The
Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II., No. 6 JANUARY 1905

Knox as Historian

KNOX'S *History of the Reformation in Scotland* has coloured all other histories, from that of Buchanan to the present day, and yet has never, to my knowledge, been closely criticised.[1] The learned David Laing has traced the inception and progress of Knox's work, from October 23, 1559, when Knox, then in Edinburgh with the Congregation, wrote to Railton that 'we are to set forth in manner of History our whole proceeding from the beginning of this matter,' much of the part styled Book II. being then already written. Book II. was apparently intended for instant publication, as a defence against the charge that 'our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion.'[2] This is the motive and purpose of Book II., which was clearly designed as a tract for the times. Is it an honest tract?

Knox, in the preface to the Book, says that from it 'as well our enemies as our brethren in all realms may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France and by their faction.' That the Reformers were not guilty of 'tumult and rebellion' was their strange contention, even when they were allying themselves with a foreign power, and attacking the lawful Government. After their triumph, after the surrender of Leith, the death of the Regent, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Edinburgh (June-

[1] It is not within my scope to offer a thorough critique, in this place, but a few notes on his Book II. may not be inopportune.

[2] Knox, I. pp. 297-298.

July, 1560), Knox could not have expressed himself as he does in the preface to Book II. His party was no longer 'persecuted by France.' The Book is a statement of the case of the Reformers *before* their victory, an appeal, mainly, to English sympathies. Thus Book II. may be a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί, but we must never forget that it was composed as an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα, that it is a party pamphlet. Knox left Book II. as it stands, however, while he worked, as late as 1566, at the Introductory portion of his *History* (Book I.), and also at the chronicle of occurrences subsequent to the triumph of 1560. Events moved so rapidly, and the face of things changed so completely, that Book II. was not needed as a separate pamphlet. It was completed by September 23, 1560, as Randolph writes to Cecil on that date.

The pen of Knox was swift. He must have written a large part of Book II., even before he imparted his intention to Railton on October 23, 1559. This is clear, for Book II. opens on page 298 in the first volume of Laing's edition, and Knox had reached page 383, in that edition, by October, 1559—the month in which he writes to Railton. Eighty-five pages of Laing's text were already completed, at a period when the author was actively engaged as Secretary of the Congregation, as preacher, as Scottish correspondent of the Huguenots, and as diplomatist.

This haste may account for Knox's initial error. After describing very briefly in Book II. some events of (?) 1557 (the election of Elders by 'the Privy Kirk,' which as yet had 'no public ministers of the Word,' and the rise of Paul Methuen, the preaching baker of Dundee), Knox comes to the arrival of Willock, which Laing dates in October, 1558.[3] *After* the occurrences of the last months of 1558, 'shortly after these things,' Knox introduces the Martyrdom of Myln, dating it April 28, 1558, and thence goes on to the Parliament of November-December, 1558.[4]

Knox (I. p. 307) says 'that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite falsely called Bishop of St. Andrews,' apprehended and burned Myln, but (I. p. 360) declares of Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, that 'by *his* counsel alone was our brother, Walter Myln, put to death.' However this may be, the misplaced death of Myln causes great confusion in Knox's account of events, and,

[3] Knox, I. p. 245, note 2, p. 256. *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. 55 ("Historie").

[4] I know not why Laing says that Buchanan places Myln's martyrdom 'in April, 1559.' He places it in April, 1558. *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 568. Elzevir, 1668. Knox, I. Appendix, XIII. p. 550; c.f. Knox, I. 301-307.

at the same time, though he may not have observed the fact, serves his party purpose, the reiterated charge of perfidy against the Regent, Mary of Guise. For it is *after* she had 'fully contented' the brethren 'with her answer,' that Myln, according to Knox, was burned (I. p. 307). Preliminaries being thus arranged or confused, Knox pursues the tale of the Regent's perfidy. The peace of Cateau Cambresis (April 2, 1559) being concluded, 'she began to spew forth and disclose the latent venom of her double heart.' She made her household 'use all abominations' (that is, communicate), 'at Easter.' The Devil then took stronger possession of her, it is thought (as in the case of Judas), and 'incontinent she caused our preachers to be summoned.' (Knox, I. 315.)

Buchanan makes this summons appear thus 'omnes Ecclesiarum totius Regni Ministros Sterlinum in jus vocavit' (p. 573). Dr. Robertson, following Buchanan, puts it that the Regent 'at once threw off the mask, and commanded all the Protestant preachers in the kingdom to be summoned' (Robertson I. p. 149, 1759). Even Tytler writes that the Regent 'with a rigour for which it is difficult to account . . . summoned the most distinguished among the reformed ministers. . . .' Most writers make the Regent act thus rigorously to please her brothers, the Guises—this is a commonplace of our historians. We ask, on the other hand, what in the circumstances, even if there had been no Guises, was the Regent to do? It does not appear that she meant to preside over a persecution. She was in bad health, she intended to leave Scotland for France, at this very time.[5] The Congregation, in December, 1558, had threatened to disturb Catholic services, and had 'contracted themselves out of' all legal penalties for so doing, and for consequent 'tumults and uproars.'[6] Here was *malum minatum* The Regent, in February and again on March 26, 1559, replied by proclamations against such disorders as were threatened. The preachers, namely Methuen, Harlaw, Christison, and Willock, set the proclamations at naught, preached, administered the sacraments, and gave occasion (says their summons)[7] to 'seditions and tumults' in Forfarshire, at Easter, 1559.

We must remember that public Protestant preaching had for long meant the bullying of priests, interruption of services, riots, and the wrecking of churches. The Regent, before the peace of

[5] Throckmorton to Cecil, May 18, 1559. Forbes, p. 97.
[6] Knox, I. pp. 313-314. [7] M'Crie, Appendix. G. G.

Cateau Cambresis, forbade these things, they all occurred, none the less, in the stereotyped way, and she summoned, for these *new* offences of March-April, 1559, four preachers who had already been summoned more than once or twice, on similar counts. But she now made no mention of their previous disorders. Could a ruler possibly do less than the Regent did, and is it necessary to suppose that she was 'Moved by the devil and the Duc de Guise?'

Knox's account leads the reader to conceive that the Regent summoned the preachers 'incontinent,' after she had 'used all abominations at Easter,' and heard of the conclusion of 'the peace betwixt King Philip and France and Us.' But it is clear that the four preachers were summoned not merely because they were preachers, but for *new* 'seditions and tumults,' their reply to her proclamations of February and March; which, again, were replies to their threats made in December.

Governors must govern. The Regent must have done as she did, if there had been no Guisian influences, and no peace of Cateau Cambresis.

Matters were at a deadlock.

Public preaching meant public rioting. Not to be allowed to destroy 'monuments of idolatry,' was identical with not being permitted to enjoy 'liberty of conscience.' Yet the Regent could not permit eternal tumults: she was obliged to summon the preachers. To 'account for her rigour' is, therefore, not 'difficult,' as Tytler supposed. If we understand Knox, the Regent must at first have withdrawn this summons, in deference to remonstrances which were probably threats. Glencairn and Campbell of Loudoun 'plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow.' She at first, says Knox, replied impiously that the preachers should be banished, 'albeit they preached as truly as ever did St. Paul.'[8] Buchanan, whose use of Knox's manuscript is a curious topic, is here misprinted. The ministers, 'et si paulo sincerius concionabuntur, tamen exulabunt.'[9] The English translation (Aberdeen, 1799), renders the passage, 'though they preach never so sincerely,' an error unavoidable, where *paulo* is printed for *Paulo*. The Regent yielded to the threats, says Knox, but finally 'did summon *again*' the preachers for May 10, at Stirling.[10]

Was the Regent guilty of perfidy at this point? When the

[8] Knox, I. p. 316. [9] *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 573. Elzevir, 1668.
[10] Knox, I. pp. 316-317.

town of Dundee and the gentry of Angus and Mearns met at Perth, to support the preachers, did the Regent give her promise to Erskine of Dun that, *(a)* if he would send home the mob *(turba non necessaria)*, or, *(b)* not allow them to march on Stirling, she would take no steps against the preachers in the meanwhile? Did many of the multitude then withdraw, and did the Regent seize the opportunity to put the preachers to the horn? This is Buchanan's account, and Tytler says that the Regent's action was 'as treacherous as it was short-sighted.'

But we do not know exactly what occurred. Buchanan probably condensed Knox's statement as given in his *History*, omitting what did not suit his case. According to Knox, in the *History*, 'the whole multitude with their preachers did stay,' in Perth, consequent on a promise of the Regent to Erskine of Dun that, if *he* would 'stay the multitude and the preachers'—from coming *en masse* to Stirling, *she* would 'take some better order.' The promise is of the vaguest, as David Hume observes. Suppose the Regent meant that, if Erskine made the multitude disperse (*domum remitteret*, as in Buchanan), she would 'take better order,' then her condition was not fulfilled, for 'the whole multitude did stay'—at Perth, according to Knox. Hearing of this, the Regent might say that, her condition not being accepted, she might outlaw the preachers, as she did. When Erskine brought news of this fact, the brethren sacked the monasteries of Perth. On this showing, there may have been a misunderstanding between Erskine and the Regent.

On the other hand, an account of what passed is given in a letter of Knox to Mrs. Locke, dated from St. Andrews on June 23, 1559. Here Knox accuses Regent, *and Council*, otherwise. The multitude was not to 'come to Stirling, which place was appointed to the preachers to appear,' in that case the summons would be postponed 'till further advisement.' Some of the brethren therefore went home—'the whole multitude' did *not* remain at Perth, as in Knox's *History*. The Regent then outlawed the preachers in their absence.[11]

One difficulty in accepting this version is that the *Historie of the State of Scotland*, a good authority, much more coherent than Knox's book, gives a different account. The Regent, in spite of the 'earnest request' of the brethren, remained obstinate, and would not postpone the summons.[12] Nothing is said by this author, nor in any manifesto by the Congregation, about her

[11] Knox, VI. pp. 22-23. [12] *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 57. Lesley corroborates.

breach of promise.[13] Hume, in his *History of England*, is sceptical (it was his function) about Knox's account of the Regent's perfidy, and suggests that there was some *malentendu*. It is not clear why Knox, in his *History*, gives a vaguer version than in his letter to Mrs. Locke.

The Regent's position was difficult. She had several times dropped summonses against these very preachers, under threat of civil war, yet two of them, at least, Methuen and Harlaw, were already 'at the horn,' unless they had been released, of which we know nothing. She probably amused Erskine of Dun by some promise of 'taking better order,' and then seized the opportunity to put the preachers to the horn, which two of them had already found to be mere *brutum fulmen*, where local authorities connived at their proceedings. These two were Paul Methuen, who was 'at the horn' in November, 1558, but was protected, and Harlaw, also 'at the horn,' whom Alexander Stewart of Garlies had maintained, at Dumfries (Keith I. 495-496). If this view be correct the Regent was repaid, many times over, in her own coin, by her godly opponents, as we shall see, and was often accused of treachery when her conduct was either defensible or needed no defence.

