotland.' On 6th August, 1561, he writes, 'The Queen of Scotland is returning to her country. She goes by Calais, and will not touch the English coast. She is conducted by two of the Guises, the Grand Prior and the Marquis d'Elbeuf. The Duke of Guise accompanies her as far as Calais, but the Cardinal does not go on so far.' Sturm, rector of Strasbourg, classical scholar and acquaintance of Buchanan, is equivocally mentioned in May, 1562, in terms which advise Protestant distrust, for Hotman says he is believed to be attached to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he wrote letters under the name of Alexander Montanus.

The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* often illustrates the commanding place of Napoleon in the memory of France. Last year, besides the elaborate itinerary (which has not yet run half its course), there was a criticism of his art of war. His two favourite modes of battle are described thus in a review of Lieut.-Col. Camon's *La Guerre Napoléonienne*: 'On the principal theatre of his operations Napoleon might have the real superiority, or he might not. In the first case he would throw his army on the rear of the enemy and take him at one stroke (*d'un seul coup de filet*): in the opposite case he would seek to take between the different fractions of the enemy a central position from which he could manoeuvre to crush them in succession.' More striking and interesting from a psychological standpoint is a notice of M. Gonnard's *Les Origines de la légende napoléonienne*, in which are surveyed the captive Emperor's explanations of himself, given at St. Helena. 'His acts,' says the critic, 'were what they had been. He never dreamt of denying them or of withholding his recognition of responsibility for them. What alone he was anxious to tell was the *pourquoi* of his acts.' Some of these Napoleonic explanations of Napoleon are curious enough: 'Il a été le défenseur du principe des nationalités.' 'Pacifique, il n'a fait la guerre qu'à son corps défendant.' These are not the most remarkable of the *raisons supérieures* of his life, as expounded by him at St. Helena when he was thinking of posterity and recalling (as the critic, M. Ernest d'Hauterive, expresses it) to his last companions the memories of his incredible epopee. In a review of a work on *Paris en 1814* (Paris, Emile-Paul, 1907), M. Courteault accords warm praise to the *Journal d'un prisonnier anglais*, reprinted in the volume. The *Journal* was the work of an amateur artist, T. H. Underwood, a clear-headed and well-informed observer, not friendly to Napoleon. Long resident in France as a political prisoner, he saw things for himself, and his diary is judged as historic in the first degree.

Queries and Replies

LE DANDRY AND DEYCES. In the last volume issued by the Worcestershire Historical Society (James Parker & Co., Oxford) is a paper by Canon Wilson, giving a transcript of the accounts of the officials of the Priory of Worcester for the year A.D. 1522. On p. 30 we read, in the accounts of the Infirmarius, 'De quibus computat solutum domino priori in ffesto exaltacionis sancti crucis 3s. suppriori 2s. 3d. precentori 2s. 3d. ac 39 aliis monachis quilibet eorum 18d. et sic in toto . . . £3. 6s. 0d. Et solutum domino priori 4d. suppriori 4d. precentori 4d. cellerario 4d. infirmario 4d. rectorario 4d. le dandry 4d. et duobus deycis 8d. ac 33 aliis monachis quilibet eorum 2d. et sic in toto . . . 8s. 6d.'

What were the offices indicated by the titles *le dandry* and the *deyces*?

LOWLAND TARTANS. What proof is there of the antiquity of any Lowland tartans? From the researches of Lord Archibald Campbell and others there is no doubt that the Highland clans had, and used, their own distinctive tartans several hundred years ago, but apparently in conjunction with the kilt, which was practically unknown in the Lowlands.

A work entitled *The Tartans of the Clans and Septs of Scotland*, published in 1906 by W. & A. K. Johnston, gives nearly twenty coloured plates of tartans alleged to belong to essentially Lowland families, but one would like to know if one of them can be proved to have existed 150 years ago.

I append a list of some of these Lowlanders whose right to an ancient tartan seems to be based on fallacy: Armstrongs in Liddesdale; Chisholms and Cranstouns in the Borders; Cunninghams and Kennedys in Ayrshire; Dalzells in Lanarkshire; Dundas, Elliots, Hays, and Hamiltons; Cockburns in Berwickshire, East Lothian, etc.; Homes in Berwickshire; Kerrs, Lauders, and Scotts in the Lowlands; Johnstones, Maxwells, Montgomeries, and Hope-Veres.

Two of the oldest Lowland families are missing from this list, Setons and Swintons; do they not claim tartans?

So long ago as 1796 and 1798 there were articles in the *Scots Magazine* on Highland dress, kilts and tartans, and great doubts were cast on the antiquity of any Scottish tartans. After the '45 it is well known that Highland dress was proscribed by Act of Parliament, and tartans were destroyed, dyed, or laid aside till 1782, when the Act was repealed. Clan

tartans thereupon began to reappear, and it seems probable that there was then a great revival of patriotic spirit which induced even Lowlanders to acquire a tartan in the, perhaps, laudable idea that they, too, must have had one at some time, and so many were thereupon invented.

Sir Walter Scott had no faith in Lowland tartans, as is shown by one of his letters to Mrs. Hughes, written in 1825.¹ Mrs. Hughes had evidently made an enquiry on behalf of the Duchess of Buckingham, and Sir Walter, after referring at length to the Highland tartans, says: 'I do not believe a word of the nonsense about every clan or name having a regular pattern which was undeviatingly adhered to, and the idea of assigning tartans to the Douglasses, Hamiltons, and other great Lowland families has become so general that I am sure if the Duke of Buckingham had asked at some of the shops in Stirling or Edinburgh for his own family tartan they would not have failed to assign him one!'

In the volume on Scottish tartans published about 1842 by John Hay Allen, *alias* John Sobieski Stuart, there is a list of Lowland clans (with their tartans) comprising Armstrongs, Cranstouns, Cunninghams, Dundas', Hamiltons, Homes, Johnstones, Kerrs, Lauders, Maxwells, Montgomeries, Scotts, and Setons, but I understand that this work cannot be taken very seriously. It is to be noted that Chisholms, Cockburns, Dalzells, Elliots, Hope-Veres, and Kennedys are missing, but that the Seton family is included.

Messrs. Scott, Adie & Co., whose Scottish warehouse in Regent Street, London, is well known, possess a bulky volume containing tartans (actual cloth), supposed to be about a hundred years old, but of Lowland families only Chisholms and Cockburns are represented.

Possibly some reader acquainted with the old collection of tartans which exist, I believe, at Moy Hall would say if any Lowland tartans are to be found there.

H. A. COCKBURN.

92 Eaton Terrace, S.W.

DEDICATION OF DRUMMELZIER CHURCH. The chapel of Drummelzier, which after the Reformation became the parish church, was situated in its burying-ground near Merlin's grave, on the right bank of Powsayle water, a short way above where it flows into the Tweed. Who was the patron saint of the place of worship? Was it Saint Kentigern?

J. M. MACKINLAY, F.S.A. (Lond. and Scot.).

GEORGE BUCHANAN LETTER.—In the *Catalogue de lettres autogr. provenant de la succession de Vollenhoven*, Leiden, 1894, No. 257, is mentioned a letter from George Buchanan to Phil. Marnix de Ste Aldegoude, dated 2nd Nov. 1576. This letter has not been printed. I should be glad to know where the letter may be at present.

ALBERT ELKAN.

Hamburg, Harvestehuderweg 64.

¹ *Letters and Recollections of Sir W. Scott*, 1904.

Printers to the University of Glasgow 369

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. At pp. 457-9 of the first volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*, I gave some notes concerning the various printers of whose official connection with Glasgow University I had been able to find any record. At the same time I asked for any information that would help to make the list of College printers complete. Now, after nearly four years, comes the first response to this appeal in a note from Mr. J. C. Ewing, of Baillie's Institution, calling my attention to the following intimation in the *Glasgow Herald* of Friday, 28th July, 1809:

At Glasgow, on the 21st instant, Mr. John Scrymgeour, bookseller, and printer to the University.

Beyond this statement, I have been able to get but little information about Scrymgeour. The Mitchell Library list of Glasgow printers knows not his name—that is to say, no book from his press is to be found on the shelves of the library. Presumably he is one of two brothers who are entered in the Glasgow Directory for 1803 as

Scrymgeour, J. & J., booksellers, New Circulating Library, 99 Glassford Street.

Before the issue of the Directory for 1807 one of the members of the firm had probably died, for the sole entry under the name in the year's list is

Scrymgeour, J., printer and bookseller, 6 Hutcheson Street.

Early in October, 1809, the trustees on the estate intimate, in an advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald*, that some of the books belonging to the circulating library have not been returned; and borrowers are informed that if brought back at once no charge will be made for the extra time the books have been withheld. In the same advertisement the trustees intimate that the valuable library is still undisposed of, and they invite offers for it. Up till the end of the year, however, no announcement is to be found in the *Glasgow Herald* of any successor in the business, though booksellers a century ago were much more enterprising advertisers than their successors of the present day. This is not a very large contribution to the history of the University printers, but it helps to fill up one gap, and one may live in hope of a complete list by and by.

West Princes Street, Glasgow.

WM. STEWART.

ST. WILLIAM, KING OF SCOTS, SURNAMED THE LION (*S.H.R.* v. 248). With reference to the engraving of William the Lion printed from the *Rutland Magazine* in the last number of the *Scottish Historical Review*, Mr. J. L. Anderson writes to point out that an engraving of this portrait appeared in *Archaeologia Scotica*, 1831, vol. iii. page 298. General Hutton, in his letter to the Society of the 22nd October, 1821 (which is also printed in the same volume), when he presented the copy from the original portrait, from which copy the Society's published engraving was reproduced, states that the copy was

made a few years previous to 1821 from the original fresco, the dimensions of the original being about four feet in height, by about two feet nine inches in breadth. The engraving in *Archaeologia Scotica* differs in many details from that published in the Review (*S.H.R.* v. 248) but clearly they are both from the same original.

JOHN KNOX AND RANFURLY. In his paper on Scottish students in Heidelberg (*S.H.R.* v. 74), Mr. W. Caird Taylor refers to the question whether John Knox, the Reformer, was descended from the Knoxes of Ranfurly?

All we certainly know about the Reformer's parentage is contained in a passage in his *History*, where he says, speaking of an interview with Bothwell, 'For my lord my grandfather, goodsher, and father have served your Lordships predecessors, and some of them have died under their standartis.' (Laing's edition of *Knox's Works*, vol. ii. p. 323.)

In David Buchanan's editions of the *History* (both published in 1644) he gives instead of 'my grandfather, goodsher, and father,' 'my great grandfather, gudesher, and father.' Laing (*Knox's Works*, vol. i. xlii) points out Buchanan took 'unwarrantable liberties' with the text.

Dr. M'Crie in his *Life of Knox* adopts Buchanan's version (*Life*, edition 1814, vol. i. 339).

Buchanan (in the 'Life of Knox' prefixed to the *History*) was the first to state that Knox's father was 'a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie,' but he quotes no authority. The same statement has been made by various subsequent writers, for example, Nisbet, *Heraldry* (p. 180); Crawford, *Renfrewshire*, part ii. pp. 30 and 139 (published 1782); Matthew Crawford's 'Life' prefixed to his edition of *Knox's Works* (1732, p. ii); Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, 177; and M'Crie, vol. i. pp. 2 and 339. These writers most probably relied on what Buchanan had said. They quote no authority.

Dr. George Mackenzie (*Writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. iii. p. 111) was the first to contradict Buchanan, merely saying, 'His father was not a brother's son of the house of Ranfurly.' David Laing (*Knox's Works*, vi. pp. xiv-xv) and Hume Brown (*Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 5) both give it as their opinion that there is no evidence to support the statement of the relationship.

In 1896 Mr. William Crawford, a lineal descendant of the Reformer, published under the name *Knox Genealogy* a Genealogical Tree of the Reformer's family. The Tree was found in the repositories of the Rev. James Knox of Scone. Mr. Crawford does not seem to know, at least does not tell us, by whom it was framed.

The Tree begins with the Reformer's father, who is correctly stated to be 'William Knox.' His designation, 'Laird of the Lands of Gifford,' is clearly wrong. These lands never appear to have been in the hands of a Knox. For long before the Reformer was born they belonged to a family of the name of Gifford, and were carried by marriage into the family of the Hays of Yester, to whom they

still belong. (Paper by John Richardson in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iii. part i.) Mr. Crawford admits in his introduction that the relationship of the Reformer to the Ranfurly family is disputed. He says Ladyland, which belonged to the Ranfurly family, was part of 'Ranfurly.' It was a $2\frac{1}{2}$ merkland they possessed in the parish of Kippen, Stirlingshire, originally acquired apparently in 1655.

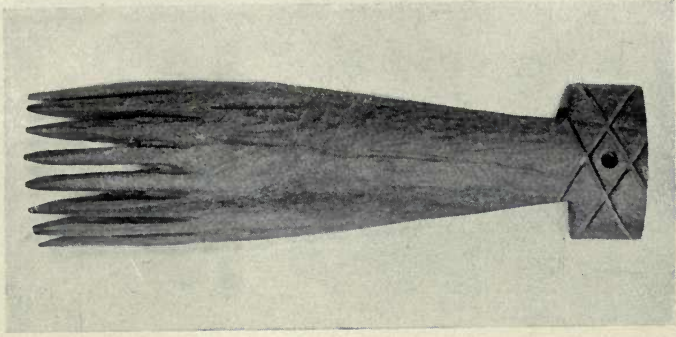
John Knox says his ancestors were vassals of the Bothwell family. Now, it is certain the Ranfurly Knoxes were never in that position—they held their lands from the Stewart Prince.

The Ranfurly family seem at one time to have had a good deal of property—partly in Renfrewshire, partly in Stirlingshire, partly in Ayrshire, but they do not appear to have been an illustrious family, and why some should be so eager to link the Reformer on to them is difficult to understand. They were probably not the oldest family of the name in Renfrewshire.

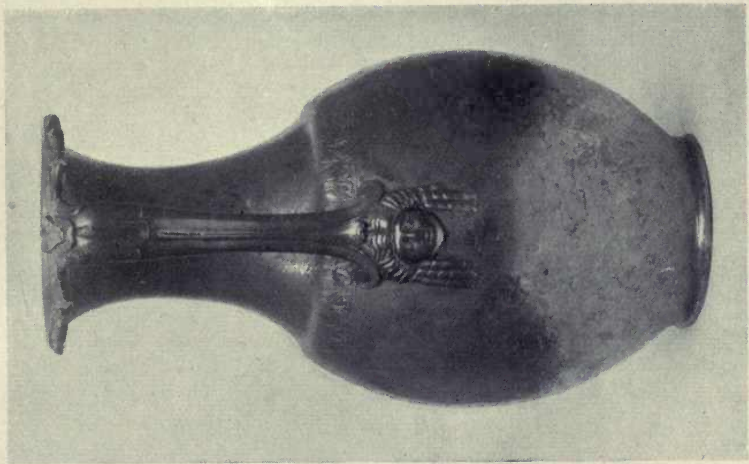
HORATIUS BONAR.

Notes and Comments

THE Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by its President, Sir Herbert Maxwell, has issued an appeal for subscriptions (which may be sent to Mr. James Curle, Priorwood, Melrose, or to Dr. Joseph Anderson) towards a fresh fund for the exploration of the Roman station at Newstead, near Melrose. The generous response made to a previous appeal resulted in very satisfactory progress being made, and in discoveries most important to Archaeology, which Mr. Curle briefly describes in a well-illustrated note annexed to the circular, with a reference to his article in our columns (*S.H.R.* iv. 443). The chief work of 1907 was the uncovering of the remains of a large block, which formed the Baths of the Fort. It was possible with some certainty to work out the four phases of occupation. The successive phases were: *First*, a small bath-house lying on a concrete foundation, which may be attributed to the period of Agricola's advance; *second*, a greatly enlarged building with spacious halls, extending to the west; *third*, a reduction in the size of the whole, in which this extension was abandoned and the building cut in two by a ditch, while the portion nearest the Fort was surrounded by a defensive earth-work lying on a cobble foundation; *fourth*, a period in which the ditch was again filled up, but of which the traces are much less definite than are those of the other three. The excavation of the Baths produced some interesting things. The coins were numerous, and presented a series from the Republican period down to Marcus Aurelius; Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan predominated as elsewhere. Several fibulæ and an engraved cornelian, with a figure of Helios, were got. The most important find of the year, however, came from a great pit, which had no doubt served as a well for one of the earlier occupations. At the bottom of this well, which was 20 feet in depth, there lay three bronze camp kettles and a beautiful bronze cœnochoë with a decorated handle; near the latter lay a large rake. Slightly higher were a number of iron hub-rings, a stylus, a strigil, a bone cube belonging to a set of dice, an iron lamp, a bowl of coarse earthenware, a fragment of a charred oak beam, a human skull, the visor mask of a helmet (*S.H.R.* iv. 448), a sword—the short heavy blade of the legionary,—another sword doubled up but still retaining the greater part of its bone hilt, and portions of two other swords. The ditch cutting the Baths in two, as well as the ditch lying immediately beyond it, were cleared out. The inner ditch must have been post-Hadrianic, as

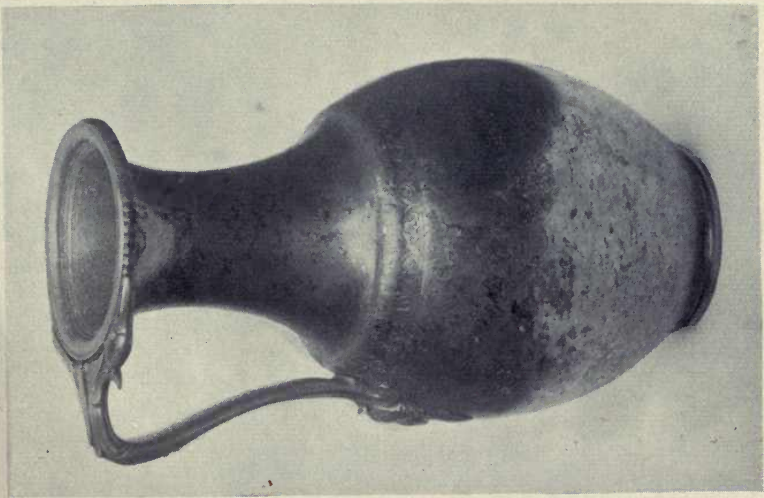


WEAVING COMB.



GENOCHOË OF BRONZE.

Found at Newstead.



one of the coins of that Emperor was found at the bottom. A coin of Faustina the Elder, found near the surface of the filling, probably indicates the limits of its period. The ditch produced a number of fragments of pottery with potters' names, notably those of **CINNAMVS** and **DIVIXTVS**. It also produced Castor ware. A small silver chain with pendants, representing a crescent and a wheel, was an interesting find. The first occupation ditch along the west front of the Fort was also further prosecuted. The portion to the south of the west gate produced many tent-pegs, pieces of leather, pockets, shoes, a writing tablet of pine-wood, worked deer horns, tools, knives, a pair of compasses, shears, a weaving comb, a brass torque, a camp kettle, and coins of the Republic, of Vespasian, and of Domitian; besides a considerable number of pieces of pottery, including some very fine fragments of decorated bowls. So much has been obtained from Newstead to illustrate the history of the Roman advance that it is desirable to leave none of the possibilities of the site unexhausted. The portions of the ditches of the first occupation, so far as untouched, should be cleared out, and some portion of the great ditch of the later occupations should also be examined. The results obtained from the first occupation ditch on the west side are sufficient proof of its importance; it belongs to a comparatively short period at the end of the first century, and thus gives a rare opportunity for establishing a series of the pottery of that period. The clearing out of the later ditch might assist in determining whether the second occupation of the Fort belongs to the Antonine period, or whether it must be placed earlier in the second century. And there is the cemetery of the Fort still to be found, which in all probability lies somewhere on the margin of the homeward roads beyond the south annexe. Professor Haverfield has recently referred to the Newstead excavations as 'truly epoch-making.' He points out that the 'discoveries of individual objects, such as armour, are already unique,' and adds that, when the 'work is done, it will form a great contribution to our knowledge of both Roman antiquities and Roman Scotland.'

THE helmet-masks recently found at Newstead, one of which was figured in *S.H.R.* iv. 448, have evoked a suggestive and important exposition by Dr. George Macdonald in the *Scotsman* of Feb. 26. He begins with a description, emphasising their ornamental character, the thinness of the metal, and the arrangements for attaching a crest and plumes. A patch and the remains of a leather lining are noted as indicative of regular wear. The metal, however, is beaten far too thin to parry a serious blow. No soldier who had to fight for his life would have consented to shut himself up with such scanty provision for hearing and breathing freely; gladiatorial helmets disinterred in the gladiators' quarters at Pompeii are of entirely different shape and make, and much more business-like. The Newstead masks must belong to a very small but distinct group, including the famous Ribchester helmet in the British Museum, a visor and head-piece of thin beaten copper from the Black Forest, now in the Stuttgart

*The
Newstead
Helmet-
Masks.*

Museum, and two visors and a head-piece of gilded bronze now in Vienna. The known examples, about half a score in all (first satisfactorily collated by the late Prof. Benndorf), are without exception of too unsubstantial construction to have ever been used in actual warfare. But, although the masks cannot have been worn in battle, they yet belonged to the soldiery.

Mr. Curle's observations make it practically certain that the Newstead helmets are to be assigned to the end of the first or to the early years of the second century A.D. About that time a Greek author gives us a most illuminating glimpse of camp life among the Romans, which, rightly applied, can be made to furnish an unmistakable key to the puzzling helmet masks. In 136 A.D. Arrian, in his treatise on contemporary tactics, picturesquely described the 'gymnastic exercises' of the Roman cavalry. The lists were prepared on a level expanse of ground. In this there was marked out a great square, with a surface as soft and fine as possible. Arrian proceeds: 'The riders enter the arena arrayed in helmets of bronze or iron, gilded to attract the particular attention of the onlookers, wherever the wearers are specially conspicuous for rank or for skill in horsemanship. These helmets, unlike helmets for real battle, are not designed to protect merely the head and the cheeks; they are made exactly like the faces of the soldiers, with openings at the eyes, wide enough to afford a view of what is going on, and yet not so wide as to involve exposure. Attached to them are yellow plumes, which are not meant to serve any useful purpose, but are simply for ornament; and, when the horses gallop, the plumes show to great advantage, waving in the air under the influence of the slightest breeze. The horsemen carry shields, too, not of the sort they take into battle, but lighter (the object of the exercises being smartness and display) and gaily decorated. Instead of breast-plates they have Cimbrian jerkins, closely resembling breast-plates in cut and shape, but coloured—sometimes scarlet, sometimes purple, sometimes in many hues. Then they wear hose, not loose as is the fashion among the Parthians and Armenians, but fitting tightly to the legs. As for their steeds, their foreheads are carefully screened by frontlets, but their sides do not need any corresponding protection; for, although the javelins used in the evolutions have no heads, they might injure the horses' eyes, while they fall harmlessly against their flanks, particularly as the latter are, in large measure, covered by the saddle-cloths.'

This passage carries an enlightening explanation of the helmet-masks. The more closely they are examined, the better do they seem to fulfil the conditions required. The iron head-piece from Newstead has attachments, not only for a crest in the centre, but also for plumes at the sides. Furthermore, an inscription shows that the garrison of the fort included Gaulish cavalry. 'It would have been strange indeed,' writes Dr. Macdonald, 'if the men of such a regiment had neglected what was for them a national form of sport. In brief, we may be sure that, not once, but many times during the years of occupation, the Eildons looked down on just such a pageant as Arrian portrays.

One can imagine how it would have stirred the spirit of the great wizard who sleeps hard by in Dryburgh, could he have known that the banks of his beloved Tweed had over and over again witnessed a spectacle that may fairly be regarded as the precursor of Ashby-de-la-Zouche.'

The significance of this is heightened when, with Dr. Macdonald, we follow Arrian's descriptions of these cavalry games. The company of brilliantly attired horsemen rode into the lists in squadrons, each headed by a standard-bearer. Some of the standards were ordinary Roman ensigns. Others were Scythian pennons. The Scythian pennon was a flag made of bright-

*Roman
Cavalry
Sports.*

coloured cloth in the shape of a serpent. As the horse quickened its pace to a gallop, the snake shook itself out to its full length, and sometimes positively hissed as it was borne swiftly through the air. The squadrons executed a series of the most complex evolutions—always, apparently, at full speed. They wheeled in circles and darted in lines, now in this direction, now in that. The initiative rested with the standard-bearers, who were specially chosen as the finest riders in the regiment. With the rest it was a game of 'follow my leader.' If one ensign came in contact with another, or if two horses collided, it spelt failure, and the whole array was thrown into confusion. These preliminary evolutions safely over, the squadrons changed their formation and embarked upon a set of exercises in which the headless javelins and the light shields played a conspicuous part, but in which skill in horsemanship was also put to the severest test. Then followed a similar display with blunted spears, it being a rule that a spear was always to be levelled against an opponent's shield, never against his helmet, which was not strong enough to resist a vigorous stroke. Finally the troopers assumed the full panoply of genuine war, and engaged in competitions directed towards proving their dexterity in the handling of various weapons. At one point the whole regiment was ranged in order, and the muster-roll called over. As each man heard his name, he had to answer 'Adsum' in a loud voice, and dash forward as fast as his charger could carry him, holding three short spears in his hand. The first of these he threw from the extremity of the lists at a mark fixed in the base of the raised platform. The second he hurled in the same direction—still galloping—from a position where his aim was perforce much more oblique. The third was reserved for another mark of which he caught sight for an instant as he wheeled his horse to gallop back to the starting-point.

'In its pomp and circumstance all this,' concludes Dr. Macdonald, 'is wonderfully like the Middle Ages, when the supremacy of the cavalry arm made tournaments fashionable everywhere. Can a direct connection between the two be traced? Any attempt to answer the question would open up a fresh line of inquiry, and carry us too far from the Newstead helmets. But a single remark may be permitted. There is good reason to believe that France was the cradle of the medieval tournament, and it

*Medieval
Chivalry:
a Question.*

was in the same district of Europe that the "gymnastic exercises" which Arrian describes had their origin. He expressly states that they were borrowed by the Romans from the Celts, by whom, of course, he means the Celts of the Continent, for it was from the Gauls that the Romans of the early Imperial period learned almost everything they knew about horses.'

It is a question of extraordinary interest which our learned contributor thus raises out of the Newstead masks. He has laid stress on some things in Arrian well deserving it: and there are others. Thus Arrian mentions that the shields, as well as the helmets, were lighter than those used in war, and were apparently parti-coloured—the phrase Latinised, *ad voluptatem variegata*, having a smack of heraldic possibilities. The 'dragon' banner was known to both Normandy and England at the Conquest and long afterwards. (See *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 149 for an illustration.) But the most interesting point of all is the insistence of Arrian on the skill of the wheeling horsemen, the speed and grace with which they rode in varied convolutions round each other in the lists. This offers beautiful confirmation to the history of our word tournament, for the French etymologists are clearly right in associating *tournoi*, the tourney, with *turnoyer*, to turn round and round, and in deriving both from Low Latin *tornare*. Answer is happily forthcoming to Dr. Macdonald's inquiry after a direct connection. When the oath of Strasbourg was celebrated in 842, the Gaulish horsemen made a display, described by the contemporary historian Nithard (in Bouquet's *Recueil*, tome vii. p. 27) with spirit and sufficient detail. Ranged in opposing battalions, they charged and re-charged, brandishing their spears, swiftly advancing and retreating in mimicry of battle, with such horsemanship that, in spite of the great number of riders, there was never an accident. Nithard says the performance was worthy of the occasion, and a noble spectacle. His account bears close comparison with Arrian's stirring picture, which Dr. Macdonald has so skilfully utilised to no less a purpose of history than to establish at last through the helmet-masks of Newstead the essential continuity in medieval tournaments of the games of Gaulish cavalry serving in Scotland under the Roman invaders. Thus Arrian overthrows the story of the 'invention' of tournaments told in the Chronicle of Tours under the year 1066.

THE Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland has begun its labours. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., is chairman, and the other members are: Lord Guthrie, Professor Baldwin Brown, Dr. Thomas H. Bryce, Mr. Francis C. Buchanan, Mr. W. T. Oldrieve, Mr. Thomas Ross, with Mr. A. O. Curle as secretary. The object of the Commission is 'to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization, and conditions of life of the people in Scotland from the earliest times to the year 1707, such as: (1) Sepulchral cairns and other burial places;

*Preservation
of Ancient
Monuments.*

(2) forts, camps, earthworks, brochs, crannogs, and other defensive works, either overground or underground; (3) stone circles and standing stones, and rock surfaces with incised or other sculpturings; (4) architectural remains, ecclesiastical and secular, including sculptured or inscribed memorials of pre-Reformation times; (5) architectural or other monuments of post-Reformation times which may seem to the Commission desirable to include, and to specify those which seem worthy of preservation.' In the first place, a list is to be prepared of all the recorded monuments in Scotland as shown on the Ordnance Survey sheets and described in general books of reference. Thereafter the list will be extended by the addition of particulars of monuments not on record. Then a detailed inventory will be prepared, each county being taken separately. The Commission is to visit the various counties and report on the character of all the monuments and their general situation, noting the local names and describing their characteristics. A final duty will be to report as to which of the monuments are worthy of preservation. Interim reports will probably be made, after the manner of those issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Thus we may anticipate a skilful and attractive compilation of much matter of the highest archaeological interest. One important feature necessary for the equipment of such a work is not mentioned: the preliminary notices say nothing of illustrations. Illustration here, however, would in many cases be easy, and in not a few would be almost imperative.

BORN in 1852, Mr. James Dalrymple Gray Dalrymple of Woodhead, F.S.A., first became a familiar figure in antiquarian circles on his taking office as Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1877. To that Society he rendered services so great that it is no over-statement to say that he was virtually its re-founder. For five-and-twenty years he was the most faithful and zealous of Secretaries. President from 1904 until 1907, he occupied the chair during the Society's jubilee celebrations in 1906, in commemoration of which he instituted the Dalrymple Lectureship in Archaeology in Glasgow University. An ardent freemason, an indefatigable traveller, an archaeologist keenly interested in architecture, ecclesiology, heraldry, and genealogy, his erudition was extensive, and found expression in numerous topographical, descriptive, and historical papers, contributed to the various Scottish antiquarian societies. His death (Feb. 8) after a few weeks' illness was unexpected, and the occasion of much regret. Besides providing for the endowment and management of the Lectureship in Archaeology, his will contains a residuary bequest to be administered by representatives of the Society of Antiquaries, the Glasgow Archaeological Society, and the Ecclesiological Society, for the purpose of the repair and restoration of historical buildings. Special resolutions appreciative of his varied services,—not in archaeology merely, for he was a man of generous public spirit,—have not only shown a wide sense of the loss sustained through his death, but also indicate a particular degree of personal regard.

*J. D. G.
Dalrymple.*

MR. R. C. BOSANQUET, Professor of Classical Archæology in the University of Liverpool, who was appointed Dalrymple Lecturer in Archæology for 1908 in the University of Glasgow, delivered (Jan. 20-31) a course of lectures on 'Recent Discoveries in Greek Lands.' In introducing the Lecturer, Principal MacAlister referred to the generous founder of the lectureship, Mr. Dalrymple, and to his well-established reputation as an archæologist and fosterer of antiquarian study. Professor Bosanquet sketched in historical outline, made luminous by a splendid series of lantern views, 'The Heroic Age: Crete and the Mainland.' He illustrated some of the leading discoveries made during the past ten years in Greek lands, pointing out how greatly the interpretations of ancient history had been modified by the excavations in Crete, Asia Minor, and Greece. There were five lectures: I., 'The Heroic Age: Crete and the Mainland,' tracing the history of Crete from the Bronze Age down to the Dorian conquest. II., 'Athens and Sparta before the Persian Wars: their Relations with Ionia,' containing an account of the origin of the Spartan discipline and the reversion to primitive simplicity as a result of the Persian conquest of Ionia.' III., 'The Story of a Local Sanctuary: The Temple of Aphæa in Ægina.' IV., 'Delphi, and the other Pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries,' describing Delphi, Olympia, and Delos, and devoting much attention to the town of Delphi, the Sacred Way, the Treasuries, and specially to the monuments of Victory as a record of political rivalry and a historical illustration of (1) the triumph of Greece over Persia; (2) the victory of Sparta over Athens and her allies; and (3) the downfall of Sparta and the foundation of Messene and Megalopolis. V., 'Some Hellenistic Cities,' dealing with Priene, Pergamon, and Delos as types. These three cities, the lecturer said, illustrated three periods in the development of the Hellenistic city.

The lectures were well attended, and made an obviously popular inauguration, which gratified Mr. Dalrymple himself not a little, although he was unfortunately too ill to witness it, and died only a few days later.

THE Gypsy Lore Society founded to promote the study of Gypsy History, Language, Customs, and Folk-Lore is on the defensive against an apprehended attack upon the wandering race by a combination of the governments of Europe against them. Negotiations, it is alleged, have been in progress between France and Switzerland with the object of expelling the gypsies from Europe, and an international conference is to be summoned for that purpose at Berne during next summer. Germany and Great Britain are said to have already accepted invitations to send representatives. The Romany have caustic champions, who think we have not advanced very far from the barbarous ideas which prescribed the punishment of death for gypsies and those who consorted with them. They declare that while the savants of Europe are co-operating to rescue the fragments of Romany language and

folk-lore, the statesmen are conspiring to wipe out the last traces of the Romany themselves from the Western Continent. The Society's Journal, in the face of this danger, promises a defence of Gypsydom with historical examples of abortive attempts to 'civilize' the race. The Hon. Sec. of the Society, 6 Hope Place, Liverpool, is appealing for an increase of the membership to stiffen the sinews of the campaign.

THE lectureship founded to commemorate in Glasgow the late Dr. James Finlayson was inaugurated by a historical discourse given (Feb. 26) by Dr. Norman Moore, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Sir Hector Cameron (presiding) paid a genial tribute to Dr. Finlayson's memory, not only as a physician, but also as biographer of Maister Peter Lowe, founder of the Glasgow Medical Faculty in 1599. Dr. Moore took for his subject the *Schola Salernitana*, a riming Latin collection of opinions or dicta on the preservation of health, on the uses of herbs, and on the remedies for some diseases. A compilation reflecting early medieval knowledge, the work bore the name of the famous medical school of Salerno, in Italy. The medium of verse employed was of course a common expedient long before and long afterwards as an aid to the memory. A pleasing digression by the lecturer drew special attention to a Scottish writer. Scotland had several medical poets, one of the chief being David Kinloch, who wrote in the sixteenth century on medical subjects. He practised his profession in France, was a loyal subject of James VI., and was proud of his native country and of the achievements of his countrymen in arms and in literature. That was shown by his declaration that no other race could equal the Scots in spirit or in battle, and that the ancient Romans, when they had subjugated most of the world, were routed in Scotland. Medicine in Latin verse was part of the literary inheritance of Scotland. Returning to the *Schola Salernitana*, Dr. Moore showed its wide popularity throughout the middle ages, and gave some account of twenty-five copies examined by him in British libraries. The book was first known in England in the time of Henry III., and had been often translated—into most of the languages of Europe, including Gaelic. It gave a list of foods to avoid and foods to eat, such as new-laid eggs, red wine, and rich broth; bread and cheese were recommended. A chronicle was given of remedies for poisons, and two sections on affections of the eyes, ears, toothache, sea sickness, hoarseness, colds, fistula, and so on. There were sections on the practice of bleeding, on the seasons, on the humours of the body, and on the importance of pure air. There was much about herbs. Violet, which had been asserted in these modern days as a cure for cancer, was given as a remedy for drunkenness, depression of spirits, and epilepsy. Bleeding was recommended nearly everywhere and for nearly everything. Referring to one of the English translations which came from a printing press in Grub Street, Dr. Moore said the rime was seldom better than was associated with the place of its publication. The place of composition of the original was invariably stated to be Salerno, and the date the twelfth

century. The verses were sufficiently in accord with the books written and the books read at Salerno to make it reasonable to accept that great school of medicine as the place of origin. When it appeared first had never been ascertained. It would be possible to trace many of the verses on food to some earlier book. The *Schola* was evidently a compilation or collection, and not the work of a single man, and its original object was to supply maxims in the practice of medicine.

IN *Green's Law-Book Circular* for January, a facsimile is given of an account in the ledger of Bell & Bradfute, from 1790 until Sir Walter Scott's Books. 1793, for books and bookbinding. It is that of 'Mr. Walter Scott Jun^r Advocate George Sq^r.' Dr. James Colville contributes an interesting commentary on the literature thus indicated, as the foundation of Scott's future fame, then little thought of.

1790.

Jan^{ry} 12. To [Binding] Pitscotties history of Scotland „ „ 10

1792.

May 4. To No 1829 Evans Collection of old Ballads. 4 vol cr. 8vo bound - „ 14 „

1793.

June 28. To Dalrymple's Remarks on the History of Scotland. 12°. bound - - „ 4 6

Aug^t 14. To Burns's Poems. 2 vol. cr. 8vo, bound and gilt - - - - - „ 8 „

These are suggestive entries among others which Dr. Colville briefly and shrewdly annotates as material used by Scott while 'making himself.' The little paper is a valuable peep at the beginnings of the poet and novelist—not at all of the sheriff. Literature, not law, is the note of the young advocate's bill, always paid promptly 'By cash in full.'

AN extraordinary duel story forms an incident in an article by Felix Meyer in the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* for July last, on Jewish the treatment of the Jews in Hainault in the fourteenth century; 1326. century. The Jews in England had been expelled in 1290. In September, 1306, the French Jews, similarly thrust out of their land of birth by Philip the Fair, received permission to sojourn for a time in Hainault, so that a settlement of many families took place under the protection of Count William. They prospered until 1322, when one of those terrible accusations common in Europe against the race was made against a young Jew, William, a court favourite and a godson of the Count. This was the affair of Cambron Abbey, where an image of the Virgin was found to have been shockingly disfigured, and a heavy clamour against the young Jew arose in consequence. At first abortive, it revived with still more furious vehemence four years later, when an old paralytic blacksmith, John le Febvre, had a vision in which the Virgin appeared instigating him to avenge the insult to her effigy, and bidding

him fight the Jew in the lists. Sanction duly obtained, the strange duel was fought at the gate of the park at Mons before a vast concourse, including Count William and his court. 'The Jew,' says the old historian of Mons, 'was armed with a baton and a buckler charged with little bells in order to make fun of the good old man, who was clad in white sewn with crosses, and had a shield in his left hand and a baton in his right.' The battle began, and the smith, despite his palsy, struck so fiercely that the first blow knocked the baton out of the Jew's hand, with the result that in stooping to recover it the latter laid his head open to a stroke which left him prostrate and scarce conscious. It was an all sufficient proof of guilt, and the Count, stopping the combat, executed the Jew at once with the becoming indignities and tortures for such cases made and provided by medieval law. The miracle of Cambron gave rise to a whole literature, including the poem of an early trouvère, who describes how they made the field with stakes and rope

Tant que on eut le camp fermeit
Destackiet [*i.e.* palissadé] bien et cordeit,

how valiantly John bore himself that day, and how worthily he made pilgrimages afterwards. M. Meyer does not advert to Dr. Lea's allusion to this duel in his *Superstition and Force* (4th ed. 1892, p. 210), nor does he notice in his list of authorities that the famous Olivier de la Marche, late in the fifteenth century, gave it place in his *Livre de l'advis de gaigne de bataille*.

DUELS and a variety of still more curious things in the old social life of the Low Countries are prominent in another article in the *Annales* (Oct. 1907) from the pen of M. Ch. Petit-Dutaillis. That distinguished archivist, under the general heading *Documents nouveaux sur l'histoire sociale des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle*, edits a group of fourteen pardons or letters of remission granted from 1438 to 1466 by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, for various crimes, prominently for homicides, the circumstances of which cast much light on the habits of private life during the period. The tavern has its frequent corollary the 'querelle de cabaret.' In a dispute over a damsel (somewhat discreetly described as 'une jeune femme querant son pain') Ostelet, one of the Duke's archers, ordered the lady contumeliously out of the house. 'To which Pierre replied that by the dear God he would like to see the man that would put her out.' An endeavour to gratify Pierre's aspiration led to Ostelet's being stabbed by Pierre and to a more serious retaliatory slash with a great knife whereof 'ledit Pierre est alé de vie a trespas.' Another slaughter in hot blood has its origin traced back to the tavern. The innkeeper, jealous of his neighbour, Christian le Cloot, forbade him the hostel 'whereto the said Christian answered that he would go so long as they sold beer there.' It came at last to a regular fight. The innkeeper went to his garden for a stick and soon encountered Christian (who was equally provided with a cudgel) to such effect that Christian shortly thereafter 'terminated his life by death.' These are sample

15th
Century
Pardons.

incidents narrated in the remissions, which differ from those usual in this country at the same time in their greater fulness—a feature which adds so much to their illustrative force. M. Petit-Dutaillis acutely sums up their historical value—the naïve savour of the conversations, the relations of classes, and the atmosphere of a troubled time. Reproducing the statements of the people concerned, the narratives are the more important because they are ‘neither the verbiage of the chronicler nor of literature.’ They are emphatically from the life; and we are glad that the editor of these examples has others to come.

No issue of the *Analecta Bollandica* could well contain a more curious and valuable contribution than that of Hippolytus Delehaye on the *Purgatory of St. Patrick*. Pilgrimage of Laurence of Pasztho to the Purgatory of St. Patrick. Patrick, in an island of Lough Derg, County Donegal. It appears in the January number of this very learned quarterly, and consists of a short account of the legend, a survey (almost a bibliography in foot-notes) of recent discussions of it, an enumeration of recorded pilgrimages made to the place down to 1497 (when under papal order the Purgatory was destroyed), and finally a hitherto inedited—although not unknown—text which records a visit made in 1411.

Perhaps no odder notarial instrument exists than this, in which James Yonge, imperial notary and citizen of Dublin, by desire of divers worthy men in that city took down a ‘Memoriale’ of what the pilgrim told. Nor was the source wholly oral, for the document incorporates sundry credentials of the pilgrim. Sir Laurence Rathold, a knight and baron of Hungary, bore with him a commendatory letter from Sigismund, his king, dated 10th January, 1408, setting forth his generous birth, his courtly nurture (*in nostra aula regia*), and the devout motives of his journey to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, as well as to the Irish place of marvel. Our notary quotes it bodily and tells us, in the manner of his tribe, that it is not feigned, but authentic—which is probably more than can with certainty be said of the knight’s visions which follow, although they also have direct and indirect documentary vouchers. For the primate of Ireland, in December, 1411, also granted a letter confirming and incorporating another from the Prior of the Purgatory, whereby all the faithful of Christ were certiorated not only of the knight’s visit to the *spelunca* and his sojourn for a day therein, but also of the tribulations he sustained from unclean spirits, and the divine revelations which atoned for all his trials. Moreover, the cautious notary took a letter from the knight himself which sets forth briefly the motives of the pilgrimage and its happy results in quite satisfying some scruples the knight had had about the substance of the soul, as well as gratifying him with the sure experience of the marvels and miracles of the saints of Ireland.

What notary in our degenerate day ever had such a chance for such a Memorial? In fifteen short, clear, always lively, and sometimes thrilling, chapters the knight’s tale is set down. It begins with his arrival in Dublin and his devout visit made to the Church of the Trinity and its relic, the ‘baculus Ihesu.’ After a gracious reception by the primate, Nicholas,

archbishop of Armagh, he in due course, after much prayer and fasting and waiting for spiritual signs, journeys to Lough Derg, and receives the directions of the prior as to the mode of entering the purgatory, and the devotional observances necessary. He had a candle which, on account of the narrowness of the underground passages of the cave, was cut into nine pieces. Sprinkled with holy water and signing himself with the cross, he entered fortified with various relics and precious stones. It was St. Martin's day, about the sixth hour: the sun was in Scorpio, the 27th degree; the moon was in Libra. The knight's first vision appeared to him when he reached the second cave: two malignant spirits advanced invisibly upon him and pulled him back again and again until they were put to flight by the sign of the cross and the invocation of Jesus. Second came another demon in the guise of a most venerable pilgrim with a long beard, who denounced as frivolous and false the Christian faith, but who, like the first visitant, fled at the sign of the cross and the word of prayer. The third enemy took the more captivating form of a noble and beautiful woman, but the knight withstood her voluptuous words, and so clearly showed her what he knew about her that Satan, in her shape, 'irrecoverably disturbed,' retired in shame. The fourth and last vision—no impostor this time—was a goodly personage in a green robe and a red stole, who spoke Hebrew and disclosed himself as Saint Michael the Archangel. He not only showed to the knight innumerable souls in torture, including many of his own kith and kin, but also gave him sound doctrine about their liberation and the mitigation of their pains. By this time it was the next day, near the third hour after noons; the sun was in Scorpio, the 28th degree; the moon was in Libra; it was the year 1411. The prior opened the door of the cave, and the knight, who had now burnt the last of his nine fractions of candle, stepped out into the open an unharmed and happy man, while the prior also was glad in the Lord.

Thanks to an able Bollandist, supplementing the Bollandist editors of 240 years ago, the tale of the Hungarian at last sees the light also. It only remains to say that there are distinct confirmatory evidences of the remarkable visit of which the notary heard, saw, and noted so much. In particular, there is a contemporary letter by Antonio Mannini, who was a companion of the Hungarian in the adventurous journey, which had difficulties and dangers enough without reckoning the terrible subterranean experiences which were for both men at once the object and the climax of the pilgrimage.

FRENCHMEN and Germans alike are devoting much study to the examination of literary influences as attested by direct indebtedness of great authors to the work of previous writers. In the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* M. Ant. Uhler traces many proofs of the great effect of Montaigne on a profound spirit so different from his as that of Pascal. M. Eugène Rigal sets himself in a spirit of debate to answer an author who affirmed that of all the romantic poets who drew upon Byron 'Hugo is the one who owes him the least.' Perhaps M. Rigal's strongest instance to the contrary is in the fact that

*Indebtedness
to literary
predecessors.*

on so French a subject as Napoleon the French poet took conceptions and phrases from Byron. M. Virgile Pinot next establishes that Voltaire's *Orphelin de la Chine* drew part of its plot from Mrs. Aphra Behn's novel *Oroonoko*—the story, first published in 1698, of the lovelorn and magnanimous negro whose 'very little religion' but 'admirable morals' Prof. Walter Raleigh has described as in the spirit of Rousseau long before Rousseau. But for Scottish interest we must turn to Professor Kastner's article in the *Modern Language Review* for October last on the Scottish Sonneteers and their borrowings from the French and Italian poets. Drummond of Hawthornden, Alexander of Menstrie and Montgomerie, are the sonneteers whose sources are disclosed or commented upon in Prof. Kastner's valuable dissertation. Drummond has been already shown to be in direct debt to Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, and Marino. Further parallels add Sannazaro (whom Bembo ranked 'nearest to Maro') and Tebaldeo to the list among the Italians. Among the French Prof. Kastner deals principally with Desportes, to whom he tracks Drummond's sonnets, ix, xiii, xx, xxiv, xxxii, xxxvi, of part first, and ix and x of part second, as well as at least six of the sonnets of *The Flowers of Sion*. Many citations of passages of some length side by side convince the reader that Drummond conveyed much from his models, practising the while the same art of concealing his art of translation and adaptation, as that of so many Elizabethan Englishmen. Drummond is not often a thrilling poet, but he seldom attains the frigid if pious flatness of Alexander, some of whose hidden springs are uncovered by Prof. Kastner. Citations again convince that he imitated and adapted Joachim du Bellay, Ronsard, and Desportes. Soundly critical, Prof. Kastner's view of the relations of these poets to Italian sentiment and Petrarchan conceit compels acceptance of his conclusion that their methods betray a want of inward touch and that the estimate of their poetic talent tends to decline. Yet the loss is little and there is material gain in the proofs, bringing home to us what French critics call the return to Italianism, which—a characteristic first of the French poets and afterwards of the Englishmen—was to display itself also in Scotland alike in political philosophy and in literature.

