The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

KEITH'S *Large New Catalogue of the Bishops of the several sees within the Kingdom of Scotland* (1755) was a remarkable book in its day, and must always remain a monument of laborious and careful research. Dr. M. Russel's edition of this work (1824), which, unfortunately, while correcting some errors, imported many others, has up to the present been the main authority used by historians and charter-students for determining the succession of the bishops of the medieval period. Valuable as it is, historical material which has become accessible in more recent times demands a thorough revision of Keith. Much that tends to accuracy has been brought to light by the publication of the registers of bishoprics and religious houses in the issues of the Bannatyne, Maitland, Abbotsford, Spalding, Grampian, and New Spalding Clubs. Scottish Public Records have also become more easily accessible.[1] But it has been the publication of Theiner's *Monumenta* and the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (of which five volumes have already appeared) which has done most to supply particulars for the correction and enlargement of Keith.

In dealing with the diocese of Dunkeld one naturally turns to Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*. But, unhappily, while of real value when treating of the bishops near his own time, this work is worse than useless for determining the succession of the early bishops of the see. It is careless, confusing, and positive in tone when it ought to have been hesitating and conjectural. It is often demonstrably wrong.

The main object of these Notes is to determine the dates of the election, papal confirmation, consecration, death, or resignation of

[1] One hopes that the *Privy Seal Register*, still in MS. in the Register House, may appear in print before long.

the successive bishops, when evidence is forthcoming. Hence record or charter evidence relating to intermediate periods is either not noticed at all, or touched only lightly, except when anything of special interest seems to deserve observation.[1]

The principal abbreviations used in citing authorities are as follows: A.P. = *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Record edit.); B. = Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i. (Rome, 1876); B.C. = *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, preserved in H.M. Public Record Office, London*, edited by Joseph Bain; C.P.R. = *Calendar of Papal Registers*, edited by W. H. Bliss (Record Publications); Extr. = *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie* (Abbotsford Club); Fœd. = Rymer's *Fœdera, conventiones*, etc.; K. = Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops* (Russel's edit. 1824); M. = *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club); R.A. = *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club); R.B. = *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.G. = *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.M. = *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.P.S.A. = *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* (Bannatyne Club); R.M.S. = *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (Record Publications); R.S.S. = *Registrum Secreti Sigilli* (in MS. in the H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh); Sc. = Fordon and Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Goodall's edit. 1759); T. = *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum historiam illustrantia* (Rome, 1864). The Registers of religious houses are cited by the name of the house: thus 'Melrose' = *Liber de Melros*, 'Kelso' = *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, and so with the rest. W. = *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, by Andrew de Wyntoun (David Laing's edit. 3 vols. 1872-79).

In the headings of paragraphs the names of bishops elect who were not consecrated, or whose consecrations are doubtful, are printed in italic capitals.

For the early Columban foundation at Dunkeld and the bishop of the Picts there resident see Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (ii. 370).

The see seems to have been revived by Alexander I., but evidence is lacking to determine the exact year.

CORMAC. We find 'Cormac bishop' (see unnamed) witnessing the foundation charter of Scone, which monastery was founded in 1114 (Fordun, i. 286, Skene's edit.) or 1115 (M.). This is probably Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld; at least we know no other bishop named Cormac at this period. Again, Cormac (see still unnamed) witnesses another charter of the same monastery together with 'Robert elect of St. Andrews' (Scone, No. 4). The charter is granted by King Alexander. But Robert appears to have been elected in 1124 (M.), while the king died towards the end of April, 1124.[2] We find 'Cormac bishop of Dunkeld' between (probably) 1127-1129 (Dunfermline, 4, 16). But we have a *dated* charter in the *Book of Deer* (93), which records a grant by Gartnait, son of Cainnech, and Ete,

[1] The writer will be grateful for corrections and additions bearing on the dates of accession, consecration, and death.

[2] For a discussion on the exact day of Alexander's death see Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 54-56.

daughter of Gille Michel, to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld (*éscob dunicallen*), in the eighth year of David's reign (that is the year ending 22 April, 1132).

The date of Cormac's death is unknown.

The absence of the name of his see in the Scone charters leads me to suspect that Cormac may have been, at the date of these charters, a bishop without a see, in one of the monasteries of Celtic foundation.

GREGORY. He was bishop 'de duncallden' in the reign of David, a charter of whom he attests together with Andrew, bishop of Caithness (*Book of Deer*, 95). He also attests a charter of David which must be dated between 1147, when Herbert bishop of Glasgow (witness) was consecrated, and 1153 when king David died (Dunfermline, 8).

'G. Dunlcheldensi' appears among the bishops of Scotland addressed in the bull of Adrian IV, 27 Feb. 1155.[1]

Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, is a witness together with Richard 'elect of St. Andrews' (who was elected in 1163) to a charter of Malcolm IV, in the eleventh year of his reign, *i.e.* in the year ending 23 May 1164. (Scone, 7.)

The date of Gregory's death is given by Sc. (vii. 60) as 1164; but elsewhere (viii. 13) as 1169. This discrepancy may arise from the ease with which MCLXIV and MCLXIX might in transcription be confused. With 1169 Myln (5) agrees.

From what has been said about his predecessor it is obvious that Gregory did not, as alleged by Myln, hold the see for about 42 years. It must be remembered that Myln, who is followed by Keith, makes Gregory the first bishop of this see.

[?? *HUGH.* In R.A. (i. 12) we find 'Hugone Dunkeldensi episcopo' among the witnesses to a charter of king William, in his fifth year, *i.e.* the year ending 8 Dec. 1170. I suspect that this charter, like some others in the opening of R.A., is either a forgery, or has been seriously tampered with, for among the other witnesses are 'Joceline, bishop of Glasgow,' who was not elected till 23 May, 1174 (M.), and 'Ricardo Moravie,' while Richard was not elected to Moray till 1 March, 1187 (M.). Again, Hugh, abbot of Neubottyl, is a witness, who could not have succeeded earlier than 1179 (M.). It should be noted that in the charter 'Hugone de Sigillo, clerico meo' appears also among the witnesses. I am not aware that a Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, appears elsewhere before Hugh de Sigillo. If he existed at all, he could have been bishop for only a few months: see last entry and the next.]

RICHARD (I.) styled by Myln (9) 'Richard de Prebenda': but probably through confusion with Richard, the second of that name. He was 'capellanus Regis Willelmi' (M. *s. a.* 1170), and had perhaps been chaplain to William before he came to the throne. (See the Coldingham charter cited by Dalrymple, *Collections*, 322, where we find a Richard 'capellanus comitis Willelmi.')

He was consecrated on the vigil of St. Laurence (the feast falls on 10 Aug.), 1170, in the cathedral church of St. Andrews by Richard, bp.

[1] The best text of the bull is printed in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. ii. part i. 231.

of St. Andrews (M.). The vigil fell in that year on a Sunday, which fact, so far forth, is a confirmation; for the common law of the Church was that bishops should be consecrated on Sunday. Myln (6) is certainly wrong in making him die in 1173, for he was in Normandy in December, 1174, at the time of the treaty of Falaise (Fœd. i. 30: Sc. viii. 24). On the contrary M. (*s. a.*) and Sc. (viii. 25) place his death under 1178. Myln says he died at Cramond (in Midlothian), and was buried in the island of Inchcolm (in the Forth).

Myln, who omits altogether Cormac, the first bishop, places a Cormac as the immediate successor of Richard, and gives his death as 'about 1174.' This will not fit in with the better authenticated list derived from M. There seems no good evidence for placing (as K.) another Gregory after the Cormac who is supposed to have succeeded Myln's Cormac.

That Richard I. died in 1210 (*Extr.* 75) is obviously wrong, the error arising from a confusion with Richard II. (see below).

WALTER DE BIDUN, 'clericus regis,' 'cancellarius regis Scottorum,' elected to Dunkeld, 1178 (M.). So too Bower (Sc. viii. 25). Myln speaks of him as consecrated, which may be doubted, and seems to have held that he died the same year. At least his statement is open to that interpretation, and it has been so understood by Chalmers (Caled. i. 712) and by Grub (i. 301).

The language of M. is as follows: 'Obiit Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermelin, et Walterus de Bidun cancellarius regis Scottorum, ecclesie de Dunkelde electus.' I take the meaning of this to be that Walter elect of Dunkeld died in 1178. But for our previous information as to the death of Richard in 1178 we should not be justified in considering Walter as elected in this year. As it is, it seems that he was elected and died in the same year, and had not been consecrated. Examples of two deaths introduced by the word 'obiit' will be found in M. *s.a.* 1152, 1153.

The see seems to have been void till 1183.

JOHN (I.) 'cognomine Scotus,' who had been elected to St. Andrews in 1178, and consecrated on June 15, 1180, failed to obtain possession; and he and his rival Hugh having both resigned their claims into the hands of the pope, John, who had been elected *concorditer* to Dunkeld, was confirmed by the pope to that see (Sc. vi. 40). It is not stated when John was elected to Dunkeld.

It was during his episcopate that the diocese of Argyll was cut out of Dunkeld at the desire of John. This was probably about 1200.

To the charter evidence cited by K. may be added that of his witnessing the quitclaim of subjection granted by O[sbert], abbot of Kelso, to Guido, first abbot of Lindores: see *Chartulary of Lindores* (284). This was probably 1191-1195. He was a papal judge-delegate in 1193 (R.G. i. 68). He consecrated Reinald, bp. of Ross, 10 Sept. 1195 (M.). See also R.G. i. 66; North Berwick (7); and Melrose (85, 86, 113, 114).

He died in 1203 (M.), having on his death-bed at Newbottle taken the habit (Sc. vi. 41). He was buried in the choir of Newbottle on the north of the altar (*ib.*).

RICHARD (II.) DE PREBENDA, 'clericus et cognatus domini regis (Willelmi)' succeeded in the same year as John's death,—1203 (M.).

There is a commission from Innocent III. to determine a cause between R[ichard], bp. of Dunkeld and the Prior of St. Andrews relative to the church of Meigle (R.P.S.A. Preface, xlii) : this seems to have been about 1207.

See Dunfermline (96) for between 1204-1210.

Richard died in May, 1210 (M.: Sc. viii. 72): and according to Sc. (viii. 75) 'about Easter.' Easter fell in this year on 18 April. According to the last authority he died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm (*apud insulam Æmoniam*).

It is a gross error of Myln to make 'John de Lacester' follow John the Scott, omitting this Richard altogether. We have seen that he gives the name 'de Prebenda' to the first Richard.

JOHN (II.) ('de Leicester,' *Myln* and Sc. ix. 27) archdeacon of Lothian.

There was a 'J.' archdeacon of Lothian present at the Council held at Perth in 1201 by the Cardinal Legate (R.G. i. 81).

Elected on St. Mary Magdalene's Day (22 July) 1211 (M.). 'J elect of Dunkeld' witnesses a deed of William, king of Scotland, doing fealty to John, king of England, 1212 (Fœd. i. 104).

John died 7 Oct. 1214 (M.). *Scotichronicon* (ix. 27) gives the same year for the death of 'John de Leycester, bp. of Dunkeld,' and adds that he died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm, like his predecessor. His bones were translated to the south of the newly-erected choir of the church of Inchcolm, close to the altar, in 1266 (Sc. x. 21).

HUGH (Hugo de Sigillo : 'dictus de sigillo' (M.) : clericus de sigillo). He had been clerk of King William (R.G. 92 : Scone 30). The charter cited from R.G. is dated by Cosmo Innes 1212-1214. He succeeded to the see apparently in 1214 (M.). He gave benediction to Ralph, newly elected abbot of Melrose, on 29 Sept. 1216. He is bishop of Dunkeld 24 June, 1224 (Neubottle 92). H. is bp. of Dunkeld in 1226 (Dunferml. 135); and in 1227 (Dunferml. 135). Hugh died in 1228 (Sc. ix. 47), 'vir mansuetissimus, qui dicebatur pauperum episcopus.' Myln, who in the matter of the length of his episcopate is very far astray, may perhaps be correct as to the *day* of his death which he makes 6 Jan. He may have found this to be marked as his obit in some of the registers of Dunkeld. The compiler of *Extracta e variis cronicis* (93) gives 1229 as the year of Hugh's death, which probably is correct, the year being 1228-29.

Hugh speaks of 'John, Richard, and John, our predecessors' (Inchaffray, 69).

MATTHEW SCOT (made chancellor of the king (Alexander II.) in 1227 (M.)). Boece (*Epis. Aberdon. Vit.* 11, New Spalding Club edit.) says that the clergy and people of Aberdeen postulated Matthew, chancellor of the kingdom with common consent; and that he had scarcely assented when he learned that his accepting Dunkeld, which was offered to him 'omnium suffragiis' would be especially pleasing to the king. He accepted Dunkeld. He died before consecration in 1229 (Sc. ix. 47).

GILBERT, chaplain to Bishop Hugh (Sc. ix. 47), appointed (?) 1229.

He was, presumably, the unnamed bishop of Dunkeld to whom Gregory IX. wrote (22 May, 1235) granting permission to raise the priory of Inchcolm in his diocese into an abbacy, and to give to the monastery, with the consent of his cathedral chapter, a portion of the revenues of the see, which had become augmented in his time *in centum marcharum argenti* (T. No. 78).

Gilbert died in 1236 (M.) and was buried in the monastery of Inchcolm (in the Forth) on the first Sunday after Easter (*dominica in albis*), which in 1236 fell on 6 April (Myln, 9).

GEOFFREY (Galfredus de Liberatione (Sc. ix. 52). Gaufridus), Clerk to the king (Alexander II.) : canon of Dunkeld (T. No. 85) : Precentor of Glasgow, 21 Feb. 1236 (Melrose, ii. 667). Elected 1236 (M.). 'G' is still elect of Dunkeld on Dec. 3, 1236 (Melrose, 185, 230).

Gregory IX. wrote, 6 Sept. 1236, to the bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Brechin to examine the *postulation* of Geoffrey by the dean and chapter of Dunkeld, and, if satisfied that the postulation had been canonically celebrated and the person fit, to dispense him for defect of birth, he being *de soluto et soluta genitus*, to take the oath of fealty to the Roman See, and to consecrate him. The postulation had been represented to the pope as made *concorditer* (T. No. 85). The result was favourable to Geoffrey.

Geoffrey declares that 31 Dec. 1238 was in the third year of his pontificate (Inchaffray, 71). This shows that he must have been consecrated soon after the receipt of the pope's letter. He speaks of having inspected charters of his predecessors 'the first John, Richard, the second John, Hugh, and Gilbert.' This is valuable as pointing to the order of the bishops of Dunkeld.

In 1238 Geoffrey was postulated to St. Andrews,[1] but the postulation was disapproved of by the king and not confirmed by the pope (Sc. vi. 42 : T. No. 100 : Wyntoun, ii. 244). See what is said of this under St. Andrews in my paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (iv. 603).

According to Myln (10) Geoffrey made a new erection of his cathedral 'ad instar ecclesiae Sarum,' introduced the 'cantus Gregorianus,' added to the number of the canons, made provision for the endowment of new canonries, and enacted that none but canons continuously resident should share in the *communiae canonicorum.*

He was appointed with William, bp. of Glasgow, by Gregory IX. (11 June, 1337) to deal with the impoverished state of the see and cathedral of Dunblane (T. No. 91 ; Inchaffray, pp. xxix-xxx).