Knox next, in Book II., gives his famous account of the wrecking of the monasteries in Perth (May 11) by '*the rascal multitude*,' in the absence of the gentlemen and of 'them that were earnest professors.' To Mrs. Locke, however, Knox makes no such pretences. 'Deceit being spied,' on the part of the Regent, '*the brethren* sought the next remedy. And first, after complaint and appellation from such a deceitful sentence' (a formal protest), 'they put their hands to reformation in St. Johnstoun, where the places of idolatry of Grey and Black Friars, and of Charter House monks, were made level with the ground . . . *and priests commanded, on pain of death, to desist from their blasphemous mass.*' Here it is not the rascal multitude, but 'the brethren,' who wreck the dens of idolators. Again, in his *History* Knox says nothing of the threat of the death penalty against priests, nor have I observed any mention of the fact in modern histories or biographies of the Reformer. The point is very important. Who had the privilege of executing the penalty? Not the preachers, of course, and law-abiding reformers would not entrust

[13] The account of Sir James Croft, writing from Berwick, on May 19, is clearly misinformed, but his words, in his MS. are less explicit than in the printed version, in *Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth*, I. pp. 212-213.

the duty to the mob, or to the gentlemen of Mearns and Angus. Clearly the magistrates of Perth must have been they who bore the sword, must have been 'the secular arm' to which the 'true ministers' of the Kirk handed over the 'idolators.' This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the bailies and Town Council of Edinburgh, in June, 1560, threatened death against non-convertible Catholics, while the Church had not yet been abolished by the Estates of August, 1560.[14]

These facts, not given by Knox in his *History*, explain the conduct of Mary of Guise in later removing the magistrates of Perth, and leaving four companies of Scots in French service. To do less was to abandon the priests who did their duty to the mercy of men who had denounced death against them. In his letter to Mrs. Locke, Knox, after mentioning this brutal and lawless threat, says 'which thing did so enrage the venom of the serpent's seed' (the Regent) 'that a sentence of death was pronounced against man, woman, and child,' Perth was to be razed and burned. The Reformers were accused by the Regent of intending 'subversion of authority,' not unnaturally, as they threatened death against law-abiding men.[15] In the *History* the Regent's threat is given—without mention of the threat against priests, which, in his letter to Mrs. Locke, Knox represents as the provocation that maddened the Regent.

That Mary of Guise intended to act in the spirit of Knox's favourite texts in Deuteronomy and Chronicles, nobody can suppose. Indeed the Reformers did not believe in her cruelty, and many left Perth, returning, 'some of us,' and fortifying the town, on May 22. The Regent was calling in her French troops, and the levies of several counties, when the brethren wrote several letters, to her, to her French officers, to the Nobles, and to the clergy, 'The Generation of Antichrist.' To the Regent they represented her threat of massacre as 'the only cause of our revolt,' as if the revolt had not preceded the threat, if ever it was made. They menaced with excommunication all nobles of their party who did not join them: they shall be cut off 'from all participation with us in the administration of Sacraments.' The judgment 'which apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perhaps contemn and despise the excommunication of the Church now by God's mighty power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force, but yet

[14] Hay Fleming, *The Scottish Reformation. Burgh Records of Edinburgh.*

[15] Knox, VI. p. 23.

doubt we nothing but that our Church, and the true ministers of the same' (five in all!)[16] 'have the same power which our master, Christ Jesus, granted to His Apostles in these words: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained. . . ."'[17]

This is perhaps the earliest claim of the preachers to the privileges of excommunication, and of absolution of sins. It caused more than a century of strife. The Kirk, self-established, was already as fierce as in the best days of Andrew Melville. Ruthven, Provost of Perth, would not yet go to these lengths, and left Perth on May 24. On the same day, Argyll and Lord James Stewart came to parley, from the Regent, and returned to her next day, being given to understand that no rebellion was intended. On May 28, all strangers were bidden to leave Perth, on pain of treason. But, hearing of Glencairn's approach with a force of 2,500 horse and foot, the Regent requested a parley at Auchterarder, where she lay, fourteen miles off. In his *History* Knox gives the terms requested by his party thus: No Perth men to be troubled for the late uproar; Protestantism to 'go forward'; no garrison of French soldiers to be left on the Regent's departure. Glencairn now arrived in Perth, and Argyll with Lord James accepted the terms, promising to join the brethren if the Regent broke them. To Mrs. Locke, Knox adds, as two of the terms, that 'no idolatry should be erected, nor alteration made within the town.' We have not the terms of capitulation in writing, unluckily, and we shall see how Knox deals with terms of another treaty which do survive, duly recorded. Buchanan says, Knox does not, that no Frenchmen were to come within three miles of the town. We really do not know the exact conditions of the treaty. 'Before the Lords departed,' a Band was signed (the Band is dated May 31), Argyll and Lord James heading the signatories. The Regent's envoys bind themselves in this Band to continue in 'destroying and away putting, all things that does dishonour to God's name.'[18] Did Argyll and Lord James thus commit themselves *before* the Regent had been accused of breaking treaty? As they say that they are *all* in Perth, and as the Congregation departed on May 29, the dates are confusing. Knox had prophesied, on May 28, that the terms would be broken: and, he says, they were. The shooting of a boy was attributed to design—a similar accident, to a Jacobite lady,

[16] No more seem to have been concerned. [17] Knox, I. p. 333.
[18] Knox, I. p. 344.

occurred when Prince Charles entered Edinburgh after Prestonpans. Writing to Mrs. Locke, Knox turns the child into 'children.' The Catholics performed their rites (was this forbidden by treaty?), the Magistrates were deposed—why, we have explained—and Scots in French service, four hundred in all, were left to preserve order. They certainly were not Frenchmen. *After* this, Argyll and Lord James may appear, really, to have made the Band already mentioned, with Ruthven, Menteith, and Tullibardine.[19] But this theory scarcely holds water, for the names of Ruthven, Menteith, and Tullibardine do not occur among those who sign. Argyll and Lord James, in any case, left Perth for St. Andrews on June 1, summoning the faithful in Angus to meet them for the reformation of St. Andrews on June 3. Knox represents himself (I. p. 347) as 'minding to preach in St. Andrews' on Sunday, June 3 (really June 4), but (I. p. 349) he actually preached there on Sunday, June 11. What happened in the intervening week? Writing to Mrs. Locke, on June 23, he dates the beginning of the Reformation, at St. Andrews, on June 14, which, he implies, was 'that Sabbath.' It was a Wednesday. He says that he preached on Sunday, and the three next days, and that the 'reformation' began on June 14. As Sunday was June 11, it would seem that four days of sermons were needed before St. Andrews began to be 'reformed,' or wrecked.

The next important event was the conference at Cupar Muir, on June 13, which, as Knox in his *History* truly remarks, was a Tuesday. In this case we have the written terms—or some of them. The Regent is to transport all her forces out of Fife, except three small garrisons: the truce is to stand for eight days, during this time some nobles may meet to discuss the situation, 'such things as may make good order and quietness.'[20] The brethren, during this time, shall not be 'troubled' by the Government. The Regent, Knox alleges, now showed her 'craft and deceit' by sending no envoys to the Lords at St. Andrews. This so-called breach of terms may be explained by the fact that these Lords, at Cupar Muir, professed their purpose to go on wrecking, putting down 'idolatry,' and, in the eight days' truce, did wreck the Abbey of Lindores. So Knox tells Mrs. Locke. Where was the use of sending envoys to prattle of 'good order and quietness' to men who, during the interval of truce, were burning mass

[19] Knox, I. pp. 346-347. [20] Knox, I. p. 353.

books, overthrowing altars, and forcing the religious to wear lay apparel? In the *History* Knox omits the wrecking of Lindores, which, we may argue, explains the failure to send envoys to parley about 'good order and quietness.' *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland* mentions, as a term in this treaty, 'that the Congregation should enterprize nothing, nor make no invasion for the space of six days following, for the Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper'—whatever these last words may mean (*Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 60). So they invaded Lindores! Knox here publishes an undated letter written to the Regent, during the interval, by Argyll and Lord James. They complain of but one infraction of the Regent's promises, that no soldier should remain in the town [of Perth] after her departure. 'And suppose it may be inferred' (according to Knox it was explicitly stated) 'that it was spoken of French soldiers only, yet we took it otherwise, as we do yet, that Scotsmen, or any other nation, taking the King of France's wages, are reputed and held to be French soldiers.' If 'Frenchmen' was the term of treaty, the treaty was not infringed: we have no means, we repeat, of ascertaining the actual conditions. The two Lords ask for the removal of the Scots companies, and the restoration of the Bailies of Perth.

Meanwhile Knox tells neither Mrs. Locke nor the readers of Book II. that, during or just after this interval, he and Kirkcaldy of Grange began to intrigue with England. This intrigue, which involved a proposal of the marriage of Arran, son of the next heir to the Scottish crown, the Duke of Chatelherault, with the Queen of England, was to be, and is kept dark, in the pamphlet, now Book II. Knox in the tract, now Book II., gives Mary of Guise the lie, when she asserts that the brethren were trafficking with England, as we shall see. He could not confess it, and keep up his pretence of loyalty, the burden of the pamphlet. But, later, in Book III,[21] when he could glory safely in his intrigue, the Reformer tells us how, 'in St. Andrews, after Cupar Muir,' he 'burstit forth,' in talk with Kirkcaldy on the necessity of 'craving support' from England. The letters of Kirkcaldy to Cecil, one undated (in the Calendar dated, by an unlucky guess, 'May 23?'), others of June 23 and June 25, with one from Knox, exist, and the Arran-Elizabeth marriage is already hinted at very plainly. Whitelaw, a friend of Knox, about June 28, had suggested it to Throckmorton, in Paris.[22] The marriage would bring the

[21] Knox, II. p. 22.

[22] Forbes, p. 147.

Hamiltons, the last hope of the Regent in Scotland, over to the Congregation, and would naturally oust Mary Stuart from the throne of her native land.

This, at least, was Knox's design. He shows his hand plainly in a letter to Cecil of July 19, 1559. He says that they must be careful lest, in permitting the rule of a woman 'judged godly' (namely Elizabeth), they 'make entrance and title to many, by whom not only shall the truth be impugned, but also shall the country be brought to danger and slavery.'[23] The 'many,' to whom 'entrance and title' are to be denied, are clearly—Maria, Franciae et Scotiae Regina. The details of the scheme, Knox is 'not minded to commit to paper and ink,' but Kirkcaldy, in June, had twice pointed to Arran's marriage with Elizabeth.

As Laing observes, in Book II., 'the application made by the Protestants for aid from England is scarcely alluded to.'[24] It was not likely to be alluded to, much, in a passage written forty pages earlier than the part dealing with October, 1559, while Knox (I. p. 365) was denying that the brethren had any dealings with England. 'There is never a sentence of the narrative true,' he has the assurance there to write, with reference to the Regent's proclamation of July 1, 1559, in which she accuses the Lords of trafficking with England 'daily.' And, indeed, they did *not* write to England every day, if any one likes to shield Knox under that rather 'Jesuitical' reply!