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On the Danish Ballads

ONE¹ great difficulty about the ballads is to understand how they have kept so many of the old fashions of poetry along with so much that is new. Their matter and phrasing are in many respects very ancient. Yet the ballads of Northern and Western Europe are not among the oldest poetical remains; they are centuries later than the old heroic poems in alliterative blank verse, such as *Beowulf* or the poems of the 'Elder Edda'; and they are not only later than these, but they are cut off from them by one of the most decisive revolutions in history—the change from the old alliterative verse to the rhyming measures introduced from France. English and Danish, they have alike forsaken the old national Teutonic forms and taken up the French modes, which came in along with the new dances (*Caroles*) in the twelfth century. But the new ballad measures—the French measures—are often used for very old themes, and always with very old devices of expression. How is one properly to understand this poetic growth, in some things so ancient, in metre and rhyme so absolutely new? The difficulty comes out most clearly when the ballads are compared with Anglo-Saxon poetry or with the 'Elder Edda.' There are no extant Anglo-Saxon ballads; and though the heroic poems of the 'Elder Edda' are like ballads in many things, they are much more ambitious and self-conscious, much more literary, than the *Folkeviser*. How is one to account for the change?

¹ See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 357 (July 1904), for article 'On the Danish Ballads,' by W. P. Ker.

Part of the answer is that the change is there, whether you explain it or not ; there is one order of poetry in *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, another in the volumes of Grundtvig or Child. The difference is one that spreads further, and is found everywhere when the tenth century is compared with the thirteenth or fourteenth. No change in the course of history, no Renaissance or Reformation, is so momentous for England and the Northern nations as the change from the older, more purely Teutonic ideas to those of later medieval Christendom, and great part of this revolution is implied in the change of language from an older to a newer type (from 'Anglo-Saxon' to 'Middle English') and in the gradual adoption at the same time of Romance poetry in place of the older German.

This revolution meant progress in some ways, but not universally in all. A great deal was lost and damaged. The Teutonic civilisation of the North had gone far on lines of its own, *e.g.* it had its own systems of grammar and rhetoric, and used them intelligently to good purpose ; it had its own ideals of freedom, decency, and the religion fit for a gentleman. Then came a French conquest of the North, which did not need any political Norman conquest to carry it through. The University of Paris, the French romances that King Hacon of Norway admired, the new carols, the doctrine of courtesy—these and many other tides and influences made a new world of the North ; the ideas of the 'later Iron Age' were discomfited, even in Iceland, though they are still to be found there, *sub specie aeternitatis*, in the glory of the Sagas. The Northern nations were severely tried by the change, particularly those which had invested most of their capital in the old order of things, *viz.* Norway and Iceland. In these countries it might almost seem as if their devotion to the old Germanic ideas of freedom had brought down upon them the Prince of this World and his vengeance. Norway, just after it had seemed to be one of the great powers, a strong new monarchy under Hacon, went practically out of existence, and from its high politics, its diplomatic correspondence with France, Castile, and Aragon, sank back to its own firths and valleys and the secular business of timber and codfish, giving up the great game for many hundred years. In Denmark and Sweden political life was vastly stronger, but there was no great strength in literature—apart from the ballads. If the ballads are inferior—as they certainly are inferior in ambition and conscious art—to the

old Northern poetry, this may be only part of the general depression of spirit which is noticeable in other respects in the North, from the thirteenth century onward—*e.g.* in the dying-out of the Icelandic historians; the sterility of authorship in Denmark, after the time of Saxo; the greed and anarchy of the Swedish nobles, and the passive acceptance of Germanic intrusion in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.¹

In other parts of history also one hears of emptiness and exhaustion at the close of the Middle Ages, and the decline of Northern literature is not the only thing of the sort. Provençal poetry died about the same time as Icelandic prose; and in Germany, too, after the glories of the Hohenstaufen age there begins the great dearth and monotony where few explorers find their way.

But the ballads are not to be compared with the things that are merely decrepit in the later Middle Ages, the flat moralities, the droning romances, the unceasing, meaningless rhymes. Though they are often childish and illiterate, and touched with the common weaknesses, they are not simply degraded versions of old noble legends, and they cannot be understood by means of any such theory.

They have somehow or other discovered for themselves a form of poetry which is alive, and quite unlike the tedious reiterations, 'abortives of the fabulous dark cloister,' which are so common towards the end of the Middle Ages—Pastimes of Pleasure, and other such misnamed and miscreated things. It is a lyrical form, and, though it was a borrowed form from France, it seems to have taken up, like a graft rose on a briar, the strength of an obscure primitive stock of life, so that the English and the Danes and their kindred were able to sing their own native thoughts and fancies to the French tunes. This may sound mysterious, but it cannot be helped. A mystery may be a positive fact, like any other.

To get at something rather more definite, we may try to classify the ballads—to distinguish between (1) the ballads that have something like them in older Northern tradition, before the introduction of the French ballad measures, such, *e.g.* as *Hagbard and Signy* or the *Finding of Thor's Hammer*; (2) the ballads that are most closely related to the Southern group, French, Provençal, etc. (*v. sup. S.H.R. i. p. 366*); (3a) the

¹Cf. Sars, *Udsigt over den norske Historie*, part 3, *passim*, and especially c. i., on the Hanseatic usurpations.

ballads that are suggested by real events, like *Chevy Chase*; and (3*b*) the ballads that take their plots in a vaguer and less historical way from real life, such as those of cattle-raiding on the Border, or of combats, *e.g.* *Johnnie of Braidislee*, or of daring lovers, like *Lochinvar*—very numerous in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.¹

1. There is no absolute separation between the older poetry, represented in the North by the 'Elder Edda,' and the later rhyming ballads. Some of the ballads repeat stories that are found in the older poetry, or that are known from Saxo Grammaticus to have existed once in an older form; particularly the ballad of *Thor's Hammer*, which corresponds to the *Lay of Thrym* in the 'Elder Edda,' and has been studied and illustrated in great detail by two eminent Norwegian scholars;² the ballad of *Child Sveidal*, which corresponds to two old Northern poems; and *Hagbard and Signy*, a story given by Saxo, and lately described by Dr. Axel Olrik in a fine essay³ bringing out the difference between the older heroic and the later romantic way of looking at the same matter.

This sort of transposition or translation from an older to a newer poetic form is well known in Germany in the rhyming versions of old heroic themes; in the North also the story of Sigurd and Brynhild passes into rhyme, not with the broad diffuse narrative eloquence of the *Nibelungenlied*, but in the proper mode of the lyrical ballad.

There is so little extant of the old Northern heroic poetry—it all goes easily into one volume—that one may fancy there once were ancient versions of other ballad plots as well, and there are still traces of some of them. The *Hávamál* includes among the adventures of Odin one where he is not triumphant, but defeated as shamefully as the *Baffled Knight* of later comic tradition.⁴ It is a strange place to find a story which would seem to be more at home in its later dress and situation, in D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*. But there are several other documents which prove that *fabliau* plots were well appreciated in the older German days, long before the French or the

¹ There are symptoms of cross-division in this, but less than might be thought; the cross-cutting is chiefly between groups (2) and (3*b*), and most of it can be cured.

² S. Bugge and Moltke Moe, *Torseisen i sin norske Form*, 1897.

³ *Tilskueren*, 1907, p. 57 sqq.

⁴ See Child's *Ballads*, No. 112; Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser, 230, 231.

Italians took to writing comic stories. There are old German-Latin pieces with Swabian japes in them, and these, with the Latin *Unibos*,¹ which is *Big Claus and Little Claus*, make it fairly certain that there were many other such things, many more things known and current than ever were put down in writing, and more things written than we know of. 'This may seem to be a truism, but it is nevertheless true,' as the man said in the Schools; it is a commonplace which is sometimes ignored by literary antiquarians, who will argue freely (on occasion) that things not extant can never have existed.

The earlier books of Saxo, founded on poems and stories—Danish and Icelandic—about the year 1200, show what a rich amount of romantic stuff was available then, just at the time when the new carol and ballad fashion was coming in from France. We know that some of his stories—*Hagbard and Signy*, e.g.—appear as ballads; it is at least possible that other ballads come from old poems which existed in Saxo's time, though they are not included in his history.

So the origin of some of the ballads may be explained, as translation from the old Northern heroic age to the fashion of the new poetry, the rhyming verse and its refrain which came in along with the French *Caroles*.

In Icelandic books of the thirteenth century one can see, here and there, how the two fashions meet. The new way is exemplified in the *Sturlunga Saga*, in rhyming phrases quoted there, in the ballad burden:

mínar eru sorgir þungar sem blý.

While at the same time the older kind of verse is readily used, for all purposes. There was a time when the popular songs of Norway were in Scaldic verse—precise, artificial. King Sverre quoted one of them, ironically and most effectively, on the lukewarm politics of Norway:

ætla-ek mér ina mæro
munnfagra Jórinni
hvegi er fundr með frægjom
ferr Magnúsi ok Sverri

—which, roughly, might be rhymed thus:

Let Magnus and Sverre debate as they will,
But the lips of Jorunn have my love still.

¹ Grimm and Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jh.* 1838.

Sverre, the amazing person of genius—who might, one imagines, have talked on equal terms with either Cromwell or Charles II.—Sverre rather enjoyed this lyrical epigram on his own most serious affairs; he could stand aside from his own game, even when everything was at stake, and watch the temper of the average Norwegian man who did not care for politics. He had tags of poetry in his mind; at another time he quotes one of the old poems of Sigurd. There are about forty years between Sverre's Scaldic quotation and the Icelandic satirical rhymes on Lopt and Sæmund (1221), which show the new fashion coming in:

Lopt is in the islands
Picking the puffin's bone,
Sæmund in the highlands
—Blaeberries alone.

About forty years later still (1264) comes the ballad refrain already quoted. So one gets, roughly, some few signs of the meeting and rivalry of the two orders, the native old Northern and the new foreign measures—much as one sees the old-fashioned Danish battle-axe giving way to the lance of the new chivalry.

2. The close connexion between the Danish (also the English and Scottish) ballads and those of the Southern group—French, Provençal, Catalan, North Italian—is undeniable, and also very hard to explain. One difficulty is that the Southern ballad stories are generally rather late—springing up at the close of the Middle Ages—though of course the lyrical form, song and refrain, is much older. Where is one to find the course of the stream that brought the French ballads to Scotland and Denmark, but not in anything like the same number to Germany?

Some curious things are ascertainable about other streams and tides of ballad-poetry. The Danish ballads of German origin have been distinguished, and the proofs of their descent made easily intelligible; and there is at least one specimen of a Russian story wandering West, to Sweden and Denmark, and keeping the name Novgorod in it as a sign of its origin.¹ But the likenesses of Danish and French ballads are as obvious as their pedigrees are obscure. It may indeed be taken for granted that the pedigree is not to be sought in Denmark. For the character of the Southern ballads, and of their counterparts among the

¹ *D.g.F.* 468; Arwidsson No. 25; cf. Child's introduction to No. 266, *John Thomson and the Turk*.

Northern groups, is in some respects different from the ballads that belong peculiarly to the North, whether to the Scottish border or to Denmark. They are generally much vaguer—more childish, more dreamy, one might say—than our ballads. The actors are often nameless—simply the mother and her children, or the daughter of the king; and often where there is a name, Marguerite, Renaud, Pernette, it tells nothing particular. The ballads of the North have much more of an historical look about them, to say the least. A large number are actually founded on real historical events. Many of them, especially in Denmark, are concerned with a world in which serious political and civil business is understood—something like the world of the Icelandic Sagas (as may be seen later), with grand juries, wardship and marriage, trespass, the law of landlord and tenant. Of all this there is little trace in the South.¹ There is not the substantial background of real interests that there is in the Border ballads, in the *Geste of Robin Hood*, and, very commonly, in Denmark. Their ambitions—the kind of life and scenery they imply—are much more like those of the simpler fairy tales.

Now ballads of this sort are fortunately known in the North also; and it will be found, as we might expect, that where there are correspondences between French and English (or Danish) ballads, they generally fall within this order—as may be seen by a reference to the previous essay on this subject.

The vaguer, less historical looking ballad is certainly an old kind; it is closely related to other old lyrical families where there are personages not named by any definite name, like the shepherdesses in the *pastourelles*, or the lady and her lover in the *aubades*, and the watchman on the tower. One is led to ask whether the French ballads may not be older than the end of the Middle Ages, to which the best authority, that of Gaston Paris, assigns them—whether it may not be a plausible thing to suppose that the ballad fashion was understood in France, at least as early as in Scotland or Denmark. The common opinion seems to be that while the *carole* form—song and refrain and dance—came up in the twelfth century, it was at first and for a long time used without any definite story; merely with sentiments and ideas:

When that I was a little tiny boy,

¹ That is, in the French group of ballads: the Castilian ballads have a character and history of their own.

According to this theory, the *carole* form remained purely lyrical in France, and the narrative or epic use of it began among foreigners, whether English or Danish or other—anyhow not in France. It is noted¹ that in Iceland the original French lyrical type was kept pure from narrative, in contrast to the fashions of Denmark.

On the other hand, it is remarkable what a close likeness may be found between some of the late French ballads and some of the oldest French narrative poetry. There are many ballad features in the *Chansons de Geste*, particularly in the oldest. For example, the old French epic of *Le Roi Gormond* is written in a kind of verse that has survived for centuries; it is just the same in the old epic and in the traditional ballad that Gérard de Nerval heard and wrote down, in *Les Filles du Feu*, of St. Nicholas and the three children:

Il était trois petits enfants
Qui s'en allaient glaner aux champs.

And the epic, like the ballad, has a refrain—

Quant il ot mort le bon vassal
Ariere en chaça le cheval;
Puis mist avant sun estendart
Nen la li baille un tuenart.²

The lately discovered *Chançon de Willame*, the rude original of the epic of *Aliscans*, has many ballad devices in it. It has a refrain, with variations, e.g.:

Lunsdi al vespre
En bataille reneiad Deu celestre
—Joesdi al vespre
Nad que xv. anz si li donad grant terre.

And even nearer to the common ballad type are the repetitions in *Willame*. The *Chansons de Geste*, like the ballads generally, are fond of repeating the same thing in different phrases; only there is this difference, that the epics take more time about it; they move more slowly in larger circles, and we may have thirty or forty lines or more, before the period comes round again. The ballad repetitions come quickly—after two lines, or

¹ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 389: lyrical *danz* separate from the epic *visur*.

² *Le Roi Gormond*, ed. Scheler, l. 4, 37, 61, 83, etc. *Nen* is 'Naismes' and *tuenart* = 'shield'.

four—and in this old epic *Willame*, for once, the periods are short and more like those of the ballads, *e.g.* :

Si cum li ors ses viere fors del argent
Si sen eslistrent tote le bone gent
Li couart sen vont od Tedbald fuiant
Od Vivien remistrent tuit li chevaler vaillant
Al chief devant fierent comunalment.

Si cum li ors del argent sen turne
Si sen eslistrent tut li gentil home,
etc. (l. 327 sqq.).

This play of the gold and silver, with the things put in different order when they are repeated, is exactly like the ballad convention : ¹

Now shalt thou never yelp, Wrennok,
 At ale ne at wine
 That thou hast slawe good Robin
 And his knave Gandeleyne.

Now shalt thou never yelp, Wrennok,
 At wine ne at ale
 That thou hast slawe good Robin
 And Gandeleyne his knave.

A later passage is still more lyrical, and it is one of the fine things in the poem : Girard cursing his useless weapons (l. 715 sqq.) :

Ohi grosse hanste cume peises al braz
 Nen aidera a Uiuien en larchamp
 Qui se combat a dolerus ahan
 —Dunc la lance Girard en mi le champ.

Ohi grant targe cume peises al col
 Nen aidera a Uiuien a la mort
 [Qui se combat]
 —El champ la getad si la tolid de sun dos.

Ohi bone healme cum mestunes la teste
 Nen aidera a Uiuien en la presse
 Ki se cumbat el archamp sur lerbe
 —Il le lancad et ietad cuntre terre.

Ohi grant broine cum me vas apesant
 Nen aidera a Uiuien en larchamp
 Qui se combat a dolerus ahan
 —Trait lad de sun dos sil getad el champ.

So much at least we can say : that whether or not there were ballads like *Saint Nicolas* or *Le Roi Renaud* in France in the

¹ *V. sup.* S.H.R. i. p. 376, and Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, and *The Popular Ballad*, *passim*.

twelfth century, there were at that time in France all the elements wanted for ballad poetry as it is found in later ages. There were the metres, the refrains, the dances; and there was also, as is proved by these examples from *Gormond* and *Willame*, the habit of using lyrical ornament and ballad graces along with narrative poetry.

Further than that it is perhaps hardly safe to go. The great difficulties of the problem are there still, in the want of any early French originals for the later ballads: 'we know not all the pathways.'

3. Much has been done recently in Denmark for the philology of the ballads, which is part of their history. Dr. Axel Olrik and Dr. Ernst von der Recke (to both of whom I am deeply indebted in many ways) have studied the vocabulary of certain ballads and brought out some notable results.¹ It is not my purpose here to describe these in full, but to call attention to one particular inference of Dr. Olrik's which has special interest for readers in this country, and some importance for the history of historical ballads, though the ballad in question (*Riboldsvisen* = *Earl Brand*) is not historical in the same way as *Chevy Chase*.

The Danish ballad of *Ribold* has long been known as one that has the closest relation with an English version. The ballad of *Earl Brand* goes beyond the mere identity of *plot*, and in one instance uses the same *rhymes* in the same place as the Northern versions.² Now Dr. Olrik in a comparison of different versions of the Northern ballad—Icelandic, Norwegian, Danish³—is able to determine certain rhymes in the old Danish language as the originals from which the various dialects have chosen their own peculiar forms; these dialects often wresting the sense when the sounds fail them. Thus the Icelandic versions derived from the Danish have to alter the Danish endings when they do not give the proper Icelandic rhyme; on the other hand, the Icelandic versions have sometimes kept the likeness of old Danish inflexions which disappeared pretty early from the Danish

¹ Ernst von der Recke, *Nogle folkeviseredaktioner*, 1906. Dr. Recke has made a collection (unpublished) of all the parallel passages in the Danish ballads—an immense work, on which he has based his reconstruction of some of the poems. His *Folkevisestudier* (in *Danske Studier*, 1907,) call attention to Faroese elements in Danish ballads, thus proving some fresh things about the Western influence in Denmark, of which so little is certainly known.

² See Child, Introduction to *Earl Brand*, No. 7.

³ *Danske Studier*, 1906, p. 40 *sqq.*, p. 175 *sqq.*

language. It seems to Dr. Olrik possible that the ballad may have been first composed among Danes of North England in the twelfth century, and transplanted thence to the home countries, Denmark and Norway.

This opinion will perhaps be found surprising and unacceptable by English historians who are not accustomed to the Danish estimate of the ballads—to the high rank and the antiquity that Danish, as compared with English writers, are ready to ascribe to the ballads. English scholars as a rule are disinclined to allow any very early date to the ballads. ‘Reliques, but not really very ancient,’ seems to be the common sentiment; *Robin and Gandeley*, which is fifteenth century, is comparatively old. But in Denmark the fifteenth century is late, and the best ballads are supposed to come from the thirteenth, or even earlier. As the principal Danish MS. authority for the ballads, the ‘Karen Brahe’ folio, c. A.D. 1550, is only about a century older than Percy’s MS., it would seem as if some justification or explanation were needed. It is not wanting, and the linguistic demonstration just referred to may be taken as part of the proof.

But the chief arguments are drawn from the historical ballads, of which there are many, and of such a sort that they must have come from an original direct impression, like *Chevy Chase* or *The Bonnie Earl of Murray*, and not from any versifying of the chronicles, like the ballad of King Leir. There are some very curious evidences of antiquity in Grundtvig’s work on the historical ballads, which are mostly in his third volume.

Here is an example.¹ Some of the Danish ballads have a plot like *Lochinvar* or *Katharine Janfarie*—the story of the brave lover who carries off the bride from the craven (or simply respectable) bridegroom. Now this sort of adventure has actually happened more than once, as Landstad, the pious collector of the Thelemarken ballads, explains in one of his notes. If one comes upon a Danish ballad of this kind² with nothing peculiarly historical, nothing definite at all beyond the commonest names—Nilaus, Fru Mettelille, Herr Peder—naturally one is not drawn to look for a definite historical origin. It would seem absurd on the face of it: like going to St. Pancras Church to enquire for the graves of Lord Lovel and Lady Nancy Belle. But this same ballad in a Norwegian version has other names in it, and they are historical, though slightly damaged. The bridegroom is Torstein Davidson, the hero is Falkvord Lommansson—so in

¹ D.g.F. iii. p. 715.

² D.g.F. 180

Thelemark ; and a Swedish ballad has Falken Albrektsson in the same story. Now Grundtvig shows that the Norwegian and Swedish tradition has preserved one historical fact which is lost in Danish. The true name is Folke Algotson or Lawman's son—*Dominus Folcho filius Domini Algoti Legiferi Vestgothorum*—who in March, 1288, carried off the Lady Ingrid,¹ betrothed to David Thorsteinsson the Danish seneschal.

Besides the ballads that deal with important historical personages, kings and queens and dukes and marshals, there are the ballads which are historical in a different sense, as being at any rate founded on real life, and using no scenery, motives, or ideas but such as might be familiarly known in ordinary business by the audience of the ballads. This kind has been compared above to the Border ballads of cattle driving and the like—*Jamie Telfer, Parcy Reed*—not because the incidents are much alike, but because each group has the same sort of relation to actual life, and the same sort of difference from the more vague and fanciful poems, the fairy ballads. It is here—in the ballads that deal with familiar life, whatever may be the historical truth of their stories—that one gets to understand the class of people among whom the ballads were composed. Nothing could be clearer or more to the point than Dr. Olrik's description ;² it may be supplemented from other historians.³

The Danish ballads do not belong to 'the people' in the ordinary meaning of the term. They have come down to the common people, in those Jutland homes where so many of the

¹The historical ballads have long been the subject of investigation and description in Denmark ; the most convenient introductions to this part of history are those in Streenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser*, and in Axel Olrik's *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg* (1899). English readers must prepare for shocks to their historical prejudices when they enter this ground with the guidance of these interpreters. Instead of the ballad chronology to which they are accustomed here, beginning perhaps with the Robin Hood quotation from *Piers Plowman*, they will find the Danish historical ballad already declining before *Piers Plowman* is begun. The adventure of Niels Ebbeson befell in April 1340 ; the ballad is not long after, and the ballad, good as it is, has some of the symptoms of old age ; there is rather more of prose alloy than in the best of the earlier ballads, and the lyrical refrain is wanting. 'From about the year 1400,' says Dr. Olrik, 'the historical ballads fall off, both in number and in poetical value.'

²*Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg, Indledning* ; esp. p. 16 *sqq.*, 'the scene of the ballads—the knight's garth,' and p. 20 *sqq.*, 'classes of society.'

³Cf. Erslev, *Valdemarernes Storhedstid*, p. 199 *sqq.*, for the growth of the Danish Franklin class (*Herremænd*) in the time of Valdemar Seir (+ 1241) ; Streenstrup, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, i. p. 794 *sqq.* ; Erslev, *ibid.* ii. p. 223 *sqq.*

old poems have been found surviving, but originally they belonged to the gentry—a gentry not absolutely cut off nor far removed from the simpler yeomen. A number of causes, the historians tell us, contributed to raise and establish in Denmark a strong and numerous class of small freeholders, who were thriving most about the date 1200, and who were naturally the chief patrons of the new French carol fashion and the chief audience for the new lyrical ballads. The ballad, instead of being a secondary or degenerate form of poetry in Denmark, is for a long time—from the twelfth to the fifteenth century—the principal, almost the only form. The ballads are not rude rustic travesties of older more dignified stories; though some, perhaps many, of the older stories may survive among the ballads. They are, for Denmark in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, what the older heroic lays of the ‘Poetic Edda’ had been before them in the Northern lands, what the *Chansons de Geste* had been in France; that is to say, the proper and sufficient form in which to put all the noblest stories and thoughts. The Danish ballads take the place of earlier heroic poetry; they do the same sort of work, and receive the same sort of honour. This is what distinguishes them from the English and Scottish ballads as we know them, which with all their heroic character are never anything like the chief poetical form of their day, but have to compete with all sorts of more ambitious, more pretentious, literary forms. This is what makes the peculiar historical interest of the Danish ballads; in Denmark the ballad flourished as it did nowhere else, *and was used as the form and vehicle of original heroic poetry*—with the applause and favour of the whole nation, but more especially of the country gentlemen and their families; a favour that lasted, as we know, among the ladies of Denmark down to the seventeenth century at any rate.

The difference in literary conditions between England and Denmark in the Middle Ages between 1100 and 1600 is very marked. It may be described simply as the absence in Denmark of almost everything that makes the variety of English literature in those centuries. In Denmark, it is true, there are some rhyming romances, versions of the stories that everyone wanted in every land; *Floris and Blanchefleur*, *Iwain the Knight of the Lion*; but these were comparatively late of coming, and though they have a strong outward likeness to many English romances of the same date, this kind of fiction never had anything like

the vogue that it had in England. There is nothing in Denmark corresponding to the great English alliterative poems of the fourteenth century, nothing like the lovely English songs. There is not even any great supply of the cheapest and commonest medieval wares, the homilies, the moralisings, the popular expositions of science or history. The fact that Sir David Lyndesay's *Monarche* was translated into Danish rhyme seems to show how great the famine was. And so by this strange partiality of fortune the Danish ballad was left in possession of the ground, and of all the imaginative strength and substance to be found in the Danish people, gentle or simple.

What happens is so wonderful that one has to be cautious in describing it, for fear of seeming extravagant. It hardly seems a plausible thing at this time of day to believe in a Platonic idea of a ballad, a type remaining essentially the same, but repeating itself in various forms in this world of appearance. Yet this theory would account for the facts. There is something more in the ballad form than a mere pattern of verse or habit of phrasing. It includes, very often, the gift of original imagination; new poetical things are made in the ballad form, utterly unlike the common medieval hackneyed repetitions, the interminable dreariness of professional romance.

To bring out, in English, anything like the value of the Danish ballads would require the finest poetical skill. Something much more prosaic is all that can be attempted here. Abstracts of stories are generally unreadable, but occasionally they may prove something. What is to be proved here is that the Danish ballads, besides all the themes that may have been inherited either from earlier heroic literature or from simple folk-lore, had the power of taking up new plots from the Danish life of the Middle Ages. And, further, it may be argued that this originality of the ballads (which can be shown partially by means of abstracts) makes them much more important than they are generally considered among the orders of medieval poetry. There is something like a new spring of epic poetry here in Denmark in these new inventions of the ballad authors. They recall, with fresh stories, the talent for tragedy that is so strong in the poems of the 'Elder Edda.'¹ The adventures and incidents, the matter of the stories, will also be often found resembling the Icelandic Sagas, where the tragic spirit has other ways of

¹ See Heusler, *Lied und Epos* (1905) and especially the description there of the *Marck Stig* ballads.

going to work. It may be objected here, perhaps, that feuds and vengeance such as are the principal substance of the Icelanic Sagas and of many Danish ballads are too common over all the world to be particularly noticeable anywhere. But, on the contrary, the surprising thing about great tracts of medieval (and other) literature is that they fail to provide any good imaginative treatment of those common motives. They are well represented in the Sagas, in some of the *Chansons de Geste*, in many of the chroniclers in different languages, in the poems of *Bruce* and *Wallace*. But they are generally wanting, or poorly handled, in the great body of popular romance, the hackneyed stories of 'Bevis and Sir Guy.' The Danish ballads are very different from those poor strolling players of chivalry. Here follow the summaries of a few of them.

Nilus¹ is travelling home with his bride when they are caught in a storm in the heath, and have to look for shelter. Hedingsholm is too far, Fredelund is nearer where the uncle of the bride lives, her mother's brother, Sir Peter. But Nilus has killed another of her uncles, and it is not safe to look for mercy from Sir Peter. However, they take this course. Sir Peter receives them, and reminds them of the blood-feud, but promises peace to Sir Nilus at the cost of the lives of his sister's sons, who are with him on the journey. It is a weakness in the story (to our ways of thinking) that Sir Nilus delays till his nephews are killed before he draws his sword; because it is Sunday, and he has made a vow in the Holy Sepulchre not to draw his sword on a Sunday. But now he fights, hewing with his sword till it breaks at the hilt, and he gets his death-wound. Then he rides home, and his sister waits him at the gate. He tells her of the death of her two sons and of his own mortal wound, and asks her to be kind to his bride. 'How can I be good to your bride,' she answers, 'when for her I have lost my two sons and my brother?' Then Sir Nilus died, and his bride died with him.

De legte en Leg, og Legen var alt udaf Vrede: 'They played a game, and the game was all of anger.' So the refrain, as usual, interprets the sentiment of the poem.

*Liden Engel*² reminds one of the Icelandic stories of burning houses. Engel carries off Malfred in spite of her family, and

¹Nilus og Hillelille. D.g.F. 325; Olrik, *Udvalg*, No. 32, and introduction, p. 29.

²D.g.F. 297; Olrik, *Udvalg*, No. 33.

is pursued by her brother the Lawman. He and she, and Engel's men along with them, who have eaten of his bread, take refuge in St. Mary's Church, and are besieged there; then Malfred's mother advises the besiegers to burn the church. Malfred is saved; those within place her on a shield and lift it with their spears to the church window, and so she escapes with her hair burnt and her clothes scorched; Engel and his men are left in the church.

Afterwards Malfred bears a son, who grows up and avenges his father. Refrain :

Mon ingen Dag vil oplyse?

‘When will it be day?’

*Ebbe Skammelson*¹ begins like some of the Icelandic sagas of rivalry, where the slow treacherous man wins the bride of the more adventurous. Here the rivals are two brothers. Peter gives out that his brother Ebbe is dead, and marries his brother's betrothed. Ebbe (warned like so many others by bad dreams) takes leave of the king's court and rides home, but comes too late to the wedding feast. His two sisters are the first to meet him, and their conversation is touching, in a ballad which otherwise is one of the fiercest of them all. The one bade him stay; the other bade him ride: ‘If thou linger here to-night it will be sorrow for us all.’ He was turning to ride away when his mother came and laid hand on his rein, and kept him. At night, in the bride's procession, Ebbe went before her and carried a torch; in the gallery he spoke to her and asked her if she remembered her troth. The bride remembers, but she will not break her new oath, and refuses to follow Ebbe. Then he kills her, and after that his brother, and wounds his father and mother; and therefore is Ebbe Skammelson a wanderer on the earth :

Fordi træder Ebbe Skammelsön saa mangen Sti vild.

One of the best of all the sorrowful ballads is *Hr. Jon og Fru Bodil*.²

Young Sir John wakens at midnight, troubled with bad dreams. His wife tries to keep him out of the post of danger in war, but in vain; he himself will carry his red banner. The parting between them is told simply: all the king's men were riding through the greenwood, and never the fair lady's hand was

¹ *D.g.F.* 354; *Udvalg*, No. 44.

² *D.g.F.* 144.

withdrawn from his saddle-bow till the time came to part; she took Sir John in her arms and bade him remember that she carried his child under her breast. In the war, where many a brother was slain, Sir John came by his death. His lady wakens from a dream; she has seen him, his fair hair running with blood, and goes out and meets them bringing home his body. 'His foes had made him ill to ken,' but she knew him from a scar on his finger that he had made with her scissors as they sat at the betrothal feast. 'All Denmark cannot pay her for her loss,' is the refrain.

This ballad has not the tragic problem, the conflict of motives, found in those previously summarised. But its simplicity, truth and pathos are nevertheless good proofs of the life and virtue of ballad poetry in Denmark.

The ballads on definite historical events or personages prove the same thing, the active original power of the ballad in shaping stories.¹ It can hardly be questioned, by anyone who takes the trouble to think about the matter, that there is this strange excellence in the ballads, this power, not merely of repeating old motives, but of turning the substance of daily life into poetry. There is the same gift in this country, in the Border ballads, but it has been obscured by accidents and prejudices; whereas in Denmark the accidents of culture and literary tradition have been mostly in favour of the ballads, have saved them from unfair competition, and fostered them with the best life of the nation through many centuries.

W. P. KER.

¹ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*

A Border Ballad

THE ballad which follows comes from the Ashmole MSS. in the Bodleian Library (volume xxxviii. p. 124). The volume is described in the catalogue as 'a large collection of miscellaneous English poetry made by one Nicholas Burghe, who was in 1661 one of the Poor Knights of Windsor.' Most of the poems it contained were written between 1600 and 1660. This one is simply described as 'A Scottish songe,' and there is no indication of its date or authorship. Mr. G. M. Stevenson, who has kindly supplied the footnotes explaining the words of the ballad, points out that the dialect shows clearly that the ballad was written in Northumberland and not in Scotland. He adds: 'The spellings "faytinge" for "fighting," "may" for "my," "crayn" for "crien" I have noticed before, and others of the same sort, as "trayall" for "trial," "thayne" for "thine," "bay" for "by," "Chrayst" for "Christ," "layfe" for "life," etc., but it appears to be still a philological puzzle how it arises. It appears in Scottish MSS. about the middle of the 16th century, and is found on tombstones down to the 18th. One, dated 1778, in a churchyard in Fife, has the following "Fair wel, a lang fair wel, *may* dear."'

The ballad refers to the murder of William Aynsley of Shaftoe in Tynedale—'Amsey' is evidently an error made by the seventeenth century transcriber. The incident is mentioned in a letter from Sir Robert Carey to Secretary Cecil, dated August 13, 1598. He says, enumerating various 'unlawful acts' recently committed by Scottish borderers: 'A companye of Rotherfords of Scotland . . . with others their assotiats came in to England and Cruelly murdered a very honest gentleman, his name Wylliam Aynsley, took away all the goods he had, and conveyed his brother out of England in to Scotland with them, and at this Houer he ys their prysoner. They had no quarrell to him, but onely in Defence of his goods he was

thus cruellye murdered' (State Papers, Borders, vol. 37; Calendar, vol. ii. p. 553). A pedigree of the Aynsleys is given in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 210, and some notes on their property at Shaftoe on p. 293. The widow, into whose mouth this ballad is put, was a daughter of Guy Delaval of Horton, a cadet of the Delavals of Seaton Delaval. Mr. H. H. E. Craster, to whom I owe this information, suggests that Broughton may possibly be Burradon or Burraton in Coquetdale. To the best of my knowledge the ballad has not been printed before.

C. H. FIRTH.

Lament, Ladyes, Lament,
 Lament, Northumberland,
 My Love is fra mee rent,
 Was doughty of his hand;
 Forth i' the feyld faytinge,¹
 The formast o' the Chease,
 The Scote him slue by slyght,
 Myen ene² deare Loue, ah las!
 Lere, Lere, ryng terre roe,
 Lere, Lere, ryng terre roe,
 La Lere, ryng terre roe ran (?)
 Oh hone hone o riea.

A squier of high degree,
 The Lerd of Shafton toune,
 Sweet William of Amsey,
 My Love was sonn³ brought doune.
 When that I sleep, I seene,⁴
 When that I weke, hees gean,⁵
 Parting gud Companye,
 My Chamber all alene.
 Lere, Lere.

O all yee tyndell men,
 Chriast giue you may runn wood,⁶
 Which first this fra⁷ begune,
 In Broughton whear it stood;
 Fra⁸ twa nightes and ene day
 Had may⁹ Leue¹⁰ byne¹¹ fra the please,¹²
 I had bine¹¹ blist fra⁸ Aye,
 That now done crayn,¹³ ah las!
 Lerre.

¹ fighting.	² own.	³ soon.	⁴ see him.	⁵ he is gone.
⁶ madly, wildly.		⁷ fray.	⁸ for.	⁹ my.
¹⁰ love.	¹¹ been.	¹² place.	¹³ cry.	

Fra wele¹ witt *and* wisdom,
 Yee, and fra wele¹ gam and glee,
 Yee, and fra wele¹ all hartye fredome
 A mongest gud Companye;
 For a gayne I mun neuer see
 The grunde of a' my grease,²
 I'le leaue my bebes a lene,³
 And lett them crayn,⁴ Ahlas!

Lerre, Lere.

His brether is come home,
 Sounding in my bernes ears
 Some tydinges hele⁵ bring mee,
 My mourning for to chere;
 For ther's noe gud nor geare
 That my Corpes con embrace;
 When I thinke of my deare,
 It gers⁶ me crayne, ahlas!

Lere.

I trust In god aboue,
 And I trust that I mun heare
 Manye a Scottish woman
 Mourning for her deare:
 I'ale⁷ gang tell⁸ a Chappell cleane
And his dead Corpes I'le embrace,
 I'le leave my babes alene,
And lett them Crayne, Ahlas!

Lere, o Lero, Laero.

¹ farewell.

⁵ he will.

² grace.

⁶ gars, causes.

³ alone.

⁷ I shall.

⁴ cry.

⁸ till = to.

The Order of the Golden Fleece

THE Toison d'Or, though one of the most celebrated of the Orders of Chivalry in Europe, was by no means the first to be instituted. If we are to believe Favine, a body of knights or warriors was established so long ago as A.D. 726 by Charles Martel under the name of the Order of the Gennet (a kind of wood marten) to commemorate a victory over Aldiramo, a Moorish commander, in whose army a rich store of these furs was found. Another French Order, that of Our Lady of the Star, was founded by Robert 'the Devout' in 1022. The Order of St. Saviour of Montreall was founded by King Alphonso of Arragon in the year 1120. These and many other ancient Orders are now extinct, but of those still in existence may be mentioned the Spanish Orders of Calatrava (1158), St. James of Compostella (1175), and Alcantara (1214). Portugal has the Orders of St. Benedict of Aviz (1147) and St. James of the Sword (1175). Another Order which has come down to the present day was originally founded by Amadis 'the Green,' Count of Savoy in 1355, under the name of the Order of the Snares of Love, in honour of a bracelet received from a lady made from the tresses of her hair; but his grandson Amadis, afterwards Pope for a time under the title of Felix I., re-constituted it in 1434 with the more decorous designation of the Order of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. In England the Garter was founded by King Edward III. about 1340 in honour of Lady Salisbury. It was not for nearly a century after this that the Order of the Golden Fleece had its origin, being established by Philippe le Bon, 10th January, 1429-30, the day of his marriage with Isabel of Portugal. What the origin of the title was has been the subject of much discussion. That it was taken from the colour of the tresses of a fair but frail maid of Bruges, as is often related, is hardly likely, seeing the Order had its origin on the marriage day of its founder, and was established for

the encouragement of virtue and good living; in fact, its statutes have almost a religious character. The pagan legend of Jason and the scriptural story of Gideon have both to do with fleeces, but it is not easy to see how an Order of chivalry should be named after either. Another theory is that the Golden Fleece typified the staple industry of Flanders at the period, the trade in wool being the chief industry of the country. But it is improbable that a chivalric Order would take its rise from so prosaic a source.

Whatever may have been the cause which suggested the name to its founder there is no doubt that the Order at once took a high place amongst similar institutions. Its statutes, ninety-four in number, were animated by a spirit of exalted morality, and were far removed from the ideas which accounted for the origin of some other Orders, such as that of the Snares of Love already mentioned. They provided from the very first that the Order should be a very exclusive one: it was to consist of twenty-four knights, 'gentlemen of name and arms and without reproach': they were not to be members of any other Order except in the case of Princes who were Chiefs of some Order of their own country. The collar and badge to be worn were rather peculiar, and their origin is as mysterious as the name of the Order. The collar consisted of double fusils, as they are styled in the statutes, *furisons* according to modern heraldic terminology, or in ordinary language steel strikers, such as were erstwhile used for striking flints upon for the production of fire; these double fusils were joined together and with a little stretch of imagination formed a double B for Burgundy: each pair of these fusils were connected by a flint stone from the four corners of which issued flames of fire. Suspended from the collar was the figure of a lamb or sheep, in allusion to the name of the Order. It is interesting to note, as an instance of how such decorations were considered part of the usual apparel of their owners, that it is expressly provided in the statutes that the collar was to be worn every day except when it was in the hands of the jeweller for repair, under penalty of having a mass '*de quatre sols*' said, and contributing an equal amount in the cause of religion. In war, however, it was admissible to wear the *Toison* without the collar. In later times, as will be mentioned shortly, it became the fashion to have a representation of the collar of the Order engraved

on the cuirasses of the armour itself so that it ran no risk of being snatched away in the heat of battle or tourney. The actual wearing of the collar in every-day life was found to be rather inconvenient, as indeed might have been expected, and at a very early period in the history of the Order the knights permitted themselves to wear the Toison only suspended by a narrow ribbon of silk.

The other statutes of the Order can only be briefly alluded to. They contained provision for reciprocal duties between the Sovereign and the knights. On the one hand the latter were bound to assist their chief personally for the defence of the Christian faith, the maintenance of the Holy Mother Church or of the Apostolic See, while, on the other hand, the Sovereign engaged himself not to undertake any war without first consulting the knights of the Order. Amongst themselves the knights were to live in all love and fraternity: if by chance there was any disagreement between individuals, the matter was to be submitted to the decision of a Chapter, and on no account were the adversaries to resort to violence. In war the first duty of a member was, if necessary, to go to the succour of a fellow knight; and one of the most rigorously exacted rules was that if a knight showed any cowardice on the field of battle he was dismissed the Order. This was very strictly interpreted: when Count Mansfield on one occasion surrendered in the face of overwhelming odds, though he fought gallantly all the day, he was deprived of his collar. In each Chapter of the Order an inquiry was held as to the conduct of all the members, including, as Philip was careful to provide, that of the Sovereign himself, in order to show a good example. The affairs of the Order were superintended by four officers: the Chancellor, who was always a prelate; the Treasurer, who took charge of the relics, costumes, charters, etc., of the Order, and presumably the funds also; the Greffier, who kept two books, one of which contained, along with the statutes and portraits of the founder and the twenty-four original members, a chronicle of all the doughty deeds done by the knights; in the other was inserted an account of all their faults and shortcomings and the penalties therefor inflicted by Chapter. The last officer was Toison d'Or King of Arms, whose duty it was to execute all official notifications and to collect for the use of the Greffier a true account of the honourable exploits of the knights.

The Chapters were functions of great ceremonial: in fact, so elaborate were they that comparatively few have been held. The first took place at Lille in 1431, and the last, which was the twenty-third, at Ghent in 1559. The first evening the knights, arrayed in scarlet robes trimmed with fur, attended vespers in the Cathedral, where their arms were displayed on panels. The next day (which ought to have been St. Andrews day, he being the Patron Saint of the Order, but this was not always adhered to) they again went in their scarlet robes to church, where their names were called over by the King of Arms, and each knight deposited a piece of gold on the altar. After a sermon by the Chancellor they returned to the 'ostel' of the Sovereign, where they were entertained to a sumptuous banquet. The repast concluded they changed their brilliant costumes for robes of black, and returned to church for vespers. Next day, still clad in 'dule weeds,' they again attended church, where there was a service in memory of the dead. The names of all the members living and dead were called over: when the name of a defunct member was called the King of Arms solemnly said 'Il est mort,' and placed on the altar a candle blazoned with his arms alongside those of the other members. After hearing the *de profundis* recited the knights returned as before to dinner, and then, clad in robes of white damask, they once more returned to church for vespers. On the third day, habited as they pleased, they assisted at a mass of Our Lady, and then, but not till then, and after dinner, they got to business. Each member had to swear that he had done nothing unworthy of the Order since the date of the last Chapter, but in addition to this, each had to retire while his Sovereign and fellows sat in judgment on him. If he had done any wrong he was reprimanded and punished, but if nothing was reported to his discredit he was congratulated and urged to do still better. Lastly, the Sovereign himself retired while his conduct was subjected to the same examination, and it is interesting to know that some home truths were occasionally told to him on his return. No less than six remonstrances were addressed to Charles the Bold in the Chapter held at Brussels in 1468; but though he is said to have received them with benignity, and to have made promises of amendment, they do not appear to have influenced his future actions much. The Emperor Maximilian was censured at Bois le Duc in 1481, and received his admonition

with deference. Even the great Charles V. fell under the reproach of the Order for laxity in the management of the affairs of his kingdom, and for having undertaken difficult enterprises, such as the expedition to Tunis and Algiers, without having consulted his fellow-chevaliers.

After the business of the Chapter was over a series of jousts, tourneys, dances and other entertainments followed. These were always on a scale of great magnificence: on one occasion, for instance, fifty-one painters laboured for a month at the decorations in connection with the holding of a Chapter, while at Bruges, at a similar ceremonial in 1468, Charles the Bold employed no less than a hundred and thirty-six painters and twenty-nine sculptors; and when we consider that even at that early period art was at a very high level in the Netherlands, we may be sure that seldom, if ever, has mere temporary decoration been executed by such a brilliant band of workers.

The actual history of the Order is somewhat peculiar. Founded, as has been mentioned, in 1429 by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, it at once rose to a high rank among the chevalier orders of Europe. Himself a brave prince and a munificent patron of art, he attracted to his Court the most distinguished men in art, in letters, and in war. If the description of the Low Country in his days by Philip de Commines as a veritable terrestrial paradise sounds like extravagant eulogium, there can be no doubt that it was celebrated for the many eminent persons in all departments of knowledge which it produced. Philip le Bon died in 1464 and was succeeded by his son, Charles the Bold, who had received the collar of the Order in 1433. He left an only daughter, Marie, who was married to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. On her death Maximilian continued to administer her estates as tutor of his son, Philip, and also entitled himself Chief and Sovereign of the Order. This was not done without protest from the knights of Flanders, and after he had become King of the Holy Roman Empire it was agreed that Philip and not his father should have the style to which he pretended. Maximilian in 1496 made a proposal that he should found an Austrian Order of the Toison d'Or which should in some respects be separate from, but supplementary to, the Burgundian Order, and that they should hold Chapters in common, the Burgundian Order as the older

of the two having precedence. The suggestion does not appear to have been carried out: it was not received with favour, and Philip was established as the head of the Order; but dying young very shortly after his formal confirmation he was succeeded in the sovereignty of the Order by his son, afterwards the Emperor Charles V. In his day the number of members was largely increased, and complaint was made as to its being too freely bestowed on Spaniards to the detriment of the knights of the Netherlands. On the abdication of Charles his son, Philip II., became chief: he held the twenty-third and last Chapter at Ghent in 1559. The successors of Philip after the Netherlands were lost to Spain continued to administer the Order as a purely Spanish institution, but after the death of Charles II., the last of the Hapsburg dynasty in that country, the Emperor Charles VI. claimed to be head of the Order, as heir of the Austrian house and direct descendant of Maximilian and Marie of Burgundy. He carried off the archives and instituted the Order in Vienna with great magnificence in 1713. Philip V. of Spain contested his claim, but as the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 gave no ruling on the subject of the sovereignty of the Toison d'Or, the Order has since that date been given in both countries.

It has had a long array of distinguished names on its roll of members, but it is impossible within the limits of a paper like the present even to glance at them. The patriotic Scot, however, is proud to be able to include the name of one of the Kings of Scotland in that illustrious company. In 1534 the Emperor bestowed the Order on King James V. by his ambassador Godeschalco, the King having already been the recipient of the Garter from Henry and the St. Michael from Francis I.