Geoffrey, with other bishops, swore to acknowledge the subjection of Alexander II. to Henry of England in 1244. (Fœd. i. 257).

Geoffrey was present on the occasion of placing the child Alexander III. on the throne at Scone, 13 July, 1249 (Sc. x. i.). A few months later he was dead. He died at Tibermure (Tippermuir) on St. Cecilia's day

[1] Probably after 1 July, 1238, for he is styled simply bishop of Dunkeld at that date. *Red Book of Menteith*, ii. 326.

(22 Nov.), 1249, and was buried in the cathedral of Dunkeld (Sc. ix. 63 : Myln, 10-11). His epitaph as given in Sc. reads :

'Hac Dunkeldensis cleri decus, aegis, et ensis,
Gaufridus tumba pausat, sub patre Columba.'[1]

We find (as has been stated) 'G. electo Dunkeldensi' on 3 Dec. in 22nd year of Alexander, *i.e.* 1236 (Melrose, i. 185 and 230). This taken with what has been said above points to his having been consecrated between 3 Dec. and 31 Dec., 1236. Charter evidence after his consecration is frequent.

After the death of Geoffrey, Myln inserts one whom he calls 'Richard the king's chancellor,' who lived only one year, and died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm in 1250. One cannot but suspect that he has confused the name, and that the person he means was David, whom he omits, but of whom we have authentic evidence ; but an error as to the name is possible : some contraction of 'Richard' being mistaken for David.

DAVID, Elect of Dunkeld.

King Alexander grants a charter to the burgesses of Inverness, dated at Scone, 3 Dec. anno regni 2. 'Test. David electo Dunkelden, David abbate de Neubotill, Alano hostiario justiciario Scotie, et Gilberto de Haia' (R.M.S. ii. No. 804). The witnesses show that Alexander must be Alexander III. ; the date therefore is 3 Dec. 1250. So far as I know this is the only notice of this David. There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) on 30 Aug. 1250 (C.P.R. i. 261). The notice of this person is of some value as showing that Bower (Sc. x. 3) may be wrong in making Richard of Inverkeithing advanced to the bishopric of Dunkeld in 1250, though that is just possible if the year be taken as closing on March 24, 1250-1.

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[1] Myln reads 'Hic' for 'Hac.'

(*To be continued.*)

Reviews of Books

A Literary History of Scotland. By J. H. Millar, B.A., LL.B., Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. ix, 703, demy 8vo, with Frontispiece. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903. 16s.

'The Library of Literary History,' to which series Mr. Millar's volume of seven hundred pages belongs, undertakes to tell, for each nation, the history of its intellectual growth and artistic achievements. Mr. Millar is the latest to essay the task of interpreting to the world the mind of his country as displayed in her literature. We have had her picturesque episodes treated by the arid and the flippant historian, her social life depicted with kindly sympathy or monocular cynicism, her literary great ones presented with painstaking accuracy or brutal frankness. Mr. Millar approaches his arduous task with the desire to eliminate all constitutional prejudice or bias on his part, as tending to unfair treatment of men with whose temperament and habits of thought he might find himself in imperfect sympathy. But his attitude and methods are far from being those of the ideal historian, who ought in fairness to apply to the past the standards of that past, reserving for himself the rôle of illuminating for us its facts and tendencies under the light of his own imaginative insight and balanced judgment. His method, stated broadly, is encyclopaedic rather than philosophic. His thorough index shows nearly six hundred names of literary Scots, whose comparative eminence, of course, tails off to the minute proportions of a foot-note.

Mr. Millar is nothing if not 'modern.' On the 'Huchown' problem the freshest he has to say is that this elusive 'makar' might pass for 'the first illustrious specimen of that much-vilified person, the Anglified Scot.' The patchwork of honest John Barbour he disposes of in this fashion. 'It may be after all that the text of Brus was "faked" by some not unskilful scribe in the fifteenth century.' Lindsay's 'Satire' again, 'looks like an interesting anticipation of the great doctrine of efficiency.' When he comes nearer to his own time the trick of modernity is still more apparent, witness this bit of Henleyite contempt for the 'common Burnsite': 'The inherent force and overpowering spirit of *The Jolly Beggars* are perhaps sufficient to account for its inferior popularity as compared with *Tam o' Shanter*. Had Burns swerved for one moment from the path of true craftmanship, had he relaxed the severity of the artist and emitted the smallest whine of senti-

ment, had he dowered any one of his gallery of mendicants and mumpers with those virtues which draw the tear to the eye and the snuffle to the nose, *The Jolly Beggars* might have stood first in the hearts of its author's countrymen as securely as it does in the estimation of those best qualified to form an opinion.' This is legitimate enough as literary criticism from Mr. Millar's standpoint, but the tendency to modernity sometimes leads him far enough away from literary history.

While this tendency lends piquancy, subtle allusiveness, and the journalistic quality of living interest, it is fatal to philosophic breadth and just proportion. To say of a speech of Chalmers that it reveals him merely as 'a species of ecclesiastical Helen Macgregor,' or to call the *Lilac Sun-bonnet* 'a perfect triumph of succulent vulgarity' is amusing but not satisfying.

To the greater lights of the Golden Age of James IV.—Douglas, Henryson, Lyndsay, Dunbar—due court is paid. The criticism is full and discriminating, but leaves the problems of their art very much where they were. With none of these is the mere modern more in sympathy than with the shrewd but gentle Henryson, one of the most lovable characters in Scottish literature. Mr. Millar does justice to the charm of the *Fables* and their 'humanity and tolerance, which our national poetry in the criticism of life has sometimes lacked.' Unfortunately we have here one of many such general statements which our author throws at the reader and then runs away. Dare any one say that humanity and tolerance, where these are called for, are wanting in Allan Ramsay, Burns, and Scott? It would be easy to illustrate these features from the undesigned literature of proverb and anecdote. But the anecdote form of Scotch humour is abhorrent to Mr. Millar, who, *apropos* of worthy Dean Ramsay and his stories, says, 'while racy and pointed in themselves they have been the parent of much intolerable dulness both in conversation and in print.' Here again our author cannot stick to his last, which is literary history. But the philosophic method might have suggested at this point an interesting discussion on what is the most characteristic note of the national mind, the criticism of life on pawky, didactic lines. True, the critic might hardly call the 'gnomic' style poetry at all, but the study of the literary, and even general history, of Scotland compels attention to it. Its wit, and force, and kindliness are conspicuous in the work, say, of Barbour, Henryson, Lindsay, Maitland, and, still more so, of Ramsay, when he is a Scottish Horace, Fergusson, Burns in his *Epistles*, and Scott when he gets away from the 'genteel' and its stilted exponents.

The seventeenth century in Scotland has little to offer the student of literature, but of this little Mr. Millar makes the most. He very properly ascribes the decline of the vernacular as a literary medium, not to the Union of 1603 but to the fact that the Reformed Church adopted English throughout; and here I can only in passing contrast the work of the Anglified Knox with the intensely German Luther, who by his hymns and Bible created a literary language that is bound up with the national life. The strongly devout character of this century

gives Mr. Millar an opportunity, of which he cleverly avails himself, to show up some of the less lovely phases of Evangelical literary art. His treatment of worthy Samuel Rutherford in adapting the allegorical in the *Song of Solomon* to the understanding of his fleshly hearers, doubtless quite alive to the *riské* elements, is extremely neat. Quoting an admirer of the saint of Anwoth to the effect that 'The haughty contempt of the *Letters* which is in the heart of many will be ground for condemnation when the Lord cometh to make inquisition after such things,' he adds, 'Thus the pious Dr. Love; and it can only be hoped that the doctor is out in his confident forecast that a revision of erroneous critical opinions will form part of the business of the day of judgment.' Very acceptable, too, is his good word for the metrical Psalms and Paraphrases. The former 'contain many passages of artless and simple beauty and some of unostentatious dignity. Moreover, the version is hallowed by the associations of two centuries and a half. It is, therefore' (significant word) 'scarcely necessary to say that in recent years it has to a great extent been ousted from the services of the Kirk in favour of 'hymns,' which possess no recommendation whatsoever, except unwholesome sentiment and glib fluency.' Equally good is this on the Paraphrases (eighteenth century work): 'Their genuine piety is untainted by extravagance, their grave severity unruffled by hysteria. They that seek for glitter, and banality, and noise, must turn to the more comprehensive volumes of a later date, whence they will not be sent empty away.'

The eighteenth century affords full scope for the display of Mr. Millar's pronounced 'Moderatism,' fortunately not incompatible with an incisive treatment of that 'eloquence,' which was so dear to the literary 'Moderates.' This survival of the 'aureate' style—for its roots were far older than the century—was a fruitful source of much frigidity in sermon and academic lecture. Akin to it is that well-bred reticence about the familiar and personal which makes the contemporary records of the century so barren. 'Let us be genteel,' these writers said, 'or our Art will die.' Scott himself was in this respect a child of the century. The story of his schooldays, apparently so frank, is as much romancing as the 'genteel' account of them in 'Redgauntlet.' Had he let himself go how much he would have surpassed the 'human' revelations of 'Jupiter' Carlyle and Henry Cockburn, whose Whiggism, by the way, excites the strong aversion of Mr. Millar.

The encyclopaedic style, while it satisfies the modern craving for 'Manuals,' does bare justice to Mr. Millar, whose independent attitude, decided feeling for style, and incisive treatment of literary foibles show to greater advantage in this study of recent times. The older problems call for patient research and wide sympathies in handling those entire phases of the national life which gave to the literature of each period its local form, colour, and character, just as nature harmonises bird, insect, or flower with its environment.

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ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS. V.—DAT BOEXKEN VANDER MISSEN. 'The Booklet of the Mass,' by Brother Gherit Vander Goude, 1507. The thirty-four plates described and the explanatory text of the Flemish original translated, with illustrative excerpts from contemporary missals and tracts, by Pearcer Dearmer, M.A.

A SUPERSTITIOUS horror of the Mass, which to John Knox was more terrible than 10,000 men armed against the congregation, was a characteristic feature of the Scottish Reformation, and the cry 'False knaves, willt thou say mass at my lug,' is traditionally said to have ushered in the great revolution of 1636. Any document, therefore, illustrating the way in which the central act of worship of Catholic Christendom was regarded by its votaries, or the way in which a Catholic 'heard mass,' should be to us interesting and instructive.

This little picture prayer-book was not compiled for apologetic or controversial purposes, for its date is anterior to the Reformation. Its interest is mainly historical. The third edition, the basis of the present reproduction, is dated 1507. It was translated into French under the title of *L'Interpretation et Signification de la Messe*, and an English version was published in 1532—when the rejection of the Pope and all his works was going on apace under Henry VIII. Such pictorial guides to devotion were naturally popular when few could read print, and when much could be conveyed to the eye by emblems and symbols. But, in the case of the Mass, this pictorial method of instruction had a distinct value of its own, inasmuch as it kept in view of the child and layman the doctrine that the Mass was an *Action*—the one great sacrifice consummated by Christ on Calvary, and here renewed, repeated, or applied by the priest.

The devout Catholic wishing to assist at Mass does not follow word for word the prayers of the missal. They would be unsuited to him. He is therefore left at liberty to devise some appropriate way of giving his attention to the act in which he participates. To him the Mass represents the great drama of Christ's life and death. It is left to the devout imagination to fill in the details of the picture. He is saturated with the gospel story, and, as it were, plays with it; and a hundred methods of hearing Mass are accordingly invented, some of them extremely fanciful and far-fetched in their symbolism. This, for example, is the way in which the first Article treats of the vesting of the priest

'¶ The first article of the Mass.

'¶ How the priest prepares himself in the sacristy to say Mass: the deacon and subdeacon help him in this, but the priest puts on the vestment by himself. ¶ That shows us how Christ Jesus put on the vestment of human nature, and was conceived in the sacristy of the blessed body of Mary: in this did help the Father and the Holy Ghost. The minister of the Mass signifies the holy angel Gabriel.'

In the present case we have, or rather ought to have, the whole function divided into thirty-three episodes, representing the thirty-three years of Christ's life—the pictures on the one side showing the actions of the priest at Mass, and on the other the corresponding actions of Christ's

life. Unfortunately the latter set of pictures and their mystical interpretations, with the exception of the one just quoted, are omitted by Mr. Dearmer. This is not only a regrettable omission both from a bibliographical and theological point of view, but hereby the title of Mr. Dearmer's book becomes positively misleading. It is not *Dat Boexken Vander Missen*, or 'The Booklet [why Booklet?] of the Mass' that he is editing, but the one half of that book, interesting only to the liturgist. This should have been made clear on the title-page.

These liturgical pictures have, however, considerable interest. One especially will strike the modern Roman Catholic. The Thirty-second Article, entitled 'Ite missa est,' represents the chalice, lying down on the corporal and draining into the paten. How or when the chalice or paten is finally cleansed is not clearly explained. In the Sarum Use, remarks Mr. Dearmer, the chalice was 'laid to drain on to the paten and the drops finally consumed before the communion was said. The custom has disappeared altogether from the present Roman Rite.' It would be worth while to reproduce this little book of the Mass *in extenso*, and at a less costly price than one guinea. T. G. LAW.

THE SCOTS IN EASTERN AND WESTERN PRUSSIA, Pp. xii. 244 with seven portraits and a map, by Th. A. Fischer. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co. 1903. 15s. nett.

THIS book is to some extent a continuation of Dr. Fischer's *Scots in Germany*, and casts many new lights on the *vie intime* of those Scots who settled in Prussia not as soldiers of fortune, but as Traders and Pedlars. As far back as 1330 the generic name for a wandering packman in Germany was 'Schotte,' and the writer holds this to have been derived more from the wandering Scot than from the itinerant Irish mendicants.

Very little, however, can be told about the Scots in Prussia before the fifteenth century, and their traders were from the first regarded with deep suspicion. The shipping trade between Scotland and Dantzig soon became an important one, and the Scots had their own altar in the Schwarzmönchen Kirche. Of the Scottish pedlars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Dr. Fischer has a great deal to tell, and he recounts clearly the difficulties they had to contend with. Even in Dantzig they were oppressed. They were subject to attack on the highways, to injustice at the hands of the authorities, and they suffered much from the jealousy of the German merchant guilds. Yet in spite of all these disabilities they increased and flourished, but were always held in low esteem by their German neighbours as an inferior people. Thus at Königsberg as late as 1620 the Scots complain that though protected by the Duke they were jeered at as mere 'gärtner,' and this was the attitude all over Prussia, and in Poland also, where a decree against the trading Scots had been issued in 1566. In Prussia their position advanced in 1616 by a self-imposed tax and the consequent issue of letters of protection, but the improvement was slow. The Lutheran

THE LAST EARL MARISCHAL

From a sketch in the collection of Prince Eulenberg, reproduced in Dr. Th. A. Fischer's 'Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia'

See page 209

pastors disliked them as belonging to an alien church, and it was only through gradual intermarriages with German ladies that their status really improved, and that they were freely made Burgesses. They were again taxed in 1680, and their full civil rights were not acquired until the eighteenth century. Dr. Fischer tells us much that is interesting, illustrating points about the Scottish 'Nations,' their handicrafts, their charities, and their generosity.