Whatever the exact measure of the perfidy of Mary of Guise, at this time, as a politician, it may be admitted that, in Knox as a historian, she had a pretty apt pupil. 'We are loyal, though pious, we intend no alteration of Authority,' he was proclaiming, with the pen and from the pulpit. The Regent's plain tale 'did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused.'[25] The Regent herself did not know how deeply Knox and Kirkcaldy were really implicated.

The next point of importance is Knox's account of the 'appointment,' or terms of truce, made by the Congregation with the Regent on the links of Leith, July 24, 1559. She had them at an advantage, many of their faction had scattered, Erskine, from the Castle, threatened them, if they did not make terms. Here we must quote Knox in full.

'Heirupoun was consultatioun tackin; and in conclusioun, it was found less domage to tak ane Appointment, albeit the

[23] Knox, VI. p. 45. [24] Knox, II. p. 33, note 1. [25] Knox, I. p. 365.

conditionis war nocht suche as we desyred, than to hasard battall betuix two suche ennemeis. After lang talkin, certane Headis war drawin by us, whiche we desyred to be granted:—

'First, That no member of the Congregation should be trubled in lief, landis, goodis, or possessionis by the Quene, hir Authoritie, nor any uther Justice within the realme, for any thing done in the lait innovatioun, till a Parliament (whiche should begin the tent of Januar nixt) had decyded thingis in contraversie.

'2. That *idolatrie should nocht be erected, whare it was at that day suppressed.*[26]

'3. That the preacheouris and ministeris should nocht be trubled in thair ministrie, whare thai war alreadie establessed, nather yit stopped to preache, wharesoever thai should chance to come.

'4. That no bandis of men of warr should be layed in garneshing within the town of Edinburght.

'5. That the Frenche men should be send away at a reasonable day, and that none uther should be broght in the cuntrey without consent of the haill Nobilitie and Parliament.'[26]

But these our Articles war altered, and ane uther forme disposeth, as efter followeth:—

'At the Lynkis of Leith, the 24. of Julij 1559, it is Appointed in maner following:—

'In the first, the Congregatioun and thair cumpany, utheris than the inhabitantis of the said Town, shall remove thame selffis furth of the said town, the morne at ten houris befoir none, the 25. of Julij, and leaf the same void and red of thame and thair said cumpany, conforme to the Quenis Grace pleasour and desyre.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun shall caus the irnes of the Cunze-hous, tacken away be thame, be randered agane to Maister Robert Richardsone—and Holyrood to John Balfour or another—in the same maner as it was receaved, and that betuix the making of thir Articles and the morne at ten houris.—(For observing and keaping of thir tua Articles abovewrittin, the Lord Ruthven and the Lard of Pittarrow hes entered thame selffis pledges.)

'*Item*, The saidis Lordis of Congregatioun, and all the memberis thairof, shall remane obedient subjectis to our Soverane Lord and Ladyis authoritie, and to the Quenis Grace Regent in thair place; and shall obey all lawis and lovable consuetudis of

[26] This does not occur in what I regard as the real terms actually granted.

this realme, as thai war used of befoir the moving of this tumult and contraversie, exceptand the caus of religioun, whiche salbe heirafter specifeid.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun, nor nane of thame, shall nocht truble nor molest a Kirkman be way of dead, nor yit shall maik thame any impediment in the peaciable bruiking, joising, and uptaking of thair rentis, proffittis, and deweties of thair benefices, bot that thai may frelie use and dispone upoun the same, according to the lawis and consuetude of this realme, to the tent day of Januar nixt to cum.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun, nor nane of tham, shall in no wayis from thynefurth use ony force or violence, in casting down of kirkis, religious placis, or reparrelling thairof, bot the same sall stand skaithles of thame, unto the said tent day of Januar.

'*Item*, The town of Edinburght shall, without compulsioun, use and cheise what religioun and maner thairof thay please to the said day; sua that everie man may have fredome to use his awin conscience to the day foirsaid.

'*Item*, The Quenis Grace sall nocht interpone hir authoritie, to molest or truble the preacheouris of the Congregatioun, nor thair ministrie, (to thame that pleasis to use the same,) nor na uther of the said Congregatioun, in thair bodyis, landis, goodis, or possessionis, pensionis, or whatsumever uther kynd of goodis thai possess; nor yit thoill the Clargie, or any uther haveand spirituall or temporall jurisdictioun, to truble thame, in ony maner of sort, privatlie or openlie, for the caus of religioun, or uther actioun depending thairupoun, to the said tent day of Januar within writtin; and that everie man in particular leife in the meantyme according to his awin conscience.

'*Item*, That na man of warr, Frenche nor Scottis, be layed in daylie garnesoun within the town of Edinburght, bot to repair thairto to do thair lefull besynes, and thairefter to reteir thame to thare garnesounis.'

This alteratioun in wordis and ordour was maid without knowledge and consent of those whose counsale we had used in all cases befoir.[27] For sum of thame perceaving we began to faynt, and that we wald appoint with inequall conditionis, said, 'God hath wonderfullie assisted us in our greatest dangeris: He hath strikin fear in the hartis of our ennemeis, when thai supposed thame selffis most assured of victorie: our case is nocht yit sa disperat that we nead to grant to thingis unreasonable and

[27] This must refer to Knox and the other preachers.

ungodlie; whiche, yf we do, it is to be feared that thingis sall nocht so prosperouslie succeid as thai have done heirtofoir.'

When all thingis war commoned and aggreed upoun by myd personis, the Duke and Erle of Huntlie, who that day war against us, desyred to speak the Erlis of Ergyle and Glencarne, the Lord James, and utheris of our partie: who obeying thare requeastis, mett thame at the Querrell Hollis, betuix Leyth and Edinburght, who in conclusioun promest to our Lordis, 'That yf the Quene breake to us any one joyt of the Appointment than maid, that thai should declair thame selffis plane ennemeis unto hir, and freindis to us.'

Alsmuche promeshed the Duke that he wold do, in case that sche wald nocht remove hir Frenche men at ane reasonable day; for the oppressioun whiche thai did was manifest to all men.

This Appointment maid and subscrived by the Duke, Monsieur Dosell, and the Erle of Huntlie, the 25. of Julij, we returned to the town of Edinburght, whare we remanit till the nixt day at none; when, efter sermone, dennar, and a proclamatioun maid at the Mercat Croce in forme as followeth, we departed.

Forme of the Proclamatioun.

'Forasmuche as it hath pleased God, that Appointment is maid betuix the Quene Regent and us the Lordis, hole Protestantis of this Realme, we have thocht good to signifie unto yow the cheafe Headis of the same, whiche be these:—

'First, That no member of the Congregatioun shalbe trubled in lief, landis, goodis, or possessionis, by the Quene, by hir Authoritie, nor by any uther Justice within this realme, for any thing done in this lait innovatioun, till that a Parliament hath decyded thingis that be in contraversie.

'2. *That idolatrie shall nocht be erected, whare it is now at this day suppressed.*[28]

'3. That the preachearis and ministeris shall nocht be trubled in the ministratioun, whare thai ar already estableshed, nather yit stopped to preache whairsoevir thai shall happin to travaill within this realme.

'4. That no bandis of men of warr shalbe layed in garnesoun within the town of Edinburght.

These cheafe headis of Appointment concerning the libertie of religioun and conservatioun of our bretherin, we thoght goode

[28] This does not occur in the real terms.

to notifie unto yow, by this our Proclamatioun, that in case wrong or injurie be done, by any of the contrarie factioun, to any member of our body, complaint may be maid to us, to whome we promese, as we will answer to God, our faithfull support to the uttermost of our poweris.'

At this proclamatioun, maid with sound of trumpett, war offended all the Papists: for, first, Thai alledged it was done in contempt of the Authoritie: secundarlie, That we had proclamed more than was conteaned in the Appointment: and last, That we, in our proclamation, had maid no mentioun of any thing promished unto thame. To suche mummeris we answered, 'That no just Authoritie culd think the selff contempned, becaus that the treuth was by us maid manifest unto all, who utherwayis mycht have pretendit ignorance. Secundlie, That we proclamed nathing, whiche [was] nocht finallie aggreit upoun in word and promeiss betuix us and thame with quhame the Appointment was maid, whatsoevir thair scribeis had efter writtin, quha in verray deid had alterit, bayth in wordis and sentenceis, oure Articles, as thay war first consavit; and yitt, gif thair awin writtingis war diligentlie examinit, the self same thing sall be found in substance.[29] And last, To proclame any thing in thair favouris, we thocht it nocht necessarie, knawing that in that behalf thay thame selfis sould be diligent anewch.' And in this we war not desavit; for within fyftene dayis efter, thair was not ane schaveling in Scotland, to wham teyndis, or any uther rentis pertenit, bot he had that Article of the Appointment by hart, 'That the Kirk men sould be ansuerit of teyndis, rentis, and all uthir dewties, and that no man sould trubill nor molest thame.'

Knox in Book II. gives, (1) the terms demanded by his party. (2) The terms actually accepted. (3) The terms as mendaciously proclaimed by his party to have been accepted. These are the same as (1) their demands, except (I. No. 5) that the French should be expelled the country and no more brought in. The real terms are those (2) which are verified by the French version.[30] It was never conceded by the Regent that the French should be sent out of the country. Buchanan honestly gives the real terms (2) though he had Knox's MS. *History* before him.[31] It is inexplicable that Knox not only accuses the Regent's scribes of fraudulently altering the real terms, but that he, or Kirkcaldy, or both, sent the false terms to Cecil, on July 24. Again, it is

[29] This, in my opinion, is absolutely false. [30] In Teulet, I. p. 334-335.

[31] *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 581.

inexplicable that Knox, in a secret visit to Croft, Governor of Berwick, orally assured him that under the treaty of July 24, the French were to leave Scotland on August 15.[32]

How could Knox, the secretary, and the messenger to England, of the Congregation, fail to be aware that the terms of July 24 made no mention of sending away the French? How could he keep asserting that they did contain this clause? On August 28, the Regent replied: 'She ashamed not to set out a proclamation,' says Knox, denouncing the 'seditious persons' who 'have maliciously devised' the story about the false article in the treaty of July 24: specially the story that to bring in more Frenchmen was contrary to that treaty. The bearer of the Regent's proclamation had the text of the treaty to show.[33] The writer of the Lords' reply could not deny the fact,[34] nor could the framers of another reply.[35] Yet the brethren kept on averring that the article about sending away the French, and bringing in no more was part of the treaty, when Balnaves met Sadleir in September.[36] (Sadleir to Cecil, Sept. 8.)

The conduct of Knox, as politician and historian, in this matter may admit of some explanation which I cannot imagine. It has been suggested that a *verbal* promise to dismiss the French had been made. If so, the Lords do not attest the fact in their later proclamations. At present I only argue that, as his statements about the treaty of July 24 are, or seem, singularly false and deliberately misleading, we cannot confide in him where we cannot check his evidence. The charges against the Regent gave Chatelherault his desirable excuse for deserting the Regent when Arran came safely home in September. 'We have tempted the Duke by all means possible,' write Argyll and Lord James to Cecil, on August 13, 1559.[37] When Arran arrived, after a meeting with Elizabeth in England, the Duke made up his wavering mind; the brethren had come up to his price, and he joined the Congregation.