In a subsequent article notice will be taken of the magnificent collection of relics of the Order and cognate objects which were exhibited at Bruges last year.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

M. Anatole France on Jeanne d'Arc¹

FRANCE has at this hour no more distinguished man of letters than M. Anatole France. Before he became a novelist and essayist, and a moralist in his own way, he had been, I believe, a trained student of history. When a man of his great qualities and exquisite style devotes years to the study of Jeanne d'Arc, we expect much from him, and much for her. These expectations are not fulfilled to the heart's desire. M. France has been industrious; perhaps no works and documents relative to Jeanne, nothing that illustrates her environment—political, social, religious, legendary, and biographical—has escaped his research. But his inaccuracies are a constant marvel; and his inconsistencies are no less surprising. While in a few passages he recognises the noble character of the Maid, as a rule he finds, often he unconsciously invents, pretexts for pointless sneers at herself and her inspiration. Why he adopts this line I can only guess, but why he fails all along the line it is easy to understand. M. France, for all that I know, may dislike Jeanne because she is a favourite of the clergy (though the Church is in no hurry to canonise her), or because she is dear to all patriots (and patriotism is apt to be military). But he fails, because in the character and career of the Maid there is no act or word which deserves a sneer—unless she is despicable because she shared the religious beliefs of her age.

Of M. France's inconsistencies let us take a typical example from the second and third pages of his preface. 'We all know the value of the replies of the Maid' (at her trial in 1431). 'They are heroic in their sincerity, and, *le plus souvent*, are translucently clear' (p. ii).

That is true. Turn to page iii. 'It is certain that but a year after date she had only a confused memory of important facts in her career. *Enfin*, her perpetual hallucinations made her, *le plus*

¹ *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i. Calmann Lévy, Paris.

souvent, incapable of distinguishing between the true and the false.'

Were ever two such statements offered in two consecutive pages? The Maid is heroically sincere, and cannot distinguish between truth and error. Her replies are as clear as crystal, and as obscure as her incapacity to discern the truth can make them! This is an early but a fairly adequate specimen of the mental bewilderment of Jeanne's historian.

M. France ends the last chapter of his first volume with the words, 'Behold her, from the beginning, and perhaps for ever, a prisoner within the blossomed wood of legends'! This is the keynote of his book; Jeanne is a legendary personage.

From his opinion I venture to differ absolutely. It appears to me that concerning scarcely a human being, dead for nearly five centuries, do we know so much, and know that much so certainly, as about Jeanne. The contemporary myths concerning a person so wonderful are wonderfully few, and their flowers have long ago withered and fallen into dust. What remains, and will remain, is her genius, her character, her imperishable achievement. These are easily to be discerned in her own replies to her judges between February 22 and the day of her martyrdom, at the end of May, 1431. Her words are recorded by the clerks of her enemies, and they bear witness to her courage, her faith, her purity of heart, her untaught sagacity, even to her sense of humour. *Hilarem vultum gerit*, as was said in her happy days by one who saw her. If we had no other evidence than the authentic record,¹ written day by day, of her replies, we could not but confess that this illiterate girl of nineteen (or of twenty-one, she was born in 1410, 1411, or 1412) was a paragon.

Again, the evidence of scores of witnesses of all ranks, from priests and peasants to princes, who knew her in most stages of her existence, evidence taken on oath in 1450-1456, is, as to her character, precisely in accord with her own replies to her judges. She was brave, they say, devout, pure, her manners were noble, she was charitable, kind, as loyal as Montrose, and gifted with extraordinary enthusiasm and energy. The evidence of 1450-56 is late, indeed, it was taken a quarter of a century after her death, and it was given at an inquiry intended to clear her character, and to prove that her king,

¹ The record is not always fair, when we can compare the original French with the official Latin translation.

Charles VII., had not been beguiled by an impostor, had not tampered with a sorceress or daemoniac. Allowing for these facts, none the less all the witnesses are consistently in accord with the words of Jeanne herself. Indeed, nobody, it may be presumed, doubts that she was chaste, pious, generous, the soul of honour, brave, and (as M. France now and then acknowledges) practically sagacious and well advised.

When we know all this, in copious detail, about a girl who was burned alive at Rouen three hundred and seventy years ago, how can it be said that the Maid is 'from the first, and perhaps for ever, a prisoner in the flowery forest of legend'?

If people of various factions, at various times, have conceived of Jeanne as 'a warrior Maid, yet a peaceful one, a *béguine*, a prophetess, a sorceress, an Angel of the Lord, and an ogress,' what does that matter to us or to her? The legends of Jeanne as a 'witch' and an 'ogress' have long gone the way of such hostile contemporary scandals about all distinguished persons, from Sir William Wallace to Bonaparte, 'the Corsican ogre.'

It seems, then, to be the aim of M. France to prove that Jeanne is an inscrutable legendary being, that she was moved like a puppet by priests, that she was a cheat, and a very honest girl, and that we cannot know her as she was in fact.

Following Jeanne from her infancy in her father's house at Domremy, separated only by the churchyard from the church, what did legend do for her success, which M. France regards as based on legend? Again, did the prompting of priests, as her biographer supposes, start her on her mission? In March-April, 1429, when Jeanne had reached the Dauphin, and was being examined for three weeks before the clerical legists at Poitiers, people were sent to her own country to collect information. Probably through them such tales were gathered as Perceval de Boulainvilliers wrote (June 21, 1429) to some foreign prince.¹ On the night of her birth, the Epiphany (1410?-1412?) the villagers felt strangely joyful, they knew not why, and the cocks crowed all night. At that season, in fact,

'The lusty bird takes every hour for dawn,'

and crows accordingly.

The wolves did not touch the sheep that she shepherded; foes did not attack Domremy, which suffered, in fact, but seldom, though there was constant anxiety. Then comes the tale of how,

¹ *Procès*, v. 114-121.

after a victory in a foot race, Jeanne heard a Voice, and saw a brilliant cloud. The voice bade her go on her mission. This, save for the foot race, is very much what Jeanne told her judges in 1431. But Boulainvilliers says nothing of her visions of her three Saints, nor are they ever mentioned in any records till Jeanne confessed them, refusing to give all details, to her judges at Rouen. They were unknown in France, except apparently to the Dauphin. I think that M. France does not remark on this sacred reticence of the Maid. Boulainvilliers says that she spoke of the Voices to her curate in confession. She denied this at her trial, though it was in her interest to say that she had confessed. If she did not, the inference was that she knew her Saints to be fiends in disguise. Could she have said truthfully that she consulted her director, she would have done so.

Thus legend fell far below the facts, as Jeanne understood them.

M. France says that, in legend, she was born 'on the night of Christmas day,' 'and in her cradle had her adoration of the shepherds' (p. 542). The shepherds, says Boulainvilliers, were '*ignari nativitatis puellae*,' did not know of her birth—and Twelfth Night is not Christmas day! M. France is perpetually mythopoeic; he keeps on inventing legends not to be found in his authorities. Wild birds fed from her lap, says Boulainvilliers. And why not? Thoreau was not singular in the intimacy of his acquaintance with wild birds; I myself have been oddly favoured by their familiarity. Jeanne was said to have averred (she denied it) that she would find a lost pair of gloves, was said to have found a stolen cup, to have known that a priest was an immoral man, to have noticed that a priest was deliberately offering her an unconsecrated wafer. Even her judges hardly touched on these prodigies in their questions. Most of these legends, and all the most puerile or extraordinary, are found in Morosini's reports, and not in authentic records. Such trash was current about every one who roused the popular fancy. The influence of Jeanne was not based on such fables, but such fables gather round persons of influence, as round Montrose.¹

If you scrape together all the popular legends about Jeanne, you are surprised by their scarcity when compared with the miraculous healings, flights in the air, and conflicts with the devil, of the contemporary St. Colette, of St. Theresa, of St.

¹ See the prodigies attending him recorded by Patrick Gordon, *Britain's Distemper*.

Joseph of Cupertino.¹ Jeanne performed no miracles, and claimed to perform none. She healed nobody, nor tried to heal any; she was not 'levitated,' the devil did not jerk her chair, like the chair of St. Colette, from under her!

The childhood of Jeanne, in fact, was that of a good, charitable, devout, industrious peasant girl, in a village sometimes as much in danger of attack as every farmer's house was, from Liddel to Tyne, during four hundred years. She was ardently patriotic, a listener to sermons, which then often dealt with saints, with ghosts, with prophecies, with the distress of the country, the cruelty of the English, the sorrows of the Dauphin, who had never been anointed with the sacred oil from the miraculous *ampulla* of St. Remigius at Reims. All this was the soil of the flower of her inspiration.

To her judges in 1431 she said that when she was about thirteen she 'had a Voice to direct her.' It came from the right when she was in her father's garden, from the side of the church, separated, as we saw, from the house only by the churchyard. She also saw a bright light (the 'shining cloud' of Boulainvilliers). At first she was in doubt and fear, finally she recognised that the speaker was St. Michael, later accompanied by the two lady saints, Katherine and Margaret.

On this subject the spirit of myth has taken possession of the critical M. France. He writes, 'She saw St. Michael sometimes by some pillar of a church or a chapel, in the guise of a fair knight, with coroneted helm, shield, and coat of arms, piercing the demon with his lance . . . She knew the angel by his arms, his courtesy, and his noble maxims.'²

In the pages of the *Procès* quoted Jeanne *refuses to answer* any question on the aspect of St. Michael, nor can I find any description by her of the angel. She refused on seven later occasions to gratify the curiosity of her judges.³ Yet M. France knows in what shape and costume she saw the angel.⁴ He also

¹ See France, *La Légende de la Première Heure*, pp. 534-553.

² For the first of these strange statements M. France quotes (pp. 34, 35) modern authors; for the last he cites *Procès*, pp. 72, 73.

³ *Procès*, i. pp. 89, 93, 171 (she believed in him because of his teachings), 173 (he was in the shape of a right good man), 218, 249, 268 (she said that the saints were crowned and fragrant).

⁴ France, pp. 34, 35.

knows that nobody knows! He writes, 'Whether she would not or whether she could not, she never gave her judges at Rouen a clear and precise description.'¹

The counsel of the Voice, in the statement of Jeanne, 'bade her govern herself well, go often to Church,' and said 'it was necessary that she should go into France.' This command was given two or three times weekly. M. France says that she 'was *perpetually* hallucinated.' She concealed her visions from her curate and all other ecclesiastics,² and revealed some only to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleurs, and to the King.

We see that the visits of the Saints lasted from Jeanne's thirteenth year, probably 1424, or 1425, till, unable to resist their importunities, she began, in the spring of 1428, to proclaim her mission, *without plainly revealing her experiences*.

M. France explains the origin of her idea of 'going into France' thus: 'She was in relation with a number of ecclesiastics, very capable of recognising her singular piety' (which all witnesses attest), 'and her gift of seeing things invisible to the common run of Christians. Their talk with her, if it had been recorded, would no doubt reveal to us one of the sources of this extraordinary vocation of hers. One of them, whose name will never be known, prepared for the King and Kingdom of France an angelic defender.'³

To reach this conclusion, M. France had to leap over the fact cited by himself (p. 50), that Jeanne concealed from all ecclesiastics her gift of 'seeing things invisible to the common run of Christians.' Consequently M. France is not justified in saying that a number of ecclesiastics knew of her visions, and that one of them 'initiated' her into her mission. The ecclesiastics knew nothing about her visions, but, in 1428, three or four years after the visions and voices began, they, and all her neighbours, knew that she was determined 'to go into France.'

M. France proves his theory of a clerical inspirer of her mission thus:

Two witnesses, more than twenty years later, averred that, in 1429, when Jeanne was at Burey, a village near Vaucouleurs, she said to one of them (a kinsman of hers, Durand Laxart or

¹ France, p. xxxiii.

² *Procès*, i. 128, and note 1.

³ France, p. 54.

Lassois), 'is it not said of old that France shall be ruined by a woman and restored by a maid?'¹

In another version, from a woman of Vaucouleurs, Jeanne said in her hearing, 'Have ye not heard the prophecy that France is to be ruined by a woman, and restored by a maid from the marches of Lorraine?'² (February, 1429.)

M. France, not, perhaps, observing that Jeanne's words (the woman's version) were spoken in February, 1429—whereas the visions, unknown to the clergy, began in 1424, or 1425—argues that Jeanne heard of this prophecy, itself 'a forged prophecy,' from one of his clerical suspects. It was the origin, or one of the origins, of her mission. For no peasant, he reasons, was likely to know about the prophecy, much less would a peasant add to it the words 'from the marches of Lorraine.'³ 'This *addition topique*,' says our author, 'cannot be the work of a ploughman, and reveals an intelligence skilled in governing minds and directing actions. The prophecy thus completed and thus pointed, comes from a cleric, whose intentions are obvious. Doubt is no longer possible' on that head (p. 52).

Aimable sceptique! The witness '*remembered having heard the saying before!*' It was 'the clash of the country side.'

One of the clerical judges in the examination of 1450-1456, a divine and legist of note named Jean Brehal, speaks of the oak wood, near Domremy (*bois chesnu*), 'of old styled *nemus canutum*.' He then seizes the opportunity not to verify his references, and quotes from the *Historia Bruti*, that is, *Le Roman de Brut*, a prophecy really attributed to Merlin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *De Prophetiis Merlini*. 'From the *Nemus Canutum* will come a maid for the healing of evil.' But the point is that, according to Brehal, the prophecy *won its way into folk lore*, like the other predictions of Merlin, Nostradamus, Thomas of Ercildoune, 'the red-faced Nixon,' the Brahan seer, and a host of mediaeval visionaries, lay or ecclesiastical. In Brehal's words, *vulgaris ex antiqua percrebuit fama*, 'an old popular rumour arose' about a marvellous maid who should come from

¹ M. France, pp. 67, 68, dates this remark before Jeanne went for the first time to Vaucouleurs, in May, 1428. On reading the testimony of Lassois carefully (*Procès*, ii. p. 444) it seems to me that he is speaking of her second visit to Vaucouleurs, in January and February, 1429. Lassois goes on to tell how Jeanne got clothes from him, and went to a shrine of St. Nicholas, and proceeded to visit the Duc de Lorraine; all this was in 1429.

² *Procès*, vol. ii. p. 447.

³ France, pp. 51-55.

the oak wood of Domremy, 'which the prophecy of Merlin not a little confirms.'¹

In my opinion the prophecy of Merlin filtered down into folk lore, and so became known, by 1428-1429, to Jeanne.

Now, as to the prophecy, there is no proof that Jeanne knew of it before she came to Vaucouleurs and Burey in 1429. Nor is it possible for any one who knows the popular vogue of prophecies, in England, Scotland, and France—those of various nuns and monks, of Merlin, of Thomas the Rhymer, and so forth—to be certain that such predictions did not reach the populace, in sermons, in sayings, in popular rhymes. The battle of Prestonpans, in 1745, was called the battle of Gledsmuir, to fit a prediction of Thomas the Rhymer.

As to the prediction about a Maid from the marches of Lorraine, it seems to be a combination of two predictions. One is that attributed to a female visionary, Marie d'Avignon, whose prophecies, says Quicherat, 'made a great noise at the beginning of the fifteenth century.'²

She told Charles VI. that France would suffer much sorrow, that in visions arms and armour were shown to her, that she, in terror, refused to accept them, that she was told not to be afraid, they were not meant for her wearing, but for a Maid who would come after her, bear the arms, and free France. At Poitiers, in March-April, 1429, a professor of theology, Jean Erault, mentioned this story to Jean Barbin.³

The prophecies of Marie d'Avignon were widely known, 'frent grand bruit.'

As to 'the marches of Lorraine,' a Latin prophecy of Merlin, about a victorious Maid *ex nemore canuto*, made much stir after the first successes of Jeanne.⁴

Near Domremy was the *Bois Chesnu* (oak wood), visible from Jeanne's garden, translated *nemus canutum* by her accusers. The real name, given by Jeanne, was *bois chesnu*, 'oak wood.' When Jeanne went, in March, 1429, before her King, 'some asked her whether there was not a *nemus canutum* near her home, because prophecies said that a marvellous Maid was to come thence, but she had no faith in this prophecy.'⁵ If we believe the witness, who, more than twenty years after date, said that Jeanne, in 1429, spoke of a prophecy of a martial

¹ *Procès*, iii. 339, 340.

² *Ib.* iii. 83 note 2.

³ *Ib.* iii. 83, 84.

⁴ *Ib.* iii. 341, 342.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 68, 213.

Maid 'from the marches of Lorraine,' then, by 1429, she had heard a mixture of the prediction of Marie d'Avignon with that of Merlin about *nemus canutum*. After so long a space of time, the witness's memory may have been erroneous. But suppose it correct, we learn no more than that, from somebody, lay or cleric, *after Jehanne had announced her mission*, she heard of the prophecy. This might confirm her belief in herself, or she might quote the prophecy to convince others, but the prophecy was not the origin of her mission. That arose in her visions, which, by 1429, had attended her for four or five years. Nor did a cleric forge the prophecy, and tell her of it to make her start on her course, because he knew she was a visionary; for she had, as she says, kept secret from all the appearances and voices of the Saints, nor are the saintly apparitions ever alluded to till she confesses them to her judges in 1431.

At most, we can say that, after Jeanne had announced her mission to France, she heard of a confirmatory prediction. As for the clergy, one of them had exorcised her, lest she might prove a daemoniac, and this man had been her confessor.¹

M. France, believing that a fraudulent priest was her 'initiator,' writes: 'Meanwhile Jeanne lived in the full tide of illusion. Ignorant of the influences' (clerical) 'which beset her, incapable of recognising in her Voices the echo of a human voice, or *the voice of her own heart*, she answered timorously to her Saints, "I am a poor girl who can neither ride nor fight."' ²

It was to 'the voice of her own heart,' or rather of her own subconscious genius, manifesting itself in the 'automatisms' of Voices and forms of the heavenly counsellors, that Jeanne listened—recalcitrant, disobedient, till they overcame her. The clergy knew nothing about them.

She knew of Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs, the nearest walled town loyal to France. To him the Voices bade her go, in May, 1428. She asked help from the husband of her cousin Jeanne, a man named Lassois, living at Burey, near Vaucouleurs, six miles from Domremy, less than three miles from Vaucouleurs. Lassois took her to the bluff humorous Captain; and here M. France gives an example of his critical powers. Bertrand de Poulengy, who escorted Jeanne from Vaucouleurs to the Dauphin at Chinon, was present at the

¹ *Procès*, ii. 446, 447.

² France, p. 54; *Procès*, i. 52, 53.

interview, and, more than twenty years later, reports Jeanne's words to Baudricourt.

'She said that she had come to him from her Lord, that Baudricourt might warn the Dauphin to keep himself well, and not give battle to his enemies, *because her Lord would give him succour about mid Lent*,'¹ that is, in March of the following year, 1429. This was explicit; Jeanne came to the Dauphin in March, 1429, and relieved Orleans (not being besieged in May, 1428), on May 8, 1429. M. France assures us that 'her rebuffs by Baudricourt did not humiliate or discourage Jeanne; she regarded them as proofs of the authenticity of her mission, imagining that her Voices had predicted them to her.' For this illusion, which is new to me, he cites *Procès* i. 53. At first I thought that there is nothing of what M. France finds in the passage cited. Jeanne there says that her Voices told her that she would recognise Baudricourt, though she had never seen him before, and she did recognise him; no great miracle! I remain uncertain as to the exact sense of a phrase on which M. France relies.

M. France (p. 71) treats Jeanne's message to Baudricourt thus: he cites the speech of Jeanne down to the word 'enemies,' omitting the prophecy italicised above.

'Assuredly Jeanne spoke on a new command of her Voices. And it is worthy of attention that she repeated, word for word, what sixty-five years earlier, not far from Vaucouleurs, a free peasant of Champagne had said . . . while he worked in the fields, the Voice had said to him, "Go, warn the King of France to fight none of his enemies." This was a few days before the battle of Poitiers.'²

M. France avers that the message of the peasant, before Poitiers, was appropriate, but that the message of Jeanne, in May, 1428, was inappropriate. Her King was not likely to offer battle. There were sieges, skirmishes, rescues, but the Dauphin did not need, like the wary Scot, to cry, 'Haud me, haud me, or I'll fecht.' The English were preparing a new attack on France; they hesitated between an assault on Angers or on Orleans.

'Jeanne spoke on the advice of her Archangel and Saints, who, as concerning the war and the state of the kingdom, knew neither more nor less than herself.' But Jeanne had, somehow, a right fear that the chivalry of France would not fight a battle

¹ *Procès*, ii. 456.

² Luce, *Chronique des Premiers Valois*, pp. 46-48.

as she understood fighting. 'Everyone knew too well how these people set about it' (p. 73).

As I understand M. France, Jeanne had been instructed, doubtless by one of the clever priests, in the words of the peasant of sixty-five years ago. Not till he has delivered himself of all this criticism does M. France let Jeanne finish her sentence: 'Before mid Lent my Lord will send succour to the King.' The famous old peasant of sixty-five years ago had not said *that*; still less, if possible, did he fulfil the prediction which he did not make. Jeanne, and her Voices, had a certain originality!

M. France himself now enters 'the blossomed forest of legend,' and culls a flower of his own finding. He tells us that when Jeanne, in March, 1429, came to Chinon, bearing that aid which she had promised in May, 1428, she was interviewed by some clerics. She would only say that she was to relieve Orleans (the siege had begun in September, 1428), and to lead the Dauphin to be crowned at Reims. 'Before these churchmen, as before Baudricourt at Orleans, she repeated, word for word, the message of the *vavas seur* of Champagne, sent to King John just as she was sent to the Dauphin Charles.' Then M. France gives again, at full length, the story of the tiresome peasant (pp. 187-189). His authority for Jeanne's repetition, at Chinon, of what the peasant had said, is *Procès*, vol. iii. p. 115, and he repeats the story which he abridged on p. 72. There is not, in *Procès*, iii. 115 (evidence of Simon Charles), a single word about Jeanne's warning the King not to hazard a battle! It would be odd if there were, as she had come expressly to demand that he should hazard a fresh force in an attack on the English besiegers of Orleans.

M. France has added a myth to the myths which he condemns.

When M. France thinks that he has discovered a blunder committed by Jeanne, he seems to chuckle inwardly, and he likes to repeat the story of his discovery again and again. Meanwhile, as the advocate of Jeanne, I also smile when M. France's valuable *trouvaille* is an illusion of his own, an illusion rather apt to be recurrent in his work, unless my eyes deceive me.

Hunting always for the mysterious cleric who prompted Jeanne, M. France finds another proof of his agency in

Bertrand de Poulengy's report, already cited, of her first conversation with Baudricourt (May, 1428): 'Jeanne said that the Kingdom of France is not the Dauphin's' (*non spectabat Delphino*), 'but her Lord's, yet her Lord wished the Dauphin to be [crowned] King, and hold that Kingdom in trust' (*in commendam*). The Dauphin, as Andrew Melville said to James VI., 'was Christ's silly vassal.'

All this, says M. France, '*donne à penser*. These ideas were the ideas of the most pious men in the kingdom, as to the government of realms by our Lord. Jeanne could not have found, by herself, either the word or the fact; she was visibly primed (*endoctrinée*) by one of those churchmen whose influence we have detected in the affair of a Lorraine prophecy, and whose trace is totally lost' (p. 74).

Now Poulengy's evidence is given in a Latin translation, hence the appearance of the words *in commendam*. We have no reason to suppose that either he or Jeanne said *in commendam*. Grant that she said *en commande*, that is, 'in trust,' since the doctrine that God is 'King of Kings' was current in Catholic Europe as later in Presbyterian Scotland, did Jeanne need a furtive clerical private tutor to instruct her on the point? Even if she used as *technical* the term *en commande*, what prevented her, a church-frequenting girl as she was, from hearing the phrase in a public sermon?

The clergy knew nothing, we repeat, of her visions; when she came to Vaucouleurs and was exorcised as perhaps a daemoniac; they then knew her errand, but they did not suggest her mission.

M. France decides (p. 207) that the 'false prophecies' about the Maid from Lorraine were 'the means by which they set the young inspired girl at work. . . . Do not let us be too much moved by the discovery of these pious frauds without which the miracles of the Maid would not have been produced.'

We are not moved at all!

The Maid may, conceivably, have heard it said, in a sermon, or in conversation, that there would come a conquering virgin from the marches of Lorraine. Yet the statement might arise, not from fraud, but from the mediaeval habit (with which M. France should sympathise) of not verifying references. We have a case in point. A friar of Longueville Caux, Migiet, was one of Joan's judges, though a friendly judge, in 1431. Some twenty years later he deposed that, 'some time or other,

he had read in some old book or other the prophecy of Merlin that a virgin was to come from some *nemus canutum* or other, in Lorraine.' ¹

In this vague way the *nemus canutum* of Merlin was identified with the *bois chesnu* of the marches of Lorraine, and men thought that they had read, 'in some old book,' what was not and could not be in any book of Merlin's prophecies. There was no need of 'pious frauds.' The habit of not verifying references leads all who cultivate it into erroneous ways.

I have said enough about the 'pious frauds.' They did not set the Maid to work. If there was any deliberate and purposeful contamination of the prophecies of Merlin and Marie d'Avignon, the effect was, when once she reached the Dauphin, to increase men's inclination to give her a chance. Her 'miracles,' as M. France sometimes sees, and says, were due to no 'pious frauds,' but to 'her own courage and good will' (p. 366).

'She brought to weak, wretched, selfish, and suffering men, the invincible force of love and faith, and self-sacrifice,' not 'plans of campaign, and warlike ruses' (p. 307). Of this he himself gives ample proof, as we are to see; yet he thinks that, on one occasion, she was a deliberate impostor!

We have now to consider the conduct of Jeanne at Chinon, whither, with a small company of men at arms and grooms, Baudricourt sent her in March, 1429. Two days later Charles received her, and all the world has heard how she at once recognised him, poorly dressed it is said, in the crowd of courtiers. 'He took her apart, and examined her for a considerable time' (p. 197).

We come to the story that she told him a secret which filled him with joy. This is the famous 'Secret of the King' which her judges vainly tried to extract from her.

Jean Pasquerel, her confessor, told the story, more than twenty years later. He says that he was not present, but heard the fact from the Maid, who said to Charles, 'I tell thee, from God, that thou art the true heir of France, and son of the King'; which Charles probably doubted. Charles then told the courtiers that Jeanne had imparted to him some secrets which none knew or could know save God (*Procès*, iii. 103).

If so, Charles, who, M. France says, was sceptical in the matter, was very credulous. But Pasquerel's evidence, so long

¹ *Procès*, iii. 133.

after date, and given his love of the marvellous, goes for little. Jeanne did not tell Pasquerel all that she told the King, or Pasquerel was reticent.¹ Her squire, d'Aulon, who was not present, says she told the King 'some secret things; what they were I know not.'²

Basin, in his *Histoire de Charles VII.*, says that Dunois told him (i. pp. 67, 68) what he himself had heard from the King. The secret communicated by the Maid was one which she could only know through divine intervention.³ The usual story of a strange secret has also this amount of evidence (M. France refers to the sources, but does not give their contents). In 1516 Pierre Sala published his *Hardiesses des Grands Rois*, or, at least, finished it. He says that, in 1480, he was of the Chamber of Charles VIII., and knew Monseigneur de Boisy, some time Chamberlain of Charles VII., and then sharing his bed. In great privacy Charles told de Boisy the words of a secret prayer made internally by him, asking God whether he was or was not legitimate? This secret the Maid told to the King at their first interview. Some ten years later, the King unmasked the False Pucelle, who pretended to be Jeanne, by proving her ignorance of this secret.⁴ Now, in connexion with this feat of Jeanne, it is to be noted that, at her trial in 1431, she told her judges that she had predicted to Charles her arrow wound, not destined to be fatal, at Orleans (May 7, 1429).⁵ Of this prophecy there is proof, *recorded before the event*. On April 22, 1429, a Monsieur de Rotselaer was at Lyons, and (April 22) he wrote to the Counsellors of the Duc de Brabant that Jeanne had predicted 'that she will be wounded by an arrow in fight before Orleans, but will not die of that wound.'⁶ M. France says that the prediction 'is undeniable,' but does not add to the prophecy of the wound, the prophecy that it will not be fatal.⁷ My point is that de Rotselaer adds that Jeanne 'said to the King *several other things which he keeps to himself, secretly*' (*penes se tenet secreta*).

We thus have evidence, not observed on by M. France, that as early as April, 1429, at least, there was believed to be a secret between Jeanne and the King. If she had merely told him that he was the son of the late King, it was an

¹ *Procès*, iii. 103.

² *Ib.* p. 209.

³ Quicherat, *Procès*, iv. 350.

⁴ *Procès*, iv. pp. 277-281.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 79.

⁶ *Ib.* iv. 426.

⁷ France, p. 351, note 1.

audacious thing to do, but need not have impressed him much—she might merely be stating her private opinion,—unless, as Pierre Sala put it, ‘elle fit son messages aux enseignes dessus dictes’ ‘she corroborated her mission by the proofs given above,’ namely, by reference to his mental prayer.

What the King said, after his first meeting with Jeanne, to his Council, M. France quotes from her equerry, d'Aulon, who was not present. ‘She said that she was sent from God to recover his Kingdom.’ The Dauphin did not add that she ‘had revealed to him a secret known only to himself.’ Perhaps he did not say so, but d'Aulon adds that she *had* told to Charles secrets, unknown to d'Aulon.

M. France does not state the contemporary evidence for the belief, existing in April, 1429, that Jeanne told a secret to the King. He says that her party pretended that her words, ‘You are true heir of France and son of the King,’ answered a secret doubt in His Majesty’s bosom, a doubt which made him think of abdicating. He wonders why the Dauphin perturbed himself, as lawyers could assure him that his claim was legally valid. However, he sees that Charles’s doubts were not as to the *legality*, but as to the *justice* of his claim. Next M. France asks, ‘If painful doubts tormented him, how can we believe that he got rid of them on the strength of the word of a girl concerning whom he knew not yet whether she was sane or mad, knew not but that she might be an emissary of his enemies? This credulity is not in accordance with what we know of his suspicious nature. His first thought must have been that the clergy must have “coached” (*endoctriné*) the young girl’ (pp. 198-199). M. France has not observed that, according to what Charles told de Boisy, who told Sala; and according to what Charles told Dunois, who told Basin, Jeanne impressed Charles by the corroboration of the secret which was only known to himself and God.

That is the point which M. France has overlooked. Without the strange corroboration the words of Jeanne could not have caused the King to rejoice.

The evidence, I think, taken with Jeanne’s obstinate silence about it, at her trial, suggests that she did tell Charles something which, in his opinion, could not normally be known to her. His prayer was made *mentally*, and could not be overheard and communicated to Jeanne by some chaplain addicted to pious frauds.

In any case, Charles was so far impressed that he handed Jeanne over to a commission of clerical legists, who, for some weeks, in a manner odious to the Maid, examined her at Poitiers. M. France expends many pages in proving that they were all sorely impoverished by the war, and therefore ready to catch at any straw to save them from ruin at the hands of the English, who were then tightening their hold on Orleans. That city, and with it all France south of the Loire, was endangered, for, in February, 1429, the English had cut up the Scots, and utterly demoralised a large French contingent led by Clermont, at the Battle of the Herrings, near Rouvray. The English, in fact, were 'bluffing.' They had only from 4000 to 3000 men, and could not stop small convoys of provisions from entering the city. But no effort was being made to raise the siege, and the brave townsfolk did all but despair. The clergy at Poitiers, however poor and desperate and superstitious, were in no hurry to decide, and returned, after six weeks, no more than a kind of open verdict on the Maid.

The King, they said, ought not to reject her—though he had only her word for her promises, wholly uncorroborated by signs and miracles—nor ought he lightly to believe in her. He has examined into her character, it is blameless. Of her birth 'some marvellous tales are asserted to be true.' He has asked for a sign, she has refused to give any, but promises to give one at Orleans. She should therefore be taken, under respectable guidance, to Orleans, with the relieving force.¹

For hungry superstitious priests, this is a sensible verdict. 'Let her go to Orleans, if she does no good, she can do no harm.' She was not going in command, though she went armed, with her banner. We need not trouble ourselves about her sword, which, as she believed, she knew, in some clairvoyant way, to be buried in front of, or behind, the altar of St. Katherine at Fierbois. It was found and sent to her, whether, as in Shakespeare, it was picked out of a heap of old weapons, votive offerings, or whether Jeanne's account was correct. There is no contemporary external evidence, as there is in the case of the prophecy of her wound, and the affair of the King's Secret.

When Jeanne reaches Orleans, with an army and a great convoy (April 29), M. France's treatment of his theme becomes unintelligible to me. He is confused between his two perspectives. On one hand he wishes to reduce Jeanne and her achievements

¹ *Procès*, iii. 391, 392.

to the lowest possible or impossible dimensions. On the other he has glimpses of her greatness. 'It was supposed that all was done by her, that the King had consulted her in everything, whereas, in reality, the advisers of the King and the leaders hardly ever asked her advice, scarcely listened to her, and exhibited her when it seemed *à propos*' (p. 536).

M. France keeps harping on this string, but the evidence which he cites contradicts him at every turn, and the testimony is that of the leaders themselves, Dunois and the Duc d'Alençon. I shall cite the evidence as occasion arises.

He tells us that, at Orleans, in a moment when the excited townsfolk, 'in the absence of captains and men at arms, waited only a sign from her to charge and break themselves against the English forts, despite her warlike visions she made no sign. Child as she was, ignorant of war and of everything, she had the power and the goodness to prevent the disaster. She led the crowd of men, not against the forts, but to the holy places of the city' (p. 323). 'It was then that she showed herself, good, wise, equal to her mission, and truly born for the salvation of all.'

M. France has elsewhere said that Jeanne understood fighting in another fashion than the chivalry of France. We see how she understood it: to strike swiftly, to strike hard, to hold on with unabated tenacity, to abstain from battle when battle meant disaster—that is how the Maid understood fighting. Jeanne brought to a demoralised country and city the first principles of the art of war.

M. France, in one page and in one mood, acknowledges the military merits of the Maid, in another mood and another page avers that the Captains did not consult her, but led her about because she was reckoned 'lucky' (*chanceuse*).

He says, rightly or wrongly, as to the strong English fort of St. Loup, that no serious attack was intended by Dunois and the French tacticians. The forces were to make a diversion, and contain the English in St. Loup while a convoy from Blois was ferried across the river. Jeanne was not told of this purpose, 'of this Dunois did not breathe a word to the Maid' (p. 331), and she lay down to sleep beside her hostess in a room where her equerry was also slumbering. He was awakened by the noise she made as she leaped up from her rest. 'My Voices tell me that I must go against the English, but not *where*.'

'Her Saints had only told her what she knew herself,' says M. France. They *did* know while she slept that there was fighting to be done, and she, M. France has said, did not know.¹ She galloped with d'Aulon to the fort of St. Loup. Thanks to the energy and courage of Jeanne, now for the first time under fire, 'what was meant for a diversion became an attack, and was driven home.' The attack succeeded; St. Loup with all its defenders was taken. This was, M. France says, entirely due to the conduct of Jeanne (p. 336).

As for the great fort of the English on the further bank of the Loire, the Tourelles, some of the French, on approaching that hold, said, 'A month would not suffice for the taking of it' (p. 350). But Jeanne prophesied that the French would take it in a day, and would return to Orleans *by the bridge*, of which two arches had been destroyed. Jeanne did lead the attack, and was seriously wounded; the arrow-shaft stood a handbreadth out behind her shoulder. Later in the day, when Dunois had actually sounded the retreat, she induced him to command a last charge. So they *did* listen to her. She seized her banner beside the fosse, she bade the men charge once more, when her banner touched the wall, and they carried the position, returning to Orleans by the bridge, which they repaired. So says Dunois.²

M. France says (p. 366), 'Even so were fulfilled all her prophecies, when their accomplishment depended on her own courage and good will.' This being so, why does M. France keep denying it? There was no miracle, of course; there was only a military miracle. Dunois had abandoned all hope of accomplishing the task, but Jeanne caused it to be accomplished. Jeanne knew, as he has shown us, how to turn a mere diversion into a successful assault, how to lead men to a final attack on a strong fortress; and she knew, as M. France has told us, when to abstain from fighting and avoid disaster. Verily she was no mere *porte-bonheur*, but an invaluable leader.

When Talbot retired from Orleans, on May 8, the day after the fall of the Tourelles, he drew up his army in array, and offered battle. The Maid declined the offer (the leaders obeying her), whether from aversion to bloodshed, or because, in the open field, the archers and men-at-arms of England were still, in her opinion, too strong for French forces greatly superior in numbers. The Captains—'who scarcely ever took

¹ D'Aulon, *Procès*, iii. 212.

² *Procès*, iii. 8.

Jeanne's advice'—were probably wise when they *did* take it on this occasion. Few weeks passed before the great Dunois again refused to fight Talbot's force, in battle array, on a fair field, though Jeanne wished to charge.

The Dauphin, in his letters to the towns, declared that the Maid 'had always been personally present at the achievement of all these successes.' M. France says, in his grudging manner, 'her part in the victory was in nowise that of a captain; she had no command.' None the less she played the part of a captain, of a staff officer, and of a leader; nay, of commander-in-chief. *She* decided that Talbot should not be met on May 8. Sometimes M. France acknowledges all this, again he withdraws his acknowledgment (p. 372). His book is thus a tissue of incoherencies; his portrait of the Maid is an unintelligible blur.

For weeks after the relief of Orleans the French leaders knew not where to look for the English army which Fastolf had been leading to reinforce the English. Jeanne had struck too swiftly, and the French had no intelligence of Fastolf's movements. Jeanne's one wish was to lead Charles to his coronation at Reims. The Duc d'Alençon deposed that he had sometimes heard the Maid saying to the King, 'I will last a year and little more, and they should think how they may use that year well.'¹

M. France quotes, and does not dispute this pathetic prophecy. Jeanne's year reminds us of the year of Montrose. In Jeanne's heart the belief in the brevity of her day was deeply rooted, and when her year was over, in Easter week 1430, she heard in the moat of Melun her Voices tell her that she would be captured before Midsummer (1430).² They spoke sooth. It is not my business to discuss here the source of these strange veridical premonitions. Jeanne believed that part of her mission was (if she were *sans empêchement*) to release the Duke of Orleans from his captivity in England,³ yet she knew, in the spring of 1430, that she would be presently a captive herself.

Anxious as she was to urge on the King, Jeanne sought him among his counsellors,⁴ one of whom, d'Harcourt, asked her to explain what she meant by '*her Conseil*.' Dunois, who was present, reports her reply, for which the Dauphin also asked. She said

¹ *Procès*, iii. 99.

² *Ib.* i. 115.

³ D'Alençon, *Procès*, iii. 99.

⁴ She certainly was not a Member of the Privy Council.

that 'when she was vexed because she was not readily believed as to what she told from God, she was wont to go apart and pray to Him, complaining of their disbelief, and, her prayer finished, she heard a Voice saying to her, '*Daughter of God, go on, go on, I will be thine aid!*' ; and ever when she heard that Voice, she was used to be very glad, yea, would desire always to be in that state, and, what is more, in repeating these words of her Voices, she exulted marvellously, lifting her eyes to heaven.' So said Dunois.¹

Can any scene be more natural, or more simply and veraciously reported? The words of the great Dunois are marked with the seal of truth ; they prove, too, that d'Harcourt, Dunois, Machet (the confessor of the Dauphin), and the rest (except, apparently, the Dauphin himself), had never heard of the three Saints, nor did Jeanne now tell them anything. M. France, however, who, as the author of *La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, knows women better than Dunois did, writes, 'These eyes, swimming in tears' (he has added the tears), 'this ravished air, which amazed Monseigneur le Bâtard, were no extasy, they were a sham extasy' (*l'imitation d'une extase*). 'It is a scene full of artifice' (on Jeanne's part) 'and of innocence' (on the part of Dunois and the rest).²

I am sorry to be obliged to copy these words. In another passage, dealing with the same scene, M. France compares Jeanne to a medium employed by the credulous Dr. Luys. He writes that 'Dunois, with strange want of discernment, tells a tale' (*bistoriette*) 'to prove that Jeanne had visions, while the anecdote, in fact, would persuade us that this young peasant was a clever humbug (*simulatrice*), and gave, at the request of the nobles, a view of her trance, like the Esther of the regretted Dr. Luys' (p. xxiii). Yet M. France says, 'I have raised no doubts as to the sincerity of Jeanne. She cannot be suspected of falsehood' (pp. xxxviii, xxxix). What can he mean?

I suppose that Esther was 'a trance medium,' like Mrs. Piper. But Dunois made no effort to prove that Jeanne 'had visions,' he said no word about visions. Nor did Jeanne, as he describes her, give '*le spectacle de l'extase*.' Trance and ecstasy imply unconsciousness in the subject to the external world. Jeanne merely looked gratefully and gladly upwards. That is all. She was not unconscious of her surroundings, nor did she feign to be ; she went on speaking in reply to questions. I know

¹ Dunois, in *Procès*, iii. 12.

² France, pp. 391, 392.

nothing of the medium who beguiled Dr. Luys, but I have read, *ad nauseam*, descriptions of the hideous convulsed trances of Mrs. Piper, and other modern seeresses, who, while unconscious, speak in feigned voices. I know no evidence that Jeanne was ever seen *en extase*, real or feigned. I do not envy M. France's gift of odious suggestion. But he might be consistent. He speaks of running the risk of not displaying all the beauty of the heart of Jeanne (p. lxxxi); and her beautiful heart, he says, permitted her to give a deliberate burlesque of all that she held most sacred and kept most secret.

M. France as he goes on gathers more blooming legends, visible only to himself, in his enchanted forest. 'She prophesied, and, like other prophets, did not always announce things that occurred. . . . She said, "Before the day of St. John the Baptist, 1429, there will not be an Englishman, howsoever strong and valiant, visible in France, in the field or in the fight"' (p. 402). For this amazingly absurd prediction, M. France quotes the account given in the books of Brabant of the letter of de Rotselaer (April 22, 1429. *Procès*, iv. 426).

The passage does *not* contain a single word about the disappearance of the English from France before St. John's Day, 1429. That is M. France's privately grown flower of fable. He also cites the reports of Morosini, often a mere chaos of silly stories; but how can he have found this marvel,—the prediction of the disappearance of the English from France,—where it does not exist? The prophecies reported on April 22 by de Rotselaer, and recorded from his letter by the clerk of Brabant, are: 'She will save the people of Orleans, will drive the English from the leaguer, will herself be wounded in battle before Orleans by an arrow, but not unto death, the King will be crowned this summer at Reims, and other things she says which the King keeps within himself secret.' All these things were fulfilled.

The other, the unfulfilled prophecy, M. France has found, with similar stupidities, in Morosini, and has attributed it to the evidence of de Rotselaer. It is M. France who is—unhistorical, not Jeanne, who (in this case) is a false prophetess. 'The doctors explain,' says M. France, 'how the prophecies of veritable prophets are not always veridical.' Perhaps it does not need a Doctor of Divinity to explain how the historical assertions of M. France are not always—historical!

Sir Walter Scott, 'to the indignation of Mr. Alexander

Peterkin,' says Lockhart, maintained that chivalry was no part of the character of Robert Burns. I fear that the same must be said of M. Anatole France, as regards his treatment of a passage in which Jeanne really made a false prophecy.

On June 8, 1429, Guy and André de Laval, of the great Breton house, had ridden to join the Dauphin, and, meeting Jeanne, Guy described her in a letter to their mother. M. France asserts their motive for joining the army to have been desire of gain. 'Having great need of gain, the young gentlemen offered their services to the King, who did not give them a crown piece.'

So greedy of gain was Guy de Laval that he writes to his mother, 'There is no money at Court, or very little, wherefore, Madame my Mother, as you have my seal, spare not to sell or mortgage my land. . . .' That is the point which M. France, in his eagerness to blacken the chivalry of his country, overlooks. The young men had come in, unsummoned, for love of King and country, and did not spare to sell their lands, for honour's sake.¹

Laval met the Maid, who offered him wine, and said that she had sent his mother a little gold ring, 'in consideration of her fair renown' (*sa recommandation*). But M. France's explanation is that Madame de Laval 'had doubtless asked for some object which Jeanne had touched' (pp. 395, 404). Surely he knows that Jeanne used to laugh at the people who asked her to touch them with her ring. 'Touch yourself with your own!' she was wont to say.

The finest contemporary tribute to Jeanne is that of Guy de Laval: 'Elle semble chose toute divine de son fait, et de la voir et de l'ouïr'; 'To see her and hear her, she seems a thing all divine of her nature.' These words are omitted by M. France. Here is her false prophecy, 'She called for wine, and said that she would soon *give me wine to drink in Paris*,' a point to be remembered. Deserted and thwarted by her King, Jeanne failed to take Paris. She lay all day wounded before the wall, they carried her off, still crying them on to another assault.

Meanwhile, she was in the full tide of victory. She was struck on her light helmet by a heavy stone as she climbed a scaling ladder in the assault on Jargeau, but she returned to the attack, and the place was taken. As usual, she was

¹ *Procès*, v. 109.

consulted by the leaders, when the English, after the fall of Jargeau and the evacuation of Beaugency, concentrated, Fastolf joining Talbot. The French army and the invaders were now in touch. 'Then the Duc d'Alençon asked Jeanne what he ought to do,' says Dunois. 'Have you good spurs?' she answered. 'Are we to turn our backs?' 'No, but the English will make no resistance, and you will need spurs in the pursuit.'¹ This was exactly what occurred, not then, but next day. The English made no resistance.

There was no battle on that day, the French holding a hill, which the English did not attack. On the following day, the French had lost touch of the English. We have an account of events from the pen of Wavrin, who served with Sir John Fastolf in an affair unfortunate for that knight, who took discretion for the better part of valour.

The French took the field, Wavrin says, with La Hire, Xaintrailles, and others leading the advanced guard; d'Alençon, Dunois, and the Maréchal de Rais led *la bataille*, the main body. 'Some of the princes and chief leaders asked the Maid what she thought it best to do.' She bade them advance, the English would be beaten. D'Alençon says that she cried, 'The good King will have the greatest victory he has had for long. My Counsellors tell me that they are all ours.'²

The leaders, says Wavrin, asked Jeanne where they would find the English? She answered, 'Ride forward, *you will have good guidance*.'³ They had!

Thus writes Wavrin. M. France says that Jeanne, against her desire, was with the rear-guard, under Laval and de Rais. 'She did not lead the men-at-arms, the men-at-arms led her, holding her, not commander, but a luck-bringer' (*porte-bonheur*).

This is his opinion: however often Jeanne leads a charge, she is still in the rear, 'for luck.' However often the evidence asserts that her advice is sought, it is *not* sought, she is only a *mascotte*.

For her position in the rear, M. France cites 'Lettre de Jacques de Bourbon,' *Revue Bleue*, 13 Feb. 1892, Wavrin, and Monstrelet. We have also the evidence of her page, Louis de Coutes (*Procès*, iii. 71). 'La Hire led the advance-guard, at which Jeanne was very angry, because she much preferred to have the burden of

¹ Dunois, *Procès*, iii. 10, 11.

² D'Alençon, *Procès*, iii. 99.

³ Wavrin, *Procès*, iv. 419, 420.

leading the *avant-garde*.' As a rule, Jeanne was at the front. At the battle of Pathay (like the clans at Killiecrankie, or at Prestonpans, who implored Dundee, and compelled Prince Charles, not to lead the charge), the French kept the Maid in the rear. On the great airy plain the English were invisible, hidden, says M. France, in a gorge or ravine. The van of the English, led by a knight with a white standard, were moving on Janville; the artillery and transport followed, then came the main body under Talbot and Fastolf, and last, a strong English rear-guard.