The second part of the book, 'Army, Church, and other matters,' is less interesting because less new. Still it contains many lists of names of use to the genealogist. Many documents are appended—*e.g.* a list of Birth Brieves, and a list of the Scottish Burgesses at Posen, 1585-1713; and among the illustrations is a quaint sketch of the last Earl Marischal (reproduced from Dr. Fischer's plate), from the collection of Prince Eulenberg. Dr. Fischer has, we think, fully proved that the position of the Scottish Trader was much less happy than has previously been believed, and his book will be read by all those who study 'The Scot Abroad.' It would be made more valuable by a better index.

A. Francis Steuart.

Luard Memorial Series. Vol. II. Grace Book B, Part I., containing the Proctor's Accounts and other Records of the University of Cambridge. Pp. xxvii, 309, demy 8vo. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903. 21s. nett.

Edited for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by Mary Bateson (1903), is another instalment of a most worthy commemoration of the distinguished antiquary who for so many years acted as Registrary of the University of Cambridge. It is a discredit to British scholarship that so many of the mediaeval records of the ancient English Universities should be still lurking in manuscript. Cambridge is not fortunate in having preserved her archives with any completeness, and such as have remained have been diligently examined, though necessarily for biographical purposes, by the authors of *Athenae Cantabrigienses*. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society has, however, done well in setting forth in excellent print and comely get up a series of University records in memory of the editor of Matthew Paris. The present volume contains the proctor's accounts for the years 1488 to 1511, and is a continuation of an earlier volume edited by Mr. Stanley Leathes. The society is fortunate in having secured as editor so learned and indefatigable a student of mediaeval history as Miss Mary Bateson. That lady does not indeed seem responsible for the text or even the original material for the index; but when a former editor was unable to see the book through, she stepped into the breach and brought the book to a rapid and adequate conclusion. An excellent, though brief, introduction explains to us the value of the material Miss Bateson now gives to the world. In it our attention is attracted to a table of the number of degrees given by the University in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The highest in any one year is 97, in 1503, while the lowest, in 1506, falls to 65. So modest in authentic records is the number of persons taking degrees at Cambridge at the very

threshold of the Reformation movement, the leadership of which fell in so many cases to Cambridge men. But the large proportion of degrees in the higher faculties, and especially in canon law and divinity, speaks highly for the quality and duration of Cambridge studies at that period, and the near approach to equality (*e.g.* in 1507 26 to 25) of the numbers of bachelors to masters in the faculty of arts tells a similar tale. Medicine and music were little better than nominal faculties, with 6 and 1 graduates respectively in the 10 years. Miss Bateson has in some cases indicated the proportion of seculars to regulars among the graduates in divinity. She might with advantage, however, have worked out all the information given on this subject in her record. We have been at the pains of counting them up, and find, out of a total of 91 B.D.'s in the decade, 20 are described as friars, 5 as regular canons, and 4 as monks. This makes 29 known to be 'religious,' that is about a third of the whole. But in the absence of specific description we cannot be sure that all the 62 who are not described as 'religious' were really secular clerks. Probably the proportion of professed to seculars was really greater than a third. Still the number of English seculars studying theology compares favourably with those in the Universities of Italy, where hardly anybody could be found to study so unprofitable a subject save mendicants vowed to absolute poverty, and therefore removed from worldly temptations. As compared with the friars, both the regular canons and the 'possessionate' monks cut a poor show, as might have been expected a generation before the dissolution. We may add that the entry on p. 222, that Erasmus became in 1506 an 'inceptor' in divinity, does not seem to be included in the tables. With this microscopical criticism we have exhausted all that we can say against Miss Bateson's excellent work.

T. F. Tout.

The Valet's Tragedy and other Studies. By Andrew Lang. Pp. xiv, 366, demy 8vo, with Illustrations. London: Longmans, 1903. 12s. 6d. nett.

Mr. Lang has dug up and exploited the infamous Pickle and laid patent *his* mystery. The mystery of the Gowrie Plot has had his elucidation. The mystery of Prince Charles's period of *incognito* owns him as its discerning detective. The mystery of Mary Stuart added another volume to his historic-detective series, and here is a whole bundle of mysteries in the 'Valet's Tragedy.' It would be impossible to follow Mr. Lang critically through the many tangled stories which his latest book contains. It is true that his conclusions are not infrequently indefinite, for the reason that he is too careful a worker to unduly accentuate this or that clue. Nor is the story he offers a mere re-shuffling of time-worn evidence. His industry and indefatigable search for new materials are alike amazing. With this appreciation one must rest content to say that in this volume of historical mysteries Mr. Lang tackles that of the 'Man in the Iron Mask,' and detects him in Eustache Dauger; deals with the mystery of Sir Godfrey Berry's death, without coming to any definite conclusion, but with

a leaning to the theory of suicide; tells the strange story of the false Jeanne D'Arc, one of the strangest in medieval history, surely; has a chapter on 'Junius and Lord Lyttleton's Ghost'; another on 'The Mystery of Amy Robsart,' and finds Dudley's character cleared, and the theory of suicide 'plausible, if it were conceivable that a person could commit suicide by throwing herself downstairs,' and Elizabeth 'erroneously accused of reporting Amy's death before it occurred.' As to 'The Voices of Jeanne D'Arc,' he concludes that in her case, 'as of Socrates, the mind communicated knowledge not in the conscious everyday intelligence of the Athenian or of La Pucelle.' The Neapolitan Stuarts have their chapter in the 'Mystery of James de la Cloche.' But is it not an assumption that there was no Maria Henrietta Stuart who could have been Don Jacopo's mother? And is not the manner in which his papers may have got into the hands of the Jesuits suggested in a recent article by Mr. A. Francis Steuart in the *English Historical Review?* The story of 'Fisher's Ghost,' to Mr. Lang's mind, reveals another instance of genuine hallucination. 'The Mystery of Lord Bateman,' and 'The Queen's Marie,' are other chapters, and the volume closes with one on the most modern mystery, 'The Shakespeare-Bacon Imbroglio.' From Louis XIV. to Mrs. Gallup—that is the range of the volume! Needless to say that it is written with all the art so readily and responsively at Mr. Lang's command; that it is eminently readable; and that it will be very widely read.

C. Sanford Terry.

History of Sepulchral Cross-Slabs, by K. E. Styan. Pp. vi, 45, demy 8vo, with Illustrations. London: Bemrose, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

This little book, with its seventy-one illustrations, is published with a view to excite interest in its subject. The notes are not of great value, but the slabs are clearly and it must be supposed accurately delineated. The examples are almost entirely drawn from the South of England, and are works of the thirteenth century and later. The designs are simple and chaste, but are in no way striking. The impression left upon the mind is that the grave-slabs of the South of England are not to be compared in artistic value with those of Scotland and the North of England. But this impression may be due to the author's choice of slabs, which, with only thirteen exceptions, have no other decoration than the cross.

P. Macgregor Chalmers.

The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks. By Edwin Pears, LL.B. Demy 8vo, with 3 Maps and 4 Illustrations. London: Longmans. 18s. nett.

Mr. Pears' name has been brought before the public recently as one of the few who can speak with first-hand authority upon the present state of the Turkish provinces in Europe. And not the least valuable and instruc-

tive part of this book is the informed and discriminating view of the permanent vices and virtues of the Turk by one who has studied him (not unsympathetically) from his Tartar origin, and is also familiar with the present régime at Constantinople. But its chief interest is neither topical nor temporary.

Mr. Pears tells the story of the Eastern Empire from 1204 to 1453: to the objection, that the task has been accomplished already by Gibbon he answers 'first, that an important mass of new material is now at the disposal of anyone who wishes to retell the story, and second, that Gibbon told it with a bias which makes it desirable that it should be retold.' On the first point the author's scholarly exactness in weighing and applying the original testimonies (so curious and racy in their Venetian, French, or Renaissance Latin), and working out his narrative from them, is his full justification. On the second I cannot find him so clear. Gibbon wrote as a Theist, and Mr. Pears rebukes him for not estimating the historical importance of theological doctrines and sentiment which he despised; his authorities infused into him the Latin prejudice against the Greek Church, and Mr. Pears throws the chief blame for the downfall of the Eastern Empire on the Crusaders and the Catholic monarchies. But when he talks (not without a tinge of the 'God's Englishman' provincialism and arrogance) of 'we Northerners' and 'we of the twentieth century,' I cannot help feeling that Mr. Pears is as distinctively nineteenth century as Gibbon was eighteenth century in his assumed principles, and that the adult twentieth century may have a very different word from either to say and more sympathetic with the fourteenth and fifteenth than either. However, the history free from bias or temporary colour remains to write; and perhaps nobody will read it when it is written.

In general Mr. Pears suffers perhaps by the besetting recollection of Gibbon's brilliant qualities: his portraits are a bit flat—though doubtless the fault here lies partly with the persons, themselves all drawn down by the general ebb of decadence. Exception must be made in favour of Mahomet II., carefully delineated and with something of the sympathy which Gibbon felt for Julian. Neither is the style altogether adequate: it is sometimes slipshod, sometimes obscured by a singular parsimony in the resources of punctuation. In particular there are sentences on pp. 53, 110, 172, 184 which the author should be glad to retouch when the book goes to a well-deserved second edition. But in the captivating drama of the siege of the city and the fate of Constantine (the Francis Joseph of that prefigured Austria) he achieves a blunt, simple force which at least transmits, though without improving the tragic interest of the material. The chapter headings are needlessly telegrammatic in their abbreviations, even suggestive of headlines in the halfpenny press.

Mr. Pears does not indulge largely in historical philosophy, but two big facts appear either implicitly or by admission. The first (in his own words p. 90): 'it may be confidently asserted that had the counsels of more than one of the Popes during his (viz. John Palaeologus') reign been followed, there would have been a concerted action against the common enemy sufficient to have delayed the Turkish progress, and possibly altogether

arrested it.' The Turk then as now throve on the jealousies of European Powers. Secondly, it was the obstinate nationalism of the Greeks in Constantinople which broke the repeated efforts of statesman after statesman and Pope after Pope, to unite the Churches—just as nationalism now corrupts the Christian cause in the East.

In conclusion: the blemishes are small and the book is excellent. The account of the final siege would have been easier to follow if van Millingen's plan had shown the heights in contour-lines; and if the author had more fully exhibited the purpose and utility of dragging the ships across the Pera promontory. The illustrations are admirable: among them photographs of the surviving walls and of Gentile Bellini's magnificent portrait of Mahomet.

J. S. Phillimore.

Shakespeare's Homeland: Sketches of Stratford-upon-Avon, the Forest of Arden and the Avon Valley, by W. Salt Brassington, F.S.A., with over Seventy Illustrations by H. J. Howard and Sidney Heath. Pp. xx, 356, demy 8vo. London: Dent.

Mr. Brassington has written a pleasant volume upon Stratford and the neighbouring country, which is profusely and tastefully illustrated with numerous sketches by the artists mentioned in the preface. He has plenty of enthusiasm, a genuine appreciation of picturesque scenery, and a good knowledge of architecture. He displays too a keen perception of the mischief done to the historical associations of country churches by the restorer, and a sound knowledge of the few facts of the life of Shakespeare which have come down to us. But in his horror of the Baconian craze he is somewhat too anxious to exalt the social position of the poet's family. Probably Robert Arden was, no doubt remotely, connected with the Warwickshire Ardens, but the Heralds were doubtful of the relationship, and after sketching the Arden shield withdrew it. Nor are the vague statements of Garter about Shakespeare's forefathers to be accepted as literal facts. Had they been capable of verification they would have been much more precisely stated, we may be quite sure. The Baconians have of course gone absurdly far in their desire to disparage Shakespeare, but that is no reason for exaggerating his claims to a distinguished pedigree. In spite of this foible the volume is agreeably written, and gives the general public a great deal of information in attractive fashion.

N. MacColl.

The Emperor Sigismund: the Stanhope Essay, 1903, by Archibald Main (Oxford: Blackwell, 1903, pp. 55, crown 8vo, 2s. nett), written with care, clearness, and promise, is a compact account and estimate of a career of ambitious inefficiency. Accrediting Sigismund with his one success, his share in mending the great and long-standing schism, and thus reuniting the splintered papacy over the ashes of Huss, our essayist sums up the Emperor as 'the self-sentenced Belshazzar of the Middle Ages.'

The September issue of the *Juridical Review* (Green & Sons) contains an attractive and brightly written article by Dr. Robert Munro on *The Recent Case of Treasure Trove* (the Attorney General *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum; June, 1903);—a litigation involving extremely wide and varied interests, since it presents, all blended together, a bewildering number of aspects rarely found in company—archaeological, historical, anthropological, artistic, legal, geological, political, and even international. Dr. Munro's account, and the informing article by Dr. Joseph Anderson in our last issue, may be profitably read as supplementary to each other. A note by the Editor calls attention to the unsatisfactory state of existing Scots Law on the subject of Treasure Trove, and under-states rather than over-states his case. He is probably right in characterising as 'plainly unwarranted' the claim of the Crown put forward in 1888 to appropriate as Treasure Trove articles of antiquarian interest, not made of bullion, found some years earlier in a *tumulus* or burial mound in Scotland. Unfortunately, however, the matter cannot be thus lightly dismissed; since the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in that year not only put forward this claim, but practically compelled the other parties alleging interests to acquiesce in his contention; and since, moreover, the intervention of the Crown had been made upon the invitation of the Lord Ordinary (Lord Kyllachy). It is true that the opinion thus supported by the authority of an Outer House Judge of the Court of Session has been completely demolished, along with the mistaken legal arguments underlying it, by Dr. David Murray in his *Archaeological Survey* (James MacLehose & Sons, 1896); yet Dr. Murray's conclusions, so long as only supported by reason and common sense, cannot be accepted as authoritatively settling the law of Scotland in opposition to the *obiter dictum* of Lord Kyllachy, backed up by the successful action of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. The Scots Law of previous time is thus more uncertain and unsatisfactory than the Editor of the *Juridical Review* suggests.

Topics of history in the *Edinburgh Review* (Oct.) comprise notably a notice of the literature upon 'Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America.' The reviewer is no partisan in the conflict of panegyrists and detractors. He thinks the facts eloquent enough of a greatness of spirit and design. 'In the story of our race there is only one man who planned and carried through a voyage such as that of 1492.' A sketch of the Irish insurrection, led by Robert Emmet in 1803, chiefly concerns itself with the personal career of the young enthusiast, whose aspirations, now being celebrated in centenary, led him to the scaffold.

The Reliquary (Oct.) is even more than usually rich in pictures of public and domestic antiquities. A curious votive sun chariot from Denmark—a very small bronze horse drawing a circular disc inlaid with gold and set on wheels—is the most striking of the list, which includes burial urns, pre-Norman crosses, a font, a dog-whip, a scold's bridle, and a variety of ancient purses, some with edifying inscriptions on the metal work. One reads: 'Si non habit peccunium non dabit.' This is sound doctrine, although the spelling be heterodox.

The September issue of the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* is a very full wallet indeed of miscellaneous old German, English, and French studies, especially English. E. Erlemann grapples with the interpretation of certain Anglo-Saxon riddles attributed to Kynewulf. J. Koch collates MSS. of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. H. Ullrich not only collates various editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, but infers from the scrutiny that Defoe was not himself concerned with any textual changes. The variations quoted are of no importance. Dr. Otto Ritter, whose recent researches into the 'quellen' of Burns eminently merit praise, turns his attention from Triton to minnow, and searches after the sources of Lewis's *Monk*, and its considerable influence on his contemporaries. Hans Hecht transcribes from the Advocates' Library MS. 5.2.14, the ballad of *Thomas o' Winesberry*, with John Leyden's annotations. A leading and elaborate essay in this fine number is that of H. Morf on French folk song, brightened with many examples.