It is true that, later, in January, 1560, the Regent had a letter forged on a sealed blank of the Duke's, which came into her hand. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' During 1559, I do not think that the balance of perfidy lay on the side of Mary of Guise.

Since this paper was in type I have made, I think, a little

[32] Croft to Cecil, August 3, 1559. *Bain's Calendar*, I. 233, 234, 237; cf. *S. P. Scot. Eliz.*, Vol. I. No. 74.

[33] Knox, I. pp. 397-398. [34] Knox, I. p. 402. [35] Knox, I. p. 409.

[36] Sadleir Papers. [37] Knox, VI. p. 66.

discovery. On p. 122, lines 3-8, is a reference to the account of the truce of Cupar Muir, as described in 'A Historie of the Estate of Scotland,' in *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 60. The author includes in the terms, and Knox does not, that the Reformers shall make no 'invasion' during truce, 'for the Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper.' I add 'whatever these last words may mean.' Now what they mean is no mystery, on reflection. Knox (I. 353-354) prints the assurance given *by the Catholic party only*, the document is signed only by Chatelherault, and an indecipherable name, of which an attempted facsimile is given. I suppose it cannot have been 'Marie R'? Laing suggests that the facsimile may not have been 'minutely accurate.' The Regent was consulted, at Falkland, and Riddell's conjecture (Knox I. 354, Note 1) is impossible. So is mine, I fear! However this may be, Knox's document gives only the assurances of the Catholics. The Reformers must also have given corresponding assurances of quiet during the truce, and these, as the Author of the 'Historie' says, they read 'on another piece of paper.' They broke these terms of non-invasion at Lindores, and no biographer of Knox has here quoted the 'Historie.'

Now the phrase 'The Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper,' is the expression of an eye-witness and hearer of what occurred. Their written assurance would be given to the Catholic leaders. In editing the 'Historie,' Laing says that it 'contains nothing that enables us to identify the writer,' and doubts if he lived at the time and 'described events as an eye-witness.' But the phrase cited is that of an eye-witness. Now Knox (I. 307) cites 'the Chronicle gathered by the Laird of Earl's Hall,' for a story that the clergy in 1558 (1559 probably) gave the Regent £40,000. Our 'Historie' (*Wodrow Misc.*, p. 56) states the sum as 'within 15,000 lib.' The fact is not elsewhere mentioned, and the discrepancy in figures may be a slip of Knox's memory, if he did not verify his reference, or a copyist's error, our MS. of the 'Historie' being as late as 1663. At all events Pitscottie also mentions Sir William Bruce of Earl's Hall as a chronicler. He was alive in 1563. Now I think that the statements in the 'Historie' about events in Fife (pp. 76-77) show the hand of a Fife man: compare the criticism of the efforts of Lord James and Arran against the French, and their 'pretence' of having 'hindered' the French, 'albeit they were not parti,' and 'for

twelve days durst scarcely show themselves,' with Knox's flourishing version of their valour 'that passed all credibility' (Knox II. 9). If, then, the 'Historie' is by a man of Fife, we know no such chronicler (Pitscottie is out of the question), except Bruce of Earl's Hall. That house is within four miles of Cupar Muir, and Bruce may very well have been there when the Lords 'read the rest on another piece of paper.' At all events I offer the suggestion to criticism.

My conclusion is that, as a party pamphleteer, in 1559, Knox exceeded the limits of honest journalism. His plan was to deny the existence of any scheme against 'the Authority,' though he aimed at nothing less; to deny the intrigues with England in which he was taking the foremost part; and to accuse the Regent of perfidy, by asserting the existence of terms which assuredly did not exist in the Treaty of July 24. On that point is it conceivable that the Lords of his party were so stupid and false as to deceive their secretary and secret envoy? The English could not but discover their blundering perfidy, if they really took this line, and Knox himself would have justly resented their deceit. On the other hand, if he knew the facts, and misrepresented them to the English, his diplomacy was equally foolish and false. In his *History*, as far as I can discover, he deliberately concealed the truth on several essential points, and sometimes accused the Regent of perfidy when she was not guilty. I shall be happy if I can be shewn to have misapprehended the matter. Knox's curious errors, in Book I., as to past events of which he was an eye-witness, may be due to illusions of memory, and neglect of the evidence of other eye-witnesses, but several statements in Book II. cannot thus be explained. It must be observed that I am not denying the right of the Protestants to rise in arms, to ally themselves with a foreign power, and to change the dynasty, if they could. I am only asking whether Knox's account of the events is honest, candid, and veracious. My reference to State Papers (MS.) in Note 32, discloses a strange blunder in Mr. Bain's Calendar (I. 234). Knox, or Kirkcaldy, or both, sent to Cecil some of the true but also the false terms of treaty. Mr. Bain alleges that they sent the true, those of the French version.

ANDREW LANG.

The Influence of Knox

THE great influence exercised by Knox was strikingly manifested on various occasions, and is vouched for both by his friends and opponents. In 1552, when he was one of the chaplains of Edward the Sixth, he made his indelible mark on the Second Book of Common Prayer. If he had had his way, kneeling in the act of receiving the elements in the Lord's Supper would have been abolished in the Church of England. He did not manage to accomplish that; but it was in consequence of his action that the rubric known as the Black Rubric, and also as the Declaration on Kneeling, was inserted in the first edition of that Second Book after the sheets were actually printed off.[1] That rubric declares that the kneeling does not mean 'that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.'[2] The far-reaching and distinctive Protestant teaching of this rubric is unquestionable, whether the critic be a high-churchman or a low-churchman. It was in reference to this declaration that Weston, in his disputation with Latimer at Oxford in April, 1554, said: 'A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time.'[3]

The English exiles at Frankfort on the Maine, who were bent on using King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, accused Knox of *lèse majesté* against the Emperor.[4] Had these men not

[1] Lorimer's *Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 98-119.

[2] *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, p. 283.

[3] Cattley's *Foxe*, vi. 510.

[4] *Troubles at Frankfort*, 1846, pp. xliiii., xlv.

realised that his opposition was otherwise insurmountable they would not have stooped to such an expedient in order to get rid of one who was a fellow-Protestant and a fellow-exile.

The reforming nobles of Scotland must have early recognised Knox's power and popular gifts, or they would not have pressed him, once and again, to return to his native land, when they thought they saw a prospect of success. He reached Edinburgh on the 2nd of May, 1559; and nine days later he preached, in Perth, a sermon which 'was vehement against idolatrie.'[5] The crash which followed reverberated far and near. On the 13th of next month, Throckmorton, the English Ambassador in Paris, urged Elizabeth to forget Knox's 'former faultes,' considering what he 'is hable to do in Scotland, whiche is very muche, all this turmoile there being by him stirred as it is.'[6] Two years later, Throckmorton, again writing from Paris to Elizabeth, informed her that he understood that the Queen of Scots—who was then on the eve of her return to her own kingdom—was thoroughly persuaded that Knox was the most dangerous man in all the realm, and that she was therefore fully determined to use all means for his banishment, or else to assure her nobles that she would never dwell there so long as he was in the country. He added that, to make the reformer the more odious to Elizabeth, she intended to send to her, if she had not already done so, his 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women.' Elizabeth did not require this treatise; she had long known of it, and resented it; and it was to it that Throckmorton alluded, in 1559, when he asked her to forget the 'former faultes.' Again he pleads that, whatever Mary may insinuate against him, Knox is as much for Elizabeth's purpose as any man of all that nation, and that his deeds and his zeal sufficiently atoned for his fault in writing that book.[7]

A few days after Mary arrived in Scotland, Randolph, writing from Edinburgh, assured Cecil that the voice of one man was able to put more life in the Protestants in an hour, than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears. The one man, of course, was Knox, and in the same letter it is related that he had already had an interview with Mary, and that the report of this 'maketh the Papists dowte what wyll become of the worlde.'[8] As a preacher Knox roused opposition as well as enthusiasm. So early as May, 1560, a citizen of St. Andrews

[5] Laing's *Knox*, i. 318, 321. [6] Forbes' *Public Transactions*, i. 130.
[7] *Foreign Calendar Elizabeth*, iv. 179, 180. [8] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 72, 73.

was charged with having said: 'The divell knok owt Johne Knox his harnes, for, quhen he wald se him hanged he wald gett his sacrament.'[9] It was only natural that those who leaned to the old church should dislike him to whom they attributed its subversion. His influence as a preacher was not confined to the populace, nor exercised only in denunciation. After the Protestants were constrained to evacuate Edinburgh in November, 1559, he so comforted them by a sermon on the eightieth Psalm that they were wondrously emboldened;[10] and at the funeral of the Regent Murray, in February, 1569-70, 'he moved three thowsand persons to shed teares.'[11] His persuasiveness as a preacher is admitted by Father Alexander Baillie, who hated him, and who lamented that 'one apostat priest' should have had such authority and power.[12]

His power in religious and ecclesiastical matters was exercised, not only by his pulpit ministrations, but by his private letters and publications. Over and above the works which were entirely his own, he took a prominent part in the preparation of three books, which gave a distinctive tone and character to the Reformed Church of Scotland, and continued to do so long after his death. These were: (1) The *Book of Common Order*, (2) the *Confession of Faith*, and (3) the *First Book of Discipline*. Of the two last named, Spottiswoode, the Superintendent of Lothian, was one of the six joint-authors, nevertheless his son, Archbishop Spottiswoode, says that the *First Book of Discipline* was 'framed by John Knox.'[13] It may be held, therefore, that he was to a large extent, if not altogether, the author of the notably far-seeing and far-reaching scheme of education unfolded in that book. The scheme—though not carried out even yet in its entirety—has been fraught with blessing to the country.

When Kirkcaldy of Grange held Edinburgh Castle for the Queen he quarrelled with Knox. It was rumoured that he intended to slay him. Immediately on hearing this, the leading brethren of the West, headed by the Earl of Glencairn, wrote to Kirkcaldy, reminding him that God had made Knox 'both the first planter and also the cheif waterer of his kirk' in Scotland, and that, in their judgment, its prosperity and increase depended

[9] *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, i. 36.

[10] Laing's *Knox*, i. 467-473.

[11] Calderwood's *History*, ii. 526.

[12] *Catholic Tractates*, Scottish Text Society, pp. 272, 273.