The English patrols told Talbot that, unseen themselves, they had seen the French. He sent out scouts, who confirmed the news, a great French host was galloping towards them. Talbot sent his advance-guard, transport and artillery towards the long *haies* near Pathay. He came to a pass between two strong hedges, and, dismounting, he meant to line the pass with 500 chosen archers: he would hold it till his advanced guard and main force united. His archers were ordered to fix their long pikes in front of their position.

The scheme was good. The archers in the narrow pass would roll up the chivalry of France, as the English archers of Balliol laid the charging Scots in heaps as high as a lance, at Dupplin. The cavalry of England would then finish the French, who knew not where to look for the enemy. But Jeanne had promised that the French should have *bon conduit*. They were galloping *moult raidement*, with mounted skirmishers ahead, unconscious of the presence of the enemy, when the foremost riders startled a stag, which ran through the hidden lines of English archers. Doubtless they loosed their arrows, certainly they raised the view halloo, *ung moult haut cry*, says Wavrin. The scouts of La Hire drew bridle, and sent prickers galloping back to La Hire. 'We have found them; form and ride,' they cried. The English of the advanced guard, not yet at the hedges, hurried to reach them; but they came too late, and, seeing Fastolf's force spurring towards them, thought that they were the French, and were on them. They all fled, and the archers lining the hedges left them empty and ran. The French cut them down, Talbot was taken, his five hundred archers were speared, and Fastolf, seeing that the battle was lost, rode off, lamenting. 'The French could take and slay at pleasure.' There was, as Jeanne had said, no resistance.¹ She had made this prediction on the previous day, when the English

¹ Wavrin, *Procès*, iv. 419-424.

offered battle in the plain, while the French refused to accept it. The prophecy then seemed impossible to the French leaders, but the chapter of accidents, with the intervention of the stag, caused it to be fulfilled to the letter. Nobody can deny that Jeanne was 'lucky.'

It is the habit of M. France, as regards the Maid, 'to seek knots in a rush,' as the mediaeval proverb ran, *quaerens nodum in scirpo*. Here is a sample.

'The little saint committed a strange error.' It amounted to this, a friar, sent to her by the Duc de Bretagne, spoke of the Duc as 'our lawful lord.' 'The Duc is not my lawful lord,' she replied, 'The King is my lawful lord.' If she said any of this at all, she said, 'The *Dauphin* is my lord.'¹ M. France labours this notable blunder of 'the little saint'!

Next, the little saint, and her big saints, are ignorant, says M. France, of geography. Had they known geography they would, after Pathay, have attacked the English in Normandy, or attacked Paris. M. France says that Paris was defenceless. Bedford, Regent for Henry VI., thought the town as good as taken, and shut himself up in the tower of Vincennes (p. 451).

Though the leaders 'hardly ever consulted or listened to' Jeanne, they did, says Dunois, consult her about the plan of campaign; he seems to place the date after Pathay. Lords of the blood royal, he says, and captains (himself and d'Alençon probably), wished the King not to go to Reims, but to invade Normandy. But Jeanne was for Reims, on the score that, the King once consecrated, the forces of his adversaries would keep diminishing.² Finally 'all came into the Maid's opinion.'

This is the less wonderful as M. France himself, on reflection, sees that, demoralised as the English were, 'the French in Normandy would have had to tarry long round towns very strongly fortified (*villes très fortes*) which a petty garrison sufficed to guard . . . and the Royal treasury could not defray the expense of these costly operations,' while 'Normandy was ruined, bare of cattle, bare of crops' (p. 453).

These very obvious difficulties, in the Norman campaign, which at once occur even to the civilian, account for the decision not to attempt to work military miracles in Normandy. M. France makes all these reflections himself on p. 453. On p. 450 he had ascribed Jeanne's preference of the Reims to the Norman campaign on the ground of that ignorance of geography which

¹ *Procès*, iv. 498.

² Dunois, in *Procès*, iii. 12, 13.

she shared with her Saints. The sneer is pointless! But M. France had already enjoyed it in his preface. 'It was not Jeanne who drove the English from Orleans; if she helped to save Orleans, she retarded the deliverance, for her march to Reims caused the loss of the opportunity to recover Normandy' (p. xlix). Yet (p. 453) he shows that Normandy probably could not have been recovered.

The silly 'little saint' knew enough to know that she must strike at Paris, at the heart of the English dominion. She said so, as we saw, to the young de Laval before June 8. Jeanne had her idea, to have the Dauphin crowned and secure the loyalty of his people by the ceremony. It cost the expenditure of all her amazing energy to move him from his castles on the Loire.

M. France says that the nobles did not want to finish the war, did not wish to risk themselves; and these facts, not Jeanne's ignorance of geography, caused the loss of precious time after Pathay. Though 'the leaders scarcely ever consulted Jeanne,' she no sooner overcame the Dauphin's calculated skill in delay, and dragged him to Reims, than she urged an instant march on Paris, which was not reinforced, needed new works and fortifications, and would have fallen. But the King's delays, and, later, his diplomacy, ruined the strategy of the Maid. The little saint's ideas (setting aside the policy of the Coronation) were intelligent, were soldierlike. As to the disputable point of the Coronation, M. France himself writes, 'It might be said' (*on pouvait dire*) 'that Charles de Valois would receive more force from a drop of oil than from ten thousand lances' (p. 457).

As all these things were so, what is it that ails M. France against the little saint? Her ideas being correct, or as good as any others in the circumstances, why does he gird at the Maid? He seems to seize in haste at every opportunity to sneer, and then, as he goes on writing, he finds that there was nothing to sneer at. But he leaves his gibe in its position.

We hear nothing of any proposal, after Pathay, to strike instantly at Paris. The idea does not appear to have occurred to Dunois; what practical difficulties may have existed we know not. Meanwhile Bedford was left free to recruit and call in garrisons; Beaufort in England mobilised his crusading army, and was about to launch it to reinforce Paris. Jeanne dragged the King from the Loire through the cities garrisoned by the Burgundians in Champagne; they yielded on easy terms at

Troyes, after a demonstration led by the Maid. She was called into Council, *contre l'habitude*, says M. France (p. 496). *Her habit* seems to have been to enter unsummoned.

The Coronation was the great day of her joy, on which the shadow was already falling.

M. France continues to sneer and to be inaccurate. He says (p. 520), 'In one of her dreams she had once given a glorious crown to her King; she expected this crown to be brought into the church by heavenly messengers.' The reference offered is *Procès*, i. 108. As too often, there is no such matter in the passage cited. Possibly M. France meant to refer to an unintelligible passage in *Procès*, i. 91. If so, he has added 'the heavenly messengers.' The allusion is probably to the confessed allegory of a crown borne by angels, an allegory which Jeanne used as cover for the real Secret of the King. But see Morosini, iii. 160, 161. That secret, as it indicated his doubt of his own about his legitimacy, she would never reveal.

As is well known, on July 31, 1429, Jeanne obtained from the King exemption from taxation for Domremy and Greux, a neighbouring village, an exemption which is said to have lasted till the Revolution. The document exists and is published.¹

M. France writes that the Maid's father 'did not come to Reims merely to see his daughter ride about in man's attire.' (How sympathetic!) 'He came to ask the King for the exemption from imposts. This request, which the Maid transmitted to the King, was granted' (p. 524). He refers to the document in *Procès*, v. 137-139, which pages contain nothing about the request of Jacques d'Arc! The King merely says that he grants the exemption at the request of the Maid, considering her great, high, notable, and profitable services, which she has done and daily does.

M. France next cites passages from *Procès*, i. pp. 141, 266, 267. He gives much needless trouble, for the passages have to be sought, not in volume i., but in volume v.

His last sneer, in this place, is directed at the Saints who 'could not penetrate into the *chancelleries* of France and Burgundy,' which were hatching schemes fatal to the Maid's future efforts, especially to the attack on Paris (p. 507). But it appears that the Saints *had* their inklings of the brewing treason, for, as M. France says, Jeanne 'had already dark presentiments.' She said to a man from her neighbourhood, one Gérardin, that

¹ *Procès*, v. 137-139.

'*she feared nothing but treachery.*' She was not deceived in this presentiment.¹ 'The net was laid, and the snares were set.'

M. France ends with a chapter on the rise of legends, repeating much that he has said before, even things that are inaccurate, and especially dealing with the curious fables in Morosini (vol. iii.). We have seen that M. France throughout plays—much more zealously than the official in the recent *Procès* for the canonisation, the part of *Advocatus Diaboli*. He does his best to display 'the seamy side' of Jeanne. He tries, how unsuccessfully I have shown, to prove that she had very little part in the great military successes of her country. He labours to detect in the clergy the initiators of her mission. He endeavours to demonstrate that she was a false prophetess, and her errors depend on his own inaccuracies. He dogmatically states that, on one occasion, she deliberately deceived the King's advisers. I have proved that she made no such pretence as is alleged by M. France, and I have never been so much struck as now by the singular success of her predictions, which to me seems beyond the range of fortuitous coincidence. Have I been too hard on the inaccuracies of M. France? Again and again we have shown that his most damaging attacks fail because they are based on his own errors.

Without the visions and Voices, there would have been no Jeanne d'Arc. These influences, against her will, and after her long resistance, made her 'go into France.' These predictions of hers, that she would relieve Orleans, crown the King at Reims, herself be wounded by an arrow, but not fatally, under Orleans wall; that, at Pathay, the English would be defeated without resisting, and so on, made her prestige, gave new courage to her party. Without the Voices, she would never have left her home, would never have been allowed to display that example which

'Turned the coward's nerves to steel,
The coward's blood to fire.'

M. France has his defence, as to his many fatal inaccuracies. In his preface he tells an amusing tale of a fiend named Titivillus, who daily took to Satan the changed or omitted letters in the work of copyists, to be charged against the salvation of the blunderers. I have played the part of Titivillus, collecting some of the errors in a book which '*prétend à l'exactitude.*' The printer's devil will have a hand in all books; but citations

¹ Gérardin, in *Procès*, ii. 423.

of authorities which do not contain the evidence attributed to them, evidence essential to the author's arguments, cannot be fairly charged on that scape goat, the compositor. I have only noted a few of the inaccuracies of M. France. Let any reader compare his pages about the Maid's breach of promise of marriage case with the pages in the *Procès* which M. France cites. Let any one compare his pages 116, 117 with his authorities; and his pages 316, 317 with his authorities. New legends are invented by M. France at every turn, because he reads the authorities incorrectly, or gives the wrong references for facts which I can nowhere find.

M. France tells us how difficult it is for the historian to inhabit two worlds at once, that of 1429-1431, and that of the twentieth century. Perhaps he dwells too much in our own age, is too deficient in chivalrous generosity, and, so far, fails to understand the candour of the Maid, who was no fraudulent medium, but, in character and genius, a world's wonder, while her apparently supranormal faculties are a problem not to be solved by a gibe. For my own part, I confess that I see the Maid, not as M. France does (in some passages, in others he gives her due praise), but as did the young, brave, and generous Guy de Laval, the kind and courteous son, the tennis player, the knight who beheld the Maid with the eyes of youth and loyalty. *Elle semble chose toute divine de son faict, et de la voir et de l'ouïr.*¹

A. LANG.

¹*Hilarem gerit vultum*, 'her face was glad,' says Perceval de Boulainvilliers. She had 'a sweet low voice, an excellent thing in woman.' 'Elle parlait en assès voix de femme' (Guy de Laval). '*Vocem mulieris ad instar habet gracilem*' (Perceval de Boulainvilliers, *Procès*, v. 108, 120).

The Abbey of Inchaffray¹

IN 1847 the Bannatyne Club printed the Register of the Abbey of Inchaffray, with an appendix of charters, illustrating the history of the Earldom of Strathern. The present volume of the charters of the Abbey was issued this year by the Scottish History Society. A comparison of the two volumes shows a great advance in the study of Scottish history.

Mr. Cosmo Innes—to whom all lovers of charters cannot be too grateful—edited the earlier volume; he had to content himself with a copy of the Register, itself compiled as late as the fifteenth century; he saw only a few of the original charters, because access to the Dupplin charter chest was then denied. Mr. Innes followed the fashion of the day; he gave the bare text without notes; he did not attempt to date charters; he did not translate them; and what is more to be regretted, he did not explain what the charters meant even when the meaning was obscure and the text corrupt; he did not identify the lands granted to the Abbey. Mr. Innes' silence arose partly from a certain disdain of the ignorance of the ordinary reader and from a feeling that the few who would read the book did not need assistance, and partly from a modest (perhaps a proud) hesitation to commit himself to a decided opinion on doubtful points, for above all things he disliked controversy.

His preface, however, like all he wrote, revealed his great knowledge of, and sympathy with, early-medieval Scotland. It is picturesque and sentimental, and though he did not trouble himself greatly as to the details of the grants of the poor churches and the marshy lands of Inchaffray, and did not tell

¹ *Charters, Bulls, and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray.* Edited by W. A. Lindsay, K.C., Windsor Herald, John Dowden, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, John Maitland Thomson, LL.D. Scottish History Society, vol. lvi. Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable. 1908.

much about the granters or the witnesses, he as editor of that and many other Scottish monastic chartularies furnished a later generation of charter students with abundant material for which they must be grateful.

Dr. Dowden, the Bishop of Edinburgh, was almost the first in Scotland to adopt the newer and better methods of Bishop Stubbs and Mr. Round, and in the 'Chartulary of Lindores'—an admirable work—he showed an example which has been nobly followed by the editors of the present volume on Inchaffray. They have discarded registers and copies, and have printed from originals only, being more fortunate than their predecessor, for the Earl of Kinnoull has generously opened to them the treasures of his charter room. The book is enriched by facsimiles of the more interesting deeds; the seals are pictured and even the colour of the tags is noted.

The charters are arranged by Mr. Maitland Thomson according to their approximate dates. I think I would have transposed a few here and there, but Mr. Thomson's authority on such matters is eminent. Mr. Lindsay, the Windsor Herald, gives an interesting history of the Earls of Strathern and of other benefactors, and explains many difficulties. Bishop Dowden (most learned in Scottish ecclesiastical history) contributes a history of the Abbey and lists of the Abbots of Inchaffray and of the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, and an abstract of and notes to each charter. Mr. Maitland Thomson with infinite care prepared a map showing the Abbey lands, which he has in most cases identified, and added many important notes. I wish the Index had been better done.

The result of these united labours is a book delightful to all who care for charters and for the details of life in medieval Scotland, and it cannot fail to be useful to students of history.

The low ground between Wester Fowlis and Madderty, through which runs the sluggish Pow, was (until the middle of the eighteenth century) a marsh almost impassable except in dry weather; out of this low land, near Madderty, there rises a mound, called from ancient times an island—the *Insula Missarum*, Inchaffray.

Dr. Dowden suggests that long before the foundation of a priory the island was occupied by a fraternity of hermits. I doubt whether the charter from Bishop Symon quite supports his

view—the church of St. John which the Bishop granted to Isaac was founded by and dedicated at the instance of Earl Gilbert after the death of his son. If there was a fraternity there from the old Celtic time, it is certain that at the close of the twelfth century the brethren of the Isle of Masses acknowledged the authority of Rome and were subject to the local Diocesan. The earliest charter is a grant of the church of Inchaffray by the Bishop of Dunblane and his successors, and the next is a letter to the Hermit and brethren by Pope Innocent III. in 1200, which show that the religious in Inchaffray were in accord with, and did not claim to be, independent of Rome.

Gilbert, Earl of Strathern, in 1198 buried his eldest son there and founded a chapel dedicated to St. John. He entrusted it to Malis, a hermit, and asked him to select men to live there according to the rule of St. Augustine. Malis was the first Prior and ruled over a small house, for the number of ordinary canons does not seem to have exceeded eleven. In the year 1221 Prior Innocent was advanced by the Papal Legate to the dignity of an Abbot; he was ‘blessed’ by the Bishop of Dunblane, on whose diocese the Abbey lay.

To endow the new monastery Earl Gilbert gave the patronage and the tithe of many of the churches in Strathern; he also gave tithe of his revenues and of the food brought to his own kitchen. He gave many lands in Madderty and in other places. The Earl's brother and later members of the family were benefactors, while other magnates, such as Tristram of Gorthie, Nigel de Lutoft, and the Bishops of Dunkeld added land and churches. There are so few early charters of lands in Argyllshire and the Hebrides that it is especially interesting to read grants in the thirteenth century of the churches of Kilmorich on Loch Fyne, of a church in an island of Loch Awe and of a church in North Uist. The Abbey acquired houses in Perth to which they were careful to secure a road.

These endowments ought to have yielded an income sufficient for a small monastery, but the Abbey seems always to have been poor. From the tithes of the churches the Bishop of Dunblane was awarded a share, and as early as 1234 the canons were not in possession of the churches of Strageith Fowlis, Trinity Gask, Monievaird and Dunning. The Abbot and canons were not strong enough to resist their stronger lay neighbours; perhaps they were extravagant, careless and bad managers. They sold

and feued their lands, and successive Popes issued orders that lands improperly alienated should be restored.

The only abbot of Inchaffray who lives in history is Maurice, who, taking with him a relic of St. Fillan, accompanied King Robert the Bruce's army to the battle of Bannockburn. Sir Walter Scott, founding on Bowers' narrative, relates how 'the Abbot of Inchaffray walked through the ranks barefooted, and exhorted them to fight for their freedom. They kneeled down as he passed, and prayed to Heaven for victory. King Edward, who saw this, called out, "They kneel down—they are asking forgiveness!" "Yes," said Ingelram de Umfraville, "but they ask it of God, not from us; these men will conquer or die upon the field."'

Thus at least one abbot of this little monastery was of use to Scotland. Maurice was afterwards promoted to the Bishopric of Dunblane.

Of the abbots of many houses there are abundant records, but little is known of the lives of the resident monks and canons.

Did they lead idle, useless lives? There is no trace in these charters of a school taught or encouraged by them. It is not recorded that the brethren cultivated any of their lands. From the isolated position of Inchaffray, they could not be hospitable to travellers. The abbey had many churches, the rectorial tithes of which it drew, and which had to be served by vicars or chaplains. Canons regular were not usually ordained as priests. I do not know if any of the canons of Inchaffray could or did say mass, or attended to the spiritual needs of their churches. If they did, there was occupation for them.

Still, we may believe that this abbey, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (to quote Mr. Cosmo Innes), 'was fit for the time. It kept alive the flickering light of literature. It gathered together and protected the spirits too delicate for a rough season. . . . It was the sphere of mind when all around was material and gross.'

The title-deeds of a religious house, like those of a private family, seldom throw much light on the condition and manners of the vassals and labourers of the ground.

The Earl of Strathern, the founder of the abbey, and the patron, perhaps the founder, of the Bishopric of Dunblane, was of the Celtic race; his ancestors were the great men of the district. Earl Gilbert married a lady of the Norman family of D'Aubigny. It may be gathered from these charters that he

favoured the introduction of southern customs and the closer union of the churches and monasteries of his district with Rome. He lived at Fowlis, near Inchaffray. His castle has been razed to the ground, but the site, near Castletown farm, is still obvious on the verge of a steep cliff, from which its north wall rose; to the south there is a gentle slope of fine green turf.

Less than a mile to the south, and in sight of the abbey, is the 'Sairlaw,' the Moot hill of that part of the Earldom; and when the Earls hanged any of the abbey tenants, their bodies hung there in public view, while their personal goods were given to the abbot and canons.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the landowners in Strathern were almost all Celts. One of them, Gillicolm of Madderty, held the office of Marshal under King William the Lion, and was the keeper of the King's Castle of Heryn, which I take to have been Auldearn, in Moray. Mr. Cosmo Innes suggested that Gillicolm the Marshal was a robber who infested Lothian, and who was killed by Roland of Galloway in 1185, but the suggestion cannot be accepted. It is plain that the Lord of Madderty was not a robber but a trusted servant of the King. He betrayed his trust, however, surrendered the castle of Heryn and joined the King's mortal enemies, and his lands of Madderty were forfeited and given to Earl Gilbert of Strathern. It is probable that this happened during the insurrection of the Earl of Orkney between 1195 and 1197, in which latter year the King, near Inverness, defeated Roderick and Torphin, the sons of Earl Harold. The Earl of Strathern gave the church of Madderty to the priory of Inchaffray and the Bishop of Dunkeld added the church land called 'Abthan' which owed service to the See of Dunkeld. Madderty was one of the detached parishes of that diocese, the history of which it would be interesting to discover. Ultimately the abbey acquired almost the whole of Madderty, and there it had its principal grange.

The rural population was also of the Celtic race, the names of Gillenam, the Earl's steward, Constantine the Judge, Gillicrist Gal, Duncan son of Malise, Gillebrech Anecol Thane of Dunin, Duncan Thane of Struin, Macbeth Judex and Macbeth Mor, Duncan and Gilleshoma, and the ecclesiastics Malgirte the canon, Gillemure the deacon, Bricius parson of Crieff, and Malise his son, and many other similar names carry us back to a people and a time of which there is little written record.

The lands granted are not described as manors or hides or ploughgates; one early charter grants three, another four, another ten acres of land.

To these small bits of arable lands were attached rights of common pasturage on the unenclosed hills. The canons had pasture for ten kine in one common, for twelve kine and two horses in another, for five kine and one horse in a third. In another they had pasture for twenty kine, sixty sheep and two horses. They had besides rights of fishing and could have made a mill had there been sufficient head water. Probably the lands were tilled and the beasts looked after by neyffs, 'Nativi,' the hewers of wood and drawers of water attached to the soil, who could not leave without their lord's consent and who could be brought back if they ran away. There were serfs too, in absolute bondage, as late as 1278. John Cumyn acknowledged that he had no right to the Abbey's serf, Gillecris Rothe son of Gilleththeny, with all his issue born and to be born.

All the lands of the monastery were held in free alms exempt from secular service; the abbot had right to hold courts with an ill-defined jurisdiction, in criminal and civil matters, over those who lived on the abbey lands.

Mr. Maitland Thomson discovered in the Vatican, and has here printed for the first time, several Papal Bulls which show the unwearied vigilance of the Papal Court over even a small and remote monastery in Scotland.

When Malise, the last of the Earls of Strathern of the old race, was deprived of the Earldom about the year 1333, the abbey lost the representative of its earliest and best friends. It was then in difficulties, in debt to Maurice de Moravia (a neighbouring magnate of the family which gradually became supreme in Strathern). The abbey assigned to him its land of Balmacgillon and a rent from Abercairney; a few years later it had to pay to him thirty-two marks a year from Dunin. Later, in 1445, the abbot resigned all the lands to the King, and got a charter erecting these into a barony to be held of the Crown for the usual service rendered by other prelates. The poverty of the abbey continued. The canons had to pledge Inchbreky to the Mercers. They had so little control over their lands that they had to get leave to catch eels in the Pow River, and the consent of the King had to be obtained before they could make a little canal to bring their provisions by boat to the monastery.

The Abbey of Inchaffray

What is known of the house from about 1442 till the Reformation shows corruption and decay. One abbot resigned, being charged with keeping a concubine in the abbey and wasting the goods. The next three abbots stayed each a short time only.¹ Then it is recorded that three in succession offered to the Pope a hundred gold florins for the office. Times were changed from the days of the thirteenth century.

The last abbot fell at Flodden, and from that time the abbacy was held by absentee commendators who probably screwed all they could get of the rents and tithes and left the canons and the vicars in poverty. The first two commendators were men of rank, the third, John Hamilton, was a boy of twelve years old, and lastly, Archbishop Alexander Gordon acknowledged that when commendator he had resigned Inchaffray in favour of a young child, a Drummond, and had alienated several of the lands.

In favour of this young Drummond, the abbacy was made a temporal lordship with the title of Madderty. There is, I think, no record that the abbey was destroyed and the canons dispersed. Some years after the Reformation the survivors were paid their monks' portions, and when they died no new canons took their places. The church and conventual buildings fell into decay.

The existing ruin is that of a seventeenth century house built on old foundations, above the convent cellar and gateway. It was probably the residence of the first Lord Madderty. His descendant, the Earl of Kinnoull, is in possession of the charters of the abbey, and until recent legislation abolished patronage, the Earls of Kinnoull were the patrons of the parish churches held by Inchaffray. The site of the church is covered with heaps of ruined masonry. If these were cleared the foundations, possibly the tombstones, would be disclosed.

Thus though the charters of Inchaffray are not peculiarly interesting they throw light on the state of a part of Scotland and of the local church in medieval times. They tell us something of the might of the Earls of Strathern, and how, as time rolled on, the houses, both of the Earl and of the monks, decayed and fell.

The book is an excellent one, let not the editors be weary, but let them give us more of the same kind.

A. C. LAWRIE.

The Bishops of Glasgow

From the Restoration of the See by Earl David to the Reformation : Notes chiefly Chronological¹

A.D. 1508—A.D. 1603.

XXX. JAMES BEATON I. (Betoun, Beton, Bethune), first of that name as Archbishop of Glasgow, was at the time of his provision Bishop Elect of Galloway.

Assuming the accuracy of Macfarlane (*Genealogical Collections*, i. 1-35), this James Beaton was the sixth son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, by Marjory Boswell.² James's eldest brother, John, was, by Elizabeth Moniepennie, father of David the Cardinal, who was his third son. David's brother, James (second son), married Helen Melville, and their eldest son was James Beaton, the second of that name who held the Archbishopric of Glasgow.³

James Beaton was elected to Galloway after the death of George Vaus, who was dead before 27 Jan. 1507-8, for on that day the king attended at a soul's mass for the Bishop of Galloway (*Treasurer's Accounts*, iv. 37, 38). Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to furnish me with the following from Notes of Provisions in the Vatican (Vat. Arm. xii. cap. iii. no. xxxx.) '*Candidecase et capelle regie*. Jacobus notarius apostolicus electus fuit ecclesie Candidecase. De rege Scotorum nulla fit mentio 1508 anno quinto Julii II. Idem Jacobus a capitulo fuit postulatus, non tamen a sede apostolica postulationis causa approbatus, sed simpliciter de eadem provisus.' It will be noted that day and month are not given. But Dr.

¹ Continued from *S.H.R.* vol. v. p. 331. See also vol. v. pp. 76 and 203.

² Daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmuto.

³ David Laing (*Works of John Knox*, i. 13) gives (sufficiently for our purpose) the following notices of James Beaton, the first of the name who held the archbishopric of Glasgow:—A presentation to Maister James Betoun of the chauntry of Cathnes vacand be the deceis of Master James Auchinleck, 17 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1497 (R.S.S. i. ff. 18-19). His name appears among the *Intrantes* at St. Andrews in 1487, and he appears as a Master of Arts in 1493. In 1503 he was Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, and Prior of Whithorn; in 1504 he was Abbot [more correctly Commendator] of Dunfermline, and a Lord of Session. In 1505 he was Lord Treasurer.

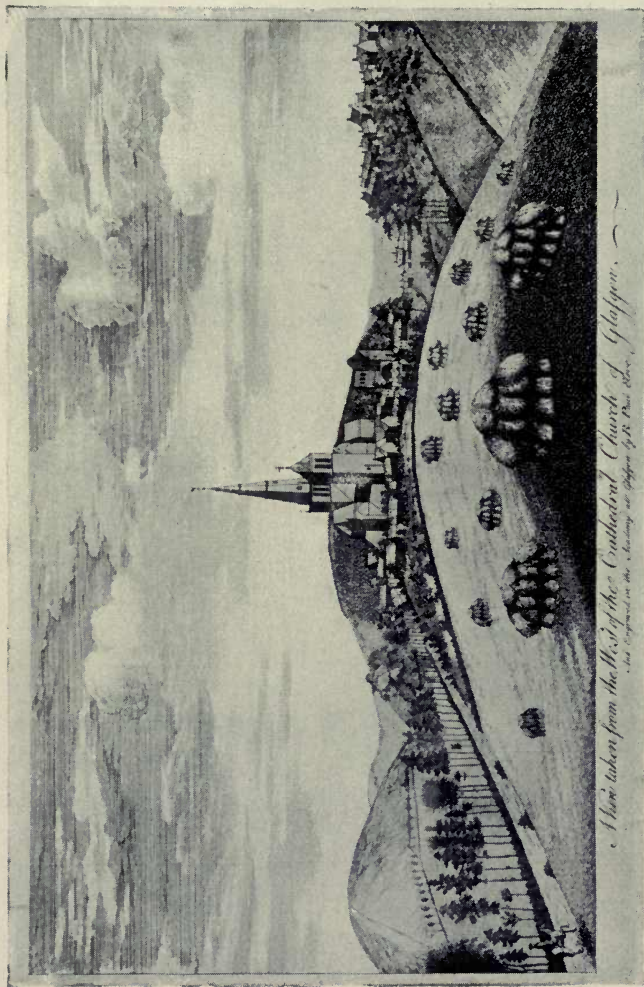
Thomson points out that from the *Obbligazioni* we get the date of Beaton's provision to Galloway as 12 May, 1508.

James Beaton was elected, or postulated, by the Chapter of Glasgow, on 9 Nov. 1508 (Bain and Rogers', *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii. 232). Master Adam Colquhoun, prebendary of Govan, presented royal letters of supplication, under the sign manual and the signet, to the chapter which was presided over by Master Martin Rede, the chancellor of the cathedral, in the absence of the dean, for the 'election or postulation' of the reverend father James Betoun, bishop of Candida Casa, to be archbishop of the church of Glasgow, which church is void, as is asserted, by the death of Robert, former archbishop. Thirteen canons concordantly postulated the said James. One canon, Master John Gibsoun, prebendary of Renfrew, considered that more time should have been allowed for consideration, but he added that he was sure that if the late archbishop had a choice he would have chosen James Betoun. Gibsoun eventually joined in the vote for Beaton. The following day, Master R. Forman, the dean, protested that no prejudice should arise to him or his successors because the postulation had taken place in his absence.

The uncertainty which still hung over the death of Blacader induces the chapter, on the occasion of Beaton's postulation, to state expressly that their act was not to be in prejudice to the rights of Robert, should he be still alive.

There is a letter of James IV. to Ludovic of Puteoli, secretary of the Cardinal [Dominic Grimani] of St. Mark, 'Protector Scottorum,' dated Jedburgh, 12 Feb., without year, but doubtless, 1508-9, in which the king after acknowledging his receipt of a letter announcing the death of Blacader, goes on to indicate his wish that James might be translated from Galloway to Glasgow, so that he might be able to resign the abbacy of Dunfermline in favour of the archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Stewart, the king's son (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 93, 94). Some short time after this must be dated a letter of James IV. to Pope Julius II. from Edinburgh, in which he states that he had already requested his Holiness that James, bishop of Candida Casa and the chapel royal, commendator 'pro tempore' of the monastery of Dunfermline, might be translated to Glasgow, adding the request that Dunfermline might be commended to the archbishop of St. Andrews (*Ib.* i. 95).

Beaton appears as 'elect of Glasgow' 28 Jan. 1508-9 (R.S.S. iii. 201). He is 'postulate of Glasgow, our treasurer' in the king's writ 10 March, 1508-9 (A.P. ii. 277). The papal provision must have come to Scotland early in the year, for the bulls were read at Glasgow on Easter Day, 8 April, 1509; and were formally received by the chapter, the University, and two city bailies, in the name of the citizens (*Reg. Dioc. Glasg.* ii. 278, 279). Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, from the same source as the earlier notice of Beaton's provision to Galloway, supplies the following—'*Glasguen*. Jacobus . . . in archiepiscopum Glasguen. a capitulo concorditer postulatus fuit; sed simpliciter de eadem provisos, nullo etiam supplicante, ac postulatione hujusmodi minime approbata, 1508, anno sexto Julii II.' And from the *Obbligazioni* we learn the date of the translation to Glasgow as 19 Jan. 1508-9.



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST.

By Robert Paul; drawn in the Academy of the Brothers Foulis. circa 1760.

He was consecrated, 'ordinatus et consecratus,' at Stirling on 'dominica in albis post Pascha,' 15 April, 1509 (memorandum in *Dioc. Reg. of Glasgow*, ii. 507). The day of the month is correct for the first Sunday after Easter [i.e. *dominica in albis*]. Two days later, 17 April, he took *de novo*, as consecrated archbishop of Glasgow, the oath contained in the Statutes of the cathedral of Glasgow (*Ib.* ii. 276).

He was made chancellor of Scotland in 1513, and appears as such in the rolls of Parliament (A.P. ii. 281).

He was admitted to the temporality of Kilwinning, 10 March, 1515-16 (R.S.S. v. 130); and to that of Arbroath, 17 March, 1517-18 (*Ib.* 132).¹

He was translated to St. Andrews by Adrian VI. on 10 Oct. 1522 (Brady). The pall was granted 10 Dec. 1522 (*Ib.*).

It is to be observed that, although the Vatican records just cited belong to Oct. and Dec. 1522, Beaton continues to be styled Archbishop of Glasgow well on into the year 1523. *As Archbishop of Glasgow he was pursuer in a civil action on 5 Feb. 1522-23 (*Act. Dom. Concil.*). There is a letter of his, as Archbishop of Glasgow, to Christiern, king of Denmark, in April, 1523 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 337-8). On 2 May, 1523, he is a witness, still as archbishop of Glasgow (R.M.S.). But on 18 June, 1523, he is Archbishop of St. Andrews in the sederunt of *Act. Dom. Concil.*² If I may venture on conjecture, I would suggest that possibly some convenience attaching to the Whitsunday rents of both sees may have made it preferable to defer the actual translation as regards the temporality.

Any attempt to recount the important part played by James Beaton I. in the civil history of the distracted times in which he lived would be beyond the scope of these Notes. But a few of the principal facts in his life, while archbishop of Glasgow, may be mentioned. It was he who crowned the infant king, James V., at Stirling on 21 Sept. 1513 (*Dioc. Reg. Glasgow*, ii. 507). He was a leading member of the Council of the Queen Regent. He was present at the 'Generale Counsale,' and appears as chancellor, at Perth, 26 Nov. 1513, when the alliance with France was renewed and ratified, and the request made that Albany might come to Scotland with men and munitions of war (A.P. ii. 281).

After the Queen's marriage with Angus, he is found in the party of Arran. Towards the end of August, 1514, Beaton, then chancellor, was under a temporary cloud: the keys of the Great Seal were ordered to be given to the postulate of Arbroath (Gavin Douglas), and the seal itself, for a time, to the archdean of St. Andrews, Gavin Dunbar (*Act. Dom. Concil.*). Certainly on the 17 and 18 Sept. he is styled chancellor: yet, in a letter addressed on the latter day by the Lords to John, duke

¹ In the forthcoming issue of the *Register of the Privy Seal*, under the editorship of Mr. Livingstone, the references will be for Kilwinning, i. No. 2725; and for Arbroath, i. No. 2975.

² I owe the more important of these references to Dr. J. Maitland Thomson.

of Albany, in the list of the Lords' names, the word 'chancellor' after the archbishop's name is deleted, and nevertheless he himself signs as 'Ja. cancellarius.' He is also chancellor in the sederunt of 21 Sept., and the Lords decide on that day that letters should be written to Gavin, postulate of Arbroath, to deliver up the keys of the Great Seal to the archbishop, chancellor, and that the seal itself should be delivered to the archbishop by the Clerk Register (Gavin Dunbar, archdean of St. Andrews) 'becaus the samyn was takin fra him [the archbishop] unorderlie.' A letter on behalf of the Queen is given in to the Lords on 14 Nov. signed by 'Gavinus cancellarius' (*Act. Dom. Concil.*). See also a letter from Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. 23 Nov. 1514 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*), in which, writing from Stirling Castle, she states that her adversaries detain the Great Seal, and use it 'as they were kings.' About this obscure episode Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has supplied me with the above particulars. It is plain that each of the two parties had a 'chancellor,' but Gavin Douglas had never the absolute custody of the seal though styled 'chancellor' by the Queen. Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good to express his opinion that the seizure of Beaton and the seal took place between the 2 and 26 Aug. 1514.

Early in 1516, on Arran capturing the castle of Glasgow with its munitions of war, Beaton exerted himself with Albany to procure his pardon.¹

On the departure of Albany to France, 7 June, 1517, he named Beaton one of the six vice-regents. And when the struggle between Angus and Arran was renewed Beaton is found associated with the latter, and remains an opponent of the Douglasses. The familiar story of the archbishop's 'clattering conscience,' told by Pitscottie, and his protection from slaughter by the efforts of Gavin Douglas, is apparently to be assigned to 30 April, 1520 (see George Buchanan, lib. xiv. c. 12). Lesley (p. 115) says the chancellor archbishop of Glasgow escaped from Edinburgh with Arran 'throw the northe loch.' In the following July, Angus attempted to seize the chancellor whom he thought to be at Stirling (*Ib.* 116).

The attempt of Henry VIII. before the translation of Beaton to St. Andrews to secure that dignity for Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, belongs rather to the history of St. Andrews than to that of Glasgow, and is not dealt with here. And the same has to be said of the eventful history of the archbishop after his translation to St. Andrews.

Among the acts of James Beaton recorded in R.G. will be found (1) his commission appointing Andrew Lord Gray, justiciar of the king, to be justiciar of the regality of Glasgow for the trial of Alexander Likprivik and his accomplices for the slaughter of George Hamilton

¹It was in this year that Arran, having obtained a divorce from his wife, married Janet Beaton, a niece of the archbishop (see the note in Pinkerton, ii. 179). She was a daughter of David Beaton of Creich in Fife, and had first been married to Sir Robert Levingston, of Easter Weems. See Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage* (iv. 360).

within the regality and city of Glasgow, 6 Aug. 1509 (No. 488); and (2) his confirmation of the privileges of the Chapter of the Cathedral, 8 July, 1512 (No. 490).

Leo X., when exempting James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, from any jurisdiction of St. Andrews, mentions as his suffragans only the bishops of Candida Casa and Lismore (R.G. p. 531). See what has been said before on this subject, under Blacader (p. 328).

It would seem as though the Chapter of the Cathedral of Glasgow had anticipated some difficulty with Beaton on his appointment, for we can scarcely doubt that it was at their request the archbishop of St. Andrews (Alex. Stewart), 'conservator of the privileges of the dean and chapter of the metropolitan church of Glasgow, specially deputed by the Apostolic See,' appointed on 18 May, 1509, sub-conservators, namely, 'David bishop of Candida Casa, George abbot of Holyrood, and Master Patrick Panter chancellor of Dunkeld and secretary of the king,' to act during his (the archbishop of St. Andrews') absence from Scotland (R.G. No. 487).

On 31 May, 1509, the Chapter of Glasgow consulted on a request from Beaton for a 'subsidy,' or gratuitous contribution, towards the redemption and expedition of his bulls and the relief of his debts. The canons were unanimous in refusing (*Diocesan Register*, ii. 285).

Beaton's seal as archbishop exhibited S. Kentigern with a salmon having a ring in its mouth together with a shield bearing arms: Quarterly, 1st and 4th:—a fess between three mascles; 2nd and 3rd:—on a chevron an otter head erased: Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 129.

It is not easy to explain the long delay in filling up the see of Glasgow after the translation of Beaton (10 Oct. 1522). On 31 Dec. 1523, Beaton, now archbishop of St. Andrews, writes to Rome in evident dread that in the appointment of the future archbishop of Glasgow the Pope may exempt him from the Primatial and Legatine jurisdiction of the see of St. Andrews (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 341, see also 343). His fears were justified; see below.

XXXI. GAVIN DUNBAR, son of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, by his second wife, Janet, daughter of Sir William Stewart of Garlies, or rather, Dalswinton, and nephew of Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Clerk Register (Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, ii. 527, 528).¹ He was Dean of Moray and preceptor of the King in 1518 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 291). He is described by Leslie as 'ane young clerk weill lerned, quha wes the kinges maister' (*Historie*, p. 118). He is described by Buchanan as 'vir bonus et doctus' (xiv. 34).

He was provided to Glasgow by Pope Clement VII. 8 July, 1524, with reservation of a pension of 200 ducats to Thomas Gai. The pall

¹ In the *Scots Peerage* (iv. 152) the father of the archbishop's mother appears as Alexander Stewart.

was granted 29 July, 1524. On 18 Sept. 1524, John Thornton 'in the name of Gavin elect of Glasgow' paid 2500 gold florins (Brady, i. 155).

On the same day as the provision (8 July) Pope Clement VII. granted to Gavin and his suffragans as full an exemption from the Primatial and Legatine jurisdiction of St. Andrews in all particulars as had been granted by Innocent VIII. and Leo X. to Robert Blacader and James Beaton. The bull is printed in full (R.G. No. 494).



SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR, A.D. 1524-47.



COUNTER SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR.

Though the papal provision was not till 1524, there can be little doubt that Dunbar had, through Albany's influence, been elected to Glasgow in 1523. See the evidence cited by Pinkerton (ii. 222 and 233).

The 'postulate of Glasgow' sat in Parliament on 16 Nov. 1524 (A.P. ii. 285). He had been admitted to the Temporality 27 Sept. 1524 (R.S.S. vii. 93). He is still postulate of Glasgow in Parliament on 14 Jan. 1524-25 (A.P. ii. 285; and R.M.S. iii. 294). He was consecrated at Edinburgh on 5 Feb. [Sunday], 1524-25 (*Diocesan Register*, i. 337). He sat in Parliament on 23 Feb. 1524-25, as 'archbishop of Glasgow' (A.P. ii. 288).

He was made Chancellor, 28 July, 1528.

He ceased to be Chancellor in 1543 (December); the Great Seal given to David Beaton.

He is in Parliament in July and August, 1546.

He died 30 April, 1547 (*Act. Dom. Con.* xxvi. 120).

Additional notes. Within three months of his consecration Dunbar confirmed to the dean and chapter of Glasgow all their rights, liberties,

and immunities 29 April, 1525 (R.G. No. 496). He himself styles Gavin, bishop of Aberdeen, 'noster patruus' *Cambusk.* p. 188.

Relations of the two archiepiscopal sees. An examination of the Bull of Clement VII., dated xi Kal. Oct. 1531 (R.G. No. 499) reveals that James Beaton after his accession to St. Andrews had put pressure on James V., while still a minor, to represent to the Pope that the Bull of 8 July, 1524 (referred to above), was to the prejudice and grave loss of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and that Clement had thereupon ordained that the privileges and exemptions which had been given to Gavin should not extend to the rights of the Archbishop of St. Andrews so far as they arose from his being primate and *legatus natus*. The date of this ordinance (no doubt expressed in a Bull) does not appear. But on Clement learning at a later time, from letters of the King and information furnished by Albany, that the former letters of the King had been 'extorted' from him contrary to his own wish by archbishop Beaton, the Pope revoked his later ordinance and went back to the arrangement expressed in the Bull of 8 July, 1524. Thus in 1531 Gavin regained all the immunities enjoyed by his predecessors Blacader and Beaton.

Towards the end of Nov. 1535, the archbishop of St. Andrews (James Beaton) when in the town of Dumfries elevated his archiepiscopal cross and blessed the people. A formal protest was made by archbishop Dunbar's official; and it was protested that these acts (which appear to have been done on this occasion with the consent of Dunbar) were not prejudicial to the privileges and indults of Glasgow. The archbishop of St. Andrews asserted, and was not contradicted by the archbishop of Glasgow, that there was an agreement (*compactum*) between their lordships (R.G. No. 500).

Four years later, on 27 Nov. 1539, the archbishop of St. Andrews (now Cardinal David Beaton) was in Dumfries. The official again made his protest. The cardinal admitted the exemption of Glasgow; and declared that the carrying of his cross was as primate of the kingdom of Scotland, and did not prejudice the rights of Glasgow. He added that he was doing only as his predecessors had done (R.G. No. 502).

There is an important instrument dated Palm Sunday, 5 April, 1544, and executed in the choir of Glasgow Cathedral before the high altar. Dunbar protested that the carrying of Cardinal Beaton's cross in the metropolitan church of Glasgow, or elsewhere in his diocese or province, should not be granted to the prejudice of the exemption of him (Dunbar). The cardinal courteously (*humaniter*) replied that he did not carry his cross, or give benediction, within the church to the prejudice of the exemption granted by the Pope, but solely by reason of the goodwill and courtesy of the archbishop of Glasgow (R.G. No. 504).

The question connected with the elevation of the archbishop of St. Andrews' cross culminated in a disgraceful riot in the Cathedral of Glasgow, if indeed we are not compelled to suppose that on two occasions

there were scenes of violence in the Cathedral due to the same cause. The humorous and graphic pen of John Knox (*Works*, i. 146, 147) has made the story familiar. Bishop Lesley (*Historie*, p. 178) connects the riot and the breaking of the crosses in time with the first coming of 'the Patriarch of Venice' (more correctly, the Patriarch of Aquileia), Marco Grimani, the papal legate, to Glasgow. This would be early in Oct. 1543. But the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 39) assigns a riot in the Cathedral at Glasgow to 4 June, 1545. And that there was an angry and violent scene in Glasgow about this latter time is certain from a letter of Cardinal Beaton to the Pope, dated Linlithgow, 6 July, 1545. He says that Gavin, the present archbishop of Glasgow, has created a scandal. 'For, when I in the company of her most serene Majesty the Queen, and when the most illustrious Governor had come to the city of Glasgow, the said archbishop caused his cross to be borne in my presence.' The cardinal says that to avoid the possibility of a tumult he contented himself with admonishing the archbishop to desist from the practice. But the archbishop, regardless of these monitions, and regardless of a promise which he made to the Governor that he would not bear his cross, surrounded by armed men, entered the Cathedral where the cardinal was at worship, and attempted to attack him, not without risk to his life. The Governor, offended by this very vile conduct, and recalling other offences previously perpetrated by Gavin, would on that very day have brought Gavin to punishment¹ had not the cardinal intreated him with supplication to refer the whole matter to his Holiness.² The Cardinal goes on to say that he commissioned Robert Bishop of Orkney and George Abbot of Dunfermline to examine witnesses on this and other crimes of Gavin. When the evidence was reduced to writing he would transmit it to the Pope that such offences should not go unpunished (T. No. 1070). It will be observed that the Cardinal says nothing about the crosses having been broken on this occasion.

There is a note of time in Knox's account of the story which should not be overlooked: he says it was 'at the end of harvest.' On the whole, I am rather inclined to think that the breaking of the two crosses was about Oct. 1543, and that Gavin's later act, related above by the Cardinal, is to be dated in June, 1545. But the matter is very doubtful.

As early as Nov. 1539, Cardinal Beaton had written to his agent at Rome to procure from the Pope a brief that he as Primate of the realm might bear his cross before him 'per totum regnum Scotiae et in diocesi et provincia Glascuensi' (see Sadler's State Papers, i. p. 14).

¹ A letter of the Governor to Paul III., referring apparently to the same incident, says that it was only due to his reverence for the ecclesiastical dignity that he did not bring Gavin to expiate his offence *extremo supplicio* (T. No. 1068).

² The Governor's letter is dated Linlithgow xiii. Kal. Junii. Could this be an error for xiii Kal. Julii? Otherwise we cannot accept the date 4 June, 1545, given, as the date of the riot, by the *Diurnal of Occurrents*.

Relations of Gavin Dunbar to the movement for ecclesiastical reform. Gavin was in Parliament at Edinburgh 15 March, 1542-43, and protested in his own name and in name and behalf of all the prelates of the realm present in Parliament against the Act 'that halie write may be used in our vulgar tongue' (A.P. ii. 415. See also R.G. No. 506).

Dunbar was present at the trial of Patrick Hamilton, on whom sentence was pronounced 29 Feb. 1527-28, which sentence he signed (Calderwood, i. 80). In 1539 a Franciscan friar, Jerome Russell, and a youth named Kennedy were tried for heresy before Dunbar at Glasgow, and if we may credit Knox (*Works*, i. 65) he was desirous to spare their lives; but finally, under the pressure of more eager zealots, he consented to their condemnation. Dunbar is said to have taken part in the trial and sentence of five persons accused of heresy, who were burnt on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1539 (Calderwood i. 125). This was apparently earlier in the year than the trial of Russell and Kennedy. For Dunbar's preaching in the church at Ayr (1545?) while George Wishart preached at the Market Cross, see Knox (i. 127).