In the *Revue des Études Historiques* (Sept.-Dec.) the marriage of Marie Antoinette is the foremost topic. A paper with unprinted documents on Bernardin de St. Pierre shews him in 1778 eagerly applying for employment in a survey of Corsica, a needy 'ancien capitaine-ingénieur,' not yet apparently dreaming of future authorship and his immortal pastoral, *Paul et Virginie*.

If the *Revue Historique* (F. Alcan, Paris) has one feature of interest more constant than another, it is in the *aperçu* or collective historical bulletin which M. Ch. Bémont gives of current published work on English history. His standpoint, though not at all remote, yet has a detachment and distance investing his views with unusual value, and he never fails to refer to studies unnoticed generally elsewhere. Of the chief articles in the October-November number of the *Revue* only one, by M. Bonet Maury attracts remark here. It is a biographical account of St. Columban with local reference to the monasteries founded in Brie in the seventh century—Faremontier, Jouarre, Rebais, Saint Croix de Meaux, the hermitage of St. Fiacre, and the convents of Lagny and Peronne—by or through the Irish saint himself (who died in 615) and his disciples St. Fiacre and St. Fursy. Eloquent and generous tribute is rendered to the civilising force of these fearless missionary monks of the west, 'authentic saints, worthy imitators of St. Peter and St. Paul.'

Englische Studien (Leipzig), a standard organ for English philology, gives in its mid-September issue a text of the *Lay-Folks' Mass-Book*, and numbers among its dissertations and criticisms a study by Anna Pudbres on Byron's indebtedness to the Italian poet Alfieri, specially exhibited in Byron's borrowings in *Marino Faliero* from Alfieri's tragedy *La Congiura de Pazzi*. We note the announcement for early publication of a philological essay by Dr. O. Ritter on 'the Scottish parliamentary documents.'

Stately in form and size *The American Historical Review* challenges comparisons with any similar periodical produced in Europe. It has of course very many criticisms, and prints some original documents valuable

for United States history. Among its leading articles that of Mr. F. M. Fling on 'Historical Synthesis' is a survey of the vexed question of historical method raised by Comte and Buckle. It states the present confused position of a confusing argument, largely a matter of philosophical terms themselves indefinite, regarding the applicability of methods of natural science to historical pursuits. Mr. Fling is on the side of the historians and against the sociologists and natural-science methodists. Particularly interesting to the Scottish reader is a contrast by Mr. E. F. Henderson, 'Two Lives of the Emperor Charles I.,' illustrating the inefficiency of Robertson, even in the light of the knowledge accessible in his own time, when rhetoric too often passed for philosophy.

Diversified as is the interest of the *English Historical Review* (Oct.), the English items attract most. Sir James H. Ramsay groups instances of the proneness of mediaeval chroniclers to overestimate numbers. As shewing the other side of the matter, Mr. H. W. C. Davis in an article on 'The Anarchy of Stephen's reign' effectively employs official figures as corroborating contemporary narratives heretofore suspected of exaggeration. Mr. Richard G. Usher examines Chief-Justice Coke's account of the dispute with King James, in which the judge incensed the monarch by saying that the common law protected the King, while James with indignation maintained that the King protected the law. Notwithstanding Coke's report of the affair he did not beard the King with impunity.

The Genealogist of October contains a note of a curious episode in the life of the first Lord Belhaven and Stenton. We have been content to take it from Douglas and Wood that that lord died in 1679 without male issue, and it was quite true. Sir James Balfour in his *Annals* had an announcement that Lord Belhaven had died near seven years previously—'miserably perished in the sinking sands of the Solway' (*Annals*, iv., 3rd July, 1652). This was clearly wrong; but Balfour seems not to have been alone in the error, for G. E. C. (*Complete Peerage*, Art. 'Belhaven,' vol. i., p. 306) adds a foot-note drawing attention to 'an almost inexplicable' administration of Lord Belhaven's goods granted on 11th November, 1656. The Hon. Vicary Gibbs now comes forward with the explanation which he has found in a source which we should not call recondite if it had not hitherto escaped the notice of the peerage writers—he finds it, quoted from Nicoll's *Diary* and Baillie's *Letters*, in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 249-50. The story which Mr. Gibbs reprints with all its quaint details comes to this, that Belhaven had caused himself to be reported dead to escape being involved in the ruin of the parent house of Hamilton. That the story has hitherto escaped the peerage writers seems clear from the fact that one of its points—that Belhaven had had a son, who predeceased him in the father's absence, and who must therefore have passed for a time as the second Lord Belhaven—is mentioned by none of them. Among other important items, 'The Marriages at Fort St. George,' 'Madras,' and Mr. A. J. Jewers's 'Grants and Certificates of Arms,' are continued. In Mr. J. F. Clay's print of *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with Additions* occurs the pedigree of the Constables of Everingham, one of the maternal ancestries of the present Lord Herries.

Record Room

A ROMANCE OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

AMONG the books of Edward I. inventoried in 1299-1300 among his 'Jocalia' there occurs the following:—

Unus liber de Romauntz qui incipit '*Cristiens se voet entremettre.*' (*Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, A.D. MCCXCIX and MCCC, ed. London 1787, p. 349.) It does not seem to have been noticed that this must have been Chrestien de Troyes' poem *Du Roi Guillaume d'Angleterre* published in Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 1840, and reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris* by Dr. Giles in 1845. The opening line of the piece is—'Crestiiens se veut entremetre.'

'THE HEDE OF SANT . . .': THE EARL OF ANGUS'S PILGRIMAGE IN 1489.

IN the MS. of James Graye, who has been reckoned (*Athenaeum*, 16th December, 1899) the probable scribe of the unique extant copy of the *Kingis Quair*, there is an unfinished entry evidently in the handwriting of Graye himself, consisting of a letter apparently by James IV. addressed to a brother monarch, no doubt Henry VII. The MS. is in the Advocates' Library, and has the press mark 34.7.3. On fo. 55 verso of the pencil pagination this opening sentence of a royal letter is engrossed on the second half of the page, but the copy stops abruptly before the bottom is reached. Fragmentary though it is, its interest is not small.

'Right excellent hie and michti prince and Right entierlie belovet Cousing and Bruthir.

We Recommend Ws to 3ow in oure maist hertlie wiss Signifying unto 3oure Cousinage that we have understandin be the Relacioun and Report maid to Ws be our traist & weilbelovet cousing Archibald erle of Anguss yat quhenn he was in the partis of 3oure Realme intending to have passit his pilgrimage to the blissit Relique the hede of Sant . . .'

What the further purport may have been is hard to say. A pilgrimage in the fifteenth century was apt to cover a multitude of political sins. So much at least is reasonably certain that the allusion is to the Earl's pilgrimage to Amiens, for which, on 12th February, 1489, a six months' safe-conduct for his passage through England was granted by Henry VII. (Bain's *Calendar* iv., No. 1547). At Amiens at the present time the chief

relic of the Cathedral is the Head of John the Baptist. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the fame of the relic was widespread. Barbour, in his *Legends of the Saints* (No. xxxvi., Johannes Baptista, ll. 1182-84), speaks of its preservation :

> 'At Amyas a grete parte is
> Of his hewide in þat lyknes
> Þat it had beand ine to flesche.'

Among Scotsmen the pilgrimage to Amiens is occasionally vouched by English safe-conducts, such as that of George of Lauder, a merchant, dated 24th September, 1411, or that of a party of five knightly pilgrims to 'Sanctum Johannem de Amyas in partibus Picardie,' granted on 14th March, 1466 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, ii., 197, 419). Legend of course is not wanting for the story of how the Baptist's head was discovered at Jerusalem, and taken thence to France. A metrical version printed in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge*, 1881, p. 127, records its migrations :

> 'And seyn yt was broght for sertaine
> Into the cuntres of Aquitaine
> And þare it es derly to hald
> In a cete þat Ambianence es cald.'

G. N.

MONZIEVAIRD CONFLICT OF 1490.

Among the feuds of the clans a well-recorded episode was that of the slaughter and burning of the Murrays by the Drummonds at Monzievaird in 1490. Occasioned by disputes over 'the rydeing of the teynds' of Monzievaird, the conflict ensued from an expedition by the Drummonds, on whose approach the Murrays fled to the little thatched church. A shot from their place of retreat wounded one of the Drummond party 'whereat the rest of the Highlanders being so inraged could not be restrained from fyreing the church covered only with heather and so burned al within it' (Viscount Strathallan's *Genealogy of the most noble and ancient House of Drummond*, 1681, Glasgow, privately printed 1889, pp. 158-9. See also *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts* pref. cii-ciii *Exchequer Rolls* x. pref. l-li.) Pitscottie in his *Chronicles of Scotland* (ed. Scottish Text Soc., i. 237) describes the burning of the kirk 'quhairin was sex scoir of Murrays witht thair wyffis and childerin ; but few escapit thair fre bot they war ether brunt or slaine.' One record of the occurrence exists however which from its obscure position and accidental character appears to have escaped the notice of historians, and which perhaps tends to a very material modification of the extent of the slaughter. James Graye's MS. (Adv. Lib. 34.7.3) has been referred to in a preceding note. Its writer added at the foot of fo. 36^b this little memorandum, written in a very small hand, crosswise on the blank space :

> Yir war the personis yat war slane at Monyward quhen ye kirk brint, bartelmo morray, david morray, Johne of morray, Johne of morray,

of ye [*cut away*], Johne of morray, laurence morray Antone morray, Nichol haldane, donald hawley, Johne hauly eius filius, Wil Robesone, Johne of Fentoune, Wat cowane, Peter henzo, Nichol elder, Johne Rollok, Sandy Rollok, Andrew menteth, patric dow, petir lowtfut.

This roll of twenty persons it will be observed falls a long way short of Pitscottie's slaughtered six score. In striking the balance between these two statements of the casualties it will not be amiss to remember that Pitscottie's book was written about eighty years later than Graye's memorandum. Besides, Graye had peculiarly intimate sources of information. He was clerk to Archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews at this very time. Now it happens that Viscount Strathallan in the *Genealogy*, quoted above, mentions that in 1490 a complaint was presented to this Archbishop by George Murray, Abbot of Inchaffray, 'signifyeing that how some of the Drummonds (whom he calls Satan's soldiers and rotten members) had most barbarously killed and burned in the kirk of Monyvaird a number of his kinsmen friends and followers without regaird to God or the place to which they had betaken themselves as to a sanctuary and safe house of refuge.' One can scarcely doubt therefore that Graye's list is official and may be accepted as accurate, furnishing by its contrast in the matter of numbers, when compared with Pitscottie, one more to the many evidences that chronicle has an almost incurable propensity to be bloodthirsty in its counting of the slain.

G. N.

SCOTS IN ROME IN 1597.

[HARL: MSS. 588. British Museum.]

'INFORMATION of Robert Farguson, Protestant, Soldier in Venise. Scotesman of Edenborge the 18 Februarie 1597 as to Scots Nobles & Gentlemen residing at Rome. He came from Roma the 2 Januarie and myndes he to go for Vienna, and then to Geneva & France to the L. Wemes Scotesman, to the King's Army.

He had stayed in Roma vij wekes & his arrant was to the Sonne of the L. Wemes at Rome to bringe him to Scotland, who was gone from Roma before he came thither. At his being in Roma these Scotesman following were there.

Thare was the young Lord Aragyle sonne of Erle Argyle and the Lord Tullebarne, and the Lord Wemes sonne, They all iij fled from Roma in haste, for feare of Inquisition through malyce of Mons. Tyre chief of Scots' Jesuites.

Monsr. Tyre[1] Scotes Jesuite, Chief of Scotesmen in Roma.

L. Abbot Ganshafre[2] Scotesman and the L. Bisshop of Donblan[3] in Scotland. B. of Essen in Avinion, they twayne are gone from Roma to France.

L. Bisshop of Rothes, Ross, in Scotland, and of Roan in France, he is dead in France Latelye.

[1] Died March 20, 1597.

[2] Father Pollen, S.J., suggests that this is James Drummond of Inchaffray.

[3] Wm Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane & Vaisson.

L. Bishop of Glasgow in Scotland, he is in Paris, France.
Sir Robert Douglas a Jesuite, brother of Erle Anguis.
Monsr. James Gremes, Scots Captain brother of L. Fintray beheaded. he hath moche money of Pope . . . 15, and a Jesuite Englishman.

These are gone from Rome to France to L. Wemes and then to England & Scotland to rayse men at Carcobre in Scotland to help Erles Angus & Huntly.

Monssr. Cassels, Scots Captaine.
Monssr. Mr. Sample, Coronet Captin,
George Gordon a Jesuite Scotsman oncle to Erle Huntley these three are gone from Roma to Spayne to go wt Armado by sea.

Lytle Adams, Scotsman, post messenger betweene Scotland & Rome he came to Roma latelye.

Lord Gowrey yonge sonne of Erle Gowrey Scotesman protestant, he is returned from Roma to Padua[1] & to France.

Sir Wm. Keith, Scotesman, Protestant. Tutor of L. Gowrey.

I sent a copy of this writting to Sir R. Cecill, Secretarie, wt my letter dated the 21 February 1597 in Venise.'

A. Francis Steuart.

THOMAS THOMSON AND COSMO INNES.

In the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, is the copy of Anderson's *Diplomata* which belonged to the advocate Thomas Thomson, so well known for his editorial labours over the Scottish Acts of Parliament and in many fields besides. It was part of the collection purchased by the Mitchell Library from the representatives of Professor Cosmo Innes after his death in 1874. On a fly-leaf of the book there appears the following inscription in Cosmo Innes's handwriting:—

> 'Cum libri amici mei nunquam obliviscendi Th. Thomson prostabant venales, solum hunc librum—heu, quoties cum quondam domino versatum, tempore felici!—emere curavi.
> 1842. C. I.'

[When the books of my never-to-be-forgotten friend Thomas Thomson were exposed for sale this book alone I took the opportunity to purchase. Ah me, how often it was consulted—happy was the time—in the company of its then owner!]

One finds in the words a genial and touching memorial of the association of those two most famous of Scottish record antiquaries, a charter-scholar and his 'Master.'

[1] Padua, under the protection of the Republic of Venice, harboured Protestants.

Reports and Transactions

PROFESSOR HUME BROWN took for his course of six lectures (Nov. 9-20) 'Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary.' First he described the general appearance of the country. Although no contemporary had such a knowledge of his native country as would have enabled him to present a picture of it as a whole, different descriptions of native historians, notes of foreign visitors, and casual references in documents, gave a tolerably precise notion. One peculiarity struck all foreign visitors—the general absence of timber. The disappearance of timber had been a gradual process. Writing in 1617, Sir Anthony Weldon declared that Judas could not have found a tree in Scotland on which to hang himself. But this was only one of the gibes of that splenetic southron, though it was true that throughout the southern half of the country wood was scarce. Everywhere there were mosses, and even lochs which have disappeared. The Scotland of Queen Mary, however, was no land of swamps and wildernesses. It was unlucky that some of the most productive districts adjoined the 'old enemy of England.' One who visited Scotland in the sixteenth century had noted that the houses had 'stone walls not as high as a man, upon which the roofs were erected and covered with sod.' Another described an abode in a village as of 'one course of stones, another of sods of earth, and with a door made of wicker rods.' Englishmen spoke contemptuously of the houses, but Spaniards, who visited England in the reign of Mary Tudor, spoke with equal contempt of the homes of English peasants, which they described as made of 'sticks and dirt.' The condition of the Scottish peasantry seemed to compare favourably with that of the same class in France and Germany. One peculiarity of Scottish towns was the absence of walls. Native writers had explained that the Scots were too brave a nation to need them. The real reason was the expense of constructing and maintaining them. Perth alone possessed defences after the continental manner. Scottish towns had to be content with dykes generally rickety and constantly under repair.