[13] Spottiswoode's *History*, i. 371.

on his life.[14] After his death, Beza referred to him as the Apostle of the Scots in the restoring of the true worship of God;[15] and his faithful servitor, Richard Bannatyne, described him as 'the lycht of Scotland,' and 'the comfort of the kirke within the same.'[16] These friendly estimates were not mere panegyrics. The men who made them knew what Knox had done for his native land; and they knew something of the ignorance, the corruption, and the depravity, from which he had done so much to set it free. The opinion of his friends was unwittingly corroborated by his ecclesiastical enemies, whose malignant hatred found vent after his death in heaping up slanders and abuse on his memory. And the great influence which he exerted in moulding the Church of Scotland is thus indirectly acknowledged by a cautious and competent historian of the Church of England: 'Had there arisen in England such a reformer as John Knox showed himself to be in Scotland, the liturgy, the sacraments, the orders, the historical continuity of the English Church, might have been lost.'[17]

In the sixteenth century, it would have been utterly impossible for such a man as Knox to confine himself, in the pulpit, to matters which were strictly religious; and, consequently, he frequently proclaimed his opinion on pressing political problems, in no ambiguous terms, to the most influential audience in the kingdom. For example, Throckmorton, writing from Edinburgh five weeks after Queen Mary was thrown into Loch Leven Castle, informs Elizabeth that Mr. Knox daily prays for the continuance of the amity with England, and likewise admonishes his auditory to eschew the old alliance with France, as they would fly from the pots of Egypt, which brought them nothing but sugared poison.[18] A week before this, Throckmorton had informed his queen that he feared Knox's austerity against Mary as much as any man's.[19] In private conference, as well as in the pulpit, Knox had many opportunities of influencing the nobles. It may suffice to refer specially to one of these, mentioned by Randolph as having occurred in November, 1562, a month after Huntly's death at Corrichie. Chatelherault and Randolph supped with Knox on Sunday evening. In Randolph's presence,

[14] R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 81, 82.

[15] Beza's *Icones*, sig. Ee iii. [16] Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 289.

[17] G. G. Perry's *History of the English Church*, second period, p. 11.

[18] Stevenson's *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts*, p. 240.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 208.

the Duke promised three things to Knox, to continue in his profession of Christ's Word, to show himself an obedient subject to his sovereign as far as in duty and conscience bound, and to fulfil his promise for the maintenance of peace and amity between Scotland and England.[20] When Bothwell wished to be reconciled to Arran he went to Knox for advice. When the Queen desired that Argyll and his countess should be reconciled, she invoked the aid of Knox. When James the Sixth was crowned, Knox preached the sermon. The position he occupied was unique, as was also the influence he possessed.

It was, no doubt, largely due to the feeling and interest roused by his preaching, all over the country, that there was such an unprecedented attendance of the lesser barons in the Parliament of 1560—that Parliament which abolished the Papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and ratified the doctrines of the Reformed Church. The popular and representative character of the courts of the Reformed Church gave a new power to the people, and taught them how to use it. To Knox, more than to any other man, Scotland was indebted for the Reformation. The intrepid independence and unflagging zeal manifested by him were not lost upon his countrymen, who continued to cherish his memory; and to his teaching, example, and labours they are still indebted, in part at least, for those qualities which have enabled them to hold their own in the stern battle of life.

D. Hay Fleming.

[20] Stevenson's *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts*, p. 106.

Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century

IT is not from acts of parliament, state papers and charter chests alone that history is to be learnt. This may appear a trite saying, yet it is one that many people are apt to forget. When Carlyle delivered his famous rectorial address at Edinburgh in 1866, he reminded his hearers that it was necessary 'to look into side sources and inquire in all directions,' and his warning holds good for all time. It is well, therefore, to turn aside now and then from the beaten track, and ascertain how our forefathers amused themselves, how they occupied their leisure, and what they read; and it is my purpose in this paper to give some account of the early Scottish periodicals, their principal contributors and the nature of their contents. And to the student of character the subject thus approached in its social aspect is a fascinating one. We have it on the authority of Charles Lamb, that when disinclined for more serious study, he would wile away an hour or two skimming over the pages of some old magazine, in which perchance he might alight upon an entertaining piece of antiquated scandal or amusing anecdote.[1] So far from reckoning periodicals amongst the catalogue of 'books which are no books,' such as court calendars, directories, almanacks, scientific treatises and the like, he has enlightened us as to how a set of magazines should be suitably bound so as to withstand the wear and tear of constant use. In the libraries of many individuals these trim volumes may often be met with, and being regarded as mere lumber, they are as a rule relegated to the top shelf, a fate to which they would not be subject if Lamb's practice of desultory reading were generally adopted.

[1] *Last Essays of Elia*, No. 3. Another brilliant essayist, the late Sir Leslie Stephen, recommends the 'great art of skipping' in reading a miscellaneous collection such as the old *Gentleman's Magazine*, and even ventures to say that no man can be an enthusiast for letters unless he is sensible of this pleasure (*Studies of a Biographer*, 1899, i. 29).

The rise of periodical literature in Scotland dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The influence of Addison and Steele was soon felt, since, as early as 1711, there appeared another *Tatler* by 'Donald MacStaff of the North,' which was printed on a single sheet at the shop of James Watson, next door to the Red Lion, opposite to the Lucken-booths, Edinburgh. Amongst the literary wares provided by its author, who is supposed to be Robert Hepburn of Bearford,[1] were reflections on wits and politicians and remarks on beaux and the ladies; but despite the fact that the paper was sold for the small sum of one penny, it does not seem to have been a success. The fourth issue, which is still extant in the British Museum Library, is concerned with the nature and origin of the evils resulting from the undue severity of parents towards their children, a topic upon which there was doubtless much need to insist.

The *Scots Magazine* (1739-1826) produced by William Sands, bookseller and quondam magistrate of the city of Edinburgh, was the first publication of the kind in Scotland, and it outlived all its contemporaries. It was modelled on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which had commenced in London eight years earlier, and professed to give its readers a succinct account of public affairs, foreign and domestic, as well as a general view of religion, politics and entertainments. The contents must have appealed to persons of diverse tastes, and the opportunity of affording the public useful information is never lost sight of. In glancing over several of the volumes at random we find amongst the papers :—An easy method of extracting Cubic Roots of Binomials; A receipt to make Hasty Soup; Dr. Turnbull's cure for the Gout; A Narrative of the many horrid cruelties inflicted by Mrs. Elizabeth Brownrigg upon her poor apprentice girls; A method of building chimneys that will not smoke, of reaping honey without destroying the bees and of sweetening sea-water; Advice to young gentlemen on leaving the University; and A history of the late Comet. A special feature of the *Scots Magazine* was the list of marriages, births, deaths, and preferments, which regularly appeared and which must have added to the popularity of the magazine, the record of these domestic events not being confined to persons of high station, nor to Scotland, and newspapers being scarce. For instance, in February, 1769, the wedding was announced at Carnarvon,

[1] A. H. Millar's *Literary History of Scotland*, p. 482.

Wales, of Davy Davis, a labouring man, aged 96, and a widow of that town, aged 84. The children and grandchildren of this couple attending the ceremony were 48 in number. Two years before this date another enterprising widow, Mrs. Mary Cheetnam of Leeds, whose age is given as 66, had married a youth belonging to the same place, 43 years her junior. It is evident that the proposal did not come from the intended husband, if we may believe what is said as to the other contracting party :—'She stood godmother to him and declared (probably in excuse for her folly) that she conceived an affection for him at his christening, and retained it ever since.' In December, 1770, the deaths of no fewer than seven centenarians are given, but none of these wonderful persons lived so long as Martha Preston of Barnsley, Yorkshire, who died the previous year, aged 123. She had been married to five husbands, by whom she had been blessed with 27 children, and attributed her remarkable vitality to a walk uphill which she took every morning before breakfast until within ten years of her death.

An idea of the aim and scope of the *Scots Magazine* may be gained from the preface to the 56th volume (1794), which is the first of a new series. Utility and variety are still to be kept in view so as to blend instruction with amusement. Particular regard is to be paid to new discoveries and inventions in agriculture and manufactures. The great events then in progress on the continent and the proceedings of the British Parliament are to be notified. In many respects the publication partook more of the nature of a newspaper than a magazine in the modern signification of the term, and whatever may have been the intention of the publishers in preparing elaborate indices and summaries to their work, there can be no doubt that this repository of literature, history and politics has been largely drawn upon by writers of every description in succeeding generations. Lord Cockburn in his *Memorials* speaks of the magazine as being in its dotage in 1800 and as existing upon its antiquity alone, yet it continued to be published during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. 'She was really an amusing chronicler o' the by-gane times,' says the Shepherd in *Noctes Ambrosianae*, with a touch of regret,[1] 'and it was pleasant now and then, on a Saturday night, to tak' a dish o' tea wi' her, and hearken to her clishmaclavers about the Forty-five.'

[1] November, 1826.

The only important rival of the *Scots Magazine* was *The Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany*, established by James Sibbald in 1785. He kept a bookseller's shop and owned a good circulating library in Parliament Square, to which, amongst others, Sir Walter Scott resorted. After praising the collection the novelist writes in the *Autobiography*: 'Mr. Sibbald himself, a man of rough manners but of some taste and judgment, cultivated music and poetry, and in his shop I had a distant view of some literary characters besides the privilege of ransacking the stores of old French and Italian books which were in little demand among the bulk of his subscribers.'[1] The magazine begins well with a biographical sketch of Dr. Johnson, Remarks upon some passages of Shakespeare, An account of a newly-invented electrical machine, Proposals for instituting a society for the cultivation of vocal harmony, and An eastern tale. In later numbers there are reviews of plays and of books, pieces of poetry and short stories, and each instalment gave a register of the weather, showing the rise and fall of the barometer and rainfall during the preceding month. It was illustrated with engraved frontispieces representing views in Scotland, principally of castles and mansions supplemented by brief descriptions, which must have been highly valued in those days when guide-books were scarce, if not unknown. That voluminous writer, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, more eminent as an antiquary than as a judge, became one of the contributors, whilst Sibbald himself wrote many of the articles—chiefly those on Scottish antiquities. He befriended Burns, and his paper on the Kilmarnock volume was the first review the poet had. The criticism was distinctly appreciative, and it certainly influenced Burns in his determination not to emigrate to the West Indies, but to set out for the Scottish capital.[2]

In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for October, 1786, Sibbald writes: 'The author is indeed a striking example of native genius bursting through the obscurities of poverty and the obstructions of a laborious life. He is said to be a common ploughman, and when we consider him in this light

[1] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1848, i. 64. There is a striking portrait of Sibbald by an unknown artist in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, which represents him as a young man, and which was probably taken before he started his bookselling business in Edinburgh.

[2] *Robert Burns*, by Principal Shairp, 1879, p. 39.

we cannot help regretting that wayward fate had not placed him in a more favourable situation. . . . His observations on human characters are acute and sagacious, and his descriptions are lively and just. Of rustic pleasantry he has a rich fund, and some of his softer scenes are touched with inimitable delicacy. He seems to be a boon companion, and often startles us with a dash of libertinism which will keep some of his readers at a distance. Some of his subjects are serious, but those of the humourous kind are the best.' He then proceeds to quote the 'Address to the Deil,' 'Halloween,' and other poems. Sibbald severed his connection with the magazine in 1792, which was edited for a time by Dr. Robert Anderson, the biographer of Johnson and Smollett, and friend of Thomas Campbell.[1] Its circulation is said to have been between 600 and 700 copies. In 1803 it was incorporated with the *Scots Magazine*, which came to be published by Archibald Constable and Company, and which, twenty-three years later, was in turn merged in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* on the failure of Constable's firm.