A difference between Dunbar and a suffragan. Henry (Wemys), who had been provided to Candida Casa 24 Jan. 1526 (Brady), appears to have come into collision with his metropolitan, and to have been subjected to ecclesiastical censure; for, on 7 Feb. 1530-31, after being absolved from certain sentences of the archbishop, he took the oath of obedience to the archbishop. The oath was made by 'the bishop of Candida Casa and of the chapel royal at Stirling' on his knees, and with his joined hands placed between the hands of the archbishop, in the private chapel of the archbishop at his accustomed residence in Edinburgh. Such privileges and exemptions as belonged to him as bishop of the chapel royal were admitted by the Archbishop (R.G. No. 498).

Dunbar's seal exhibited beneath a canopy S. Kentigern with a salmon having a ring in its mouth. Below, above an archiepiscopal cross, a shield bearing three cushions lozenge-ways within a royal tressure. See Macdonald's *Armorial Seals*, No. 811.

After the death of Dunbar (30 April, 1547) the see of Glasgow was void for a considerable time. The Queen designated James Hamilton, 'natural brother of our illustrious Governor' (Arran), proposing that 1000 lbs. Scots should be deducted from the revenues of the See and assigned to David Hamilton and Claud Hamilton, 31 July, 1547 (T. No. 1074). The Vicar General of Glasgow, *sede vacante*, was present at the General or Provincial Council at Edinburgh 27 Nov. 1549 (S.E.S. ii. 82). It was not till nearly three years after the death of Dunbar that the appointment was made of

XXXII. ALEXANDER GORDON 'de nobili etiam comitum genere procreatus,' as he is styled in the Papal provision. [He was son of the Master of Huntly by Jane (natural daughter of James IV.) and brother of the 4th Earl of Huntly.] He, 'clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen,' was provided, 5 March, 1550 (B. 155). Two pensions to clerks (named) of the dioceses of Lyons and Bologna, of 40 gold ducats each were

reserved; and Gordon is allowed to retain 40 marks (Scots), a pension derived from the mensal revenue of Caithness (*Ib.*).

The connexion of Gordon with the see of Caithness may be seen from the following facts. On 12 Dec. 1544, Queen Mary wrote to Pope Paul III. praying, *inter alia*, that he would commit the see of Caithness to the noble youth Alexander, brother of the Earl of Huntly (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 223). The Pope did not apparently assent to the proposal; but as late as 1547 (R.S.S. xxi. 32) Gordon appears as 'postulant of Caithness.' And as regards the Temporality, so far as the Crown could convey it, it seems to have been recognised as Gordon's, though, as a matter of fact, but very imperfectly enjoyed by him. Robert Stewart, brother of Matthew, earl of Lenox, had been granted (27 Jan. 1542) the administration of the see of Caithness, he being in his twentieth year (B. 140), and in 1548 he and Gordon were both claimants for Caithness. The dispute was settled by a contract dated 6 Aug. 1548, whereby Alexander Gordon renounced his claim in consideration of a pension to be paid out of the bishopric (*Act. Dom. Con. et Sess.* xxv. 32).

Gordon was granted the pall for Glasgow 10 March, 1550 (B.).

Lesley (*Historie*, 242) says Gordon was 'providit and consecret at Rowme archbischope of Glasgw.'

Apparently in 1551 Gordon resigned Glasgow into the hands of the Pope (R.G. Nos. 513, 514, 515); and on 4 Sept. 1551, he receives the title of archbishop of Athens *in partibus*, together with the *commendam* of the monastery of Inchaffray, and leave to retain 500 lbs. Scots, out of the mensal revenues of the bishopric of Caithness (B. 156).

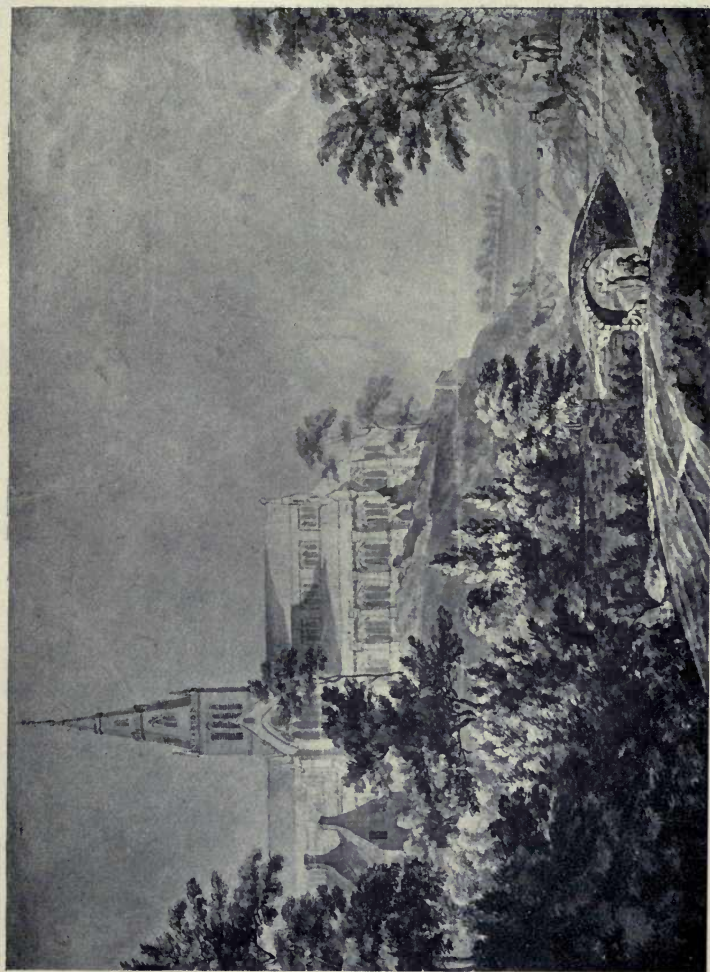
He was appointed to the bishopric of the Isles 26 Nov. 1553 (K.). On 12 April, 1554, Alexander elect of the Isles sat in Parliament (A.P. ii. 603). On 10 June, 1554, he describes himself as 'Alexander be the permissioun of God Archbishop of Athens, postulat of the iles, and commendator of the abbayis of Inchaffray and Icolmkil' (*Lib. Insul. Miss.* p. lvi); and up to 1562 he appears under this style (*Ib.* 120, 126: see also R.M.S. iv. No. 919).

In 1558-59 (18 March) he received a tack of the Temporality of Galloway during the vacancy (*Ex. Rolls*, xix. 451). He is styled 'Alexander, archbishop of Athens, elect of Galloway and commendator of Inchaffray' 1 Aug. 1560 when he sat in Parliament (A.P. ii. 525). In a letter of the Queen, 26 July, 1565, she styles him 'Alexander, bishop of Galloway' (*Charters of Inchaffray*, Scottish History Society, p. 162). He joined the Reforming party (Knox, *History*, ii. 88), and his further history does not concern us. Except in the Bulls connected with the provision of his successor, his name does not appear in the *Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow*.

XXXIII. JAMES BEATON (Bethune) (II.), son of an elder brother of Cardinal Beaton (R.G. 557).¹

Provided by the Pope on 4 Sept. 1551. He is said in the consistorial

¹ For family relationships, see under James Beaton (I.).



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.
From Water Colour by Thomas Hearne, about 1775.

entry to be a clerk of the diocese of St. Andrews, and in his 27th year or thereabout (B. 157; and R.G. 568). Another bull of the same date dispenses him for defect of age (R.G. 566). The appointment was at the request of the Queen.

He was made an acolyte¹ and subdeacon on Saturday, 16 July, deacon on Sunday, 17 July, and priest on Wednesday, 20 July, 1552, in the church of St. Lawrence in Lucina by Bortius de Merlis, bishop of Bobbio (R.G. 574-5). The pall was conceded on 24 August, 1552 (Barberini; B. 157). He was consecrated on Sunday, 28 Aug. 1552, in the greater chapel of the Apostolic Palace at Rome, by John James Barba, 'episcopus Aprutinis' (Abruzzo), assisted by John Angestis 'episcopus Noviodunensis' (Nevers), and John Angelus Peregrinus 'episcopus Fundanensis' (Fondi). R.G. 575-7.



SEAL OF JAMES BEATON, A.D. 1551-60.



COUNTER SEAL OF JAMES BEATON.

He died at Paris on April 25, 1603.² Certainly he was buried in Paris, in the chapel of our Lady in the church of the college of St. John de Latran,³ where his tomb was erected, and where the inscription set forth that he was 'sacratuſ Romae, 1552: Obiit 24 April, 1603, aetatis suae 86.' From what has been said as to his age when he was dispensed for defect in 1551 (which is roughly confirmed by the statement as to his age when, on 22 March, 1545, he was provided to the monastery of Arbroath, being then 'in his twenty-second year or

¹ Indeed the commission was to ordain him *ad quatuor minores, sive acolytatus, . . . ordines*.

² He was certainly dying, and too weak to sign his will on the 24 April. See Protocol Book of Glasgow, i. 232. Dr. Bellesheim (*Hist. of Catholic Church in Scotland*, iii. 327) says 'He died at Paris on April 25, 1603, at the age of eighty-three.' As for his age, see above.

³ See his will printed by Bain and Rogers in *Lib. Protocolorum* (Glasgow), i. 230.

thereabout'), it is plain that the inscription represents him as considerably older than he really was. He died at the age of about 80.

Beaton lived in Paris for more than forty years,¹ and served as ambassador of both Mary and James VI. He was held in such high esteem by the latter monarch that he was rehabilitated under the Great Seal 13 March, 1586-7, and in 1598 an Act was passed by which he was restored to his heritages, dignities, etc., 'notwithstanding that he has never maid confession of his faith, and has never acknowledgeit the religion profest within this realme' (*Act Parl.* iv. 169-70). This was ratified in 1600 without prejudice to the minister's stipends. The castle of Glasgow was not restored, nor the right to appoint the Provost and baillies of Glasgow (*A.P.* iv. 256).

A few other particulars may be recorded. James Beaton was sent to Paris to study at the age of 14: his uncle, David Beaton, was then in Paris. After his flight to France in 1560 he was in frequent correspondence with Queen Mary, and exerted himself strenuously in her interests. He served as her ambassador; and he collected such revenues as were due to her as widow of Francis II., for which he received a salary. Several notices of Beaton will be found in Pollen's *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary* (Scottish History Society). It is to be noted that the restoration of Beaton to his dignities, etc., in 1598 was, as a matter of fact, very partial in its effects. He was not reinvested, apparently, in any of the temporalities except the revenues of the regality of Glasgow: see Bain and Rogers' Preface to the *Rental Book* (Diocesan Register), p. 31. He had several preferments in France. His testament is printed by Bain and Rogers (*Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, i. 230) and he is therein described as 'Archeuesque de Glasco, Abbé de l'Abbaye Nostre Dame de l'Absye en Poictou.' Absie was a Benedictine monastery not far from Rochelle. He bequeathed to poor scholars of the Scottish nation who shall come from Scotland to Paris for the purpose of studying humanity or theology, a house situated in the Rue des Amandiers in Paris, and the whole of his property, moveable and immoveable.

The laudatory elegiac verses in Latin inscribed on his tomb will be found printed in Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, i. 17-18.

From the High Treasurer's Accounts for Nov. 1549, we learn that Master James Betoun, Postulate of Aberbrothok, was ordered to find surety to underlie the laws for treasonable intercomuning with John Dudlie, Englishman, sometime Captain of the Fort of Broughty, and certain persons were sent to Aberbrothoc to require the place thereof to be given over to my Lord Governor's Grace because Master James Beatoun was at the horn.

J. DOWDEN.

¹ There is a deed in R.G. (p. 588) which might be taken to show that the archbishop was in Glasgow on 5 June, 1581. It professes to be subscribed 'apud Glasgu' and the first signature is that of 'Ja. Glasgw.' But it is most probable that this was the titular archbishop, James Boyd, who died 21 June, 1581 (*Scott's Fasti*, ii. part i. p. 377).

Reviews of Books

A MILITARY HISTORY OF PERTSHIRE. Edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine. 2 vols. 1660-1902, pp. xxiii, 634; 1899-1902, pp. xxi, 316. With Portraits, Illustrations, and Maps. Cr. 4to. Perth; R. A. and J. Hay. 1908. 31s. 6d. nett.

PERTSHIRE is certainly to be congratulated on the appearance of these two handsome volumes and on the zeal and energy which has been devoted to their compilation by the Editor and her collaborators. They form not only a very complete and adequate memorial of the services of Perthshire men and Perthshire regiments since 1660, but they include some contributions of considerable interest and value to the historian, notably the work of Mr. Walter Biggar Blaikie on 'Jacobite Perthshire,' and the articles of Ross Herald (Mr. Andrew Ross) on 'The Historic Succession of the Black Watch' and on 'The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' As is inevitable from the lines on which the book has been planned and from the number of persons who have contributed to it, there is in places a certain lack of cohesion, and one cannot pretend that all the articles reach the high standard of those already mentioned, but it would be difficult to suggest any method by which the lack of cohesion could have been avoided. Some of the biographies of lesser known Perthshire soldiers of the past in volume i. will very likely prove of great interest to their descendants and connections, even though the accounts add very little to historical knowledge.

While the first and larger volume goes down to the year 1899 and the outbreak of the South African War, the second is altogether taken up with that struggle, including as it does complete rolls of all Perthshire officers and men who served in it in any branch of the forces of the Crown. There is also an account of the raising and organising of the Scottish Horse, a regiment for which Perthshire, through the Duke of Atholl and the Marquess of Tullibardine, was very largely responsible, and to which it contributed over 160 officers and men. Its services, notably at Bakenlaagte and Moedwil, are adequately commemorated, as are those of the two battalions of the Black Watch, the former of which, the old 42nd, was unlucky in not being sent to South Africa from India till December, 1901, when the infantry regiments had no longer much chance of gaining great distinction, whereas the second battalion, the 73rd, which had formed part of the original Highland Brigade, bore the brunt of the fighting at Magersfontein and Paardeberg, and suffered very heavily. This volume is,

perhaps, of more immediate interest to the county, but from the historical point of view it is hardly to be compared to the first. This starts with sketches of the careers of the numerous regiments which Perthshire has at one time and another contributed to the Regular Army. Of these three now exist, the old 42nd, now the 1st Battalion Black Watch, the old 73rd, originally raised as a second battalion of the 42nd, given an independent existence in 1786, and reunited to the 42nd under the territorial re-organisation of 1881, and lastly the 90th, raised in 1794 by one of Perthshire's finest soldiers, Thomas Graham of Balgowan, afterwards Lord Lynedoch. This regiment, which distinguished itself greatly in Egypt in 1801, and more recently in the Crimea, in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny and in the Zulu War, was for a long time known as the 'Perthshire Volunteers' or 'Perthshire Light Infantry,' but ceased to be connected with the county in 1881, when it was linked with the 26th Cameronians as the 'Scottish Rifles.' Of the deeds of all these three good summaries are given, but the authors have not had space enough to add anything appreciable to our knowledge, though it may perhaps be mentioned that the Duke of Wellington began his military career in the 73rd, and his first uniform would therefore have been the kilt. But in addition to Mr. Allan M'Aulay's article on the 42nd there is an important paper by Ross Herald (Mr. Andrew Ross) on 'The Historic Succession of the Black Watch'; in this it is shown that independent companies of Highlanders similar to those raised in 1725 and formed into a regiment in 1739 had been in existence as early as 1667, while the name 'Black Watch' seems to have been applied to them in 1677 (p. 33). But though Ross Herald is able to prove 'the almost continuous succession of a Watch in the Highlands from 1667,' there was more than one breach of continuity in the succession, and one can hardly regard the present 1st Black Watch as entitled to claim precedence from 1667. Still the paper is the fruit of great research, and throws no little light on the circumstances under which the oldest existing Highland regiment came into being.

Of great interest also are the contributions dealing with 'The Reserve Forces of Perthshire,' especially Ross Herald's full and excellent account of the Perthshire Militia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that is to say of the organisation of the 'fencible men' or 'fencibles,' who are rather to be regarded as predecessors of the Militia than of the so-called 'Fencible' regiments, which were raised in such large numbers between 1793 and 1797. These were really Regulars in all but name and the limitation to Great Britain of the area in which they were liable to serve; they were raised by voluntary enlistment, and may perhaps be compared to the 'Territorial Army' of to-day rather than to the Militia, for no more of them were raised after the passing of the Act of 1797 (37 Geo. III.) authorising the formation of a Scots Militia. Such a force had existed before the Union, an Act of September, 1663, authorising the formation of an organised and disciplined Militia, selected out of the 'fencible men,' who from the earliest days had comprised 'all men that hath landis or guidis.' These are described as 'fensable personis' in 1528, and subsequently the term 'fencibles' was usually applied to all levies of a character

corresponding to the 'train-bands' of England. Perthshire Militia, embodied and organised under the Act of 1663, had done good service in suppressing disorders and rebellions in 1678 and 1679, but from the Union to 1797 Scotland was without any Militia, though between 1715 and 1757 one finds commissions of Lieutenancy issued to leading nobles authorising them to command and supervise 'the Fencible men or Militia.' A Scots Militia Bill was vetoed by Queen Anne in 1707; another, though introduced by Harley's Government in 1714, was rejected by the efforts of Lockhart of Carnwath, while Bills to authorise the creation of such a force were ineffectually introduced in 1760, in 1776 and 1782. Incidentally it may be mentioned in connection with the Bill of 1760 that Lord Barrington, who over this question voted against the Government of which he was a member, was only Secretary *at War*; there was no such office as Secretary of State for War before 1794. Before leaving the Militia one may perhaps notice the really considerable success of Castlereagh's Act of 1808 for the creation of a Local Militia (cf. pp. 229-230), a far more satisfactory force than the Volunteers whom they superseded.

We have already referred to Mr. Blaikie's articles on 'Jacobite Perthshire,' among which special mention must be made of his memoir of Lord George Murray, one who as a leader of Highlanders ranks with Montrose himself, but Lady Tullibardine's own contributions on Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir must not be overlooked. She differs from Professor Sanford Terry as to the exact site of the former battle (p. 270) and she seems to have proved her case. The rout of the Scots Brigade is partly ascribed to their having been mainly composed of recruits (p. 263), but Hastings' English regiment can hardly be regarded as much more than new troops, for though they had been in existence more than three years they were undergoing their 'baptism of fire.' It may be mentioned that Lady Tullibardine adopts the spelling 'Dundie' as being that of Claverhouse's patent of nobility. The rest of the volume, about a third in all, is devoted to short biographies of 'Perthshire's Men of Action,' among whom Lord Lynedoch, Sir Hope Grant, Sir David Baird, are perhaps the most notable soldiers, while the navy is well represented by Duncan and Lord Dundonald. These sketches are in some way the least satisfactory part of the book, being necessarily rather too short to afford their contributors much scope when the subject is a man of much note, while it is only in rare instances, as for example General John Reid, the composer of the music of 'The Garb of Old Gaul,' that the lesser known persons have any general interest. But at the same time it is evident that care has been taken to avoid overlapping among these biographies, and one does not have, shall we say, the story of the 42nd at Quatre Bras, repeated in the notices of all the different officers who fought there.

C. T. ATKINSON.

FYNES MORYSON'S TRAVELS: AN ITINERARY CONTAINING HIS TEN YEERES TRAVELL THROUGH THE TWELVE DOMINIONS OF GERMANY, BOHMERLAND, SWEITZERLAND, NETHERLAND, DENMARKE, POLAND, ITALY, TURKY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. WRITTEN BY FYNES MORYSON, GENT. 4 vols. Containing fac-simile reproductions of all the engravings in the original edition of 1617. With full index. Pp. Vol. I. xxv, 468. Vol. II. vii, 466. Vol. III. xii, 499. Vol. IV. ix, 521. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1907-08. £2 10s. nett.

OF the many Elizabethan amateurs of travel there are few more entertaining than Fynes Moryson, Gent. He had better luck than some of them in gaining first-hand and varied experience, and he had more than their share of the wisdom of the philosopher in turning his experience to account. Excellent gossip though he is of doings in every corner of sixteenth century Europe, he is at his best in what may be called the theory of travel, which he glances at in odd places throughout his work, and treats of at length in an interpolated discourse 'Of Travelling in General.' We have no hint of the book's quality from its plain title, nothing of the comprehensive promise which finds readers for Hakluyt and *Hakluytus Posthumus*, or of the quaint style which allures us to Coryat. Yet Moryson takes his place honourably with these better known adventurers, and deserves the handsome treatment which he has received in the present edition. Had the book been no more than the record of an Elizabethan 'who knew manie mens maners, and saw many citties,' it would have had a strong claim on the ever-increasing band of Shakespearian students. And historical students, too, were Moryson's exhaustive account of Tyrone's Rebellion to be taken on its own merits, would find a score of reasons for Messrs. MacLehose's reprint. These historical merits we shall not attempt to discuss, especially in these professional pages: nor may we approach the antiquarian mysteries of tulbents, bonegraces, and orkees. To some, whose interest is more literary, the pleasure of the book will be beyond these things—in its pervading Elizabethan sentiment, in its echoes of phrase, in its allusions, and, not rarely, in its style. It is difficult, even for an Elizabethan, to escape the manner of his age, and almost as difficult for him to lack literary competence in the dull task of an 'Itinerary.'

Moryson was a true eclectic, not a mere restless person. 'For my part,' he says, 'I thinke variety to be the most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplative alone, nor active altogether, but mixed of both. . . . They seeme to me most unhappy, and no better then Prisoners, who, from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares. . . . Let us imitate the Storckes, Swallowes, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely fetch their circuits, and follow the Sunne, without suffering any distemper of the seasons. The fixed Starres have not

such power over inferiour bodies, as the wandering Planets. . . . Men were created to move, as birds to flie; what they learne by nature, that reason joined to nature teacheth us. . . . We are Citizens of the whole World, yea, not of this World, but of that to come: All our Life is a Pilgrimage. God for his onely begotten Sonnes sake (the true Mercury of Travellers) bring us that are here strangers safely into our true Countrey!' He tells us that the spirit of travel was born in him. 'From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie (which I had in Cambridge in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well as by the eies.' In his story of his love of moving and learning he helps us to find the true purpose of Elizabethan travel, and he gives point to the oft-misunderstood attacks of his day on the 'oversea' and 'Italianate' gentry, who anticipate the mawkish sentiment which delighted the youth of the Grand Tour. Let the traveller 'constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne.' The right traveller is not talkative on his return; it is he 'who has scarce seene the Lyons of the Tower and the Beares of Parish-Garden' who engrosses all the table-talk, and speaks as if he 'had passed the pillars of Hercules.' And it is the false traveller who comes back a 'transformed and awry' creature, as Ascham and all the good haters of Tuscanism have told us, and as Lord Oxford knew to his cost.

Moryson's asides, too, regarding the publication of his story are characteristic. We see him at work, during a long retreat with his sisters Jane and Faith in Lincolnshire, putting 'into some order out of confused and torne writings the particular observations of [his] former Travels, to bee after more deliberately digested at leasure.' Later, when the work was done (1617), he 'found the bulke thereof to swel,' and chose to suppress rather than to 'make his gate bigger than his Citie.' The full experience, the leisurely digest of hard facts—for he confesses 'giving (like a free and unhired workman) much time to pleasure'—and his care for the form, sort well with his repeated protests against mere vagabondage in sightseeing and bookmaking.

Much of the allusive felicity of Moryson's style, especially in the 'Discourse,' is probably to be explained by the fact that like so many of his contemporaries he was a University man; a fact, too, which gives superior authority to his anticipation of the late Mr. Rhodes's views of donnish incapacity. 'Neither are the wise observers of humane Pilgrimage ignorant, that grave University men, and (as they say) sharpe sighted in the Schooles, are often reputed idiots in the practice of worldly affaires; as on the contrary blockish men, and (to speake with the Italians) very Asses, by continuall practice in grave employments, gaine the wisdome of them whose affaires they manage.' Perhaps Moryson, who was a fellow of Peterhouse, made a reservation in favour of himself and his fellow-collegians. For with all his interest in Plato

and the Italians, he is always shrewd and practical, more 'canny' indeed than his Scottish contemporary Lithgow.

The echoes of Elizabethan thought and turn of style are persistent throughout. Indeed, were this reprint to be edited in the familiar way, the best commentary would be found in extensive quotation from contemporary writings. The Discourse, in its plan, its pros and cons, its marshalling of evidence, follows the traditional pattern of the *Defences* and *Apologies*, so closely that we begin to see why poetry and travel and all things appeared good to these men, and for one great reason. The reflections on dissimulation have their parallel in Bacon's better-known Essays. The 'affectate Traveller' stands in Moryson's pillory exactly as we see him in Overbury's. Allusions familiar in Sidney, Lyly, Harington, and others strike the reader continuously. Queen Bess, Alexander, Hercules, Plato, Amadis, the monks, London, Irish spiders, receive their literary due. 'Life,' he says, 'is compared to a stage, and our Parents and Kinsmen expecting our Proofoe, to the beholders.' In Moryson's two letters in Italian (which the author duplicates in English) we are on familiar ground, not very far from the forced pleasantries of Gabriel Harvey and his friends. All these things are interesting, inasmuch as they are 'atmosphere' rather than conscious copying. Plagiarism, as we understand the term, was not an Elizabethan vice, and Moryson did no more than his neighbours in making free of the common stock. We do not require to read far in his pages to feel that like these neighbours he preserves his individuality, and gives freshness even to travellers' statistics. 'The Italian women,' he writes, 'are said to bee sharpe witted, the Spanish blunt (I should hardly thinke it), the French simple (I should rather say most crafty, as most women are every where), the Germanes good mothers of family (yea exceeding good).' And again, 'the old English Hospitality was (I will boldly say) a meere vice, as I have formerly shewed in the discourse of the Italian diet, which let him reade, who shall thinke this as dissonant from truth as it is from the vulgar opinion.' In narrative and descriptive passages, no less than in criticism, his directness is refreshing. Among the best are his story of his embarrassments on his return from France to his sister's house (i. 422-3); his adventure with highwaymen on the French frontier near Metz (*ib.* 399), perhaps as good as anything in Nash's picaresque tale; and his meeting with Beza (*ib.* 390). There are others quite as entertaining scattered throughout his steady record of tavern bills, journeyings, and sightseeing.

The *Itinerary* was written in Latin and translated by the author. The Latin text does not appear to have been printed, and the English has till now been accessible only in John Beale's folio of 1617. Some chapters, extant in MS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were intended as a supplement to the third part. Selections from these have been printed by Mr. Charles Hughes in his *Shakespeare's Europe* (1903). It is to be hoped that the publishers will receive sufficient encouragement in their present venture to add the Corpus text *in extenso*. We

know Moryson's description of the English actors in Germany and his account of the contemporary intrigue of Francesco de' Medici and Bianca Capello, which Middleton made use of in his *Women beware Women*; but there must be many other scraps of considerable value.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

THE KING OVER THE WATER. By A. Shield and Andrew Lang. Pp. xiii, 499. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 15s. nett.

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD, THE OLD CHEVALIER. By Martin Haile. Pp. xii, 479. 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1907. 16s. nett.

THE 'Old Pretender' has long awaited his biographer, and now a kind fate has sent him more than one. To most of the readers of these books James Stuart is best known as the Prince in 'Esmond,' who cared more for three honours than for three kingdoms, the Prince whom the nation 'loved and pitied,' and who was unequal to his fortune. Mr. Lang is probably right in his suggestion that the origin of Thackeray's conception of James III. is a confusion with the young king in 'Woodstock.' One Stuart Prince must be like another, and the nephew of Charles II. and the father of Charles Edward must have been the lover of Beatrix. There are popular delusions which will survive any refutation, but we hope that the publication of the books before us may do something to secure for the most unfortunate of Stuart Princes a juster estimate. He was doubtless the son of James II., but he was also the son of Mary of Modena, than whom no better or purer woman ever sat on the throne of this realm. He knew his father only in the closing years, when repentance, if not more real than of old, was, at all events, constant; and it was not the lover of Catherine Sedley or of Annabella Churchill whom the boy recollected, but the dying man who whispered: 'No one can lose too much for God.' James was just thirteen when he received his father's last command never to separate himself from the Catholic Church; the strongest influence in his life was that of his mother; and environment and religion combined to resist whatever unlawful passion had come to him from Stuart and Bourbon. There had always been this strain of religious feeling in his family; we find it in the Bruce, in James IV., in Queen Mary, in Charles I., and in his own half-sister, Mary of Orange. To none of these did it become the habit of mind which made James III. the almost unique instance of a respectable monarch in exile: but none of them held the view of Charles II. that God would not damn a man for a little illicit pleasure. We lay stress on this because the most serious difficulty in the way of a juster appreciation of James is simply the fact that he was a Stuart, and must therefore have been a sinner like his father and uncle, a gambler like his sister Anne, and a drunkard like another of his family. Miss Shield and Mr. Lang, in one of these books, and Mr. Haile in the other, ought to dispose of this legend once and for all.

Mr. Haile is unfortunate in the comparison which his book inevitably challenges. He has written a careful and accurate biography; he is thoroughly interested in his subject, and he is a whole-hearted admirer of his hero. But Miss Shield has been successful in obtaining the collaboration of Mr. Andrew Lang, and her book has gained from his unequalled knowledge of the politics of the exiled Court, and of its relations with European Powers. Almost every page contains evidence of this familiarity with the setting of the subject, and in this, as in width of view, in calmness of judgment, and in literary execution, 'The King Over the Water' has claims to greatness which Mr. Haile's useful work does not possess. Mr. Lang explains that the book has been written by Miss Shield and that his own part has been that of supervision and condensation, and it is a pleasure to say how admirably Miss Shield has performed her task. The book is based on a most careful study of the numerous authorities, to which ample reference is made; it is well-arranged and well-proportioned, and it brings out many points of interest, and will be an invaluable guide to the student of the period; and not only to lovers of the House of Stuart, to whom Mr. Haile chiefly appeals.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF FRANCE AND ITALY. By Professor John Rhys, Fellow of the Academy. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. ii. Pp. 101. Imp. 8vo. London: Oxford University Press. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a brilliant attempt to bring light into an obscure province where the materials to be dealt with are relatively meagre and difficult of treatment. Sir John Rhys is as versatile as ever, and it is a pleasure to find such subjects dealt with so attractively and with such skill. We congratulate Lady Rhys and himself upon the care taken to secure correct readings, and, where this is so hard, upon the fertile suggestiveness of treatment of possible readings. He has made the subject so much his own that every one interested in the problems of ethnology must consult with him. Thirty-five inscriptions, 'concerning which there has been no serious controversy as to their celticity' (p. 78), are dealt with, as well as others which have been contested by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Sir John regards the latter as in the language of the Coligny Calendar and of the Rom Defixiones. This means that the language he terms Celtican once extended across the Alps far down into North Italy, and 'seems to have covered the area which, *par excellence*, belonged to the ancient Ligurians' (p. 81). In a postscript where he notes M. Camille Jullian's saying: *Reste à savoir si nous dirons CELTE ou LIGURE*, he concludes that it was the Ligurians of a later age, but still pagan, who set up those inscriptions... 'What I have called Celtican was practically one and the same language as that which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville calls Ligurian. In fact, I may say that ever since that distinguished scholar wrote to show that Ligurian must have been an Aryan tongue, I have had the idea

present to my mind that this was the continental idiom akin to Goidelic, as Gaulish was to Brythonic. So to me it becomes more and more a question of names, whether it is to be called Celtic or Ligurian . . . : whatever you call the language of those documents the key to it has proved to be Goidelic. Some of my critics would say not Goidelic but Brythonic: even so the key remains Celtic' (p. 100). The *Revue Celtique* for January, 1906, points out that *p* was not in early Oghams and, in contrast to Rhys's view in *Celtae and Galli*, the critic takes the Coligny Calendar to be Ligurian. One could wish that Sir John had entered further into the problem of the Ligurians, whose national hero Ligys is brought into connection with Heracles (Strabo, 4, p. 183). Some indefinite information preserved by Avienus may reflect historic movements of races. If Ligys be connected with the river name Liger (Loire) in northern Gaul the following in Avienus would be clearer :

Si quis dehinc
Ab insulis Oestrymniciis lembum audeat
Urgere in undas, axe qua Lycaonis
Rigescit aethra, cespitem Ligurum subit
Cassum incolarum, namque Celtarum manu
Crebrisque dudum praeliis
Ligures . . . pulsi, ut saepe fors aliquos agit,
Venere, quae per horrendis tenent
Plerumque dumos.

What of *Lloegr*, the Cymric name for England as far north as the Humber? One asks whether the Ligurians were not the first of the Indo-Europeans to come to these islands.

In his discussion of the Todi inscription, now in the Gregorian Museum of Etruscan antiquities in the Vatican, he is inclined to read *Gois* from the Etruscan letters KOISIS and to equate *gois* with the *gōi* of *Góidel*, *Gáedel*, *Gaoidheal* 'a Gael,' Welsh *Gwyddel* 'an Irishman,' and to assume that we have here to do with a form from the same origin as Gaulish *gaiso-n*, *gaiso-s*, Vergil's *gaesum* 'a spear,' Irish *gáe* 'spear,' *gáide* 'armed with the spear'; *pílatas*, a regularly reduced form of *Gāisid-io-s* or *Gōisid-io-s* but with a different affix *-ēlo* yielding *Gāisid-elo-s* or *Gōisid-elo-s* whence *Góidel*, *Gáidel* (now *Gaidheal*, 'Gael') with meaning probably parallel to that of *gáide* 'one who is armed with the spear, a spearman, a *gaesatus*.' This is the most likely explanation of the origin of the name Gael.

There are equally acute suggestions throughout the discussion, e.g. *obal* is equated with Irish *ubhall* 'an apple,' but he adds 'this yields no satisfactory meaning unless we assume that besides the sense of "apple" the word had that of "offspring or child, καρπὸς τῆς ὀσφύος (Acts ii. 30)." That we may do so becomes a certainty when the fact is recalled that POMMIO, a word of the same origin, doubtless, as the Latin *pomum* "apple," occurs in the sense of "offspring or son" in one of the Rom Defixiones' (p. 101). This is paralleled by the Gaelic use

468 Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy

of ūbhlan 'apples' for 'dear ones, beloved' in a Gaelic poem, where a widow laments her husband, MacGregor, who was slain by the lady's father and brother :

tha mi nis gun ūbhlan agam
ged tha ūbhlan uile aig cāch ;
is ann tha m'ūbhlan-s' cūbhraidh clannach
agus cūl an cinn ri lār.

The Briona inscription now in the Cathedral of Novara, North Italy, seems to show two endings in the nominative plural, *oi* and *ī* : 'the latter is the one that won the day in Latin and Celtic, while in Greek *oi* held its ground as in ἀδελφοί, χρόνοι; and just as in Latin one finds cited only *pilumnœ poplœ* (for the usual *populī*) so in Celtic these two instances *asoioi* and *Dannotalicnoi* seem to stand alone : no other certain example seems to be on record. There must, however, have been a period of transition when both *-oi* and *-i* were in use side by side, and to that period the Briona inscription would seem to belong. I cannot help adding that this pair of instances of the plural in *-oi* marks this inscription as an early one : it is possibly the earliest Celtic on record' (p. 65).

Avowedly, the meagreness of materials makes research here very difficult, and one cannot be too cautious. Yet we may ask whether the only alternative be Celtic or Ligurian? Why not Celtic and Ligurian? It has never yet been proved that the Ligurian language was not of the Indo-European group. This has been enforced very clearly by Paul Kretschmer, an acknowledged authority, in a masterly discussion 'On the inscriptions of Ornavasso and the Ligurian language,' in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* for 1905. The first point to consider is whether Ligurian be Indo-European, thereafter to ask one's self what is the relation of Ligurian to Celtic. Certain resemblances between both do not prove unity of speech. So far as I recollect there is no reference to interpreters between the Celts and the Ligurians; nor do we read of interpreters between the Latin speakers and the Ligurians. Perhaps the bilingualism of the Ligurian borders might account for this, and classical writers found no necessity to draw attention to the matter which, however, was even to them obscure. Despite all that has been said, the testimony of Strabo has not been overthrown, and he expressly states that the Celts were a different nation from the Ligurians as well as from the Iberians: ἔθνη δὲ κατέχει πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο [the Alps] Κελτικὰ πλὴν τῶν Διγύων οὗτοι δ' ἑτεροεθνεῖς μὲν εἰσι, παραπλήσιοι δὲ τοῖς Βίοις.

The most reasonable view is that the Ligurians were by language Indo-Europeans, who in time became much mixed with the aboriginals of the Mediterranean basin, just as in later ages the Celts of Gaul and the bordering Alpine regions became mingled with the Ligurians and gave rise to the mixed breed the Κελτολίγυες, the Celticised Ligurians. The mingling of races and the darkness attendant upon

national origins help to account for the uncertainty of the ancients, as expressed by Cato and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, regarding the Ligurians.

However much may be in common between Celtic dialects and Ligurian it is not allowable to identify them until we have accounted for real differences, such as the Ligurian genitive in *-ui*, *-oi*, as against the Celtic genitive in *-i* in *o*-stems found in the Coligny Calendar as in Ogam inscriptions. This holds unless there be some other explanation of Pauli's observation that in Ligurian the genitive singular of *o*-stems is in *-ui*, older *-oi*. What are we to say of lexical differences such as, seemingly, *pe* 'and' cognate with Latin *que*, Oscan, Umbrian, *-p*, in *neip*, Greek *τε*, Phrygian *ke*, Sanskrit *ca* (Kretschmer), but lacking in Celtic, save perhaps in Irish *na-ch* 'not'; also *pala* 'grave, tomb' as against the Gaulish *logan*, Irish *lige*? The Ligurian has the suffix *-asc-*, *-esc-*, *-usc-*, *-osc-* as against *-isc-* in most of the other branches of the Indo-European family. Borrowing from aboriginal or other races, and dialectal variation may account for much: either of these for the preservation of final *-m* in *vinom Nâsom* of the vase from Ornavasso as against the usual *-n* final in Celtic: Gaulish *νεμητρον*, 'sanctuary,' O. Irish *nemed n-*, which meets us still in the name *Roseneath* (Ros-ne'ich, Ros-neo'ich, the promontory of the sanctuary); *cantalon*; *celicnon*; *inquimon*, *cantaran* of the Coligny Calendar. Doubtless there was some considerable dialectal variation on this point as inscriptions in Gaul would indicate: *usellom* (*useilom*) on the bilingual altar-inscription of Notre-Dame; *πονέμ* 'a plant-name': L. *ponem*; **brivation*, perhaps for *brivation*, as Thurneysen suggests, before the *Frontu* following it.

Ligurian place-names are surprisingly like Celtic forms; Kretschmer adduces from Veleja such as *fundus Biveli*, *Roudeli*, *Eburelia*, *saltus Eborelia*, *pago Eboreo*, *fundus Bittel*, *Niteli*, (vici) *Niteli*. Latin lips are responsible for the endings in *-ius*, *-ia* after the *-l* suffix which meets us in undebased Ligurian, as in *Precele*, *Bittel*, *Debelos*, *Solicelos*. It is clear that in *Biveli* we have the same root-form we have to postulate for Celtic, **bivos*, = Irish *biu*, Cymric *byw* 'living,' Gaelic *beō*, Oscan *bivus*, Latin *vīvos*, Sanskrit *jīvās*. With *Roudeli* one must equate Gaelic *ruadh* 'red,' O. Irish *ruad* in *Anderoudus*, *Roudi*, the place-name *Roudium*. With *Niteli* one must equate the first element in *Nitiobroges*, *Nitiogenna* of the Gaulish speech: Irish *nith* battle, strife, Gothic *neip*, O.H. German *nīd*. The Ligurian *Albium*, and such varying forms as *Albinum*, *Albicci*, *Ἀλβειῖς*, *Ἀλβίουκοι* in Strabo, is to be regarded as cognate in root with Celtic words such as *Albion*, *Albioderum*, *Albiorix*, *Albiorica*. *Balista*, the name of a mountain in Ligurian territory, is a superlative form from the Indo-European **bhal* 'shining,' whence Sanskrit *bhālam* 'glance,' Lithuanian *bālū* 'to become white,' Greek *φάλιος*; whence also Gaelic *bealltuinn* 'Beltane,' allied in root to *bale* in English *bale-fire*. Not to be missed is *Comberanea*, the name of a stream by Genoa given, and rightly, by Kretschmer as equal to the Celtic **kom-bero* bringing together, hence

'confluence' met with in Scottish place-names as *Comar*, Cymric *cymmer* 'confluvium,' Bretonnic *kemper* 'confluent.'

Nor should we forget among tribal movements the influence of early commerce. Herodotus tells us that the name Sigynnae was applied to 'pedlars' by the Ligurians inland of Marseilles, and by the people of Cyprus to some peculiar make of spear. It is only in relatively late and semi-historic ages that the merchant or pedlar class can be looked for, and it is not strange that there is no common Indo-European name for them as a class. The *specialty* of a tribe might be named after them in some places, and thus from spears and weapons; or the pedlar-class might be designated as *the* pedlars after *the* tribe with whom the Ligurians had dealings. I believe these were the Sequani. This has recently been made as probable as the historical notices can admit of in a brilliant essay by Mr. Myers.¹ Whither were these pedlars going and what were they going to sell? The gist of Mr. Myers' well-reasoned answer is that the Ligurians above Marseilles gave to the men who worked the transport-trade across their country a name which for Herodotus is that of a Danubian people. 'This transport-trade from the Danubian region into the Rhone basin was clearly in a westerly direction; and out to the west, for Herodotus and his contemporaries, lie only the Kelts, the Kynesii (whom Herodotus makes the most westerly of all) and the Iberian population of Spain. Here again we can prove nothing directly; but it does not need a great stretch of imagination to see Sequanian caravans moving from the Jura to the Pyrenees with their merchandise of wrought iron and sheaves of long-bladed *gaesa*.' The Sequani were near the region which produced the iron of the Jura forges which had an intimate connection with the iron-using culture of La Tène and similar sites in Western Switzerland, and these in their turn with early Carinthian and Styrian iron-workings. The culture of Hallstatt is to be attributed to them also.

The river-name *Sequana* (the Seine) M. D'Arbois regards as Ligurian, and when in 1897 the Coligny Calendar was discovered near enough to the territory of the Sequani it was ascribed to the Ligurians by de Ricci on account of the forms *Equos* and (*in*)*quimon*, inasmuch as the Ligurian *Quariates* or *Quadiates* showed the possession of Q for the P of Gaulish. Thurneysen pointed out the genitives in -i, undoubtedly Celtic, *Equi*, *Cantli*; *i* in mid(x) 'month' for *ē*: also the preposition *ate*, and he pronounced the inscription Gaulish, *qu* was similarly preserved in Gadelic and then delabialised to *c*, but he thought it possible likewise that *qu* in initial position in this Gaulish dialect had become *p* as in *prin(n)i*, *petiux* of the Coligny Calendar. If the words *Quiamelius*, *Quariates* be truly Ligurian they may be referred, as Kretschmer points out, to Indo-European velar or palatal *k+v* to account for initial *Qu*: cf. Gr. *ἐπομαι* where *π* is from **q*^u but Gr. *λάκκος*, *γλῦκκα*, *πέλεκκον* where *κκ* from *κF* goes back on Indo-

¹ *Anthropological Essays*, presented to E. B. Tylor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907, p. 271.

proto-Celtic **qalō* 'grave,' perfect **qeqala* to be inferred from Irish European *kū*. The Ligurian *pe*, *pala*, could go back on Indo-European labio-velar *q^u*. Kretschmer explains *pala* 'grave' as cognate with a *cechlatar* 'foderunt,' *to-chlaim* 'I dig,' Cymric *palu* 'fodere,' Cornish *pal* 'spade.' It is scarcely probable that all the words which have come down to us with an Indo-European stamp, in these inscriptions, as also in place and personal names, are due to Celticised Ligurians, the *Κελτολίγυες*. Even then they belong to an independent Indo-European speech which Rhys considers to be the Continental idiom akin to Goidelic, as Gaulish to Brythonic. To the Ligurians D'Arbois assigns as their earliest home the whole of Gaul to the Rhine, and in historic times a territory stretching from the Cevennes in the west to the plains of the Po, and from the sources of the Rhine and the Rhone in the north to the Arno in the south. The Celts of the P-group or Gauls would have dwelt on the Danube, in Bohemia, in South or West Germany. Though the earliest movements are pre-historic there were attempts on the part of Celts to reach the Mediterranean long ere the march to Delphi or the sack of Rome. The Adriatic VEneti, the Breton Veneti, the 'Eneti whom Homer describes as in Paphlagonia in N.-W. Asia Minor, seem scattered fragments of an earlier Venetia, the root of which word meets us in Gadelic *fine* 'tribe,' Old Breton *coguenou* 'indigena,' Welsh *Gwynedd* the name for North Wales or Venedotia, and cognate with Norse *vinr* 'friend.'

Similar scattered fragments of Indo-Europeans may have escaped the notice of early writers; possibly among such were the Ambrones who, according to Plutarch's *Marius*, though from beyond Helvetia, understood the Ligurian speech at least so far as their common ethnic name used as a war-cry, the name being formed on parallel lines from a common parent speech; Contzen,—and he thought that one must either hold to a Ligurian branch of the Ambrones or else that the Ligurians of the Province were Celto-Ligurians whom Marius had in his army—notes that Diefenbach came to no results as to the Ligurian speech, but inclined on the whole to the hypothesis that the Ligurians were Gadeli. The riddle of their speech, if not their history where records do not exist, is solved as well, possibly, as it can be by Sir John Rhys, whose work will help all investigators of the tribes around and eastwards of the Rhone:

Rhodani alveo
Ibera tellus atque Ligures asperi
Intersecantur.

It is a region attractive already through the riches of the literature of Provence; here in the inscriptions is an additional stimulus to scholars, Classical as well as Celtic, and one which widens the survey of history.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

A LIFE OF GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY. I. SCOTLAND, 1643-1674. By T. E. S. Clarke, B.D. II. ENGLAND, 1675-1715. With Bibliographical Appendixes, by H. C. Foxcroft. With an Introduction, by C. H. Firth, M.A. Pp. xlvii, 586. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1907. 15s. nett.

THIS volume originated with Miss Foxcroft, and the largest part is from her pen, including valuable and laboriously compiled appendixes of Burnet's published works and extant letters. Mr. Clarke's share, chapters i.-iv., is explained in the Preface: he already contemplated a Life of his predecessor in Saltoun, when Miss Foxcroft's inquiries led to 'a division of the subject,' since 'it seemed better to produce one complete, than two imperfect biographies.' Professor Firth's Introduction deals with Burnet as a historian.

Mr. Clarke tells the story of Burnet's formative years with care and thoroughness. His chapters are well conceived; and their solid march is saved from dullness by real, if controlled, affection for a former incumbent of Saltoun. The various influences of home and friends and early travels are examined and stated with a right sense for proportion; and the chapters on Saltoun and Glasgow are good examples of how local activities can be made to illustrate the larger history of the nation. Burnet, as the main theme, is never lost sight of, however much temptation offers to digress on larger topics; and Mr. Clarke gives us a definite conception and picture of the man.