Rhind Lectures in Archæology.

The best known description of Scottish towns was that of Pedro de Ayala, representative of Ferdinand and Isabella at the Court of James IV. Glasgow was considered the most beautiful, while Edinburgh impressed the stranger as the most peculiar. The whole population of the country was roughly estimated at about 500,000. Edinburgh might have contained about 30,000 inhabitants. Aberdeen had about 4000; Glasgow about 2250 adults. Travellers were few. The great wanderers of the

time were the beggars, who must have made up little less than a fourth or fifth of the population.

Next came under examination the conditions of life in the country. Most of the feudal lords still continued to live in the grim abodes of their fathers, but they had begun to adopt the new fashions of life. So had the lesser gentry. Though attended by some disadvantages, tenure by feu-farm now becoming general was equally in the interest of the landlord and tenant.

In Sir David Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* there was a vivid sketch of the class of cottars in the portrayal of the pauper. Their condition was such that by Mary's time the immigration from country to town had begun. The townsmen's cattle and sheep browsed on the town common under the charge of the town cowherd and shepherd. In the town moss men and women dug and stacked peats, and in the town warren and fishings there was similar activity. There were multitudinous middens and pig-styes. The parish church burying-ground was at once the favourite haunt of all the town beggars, the general grazing-ground, and the place into which refuse could be shot. Owing to the erection of tolbooths, the church had ceased to be the common meeting-place for business, though still frequented more 'for malice and mischief than for God's service.' What had been said of the external appearance of the Scottish town equally applied to its internal organisation; it was still essentially mediaeval. The prime consideration of town policy was security and self-defence. The security the town required was double protection from actual violence, and from the conflicting interest of rival communities. The first condition of citizenship was the possession of the full equipment of weapons and armour. Originally the town territory was on the domain of some superior—king, baron, or ecclesiastic. Subsequently the Crown granted the town territory and its adjuncts in feu-farm. By degrees the town itself took over the levying equally of petty customs at gates and market, and of great customs from commodities shipped for foreign countries. The most lucrative exports were barley and oats, hides, skins, wool, coal, salt, coarse cloth, and fish. Of these, sheepskins, wool, herring, salt, and cloth were the most valuable. The chief manufactures were plaiding, salt, linen, knitted hose, and gloves.

If the records of the burghs were to be trusted, we must conclude that a sixteenth century Scottish town was a sufficiently lively place. On the one hand were the burgesses or freemen, on the other the non-burgesses or unfreemen. According to law of burgh, not unfrequently broken, the unfreemen could not follow any handicraft or trade. But if the freeman had privileges, he had responsibilities. He paid a considerable sum for admission to burgess-ship, took his share in watch and ward, and had to be ready to don his jack, and march with his fellow-burghers wherever his King required his services. Besides the cleavage between burgesses and non-burgesses, there was a further subdivision, with chronic antagonisms between the merchants and crafts. Each town had its musicians. Most popular was the annual frolic of Robin Hood and Little John, interdicted in vain. Within doors cards, dice, and backgammon were

the chief games, and betting was general. Outdoor games were catch-pully or tennis, football, golf, and shooting with the long-bow, cross-bow, and culverin, though this practice was hardly regarded as an amusement. Most of the burghs had their annual horse-race. In the reign of Mary there was a rapid increase in luxury of living. In the towns wheaten bread was to be had, but the bulk of the people were content with oatcakes. Wine was the beverage of all persons of substance, ale the general drink.

Besides the religious revolution, other processes were eventually hardly less powerful in transforming the ideals of the nation. The sixteenth century saw the schism from Rome, and an equally decisive breach with the old economic system. In Scotland anti-feudal tendencies were at work as in the rest of Christendom; and Scottish sovereigns as deliberately aimed at absolute power by suppressing the nobility as did contemporary rulers of England and France. Such a policy was aided by tendencies of the time. The old feudal ties could not retain their strength against the new religious spirit and the new developments of commerce. The rich burgher had come to play a part of increasing importance in the social order. By the close of the sixteenth century these influences had borne full fruit, and James VI. pared the claws of the once formidable Scottish nobles, who sank into what they had long been in England and France—the creatures or nominated officials of an all-powerful Court. A second characteristic of the Middle Age had been the immense place of the Church. When the Church ceased to be the principal ministrant to material as well as spiritual wants, it remained in possession of the chief sources of wealth. On the eve of the Reformation it owned half the wealth of the kingdom. Hence it was that not only the nobles, but the merchants looked askance at men who, ceasing to be producers of wealth, were principal consumers. A third characteristic of the Middle Ages had been the system under which each town formed an isolated economic centre, regulating its own interests and relations to the rest of the world. One development of the sixteenth century was the transition from a municipal to a national basis in trade. As regards craftsmen England broke away from the mediaeval economy, while Scotland held fast to tradition. In the Middle Ages none but burgesses were allowed to practise any craft, but the suppression of the English craft guilds admitted any one who possessed the requisite skill. In Scotland the crafts were never more powerful than in the sixteenth century, and were rigid in their exclusiveness towards 'unfree' craftsmen. The backwardness of Scotland in the new economic developments was due to the fact that the rapid growth of capital found in England and other countries had not taken place in Scotland because of its limited area, the character of its soil and climate, its unfriendly relations with England, and its remoteness from the trading centres of the Continent.

Glasgow University Historical Soicety.

A PLEASANT sign of the growth of historical study appears in the foundation of the Glasgow University Historical Society, due to the initiative of Professor Medley. The opening lecture (Nov. 20) by Professor Richard Lodge, on 'Great Historians,' inaugurated the enterprise most hopefully with the promise of popular success and a working spirit. In presiding, Professor Medley remarked that the time had now come when it was proper that the subject should be represented outside the walls of the lecture-room. The curriculum as it stood admitted hardly at all of original work being done within the scope of the University classes, and a useful function was to be served by encouraging those who had some contributions of their own to make. Professor Lodge gave the palm among great historians to Thucydides and Tacitus. Of British authors, Gibbon and Macaulay were reckoned chief. Of Scottish historians, Robertson was most extolled for his philosophic comprehension of the periods he covered. Incidentally the lecturer urged, as a preliminary necessity for effective study, the establishment of a national library, whether on the basis of the existing Advocates' Library or otherwise.

Royal Society of Edinburgh.

MR. NELSON ANNANDALE, in a paper (Nov. 2) on 'The People of the Faroes,' mainly devoted to anthropology and craniology, touched on the history of the islands. He pointed out that a very large proportion of the personal names on his list were Biblical, and only a very small proportion Norse. The Faroes were colonised by Vikings of Norse extraction, many of whom were also descended from Iberian chieftains of the Hebrides and Ireland. There was no reason whatever to think that the islands had other human denizens when the Vikings came except, perhaps, occasional anchorites seeking to outdo their fellows in the way of finding 'solitudes.' The people, descended in the main from ancestors whose blood was somewhat mixed, but chiefly Norse, had remained more or less isolated for about a thousand years, except for casual immigration probably 'Celtic' or Iberian, from Scotland, Ireland, or the intermediate isles. The Icelandic race had been more strictly isolated than the Faroemen.

Scottish History Society.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, moving the adoption of the annual report (Nov. 28), congratulated the Society on the standard maintained by its publications. He spoke of the forthcoming *Miscellany* and sketched its contents, part prose, part verse. He then went on to urge the keeping in view, and strongly in view, the human aspect of Scottish historical literature. He thought that charters, historical documents couched very often in medieval Latin, should be left rather to societies formed for the purpose of preserving such documents, and that the Society's energies should as far as possible be confined to those family papers, diaries, account books, and what not, which served to throw light on the domesticity of the past, and to give some inkling of what the people inhabiting this country before ourselves were like. Very often old account books preserved by the care of the Society gave a better idea of how a

Scotsman of the 17th or 18th century spent his day than all the histories of Scotland that ever were written. At a subsequent stage his lordship, on behalf of members of the Society, made a presentation of a silver bowl with a purse of two hundred guineas to Dr. T. G. Law, hon. secy. He said there was not a person conversant with the work of the Society who did not know the deep debt, the eternal debt of gratitude it owed to Dr. Law.

Scottish Text Society.

Principal Story, in moving the adoption of the twentieth annual report (Nov. 30), said he had been struck in reading Lord Rosebery's speech to the Scottish History Society by the statement that the old documents which were to be found in Scottish houses, such as accounts, letters, and things of that sort, gave more insight into the history of the country than any history that ever was written. Now, these things were no doubt of great value. Even kitchen accounts and letters, even love-letters, had their value, but it was an economic and a social value. No amount of mere domestic annals could throw more light upon the history of any period than such works as those published by the Scottish Text Society, which were the literary remains of the men of letters of former days.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Sir Herbert Maxwell was re-elected President (Nov. 30). The Hon. John Abercromby, Hon. Secy., reported on the work of this Society during the past session, referring also to the excavation of Roughcastle on the Roman wall and other excavations of prehistoric sites in Bute, Argyll, Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire. A chief addition to the Museum had been the collection of Professor Duns, consisting of 230 objects, chiefly Scottish, acquired by purchase, and an ethnological collection of 90 objects, presented by Professor Duns.

Irish Historical and Archæological Societies and Journals.

Though the past few years have witnessed a gratifying increase in the number and activity of societies interested in antiquarian research, it can hardly be said that the present position of historical and archæological learning in Ireland is worthy of the best traditions of the last century. Even so far back as the eighteenth century, when such pursuits were in their infancy, the study of Irish local history had made considerable progress under the guidance of the Physico-Historical Society, a body with which the well-known county historians, Charles Smith and Walter Harris, were closely identified. A school of historical research sufficiently important to attract the patronage of the State, at a time when the State concerned itself little with such inquiries, was formed in Dublin. Perhaps there are few earlier instances of State endowment of research in the three kingdoms than the recommendation of a Committee of the Irish House of Commons, as far back as 1755, to appropriate a sum of above two thousand pounds to the publication of a mass of Irish historical materials collected by Harris and his colleagues. Just thirty years later the Royal Irish Academy was incorporated by Royal charter, 'for promoting the

study of science, polite literature, and antiquities.' The institution of the Academy gave a valuable stimulus to organised research; and although in one aspect of its functions the Academy corresponds rather to the Royal Society than to a historical society, it has exercised, from its foundation to the present day, a predominant influence in the field of trained historical inquiry in Ireland. For above sixty years, indeed, and until the formation of the Kilkenny Archæological Association, the Academy was without a rival of any kind.

The Kilkenny Association, founded in 1849, was the first society organised in the nineteenth century for the study of local history and antiquities. It quickly justified its existence. Limited at first to Kilkenny and its neighbourhood, its members soon took all Ireland for their province, and the Society was expanded in 1869 into the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Since 1890 it has been known by the briefer title of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; but it may, perhaps, be doubted whether the Society added to its influence by abandoning the adjective 'Historical' in its title. Following closely on the Kilkenny Society came the informal association of Ulster antiquaries, whose fruitful labours are perpetuated in the nine volumes of the first series of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, which ran from 1853 to 1862.

Within the past few years, however, there has been a very considerable extension of the sphere of historical and archæological inquiry in Ireland. Since 1890 several societies have been formed to elucidate the antiquities of particular localities. There are now, in addition to the Royal Irish Academy and Royal Society of Antiquaries, at least four archæological journals in active existence. Established respectively in Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Kildare they correspond roughly to the independent interests of the four provinces of Ireland. There is also a Waterford and South-East of Ireland Society, but no issue of its journal has appeared for above two years.

Professor Bury, in his recent inaugural address at Cambridge, dwelt upon the task which lies open to the critical antiquaries of the three kingdoms 'of fixing, grouping, and interpreting the endless fragments of historical wreckage which lie scattered in these islands.' It is fair to say that considerable progress has been made of late years in dealing with the large share of this 'wreckage' to be found in Ireland. The publications of the various societies for 1903 give evidence of this. Both the *Transactions* and the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy contain important contributions from Mr. T. J. Westropp, whose systematic examinations of the archæological remains in the counties of Clare and Limerick are aided by admirable photographic reproductions. In the *Wars of Torlough* Mr. Westropp examines the evidence bearing on the historical character of 'one of the few books of mediaeval Ireland purporting to give a full history of some period or episode of its later Annals,' and endeavours to show how far the statements in this thirteenth century work, hitherto neglected as purely romantic and unreliable, are corroborated by the positive testimony of contemporary topographical records or remains. In *The Cists, Dolmens, and Pillars in the Eastern Half of the County Clare*, Mr. Westropp con-

tinues or expands an earlier inquiry into the distribution of Cromlechs in the County of Clare, the fruits of which have already appeared in part in Mr. Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*. Mr. H. F. Berry, the Assistant-Deputy Keeper of the Irish Record Office, gives an excellent note on a manuscript Inquisition of the thirteenth century relating to the ancient Dublin Watercourse. Professor Bury writes, with his usual wealth of learning, on *A Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan's *Tertia Vita*), and on *The Itinerary of St. Patrick in Connaught according to Tirechan*. Of papers more intimately related to the general history of Ireland, may be mentioned Mr. Litton Falkiner's paper on *The Irish Counties*, an attempt to trace their gradual formation and delimitation from the days of King John to those of James I.

In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, the new President deals, in his opening address, with topics connected with the royal arms and coinage of Ireland, subjects suggested by the advent of a new Sovereign to the Crown, in which Mr. Garstin's intimacy with *curiosa hibernica* is strikingly exhibited. Dr. H. Jackson Lawlor edits the *Diary of Archbishop King* during his imprisonment in Dublin Castle (1688-9). It is impossible to conceive a more microscopic annotation; but it is a little astonishing to learn that so much industry has been expended on the document without the editor having seen the original, which is in the possession of Capt. J. A. Gordon King, Tertowie, Aberdeenshire.

The Journals of the local societies are scarcely as interesting as usual. In the *Journal of the Cork Archæological Society* Mr. F. Elrington Ball continues his valuable 'Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II.,' and Mr. E. R. Dix supplements his industrious bibliography of early printed books produced in Cork. The work of the *Kildare Archæological Society* has been for some time past almost exclusively genealogical, and the appearances of the *Waterford Journal* are intermittent; while the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* falls below the level of its earlier fame. In its current number at least two of the papers are merely reprints. Indeed the most active of the local societies appears just now to be that lately established in Galway.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

Dr. T. H. Bryce gave (Dec. 17) an account of his excavations of a number of cairns in Bute. They disclosed the persistence of a type of burial cairn, prevalent in Arran, and proved to have undergone a later modification in the structure of the chambers. One find was specially important as revealing a cairn, illustrative of the modified type, constructed on the top of a kitchen midden. The character and ornament of the urns brought to light in the excavations were also found to correspond with the similar pottery discovered in the Arran cairns, except that in one of the chambers of the modified type of cairn several urns of the drinking-cup class were discovered which indicated that those chambers represented a terminal phase of this kind of cairn.