Before the end of the century Edinburgh had become the chief centre of culture in Britain. The Literary Club of Dr. Johnson and his friends which used to meet weekly at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street, Soho, had its counterpart in Scotland. As early as 1777 Henry Mackenzie and his acquaintances, principally Edinburgh advocates, founded the Mirror Club, and assembled once a week, sometimes at Somers' opposite the Guardhouse in the High Street, but oftener at Lucky Dunbar's, a house close to Forrester's Wynd.[2] It was customary on these occasions for those who were present to produce their essays and read them aloud for the edification of the company. When any of the papers, either owing to defects of style or from the nature of the subject, was condemned, the author was compelled to put it in his pocket and drink a bumper to its *manes*. The idea of starting a journal similar to the *Spectator* apparently originated with William Craig, a relative of Mrs. MacLehose, the celebrated 'Clarinda' of Burns' letters,[3] and Mackenzie

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, by William Anderson, 1862, vol. i., p. 135.

[2] *Old and New Edinburgh*, by James Grant, vol. i., p. 120.

[3] *The Scottish Nation*, 1862, vol. i., p. 692.

became editor.[1] *The Mirror* commenced on January 23rd, 1779, and ended on May 27th, 1780, having latterly been issued twice a week. Its principal contributors besides Mackenzie, who wrote 42 out of the 110 papers to which it extended, were certain literary lawyers, who became eminent as judges of the Court of Session, namely: Lord Cullen, Lord Abercromby, Lord Craig, Lord Bannatyne, Lord Wedderburn, and Lord Hailes. The aim of the *Spectator* was to set up a standard of morals for imitation. But Addison promised his readers that he would spare no pains to make their instruction agreeable and their diversion useful. Mackenzie echoes the same thought when he says: 'I mean to show the world what it is, and will sometimes endeavour to point out what it should be.' His ostensible correspondents are numerous, and write under various disguises. Posthumous Agricola tells of a whimsical proposal for an improvement in agriculture; Eugenius criticises the doctrines of Lord Chesterfield; Modestus discourses on good company; Lorenzo describes his difficulty in finding a suitable wife,[2] and so forth. Much speculation existed at the time as to who the authors were. Mr. Abercromby, a member of the club, relates that one day when at Mr. Cadell's shop in London, a certain noble Lord asked the bookseller whether he could give him some information on the subject. He was assured that all the *literati* of Scotland were concerned in the enterprise, but Cadell, who seems to have been in the secret, refused to mention any names.

The letters of the Homespun family, in which are set forth the evils resulting to persons of moderate means of intimacy with the rich and worldly, are excellent. In place of Sir Roger de Coverley we have Mr. Umphraville, whose resemblance to that worthy knight is indeed remarkable. He too has had a love affair in early life, spends much of his time at his country seat, is noted for his benevolence and proves

[1] It is not strictly accurate to describe him as 'editor,' but the term, failing another equally suitable, will suffice for the purposes of this article. Sir Leslie Stephen, in an interesting paper on 'The Evolution of Editors,' has pointed out that the name, as implying the commander of a periodical, was not recognised until 1802. It is synonymous with 'publisher' or 'commentator' in Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1785 (*Studies of a Biographer*, 1899, i. 37).

[2] This letter was clearly suggested by Addison's essay, 'On asking advice on Affairs of Love.'

himself, in short, a model landlord. The foibles and fashionable affectations of the fair sex are similarly treated as in the *Tatler* or *Spectator*. In acknowledging that women are more susceptible of good impressions than men, and that they never fail to improve by wise counsel if approached in a proper manner, Steele, it will be remembered, assures his readers that he is devoted to their service. 'But,' he adds, 'I must not omit at the same time to look into their errors and mistakes, that being the readiest way to the intended end of adorning and instructing them.'[1] With equal diffidence and yet with equally good intentions, Mackenzie administers a mild rebuke to the other sex. 'As to my fair countrywomen,' he says, 'it is ever with reluctance that I am obliged to take notice of any little impropriety into which they inadvertently fall. Let them, however, reflect that a certain delicacy of sentiment and of manners is the chief ornament of the female character, and the best and surest guardian of female honour.'[2] The pathetic story of Nancy Collins illustrates the distresses to which the families of soldiers and sailors were subject during the time of war; and in 'The Tale of La Roche,' perhaps the most popular of all the contributions to *The Mirror*, Mackenzie depicted his friend David Hume as the man who, whilst he felt no devotion, never quarrelled with it in others, and, although not himself a Christian, was the best of unbelievers. Mr. Joseph Fielding, who is capitally portrayed, is taken as the typical macaroni of the eighteenth century. Having squandered his patrimony and refused to adopt a profession, he is content to lead a lazy life entirely dependent on the generosity of his elder brother Sir George, and he prides himself on his powers of fascination over his countrywomen.

'As I am a good shot,' he writes to Mr. Mirror, 'I spend a great part of my time in shooting; and Mr. Joseph, for that is the name I go by, is made a welcome guest at all the gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood; the more so, as I seldom make a visit without carrying along with me some of the game I have killed. I never fail to make one at all the sports in the neighbourhood. At a village wedding I am a considerable personage; and there is not a country girl who does not think it an honour to dance with Mr. Joseph. When Lady Fielding

[1] *Tatler*, No. 139. [2] *Mirror*, No. 9.

makes a visit, I generally attend her in the absence of Sir George. The only part of my employment which I find disagreeable is that sometimes in the winter evenings I am set a-reading to my lady; and, among other publications, I have read over to her most of the *Mirrors*. My lady likes them exceedingly, so do I too, but not for the same reason as she does; I like them—because they are short.'[1]

In the 36th number, Craig drew attention to the genius of Michael Bruce, the author of that touching 'Elegy—Written in Spring,' in which he foretold his own end. He died a victim to consumption, aged twenty-one, on July 5th, 1767, and his poems were published three years later by his friend, John Logan, tutor to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, and himself a poet of some eminence. When the paper was re-published in volume form, and the authors' names were disclosed, the proprietors obtained a large sum for the copyright, out of which they presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and purchased a hogshead of claret for the Club. The members always held an anniversary dinner on the day on which the first number was published.

Its success induced Mackenzie to start another periodical, *The Lounger*, which continued from February 6th, 1785, to January 6th, 1787. The most important contribution to this journal was undoubtedly his review of Burns' poems, which appeared shortly after the latter's arrival in Edinburgh in November, 1786.[2] As has been pointed out by more than one of the poet's biographers, Mackenzie was the first to claim that Burns should be recognised as a great original poet, and was the means whereby his fame was perfected in Scotland. Burns himself writes of his benefactor in terms of enthusiastic praise to Mrs. Dunlop, but it is apparent that in his reference to a greater essayist than Mackenzie, his inclination gets the better of his judgment. Writing from Ellisland on April 10th, 1790, he says: 'I have just now, my ever honoured friend, enjoyed a very high luxury in reading a paper of the *Lounger*. You know my national prejudices. I had often read and admired the *Spectator*, *Adventurer*, *Rambler*, and *World*, but still with a certain regret that they were so thoroughly and entirely English. . . . You must know I have

[1] No. 69, by Craig.

[2] *Lounger*, No. 97. It is called 'Extraordinary account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman,' and is quoted at length in *The English Essayists*, compiled by Robert Cochrane, Edinburgh, 1892.

just met with the *Mirror* and *Lounger* for the first time, and I am quite in raptures with them; I should be glad to have your opinion of some of the papers. The one I have just read, *Lounger*, No. 61,[1] has cost me more honest tears than anything I have read for a long time. Mackenzie has been called the Addison of the Scots, and, in my opinion, Addison would not be hurt at the comparison. If he has not Addison's exquisite humour, he as certainly outdoes him in the tender and the pathetic.'[2] We are enlightened as to the requirements of the so-called reading public by a contributor, Dr. Henry, who projects a scheme for a new sort of periodical publication, namely, a lady's magazine, or, as he euphoniously has it, 'a work for the improvement of the fair sex.' It is to be feared, however, that the learned doctor, in his ingenious article, is merely poking fun at the ladies, for he promises them all kinds of interesting anecdotes of private characters, with tea-table conversations, as well as a dictionary of French phrases to assist those who have not hitherto arrived at much perfection in that language.[3] Mr. Cullen, in a quizzical number, dilates upon the idiosyncrasies of a company assembled at an election dinner, from a survey of their hats ranged on the wall behind them, and observes that in the slightest particulars of dress people are apt to stamp the image of their minds—an approximation to Carlyle's 'Philosophy of Clothes,' which it is strange to find propounded by a sober-minded lawyer of the eighteenth century.[4] Several of the traits of Sir Roger and Mr. Umphraville re-appear in Colonel Caustic, a country gentleman of the old school, who delights in reminiscence and anecdote. And in this connection it must be confessed that the later essays in *The Lounger* are inferior to the earlier efforts of the same authors, who are too prone to harp upon the old themes, and who in their laudable desire to inculcate wisdom and regenerate mankind appear to have overreached themselves. At all events, the magazine came to an abrupt termination in the beginning of 1787, not without an expression of regret on the part of its promoters, who were candid enough to admit that a second publication based on similar lines might not be equal in merit to its predecessor.

[1] *The Story of Albert Bane.* It treats of the relations between masters and servants.

[2] *Correspondence of Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, edited by W. Wallace, 1898, pp. 251 and 252.

[3] *Lounger*, No. 60.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 12.

This is quite true in the present instance, where the ethical element came to be pushed too far. We may smile, for example, at the moral platitudes interspersed throughout the story of Mr. Saintford,[1] a spendthrift reclaimed from extravagance to a life of industry, sobriety and independence. But, after all, much of interest remains; and it is on account of the vivid glimpses of the society of a bygone age that *The Mirror* and *The Lounger* will be read in the twentieth century, although they can lay no claim to originality in conception and design, as is evident from the outset.

Between 1768 and 1784 appeared another periodical, which professed to be a register of the writings and transactions of the times, and which attained a circulation of 3000 copies. It was founded by Walter Ruddiman, a nephew of the grammarian, and its portentous title ran thus: *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, containing the essence of all the magazines, reviews, newspapers, etc., published in Great Britain; also Extracts from every new Work of Merit, whether political, literary, serious or comical.* Besides light articles, others of practical utility were included in the collection, suitable, as the publisher says, for the requirements of physician, virtuoso, country gentleman, merchant, mechanic or farmer. The poetical department of the paper was specially reserved for 'the tribe of juvenile readers,' for whose delectation were provided verses on 'Reason,' 'The Power of Virtue,' 'Love and Resolution,' and kindred subjects. In discussing political affairs, the editor, more concerned for the prosperity of his enterprise than the peace of the world, regards with the utmost complacency the prospect of war. 'The flames now kindling,' he writes, 'may embroil the half of Europe before they are extinguished. In that event every post will be looked for with anxiety, and the intelligence he brings devoured with greediness.' It is stated that the publishers soon came into conflict with the Inland Revenue authorities for evading the newspaper stamp duty,[2] and this result is not surprising. As further proof that the weekly chronicle constituted an important item, it may be noted that when Mrs. Siddons played at the Theatre Royal in 1784 the *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine*, as it was then called, gave a full account of her performances, and recorded that the manager

[1] *Lounger*, No. 70.