Miss Foxcroft is already a recognised authority on Burnet. Her edition of a *Supplement to the History of my own Times* and other researches have made a new life desirable, and have enabled its composition with a fulness and critical exactness not likely to be surpassed for some time. On the score of information, none could be more fitted than Miss Foxcroft to write the Life of Burnet; and she has fittingly undertaken in this volume the much more crowded and complex part of his career. The result is an exhaustive and most matterful treatment, in six lengthy chapters, of the various activities of the man in England, as churchman and controversialist, as politician and historian. Miss Foxcroft's weakness is of style and arrangement rather than of substance. Her manner, though nervous and spirited, is not always adequate to her purpose; and her wish that where possible Burnet's own language should be employed, and employed so often and at such length as it is, deprives the chronological plan of her chapters of some force. Even though it is true that 'his literary work reflects the characteristics of the man,' more of Miss Foxcroft would really have given us more of Burnet, as occasional paragraphs and pages of the Life will, I think, convince the reader. Perhaps that 'the work was originally planned on a somewhat larger scale' and compressed with difficulty may account for this comparative weakness of structure. Compression, however, has not injured a main thesis of both authors, that 'the religious and theological aspect of Burnet's career' is the most essential and important. Readers of the *History of my own Times* are apt to overlook this fact

or to minimise its importance; and nothing short of Miss Foxcroft's intimate and large acquaintance with Burnet's multitudinous writings could have righted the balance so exactly and for all time.

Professor Firth's Introduction should be read by all students of Burnet and of historical method; it has all the solidity and packed information characteristic of his work. Incidental passages have the interest of throwing light on his own conception of history and of the historian's office. But his main concern is to estimate Burnet and relate him to the progress and development of ideas regarding history; and this is done with a precision and air of finality impossible to any save so close a student of Burnet's century. One instructive passage might perhaps have been added from Burnet's *Reflections on Varillas*: 'A historian that favours his own side is to be forgiven though he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he sets out the best sides of his party, and the worst of those from whom he differs: . . . this bias is so natural that if it lessens the credit of the writer, yet it does not blacken him, but if he has no regard to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange if others take some pains to expose him to the world.' The latter part of this shows to what extent history was still mere pamphleteering in Burnet's day. It enhances his greatness by suggested contrast, and perhaps helps to explain his limitations.

R. DEWAR.

NOTES ON THE EARLIER HISTORY OF BARTON-ON-HUMBER, by Robert Brown, F.S.A. Vol. I. to end of A.D. 1154, pp. xiv, 133; Vol. II. A.D. 1154-1377, pp. xvi, 238. Crown 4to, with 34 illustrations and maps. London: Elliot Stock. 1906 and 1908. 15s. each nett.

MR. BROWN's second volume, completing the work, enables an examination to be made of it as a whole. And the advantage of doing so is the more apparent from the strict chronological method observed by the author. This is applied not only to the general history but to the descriptions of the two great features of Barton, its churches of St. Peter and St. Mary. The pre-conquest portion of the former and the foundation of the latter as the chapel of All Saints, ascribed to A.D. 1090, are treated in the first volume, but for their subsequent history and architectural development we must turn to the chapters devoted to Ecclesiastical Progress, under Sections iv. and v. of Vol. II. These churches, separated by a distance of 180 yards only, are as remarkable in their characters as in their proximity to each other. St. Peter's Church is familiar in the pages of Prof. Baldwin Brown's second volume of *The Arts in Early England*, where its erection is ascribed to the period between Edgar, A.D. 950, and the Norman Conquest. 'The building affords a type of early church of a somewhat singular kind, in which the ground story of the square tower forms the nave or body of the oratory, a small chancel being built on to the east of it.' So much of this early structure is still extant that Professor Baldwin Brown has

been enabled to delineate its original appearance; and a reproduction of his plate in the first of Mr. Robert Brown's volumes adds to the value and interest of the accompanying plans and illustrations with which the work is amply furnished.

The possession of such a feature has in itself made this town a place of pilgrimage, and it may well have inspired such a work as Mr. Robert Brown presents in his two volumes. In them every available early record has been collected from original sources. Each is translated and edited with care and scholarship, every name and term having its due note or explanation. These volumes are thus a mine of information respecting technicalities, manorial customs, tenancy and land division as they occur in the quoted documents; whilst the references to field names and local terms are elucidated from the writer's wide knowledge and observation. They exemplify how important a function may be exercised by 'the man on the spot' in dealing with the history of a parish and the advantage possessed by him through his intimate personal connection and knowledge of local detail. It is seen besides, that within so restricted an area and in a survey that embraces its history only as far down as the latter part of the fourteenth century there is nevertheless so large an amount of material available as the industry of the author has accumulated in these pages. Nor need it be added that the light here thrown on the early annals of a provincial township has its correspondence with the course of affairs witnessed in the march of events in the State itself, events often explained and interpreted by local illustrations.

Mr. Brown deprecates the titles of 'History' or 'Monograph' for his work, designating his pages as 'Notes' merely; written 'in a spirit of affectionate regard' for his birthplace. To read his pages, however, is to experience a growing appreciation for the quality of a work described by so modest a title.

The name Barton and the similar name Berwick are alike developments from an original *bere* = barley, with the suffix respectively of *tun* and *uicus*. They are both widely distributed in the island, and of such frequency that one may count no fewer than forty-five Bartons and thirteen Berwicks used as place-names. But in Lincolnshire Barton-on-Humber is the only Barton in the county. This of itself is an interesting survival in an area where the earlier names have largely given place to those adopted after the Danish settlements had been established. These are sufficiently indicated by such test words as terminations in—*by*, and the substitution of *beck* for the Anglian 'burn.' By this criterion the evidence of Danish influence in Lincolnshire and elsewhere may be well judged. It is therefore unfortunate that Mr. Brown should have adduced quite a number of vernacular words as 'specimens of the relics of our Danish past,' almost every one of which, still current in Anglian dialects, is, in fact, of earlier introduction than its cognate Danish equivalent. 'Bartonians at the present time,' we are told, 'are very familiar with such Danish words as *grew* (a greyhound), *intak* or *intake* (land taken from the common field), *keel* (a small goods-carrying vessel), *muck* (dirt, also manure), *mouidiwarp* (a mole), *rave* (tare up, rout out),

slape (slippery), *stee* (a ladder), *stunt* (obstinate), *swill* (to throw water on the pavement), *throng* (busy), *toft* (land on which a cottage with common right stands), etc. What has been called 'The Scandinavian craze' could hardly go further.

In references to the introduction of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons it is common to minimise the influence of the North in the conversion of the country. This is apparent in Mr. Brown's allusion to Augustine's arrival in England in A.D. 597, and to the work of St. Chad. But the Venerable Bede, although living under the system then enforced as orthodox, is too veracious a historian to omit the fact that Augustine's Mission resulted in failure; so much so that his successor Mellitus was driven from the country; whilst the East Saxons relapsed to their ancient paganism. It was from Ad Murum and by men hailing from Iona and Northumbria that the faith was rekindled. It was by them, too, that the faith was first carried to Mercia. Missionaries from Gaul returned to reap what the Christians of the North had sown, and to enforce conformity to their orthodox usages. In an encounter with resolute characters of the type of Wilfrid and Theodore the mild spirituality of men who went on foot and walked humbly, like St. Chad, became altogether subordinate.

Not the least valuable portion of the work are Mr. Brown's accounts of Gilbert of Gaunt, first Lord of Barton, and his family, his history of the house of Beaumont and the genealogy of the family of Rudston, of whom the author's maternal line is descended; all showing evidence of long, patient research.

It is not easy to realise in the now quiet streets of Barton and in its inlet from the Humber the stir of a busy port and haven and a commercial seat of keen merchant-adventurers. These, however, added their quota of ships and men to various fleets and expeditions. In 1332 the attempt of John de Balliol upon Scotland is connected with Barton, when the fleet of eighty-eight ships, 'assembling at Barton and Kingston upon Hull, took to sea' and arrived on the seventh day at Kinghorn. 'It is interesting to note that the gallant expedition, which for the moment conquered Scotland, started from Barton and was practically commanded by the Lord of the Manor of Barton' (Henry de Beaumont). At an earlier date (A.D. 1313) certain good men of Barton had petitioned 'by reason of a depredation committed on the sea by the King's Scottish enemies upon their goods and chattels to the amount of £1000 sterling.' Licence was obtained from the King, in consequence, for the equipment 'at their own expense' of two ships, with men capable of bearing arms, to make reprisals.

Once Barton had been a frontier town where the head of a high road from Lincoln and the south terminated on the great estuary of the Humber. There is a sense of finality in its position. Its armadas and its merchant ships no longer count. But if its streets are now reposeful, its historical remains are of unusual interest, and they will continue to attract attention in the pages of this sumptuous and excellent account of its early history.

R. OLIVER HESLOP.

476 Mackinnon: History of Modern Liberty

A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY. By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. Vol. III. THE STRUGGLE WITH THE STUARTS (1603-1647). Pp. xviii, 501. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 15s. nett.

THE scope of this ambitious work and the method of treatment adopted by its learned author were fully discussed in the *Scottish Historical Review* (vol. iii. 94) in a notice of the first instalment. Dr. Mackinnon, with remarkable capacity for rapid production, has now published a third volume containing a detailed narrative of the quarrels between the Stuarts and their English and Scottish subjects, from the Union of the Crowns until the surrender of Charles by the Scots to the Parliamentary Commissioners on 26th January, 1647. The same characteristics of unwearied industry, wide reading, and accurate, careful scholarship which characterised the earlier volumes are again conspicuous here. Once more, Dr. Mackinnon shows himself a lover of the concrete rather than of the abstract; more interested in giving his readers an exhaustive compendium of facts than in discriminating between the various conceptions of 'liberty' that are involved. While the results may be disappointing to students of political science who maintain that a history of liberty ought to be primarily a history of ideas rather than of facts, it would be unfair to criticise Dr. Mackinnon's achievement from a standpoint so alien to his own. The present volume is really a general history of England and Scotland during the first half of the seventeenth century. It thus covers only half of the ground comprised in the recently published volumes by Professor Montague and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan respectively, with which it challenges comparison; for each of these works, in treating of the constitutional struggle against Stuart methods of government, is necessarily concerned with the 'History of Liberty.' The present volume, however, has an opening and a final chapter devoted exclusively to political theory. Chapter I. contains an interesting though brief account of 'The Political Significance and Effects of the English Reformation'; Chapter XX. discusses 'Toleration—Church *versus* Sect—Religious and Intellectual Liberty.' It is in these portions of the work that the reader will find Dr. Mackinnon's main conclusions as to the nature and various forms of liberty.

WILLIAM S. McKECHNIE.

THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD. A STUDY OF THE VERSIONS OF THIS ALLEGORY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE IN LATIN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH. By Hope Traver. Pp. 171. 8vo. Bryn Mawr, U.S.A. 1907.

ONE of the Bryn Mawr College monographs, this collation of variants and examination of sources must be welcomed as gratifying evidence that the ladies' colleges in America are capable of producing sound contributions to literary history. A passage in the seventy-fourth psalm, in which Mercy and Truth meet, and Justice and Peace kiss each other, readily lent

itself to the allegorising and moralising middle ages. Started by St. Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who got their suggestion from the Jewish *Midrash*, the allegory received definitive form from Grosseteste in whose *Chateau d'Amour*, it has a feudal setting which gave it security of tenure in European literature. Various parallel adaptations were made, chief of which was the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Cardinal Bonaventura. The *Chateau* and the *Meditationes* appear to have been the main sources of later literary versions such as the *Court of Sapience*—which Stephen Hawes attributed to Lydgate, although recent authorities, e.g. Schick and MacCracken, refuse to accept the ascription, and MacCracken puts it out of the 'Lydgate canon.' The *Court of Sapience* may have influenced Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*, which again is thought to have been imitated in Drummond's *Shadow of the Judgment*. Miss Traver industriously and clearly collects and arrays the many signs of the considerable place the allegory fills in literature. In the early years of the fourteenth century, Grosseteste's story was retold in English in the *Cursor Mundi*, and was also incorporated into the *Gesta Romanorum*, a collection which, though in Latin, was probably compiled in England. A little later in the same century versions of the allegory are found in the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and in *Piers Plowman*. With the beginning of the fifteenth century English versions multiplied. The French poet, Guillaume Deguileville (fourteenth century) made large use of the allegory, which he developed considerably. Curiously influential was another version of the legend, the *Processus Belial*; this worked out some medieval applications of law, and exhibited the Virgin as advocate successful in debate with Masceroen procurator for the devils in a plea for the recovery of mankind who had been rescued through the harrowing of hell. Elaborate legal mechanism thus called into play was found effective for dramatic presentation. About the middle of the fifteenth century, Arnout Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* (existing in a MS. of 1473, but known to have been performed in 1452) displays the pleading of Misericorde for humanity in a long drawn out debate with Justice, in which Verite, Pais, and Sapience participate. The piece is, of course, terribly overweighted with theology. In the end, Justice, falling in adoration before the Father, withdraws her indictment of man. Miss Traver sees curious similarities between the 'process' in Greban's play and the trial scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, but, in the absence of fuller citations of the text of passages founded on, it is not possible to concede that she has established more than one or two vague and general likenesses. *Li Regret Guillaume* may be suggested as a probable offshoot of Grosseteste's poem omitted from the list of derivatives. Bryn Mawr College has credit by Miss Traver for this successful piece of source-digging, which reveals not a few unknown parts of the channel by which this scriptural allegory flowed through the middle ages. Dr. Carleton F. Brown is specially referred to, along with Professor Schick of Munich, among Miss Traver's helpers. Her work shows her worthy of her friends.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts IV. and V. With an Appendix of Extracts from Leland's Collectanea. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Pp. viii, 192. With map. Foolsap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 12s. nett.

THE new instalment of this welcome edition of *Leland's Itinerary* possesses all the good qualities of Miss Toulmin Smith's work recently pointed out in this *Review* (v. 98-9). The present portion comprises various indications of the great antiquary's activity in addition to the regular narrative of his journeys through some of the Midland shires. We have notes on men and families in certain counties, collected from rolls, pedigrees, and oral information. The appendix (pp. 115-172) contains the miscellaneous documents which Hearne printed, and which Miss Toulmin Smith wisely retained, though they are only remotely connected with the object of the work. Those who compare the new edition of these documents with the old will thank the editor for her decision. The critical discussion of the manuscript sources of the appendix is valuable.

From the statements in this volume much might be said about Leland's accuracy as an observer and his discrimination as an historian, but such lies outside our present purpose. Miss Toulmin Smith sometimes corrects his Latin grammar, but she has not always verified his Latin quotations. One could have wished that the genial historiographer had been less credulous in accepting the 'verbal information given him by local gentry.' Leland was by no means the last antiquary led astray by the same guides. Family traditions are the most whimsical and least trustworthy of all the forms of historical evidence known to serious students. No pains have been spared to elucidate obscurities in the narrative and to identify places mentioned therein. The student with this edition in his hand need not be troubled about the manuscript authority for the printed text. There is abundant evidence of careful and experienced work.

JAMES WILSON.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1635-1639. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction and Notes by William Foster. Pp. xxxvi, 396. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE calendaring of the valuable collection of documents relating to the home affairs of the East India Company is proceeding slowly. The first volume, covering the Court Books down to 1616 appeared as early as 1862 as a *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616*. This was followed by four other volumes of the same series, the last of which extended to 1634 and was issued in 1892. Meanwhile the calendars of the letters received from the factors in India had begun to be printed at the Clarendon Press, and it is evident that when the question arose as to publication of the next instalment of the calendar of the Court Books it was difficult to decide whether it should make its appearance uniform with the previous volumes dealing with this material or it should follow

Court Minutes of East India Company 479

the form of the Letters from India. The latter decision has been adopted with very satisfactory results. Though necessarily the present volume contains less, it is easier to work with, being of a more manageable size. There are other changes. In addition to the papers at the India Office, documents which illustrate them at the Record Office or British Museum have been noticed. Certain minor alterations in the method of compilation are important to those who require to make any considerable use of the new calendar. In the previous volumes the indexing was based on the plan of giving sometimes the paragraph and sometimes the page. For instance, taking a case at random from the Calendar for the period 1630-4, one gets a reference such as the following: p. 26, 70, 80, p. 71, p. 73, pp. 75-7, 102, p. 90, 111, p. 176, 211 and so on, the change from one notation to the other being puzzling to many who use the index. In the present volume the reference is consistently to the page. Another improvement is the addition of notes, and, generally speaking, the condensation may be described as being more readable than in the earlier volumes.

So much for the appearance of the calendar; as to the Court Books and other material dealt with, these cover a period of considerable interest, one indeed which is essential to any student of the conditions surrounding monopolies for foreign trade. From several sources, the birth of the rival East India company known as Courten's association can be observed. It is significant to notice that, though James I. had bound himself and his successors not to grant any licenses contrary to the privileges of the original East India company, Charles I. not only authorized Courten's association (which by the way began its career with piracy and ended it with counterfeiting the moneys circulating in India) but held shares in the venture, which were given to him without payment. The position of the company on the whole question was a very simple one. On the news of the breach of faith on the part of the Crown, the adventurers resolved that in future their ships would sail 'sufficiently furnished'; and on a further scrutiny one learns that 'the sufficient furnishings' were to consist of more cannon and larger crews (p. 162). Had the vessels of the rival bodies met on the high seas it would be easy to guess the consequences; however, the Dutch East India company settled the fate of the expedition of Courten's association with which this volume deals by taking all the ships.

W. R. SCOTT.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY. By James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Charles A. Beard, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. 2 Vols. Cr. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xi, 362, 1907; Vol. II. pp. vii, 448, 1908. Boston and London: Ginn & Company. 6s. 6d. each.

THIS is an educational manual which admirably serves its purpose, and is at the same time as entertaining as a romance. It is intended as an

480 The Development of Modern Europe

introduction to current history, and written, the authors say, in order that the reader may understand the foreign news in his daily paper. With this modest object they have produced a brief but valuable history of Europe from the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. to the end of the year 1907, describing tersely and vividly the political changes and national developments of the period, and especially setting forth with philosophical acumen the advance of free institutions.

In this, partly, perhaps, because it is American, the book does not hesitate to assign the leading rôle to France. England, indeed, established, a hundred years earlier than France, the supremacy of parliament, by executing one king and expelling another. But the English parliament was only a council of nobles and wealthy landlords. It was the ideas of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, accepted in turn by the European nations, which liberated the people, and 'the French National Assembly was the first to furnish a definite program and model for constitutional reform in Europe.' In the opinion of the authors, England, in political and in educational progress, is being gradually left behind.

After masterly chapters on each of the chief European states in the nineteenth century, and a useful review of the expansion of Europe during the same period, the work ends with extremely well-balanced statements of the chief political and social problems of to-day, *The Responsibilities of Modern Government*, *The War on Poverty*, and *The Progress and Effects of Natural Science*.

The authors know how to seize the essential and omit the unimportant. They tell just what one wants to know with brevity and lucidity, and with a delightful absence of recondite allusions and unexplained references.

An appendix contains a list of the chief European rulers since the reign of Louis XIV. with their dates, and a list of authoritative books on the period, suited to form a valuable and inexpensive collection for use in a Higher School. The volumes have, besides other illustrations, thirteen full-page portraits, thirty-seven clear and instructive maps, and a serviceable index.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

'BONAPARTISM,' being six lectures delivered in the University of London.

By H. A. L. Fisher. Pp. 124. 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS interesting and pregnant essay is an expansion of a thesis outlined in the author's contribution to a recent volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*. It represents the general conclusions on the question of the real significance and effect of the Napoleonic idea reached by a student of the great Emperor's external policy as exhibited in his dealings with the States of Eastern Europe in particular. The work of Mr. Fisher in this field has entitled him to rank as a specialist, and it is from this point of view that he considers in the first branch of his thesis Napoleon's claim to have fostered the idea of liberty and the spirit of nationality. 'The wars of Napoleon,'

he writes, 'may be regarded from many points of view. We may, if we choose, consider them as wars of propaganda containing the precious seed of revolutionary philosophy to scatter it broadcast through Europe.' The result of these wars was the formation of subsidiary revolutionary governments throughout Europe. 'In what sense,' he asks, 'can the term *liberal* be applied to these parasitic governments of the grand Empire?' With the sole exception of Switzerland 'there was little pretence of deference to the consecrated force of historical association. The constitutions given to the dependencies of the Empire are variations on one despotic archetype. . . . The ring of dependent States were the satellites of Mars.' To the mind of Napoleon even Italy, in spite of appearances to the contrary, was not an end, but a means; and he said of Poland: 'The whole problem of Poland consists in exciting the national fibre of the Poles (against Russia) without awakening the liberal fibre.' Turning further to France herself, Mr. Fisher finds the same disregard of the ideals of liberty and nationality on the part of the Emperor. She received no better treatment at his hands than the States of Germany and Italy, and as his Imperial policy developed it became slowly but surely less national and liberal.

Having thus cleared the ground and outlined his criticism of the policy of Napoleon, Mr. Fisher turns to the genesis and evolution of the Bonapartist idea, which dates, in his view, not from the first Empire, but from St. Helena. This derivation of Bonapartism from the period of the Emperor's captivity is the salient feature of his study. If it be permissible to borrow a surgical term, it may be said that Bonapartism is Napoleon *at the second intention*. The great Emperor only lost his material power to gain a new and more lasting Empire over the minds of his fellow-men, and succeeded in impressing upon France at least the interpretation of his own policy and actions, which he wished to preserve. Fortunate in this, as in most of his audacious attempts, he was successful in falsifying history, and for two generations Europe looked at him through his own eyes. By the time that his astute understudy was ready to take his place on the boards, the despotism of the First Empire was forgotten, and the second Napoleon appeared before Europe in the blaze of the limelight which his uncle had manufactured for him at St. Helena. He claimed to represent the Bonapartist idea, the tradition of nationality and of freedom founded on national history, which only the implacable hatred of England had prevented the great founder of his house from realising.

In the latter part of his volume Mr. Fisher in the light of this claim sketches the tragi-comedy of the Second Empire. The outline is of the slightest, and bears the marks of hurried writing, but it merits expansion, and it is to be hoped that in a second edition the author will elaborate the second branch of his thesis, and thus give his work a balance which it lacks in its present form. Mr. Fisher is too much inclined to neglect the new factors and forces with which the Second Empire had to deal, and to look upon the events of the last generation with the eyes of a previous age. Thus, to take two instances, his treatment of the ecclesiastical policy of Napoleon III. is inadequate, and the Emperor's encouragement of industrial organisation and commercial expansion had an important effect

in modifying his logical policy of opposition to the formation of corporations within the State, which Mr. Fisher does not indicate. A centralised despotism cannot withstand the disintegrating forces of widespread industrial activity.

'Time,' writes Mr. Fisher, 'alone was wanting, as to the uncle, so to the nephew.' One might add: 'As to the *ancien régime*.' For the pre-revolutionary Monarchy and the two Empires were alike in this, that their rulers realised too late that they could not afford to debase the ideals on which their claim to power had originally been founded, and all three were swept away in a vain and tardy attempt to return to the enthusiasms of their youth, and to light their empty lamps in the face of the relentless bridegroom. 'On voit que l'histoire est une galerie de tableaux où il y a peu d'originaux et beaucoup de copies.' These significant words of Alexis de Tocqueville might be adopted by Mr. Fisher as the motto of his illuminating study.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

GLASGOW MEMORIALS. By Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk. With 100 Illustrations. Pp. xxiv, 353. Cr. 4to. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1908. 21s. nett.

THIS handsome volume supplies a real want. Glasgow has never lacked pious sons, from M'Ure downwards, to celebrate her progress; nor, since the institution of the great book clubs, a zealous army of spade workers to investigate her origins. Mr. Renwick's main task has been to provide the world of letters with a readable account of the results obtained by the explorers; including, last in time but among the first in importance, himself and his late chief, Sir James Marwick. That such work should have been undertaken in the first instance for the newspapers, is at once an indication of the author's object and an excellent sign of the times. For such an enterprise as the printing, a generation ago, of the seventeenth century list of pollable persons in Renfrewshire, one feels indebted rather to the public spirit of the then editor of the *Glasgow Herald* than to the antiquarian tastes of his readers. But here, there is perhaps not a sentence in the topographical section which will fail to interest any intelligent Glaswegian. For the more scattered audience now appealed to, if I may take my own case as typical, a sketch map of Glasgow as it was about 1560, with the positions of the ports and extent of the suburbs at that date, would have been helpful. To which a plan might have been added, showing the burgh territory as it is, and distinguishing later acquisitions from the ancient 'Liberties.' The value of these would not have been greatly diminished though some details had been given on conjecture. For growth such as Glasgow's something must be paid; even the site of the chapel dedicated to St. Mungo's mother is hopelessly lost (p. 232), and its modern representative is a railway terminus. Yet the Register of Sasines still respects the boundary between the lands which Bishop Jocelin assigned to his free burgesses and those which he retained to be tilled by his villains (p. 133).

Mr. Renwick is the historian not of modern but of ancient Glasgow;

his subject is rather the passing of the old than the coming of the new. Yet in occasional and semi-ironical touches he contrives to exhibit without obtruding his loyal pride in his city ; as where (p. 150) he compares the earliest known Account of the Common Good with the latest—each showing a credit balance, of £40 Scots and £16,000 odds sterling respectively ; or where (p. 181) he observes that the jurisdiction of the Burgh Court is practically obsolete *except* for one class of cases of which it deals with some twenty thousand a year.

Of the many interesting topics touched on or suggested by the book, only a few can be referred to here. Not yet have I found time to visit the site of the 'know of grummell at the Drygate Heid,' where St. Ninian and St. Kentigern found the local chief in his 'Rath' (p. 14), between the primeval forest above and the (perhaps terraced) slope stretching towards the Clyde valley below. But the great church surrounded by canons' manses and gardens, and the little city clustered round its cross at the foot of the hill, are easier to conjure up ; many visitors to Glasgow attempt it, and never till now has it been possible to fill in so many details. Mediaeval Glasgow is perhaps less difficult to imagine than the neat Oxford-like University town which to the English tourist of the later seventeenth century seemed the pleasantest (or the least unpleasant) of the sights of Scotland.

The mercantile importance of Glasgow developed slowly ; the Bishop had no grant of coquet till 1490 (p. 167), more than a century after the dates of similar grants to St. Andrews and Arbroath. Glasgow's first prosperity was as a centre of inland trade,—the Bishop's 'peace' being doubtless better protection for merchants than that of the bailies of Rutherglen, Renfrew or Dumbarton ; while the large body of permanently resident clergy kept up a steady demand for wares. The Reformation, scattering and impoverishing the priests, caused at first a 'slump,' at least in the demand for houses of the better sort (p. 23). But the University was growing, the town's share of the west coast fisheries was growing, and trade with 'Yrland and ellisquhair' was springing up ; of the position in 1581 an interesting notice is quoted (p. 157). The Union of 1603 no doubt opened the way for foreign trade ; the decay of the east coast ports during the troubles of the seventeenth century must have helped Glasgow ; but anything like rapid growth was only possible after 1707.

The scanty notices which it has been possible to collect of the internal affairs of the town before the sixteenth century do not seem to present any peculiar feature. If we have no Bishop's charter founding the burgh, neither have we record of the foundation of any royal burgh before the time of Alexander II. ; which the author is perhaps right in explaining by the suggestion that such rights were at first not constituted by writing but by act of the King through his bailies (p. 103). In the sixteenth century Glasgow emerges a fully equipped and strong municipality ; owing its strength partly to advantages of position, but largely also to the character of the Bishops' government,—mild yet not negligent, and aiming not at extension of seigniorial rights, but at preservation of custom. In 1510 the magistrates attempted to prohibit the burgesses from appealing

causes from their own court to the ecclesiastical tribunals; which affair was 'arranged' (p. 176) by the Provost's prompt submission. The barony rentallers were dealt with on the same principle—hence at the Reformation the possessory right of a St. Mungo's rentaller was by the courts recognized as equal to that of a feuar. How then does it happen that 'kindly tenancy' has not survived at Glasgow as at Lochmaben? Probably owing to the levelling influence of the legal profession. The town's right to the mill of Partick was not feudalized till 1738 (p. 159).¹

Of the author's execution of his task, it need only be said that it is worthy of the conception, and not unworthy of the setting,—which is saying a good deal. As the reception of the book is understood to have been cordial, it may not be out of place to conclude with a few suggested corrigenda for a second edition. Mr. Renwick seems (p. 115) not to have seen the royal charter of 30th April, 1594 (preserved in the Register of the Privy Seal) granting the barony and regality to the Duke of Lennox for payment of a blench duty; this, which made his previously acquired liferent right heritable, was never ratified by Parliament, and was soon superseded by a different arrangement. The statement at p. 187, that certain lands in Cathcart parish belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline, is a mistake; the tenor of the charter quoted shows that the lands were not held in mortmain; the natural inference is that they were Archbishop Beaton's personal property, probably acquired by him from Lord Cathcart. At p. 269 the ancestry of the too celebrated parson of Glasgow, Archibald Douglas, is not correctly given, Mr. Renwick having been misled by the author of *Fasti Ecclesiae*; Archibald was not a grandson of the second Earl of Morton, but a descendant (great-great-grandson or thereabouts) of an uncle of the first Earl.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV. Memoirs of Sir Edward West, Chief Justice of the King's Court during its Conflict with the East India Company. With hitherto unpublished documents. By F. Dawtrey Drewitt, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. With Illustrations. Pp. xviii, 368. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 9s. 6d. nett.

THE author of this book has accomplished, we think with success, the pious task of rescuing from undeserved obscurity, and defending against hostile criticism of old date, the memory of his ancestor, Sir Edward West, who, though known now chiefly as the author of papers on economic subjects, occupied the important post of King's Judge in Bombay from 1822 to 1828. He has used the letters and diary of

¹ The Bishop's grain rents, and the teinds of the churches belonging to the Bishop, Chapter and individual Canons, were paid according to the 'feir of Glasgow,' which appears to have been intentionally 'struck' at a moderate figure. There is on record a lawsuit between the Abbot of Kilwinning and his chamberlain in 1557, in which the latter offered to account for the victual rents of the Abbey lands by the 'feir of Glasgow,' while the Abbot maintained that he had been in use to be paid at the rate of 2 shillings per boll higher.

Lady West and memoranda by the judge and has drawn on contemporary records of the occurrences therein referred to which were the main subjects of conflict in Sir Edward West's judicial career. The post of King's Judge in Bombay in the early part of the nineteenth century was not merely important but difficult, for at that time the East India Company's officials were the reverse of friendly to a king's representative prepared to reform judicial abuses and administer justice even-handed as between natives and Europeans. Almost from the moment of West's arrival in Bombay 'a dryness sprang up which grew into an animosity,' and even at the hands of the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, West had to suffer not merely half-veiled official antagonism but open social slight which culminated in a challenge—or what seems to have been a challenge—delivered to him by a representative of the Governor. The dignified letter (p. 229) which West addressed to Elphinstone on that occasion detailing this and the many other incidents of which he had reason to complain, shows how very painful dissension may become in a small community where one man, occupying high position, has the duty of standing out against the irregularities of powerful officials. Like all his predecessors, except Sir James MacIntosh, who lived to return to England, West died at his post, survived only for a few months by his wife, who had accompanied him to India as a bride. We gain the impression from this book that he was a just, fair-minded, able man, 'a champion of judicial integrity' (in the author's words), daily struggling with the difficulties of an almost intolerable position. In Lady West's diary there are interesting glimpses of persons known elsewhere than in India. In 1825 Bishop Heber, of Calcutta, held a visitation at Bombay, and meeting him at dinner, Lady West found it 'almost England again from the manner and style of behaviour and conversation—unlike the Goths here.' Sir Hudson Lowe, Napoleon's custodian in St. Helena, reached Bombay in the following year on his way to Ceylon, the governorship of which he had been promised. The impression he made on Lady West was less agreeable. He took her to dinner, and he was, she thought, 'a stupid man; looks sheepish, very silent, and anything but pleasing.' Sir J. P. Grant, of Rothiemurchus, of the Scots Bar, who went to Bombay as Junior Puisne Judge in 1828, she found 'very prepossessing,' and a very welcome addition to their circle in Bombay. (Her husband found him a staunch and loyal colleague). Early in her diary she is impressed with the suddenness of death in India. 'Here people die one day and are buried the next, their furniture sold the third, and they are forgotten the fourth.' Not merely Judges, but Bishops die at their post, Heber, for instance, in 1826, after three years in India, and his successor Bishop James, in 1828, after but one year.

There are a number of valuable documents in this book which throw strange light on the abuses in the administration of justice in Bombay, notably, West's 'Charge to the Grand Jury' in 1825 (pp. 189 *et seq.*), a very powerful exposure of illegal practices in the subordinate magistracy (*inter alia* imposition of banishment, excessive flogging,

486 Nunburnholme, History and Antiquities

and security for good behaviour without specifying amount, period, or sureties); his letter in 1828 (p. 294) on Police Magistrates addressed to Sir John Malcolm, Elphinstone's successor, and Sir J. P. Grant's address at Quarter Sessions in 1828 (p. 291).

The book contains some interesting photographs and facsimile reproductions of letters by West and his wife. In the transcription of the first of these (p. 36), nine words (all unimportant) are omitted from the third last line.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

NUNBURNHOLME, ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES. By the Rev. M. C. F. Morris, B.C.L., the rector. Pp. viii, 312. 8vo. London: Henry Frowde. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE Rev. Dr. Cox, the able editor of 'The Antiquary's Books,' in his admirable little volume, *How to Write the History of a Parish*, of which more than one edition has been published, lays down systematic rules for the guidance of those who are about to write parish history. Mr. Morris has, in the book before us, followed the same lucid manner in dealing with the history of Nunburnholme, of which he is the rector. Few writers until lately have treated these smaller histories in a scientific way, most of them jumbling periods together in a haphazard guide-book fashion. Mr. J. R. Walbran, in his *Antiquities of Gainford*, in Durham county, an unfinished work published about sixty years ago, was about the first who went to original MS. sources for much of his material, and his incomplete book remains a model. It would be invidious to name recent writers who have followed the same praiseworthy method.

The village of Nunburnholme is situate on the verge of the Wolds in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Its population is small, only some 200 people, while its acres are but 1850. The author (who succeeded his father, the Rev. F. O. Morris, the well-known naturalist, in the spiritual care of the parish) begins with the geology of the district. This is followed by some notes on the early remains. Of the Ancient British period are barrows, pottery, flint weapons, etc., used by the Wold dwellers who, as the author points out, do not appear to have been so cultivated as the people of the same period in Southern England. Of this early people other traces have been left in names such as 'combe' (cwm). Of the Roman period the chief remains are the roads, a stray coin or two, and pottery, and a hoard of about 6,000 third brass coins, ending with Probus (276-282) (found at Methill), many of them of the commoner of the 'Thirty Tyrants,' such as Victorinus, Tetricus, etc. This is succeeded by a history of the manor, with a record of the various distinguished people who have owned it, short biographical notices of them being given. These include the Greystokes, the Dacres 'of the North,' the Howards (amongst them 'Belted Will'), the Cavendishes, and George Hudson, the 'railway king.' On the downfall of the last named, of whom there is a full account, the manor was purchased by the then Earl of Londesborough, and it is now held by his successor the present earl.

Mr. Morris has had access to some unpublished manor rolls from which copious extracts are given. There is no mention, as in the records of other manors, of butchers being amerced for killing unbaited bulls, but there are entries of 'pains' for poundbreach, for lack of a bell wether, for neglect of duty by the pinder, and such like. Small incidents these truly, but such as would doubtless loom large in this out-of-the-way village and stir deeply, and serve as food for, the village gossips for many a long day.

In the third chapter of the history the church is fully dealt with. The author thinks there may have been a pre-conquest church on the site. There are no traces of this, however, if we except the fragment of a very fine cross of the period. The oldest parts of the present building are Norman, and there is a curious little window, with a rude chevron design on its head not unlike fan work. In the usual position in the chancel is one of these archaeological and ecclesiological puzzles, a 'lowside' window, with trefoiled head. The tower of the church is modern, as are the bells. The metal of the old bells of a church is seldom if ever used in the new ones as the vicar writes of his bells.

John Tonge who in 1521 gave a vestment to the church and left a sum for a trentall of masses, desired to be buried 'in the quire before our Lady.' He also gave 20s. and a 'yowys' to the Lady Prioress of Burnholme, besides a gift to the sisters. The sixth chapter deals with the twelfth century nunnery, which was dissolved in 1535 after an adverse report by Legh and Layton, 'ruffians,' as the rector elegantly terms them. It is now the fashion to condemn almost everything done in the time of Henry VIII., whether good or bad, and any stick serves the purpose, but judging from the archbishop's 'injunctions' there appear to have been good reasons for the dissolution.

The author refers to the 'seemly elevation' of the east end of the church. But in many pre-reformation churches the altar was not raised at all, indeed in some instances there is a descent towards the east. Nowadays it is taken for granted that the modern Roman practice is correct and proper and 'seemly.' A list of the rectors, with a short notice of each, appears to be fairly complete.

A very interesting chapter (viii.) is given on the East Yorkshire dialect, but the author is mistaken in assuming that all the words enumerated are peculiar to his neighbourhood, as many of them are in use not only in the more northern counties, but in Scotland. 'Hoos' for house, 'moos' for mouse, 'toon' for town, 'yel' for ale, 'yuck' for hook, and many others. To 'set' a person along a road is also common. One often finds a reluctance in natives to use dialect words to strangers. That master of dialect, the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte, found this out. He wanted to hear from the lips of a Glo'ster peasant a dialect word signifying plastering. But not for some time did the word wanted, 'pargetting,' come out. When the speaker was asked by the late well-known John Bellows of Gloucester, who accompanied the Prince, why he did not say so at first, he replied

that he didn't like to use the word to the likes o' them. This occurred many years ago, before it found its way back to the literary language.

The book concludes with chapters on 'Elizabethan Nunburnholme' and on agriculture. It is well printed, with a good index, and has several illustrations, reproductions from photographs and from drawings by the author's sister.

R. BLAIR.

OUTLINE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM ROMAN TIMES TO THE DISRUPTION.

By W. M. Mackenzie, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. xiv, 484. 8vo.
79 Illustrations. 12 Maps. London : Adam and Charles Black. 1907.

THE demand for a national product in school histories only needed to be stated. It is being well realised, and a briskness of competition stirs the educational book-market. Already young Scotland has a better choice of historical lesson books perhaps than ever before. This condition of things is not a passing phase, and the class of work being done shows a rising standard which is of good augury. Mr. Mackenzie's compact sketch has almost every quality, both of historical spirit and literary workmanship, to command critical approval and popular welcome. The 'outline' is done with the firm and coherent strokes of a drawing which has caught the shape and suggests not a little of the action of the figure it delineates. Crisp, bold, and clear the narrative is packed with event and fact told in a Scottish spirit robustly national without chauvinism. It reveals continually the author's closeness of touch with his sources in chronicle and literature. A keen attention is paid to the elements of the common life, the relationships of race and class, whether under the feudal, religious or industrial régime, and the characteristic organisations of the country. There is vigorous blood in the veins of this little history, which may one day grow into a big one. Its picture of Scotland is a faithful piece of work, indicative of a freshness of outlook, a capacity of expression, and a high measure of individuality and knowledge. Animated by the popular spirit, which it interprets with much success, and registering no small independent study, Mr. Mackenzie's outline, capital for schools, will please not less the audience of larger growth.

GEO. NEILSON.

BONNET COURT OF CORSEHILL. From the Original Manuscript in the possession of Dr. Cunningham. Pp. 20. 4to. Kilmarnock : Standard Office. 1908.

DR. JOHN CUNNINGHAM of Stewarton has reprinted from the *Kilmarnock Standard* an edition, we believe, of only twenty-seven copies of his transcripts from the Minute Books of the Bonnet Court of Corsehill, being the records of the corporation of bonnetmakers of Stewarton, Ayrshire. The first entry copied is an agreement of 24 April, 1650, with the Glasgow Bonnetmakers, making it 'leisum to the hail bonnet-makers, subject to Corshillis Court in all tyme comming to haunt the marcats of Glasgow to sell their bonnets without ony interruptionne to be maid to their guds being visited and sichtit anent their insufficiencye be visitors one or mae to be appoyntit be the laird of Corshill and his successors quha hereby becomes lyable for all insufficient bonnets.' Sir Alexander

Cunningham, of Corsehill, was 'Deacon Heritable' of the corporation, and the Bonnet Courts were generally presided over by his Bailie. The business of the Court was multifarious. Much of it concerned trade regulations and the management of the corporation, admission of freemen, fines on outsiders 'without entry,' arrangement about the mortcloth, enforcement of rules giving rights of purchase first to members of the corporation, and other working conditions—these take up much space in the minutes. 'The bonnetmakers of Stewarton,' writes Dr. Cunningham, 'held themselves superior to those of Kilmarnock, and were jealous of their good name. There is an enactment imposing a fine of £50 Scots for each offence of "imposing Kilmarnock-made caps for Stewarton ones on the people of Glasgow," over and above expulsion from the Corporation.' Repeated mention is made of a close time for manufacture; for instance, in December, 1729, 'it is enacted that there be an idlesett of the whowll trade beginning the 22nd instant to last till Candlemass.' A standard question was that of the dye for blue bonnets, the staple product. Thus a court was called in March, 1757, because 'ther is some person dying blew without indigo which they pretend to make bonetts and caeps of it, which said blew will nather stand wind nor wather, and so we have called a court and have thought it fit to put a stop to the same' under a penalty of 20s. stg. 'for each bonnet or caep maid of the said blew.' Dr. Cunningham has been much too sparing of introduction and annotation. We should have liked to see explained the transition from the feudal court and heritable deaconship of the Cunninghams (as existing until at least 1766, and probably for fifteen or twenty years later) to the democratic reconstitution of the body under the Bond of Community signed by the bonnetmakers of Stewarton in 1785. We trust that Dr. Cunningham (who in 1900 in a similar form privately printed a volume of extracts from the Baron Court Book of Corsehill) will continue to pursue these studies, which throw so clear a light, social and economic, on the old industrial system of Scotland in the Burns country and partly in Burns's time. Stewarton supplies a fine example, unusual in its type, of the baronial understructure of an industrial organisation.

SLAVONIC EUROPE: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF POLAND AND RUSSIA FROM 1447 TO 1796. By R. Nisbet Bain. Pp. viii, 452. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908. 5s. 6d. nett.

It is a real pleasure to read Mr. Nisbet Bain's able account of the growth of Russia and the rise and decline of the Kingdom of Poland contained in these few pages. An accessible history of the Slavonic kingdoms has, for long, been greatly needed, and in this excellent book we find all that can be desired. It is no easy task to condense, as in this volume, the early struggles against Tatars and the Teutonic Knights into small space, but the author has done it well and managed to correct the prevalent error that it was Poland and not Hungary which in earlier times prevented the Turkish advance in Europe. We

read here how the failure of the Jagiello dynasty led to the Elective monarchy and the consequent unrest in Poland while Russia grew strong under the powerful rulers the two Ivans. The author is at his best describing the dynastic struggles which led in Russia to the election of a Romanov Tsar and gives a sympathetic account of the able 'False Demetrius.' Condensation has again been happily used in the account of the unfortunate but glorious campaigns of John Sobieski and the wonderful reforms of Peter the Great and his successors (Mr. Bain emphasises the progress made under Catherine I. and Anne), most of whom came to the throne so irregularly. The book ends with the partition of Poland and the reign of Catherine II., to whom the author denies the title of 'great,' while acknowledging her extraordinary ability. We must point out three slips. We do not see how Maria de Gonzaga, Queen of Poland, can be described as 'the last surviving descendant of the Paleologi,' nor how the Romanovs were the kinsfolk of the 'grandmother' of the young Tsar Theodore. We think it is misleading also to style the French father of John Sobieski's Marysienka 'the Margrave Henri de la Grange d'Arquien,' but these will no doubt be corrected in the next edition.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF COLONEL NATHANIEL WHETHAM, a forgotten soldier of the Civil Wars. By Catherine Durning Whetham and William C. D. Whetham. Pp. xviii, 237. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 8s. 6d. nett.

THIS carefully compiled life is the result of work begun as a contribution to family history. Colonel Nathaniel Whetham is not a well known historical figure, though he played no mean part in the Civil Wars. He belonged to a Dorset family and was born in 1604. Apprenticed to a 'White Baker' in London about 1620, he married in 1632 his master's widow, and was drawn into the Civil Wars as major of dragoons raised by the City of London for the Parliament. The writers narrate his career as well as is possible. He was Governor of Northampton in 1643 and then took part in the siege of Banbury. He is believed to have disapproved of the King's execution, but continued to serve as Governor of Portsmouth during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and helped to administer Scotland from 1655 until 1656-7, and again in 1658-9. After returning later to his command at Portsmouth he assented to Monck's recall of Charles II., but retired immediately into private life, and died in 1668.

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA : a History of the Sixth Century A.D. By William Gordon Holmes. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo. Vol I. pp. xiii, 365, 1905, 9s. nett; Vol. II. pp. vi, 400, 1907, 10s. 6d. nett. London : George Bell & Sons.

IN modern thought the interest of Justinian is so impersonal, so codified as it were in canons of law, that there is almost a suggestion of profanation in the discussion of his foibles; which is inevitable when he is treated primarily as a person and only secondarily as a body of

jurisprudence. Yet it might be easy to justify the question, What has marble to do with the flaws of the man? Mr. Holmes not only deals with all sides of the Emperor and his consort, but places them in their personal, social, and institutional environment, so as to make the biography a clear, telling, and compact picture of the age in which they lived. Sympathetic without enthusiasm, the sketch ably discusses Justinian's domestic life, as well as his public work in the service of the empire for thirty-nine years (527-565 A.D.). It describes his wars with Vandals, Goths, and Persians, his architectural achievements, especially in the building of St. Sophia (wherein he thought that he excelled Solomon), and in provincial public works, his administrative reforms, his Constitutions and treatises as a theologian and religious law-giver, his relations to art, science, and literature, and his imperishable *Corpus Juris*. Considering the greatness of what survives, in consequence of Justinian's foresight and judgment, it must be said that the tribute of both historians and civilians to him is grudging, in its stress on the services rather of Belisarius, Narses, and Tribonian, than of their master. His campaigns checked for long the barbarian invasion, and his Code, Pandects, and Institutes preserved for mankind a monument of the Roman people nobler than any other memory of their mighty day. There was allegorical gratitude as well as verity in the tale quoted by Gibbon, that six centuries after his death his corpse was found still without sign of decay. Mr. Holmes, judging him perhaps more coldly than Gibbon, and in a more exact historical perspective, does full justice to his public zeal and energy, futile to prevent, but not wholly unavailing to retard, the Byzantine decline.

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART. FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER. 2 Vols. By Samuel Cowan, J.P. Vol. I. pp. xx, 528; Vol. II. pp. viii, 547. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis. 1908. 42s. nett.

If there is still a class of readers who wish to devour two bulky volumes of inaccurate history, this is a book exactly suited to them. It is not necessary for us to give a lengthy review of this work, which has been reviewed in full by uncritical contemporaries. The author is a champion of waning historical theories. He will not yet abandon the descent of the Stuarts from Bancho and their Lochaber origin. He still thinks that James IV. was married to Margaret Drummond as his first wife. He once names the last Duke of Albany 'Robert,' and he calls Monmouth 'heroic.' Curiously enough for a book with this title, the second volume ends with the reign of Queen Anne, and only gives the history of her last male kinsmen incidentally. Of the genealogical information, the less said the better, but we may point out a mass of mistakes in the family of King James I. alone. The portraits, beginning with 'Queen Annabella Drummond' (in late seventeenth or early eighteenth century costume), and including Queen Margaret Tudor, 'by Kneller,' hardly inspire confidence.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

492 A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times

A SCOTS EARL IN COVENANTING TIMES: BEING LIFE AND TIMES OF ARCHIBALD 9TH EARL OF ARGYLL (1629-1685). By John Willcock, B.D., F.R.Hist.Soc. Pp. xxi, 448. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. 1907. 10s. nett.