Queries.

'MARJORIE' COMYN OR DUNBAR.—The history of this lady is obscure, and it is desired by this query to obtain information regarding her. According to Wyntoun, in his *Chronicle* [Laing's Ed., Vol. ii., p. 310], 'the eldest' daughter of Alexander Comyn, who was Earl of Buchan from 1243 to 1287, married 'Patrick, Earl of Dunbar,' and had issue, Patrick, also of Dunbar. The chronicler gives *no name* to the lady, and does not state definitely which Earl Patrick was her husband. Wyntoun wrote between 1400 and 1420. On 18th February, 1400, George Dunbar, tenth Earl of March, wrote to King Henry the Fourth of England: 'Gif Dame Alice the Bewmont was yhour graunde-dame, Dame Marjory Comyne, hyrre full syster, wes my graunde-dame on the tother syde,[1] sa that I am bot of the feirde degree of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neire.' The Earl here asserts that 'Marjorie' Comyn was the name of his 'graunde-dame,' or great-grandmother. The Chronicler Wyntoun and the Earl of March, in 1400, are the only authorities for the lady's parentage, name, and marriage.

The Earl of March, however, states that 'Marjorie' Comyn was the full sister of Alice Comyn, who married Sir Henry Beaumont and became the great-grandmother of King Henry IV. But as Mr. Bain [*Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, iv., p. xxiv] rightly points out, 'Marjorie' Comyn, if the daughter of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, must have been the aunt and not the sister of Alice Comyn. The accompanying diagram will illustrate this and other points. Unhappily, Mr. Bain's opinion, otherwise valuable, is of less weight on the main question, as the pedigree he gives is not consistent with the evidence, and while he accepts or assumes the existence of Marjorie Comyn, he advances no original proof in support of that or of her marriage. The diagram will show the steps of ascent, which are quite well known, from King Henry IV. to his 'graunde-dame' Alice Comyn or Beaumont, who was married about 1306, and only came of age in 1312. She had, so far as is known, only one 'full syster,' Margaret Comyn, who married first, before 1310, Sir John Ross, and secondly Sir William Lindsay.

[1] The Earl apparently means that as Alice Comyn or Beaumont was a 'graunde-dame' of King Henry on the mother's side (*see* diagram), so 'Marjorie' was a 'graunde-dame' of his own on the 'tother,' or father's side.

DUNBAR.

Ada (1184) = Patrick, 5th Earl of = (c. 1218) Christian [Bruce]
daughter of King William the Lion | 1182-1232.

Patrick, 6th Earl = Euphemia Stewart
d. 1249.

Patrick, 7th Earl = "Cecilia Filia Johannis"
b. 1213—d. 1289 | [Fitz-John ?]

1 | 3

Patrick, 8th Earl = ? ?
b. 1242—d. 1309 |

Sir Alexander = [wife
named with his | unknown]
brothers in 1286, etc.,
living in 1331.

Ermigarda = Patrick, 9th Earl = Agnes Ran-
(1300- | b. 1282—d. 1368 dolph.
1320-1368
[no issue]

Sir Patrick = Isabella
son of Sir | Randolph,
Alexander | sister of
in 1331— | Agnes.
d. 1357. |

John Dunbar
d. v.p. s.p. between
1354 and 1363

George, 10th Earl of Dunbar, b. 1336 or 1340. Succeeded his 'cousin' Patrick, 9th Earl, and became Earl of Dunbar in 1368.

BUCHAN.

Alexander Comyn, Earl of = Elizabeth de
1243-1287 | Quincey.

2 | 1

'Marjorie' | Sir Alexander | John, Earl
said to have | m. Joanna Latimer. | of Buchan
married Patrick, | | d. s.p.
Earl of Dunbar. | | Born about
| | 1260.

Alice = Sir Henry Beaumont | Margaret
m. about 1306 | m. (1) Sir John Ross
'graunde-dame' | (2) Sir William Lindsay.
of King Henry IV. | No issue.

Henry, Duke of = Isabella Beaumont
Lancaster. |
d. 1361. |

John [of Gaunt] Duke of Lan- = Blanche of Lancaster.
caster, b. 1340—d. 1399. |

King Henry IV.
born 1366.

In this diagram the unnecessary names are omitted. The numbers of the Earls of Dunbar do not coincide with the Peerages, but may be taken as correct.

Margaret died without issue to either husband, and in any case she could not have been 'graunde-dame' to George, tenth Earl of March, as he was born at latest before or about 1340, and may have been born in 1336.

On the other hand, Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, was himself born not earlier than 1211 or 1212, and if his 'eldest' daughter was 'Marjorie,' she might have been born about 1236, though probably some years later. There are reasons for believing that her father and mother were not married until after 1240, and her eldest brother John was, apparently, born only about 1260. [Bain's *Calendar*, i., No. 421.] Marjorie was thus a contemporary with Patrick, eighth Earl of Dunbar, who was born in 1242, and it is to be noted that he is the only Earl Patrick whose wife the writer has not been able to discover. But if 'Marjorie' were the wife of the eighth Earl, it will be seen, accepting the diagram as correct, that she could not possibly be the 'graunde-dame' of the tenth Earl. To occupy the position which he assigns to her, she ought to have been the wife of the seventh Earl; but there is strong reason to believe that Cecilia Fitz-John, the *only* recorded wife of the seventh Earl, was mother not only of his eldest son Patrick, eighth Earl, who indeed calls her such, but of his other sons. [*Liber de Calchou*, i., pp. 57, 60; *Chartulary of Coldstream*, Nos. 1, 14, 16.]

According to Sir Robert Douglas, in his *Peerage of* 1764, the eighth Earl of Dunbar married Marian, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Fife, but no proof is adduced. Mr. Wood, in his edition of Douglas, marries the eighth Earl to 'Marjorie Comyn,' quoting Earl George's letter already cited, but he makes Earl George her grandson and not her great-grandson, as the Earl asserts himself to be. It will be seen that the descent of Earl George, given in the diagram, does not correspond with the peerages which make him the son of the ninth Earl of Dunbar, but it is according to the latest and best authenticated information. The seventh Earl had issue three sons, the eldest of whom was Patrick, eighth Earl, whose male line, so far as known, failed in his grandson. The youngest son, Sir Alexander, whose wife has not been ascertained, had a son, Sir Patrick, who in a charter of 1331 [Raine's *North Durham*, App., No. 432] speaks of himself as son of Sir Alexander Dunbar. It is not absolutely certain, but there is strong presumptive evidence, founded on original charters, seals, and contemporary history, that it was this Sir Patrick who married Isabella Randolph, younger daughter of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and sister of Agnes Randolph, and was the father of George, tenth Earl of March. [See Bain's *Calendar*, Vol. iv., pp. xx-xxiv, for a convenient presentment of evidence.] It will thus be understood that, as the diagram indicates, Earl George was not the son but the cousin of the ninth Earl, who indeed expressly styles him 'cousin' in a charter of 1367. [Raine's *North Durham*, App., No. 142.]

The query therefore is: Can any reader give proof, *quoting original authorities*, as to which Earl of Dunbar married 'Marjorie' Comyn, and, if it were the eighth Earl, show how she could be the great-

grandmother or 'graunde-dame' of George, tenth Earl? Also, granting that Marjorie's husband was not an *Earl of Dunbar*, can any one give valid proof that she was Earl George's 'graunde-dame' in any way on the father's side? The pedigree stated in the diagram is warranted by the facts at present known, but the writer will be obliged to any reader who can state other facts tending to elucidate the pedigree further. It might be assumed that Marjorie Comyn was the wife of Patrick, eighth Earl, and that Earl George simply made a mistake as to his own degree of relationship to her; but this requires proof, and as he was correct about King Henry's descent, it seems odd he should mistake his own. Another assumption might be that 'Marjorie' was the *second* wife of the seventh Earl and the mother of his son Alexander, which, according to present knowledge, would make Earl George's statement correct. But no proof has been found to warrant this assumption, and the writer has been unable, though searching diligently, to find any evidence of Marjorie Comyn's existence or any mention of her name in any writ or record of her period. Wyntoun and the letter of 1400 are still the only authorities for the existence and name of Marjorie.

Register House, Edinburgh. JOHN ANDERSON.

HOWIES OF LOCHGOIN. In the preface to my illustrated edition of the *Scots Worthies* (1870) the suggestion was made that the original form of this name was *Huet*, and that therefore the Scotch method of pronunciation is correct. Some years ago, in connection with the unveiling of the monument to the author of that volume, the *Glasgow Herald* in one of its leaders referred to the Bishop of Avranches and also a Cardinal Huetius as descended from the same stock. Can any information be given regarding this Cardinal which would favour this theory? In the autobiography of Huet, Bishop of Avranches, it is mentioned that his father 'was born and bred in the midst of the errors of Calvinism.'

W. H. CARSLAW, D.D.

ACCOUNTING. In connection with a forthcoming *History of Accounting and of the Accountant Profession*, the editor would be glad to receive information as to early forms of Accounts or Accountant's Reports and as to professional Accountants of the Eighteenth century or earlier.

23 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. RICHARD BROWN, C.A.

JAMES V. OF SCOTLAND. In the *Blood Royal of Britain*, by the Marquis of Ruvigny, we look in vain for the 'natural' descendants of James V. Of these one was the celebrated Regent Moray; but who were the other five who were afterwards legitimated by the Pope, and on whom important titles and benefices were conferred? Where can reliable information regarding them be obtained? There is a footnote in chap. 34 of *The Abbot* referring to the names of certain of his favourites which occur in a celebrated epigram. Where can this epigram be seen?

W. H. CARSLAW, D.D.

Replies

FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. I wish to protest against the amusing attempt the Reverend Professor Cooper makes, in his notice of the 'First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.,' to identify the 'altar' spoken of by our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 23, 24) with the Communion Table, or, as he calls it, the Holy Table. The veriest tyro in interpretation must see that our Lord means the Jewish Altar of Sacrifice on which gifts were laid for the priests to offer. Professor Cooper here joins hands with the Roman Catholic exegetes who find in the passage ground for the permanent Sacrifice of the Eucharist, and a law which is for ever valid (see Döllinger, *Christenthum und Kirche*). It is obviously the same Jewish altar that Jesus again refers to in Matt. xxiii. 18, 19, 20; and unquestionably the same in verse 35 (parallel, Luke xi. 51). These are the only occasions on which our Lord uses the word. Again, if the *θυσιαστήριον* of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 13; xiii. 10), Professor Cooper's other allusion, refers to a visible altar at all, and not to a symbolical one, it can only mean the body of Christ upon which the sacrifice of the New Covenant was presented. It certainly does not refer to the Communion Table, which is mentioned by Christ in one place only, viz. Luke xxii. 21, and is there plainly called 'the table.'

COLIN CAMPBELL.

The Manse of Dundee.

[Professor Cooper has written to the editor expressing his astonishment at the suggestion that Our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount was laying down laws for Jews as such. He maintains on scriptural and patristic authority that Christ was speaking to Christians and that the divine words are to be interpreted in a Christian sense. (Matt. v. 1, 21, 27, 33, 43, vii. 6. *Testamentum Domini* i. 23. *Didaché* ch. 9.) Regarding Dr. Campbell's exegesis as shallow, Prof. Cooper resents as unjust and baseless the insinuated imputation to him, by his critic, of the Roman doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. To theological debate, however, in these columns the wand of peace must be interposed. *Non nostrum.*]

CORN-BOTE (*Sc. Hist. Rev.*, i. 104). I think it is a pity that my explanation, given in *Notes and Queries*, 9 ser. x. 115, has been so completely ignored. It seems to me much more satisfactory than any other; and it has been accepted by others, which is something.

The explanation of *corn* as meaning 'chosen' is impossible. It throws the accent on *bote*, and destroys the alliteration. And it makes no sense at all.

Nor can I see that 'corn-compensation' makes any sense either, whether corn was cheap or dear. No attempt is made to show how it suits the context in the three known passages. I think no one will defend such an explanation who will take the trouble to construe the whole of the passages concerned. A compensation in corn would be a thing which *no* one would like to pay. But in each case the context shows that the speaker would be delighted to make the payment, and hopes and trusts that he only may get the chance! What possible sense is there in saying—'I hope I may make him compensation in corn!'

What I have suggested came in the first instance from Mr. Gollancz, who pointed out to me the emphatic way in which the word was used, and the high probability that the *corn-bote* in l. 1837 of the *Morte Arthure* is connected with the words *skornede* and *skornfull* in the end of the very same sentence.

We therefore think that the *corn* is not an English, but a Norman word. In fact, the French *corne*, a horn, has many derivatives, appears in many passages, and is the original of the 'horn' which figures as being, by a long way, the commonest subject of comment, jest, equivoque, and repartee in nearly every English dramatist.

And if it must be some sort of payment, we have its counterpart in the O.F. *cornage*, which Cotgrave explains by 'hornage; an yearly duty of corne exacted by the Lord Chastelain of Berri upon every oxe that labours in the winter-corne-ground which is within his territory.' Here, indeed, we actually find mention of corn in the English sense; but the whole matter is unintelligible still, till we remember that *cornage* is derived from *corne*, a horne; and that the payment was made for 'every oxe.'

References to the commonest book of the Middle Ages, viz. the Vulgate Version of the Bible, show at once the Biblical sense of *cornu*. Literally, it is 'horn'; but it is usually employed symbolically as the emblem of pride; and its secondary sense is actually pride, as Cotgrave again tells us.

He gives: *Corne*, a 'horn,' with many proverbs, such as '*corne prendre*, to wax proud; *baisser les cornes*, to humble himself, to let fall his crest'; and so on. So much more appears to the same effect in Godefroy's Old French Dictionary, and in the Supplement to the same, that I think those interested in the subject should look the word up for themselves. One very significant related word is *corner*, to sound a horn, especially at the death of a deer.

I take *corn-bote* to mean 'horn-boot,' *i.e.* payment for the horn, the instrument of injury and the symbol of boasting; hence, repayment for boasting, punishment for bragging. And the bragging is conspicuous in all the cases. Hence it really means, not in the least a desirable or compulsory payment, but a punishment which the payee will remember and be sorry for.

Hence, in *Morte Arthure*, 1784, we have: 'Yon king' said Sir Cador 'talks bigly, because he has killed this warrior: now he shall have his

horn-boot.' Accordingly, he attacks this king, and fells him, and then proceeds to tell him (in l. 1837)—'Now you have got your horn-boot, for killing my cousin; you scorned us and uttered scornful words, and now you have fared (as you threatened); it is your own harm.' This expresses the satisfaction of one who has paid a man out in his own coin, by doing to him as he boasted that he had done to others.

In Bruce, ii. 438, *corn-but* is, accordingly, the right reading. Here the story is, that Sir Philip de Mowbray was boasting that he had captured Bruce, when the latter was happily rescued. Bruce suggests retreat, but hopes to requite his foes some day with 'horn-boot,' *i.e.* punishment for their insolence in 'setting up their horn on high.'