[2] A. H. Millar's *Literary History of Scotland*, p. 481.

took the precaution, after the first night, of having an officer's guard of soldiers at the principal door for the purpose of regulating the crowd, which began to assemble round the theatre at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Both Telford and Mayne contributed poems to the magazine, and in this way an intimacy sprang up between them which continued until the great engineer's death in 1834.[1] This paper was soon followed by two others, *The Edinburgh Eighth-day Magazine* (1779) and *The Scottish Register* (1794), both of which lasted but a year, and were obvious imitations of Ruddiman's magazine.

More interesting and certainly more useful in its day was *The Bee or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, which was circulated in Edinburgh between the years 1791 and 1794. It was edited and in great part written by Dr. James Anderson, a distinguished agriculturalist and author, who published many works on natural history, planting, draining, fisheries, commerce and manufactures in Scotland, topics which also found a place in his magazine. He had entered upon the management of his father's farm at Hermiston, near Edinburgh, at an early age, had studied chemistry under Dr. Cullen, and in 1780 had received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen. In that county he became the tenant of Mr. Udny of Udny, and settled upon the farm of Monkshill, which extended over about 1130 acres.[2] His experience as farmer had taught him the necessity for a literary and scientific miscellany, which would inspire a taste for belles-lettres, and at the same time be of assistance to those engaged in outdoor pursuits. In 1783 Arthur Young had started *The Annals of Agriculture*, to which amongst others George III. contributed under the name of 'Ralph Robinson, farmer at Windsor,' and Anderson probably thought that Scotland should not be behindhand in promoting the interests of the rural community. The title which he chose was doubtless suggested to him by Goldsmith's publication of the same name, which, undeservedly neglected by his contemporaries, is now appreciated, whilst Anderson's magazine is forgotten. It is true that it will afford no brilliant fragment as, for instance, the oft-

[1] Notes to 'The Siller Gun,' a poem in five cantos by John Mayne : London, 1836. This poem, which is commemorative of an annual wapinschaw instituted at Dumfries by James VI., was printed in *The Weekly Magazine*, vol. xliv., 1780.

[2] *Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century* : Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1877.

quoted *City Night Piece* of its more famous predecessor, yet the nature of its contents is such as should appeal to the practical agriculturalist of to-day, if only that he may understand the changed conditions under which farming operations are now carried on. Lord Gardenstone, a judge of session and a noted improver, was an occasional contributor to the magazine, and he must have found in Anderson a kindred spirit. He established the village of Laurencekirk adjoining his property of Johnstone in Kincardineshire, and encouraged strangers to settle in the place and promote various industries. His peculiarities, according to Dean Ramsay, who records a sheaf of anecdotes, were an extreme fondness for pigs and an abnormal taste for snuff.[1] Soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution certain essays appeared in the *Bee* on the political progress of Great Britain, which were perhaps naturally regarded with suspicion. Anderson was called before the Sheriff, but, magnanimously preferring to take the responsibility on his own shoulders, refused to name the writer. The magistrates were induced to let the matter drop, out of respect for his character and attainments, but shortly afterwards the real author, one Callendar, preparatory to his departure for America, went out of his way to insinuate that Lord Gardenstone had written the papers; and Anderson, on hearing of his conduct —'so becoming the spirit of a genuine Democrat,' says the Tory *Gentleman's Magazine*[2]—no longer hesitated to clear himself of the charge.

It has been said that the secret of success is constancy of purpose, but an exception to this rule is to be found in the career of James Tytler, who, during twenty years, projected no fewer than five periodicals, *The Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine* (1772), *The Weekly Mirror* and *The Weekly Review* (1780), *The Observer* (1786), and *The Historical Register or Edinburgh Monthly Intelligencer* (1792), all of which soon came to an end. The personality of this eccentric character is more worthy of study than his works, which seem to have been full of blunders, since he composed both type and text with marvellous rapidity at the same time on a printing press of his own construction.[3] He was educated for the medical profession, took to writing songs and essays on revealed and natural religion, was employed

[1] *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 1874, p. 151.

[2] Vol. lxxviii., December, 1808.

[3] H. G. Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, 1901, p. 357.

by the publishers to compile scientific treatises, and translate classical authors at a miserable salary, and was always on the verge of starvation. Burns says that he 'was an obscure, tippling, but extraordinary body, who drudges about Edinburgh as a common printer with leaky shoes, a sky-lighted hat and knee buckles.' He endeavoured to rival Lunardi, the aeronaut, and was known to fame as 'Balloon Tytler.' His exploits are duly recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1784:—'Mr. Tytler of Edinburgh, having perfected an air balloon on the 27th of August last, made a successful attempt to navigate the air. The balloon being filled at Comely Gardens, he seated himself in his basket, and the ropes being cut, he ascended very high and again descended very leisurely on the road to Restalrig, about half a mile from the place he rose. He *claims* the honour to be the first person who has navigated the air in Great Britain.' Having advocated Parliamentary reform in *The Historical Register*, he was forced to flee the country; and at the time of his death, in 1803, he was conducting a newspaper at Salem, Massachusetts, but it is not certain that he managed to make it pay.

In the history of periodical literature of the time the name of Mackenzie stands pre-eminent. He has been called by Scott the 'Northern Addison,' and, if he cannot be placed on a level with that essayist, he at any rate imitated him to some purpose. The attraction of his style is its perfect simplicity, and it is entirely free from that taint of artificiality and pedantry which marred the work of contemporary editors. It was the age of laudatory dedications and elaborate introductions that combined high-flown phrases with fulsome flattery. In the preface to the 56th volume of the *Scots Magazine* occur these words, and they may be quoted as typical of the way in which several of the publishers we have named sought to conciliate public opinion and control the course of political events:—'The Editors unequivocally declare their sincere attachment to our present happy constitution; in their bosoms they deeply cherish respect to their Sovereign; and it will ever be their pride to disseminate a veneration for the sacred faith of their fathers, a love for their country and subordination to the magistrate. This glorious constitution, civil and religious, they will zealously support, and will reject with indignation such sentiments as may in any degree tend to shake the foundations of the one or diminish that regard and reverence which are due to the other.'

Hazlitt, in one of his essays, has condemned this manner of writing as mechanical, conventional, and formal, and we imagine that he would have found an apt illustration for his argument in such a passage, which, perfervid in patriotism, is obviously intended to attract the sentimental reader, and thus bring grist to the mill.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

Mary Queen of Scots and Her Brother

THE following letter, so far as can be ascertained, has never been fully published in this country. A brief extract from it appeared in the report of the Historical MSS. Commission upon the Malet Papers, and it is given in full in Philippson's *Marie Stuart*. Its importance is so great as to justify its publication here: it throws fresh light upon the relations between Queen Mary and her brother—a point that has given rise to so much controversy. This letter proves that he gave her sound advice; it shows that he never could have told her, as alleged by Conæus and Stevenson, that Scotland's allegiance to the Pope was still unshaken. He makes no secret of his affection for the reformed religion, and there is a ring of manly independence about some of the sentences which disarm suspicion as to his sincerity. If this letter stood alone, the often-discussed point as to whether he betrayed his sister would assuredly be answered in the negative. He points out in very vivid language the danger ahead should she pursue certain courses; but we shall see that, notwithstanding his excellent advice, he had already betrayed Mary. Was the letter then written under feelings of remorse for the double part he was acting? He evidently, for conscience' sake and to avoid future reproach, desired to give her a fair chance of maintaining her position—if she could. He points out the way, and there his responsibility ends; for there can be little doubt that he was already playing for the high stake which could only be won through her ruin. The allusions in his letter will be better understood by reference to the terms of the agreement, in July, 1560, between Queen Mary, her husband, and the Estates. Among other provisions it was then stipulated that:—

No strangers or clergy shall occupy high offices; the Estates were to consider the complaints of aggrieved clergy and make reasonable reparation; no foreign soldiers should be sent into Scotland, and only 120 of the French troops were to remain at

Dunbar and Inchkeith; the property and persons of the clergy were not to be disturbed, and the nobility were to pursue all who molested them; as to matters of religion the Estates were to send representatives to Mary and Francis with a ratification of the treaty, and these envoys, on behalf of the Estates, were to receive the Queen and King's ratification thereof.

But difficulties arose: neither Mary nor her husband would tolerate Queen Elizabeth's interference between themselves and their subjects. Besides, the Estates never adhered to the agreement. After the death of Francis the Scots Queen, in 1561, resolved to return to her own country, where there was seething discontent and all-round distrust. The people had not yet recovered from the effects of anarchy; and, although there was a lull in the strife, the victorious party acted too much on the principle that 'might was the measure of right' to suit the views of a powerful minority. The Queen was merely a name, her patrimony had been depleted, but with rumours of her return factions were beginning to adhere to her for their own selfish interests. Lord James, in his letter, shows how perfectly he understood the motives and designs of the several parties in the State. The Queen was thus, as she had been from the cradle, the centre of religious, political, and dynastic intrigue. A certain section of her subjects desired to hinder her return, and wished she might never come home, as Lord James frankly tells her. There was a great deal of uncertainty as to what line of policy she would adopt; she might, like her mother, fight strenuously for her religion and prerogatives. But, in any case, the Protestants were determined to hold all they had won; the Roman Catholics fondly hoped that they might, through Mary's countenance, retrieve the position in the State which they had lost. As both parties were very anxious to 'fully grope her mind,' they decided to send representatives to visit her. The reformers selected the Lord James Stewart as the most fit person to represent them. He could the more readily gain her confidence, 'nature must move her to bear him some good will, and it is like that she will rather trust him than any other.'[1] Besides, he had personal reasons for seeing the Queen. Before he set out Commissioners arrived from Mary, which, to some extent, altered the situation; so he was provided with no formal commission from the Estates. Yet he was given plainly to understand—so Knox states—that if he condescended that Mary should have the mass privately or

[1] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 510.

publicly in Scotland, then he betrayed the cause of God. To this he demurred, because she might have the mass secretly in her chamber, and who was to prevent her? John Lesley, afterwards the famous Bishop of Ross, was the representative selected by those of the ancient faith, and he was to counteract the influence of Lord James by warning Mary not to be deceived by his fine phrases. Lesley's mission was to try to induce the Queen to throw in her lot with her co-religionists, land at Aberdeen and advance upon Edinburgh with an army! That certainly would have brought about a speedy crisis. Lord James and his companions left Edinburgh all clad 'in dule weid without ane commission,'[2] and on his journey through London he was received by Queen Elizabeth and her ministers because he had to tell her the policy of the lords.[3] It is significant that she quietly began to prepare for emergencies. An unpublished letter from Randolph to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, dated 28 April, 1561, deals with Lord James's visit to Mary. It seems that he left many sorrowful hearts behind, and there is proof that his friends were not over confident as to his integrity. Maitland and Randolph regarded him as staunch enough, but every one thought the enterprise a dangerous adventure. They imagined he might be detained in France through the influence of his opponents; or he might be induced to change his mind. Randolph assured Throckmorton that Lord James was:

> another way farther bent then to chrowde hymself under a knave cloke. That bayt hath byn layde for hym long sens with larger promises then ever wer ment to be performed. If they wolde attempte hym any other waye then with a redde hatt I wolde better allow their wytts.