THERE is no doubt that this well-written work loses somewhat by having been preceded by the author's last monograph 'The Great Marquess' which treated of the life of the father of the 'Scots Earl' who is the subject of this biography. The heir of one of the most powerful Scottish nobles, he was 'fostered' in early life by the Glenurquhay Campbells, and after his marriage found himself—apparently whole heartedly and in good faith—on the Royalist side, and thus politically opposed to his father. Curious internecine feuds, characteristic of family life in bygone times resulted, and we read that 'seeing bluid hath bene drawin betwix the father and the sone ane can hardlie imagine they are in spoirt or that thai can be reconcealit upon easie termis' and, indeed, they remained politically at variance all their lives. After the failure of the Royalist invasion of Kintyre, Lord Lorne surrendered to Monk, but he was soon 'suspect,' and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for refusing to take the oath to the Protector's Government. He lay there from 1657 to 1659, when he got restricted liberty, and upon the Restoration was received by Charles II. 'with a considerable show of kindness' which the immediate execution of his father somewhat interrupted. He was later arrested for 'leasing making,' and also condemned to death, a sentence which, though remitted at the time, when he was also 'restored,' was not forgotten twenty years later. Much of the book is taken up with the contemporary ecclesiastical strife in Scotland, and it is rather unfortunate for the author that he has had so few letters of his hero to provide materials for deductions on the Earl's attitude to current events as well as for details of his family life. We do not think also that he insists sufficiently incisively upon what he meagrely heads 'Argyll's difficulties with the M'Leans of Mull.' The chief interest of the book begins with the account of Argyll's refusal of 'The Test' and his second condemnation. His flight gives the author full scope for exercising his power of interesting his readers, and he gives an excellent description of Lady Sophia Lindsay's astuteness, and incidentally of the careless clemency of Charles II. From this period Argyll was forced into 'the Protestant interest,' and his connection with the rebellion of Monmouth is well narrated, and interesting illustrations are given from contemporary satirical prints of that abortive rising. The Earl's execution (in which the author follows Wodrow) closes the book, which will certainly have a place in Scottish biography. It would be still better, however, if the hardly serious criticism of Sir Walter Scott on page 230 were expunged.

There comes from the Clarendon Press a charming souvenir chapter of the history of printing in England. It is *A Brief Account of the University Press at Oxford, with Illustrations, together with a Chart of Oxford Printing* (4to. pp. viii, 47. 2s. 6d.), by Mr. Falconer

Madan, eminent as a scholar in the antiquities of books. The greatest provincial press in England, boasting continuity from Elizabethan days, furnishes ample matter for chronicle and instructive facsimile. Printing in Oxford has its earliest memorial in the Jerome bearing the date 'Mccclxviij,' but supposed really to have been printed in 1478, as the next book issued was 1479. Sixteen works are attributed to the years 1478-87. From 1517-20 what is called the second press was at work and produced seven—the arms of the University impressed on six of them, showing the academic connection. In 1585 Joseph Barnes became printer to the University, and after his retiral in 1617 successive private printers did the work until, in 1667, Dr. John Fell established a regular type foundry, and in 1669 installed the press in the Sheldonian theatre. In 1713 its quarters were removed to a new printing house, built mainly from the profits made out of the *History of the Rebellion*, by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. The Clarendon Press thus instituted removed in 1830 to the existing premises in Walton Street. Mr. Madan's notice of the career of the Press ends with an appreciation, which no student of English or of Oxford printing will think excessive, of the *New English Dictionary*, 'the greatest literary work ever produced at Oxford.' Portraits include Lord Clarendon and Archbishop Laud, the great promoter of the press, Dr. Fell (of whom Martial's *Non amote* was translated), and the venerated modern Bartholomew Price (d. 1899). Several blocks shew the University arms—the open book with seven seals and varying legends. The elaborate chart of classified works printed at Oxford from the fifteenth century until 1900 brings out the prominence of royalist literature evoked by the crisis of civil war in 1643-45, but chiefly shews the steadily ascending scale of book production from 1800 with about 40 volumes, until 1900 with about 275. Technically full of information which printers, publishers and bibliographers will all appreciate, the pamphlet yet more finely gratifies the curious sense of interest and mystery exercised by the printing press over the imagination of every lover of books whether he be bibliographically minded or not.

Ranke's *History of the Popes* (The History of the Popes during the last Four Centuries. By Leopold von Ranke. Mrs. Forster's Translation revised in accordance with the latest German edition by G. R. Dennis. 3 Vols. Vol. I. pp. xix, 548; Vol. II. pp. vii, 573; Vol. III. pp. xii, 500. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 10s. 6d.) needs no recommendation at the present day; and the scholarly labours of Mr. Dennis, in preparing the present edition, place at the disposal of English readers all the matter contained in the most recent of German editions. The work was first published in 1834, and was added to Bohn's Standard Library in 1848 in the form of a translation by Mrs. Forster. The eighth German edition appeared in 1885. This was revised by the author (who died in 1888), and was by him brought thoroughly up to date, while two new sections were added. These additions are incor-

porated in the present English edition, while various extracts from original authorities are now restored; and an enlarged index has been added, based on that of the latest German edition.

The Ostmen, descendants of Norse settlers in Ireland, have their rather pathetic story under English conquest from and after Strongbow's time interestingly pieced together by Mr. E. Curtis in the *English Historical Review* for April. Grantees of royal charters conferring the rights of English subjects upon them, they yet were under constant menace and liable to be treated as 'mere Irish' and outlaws. Masters of five cities: Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford and Cork when the invasion began in 1169, they had dwindled almost out of separate existence by the close of the thirteenth century. 'The records of the fourteenth century contain scarcely a trace of this isolated race, and suddenly and completely it vanished out of the history of Ireland.' In the same number Miss Kramer completes her essay on the amalgamation of English merchant crafts as a natural part of the evolution of the gild system. Mr. J. B. Williams writes a useful chapter for the history of the press in a well-informed article on the newsbooks, gazettes and newsletters of the Restoration. Mr. Round groups passages of record to shew that the *ora* of Domesday was normally, if not invariably, reckoned as sixteen-pence.

Who were the Romans? It is the question of Professor Ridgeway, discussed in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. iii, and separately reprinted (Pp. 44. Henry Frowde. 2s. 6d. net). The professor's position, of course in the front line of controversial fire, is that while the Patricians were Sabines and the Plebeians were conquered Ligurians, the Latin language was Ligurian too. Adjuncts of folk lore and Roman custom are arrayed in illustration, especially from the rite of confarreation and the use of cremation. The rest is philology—and conflict all.

The Reliquary for April devotes an article illustrating the sculptures of the temple of Aphaia Egina to the memory of Professor Adolf Furtwängler who died in harness in Egina last year. Fibulae from Wiltshire, primitive cliff-dwelling and flag-stone structures in Mexico, heraldic effigied and inscribed brasses from Essex, and the 'Moon-Dial' at King's Lynn are treated in letterpress and picture. Treasure trove, that still vexed question, is discussed by Mr. Carlyon-Britton, who advocates in lieu of the present unsatisfactory law the enactment of a statute making it compulsory for all objects of antiquity discovered within the British Isles to be offered at their fair market value to the Government. He suggests as a corollary the creation of a Department of Antiquities with an advisory board of experts.

Modern Language Review (April) follows Pantagruel's voyage on the charts of Jacques Cartier, published in 1545; shows the Inquisition as a cause of garbling Dante's *Vita Nuova*; collates texts of 'Erth uppon

erth'; and illustrates the unacknowledged translations by Elizabethan sonneteers. Daniel draws from Du Bellay, Lodge and Constable from Desportes, and Giles Fletcher from Ronsard.

In the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1907-1910, Part I. for 1907. Pp. 132, 37, xlv. Kegan Paul. 1908), Professor Skeat offers a valuable contribution on 'The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales.' It is a collation of the MSS. and a body of inferences therefrom as to the structural changes made by the poet, which account in part for the different 'states' and order of the tales, and particularly the prologues and connecting end-links, as represented in the different MSS. of leading authority. His examination is close with the shrewdness of long study, and the results may be said to sum themselves up in his opinion—expressed as will be seen in very guarded terms—that 'it will never do any harm to look at the seven MSS. in this particular order, viz.: Hengwrt, Petworth, Corpus, Lansdowne, Harleian, Ellesmere, and Cambridge.' Dr. H. N. MacCracken propounds a 'Lydgate Canon,' giving a long catalogue of the genuine poems, followed by a discussion of those reckoned spurious. There is an amusing rejection in advance of an apprehended ascription of the *Court of Love* to Lydgate.

The Bibliophile (No. 2, April; No. 3, May; No. 4, June) is a sixpenny monthly magazine and review for the collector, student and general reader, with illustrations sometimes in colour and usually good, reproducing the work of old masters and modern painters, displaying specimens of ornate bindings, and amply stocked with portraits such as those of the poet Drummond and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, cuts of fabulous animals and water-marks and book-plates. Its literary wares include work of such writers as Arthur Symons, Martin Hume, Hilaire Belloc and Austin Dobson. Mr. Symons brings back old friends and introduces new when he deals with four humorists in verse—O'Keeffe, Whistlecraft, Peacock and Barham. Mr. Belloc, a trifle paradoxical, as is his wont, deplors the decline of the historical book in a lament which lays the blame as much on the readers as the writers. Mr. Dobson has a theme all his own in a survey of James Bramston's *Man of Taste*, published in 1733. To the man of taste, a superior person always, St. Paul's was not sacred—

Sure wretched *Wren* was taught by bungling *Jones*
To murder mortar and disfigure stones.

Miss M'Chesney's account of *Eikon Basilike Deutera: The Pourtraicture of his sacred majesty Charles II.*, published in 1694, outlines the satirical parody, published in 1694, of the original *Eikon Basilike*, written to depict Charles I. Revolution wit could be a trifle dull, but the aim of the parodist was probably rather a political moral than a satire for its own sake. Under the title of 'A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage,' Mr. Arundell Esdaile attractively summarises the *Peregrinationes sanctae ad sepulchrum dominicum* of Bernhard von Breydenbach, printed in 1486. The experiences of the pilgrim at many points forestall those

of William Lithgow, and include adventures as rare and 'painefull' as his. Mr. Harold Bayley's notes on papermarks offer some rather unconvincing interpretations of their origins and significance. *The Bibliophile* deserves to win its way; there is already the assurance of sound work in its pages.

With the publication of its April number, the *Juridical Review* has entered on the twentieth year of its useful existence. Founded by Professor Goudy, before his services were claimed by Oxford, it has flourished under his able successors in the editorial chair, Mr. W. C. Smith, and Mr. H. P. MacMillan, rendering notable services to the study of scientific jurisprudence in Scotland. The present number gives abundant evidence that the Review preserves its virility, and in maintaining its high reputation, continues to deserve well of all Scots lawyers and of all students of Scottish history, particularly in its more legal aspects. In addition to articles whose interest is mainly professional, there are several that appeal to a wider audience. Among these may be singled out for favourable notice, an article (the first of a series) on the history of the House of Lords by Mr. C. R. A. Howden, written in peculiarly attractive, nervous English, and well-informed, though not entirely abreast of recent research on some points of comparatively trivial importance. 'An Example of Legal Make Believe,' by Mr. P. J. Hamilton-Grierson (whose book on 'The Silent Trade' has received a deservedly cordial welcome), discusses early practices in regard to 'adoption': it is a genuine contribution to another department of primitive custom. Lastly, there is a vigorous attack on 'Jury Justice' by Mr. Hector Burn Murdoch.

In the Whitsunday number of *Scotia*, Mr. Eyre-Todd, closing his pictorial studies of the Real King Arthur, is disposed to bury him in the 'Oon,' the *funum Arthuri*, on the Carron. The Earl of Cassillis traces 'Scotland's share in Magna Carta.' Mr. D. Y. Cameron's fine picture of Stirling Castle makes a notable illustration of the magazine.

The Rutland Magazine (Jan.) has a descriptive article on 'Oakham in 1608,' and reproduces a plan of that date. Transcripts from Finch manuscripts at Burley-on-the-Hill contain interesting extracts from contemporary correspondence relative to the Revolution of 1688, including a letter of William Penn in 1692.

Mr. D. S. Davies has compiled (April) with more particular reference to Rutland, a good account of Church Chests and their contents, with notices of the parish registers, briefs and account books. South Witham burial register—date not chronicled—has an entry adding the remark after a man's name, 'A most remarkable honest Scotchman.'

The Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal (April) begins 'A Reading Pageant' from the pen of the editor, Rev. P. H. Ditchfield. Its opening episodes include the coming of St. Birinus, the arrival of the Danes, and the duel of Essex and De Montford, immortalised

in Jocelyn of Brakelond's chronicle and Carlyle's *Past and Present*. There is much to say for the pictorially-educative service of the pageant in stimulating local pride in local history.

Somersetshire has an Archaeological and Natural History Society, with no fewer than 693 members. The Society's *Proceedings during 1907* (8vo, pp. 328, price to non-members 10s. 6d.) form a well illustrated record of local archaeology. A large section registers the recent additions to the Taunton Castle Museum. The transactions are all on local subjects, one long paper being an account of excavations made on the Glastonbury lake village in 1906 and 1907, with sections, plan and photographs of the site and the timber-structure, and drawings of many relics found. Perforated implements of antler are numerous in these illustrations, as are small objects such as beads, rings, fibulae of bronze, bone, amber and baked clay. A comb of antler, an iron knife, and two files are also figured. Somersetshire local antiquities, chiefly architectural, appear in many plates. Among them may be noted the mediaeval shambles of Shepton Mallet, the mace of the now extinct corporation of Langport, and the old bridge of the last named place shewing what remained of a structure of at least nine arches, mentioned under Edward VI. as then 'beinge the great staye of that towne and the contrye there aboute.'

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset for March has a note on the seal of Middleton Abbey, Dorset, the rimed Leonine elegiac legend of which—

Porta salutis Ave per te patet exitus Ave
Venit ab Eva ve ve quia tollis Ave

—appears also on the seal of the Abbey of Arbroath. In the latter case this invocation surrounds the central figure of the Virgin seated with the Child in an open door, as shewn on a plate in Dr. De Gray Birch's work on Scottish Seals.

Orkney and Shetland Old-lore for April has its accustomed variety of Norse literature, lore and document. The Ballad of Hildina, translated from a poem preserved by oral tradition, but written down in 1774 in the island of Foula, is regarded as 'the principal relic of the old tongue called "Norn"—in Icelandic *Norræna*.' Hildina's burning of her bridegroom Illugi is a revenge completely of the old Icelandic kind, and the line for line rendering of Mr. Collingwood in the ballad metre of the original is an effective presentment of the piece. Shetland wrecks, Shetland phrases, and the texts of Orkney and Shetland deeds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries well warrant the name carried by this energetic serial of the Viking Club.

The Irish Church Quarterly (April) in its wide range from Egypt and the Exodus to the biography of Falkland and the burning questions of Rome and Modernism and the Scottish formulas of subscription to the Confession of Faith, touches also the criminal law records of Ireland under Edward I. in that country. Mr. Litton Falkiner's studies of the

Hospitallers in Ireland are commended, as is Mr. H. Wood's destructive scrutiny of Templar records resulting, as it is said, in the sweeping away of 'a host of mythical preceptories.'

Folklorists may find suggestions from Mr. A. F. Chamberlain's article in the *American Journal of Psychology* (Jan.), which, if not quite an outline monograph on the psychology of night, discusses certain of its phases, such as its connection with death and evil forces, the mystic effect of cock-crow, and primitive legends on the alternation of darkness and light.

Dr. Hiram Bingham has printed through the International Bureau of the American Republics a paper (pp. 18) on 'The Possibilities of South American History and Politics as a Field for Research.' It surveys the mass of Spanish-American records of which Dr. Bingham has compiled a preliminary catalogue numbering 25,000 items, and it urges the need of a comprehensive book to cover the institutional and narrative history of the period from 1560 until 1610.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Sept.-Dec.) appeared a study of the *lettre de cachet* in Lorraine before and after 1766, when on the death of the last Duc the province was united to the Crown. M. Duvernoy's conclusion is that in Lorraine, as in France itself, this form of procedure was employed not for the King's behalf but at the instance of the family, to check or prevent misconduct of young women for the most part. Other causes of detention are rare; the letter is a domestic not a political engine in general. The letter itself is in its terms above all things discreet; 'never do we read the words prison, house of correction, or penance—words rude and unpleasant—but decent terms like house of retreat or monastery, which could shock nobody, not even the beneficiary.' A later number (Jan.-Feb.) deals with the close of the career of Prince Henry of Prussia (d. 1802), brother of Frederick the Great.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for January contains the beginning of an article by Dom Gougaud on the work of the *Scotti*, the old Irish missionaries on the continent from the sixth to the eleventh century. The movement began as a succession of pilgrimages 'for the love of God' or 'for the weal of the soul,' St. Columban's arrival in Burgundy about A.D. 590 being the grand initiation of the extraordinary development of Irish influence on continental monasteries, many of which were founded by Columban and his disciples. St. Fursy made a reputation only second to that of Columban, and Irish hermits, monks, and missionaries in the Merovingian epoch have left an infinite if sometimes legendary impress of their dissemination throughout France. Miss Margaret Stokes has searched the forests for their vestiges, and M. Gougaud, neatly critical, observes of her results that her book on her three months' wandering is generally *plus pittoresque que précis*. Before A.D. 800, the Irish had penetrated to very remote parts and made for themselves names of power, as, for instance,

Rombaut in Belgium, St. Kilian in Franconia, and Tuban and Alto in the Rhine-land. The cult had its evils, for the *episcopi vagantes* were sometimes as defiant of discipline as of orthodox doctrine, and the wandering saint had to be put under regulation. M. Gougaud's opening article discusses shortly the causes of the movement, enquiring first whether it does not involve a reflection on the efficacy of monastic rule in Ireland itself, but he appears to favour the view which Montalembert so eloquently preached, that the enthusiasm of piety and missionary zeal, 'a real vocation for the apostolate,' and the high motives of the faith, 'legitimized the distant enterprises of these unwearied travellers whose results, despite the flaws inherent in all collective and prolonged work, remain a title of glory for their country and for religion.' Other causes indicated were not only the certain ravages of the Norsemen, but also the probable existence of bands of native marauders equally destructive and violent.

A curious addition is made to the record of hagiological fraud by an article in the same number of the *Revue* in which is traced the source of two letters attributed to St. Ignatius Loyola, first published in 1893 in the *Revue Thomiste* and edited in 1903 in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. It now turns out that these supposed letters of the founder of the Jesuits, assumed to date from the year 1538, the first year of Loyola's sojourn at Rome, are (except for about a score of words altered or suppressed) literally taken in mosaic sections from the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515-1517), that least likely of all places for inspiration or imitation to the orthodox devout! Ulrich Hutten himself might in spirit be amused to find gravely accredited to Loyola these shreds and patches, from the feigned and ironical correspondence of the Obscure Men with the super-excellent and most learned Magister Ortvinus Gratus, poet, orator, philosopher, and theologian. The changes made include the substitution of 'Magister Thomas' [Aquinas?] in the forged Loyola letter in place of the Johann Reuchlin of the *Epistolae*, and the analogous suppression of the name of that egregious Christian, Johann Pfefferkorn.

The April number resumes and concludes the subject. Special recognition is made of the *scriptura scottica* as a force in the evolution of Carolingian manuscript. Joseph the Scot, John Scot Erigena, Sedulius Scottus, the hermit Eusebius, Cadroe (a native of Scotland), and Marianus Scotus are a few of the many notables whose careers are noticed. M. Gougaud's article closes with the founding of the abbey of St. James at Ratisbon in 1090, after which a change came over the religious emigration, and Scotsmen are said to have by degrees taken the places once filled by Irishmen. Another contribution on the Immaculate Conception extracts from Oxford manuscripts passages from a sermon of Archbishop Fitzralph ('Armachanus') delivered at Avignon in 1342, in which that famous Irish controversialist ranges himself strongly on the immaculate side.

Queries and Replies

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW *S.H.R.* (i. 457-9; v, 369). At the second of these references, dealing with the discovery of a hitherto unrecorded printer to the University, I pointed out that nearly four years had elapsed ere my first appeal for information had met with any response. Now a flood of information comes to hand immediately after my second appeal. In the first place it has been found that John Scrymgeour, the subject of the note, had printed in 1805 a three-volume edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, with a life and a preface by Professor W. Playfair. This preface, issued separately as a pamphlet, with the title, 'Life of Adam Smith, together with a view of his Doctrine, compared with that of the French Economists,' has also been found. Then through the good offices of Mr. W. Innes Addison and Mr. Coutts, of the University, I am now able to present a practically complete list of the University printers from 1795 onwards to the present day.

In November, 1795, James Mundell was appointed printer for three years, and in June, 1799, he was re-appointed for three years from 18th November last (1798).

On 12th October, 1801, the Senate agreed to delay the election of a University printer in succession to the deceased James Mundell.

On 1st May, 1802, the Senate elected James and John Scrymgeour to be University printers. There is no further reference to the Scrymgeours in the notes that have been collected, but on 28th January, 1811, a letter was read from Andrew Duncan soliciting appointment as University printer, and the Senate appointed him for such time and upon such conditions as they might afterwards think proper.

On 1st May, 1811, a printing account of £42 odds is mentioned from William Reid & Co. Very likely most of this would be incurred before Duncan's appointment. Mr. Duncan was still University printer in 1824, and probably continued some time longer.

On 2nd May, 1831, Hutchison & Bookman were appointed printers to the University till 1st May, 1832.

In March, 1832, applications were laid before the Senate for the office of printer from Mr. Bookman, Mr. Hutchison and Mr. Khull. No decision is stated, except that they were to lie on the table for future consideration. On 25th February, 1833, Mr. Khull was

appointed University printer till 1st May, 1834. Mention is made of Khull in 1837, when his printing account was ordered to be paid, exclusive of interest.

On 1st May, 1848, George Richardson was appointed printer to the University.

George Richardson's business was bought in 1872 by Mr. Robert MacLehose, who held the post till the end of 1894, when he retired from business and was succeeded by his nephews Messrs. Robert and James MacLehose. Since the death of the former last year, the appointment has been held by Mr. James MacLehose; so that the post has been in the hands of the MacLehose family for the past thirty-six years.

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ST. GREGORY'S, PARIS. In a Psalterium published at Cologne in 1539, and recently purchased in London, the words 'Bibliotheca Seminarii Anglorum Sti. Gregorii Parisi,' are written on the title-page. Was this College founded before 1558, or was it a Paris Collegiate Institution affiliated with Douai after 1572?

W. H. TELFORD.

Reston Manse.

CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. With reference to the query recently raised by our reviewer we are glad to hear that the volume of maps to illustrate the *Cambridge Modern History* which was announced some time ago, is in active preparation. On the completion of the *History*, two additional volumes will be published. One of these will contain a full detailed general index of the whole work, and the other will contain maps and genealogical tables.

Communications and Replies

PRIVATEERS ON THE ENGLISH COAST IN 1808. The Editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* is indebted to Mr. William Brown, Blinkhoolie, Kinross, for permission to publish the following extract from a manuscript diary, entitled *Notes of a Jaunt to London by Water and returning by Land commenced 4th July, 1808*, by the Rev. David Brown, Parish Minister of Crailing.

We set sail with a fair wind and would soon have cleared the Firth of Forth, but the Capt. had agreed to keep company with another smack (y^e Coldstream) a bad sailer, and to retard us still more her Capt. had been detained on shore more than two hours after we were under sail. The Coldstream fired a gun from time to time to remind our Capt. of his engagement. We shortened sail accordingly. It was judged prudent to have company as a greater security against attacks of the enemy's Privats. which had of late been rather frequent on the Coast. Each smack was armed with 6 four-pounder long Guns, besides muskets, etc. We had therefore no fear from any of the smaller sort of Privateers.

Our Company promised to be very agreeable and every moment we were becoming more acquainted with each other. The Capt. was a good obliging man, but very dull by means of a heavy domestic misfortune. We discovered that during his last voyage his wife had absconded with an artillery man of Leith Battery, leaving his house and two children. The greatest reason he seemed to have for lamentation of this matter, was the difficulty of obtaining a Divorce, in order to be at liberty to chuse another *Moll*. Sailors even of the better sort are apt to be very easy in such matters.

On the afternoon of the 5th July, the day of embarkation, we had a delightful sail down y^e south coast of the Forth. About five in y^e afternoon we had y^e pleasure of viewing the Bass, passing close by it on the south. Opposite to the Bass is Tamtallan which seems to be y^e ruin of a large Fort. Some curious looking rocks are in its neighbourhood—the views are picturesque. By waiting for the Coldstream we were detained all this night in Dunbar Bay and rather becalmed. Pass'd St. Abbs Head early on the 6th, a high rocky shore, well furnished with signal Posts. It is proper here to take notice of our accommodations. The after or smaller Cabin was appropriated to the Females, who by the rolling of the vessel had all been very sick thro the night. The Gentlemen occupied y^e large Cabin which contains eight beds. These beds are only about 2 ft. nine inches wide, furnished with a mattress a Pillow and Blankets—are very commodious for one person, but must be very much otherwise for two. Luckily each of us got one, and I

was very happy in having brought sheets along w^t me which made me quite comfortable. Some of the Gentlemen also were very sick the first night. I was quite well, but the noise and rolling of the ship prevented sleep. The perpetual noise of the sick passengers was also distressg.

This day (the 6th) y^e wind was from the east by south. We made little progress. Passed Eyemouth—seem^sly a neat small village situated in a low opening on y^e shore. The shore is bold and rocky. Pass'd Berwick, which has no great appearance from the sea. Here we were joined by a Berwick Smack Capt. Brown. We now thought our force very formidable, and defied the Privateers. But still the Coldstream lagged behind. This afternoon we were becalmed near Holy Island and y^e tide being ag^t us we anchored for a few hours. Towards night-fall pass'd Bamburgh Castle and held on with a brisk breeze along y^e Coast of Northumberland.

On Thursday (the 7th) pass'd Tinemouth—had now a light south westerly wind. A great appearance of shipping and the vast smoke coming down the River indicates a Country abounding with Coal. From this time the sea was covered with ships of all sorts and sizes met this day with many smacks from London which haild us, wishing each other a good voyage. Towards evening passed Scarborough which is pleasantly situated on a high bold point. During this night we were greatly becalmed and had even to cast anchor to hold the ground we had made as any wind we had would not stem the tide which was now ag^t. us.

The shore here is bold and the water deep to the very beach. In some parts we saw small fishing villages as it were stuck in to some low gullies.—Here were pointed out allum works on the sides of the high rocky beach.—The houses are all covered with tiles, and those villages have a very crowded mean appearance. In the night we made little progress for want of wind.

In the morn^s early on Friday 8th reach'd Flamboro Head, where we were obliged to drop anchor the wind being light and tide ag^t. us. The scene here was delightful. This being the point which all vessels make bound to or from London, to and from all quarters—there were hundreds in sight at all times—at this time they seemed mostly bound to the north—among them were a vast proportion of light coal ships. Whilst we were thus detained by wind and tide they were wafted along with considerable rapidity by both wind and tide.—All was motion—it was wonderful to think whither so many were bound. The weather freshening and tide coming in our favour we beat across Burtington bay. Flamboro Head juts considerably into the sea; a high beach of chalk Rock frequented by vast numbers and variety of sea fowls the noise of which is like that at the Bass; but no Solan Geese were seen.

This afternoon a brisk wind with rain, the wind was called a breeze but was rather approaching to a gale; and the wind being rather too much against us the vessel rolled, which set the Ladies all to their old business of reachg. The afternoon was hazy and we could have no

views. In the night we pass'd Spurn Head, the mouth of the Humber and Wash, and by our dint of sailg. and the blowing weather being now separated from all our companions, and a suspicious sail dogging us about ten O'Clock at night rather excited alarm. She was lugger rigged which is uncommon in these seas. We had our great Guns shotted and were getting the small arms in order some of the Passengers declared a readiness to sink or to die in arms rather than to visit the Dominions of Bonaparte. No doubt we thought our courage was great and the plan was laid how to bring our guns to bear with most effect. However, the enemy, if it was an enemy, thought fit to save us the trouble. Our appearance being that of a King's Cutter might perhaps intimidate. He disappeared and welcome. We had a good sleep and in the morning of Saturday 9th, were in sight and soon pass'd Yarmouth. We continued our course in the Roads with a fair light breeze and the tide in favour carrying us at a great rate along the Coast of Norfolk. The land here is low and flat and what we could see seems well cultivated. We saw a number of neat towns mostly built of Brick and all covered with Tiles which gives them rather a mean appearance.

Pass'd along the Coast of Suffolk. On the Coast of both these Counties are seen a number of Handsome Gothic Churches with high tower steeples which have a fine effect. The country seems very well cultivated and an appearance of wood gives it a delightful look. Orfordness and Lights have a pleasing appearance. Orfordness is a little off the shore, a sweet looking village with a handsome Church, and some wood. After this our course was at a distance from the shore, all marked with Buoys on both sides. In the evening we passed the Nore with moon light. Here all the Passengers who had never gone this way before, were fined of half a Crown to the Sailors. At this time we rather regretted the darkness as we wished to have seen the shipping—were told that few Men of War were there at the time. By day light on Sunday (10th) found we had pass'd Graves-end and at 4 O'Clock came to anchor in the midst of a Fleet of India-men a little below Long reach, where we lay and got a sound sleep till 10 O'Clock when the tide began to rise, when we were ready all dressed for approaching the City and enjoyed the most delightful prospects that we could suppose art or nature can afford. Passed Woolwich—viewed the Hulks filled with Convicts and saw a number of ships of war laid up for repair. Next had a prospect of Greenwich Hospital.—Behind these two places the country rises and is enriched with a number of beautiful Villas, green enclosures and corn fields with hedge rows of trees—Pollards. Some of the Corns seem'd ripening fast for the harvest.

Pass'd Deptford Docks, etc. we were now passing thro a crowd of ships of all sizes, many of them under sail—admired the dexterity of the seamen in keepg. the ships clear of each other. The River had the appearance of a thick forest. At 2 O'Clock came to a landing at Downe's Wharf Wapping—took a Coach and with all our luggage soon arrived at the Lodgings of our friend Dr. Cairns, 4 Beaufort Buildings, Strand, and got lodgings at No. 6, Mrs. McAllan Taylor.

CLAVERHOUSE'S LAST LETTER.

'SIR, 'It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them have fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field, and the enemy's baggage which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies, and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, sir, be more particular, but take leave to assure your Majesty the Kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait(s) for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility, having had all their assurances for it,¹ except the notorious rebels.

'Therefore, sir, for God's sake assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary Kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours.

DUNDEE.'²

The hasty rejection of the Killicrankie letter, not on internal evidence, but on the assumption that Dundee is proved to have expired on the battle-field is worthy of more close consideration.

The exact nature of Claverhouse's wound is discussed in detail by Professor Terry:³ 'According to Balhaldy,' he says, 'Dundee was shot about two hands' breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side. According to Balcarres he was shot in his right side immediately below his armour. Dundee's breastplate is preserved at Blair Castle. It shows a shot-hole "right through the centre." This hole, however, Professor Terry explains, was manufactured by the carpenter of the fourth Duke of Atholl 'presumably to improve its warlike appearance.' If the carpenter is responsible for the hole, 'then,' says Professor Terry, 'it is established that Dundee was shot neither in his right side, nor in his left, nor in his breast. . . . Balhaldy's and Balcarres's statements, mutually contradictory, are both disproved by the absence of a shot-hole on either side of the Blair breastplate.'

¹ From Dundee himself in a series of letters to every chief and nobleman of note who had not already joined Mackay.

² *Nairne Papers*. Bodleian Library. (*Macpherson's Original Papers*.)

³ The Editor hopes to have some notes on this subject from Professor Terry in the next issue of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

With the greatest deference to Professor Terry, I would suggest that Balcarres's statement that Dundee was wounded in the right side immediately below his armour, and Balhaldy's remark that he was wounded in the lower part of the left side, neither of them affect the question of a hole in the breastplate; for if Dundee's fatal wound was below his armour in the lower part of his side, the breastplate would naturally remain untouched. Moreover, it is by no means certain that Balhaldy and Balcarres originally contradicted each other, inasmuch as although the particulars concerning a shot in the right side appear in the 1714 printed edition of Balcarres's work, no details whatsoever as to the nature of the wound are given in Lord Lindsay's edition which was printed from a manuscript copy of Balcarres's Memoirs in the handwriting of Balcarres's son, James, the fourth Earl. The supposed contradiction of Balhaldy and Balcarres is of small importance in this argument, as it seems clear that a bullet entering 'immediately below' Dundee's armour could not make a hole in his breastplate.

Ian Lom, the bard of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, who in his youth had taken part in Montrose's Highland victories and celebrated them in song, is believed to have been at the battle of Killiecrankie, which is the subject of his last warlike poem. Though a bard's rhetoric should not be literally accepted without due regard to other evidence, it may be admitted that he is a witness worth calling. He apostrophises 'gallant Claverhouse of the steeds, true leader of hosts,' and says:

'O heroic leader, thou didst fall in the fight,
And dreadful was thy arm till thy hour came . . .
Like flaming fire to them thy wrath
Till fate crossed thy path;
'Neath the folds of thy clothing the bullet pierced thee.'¹

This, so far as it goes, supports Balhaldy; but we return to Professor Terry, who quotes 'An Account of the Proceedings, etc., No. 56, p. 129,' to establish the fact that the "'Mortal Wound he (Dundee) received, and of which he soon died, was by a Shot in his left Eye.'" This, Professor Terry gives on the authority of Mackay and some of his officers who were said to have seen Dundee's corpse 'in a coffin in the vault of old Blair Church.' 'It may be stated, therefore, with conviction,' concludes Professor Terry, that Dundee's mortal wound was 'neither in the left, right, nor centre of his body, but in his left eye.'

Had Professor Terry consulted his medical friends they would have pointed out to him that this wound in the eye if mortal would have penetrated to the brain and killed Dundee not 'soon' but instantly. If Mackay and his officers had been able to examine the corpse of their conqueror immediately after his death their evidence might be of some value, but their supposed inspection is by way of having taken place in the vault of Blair Church some weeks after the fatal battle, and it involves a medical impossibility. It cannot, therefore, be accepted as

¹ *Scottish Hist. Rev.* iii. 63. 'Killiecrankie described by an eye-witness.'

conclusive; whereas the statement made in Parliament, on oath, by James Malcolm, who had fought in the Jacobite army at Killiecrankie, and who referred to Dundee's 'wounds'¹ in the plural cannot easily be ignored.

A letter written by Thomas Stewart of Stenton two days after the battle, saying on hearsay that 'my Lord Dundee was shot dead on the head of his horse,'² was taken by Sir William Fraser to prove that Dundee died instantaneously; but presumably Sir William had forgotten that Lieutenant Nisbet, of Mackay's army, who had been taken prisoner at Killiecrankie, when afterwards cross-examined in Parliament in the presence of Dundee's especial enemies, the Duke of Hamilton and Sir John Dalrymple, declared that he 'remembered particularly' being told at Blair Castle by 'one named Johnston' how he had caught Lord Dundee 'as he fell from his horse after being shot,' and when Dundee had asked how the day went, Johnston had said '*the day went well for the King—meaning King James—but that he was sorry for his lordship*;' whereupon Dundee replied '*It was the less matter for him, seeing the day went well for his master*.'³

These celebrated 'last words' of Dundee (which come down to us through the testimony of an officer who had fought against him, and of the Parliament that had outlawed him), are characteristic. 'It is the less matter.' A more quixotic man might have said: 'It is no matter for me.' But Dundee, with all his devotion, was not quixotic; and his enthusiasm never blurred his clearness of intellect.

Though the question as to the authenticity of Dundee's last letter to the King is answered by Professor Terry emphatically in the negative, there are still a few points on which it is to be wished that we could obtain fuller information.

'Macpherson printed in 1775 in good faith, and with every reason to believe them genuine, a manuscript speech and letter of Dundee, in a contemporary hand, which he found among other papers of the period which his volume includes'; but, says Professor Terry, 'while Macpherson's other papers are genuine reprints of authentic documents, the contemporary manuscript of Dundee's speech to his army and his letter to King James is nothing more than a manuscript copy of a broadside printed in London within a few days of Killiecrankie, of no authority whatever, published in order to counteract the early rumours of Dundee's death and, as that event portended, the destruction of Jacobite hopes in the United Kingdom.'

But how can it be proved that the broadside (which is merely described by its present owner as likely to have been contemporary),⁴ was published within a few days of Killiecrankie?

'It was after the exhilaration caused by the earliest accounts of

¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ix. App. p. 38.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* 12. App. viii.

³ *Acts Parl. Scot.* vol. ix. App. p. 55.

⁴ Mr. T. L. Mawdesley, in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 10, 1903.

Killiecrankie,' Professor Terry tells us, 'that the London Jacobites heard of the fatal price at which the victory had been bought. The key to their attitude, and a guide to the steps which they took to counteract the disastrous tidings, is found in a letter from Sir Adam Blair, at that time a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, to an Edinburgh correspondent. The letter is dated 3rd August, 1689, the day following the receipt in London of the news of Dundee's death. "We have an account of Dundie's defateing Mackay," he wrote, "and to satisfy the minds of people heir, who are att present very uneasie, they give it out that Dundie is killed, which his friends heir are not apt to believe."' Incredulity on the part of Jacobites is not surprising, as the fables previously related by the revolutionists (maintaining that King James had intended to impose a spurious heir upon the nation and to hang or burn all Protestants), would scarcely dispose the adherents of the exiled King to give immediate and unqualified credence to information circulated by William of Orange's government. Professor Terry assures us that the Jacobite 'party managers were equal to the occasion,' and that 'within a short time of the publication of the Government's intelligence' (that is to say some time after August 2nd), a broadside was circulated which 'with magnificent audacity negated the Government's declaration that Dundee had died in the action, by publishing, without comment, a letter from his own pen which proved him alive and confident, albeit wounded, an artistic touch, which met the official pronouncement half way.'

That a letter dated the 28th July,¹ and circulated 'a short time' after the 2nd August, would prove Dundee though wounded to be still alive at the time of its circulation, seems open to doubt. It could only prove that he had been alive on the 28th July. The inference that he had not succumbed to his wounds might possibly be drawn, but it is difficult to believe that a Jacobite forger would take King James's general out of his grave merely to put him upon a probable death-bed. If the Jacobite 'party managers' (whose names Professor Terry does not mention), were clever enough to counterfeit Dundee's style and mannerisms, it seems incongruous that they should not also have realised the folly of attempting to postpone a discovery of the real state of affairs by so feeble and necessarily short-lived a stratagem.

Professor Terry maintains that 'any doubt' of the spuriousness of the letter 'is removed by the fact that [in the printed version of it] Dundee is made to estimate his numbers at Killiecrankie at nearly three times their actual strength;' but I would suggest that, as the Highland army swelled to some 6,000 men within a few days after the battle, this may account for the interpolation in the broadside. It will be remembered that Dundee had arranged for a great gathering of the clans on the 29th of July, and had gone on ahead into the Atholl country with a small army, when, on the 27th, two days before

¹ It is not dated in the Bodleian MS., but it is dated 28th July in the broadside. Dundee in several cases omits to date his letters.

the remainder of his forces was due, he turned and faced Mackay. The clansmen arrived at the rendezvous on the specified date, too late for the battle. It might be conjectured that the English Jacobite 'party managers' on hearing, early in August, that the Highland army then consisted of considerably over 5,000 men, took for granted that all these men had fought at Killiecrankie, and consequently interpolated the impressive figures. Professor Terry remarks that the Bodleian MS. 'omitted so glaring an error,' and he takes this as evidence of 'the spurious character of the document'; in a controversy where all the points can be little more than conjecture, this omission might equally be taken to suggest the genuineness of the manuscript.

'When and how the manuscript found its way among Nairn's papers cannot be traced,' says Professor Terry.¹ 'But it is not difficult to conclude that it was sent either as a curiosity of political audacity, or, more probably, as an indication of the party's vitality in London.' It is not difficult to advance this conjecture but to prove that it decides the question seems to me more than difficult, and I cannot agree with Professor Terry that the controversy is ended.

In style and spirit the letter bears so strong a resemblance to Claverhouse's other letters that, had its authenticity not been questioned, it would have seemed a fitting close to his career. It would appear consistent with all that had gone before that he who had 'toiled so much for honour' should have died as he had lived, striving to instil into the King something of his own indomitable spirit.

The reticence with regard to himself, the just pride in the achievements of those who had fought under him, the allusions to his diplomatic correspondence with every person of importance whom there had been any hope of gaining, are all so characteristic that one hesitates before finally accepting the theory of forgery.

'I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it.' To those few students of history who have learnt to know Dundee from his own letters rather than through the medium of his commentators, this is a most significant sentence; it was his way, whilst disowning all rhetorical aid, to convey his meaning most surely and effectively. 'I need tell you no news. You know all better than I do who dwell in deserts,' he had written to Lord Murray a few weeks previously; 'Yet I *can* tell you—' and then follow a succession of astounding statements.

I suggest that the last word has not yet been said, and that lying buried in the Charter Chests of some historic family in Scotland, there may perhaps be documents which would cast further light on these disputed points. In the meantime the constantly reiterated charge of forgery brought against the famous letter to the King should either be subjected to a fresh investigation, or dismissed with the verdict of 'NOT PROVEN.'

MICHAEL BARRINGTON.

¹ Nairn was Under-Secretary to Lord Melfort, who was Secretary to King James.

Notes and Comments

THE Rhind lectures for 1907 were delivered in April, 1908, by Mr. James Curle, who took for his subject the Roman Military Station at Newstead. It is the first occasion in the history of the lectureship that a single excavation has been chosen as the subject for the course, and it affords a precedent for more detailed treatment which cannot but be valuable. Mr. Curle's treatment of his subject was indeed a comparative study of the Newstead fort, its garrison and the objects of their daily life, many illustrations drawn from continental sources being employed to interpret the rich material obtained from the site. We have more than once called attention to the very successful results obtained at Newstead, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is to be congratulated, not only on a series of diggings which have already produced results of the highest importance, but on these Rhind Lectures by Mr. Curle, with whose name the excavations must always be associated.

The first lecture of the series was chiefly devoted to the history of the site and to the remains of the fortifications. Of these, nothing is left upon the surface to indicate their presence ; everything had to be traced out by spade work. The buildings formed the subject of the second lecture ; only fragmentary foundations remained, and yet the plan recovered is one of the most complete we possess. The Praetorium, storehouses, and commandants' quarters, though larger in size, have much in common with similar buildings at Birrens and Borcovicus. Not the least interesting feature of the plan lies in the lines of huts which in the later period of the occupation must have formed the barracks of the soldiery. Comparing them with the barracks of the legionary cohorts at Novaesium, Mr. Curle estimates the garrison of the fort at its latest period at 1500 men, though not a few indications point to a larger garrison at an earlier period. The interesting problem of the successive occupations, the baths and other remains lying within the fortified annexes attached to the fort were dealt with in the third lecture. From these pits and wells, lying for the most part in the annex to the south, have come the most valuable finds of the Newstead collection, a collection which reveals the population of a Roman frontier post as no other in this country has done. These finds were used by Mr. Curle in his fourth lecture to illustrate the armour and equipment of the soldier. Roman armour and weapons remain objects of the greatest rarity, on the whole the excavation of forts, whether in Great Britain or the Continent, has produced surprisingly few specimens,

and the Newstead finds bring before us many things to prove the fidelity of sculptures such as the Trajan column on the grave monuments of the Rhineland. Perhaps it is in the study of pottery, which formed the subject of the fifth lecture, that the excavations at Newstead most distinctly advance our knowledge. Hitherto it has not been possible in Scotland to distinguish clearly the pottery of the early advance under Agricola from the later advance in the reign of Pius. The fragments carefully collected from the ditch of the early fort at Newstead supply a much needed series of types, and already we get from it the interesting result that the early pottery is absent from the collection at Birrens, and alone is represented by the few fragments from the fort at Inchtuthill, the most northerly of the Roman posts yet excavated. Many miscellaneous finds illustrating the arts and crafts of the fort were dealt with in the concluding lecture.

That the garrison possessed wheeled transport in the earliest period of the fort is a fact of great interest, while the series of fibulae for the first time in Scotland permits an attempt at chronological arrangement. The absence of inscriptions does not permit any very definite historical conclusions, but valuable indications were deduced from the finds, notably the coins and pottery. The coin series goes far to confirm the theory put forward by Professor Haverfield of the abandonment of the northern conquests somewhere about the year 180. Mr. Curle establishes at least a strong presumption that Agricola's conquests were not at once abandoned on his recall in A.D. 186, and while the traces of the Antonine occupation, as we might expect, are distinct, there is evidence that changes took place at an earlier period, and indications suggesting that in the reign of Trajan, Newstead may have formed an outpost of the Empire.

MONT ST. MICHEL has, as M. Etienne Dupont begins by telling us in *Les Prisons du Mont Saint-Michel* (Nantes: Durand, 1908, *Mont St.* pp. 23) been looked at on all sides—historical, romantic, *Michael* picturesque, ecclesiastical, and even biographical. 'Nevertheless, considered as a place of detention, it has not yet found de fer. its historian.' So M. Dupont fills the breach, and his story is full of incident. Cardinal La Balue heads the list of distinguished prisoners—set in his cage of iron by Louis XI. Noel Beda follows, sent there by Francis I. for a satire, to die still prisoner in 1536. In 1546, Norman Lesley, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and the laird of Pitmillie were prisoners, but made their escape (*S.H.R.* iii. 506). Used very often as a place of confinement for libellous and satirical authors, the Mont became a leading prison of state, in which many celebrities were immured. A young man of Irish family named Stapleton appears, from the prison archives, to have been released in 1773 after a captivity of twenty-four years, due evidently to proceedings of the nature of *lettre de cachet* at the instance of his relations. The Revolution greatly increased the numbers committed to the Mont. Under Napoleon I. prisoners of war were sent there. It ceased to be a prison in 1863. An institution so curious as the *cage de fer*, which was a special feature of the Mont, and which doubtless helped to give the Mont the bad name it once had among French prisons, might

have tempted M. Dupont to tell more about it. For Scots history it has particular interest in view of Edward I.'s cage for the Countess of Buchan in 1306. In France, although it has been specially associated with Louis XI. (as Comines tells, who had eight months of it himself and liked it ill), it was no institution of his inventing. Moisant's *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine* (1894, p. 84) mentions that at Bayonne scolding women were shut up in the *cage de fer*, and after exposure for some hours on one of the bridges, were ducked in the river. This kind of punishment, it is there stated, was in full force from the thirteenth century until the middle of the eighteenth. As a punishment for state offences the cage (which appears to have been anciently a Danish usage) is mentioned by French authors as resorted to by Louis IX. Among the Germans it was a frequent practice in the fifteenth century. A classical example, however, was the fate of the Turk Bajazet in 1402 at the hands of his victorious rival Tamerlane, who made for the ex-Sultan, his master, what Jaïque Dex (*Metzer Chronik*, p. 363) calls a *jaiole de fer*. Poggio, as quoted by Gibbon, styles it *cavea*, which is the word employed by chroniclers in other cases. Sometimes the term is *cavea lignea*, for the thing was not always, indeed may have only seldom been, made wholly of iron. At Mont St. Michel, when Madam de Genlis visited the spot, she learned some curious particulars. 'I questioned the monks,' she says, 'about the famous *cage de fer*: they informed me that it was not of iron but of wood (*point de fer mais de bois*), and that it was formed of enormous logs (*bûches*), leaving three or four finger-breadths between them.¹ It was about fifteen years since any prisoners had been kept there, for people were often enough temporarily put there, they told me, when they were refractory, although the place was horribly damp and insanitary. The cage was in a cave, to which the descent was made by ladders. The Duc de Chartres in 1777 ordered its destruction, and with an axe struck the first blow himself, to the great rejoicing of the prisoners elsewhere in the prison.' 'It was surely,' says Madame de Genlis, 'the first time that these vaults resounded with cries of joy amid the tumult. But I was struck by the sad and stricken countenance of the gateman of the castle. I remarked to the prior that the man regretted the loss of the cage because he used to shew it to visitors. Monsieur the Duc de Chartres gave him ten louis, telling him that in future instead of shewing the cage he should shew the place it once occupied.' There might be vested interests, evidently, in a *cage de fer*.