I submit that this makes good sense, and that the taking of *corn* in the English sense makes nonsense of all the contexts. I am hampered in my explanation by the fact that it would require much space to set out all the evidence.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

[That our most learned correspondent was not 'completely ignored' he will see on consulting the reference given *ante* p. 104 to the *Scottish Antiquary*, xvii. 123, where express attention was drawn to 'the position of Prof. Skeat (*Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, x. 115).' Objection was then taken 'that compounds in *bote* are almost all English in both limbs, and that hybrids are exceptional.' Thus *e.g.* brigbote, burhbote, cartbote, cynebote, dedbote, feosbote, firebote, frithbote, heybote, hadbote, husbote, kinbote, manbote, plowbote, theftbote, are English in both syllables. How many examples can be given of a 'bote' compound showing such a conjunction as O.F. *corne* and O.E. *bote*? *Cornage* keeps strictly in character: in English it is *horngeld* and *noutgeld*, each a purely English combination.

To this question Prof. Skeat rejoins:—'Of course compounds of *-bote* are usually English in both their parts. So also compounds of *-mele*, as in *flok-mele*, are mostly English. Yet in *pece-mele* (Rob. of Glouc.), *pece* is French. My point is that I explain all three passages; and the other view explains none of them, as it does not explain the word at all in such connexions.']

STEVENSON (i. 103). This Mr. Stevenson was a merchant in Edinburgh—Christian name Samuel. He died at Crosscauseway, near Edinburgh, on the 21st May, 1771. He left a son, Alexander, who was a surgeon in that city, and married Anne M'Illewraith, having issue two children—Samuel and Cecilia.

With reference to the statement that Mr. Stevenson's first wife was Cecilia Millar of 'Walkinshaw,' this appears open to considerable doubt, as the estate of Walkinshaw did not come into the Millar family until *about* 1730, it having been acquired by William Millar, fifth son of Robert Millar, minister of Paisley, who married Elizabeth Kelso, 1702. In a memoir of a General Graham, published in Edinburgh in 1862, Millar of Earnock is mentioned, but no allusion is made to this family in Hamilton

of Wishaw's *Lanarkshire*. This author mentions Millers in Carmunock parish at Cathkin; in Monkland parish, estate of Kenmure; and in Erskine parish (Renfrew) at Barscuib. In *Davidson's Guide*, 1828, Millers of Slateford are mentioned. In *Scots Fasti*, William Miller is minister of Carmichael, 1747, and a William Miller is minister of Crawford-John, 1750. Cecilia Millar may have belonged to one of these families.

55 Manchester Street, W. J. M. GRAHAM.

WRAWES (i. 101). Whoever takes up Mr. Law's challenge, must try to determine first the language of this word, second its pronunciation, third its meaning. In the first place, the context affords some presumption in favour of French. Secondly, scholars more competent than myself have considered the initial W as a silent letter, and I hope some one of them will give his explanation in print; I have assumed that W is to be sounded as *oo*. Lastly, my suggestion is that Wrawes may be a phonetic spelling of *Houreaux*, plural of *Hourel*, which Godefroy explains *osier*?—the interrogation being suppressed in the Abridgement. The examples given show that *houreaux* were sometimes tied up in faggots, and that they could be used to cover bridges, to protect (or perhaps to train) newly planted fruit trees, or to maintain domestic discipline. Godefroy also gives verbs *houreler*, to cut young wood; and *hourer*, of barley straw cutting horses' mouths. *Houreaux*, whether meaning osiers in particular, or brushwood in general, would yield an appropriate sense. Can the word be etymologically connected with hurdle?

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

'WRAWES.' In reply to Dr. T. G. Law (i. 101), I may say that the majority of the conjectures offered to me, while editing *The Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, assumed that the word was pronounced 'raws,' or, in effect, that the initial 'w' was silent. One correspondent informed me that in the north of England the word 'rice' is used for 'brushwood or undergrowth.' Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, on the other hand, suggests, with what seems to me considerable probability, that the word 'wrawes' was an attempt to represent the old French word 'hourreaux,' 'hourreaulx,' which appears as the plural of 'hourel,' interpreted as 'osier' by Godefroy in his *Dictionaire de l'ancienne langue française*. The examples cited by Godefroy would in nearly all (indeed, perhaps in all) cases yield an equally good sense if the word were rendered twigs, rods, or cuttings from the branches of a tree. If this be correct the 'wrawes de bule et de auhne' would be 'rods (or twigs) of birch and of alder.' All three terms, on this supposition, are of French origin. The initial 'w' would thus be sounded probably with the vocalisation of 'u.'

J. DOWDEN.

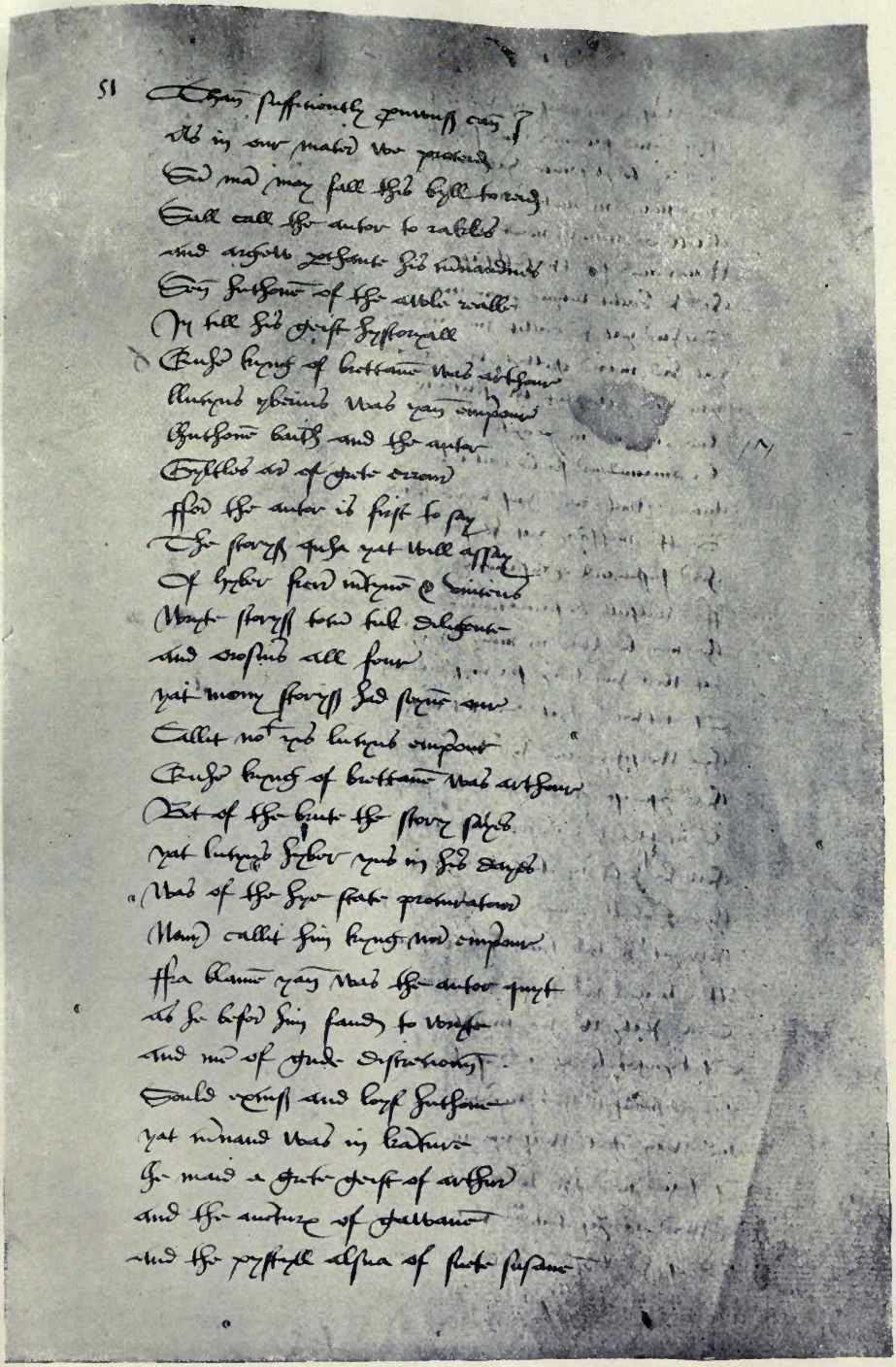
Notes and Comments

A dedication to Antoninus Pius by three wall-building legions.

An altar dedicated to Oceanus found on the site of the Aelian bridge at Newcastle, was discovered in the early summer of 1903. Later in the year an inscribed slab was found at the same place and has been discussed by Mr. F. Haverfield and Mr. R. O. Heslop. As extended the inscription reads thus: Imp(eratori) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio p(atri) pat(riæ) vexil(l)atio leg(ionis) ii Aug(ustæ) et leg(ionis) vi vic(tricis) et leg(ionis) xx v(aleriæ) v(ictricis) con(t)r(i)buti ex Ger(maniis) duobus sub Iulio Vero leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p(rætore).

[To the Emperor Antoninus Pius, father of his country, a detachment of the Second Legion the August and the Sixth Legion the Victorious, and the Twentieth Legion the Valerian, the Victorious, being a draft (?) from the two Germanies, under Iulius Verus legate of the Emperor, with prætorian rank and power.]

Mr. Heslop before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle has emphasised an important connection of this inscription, of which the spelling is not impeccable and of which the limits of date are of course those of Antonine's reign, between A.D. 138 and A.D. 161. 'Detachments of the three legions here named,' says Mr. Heslop, 'were the builders of the Antonine Wall. Four of its sections were completed by those of the Second Legion, four sections by those of the Sixth Legion, and three sections of its length with other connected works were built by those of the Twentieth Legion. The work done is recorded by each for itself: in one instance only on the Antonine Wall are any two of the vexillations associated in one slab. But in the Newcastle inscription occurs the remarkable conjunction of all three vexillations.' Mr. Haverfield has suggested that the presence of the detachment was doubtless concerned either with campaigns connected with the erection of the Vallum of Antonine or with operations against the Brigantes. Certainly the temptation is great to consider the conjunction of drafts from these three legions for building purposes both between Tyne and Solway and between Forth and Clyde, as constituting a sort of presumption of approximation in date. Was it that the building experience of men from these legions on the Tyne had given them a special aptitude for such work as was to be done on the Antonine Vallum? Had we the date a little more closely narrowed down, inferences might have been hazarded regarding the relationship of the command of Lollius Urbicus to that of Julius Verus, especially on the points whether they were independent commands or one command held by the two in succession, and as to which commander



PAGE OF WYNTOUN'S CHRONICLE FROM THE AUCHINLECK MS.

By permission of Mr. John Ferguson, Duns

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preceded the other. A first impression from the present stone goes, with other things, towards characterising the campaign of Lollius Urbicus in A.D. 139-40, with its outstanding feature, the building of the Antonine Wall, as an executive step, an official development of imperial policy, rather than the individual military expedient of a general in the field.

Scottish Texts—New Testament and Wyntoun.

In issuing concurrently *The New Testament in Scots* for the first time, and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* for the third time of publication, the Scottish Text Society presents works of the foremost importance. Notwithstanding the success of a recent movement to promote the Society in the West, the membership still needs material increase. Works such as those above-mentioned are the best proof that the programme of texts ahead of the Society is of the highest order, and that new subscribers need apprehend no decline in the calibre of what is to come. It is unnecessary to urge the variety of interests keenly touched by the Lollard Scoticised recension of the New Testament, on which the ripe and special learning of Dr. T. G. Law on matters bibliographic, canonical, and linguistic has been so generously expended. To the student of history, however, the re-editing of Wyntoun is of more direct consequence, replacing with an authoritative text the well-thumbed current version. If there is a primary disposition to groan over the approaching necessity of consulting an edition in six volumes, instead of the present working edition in three, it gives place to a grateful confidence in the superiority of the new double-text, collated with all the MSS. by Monsieur F. J. Amours, an accomplished scholar and well-proved editor in Old Scots.

Among the manuscripts used is the Auchinleck one, formerly the property of the Boswell family, and now owned by Mr. John Ferguson, of Duns. Through his courtesy a page is herewith given (see also *Scottish History and Life*, 1902, p. 265) in facsimile. It is that containing the foundation passage of Scottish literary criticism, the citation from

> Huchoune of the awle realle
> In till his geist hystoryall,

concluding its laudation with that classic of biographical and bibliographic commentary which declares that men of good discretion

> Sould excuse and loyf Huchone,
> That cunnand was in literature:
> He maid a grete geist of Arthure,
> And the auenturis of Gawane
> And the pystyll of suete Susane.

The variants brought out by the double text are numerous, and sometimes of particular importance as showing the author in the act of revisal. The historical annotations of M. Amours are being reserved until the completion of the text. How necessary these notes are may be gauged from the fact that the Wemyss and Cottonian MSS., the bases of this edition, have not been printed before.

Sculptured Stone at St. Andrews.

We have received the following note from Mr. Macgregor Chalmers: 'Many ancient Sculptured Stones hidden deep underground have recently been brought to light at St. Andrews. The stone now illustrated has been in the public eye many days, but as it was thought to be too much defaced its story has not been read. It was found by my friend Mr. David Henry, architect, built with its sculptured face exposed inside the flue of a cottage which stood outwith the West Port, in the district called "Argyle," upon the site of Gibson's Hospital. Mr. Henry carefully preserved the stone and placed it in the Hospital boundary wall, at the angle of two streets. It is singular that although the stone is greatly worn, no part of its record has wholly disappeared. It measures two feet by one foot five and a half inches. The accompanying sketch makes it unnecessary to give a detailed description. The shield originally bore the arms of Dunbar, three cushions within a double tressure; the mitre has to its left and right the letters G. D., the initials of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen; and at the bottom of the panel are the fragments of the letters which formed the Bishop's motto, SUB SPE. The stone evidently formed part of some property owned by the Bishop.

'Gavin Dunbar was Dean of his native diocese of Moray in 1487. In 1503 he was also Clerk of Register and of Council. He became Archdeacon of St. Andrews in 1506, and Bishop of Aberdeen in 1518, in succession to Bishop William Elphinstone. It was whilst he held the office of Archdeacon that the Choir of St. Andrew's Cathedral was furnished with new oak stalls. Of the two stalls now preserved in the Town Church—to be placed at the Communion Table when this Church is restored—one bears the arms of Dunbar. In the year 1527 Bishop Dunbar caused to be written at Antwerp the magnificent *Epistolare de tempore et de Sanctis* for the use of his cathedral. The illuminated letter illustrated in the published *Registrum* bears the arms, initials, and motto of the Bishop, as on this panel. Bishop Dunbar is perhaps most widely known as the builder of the great bridge across the Dee. He died in the year 1531.'

'Dagger Money' on Tyneside.

Inaugurating *The Bar and Legal World* on its appearance in November as a fortnightly illustrated periodical, Mr. J. Ambrose Long has a long and fully pictorial article on 'A Border Custom.' In it he essays to account for the Newcastle custom of the Mayor and Corporation presenting the judges at the close of the Assizes with an ancient coin. Formerly, according to Mr. Long, the usage explained itself in the accompanying address to their lordships informing them that as their journey to Carlisle lay through border country infested by the Scots, they were therefore each presented 'with a piece of money to buy therewith a dagger' to defend themselves. It certainly makes a readable story. But there is reason to fear that, as certain historical and legal data in this essay are rather more popular and picturesque than critical, it may be found exceedingly difficult to make good the verity of the alleged tradition. So much at least is to be gathered from the course of recent discussion of the subject by one well qualified, both as lawyer and as

SCULPTURED STONE AT ST. ANDREWS

From a drawing by Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A.

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INSCRIBED SLAB TO ANTONINUS PIUS

From a plate lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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antiquary, to judge shrewdly, and with the available record evidence under view.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for* 1902 (vol. x., p. 359), Mr. F. W. Dendy, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, is reported to have questioned the popularly accepted tradition of 'Dagger Money.' 'If any sufficient ground-work could be found,' he says, 'for the accepted and picturesque version of the origin of this yearly payment, they would all rejoice and be glad. But if it was only a pretty tale of modern invention, it should not,' he thought, 'be promulgated and accepted as resting upon any sufficient substratum either of ancient tradition or inherent probability.' Mr. Dendy could find no mention of 'dagger money' in any printed book or other record relating to Newcastle of any earlier date than the nineteenth century. In the old and comprehensive histories of Newcastle by Bourne and Brand, there was no mention of 'dagger money,' and no mention of protection against the Scots. In the Newcastle municipal accounts for 1561 a payment to the judges is mentioned as 'the reward of the judges.' It again occurs in 1566 as 'two old ryalls for their fee,' and in subsequent payment as 'the yearlie accustomed' payment to the judges. There was no word of 'dagger money,' and there was no word about the Scots.

The payment appears to have been always made in ancient coin. In Elizabethan times the coin was a 'spur ryall,' and in Stuart times it was a 'rose noble,' while at the present time it was a 'Carolus' or a 'Jacobus.' The borough of Waterford at one time paid a yearly fee to the Assize judges for allowing its charters. When the judges came into the county all the hardly won liberties and special rights of the boroughs in it were put to the test, and were subject to being either allowed or disallowed by them. The confirmation or disallowance of any rights claimed in derogation of the Crown's prerogative came within their cognizance. Before 1400 Newcastle was merely one of the towns of Northumberland. The Assizes for the town of Newcastle, as distinguished from the Assizes for the County of Northumberland, only began at that date, and with that the town's responsibility for the conduct and care of the judges. As early as 1279 the judges at the Northumberland Assize had taken away the liberties of the town of Newcastle, and inflicted heavy fines upon the burgesses for prison breach, for neglect to punish offenders, and for breaches of the excise laws. For about two hundred years before 1400 it must have been a very desirable thing to follow, what was then, the very usual custom of paying some small complimentary honorarium to judges or other men of high position, and it was desirable in the case of the judges to make this payment at leave-taking after the work was done, in order that the payment might not come within the purview of the statute of Edward I., which forbade judges taking bribes.

Similar payments were also made by the Sheriff of the County of Northumberland, and the only mention of a dagger, and possibly the mention on which the whole of the present theory was founded, was the statement by Roger North in his *Life of Lord Keeper Guilford*, in which a journey made in 1680 was referred to, when the Sheriff of the County

of Northumberland, and not the Mayor or Sheriff of Newcastle, presented each of them; that is, he supposed, each of the judges and Roger North, on taking leave of them at Benwell, with arms: that is, a dagger, knife and fork, and a penknife, 'all together';[1] the meaning being that these objects were either in one or in one case. That was the only mention of a dagger which could be found in connection with the subject. This mention is long after those customary payments of coin recorded in the borough accounts. Mr. Dendy's conjecture is that at some time when the custom revived it might be that some imaginative official of the town had connected those well-known extracts from North about a dagger given by the Sheriff of Northumberland at Benwell, with the payment which was already recorded in the Newcastle Corporation books, as a reward or fee to the judges.

After Mr. Dendy's comments had been published, an unfinished article on the same subject by the late Mr. Longstaffe, F.S.A., formerely secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, was found amongst his papers, and has been published in the *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S., vol. 25, p. 83. In this article Mr. Longstaffe discusses the practice of presenting old coins as tokens and remembrances, and the custom of local payments to the judges of Assize. The article unfortunately breaks off at the point where Mr. Longstaffe begins to describe what was done in Newcastle, but it is evident from the trend of his observations that he also had arrived at the conclusion that the customary payment to the judges at Newcastle had nothing to do with the purchase of a dagger for defence against the Scots.

Professor Hume Brown's Rhind Lectures.

'No more excellent and no more interesting lectures had ever been delivered under the Rhind Lectureship': so Sir James Balfour Paul in the vote of thanks characterised the Fraser-Professor's comprehensive account of Scotland under Queen Mary. As a descriptive social and economic survey of Scotland after the close of the Middle Ages, eschewing religion, politics, and the infinite wrangles over John Knox and Queen Mary, the lectures form a notable chapter of history, presenting new factors and new estimates of popular forces of the time.

Gospatric's Letter.

Our learned contemporary, *The Ancestor* for October, gave (simultaneously with the Rev. James Wilson's article and the Note in our columns) a transcript of and commentary upon the Gospatric letter by the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg, vicar of Masworth, Hertfordshire. Mr. Ragg has written to us objecting to the terms of our note on Mr. Wilson's good fortune in recognising the document and bringing it for the first time to the notice of scholars. Mr. Ragg claims the discovery of the letter as his, a claim to credit as first finder from which neither Mr. Wilson nor we have any wish to derogate. We are informed that Mr. Wilson's attention was drawn to the document by a distinguished English antiquary who has no connection with Mr. Ragg or the *Victoria County Histories*. Mr. Wilson's examination of the original parchment

[1] *Life*, edition 1742, p. 139.

at Lowther Castle and his investigation of its significance were of course entirely independent, and the recognition of the far-reaching historical import of the writing we take to be his. Students of history will appreciate the publication of the document for the valuable information it contains, irrespective of personal or contentious considerations.

Discovery at Dunfermline Abbey.

Mr. Macgregor Chalmers writes: 'Durham Cathedral is undoubtedly the grandest building of the Norman period in Britain, and its erection must have excited widespread interest in the country. The design was prepared under Bishop William of S. Carilef. The choir, the transepts, part of the nave, and probably the lower part of all the walls of the nave, were completed before his death in the year 1096, or within three years thereafter, when his successor, Bishop Ranulf Flambard, was elected. Bishop Flambard completed the centre aisle of the nave up to the stone vault, and the nave aisles with their vaults. He died in the year 1128. The monks completed the vault of the centre aisle before the year 1133, when Galfrid Rufus was made Bishop. The great doors near the west end of the nave aisles have been rightly ascribed to Bishop Rufus.

'King David I., in the year 1124—the year of his accession to the throne—brought canons of the Order of S. Augustine from Canterbury, and established them at the abbey of Dunfermline. The king's interest in Cumberland and Northumberland was very great. It is not surprising, therefore, that the beautiful nave which he added at Dunfermline to the choir erected by his parents, Malcolm and Margaret, was modelled upon the cathedral of Durham. The details and ornaments of the two structures are so closely related that no doubt on this point can be entertained. Further evidence, linking the two buildings together, and furnishing certain indication of the date of the Scots work, has been supplied recently by the discovery of the eastern processional door to the cloisters at the east end of the south aisle of the nave at Dunfermline. Workmen were employed preparing for the erection of a monument here, when it was found that the stonework was not of Norman date. A portion only of the rubble has been removed, revealing the arch and the capitals of what is probably the most richly decorated Norman work preserved in Scotland. Buried from view in the seventeenth century, the delicate carvings have retained almost all their original sharpness. The capitals are sculptured with interlacing foliage and strap-work; a beautiful acanthus-leaf ornament is carved on the abacus; and the arch is decorated with the chevron or zig-zag ornament and delicate diaper-work. These details are practically reproduced from the beautiful doors in the nave of Durham Cathedral executed about the year 1133. When the whole doorway is exposed, it may be found that there is a still closer resemblance to the work at Durham. One interesting point remains. The decoration of the arch of this door in Dunfermline corresponds with the work on the beautiful church at Dalmeny.'

Recent Diggings in St. Andrews Cathedral.

Mr. Hay Fleming, LL.D., has sent the following note: 'For lack of funds the digging in St. Andrews Cathedral was discontinued on the 4th of November. Before that date a great many trenches or pits had been opened in the chancel, the Lady Chapel, and the side chapels. Each pit or trench was carried down to the virgin soil. It is now quite certain that there is no crypt or sub-chapel to the eastward of the transepts. The circumstantial stories of a buried staircase in that portion of the church have been disproved. The results of the work, however, were not entirely negative. It was found that broad, massive walls connect the pillars of the chancel underground; or rather, it would seem, that broad, massive continuous walls had been built, and the pillars reared on the top of them. These walls had been carried down to the original soil, in places into it, and in at least one place down under a pillar to the rock. The stones had usually been laid in regular courses, but the building had been roughly done, the joints left very open, and apparently no lime had been used. The scarcement below the base-course of the side walls had been nearly all built in the same rude manner. The breadth of the scarcement varies, but much of it has been projected two feet into the church beyond the face of the base-course. The greatest irregularity in the scarcement was revealed by a trench which was dug right across the eastern end of the Lady Chapel. It was found that the projection of the scarcement of the east gable varied from eight inches to two feet four inches. The stones are rough and undressed, most of them unshaped; and the biggest only measures twenty-one inches in length. The joints are very open, and there is no lime either in the joints or beds. The top of this scarcement is quite close to the present surface of the ground, and the bottom is only about three and a half feet lower. It seems a wretched foundation to carry such a lofty building.

'At the northern end of this trench a remarkable discovery was made. One of the labourers, to make sure that he had reached the lowest course of the scarcement, pushed in the point of his shovel angle-wise below it, and was surprised when a bone came out with the shovel. He put in his hand and brought out bone after bone, until he had nearly all the skeleton of a medium-sized man of about forty-five. Dr. Huntingdon, who was present, said that the skull was lying immediately above the pelvis; but, from the position of the bones of the neck, he thought the skull must have belonged to another skeleton. The foundation, he said, went down to within six inches of the natural gravel, and the skeleton was lying entirely between the foundation and the gravel. It could not have been placed in that position after the wall was built; and the natural inference is that the masons in laying this foundation, in or about 1160, deliberately or carelessly, built immediately on the top of the skeleton. This inference is confirmed by the opinion of Professor Musgrove, who saw most of the bones a day or two later, and pronounced them to be at least a thousand years old, and said they all belonged to the same man. They were found within a few feet of the place where eight fragments of Celtic crosses have been utilised by the original builders as ordinary material; and it is quite possible that one of these crosses may have been raised to commemorate the man

whose bones were so unexpectedly brought to light. It is now clear that these crosses could easily be taken out of the base-course; and, by "grouting" the foundation, it could be made much stronger than it has ever been. If these crosses are not taken out, it would be advisable to have them covered, as they have wasted considerably since they were exposed in 1892.

'In the chapel on the north side of the chancel a rude stone cist was found. The sides were formed of thin slabs of freestone set on edge. There were no covers, and no slabs in the bottom or at the ends. The cist was within three feet of the surface. It contained two skeletons. One of these was in no way remarkable, but the other was the frame of a very powerful man, tall and big boned. Dr Gunn, of Peebles, who happened to be present, thought that he must have been about six feet four. He had been buried at full length, with his head to the west, his feet towards the east, and his right cheek resting on the ground, so that his face looked towards the south, not upwards. His teeth were excellent, and two of the back ones were worn perfectly flat. The stone slabs only reached as far as his knees. At that point another skeleton was lying across him, the head being towards the north and the feet to the south. The eastmost slabs of the cist had probably been removed when this other interment had taken place. A fourth skeleton was found on the south side of the cist. All the four bodies had been buried entire, but the period or periods of burial can only be conjectured. It is barely eighty years, it seems, since burial was prohibited within the walls of the Cathedral. Near these skeletons, in the same trench, several bones of a dog were found, and two or three iron nails.

'A little further west in the same chapel a built grave was discovered. Internally it measured 8 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The inner surface of the sides and ends was formed of smoothly dressed stones of a pretty large size. There was no cover over it and no paved bottom. This tomb had evidently been interfered with before. The upper courses of the dressed stone-work had been removed. The lower side of the lowest course of masonry is only four and a half feet below the present surface. In this tomb a few odd bones were found, and a number of carved and moulded stones. Some of the latter had been coloured in distemper. The north wall of this vault was fully two feet broad. The skeleton of a young man was found under it. Professor Musgrove said that he had only been about nineteen; that when about sixteen he had had inflammation in his left elbow; that he had carried that arm in a sling; that the joint had become rigid; and that the humerus had ceased to grow. The bones of the fore-arm were at right angles to the humerus. The built tomb, there can be little doubt, was pre-Reformation, and its north wall had certainly been built above this skeleton, for, as one of the labourers said, "It was just on the tap o'm." On the northern side of this north wall two fragments of very dark green paving tiles were found.

'A few pits were also opened in the north transept. These were close to the western wall, of which no trace could be seen above the roughly-built scarcement. About a foot below the surface a layer of sea-sand was observed. It varied in thickness. Four small fragments of sand-stone slabs were found, bearing clean-cut incised lines.'

'Graham,' as a Northumbrian taboo.

THAT humour is not necessarily divorced from the study of folk lore and folk speech is very happily demonstrated by the following note from a North of England correspondent. Its accuracy as a record of a very curious 'taboo' in the fishing villages of Northumberland is guaranteed by the authority of an experienced student of popular customs.

'The traditions of the house of Graham include an unfortunate confusion of their patronymic with a name of satanic import. The first Graham was none other than the Gryme, or Grim, to whose supernatural agency are attributed the mysterious 'Dykes' and 'Seughs' that bear his name. Reference to this will be found in the excellent series of articles contributed by Mr. J. H. Stevenson to the *Scottish Antiquary* (*Scot. Antiq.*. vol. xvi., p. 108 *et seq.*). What will interest the folklorist is the living and active belief in the identity of the word Graham with *diabolus* or its equivalent. The fishing populations on the North East Coast are all of them self-centred and distinct from surrounding people, and on the Northumberland Coast especially the word Graham is of evil omen. If it be spoken in the hearing of a fisherman he will refuse to put to sea that day; or, if unfortunately, circumstances compel him to sail after hearing it, misgivings of approaching evil will torment him as long as he remains afloat. The women who bait the lines are equally in dread of any chance utterance of the word. A visitor at a fisherman's cottage unluckily asked for a person called Graham, and, being innocent of the association of the name, was astonished at the immediate effect produced. The kindly faces of the women in the house were instantly changed to so many pictures of terror and dismay. All their labour expended in baiting lines had been lost; every bit of it had to be undone and begun afresh; and even that might hardly avert the omen. Were the belief less intense it might excite a feeling of levity, and the precautions taken are sometimes really ludicrous. Such an instance is thus described. The village of Beadnell on the Northumberland Coast is inhabited for the most part by fishermen. Not long ago a party of house-painters spent some time in the village during the repair of Beadnell Tower, a neighbouring mansion. One of these was a Graham who found himself ignored and boycotted by all of the inhabitants for no reason but his name. With the other painters the villagers were very friendly, and even took them on a picnic to the Farne Islands; but none would allow Graham to enter the boats. The narrator of this incident has suggested the form in which a maker of ancient ballads would, in these latter days, have dealt with it:

'I'm damned if I sail with you, Sir Graham;
Though I may seem uncivil;
But Graham is Graeme, and Graeme is Grim,
An' Grim, sir, is the Devil!''