THAT graciousness which the French know so well how to display on unlooked for and therefore the more effective occasions is manifested in the dedication of a 'Volume supplémentaire' of the *Revue Historique* to the memory of the critic and political writer, Alphonse Peyrat. The chief article is by one of the editors, M. Gabriel Monod, and turns

¹ This description differs greatly from that of Edward I.'s cage for the Countess of Buchan which was (Palgrave's *Documents*, p. 358) to be 'une kage de fort latiz de fuist et barrez et bien efforcez de ferrement'—a structure of wooden lattice work iron-bound.

upon the criticism written in 1837 by Peyrat of Michelet's *History of France*. The critique displays marked penetration on the part of the young journalist, who was to achieve great distinction both in literature and politics. His censures nettled Michelet, but in the correspondence now published a judicious intermediary is seen bringing about a personal meeting which turned the promise of quarrel into a friendship for life. Another article of great attraction to the archivist is on Simancas by Monsieur G. Constant, who, writing from that uncomfortable but inexhaustible storehouse of documents, narrates the story of the little Spanish town and the course of fortune which, by the decree of Charles V., and the execution of it by Philip II., turned the castle of the place into the present *Archivo*. Until Gachard began that course of studies there which after 1843 somewhat broke down its inaccessibility, the place had, as M. Constant says, remained a fortress for historians. Conditions are now greatly changed, but the way of study is still hard at Simancas, which makes some people regret that Talleyrand sent back to Simancas those 7861 bundles of documents which Napoleon carried off into France for the great depot of Archives which he designed on the Seine at Paris. Elba, however, saved Simancas, and its bundles of history were restored.

VALUABLE as a survey of current historical methods, the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison well deserves the space the report of it fills in the *American Historical Review* for April. Both the side of study and the side of pedagogy are represented, and it is pleasant to see the professional interest not monopolised by problems of teaching but fairly divided between the concerns of the class-room and the advancement of research. A wide range of subjects appears to have been attractively covered, and there were bright discussions on some of them. Geographical location and physiography as factors in history, co-operation of State societies for gleaning documents in foreign archives, scientific organization of historical museums, and the co-ordination of local historical studies were themes well fitted to evoke instructive opinions. Very various were the views educed regarding the treatment due to the Middle Ages, especially over the rather daring proposal of one professor to skip the period from Gregory the Great to Abelard—a drastic deletion which the conference did not ratify. Many special papers of original note were read, among which was the presidential address by Professor Franklin Jameson on 'The American Acta Sanctorum,' discussing the body of curious material for history buried in the biographies and memorials of 'saints' in America, whether early Puritans or latter-day prophets and Christian scientists. British matters dealt with include Professor Abbott's enquiry into the beginnings of English political parties, and Professor Dodd's observations on the study of Coke on Littleton in contrast with that of Blackstone as influences on the federal question in the United States. Coke stood for the particularist interpretations of the Con-

stitution, Blackstone for the broader rationalist views which emphasised the sovereign power, so that in a general sense Coke was a force for the rights of the separate states and Blackstone for the central power. Economic topics of the conference embraced the effect of the Pacific Railways in extinguishing the frontier which from 1850 until 1880 was a vast circle enclosing the Rocky Mountains and the Great American Desert but which before 1885 had virtually disappeared under the attack by rail. The last paper of the Madison meeting we need notice here is Professor Bolton's comprehensive report on the archives—surprisingly voluminous—of Mexico.

BESIDES its record of the Madison meeting the *Review* contains notes on the treatment of English Catholics under Elizabeth, and on the French co-operative historical enterprise initiated by M. Jaurès for the collection and publication of texts bearing on the agricultural, commercial and industrial economics of France at the Revolution. Norse students will find a full treasury of old court-lore in Mr. Larson's article on the household of Norwegian kings in the thirteenth century. Four distinct groups, all organised to guard or serve the king formed closely related gilds. They were the 'hirdmen,' the 'gests,' the 'candle-swains' and the 'house-carles.' Each group had its function, the hirdman to guard the king's life and person, the gest to serve as outer guard and messenger, the candle-swain to wait at table and take his turn of guard duty, and the house-carle to render manual service in the household and to attend to the king's work generally. Offices of dignity included the 'drotseti' or seneschal and 'fehirthir' or treasurer and the 'stallari' or staller—the last an official known to Early English history, being in earlier stages mainly a war chief, but developing into a king's orator and ambassador. In the thirteenth century the old staller in Norway had given place to a new functionary, the chancellor, whose office was probably introduced from England in the thirteenth century. Mr. Larson's clear and circumstantial account of the Norwegian 'hird' is of the more interest for Scottish institutions in view not only of the regulations of the royal household in Scotland, but also of the fact that early Scots laws give a place of authority as well as rank to the hirdman.

HERALDIC notarial marks are always of interest. The accompanying representation of one is from an instrument of sasine, kindly submitted to us by Mr. James Barbour, architect, Dumfries, and bearing date 5th March, 1499—by the modern computation, 1500. It is in favour of Robert Monypenny as heir of his father, Patrick Monypenny, in the lands of Pilrig (*Pelrig . . . in regalitate et baronia nostra de Brochtonne*) on a precept by Robert [Bannatyne] abbot of Holyrood, proceeding upon the resignation of Elen Duddingston, widow of Patrick Monypenny, under reservation of her liferent. Thomas Maxwell was a priest of the St.

Andrews diocese, admitted notary by sacred, imperial and royal authority His mark neatly incorporates with his initials the Maxwell arms, argent a saltire sable. Although there might have seemed also to be in this



a suggestion of the alleged arms of the see, borne on a seal of the Bishop's Official in the fifteenth century, Mr. J. H. Stevenson's examination of the significance of that seal (*S.H.R.* v. 315) makes this inadmissible, more especially in the case of a person who was merely a notary of the diocese.

THE *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (Jan.) contains further instalments of the studies of M. Petit-Dutaillis in the social history of the Low Countries as revealed in the remissions granted for acts of ^{Medieval} violence. We realised the degree of promise held out by the ^{law of feud.} first chapter (see *S.H.R.* v. 381) and the sequel has justified our anticipations. In the law administered under Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, during the time dealt with, from 1438 until 1466, the populace, equally with the nobility, exercised the right of vengeance, so well known in Scotland as the usage of deadly feud. Dying out elsewhere the old rule still held good in some provinces: a murder in revenge for another murder or a wrong was a legitimate act which met with public approbation. Constituted authorities everywhere were doing their best to check these private wars and family feuds. Chief instrument to that end was the system of assurance, the '*sur état*' as it was called in the Netherlands, best known in Scotland as 'lawburrows'—a process under which accused persons were bound over to keep the peace under heavy penalties. Forms of reconciliation familiar in Scotland were known to Continental practice also. Thus sometimes (as occasionally found in our own records) peace was ceremonially made by the parties drinking together. But the most curious ceremony was that of the *amende honorable* (usually over and above the *amende profitable* or pecuniary satisfaction); it was at bottom an

ecclesiastical humiliation and expiation made to the wounded honour of the wronged person or family. Bareheaded and unbelted, in kirtle alone, the person seeking reconciliation with the person or family offended made his submission by a public ceremony, in which he craved pardon and offered satisfaction. With this may be compared various Scottish examples noted in *Scottish Antiquary*, Jan. 1901, pp. 113-22; *S.H.R.* iv. 87; Calderwood's *History*, iii. 346; while a perfect rendering of the same thing earlier than the Scottish instances will be found in *Li Regret Guillaume*, a

lament for William, Count of Hainault (father of Philippa, Queen of Edward III. of England), dead in 1337. In that poem, written by Jehan de la Motte in 1339, an allegorical incident occurs in which a knight who has killed a boy is besieged by the father and is starved into surrender. No other course was open to him except this—

Que hors dou castiel istera,
Et pour Dieu mierchi crierai.
Hors issi em pur le kemise,
Une espee en se main a mise,
Au tref s'en vint, mierchi cria
A genous, et puis li bailla
L'espee en disant: 'A exil
Me metés, je tuai vo fil;
Pour Dieu vous en requier mierci.'

Li Regret Guillaume, ed. Scheler, 1882; ll. 3904-12.

The submission was accepted by the father—

'Levés sus' fait il 'sire ciers,
Je vous pardoins d'ore en avant
Le mort de mon loial enfant.'
Lors li cavaliers se leva,
L'uns l'autre en le bouce baisa,
Ains puissedi n'eurent contraire. ll. 3925-30.

These passages show the process of satisfaction, or as we called it in Scotland, assythment, to have been fundamentally and in detail the same on the Continent and with us. When the documents of M. Petit-Dutaillis are fully presented there may be an opportunity of noting further elements of archaic criminal law common to Burgundy and Scotland in the middle ages. It is, however, abundantly evident that the relationship is not a parallelism merely: the institution has a European unity in the matter of the penitential submission, the security taken (styled 'borowis of pece' in a Scots Act of 1449-50) and the stringency of punishment, at least in theory, for breach of obligation by the parties to be at peace. In Burgundy as here the records of the custom afford most valuable evidence of the obstinate reluctance of the old right of private revenge to efface itself in favour of satisfaction sought in the forms of a newer public law. In the same sense, the gradual decline of lawburrows in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an assured sign of victory of the King's peace.

Index

	PAGE		PAGE
Aberdeen Market Cross, - -	175	Artillery of James IV. at Flodden,	
Adair, T. B. S., R.N., - -	250	259; under James V., - -	220
Adler's <i>The Itinerary of Benjamin</i>		Atkinson, C. T., - -	461
<i>of Tudela</i> , - - - -	349	Auld's <i>Greenock and its Early Social</i>	
Aikenhead, Thomas, hanged for		<i>Environment</i> , - - -	343
blasphemy, - - - -	119	Ayr fort built under Cromwell, -	283
Aitken, Robert, on Templars, -	15		
Alexander, Sir Wm., poet, -	384	Badenoch in the '15, - -	139, 143
Allen Romilly, obituary, -	135	'Bagsche,' Sir D. Lindsay's poem	
America, its discovery by Norse-		on, - - - -	220
men, - - - -	201	Baillie-Grohmann's <i>The Land in</i>	
American Historical Association,		<i>the Mountains</i> , - - -	110
its conference in 1908, -	513	Bain's <i>Slavonic Europe</i> , - -	489
<i>American Historical Review</i> , 262,	365	Balantradach (now Temple, Mid-	
<i>American Journal of Psychology</i> ,		lothian), a chief seat of the	
- - - -	247, 498	Templars, - - - -	16-25
Amours, F. J., - - -	110, 263	Ballads. Sir Olave O'Conn, 196;	
<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , -	249, 382	Tiree Song, 198; Shirburn	
Anderson, Rev. John, his peerage		ballads, 334; Danish ballads,	
articles, - - - -	102, 103	385; Border ballad on William	
<i>Anglo-Russian Literary Society's</i>		Aynsley's murder in 1598,	
<i>Proceedings</i> , - - -	365	403; <i>Ballad of Hildina</i> from	
<i>Annales de l'Est et du Nord</i> ,		Foula, - - - -	497
- - - -	126, 380, 381, 515	Balliol, Alex. de, Charter by	
Anson's <i>The Law and Custom of</i>		(1267), - - - -	252
<i>the Constitution</i> , Vol. II., -	363	Balliol, Edward, his Scottish ex-	
Arbroath Abbey, its seal motto,	497	pedition (1332), - - -	475
Arbuthnot, Alexander (1594),		Bannockburn battle, - -	261, 443
poet, - - - -	68	Barra, M'Neills of, 192; legends	
Archbishops of Glasgow, -	328, 447	of, - - - -	193
<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren</i>		Barrington, Michael, - -	509
<i>Sprachen und Literaturen</i> , -	249	Barton-on-Humber, its earlier	
Argyll, Archibald, Earl of (1629-		history, 473; Edward Balliol	
85), his life, - - -	492	sails from, - - - -	475
'Armachanus,' sermon by him		Baur's <i>S. Jean Chrysostome</i> , -	244
(1342), - - - -	499	Bawbee, named from mintmaster,	220
Arrian on Gaulish cavalry sports,		Beaton, James I., Archbishop of	
quoted, - - - -	374	Glasgow (1508), 447; his	
Arthur, King, his tomb, - -	496	public career, 449; his seal, -	451

	PAGE		PAGE
Beaton, James II., Archbishop of Glasgow (1551), 45; his seal, 457; ambassador in Paris, 458; his will and tomb, -	458	Britain at Caesar's invasion, -	341
Beazley, C. R., editor of <i>Crusade treatise</i> , -	262	<i>British Academy Proceedings</i> , 202, 242, 494	
Beck, Bishop Antony, -	264	Brown, Rev. David, -	502
Bell lore, -	126, 364	Brown, Professor Hume, on teaching of Scottish history in schools, 41; his views on Union of 1707 discussed, 55; his biography of Buchanan, -	131, 224
Bembo, Cardinal Pietro, his alleged remark on Bible Latin, 223		Brown's <i>Notes on the Earlier History of Burton-on-Humber</i> , -	473
Bend, Order of the, -	32	Brown's <i>Studies in the History of Venice</i> , -	355
Benjamin of Tudela, his travels (1166-71), -	349	Bruce, James, Bishop of Glasgow (1447), -	319
Berks, Bucks and Oxon <i>Archaeological Journal</i> , -	497	Buch, Captal de, -	28
<i>Bibliophile, The</i> , -	495	Buchanan, George, his system of chronology, 108; his eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays, 131; his <i>Chamaeleon</i> , 151; his story of Bishop Cameron's death, 213; Glasgow quatercentenary volume, 220; Buchanan's portraits, 223, 224; bibliography, 224; an unprinted letter, -	368
Bingham's South American History and Research, -	498	<i>Buchanan, George: A St. Andrews Memorial</i> , -	115
Birch, Walter de Gray, -	313, 314	<i>Buchanan, George: Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies</i> , -	220
Birt's <i>The Elizabethan Religious Settlement</i> , -	344	Burnet, Bishop Gilbert, -	472
Bishops of Glasgow, 76, 203, 319, 447		Burney's <i>Diary</i> , -	125
Blacader, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow (1483), 325; his seals, 326, 327, 329; becomes Archbishop, 328; dies on pilgrimage, 329, -	448	Cadogan, William, royalist general in the '15, -	141
Black Rood of Scotland, its history, -	256	Caesar, Julius, in Britain, -	341
<i>Black Death of 1348 and 1349</i> , -	364	'Cage de fer' as an institution at Mont St. Michel, 511; its destruction, -	512
Blair, R., -	488	<i>Cambridge Modern History, The, Vol. X. Restoration and Reaction</i> , -	231
Blair's <i>Greenock Street Names: their History and Romance</i> , -	237	Cameron, Allan, his narrative at the end of the '15, edited, -	137
Bonaffre (Benaffre) explained, -	109	Cameron, John, scholar (1607), -	72
Bonaparte, Napoleon, his method in war, 366; Bonapartism as a European influence, 481; his prisoners of war, -	511	Cameron, John, bishop of Glasgow (1426), 211; chancellor, 212; his seal, 211, 213; tradition of his death, -	213
Bonar, Horatius, -	371	Campbell, Rev. J. Gregorson, -	191
Bondington, William de, Bishop of Glasgow (1232), 83; his seals, -	84		
<i>Bonnet Court of Corsehill</i> , -	488		
Bonnetmakers of Stewarton, Ayrshire, their records, 488; the 'Bonnet Court,' -	489		
Books in country mansion (1729), 271			
Book stamps, Old Scottish, -	129		
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C., his Dalrymple lectures, -	378		
Bowen's <i>Glen of Weeping</i> , -	242		

	PAGE		PAGE
Carlisle in 1745, - - -	285	Curle, A. O., - - -	123, 265
Carmichael, George de, bishop-elect of Glasgow (1483), -	324	Curle, James, - - -	372, 510
Carruthers, William, on Buchanan's portraits, - - -	224	Current literature, 126, 242, 364, 492	
Casket Letters, Mr. Lang on, 1; genuineness of letter II. accepted, 12; hypothesis of forgeries, 160; Mr. Henderson's reply to Mr. Lang, -	161	Dacre's raid (1514), - - -	260
<i>Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy</i> , 466; discussed by Prof. Rhys and Rev. Geo. Henderson, - - - -	467	Dalrymple, James Dalrymple Gray, obituary, 377; lectureship in archaeology, - -	378
Charteris, A. H., - - -	111, 486	Dalston, Cumberland, Ordination of (1285), 297; text, - -	301
Charters as history, discussion as to printing, - - -	134	Danish ballads, Prof. Ker on, 385; connection with Southern ballads, 390; comparison with <i>chansons de geste</i> , 392; their philology, 394; plots from Danish life, 398; specimens, -	399
Chart's <i>The Story of Dublin</i> , -	121	<i>Daughters of God, The Four</i> ; a medieval allegory, - -	477
Chaucer sources, 249; evolution of Canterbury Tales, - -	495	David II., his mistress murdered, 32; he besieges Kildrummie, 39; marries Margaret of Logie, - - - -	40
Cheyam, John de, bishop of Glasgow (1259), - - -	85	Dewar, R., - - - -	473
Chronology, Scottish, - - -	108	Dialect of Yorkshire, some similarities to Scots, - - -	487
Chrysostom, a bibliography of, 244, 248		Diocesan arms, pre-Reformation, their existence disputed, 313, 515	
Clark, J., - - - -	361	<i>Directorium ad passagium transmarinum</i> , - - - -	262
Clark and Foxcroft's <i>A Life of Gilbert Burnet</i> , - - -	472	Donydouer, Stephen de, bishop-elect of Glasgow (1316), -	203
Claverhouse, his 'last letter,' 505; Professor Terry's opinions challenged, - - -	506, 509	Douglas, Earl William (1362), 39, 40	
Coal custom, - - - -	281	Dowden, Bishop, on Bishops of Glasgow, 76, 203, 319, 447; on old Scottish book stamps, 129; part editor <i>Inchaffray Charters</i> , 441; review by, -	346
Cockburn, H. A., - - -	368	Doyle's <i>The English in America</i> , -	104
Coleridge's <i>Notes on Shakespeare</i> , -	126	Dragon banners, - - -	375, 376
Colt of Auldham family, - -	67	Dress, Articles of (1729), - -	271
Colville, Dr. James, on Scott's bookbinding account, - -	380	Drewitt's <i>Bombay in the Days of George Fourth</i> , - - -	484
Colville's <i>Ochertyre Booke of Accomps</i> , 1737-1739, - - -	236	Drummond, William, sources used by, - - - -	384
Company, Grand, in France, -	37	Dubois, Pierre, - - - -	262
Cook, Richard (1298), - 18, 21, 24		Dun, Dr. Patrick, Aberdeen, -	72
Cooper, Professor, - - - -	116	Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow (1524), 451; Chancellor, 452; conflict with St. Andrews, 453; the riot at Glasgow, 454; seal, - 452, 455	
Corbett's <i>England in the Seven Years' War</i> , - - - -	332		
Corbridge excavations, - - -	261		
Cowan's <i>The Royal House of Stuart</i> , 491			
Craster's <i>History of Northumberland, Vol. VIII.</i> , - - -	214		
Crusade, Manifesto of, 1330, -	262		
Cuchulainn Saga, its archaeology, 243			
Cumberland benefice, peculiar ordination of (1285), - -	207		

	PAGE		PAGE
Dunbar, William, editions of his poems, - - -	109	Fischer's <i>Scots in Sweden</i> , - -	240
Dunbar's, Sir Archibald, <i>Scottish Kings</i> , 1005 to 1625, - -	107	Fisher's <i>Bonapartism</i> , - - -	480
Duncan, Thomas, - - -	151	Fitzpatrick's <i>Dublin</i> , - - -	121
Duns, Donald de, Scot, beheaded (1316), - - -	261	Flails described and illustrated, -	258
Durisdeer (otherwise Muirhead), Andrew de, Bishop of Glasgow (1455), 319; his seal, -	321, 323	Flightsdaela Saga, - - -	126
Dupont's <i>Recherches Historiques</i> , -	241	Flodden, Scots artillery at, 259; battle, - - -	446
Dyer, Louis, - - -	106	Florence, bishop-elect of Glasgow (1202), 82; his seal, - -	81
Dyer's <i>History of Modern Europe from the Fall of Constantinople</i> , -	239	Florent V. of Holland, competition for Scottish throne, 304; his part in the competition process, 307; contract with Bruce, 308; relations with Edward I., 306, 307, 311, 312; historical extracts, -	311
East India Company (1635-39), its minutes calendared, - -	478	Forbes, John, professor, Aberdeen (1620), - - -	73
Ebers' <i>An Egyptian Princess</i> , -	126	France, Anatole, on Joan of Arc, - - -	411
Ecclesiastical heraldry, did it exist in Scotland before the Reformation, 313, 515; see 'Heraldry.'		Fraser, G. M., - - -	175
Economic condition of Scotland (1650-60), - - -	273	French in English pleadings given up (1362), - - -	38
Edinburgh sanitation, - -	284	Fynes Moryson's <i>Itinerary</i> , - -	462
Education (16th century), -	246, 361	Gaelic tales, - - -	191, 253
Edwards, John, on Templars in Scotland, 13; on the Grey Friars' houses, 257; review by, -	234	'Gallus Anonymus' (1109), -	247
Egglescliffe, John de, Bishop of Glasgow (1318), 204; his seal, - - -	204, 205	<i>Genealogist, The</i> , - 127, 247,	364
Elkan, Albert, - - -	368	Gibbs, Hon. Vicary, - - -	104
'Empire,' British, discussion of title, - - -	245	Glasgow, Bishops of (1119-1316), 76-88; (1316-1446), 203-13; (1447-1508), 319-31; (1508-1603), 447-58; seals of, 81, 83, 84, 87; pictures of Cathedral, 448, 456; <i>Glasgow Memorials</i> , by R. Renwick, 482; topography of old city, 483; its trade, 483; coquet granted (1490), - - -	483
<i>English Historical Review</i> , 246, 364, 494		Glencoe in fiction, - - -	242
<i>Errata</i> : for <i>mamlatis</i> read <i>maculatis</i> , 364; for <i>John de Balliol</i> read <i>Edward de Balliol</i> , -	475	Glendonwyn, Matthew de, bishop of Glasgow (1387), - -	209
Falkiner, C. Litton, - -	122, 251	Glengarry, Macdonald of, in the '15, - - -	140
Falkirk battle, - - -	14, 19	Golden Fleece, Order of the, -	405
Fergusson's <i>Scottish Social Sketches</i> , -	239	Gordon, Alexander, archbishop of Glasgow (1550), - - -	455
Fend, Deadly, in medieval law, -	515	Gordon, G. S., - - -	359
Figgis' <i>Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius</i> , - -	235	Gordon's <i>Marshal Turenne</i> , -	357
Finlayson, lectures on the <i>Schola Salernitana</i> , - - -	379	Graden Tower in Teviotdale, 181; taken down (1760), -	189
Firth, C. H., on A Border Ballad, -	402		
Firth and Lomas' <i>Diplomatic Relations of England and France</i> , -	243		

	PAGE		PAGE
Grammars, Early, - - -	361	'Heryn' castle probably Auld-	
Gray, Sir Thomas (see <i>Scalacronica</i>), his biography, 95; and his style, - - -	96	earn, - - -	444
Gray's <i>Scalacronica</i> , translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., -	95	Heslop, R. O., - - -	259, 475
Green Island, a Hebridean legend, 191; possible connection with Greenland, - - -	201	Highland chiefs in the '15, 138-150; the clans, - - -	246
Greenock and its early social environment, - - -	343	Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745, - - -	285
Green's <i>East Lothian</i> , - - -	116	Hill's <i>History of Diplomacy</i> , Vol. II., - - -	123
Gregorovius, appreciation of, -	227	Historical fiction, - - -	242
Grey Friars in Scotland, - -	257	Historical MSS. Commission, instructions as to charters, -	134
Gypsy Lore Society, - - -	378	Holmes', Rice, <i>Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar</i> , -	340
Haddington in history, - -	116	Holmes', W. G., <i>Age of Justinian and Theodora</i> , - - -	490
Haile's <i>James Francis Edward, the Old Chevalier</i> , - - -	465	Home's <i>Old Houses in Edinburgh</i> , -	123
Halyburtons of Dirleton, - -	103	Hooper's <i>Waterloo Campaign</i> , -	126
Hebrides in the '15, 140, 146, 147; Hebridean folk-tales, 191, 253		Hospitaliers, Scottish Master of the, 16, 17; their heraldry, -	317
Heidelberg, Scots students in (1386-1662), - - -	67, 230	Hotman, Francis, references to Queen Mary (1561), - -	366
Helmet masks from Newstead explained, 375; antique and medieval tilting, - -	375, 376	Household accounts of Ochtertyre, 236; of Wells, Roxburghshire, - - -	267
Henderson, George, - - -	471	Household furniture (1729), -	268
Henderson, T. F., on Casket letters, discussion with Mr. Lang, - - -	1, 161	Household of Norwegian king, -	514
Henderson, T. F., - - -	161	Hughes' <i>History of the Society of Jesus in North America</i> , -	229, 362
Heraldry of Maxwell's translation of <i>Scalacronica</i> , 97; Wallace arms, 97; Hamilton arms, 102; Home arms, 104; Ecclesiastical—Herbert, bishop of Glasgow (1147), 78; Northumbrian armorial, 261; pre-Reformation existence of diocesan arms debated, 313, 515, 317; seals of bishops of St. Andrews, 314, Caithness, 315, and Moray, 317; pictures of seals of Glasgow bishops, 81, 83, 84, 87, 204, 205, 208, 211, 312, 321, 323, 326, 327, 452, 457; other seals, 312; heraldic notarial mark, -	514, 515	Humanism, G. Buchanan and, - - -	222, 223
Herkless and Hannay's <i>The Archbishops of St. Andrews</i> , Vol. I., -	346	Huntly, origin of earldom, -	103
		Inchaffray Abbey, - - -	441, 456
		<i>Inchaffray, Charters, bulls, and other documents of</i> , - - -	441
		Ingelram, Bishop of Glasgow (1164), - - -	79
		Innes, Cosmo, - - -	440
		'Innse-Gall,' its meaning, - -	200
		Inverlochry, fort built under Cromwell, 283; in the '15, 143, 146, 149, 150	
		Inverness fort built under Cromwell, - - -	283
		<i>Irish Church Quarterly</i> , - -	497
		Irish in Italy (1860), 247; in Gaul, - - -	498, 499
		Irving, George, obituary, - -	261
		<i>Itinerary of John Leland</i> , The, 1535-1543, - - -	98

	PAGE		PAGE
Jacobite rising of 1715, narrative of Allan Cameron, 137; rising of 1745 and occupation of Macclesfield, 285; the Highland soldiery, 289, 290; pamphlets, 289; behaviour of the troops at Macclesfield, 291-6; their artillery, 294; French support, 294; Jacobite loyalty, 362; biographies of James III., - - - - 465		Landells, William, Bishop of St. Andrews (1371), his seal, 312, 314	
James III., the Pretender, - - - 465		Laing, John, Bishop of Glasgow (1474), 323; chancellor, 324; his seal, - - - - 323, 324	
James V., his marriages, - - - 219		Lang, Andrew, on the Casket Letters, 1; replied to, 161; on Anatole France's <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> , 411; his <i>History of Scotland</i> , 118; his and Miss Shield's <i>King over the Water</i> , 465; editor of Macclesfield document of 1745, - - - 284	
Jay, Brian de, Master of Templars (1298), - - - - 19		Lang's, Andrew, <i>History of Scotland</i> , Vol. IV., - - - 118	
Jeanne d'Arc, - - - - 411		Langebards, History of, - - - 125	
Jesuit missionaries in America, 229, 362		Lauder, William, Bishop of Glasgow (1408), 210; his seal, - - - - 211	
Jews in Spain (cent. xiv.), - - - 32		Law: Justinian's life, 491; lettres de cachet, 498, 511; law-burrows, 515; <i>cage de fer</i> , - 511	
Joan of Arc, - - - - 411		Lawlor, H. J., - - - - 340	
John, Bishop of Glasgow (1120), 77		Lawrie, Sir Arch. C., on Trial by combat charter, 90; on the Abbey of Inchaffray, 440; review by, - - - - 107	
John, King of France (1360), his release, - - - - 35		Laxdaela Saga quoted, - - - 200	
Jonston, Dr. Arthur, poet, 69, 70		Leishman, Rev. J. F., - - - 181	
Jonston, John, poet, - - - 68		Leland, John, his <i>Itinerary</i> and his studies for it, 98; his acceptance of traditions, - 478	
Joscelin, Bishop of Glasgow (1174), 79; his seal, - - - 81		Lettres de Cachet in Lorraine, - 498	
<i>Juridical Review</i> , - - - - 496		Leyden, John, his life, - - - 244	
Keith, Theodora, - - - - 273		Liberty, History of modern, by Dr. Mackinnon, - - - - 476	
Kennedy, James, Bishop of St. Andrews (1450), his seal, - 312		Lindesay, John de, Bishop of Glasgow (1323), 205; his seal, 205, 206; killed at sea, - 206	
Ker, Henry, of Graden, a Border Jacobite in the '45, 181; joins army of Prince Charles Edward, 183; is at Prestonpans, 184; at Falkirk, 185; and Culloden, 185; prisoner, 186; condemned, 187; pardoned, 189; dies a soldier in Spain, - - 190		Lindesay, Thomas de (1354), Master of Hospitallers, - 16, 17	
Ker, Prof. W. P., on the Danish ballads, 385; review by, - 225		Lindsay, Sir David, his poem on 'Bagsche,' - - - - 220	
Killiecrankie battle, - - - 505		Lindsay, Principal, - - - 101, 343	
Kingsburgh, Lord, - - - 334		Lindsay, W. A., part editor <i>Charters of Inchaffray</i> , - - 440	
Knox of Ranfurly family, - 74, 370		Littlejohn, David, LL.D., - - 133	
Knox, John, - - - - 365, 371		Low and Sanders' <i>The Reign of Victoria</i> , 1837-1901, - - 353	
Krapp's <i>Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles</i> , - - - - 225		Loyola hoax, - - - - 498	
Lambert, John, suspected forger of trial by combat charter, 89, 92, 94		<i>Luther's Table Talk</i> , - - - 342	

	PAGE		PAGE
Lythonn, Duncanus de, 'first diocesan of Aberdeen,' - -	67	Melkorka, tale of, - -	197, 201
Macclesfield during Jacobite occu- pation (1745), 285; conduct of Highland army, 290; satis- faction given by their depar- ture, - - - -	296	Merz's <i>The Junto</i> , - -	351
MacDonald of Glengarry in the '15, - - - -	140-49	Meyer's <i>Der Britische Kaisertitel</i> , Michael, Bishop of Glasgow (1119), - - - -	245 77
Macdonald, Dr. George, on helmet mask from Newstead, 375; review by, - - -	340	Michael's <i>Cromwell</i> , - -	216
Macdonald, Iain Lom, Gaelic bard, on Killiecrankie, - -	506	Mining enterprises of England (16th-17th cent.), - -	245
Macdonald, J. H. A., - -	334	<i>Modern Language Review</i> , -	127, 495
M'Iver's <i>Eyemouth</i> , - -	241	Moffat, Nicholas de, Bishop-elect of Glasgow (1258), -	85, 86
McKechnie, Wm. S., on Union of 1707, 52; on Constitu- tional necessity for union of 1707, 53; on Buchanan's <i>De Jure Regni</i> , 223, 363, 476; reviews by, - 112, 123, 225,	235	Montague's <i>Political History of England</i> , 1603-1660, -	225
Mackenzie's <i>Outline of Scottish History</i> , - - - -	488	Montgomerie, Alex., sources used by, - - - -	384
Mackinlay, J. Murray, - -	128	Mont St. Michel as a prison, -	511
Mackinnon's <i>A History of Modern Liberty</i> , - - - -	476	Monuments, Commission for pre- servation of ancient, - -	376
MacLeod, Kenneth, - -	253	Moore, Dr. Norman, his lecture on the <i>Schola Salernitana</i> , -	379
Macnicol's <i>Maister Robert Bruce</i> , -	239	Morison, J. L., - -	339, 360
Macrae, Rev. David, obituary, -	246	Morris' <i>Nunburnholme</i> , - -	486
Madan's <i>University Press at Oxford</i> , - - - -	492	Moryson, Fynes, his <i>Travels</i> , 462; his literary method and style and matter, 463; a general appreciation, 464; and com- parison with the Elizabethans,	462
Maitland of Lethington, his rela- tions with Queen Mary, 151; marries Mary Fleming, 155; his death, 159; his character,	174	Muirhead (otherwise Durisdeer), Bishop of Glasgow (1455), 319; his seal, - -	321, 323
Malvoisine, William, Bishop of Glasgow (1199), - - -	81	Munro's <i>The Seigneurial System in Canada</i> , - - - -	112
Manchester occupied by Jacobites (1745), - - - -	286, 289	Murdoch's, Blaikie, <i>The Spirit of Jacobite Loyalty</i> , - -	361
Market Cross of Aberdeen, - -	175	Murray, David, his Buchanan bibliography, - - -	224
Marshall, Andrew, - -	355, 480	Napoleon I., - - - -	366
Maxwell, Sir Herbert, Bart., -	26	Navigation Acts, their influence on the Union movement,	56, 59
Mayo, C. H., - - - -	251	Neilson, Geo., on Trial by combat charter, 92, 93; editor Glas- gow Buchanan quatercentenary volume, 220; reviews by,	219, 234, 476, 488
Mary Queen of Scots: Casket Letters, 1, 160, 161-174; rela- tions with Maitland of Leth- ington, 151; with Rizzio, 154; with Bothwell, - - -	156	Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, their transactions, - -	258
Medical history and literature, -	379	Newett's <i>Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem</i> , 1494, -	99
		'New learning' defined, 221, 222; its battle, - - -	345

	PAGE		PAGE
Newstead, Roman station at, 372; the finds there, 373, including helmet mask, 373; Mr. James Curle's Rhind Lectures on the Roman military station, -	510	<i>Jure Regni</i> , 223; contrasted influence of Coke and Black- stone, 513; history of liberty, 476; the Napoleonic idea, 480; modern political problems, -	480
Ninian, Saint, his legend, -	248	Prestonpans battle, -	294
Norsemen, their influence on archaeology and literature, 246, 247, 497; court of Norwegian king, -	514	Prices in 1729, -	271
Northumbrian tenures, 215; kings, -	225	Privateers on the English coast in 1808, -	502
O'Conn, Sir Olave, legend of, 191; ballad of, -	196	Purgatory, St. Patrick's, narrative of visit by Sir Laurence Rathold, a Hungarian (1411), 382; description, -	383
Order of the Golden Fleece, 404; sketch of its history, 406; bestowed on James V., -	410	Quaker wedding in Aberdeen (1737), -	131
Orders of Chivalry, -	404	Rae, William, Bishop of Glasgow (1339), -	207
Ordination of Dalston church, Cumberland (1285), -	297	Rait, Robert S., -	466
Orkney documents, -	246, 497	Ranke's <i>History of the Popes</i> , -	244
<i>Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore</i> , 126, 247, 497		Rathold, Sir Laurence, Hungarian, visits St. Patrick's Purgatory, -	382
Ossianic fragment, -	253	Reid, Bishop Robert, his books, 129; and book stamp, -	128
Ostmen, Norse descendants, in Ireland, -	494	<i>Reliquary, The</i> , 135, 247, 364, 494; death of editor, Mr. Romilly Allan, -	135
Owen, Robert, the socialist, -	248	Remission, Letters of, for crimes in the Netherlands, -	381
Paul, Sir J. Balfour, -	98, 405	Renwick's <i>Glasgow Memorials</i> , -	482
Paul's, Sir J. Balfour, <i>The Scots Peerage</i> , -	101	<i>Revue des Etudes Historiques</i> , 366, 498	
Paul's, Sir J. Balfour, <i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , -	219	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique</i> , 248, 498	
Penitential submission 'in kirtle alone,' -	516	<i>Revue Historique</i> , 127, 247, 248, 365	
Perthshire, its <i>Military History</i> (1660-1902), 459; the militia, 460; Jacobite warfare, -	461	Rhind lectures on Roman military station at Newstead, -	510
Petit-Dutaillis, Ch., on letters of pardon in Netherlands, -	381	Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews (1163), his seal, -	312
Pike's <i>The Public Records</i> , -	241	Richardsons, The Three, of Northumberland, -	260
Pilgrimages to Holy Land, 262, 350, 495		Ridgeway's <i>Cuchulainn Saga</i> , -	242
Pirie-Gordon's <i>Innocent the Great</i> , 339		Ridgeway's <i>Who were the Romans?</i> 494	
Place names, -	237, 469, 470	Robb, T. D., on Sixteenth century humanism, -	222
<i>Poems of William Dunbar, The</i> , -	109	Robertson, Professor James, -	351
Political thought from Gerson to Grotius, 235; Buchanan's <i>De</i>		Robinson and Beard's <i>The De- velopment of Modern Europe</i> , -	479
		Robinson's <i>Unrecognised Westmin- ster Chronicler</i> , -	202
		Roger's <i>Historical Geography of Australasia</i> , -	117

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gre-</i>		Seaforth, Marquess of, in the '15,	
<i>gorovius, The, 1852-1874,</i>	227		138-150
Rosebery, Lord, his views on		Seasickness (1330), 262, 379 ;	
charters as history,	134	(1808), - - - - -	503
Roxburgh, Hugh de, Bishop-elect		Seals of Glasgow Bishops, 81, 83,	
of Glasgow (1199),	80	84, 87, 204, 205, 208, 211,	
Roxburghshire mansion (Wells)		312, 321, 323, 326, 327,	
in 1729, - - - - -	265	452, 457 ; of Bishops of St.	
Royal Historical Society, - - -	257	Andrews, 312 ; of Scottish	
<i>Rutland Magazine, The, 126, 248,</i>	496	Bishops, - - - - -	314-318
Rhys' <i>The Celtic Inscriptions of</i>		Sedgemoor battle, - - - - -	127
<i>France and Italy, - - - - -</i>	466	Seton of Pitmedden quoted on	
St. Andrews, Archbishops of, 328,		the Union of 1707, - 59, 60, 61	
330, 347 ; seals of bishops,		Seton-Watson, R. W., - - - - -	219
	312, 314, 318	<i>Seven Hills Magazine, The,</i>	247
St. John, Dedications to, - - -	128	Shakespeare sources, - - - - -	234
St. Mariota's provostry, - - -	128	Shaw-Stewart, Sir Hugh, Bart., -	344
St. Ninian legend, - - - - -	248	Shetland documents, - - - - -	247, 497
<i>Saga Book of the Viking Club,</i>	246	Shield and Lang's <i>The King over</i>	
<i>Sainsbury's Minutes of the East</i>		<i>the Water,</i> - - - - -	465
<i>India Company, 1635-1639,</i>	478	Shipping, Scots, under James V.,	
Salt customs, - - - - -	281	220 ; under Cromwell, 276,	
Sandys, J. E., on George Buch-		279, 280, 282, 283 ; depreda-	
anan, - - - - -	225	tions by Scottish seamen (1313),	
Sanitation in Commonwealth		475 ; a voyage to London in	
Scotland, - - - - -	284	1808, 503 ; fears of the French,	504
'Satisfaction,' medieval form of		<i>Shirburn Ballads (1585-1616),</i>	
rendering, - - - - -	516	334 ; woodcuts of, 335, 336,	
<i>Scalacronica, Translation of,</i>	26	337 ; superstition in the ballads,	
Schmid's <i>Margareta von Anjou,</i>	234	334, 338 ; their general quality,	338
<i>Schola Salernitana</i> described, -	379	Simancas archives, - - - - -	513
Schools, Scots history in, - 40,	488	Simon's <i>Dr. John Leyden,</i> - - -	244
<i>Scotia,</i> - - - - -	246, 496	Skeat, Prof. W. W., on Canter-	
Scots licensed to cross the seas		bury Tales, - - - - -	495
(1632), - - - - -	127	Smith, David Baird, - 229, 357,	482
Scots, their relative rarity as		Smith, Professor G. Gregory, -	465
diplomats, - - - - -	243	Smith's <i>Luther's Table Talk,</i>	342
Scott, Walter, his bookbinding		<i>Somerset and Dorset, Notes and</i>	
account, - - - - -	380	<i>Queries for,</i> 127, 246, 364, 497	
Scott, W. R., - - - - -	479	Somersetshire Archaeological and	
Scottish history, Movement for		Natural History Society, - 497	
chair of, 254 ; improvements		Source-studies of Shakespeare,	
in method, - - - - -	488	234 ; of Chaucer, 249 ; of	
<i>Scottish Notes and Queries,</i>	246	Burns, 249 ; of Hugo, Vol-	
Scottish soldiers in Sweden, -	240	taire, William Drummond,	
Scottish students in Heidelberg		Alexander, and Montgomerie,	
(1386-1662), - - - - -	67, 250	383, 384 ; of Elizabethan son-	
Scott-Moncrieff, W. G., - 121,	352	neteers, - - - - -	495
Scott's <i>An English Copper Mining</i>		Stafford, J., his letters from	
<i>Company,</i> - - - - -	245	Macclesfield during the Jaco-	
		bite army's occupation, - 285	

- | | PAGE | | PAGE |
|---|--------------------|--|----------|
| Steuart, A. Francis, | | Tournaments, their origin, | 375, 376 |
| 117, 237, 240, 362, 490, 491 | | Trade, in Commonwealth Scot- | |
| Stevenson, G. M., footnotes | | land, 280-3; in old Glasgow, | |
| Border ballad, - - - - - | 403 | 483; bonnetmaking at Stewart- | |
| Stevenson, J. H., disputes Dr. | | ton, Ayrshire, - - - - - | 489 |
| Birch's views on diocesan arms, | 313 | <i>Transactions of British Academy,</i> | |
| Steward, The High, his court, - | 113 | 202, 242, 494 | |
| Stewart, William, - - - - - | 369 | <i>Transactions of the Philological</i> | |
| Stewart's <i>Parliament House Por-</i> | | <i>Society,</i> - - - - - | 495 |
| <i>traits,</i> - - - - - | 242 | Traver's <i>The Four Daughters of</i> | |
| Stewarts, the royal house (see | | <i>God,</i> - - - - - | 476 |
| Jacobite), - - - - - | 491 | Trevelyan's <i>The American Revolu-</i> | |
| Strategy, British, in war (1756- | | <i>tion, Part III.,</i> - - - - - | 359 |
| 63), - - - - - | 333 | Trial by combat (1362), 39; | |
| Strathearn, Earls of, their grants | | charter of 1167 discussed, 89; | |
| to Inchaffray, - - - - - | 442 | formulae of combat, 92, 93; | |
| Swift's <i>Prose Works,</i> - - - - - | 124 | story of Jew in Hainault, - | 380 |
| Symple of Haukerstoun, family, | | Tullibardine's, Marchioness of, | |
| 17, 23; charter of, 1354, 16, 23 | | <i>Military History of Perthshire,</i> - | 459 |
| Tartans, - - - - - | 368 | Turnbull, William, Bishop of | |
| Taxation, Scottish, under Crom- | | Glasgow (1447), - - - - - | 319 |
| well, - - - - - | 276, 279, 281, 284 | Union of 1707, Scots' objections | |
| Taylor, W. Caird, - - - - - | 67, 250 | to, 43; its constitutional neces- | |
| Telford, W. H., - - - - - | 501 | sity, 52; Seton of Pitmedden's | |
| Templars in Scotland, 13; at | | opinions quoted, 59-61; Defoe | |
| Falkirk battle, - - - - - | 19, 24 | quoted, 64, 65; Swift quoted, | 66 |
| Terry, Prof. C. Sanford, on | | University Printers, Glasgow, 369, 500 | |
| Allan Cameron's narrative, | | Venice, Studies of, - - - - - | 356 |
| 137; his views on death of | | Victoria, Queen, an estimate of, | 354 |
| Claverhouse, - - - - - | 505 | Villari, Pasquale, historian, his | |
| Texts: Charter of 1354 by | | 80th birthday, - - - - - | 264 |
| Master of Hospitallers, 16, 17, | | Voltaire's <i>Zadig,</i> - - - - - | 126 |
| 23; documents of Quaker | | Wallace, Sir William, supported | |
| wedding in Aberdeen (1737), | | by Bishop Wischard, 87; his | |
| 131; letter from Macclesfield | | arms, - - - - - | 97 |
| about Jacobite army there in | | Wallace, William, LL.D., - - - - - | 256 |
| 1745, 285; ordination of Dal- | | Walter, Bishop of Glasgow | |
| ston Church, 301; ballad on | | (1207), 82; his seals, - - - - - | 83 |
| murder of William Aynsley | | War, British art of (1756-63), | |
| (1598), - - - - - | 403 | 332; British generals and sea- | |
| <i>The Shirburn Ballads,</i> 1585-1616, | 334 | men, 333; Napoleon's methods, | |
| Thomson, Dr. John Maitland, | | 366; military history of Perth- | |
| on trial by combat charter, | | shire (1660-1902), - - - - - | 459 |
| 93; part editor <i>Charter of</i> | | Wardlaw, Walter, Bishop of | |
| <i>Inchaffray,</i> 440; review by, | | Glasgow (1367), 207; his seal, | |
| 482; referred to, 91, 241, | | 208, 209; cardinal, - - - - - | 208 |
| 328, 445, 448, 450 | | Wells House, Roxburghshire, - | 265 |
| Tiree legends, - - - - - | 192, 193, 195, 198 | | |
| Toison d'Or, its history, - - - - - | 405 | | |
| Toll, Hans, - - - - - | 304 | | |

Index

527

	PAGE		PAGE
Welsh troops at Falkirk, 14, 15,		Wischard, John, Bishop of Glas-	
19; archers in France, - -	29	gow (1337), - - -	206
Whetham's <i>Life of Colonel Nathaniel</i>		Wischard, Robert, Bishop of	
<i>Whetham</i> , - - - -	490	Glasgow (1271), 86; his seals,	
Widow's rights in Lorraine, -	126	87, 312; his services to Robert	
Willcock's <i>A Scots Earl in Covenant-</i>		the Bruce, - - - -	88
<i>ing Times</i> , - - - -	492	Wischard, William, Bishop elect	
William the Lion, Odd engraving		of Glasgow (1270), - - -	86
of, - - - -	248, 369	Witchcraft, - - - -	239
Williams, A. M., - - - -	117	Worcester campaign, Losses of	
Wilson, Rev. James, on trial by		Scots in (1648-51), - - -	275
combat charter, 89; on Balliol		Wyntoun, Andrew of, new	
charter of 1267, 252; on		edition of his chronicle, -	263
peculiar ordination in Cum-			
berland, 297; reviews by,		Young's <i>Histoire de l'Enseignement</i>	
98, 112, 214, 229, 344, 362, 478		<i>Primaire et Secondaire en Ecosse</i> ,	361

528

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