Thus Lord James's friends, as well as the Papist party, seemingly believed that he had higher ambitions, *i.e.* wanted the crown. But a red hat had no attraction for him: 'Our soyle,' we are told, 'being suche that it will not beare so unkoothe a beist as a Cardinal!' Randolph makes a 'merrie point' about the fate of Cardinal Beton, and gives an anecdote of Queen Mary's childhood which has not hitherto appeared in print.[4] But the most important item in this gossiping letter of Randolph's is the

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents* p. 64. [3] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 510.

[4] One day Cardinal Beton, evidently in his robes—Randolph says 'disguised garments'—entered the room where the little queen was and she cried out in alarm: 'Kyll, Kyll the Redeaton, he will carry me away.' This shows that Queen Mary was threatened, when naughty, with a bogey, for she evidently thought the Cardinal was the 'Reid Etin'—the giant or monster of nursery fables.

clue given to the personal reasons for Lord James's visit to France. It throws a flood of light upon after-events in Scotland, events very obscure but of vital import to Mary. His mission, according to the prevalent belief, was undertaken from selfish motives. Randolph puts the matter very clearly:

> There were maynie who sprede abrode that his chiefe arrand unto his syster was to conspyre against others to make hymselfe greate; to assure to hymselffe the Erledome of Murraye and Fyffe, that beinge allied with the Erle Marshall whose daughter he shall marrie, and also with the Erle of Argile who hathe married his syster, being of kyn unto the Erle of Athole and joyned in intere friendschip with the Erle of Glencarne, Mr. of Maxwell, and maynie other noblemen and gentilmen of this country he shalbe hable to torne all thyngs topsye torve, work what he lyst and leade by the eare whom he please.[5]

Queen Mary also must have believed that Lord James 'came only to do his duty to her without any commission relating to anything else'—so she tells Throckmorton in her letter of 22nd April. Thus she did not look upon him as a representative of the reformers. His visit then resolves itself into one for personal aggrandisement with the role of a spy 'to grope her mind' for the purpose of betraying her secret intentions to his colleagues! Yet in his letter he poses as being faithful to God and his sovereign. Save for the revelations of Throckmorton, there is little to indicate the nature of the discussions between Mary and her brother. But Lord James's references, in his letter to the Queen, proves that Mary was inclined to adopt broad and liberal views as regards religious matters. She decided to accept accomplished facts, and also indicated that she would be guided by the Lords. Now Lord James perfectly understood her attitude, and was so satisfied with it that he prays God to continue her in the same mind. It is very probable that Queen Mary advised her brother to break off his relations with the English Court. But on this point Lord James took up an unflinching attitude, and, according to Throckmorton, showed that neither the displeasure of his sovereign 'could waver him, nor great promises winne him' from his devotion to Elizabeth and his religion. On this account, so it is alleged, Mary's attitude towards her brother changed. It appears—Throckmorton's letter is the authority—that she intended to give Lord James a temporary commission as regent until her arrival, but owing to his pro-English tendencies this was not now to be done.[6] This allusion to a temporary regency acquires startling significance

[5] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 79. [6] *Foreign State Papers* (*Eliz.*), vi. p. 91.

when taken in conjunction with Lord James's advice to Mary, and his real attitude towards her return. He urges upon her the necessity for her presence in Scotland, and insists that in the event of delay she should direct an ample commission to 'sic as your Majesties hart can trust to govern your hienes people during your hyghnes absence.' No one can deny the soundness of the advice as to a proper authority for 'receiving resignations and subscribing signatures,' nor can any one now doubt as to who Lord James intended should be regent. After a brief stay with Mary, he set out for Scotland to prepare for her home-coming, and the Queen may have advised him to visit neither Paris nor England. But on this point he evidently cared little whether he displeased her or not, at all events he made no secret of his interviews with Throckmorton or Elizabeth, though it certainly does seem that the former understood his visit was a secret one. It is in connection with this interview that Mr. Tytler accuses Lord James of having betrayed his sister. Throckmorton states that in the course of conversation Lord James 'declared all that had passed' between Queen Mary and himself, so the question arises as to whether he was a traitor to Mary? Dr. Hay Fleming, whose hostility to Mary is scarcely concealed, combats Mr. Tytler's view, and Mr. Andrew Lang has given a special note upon the point without arriving at any definite conclusion. But is there any room to doubt Lord James's treachery? Was not his mission to some extent to fully 'grope' the Queen's mind for the express purpose of betraying her intentions to his colleagues and to Queen Elizabeth? And so far as he was able to do so, he betrayed Mary to Elizabeth and Cecil as well as to Throckmorton. Is it then of any avail to say that he did not betray her because he never concealed from her the fact of his interviews with these people? Does it lessen his perfidy one iota that he makes allusion to these visits in his letter? But this is what he wrote to Throckmorton in an unpublished letter from London on 20th May:

After my most harty commendaciounis this shalbe to certifie your honor that incontinent after my arryvall to London I past to the Court wher it pleased the Q[enes] Majestie and the Counsale to schew me more favour nor ever I culd deserve. And as it pleased the Q[uenes] hienes to gif me all oportunytie of communication I did oppen the mater at length unto her g[race] which we conferrit amangs us at our last departing in Paris. And not only to her hienes bot also to secretary Cecill as I suppose ye sall understand afterwards.[7]

[7] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 117.

The extent of his treachery is shewn by Throckmorton's letters of 1st and 4th May. Little wonder then that the English minister at Paris kept insisting that Lord James, 'one of the most virtuous noblemen' and such an upright man, 'should be rewarded!' 'If all King Henry VIII. rich furs of sables and black genets be not spent and made fees I could wish that he had two of the fairest.' What a reward for the betrayer of his queen and his country! If we credit Camden, and there is no reason to doubt it, he tried to induce Elizabeth to capture Mary on her way to Scotland. Lethington we know vilely suggested the same thing when he wrote in August 'marvelling' that Mary should communicate anything to her officials which she desired to preserve secret from the English ministers. 'If two galleys,' he wrote, 'may safely pass I wish the passport had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares or declare you enemy to those whom you cannot offend.' Now Randolph's letter of 9th August proves that Lord James and the Earl of Morton (who both so ardently urged Mary to return, promising not to spare their lives or substance in her service) were among those who wished that her return might be delayed.[8] The Privy Council of England, in an unpublished letter to Throckmorton, declare that Mary's return would prove very hurtful and prejudicial, and it was not 'mete for us to furder it.' The longer Queen Mary's affairs were uncertain the better shall Queen Elizabeth's prosper, and if Mary attempted to return by sea without safe conduct 'yet could we not think it good counsell to offer such gentleness as might entice her to pass thither.'[9] On 12th August Cecil wrote that the English Fleet will be sorry to see Mary pass. Queen Elizabeth held, of course, that Mary's presence in Scotland would lessen devotion to England, so she intrigued and did all she could to delay Mary, even to the extent of urging that the latter's Privy Council might find some method of hindering their Queen's return.[10] Lord James hurried to Scotland, and the question arises, did he deliberately deceive Mary as to the true state of affairs? He gave her to understand that he found the nobles and barons assembled 'as it appearyt for the parliament.' Yet he tells Throckmorton, in another unpublished letter, a very different story. It is interesting to compare the two versions; this is what

[8] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 543. [9] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 144.

[10] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 537.

he wrote on 3rd June, exactly a week before he sent his letter to Mary:

After most hartly commendacions; being arryved heyr at Edinburgh the xxix. of Maji I fand ane great parte of the Nobilitie assemblit upon hope of the parliament, as wes spokin, bot of treuth ane devised propose be the wikked papists wha braggit (as myght be) to sette oup the messe again; whilk cumyne to the knawledge of the protestants caused in nomber of thaym alsua to convene. Sa that or my arryvall the papists hade quyt that point, and now after the declaratour of my souverain's mynd the mater brought to this point: that almaist universally it is aggreeit that the Idoll sall doun throughout al pairtis and execution to pass on continuars and all meynteynaris, conforme to ane act made in the last parliament. Whereunto also has condiscended ane great number evin of thayme that expreslie came for the meyntenance thairof, praysed be god, wha I trust sall lykwyss turn in uther realmes the crafts of his adversaries to thayre confusion.[11]

Two days later he wrote to Cecil to the same effect, so we see that Mary's declaration for tolerance and her expressed intention of being guided by the Lords only led to a renewal of religious persecution. The Roman Catholics, of course, assembled in expectation of the Parliament, like the others, but once the Protestants knew the Queen intended to be guided by themselves, they straightway decided to annihilate the papists. Neither Mary's declaration nor the terms of the treaty bound the reformers. They tore the treaty to rags, as Mr. Andrew Lang states, yet we see how tightly they tried to bind Mary over the Villemore incident, which was a tactical blunder on her part—seeing he was no Scot. Villemore, according to Randolph, 'was a false flattering varlet.' In the opening paragraphs of his letter to Mary the Lord James gives a plain hint at the necessity for appointing a governor or regent. His urgent appeal to Mary not to interfere in religious matters, which had to come up for adjustment in terms of the treaty of July, 1560, shows how fully he appreciated the dangers of pressing for a settlement. But apart from these matters, what a lurid light his letter throws upon his opinion of his contemporaries. He could read them like an open book, and this was the reason why he was able to secure his *alibi* when Riccio and Darnley were murdered. He was one of those 'mayr secret and coverit' persons most to be feared, and never scrupled to take advantage of the black deeds and treason of his associates. Surely his hypocrisy stands revealed when he tells Mary that those most experienced in affairs were easily known through the fear of God manifesting itself in

[11] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 121.

their conversation. It was such as they who wrought vile things in Scotland. Some were honestly concerned for the welfare of the State, but bigotry overcame their reason; others were the very men who lived in open adultery, yet were of the elect; they sang psalms and cheerfully plunged their dagger into their neighbours. Whether they suspected it or not, they were all pawns in the game of Lord James, who stood aloof until the time came for throwing off the mask. Then this saintly person did not hesitate to use the Casket letters (which he well knew were forgeries, as can now be proved) to dishonour and dethrone his sister. The concluding paragraph of his letter discloses his inveterate hatred of the Hamiltons: more especially of 'my lord of St. Andrews,' the reference to this prelate seeming really prophetic considering his baneful influence upon Mary's destiny.

D. Murray Rose.

LETTER FROM JAMES STEWART TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The letter from James Stewart to Mary Queen of Scots is preserved in the British Museum.—Add. MSS. 32091 fol. 189. The contractions have been extended and are shown by italics.

MAY it pleis your majestie upon my journey at London being advertyst of your majesties disease I depeschit incontinent my cusing my Lord of Sanct Colm toward your *grace* abuif all thing desyrous to knaw your majesties welefair. Thairafter I maid diligence towards Scotland and arryving at your *hyghnes* toun of Edinbourgh upon the xxix. of May fand ane verray great number of your hyghnes nobility, barronis and uther estates assemblit (as it appearyt for the Parliament). Notwithstanding that I supposed William Henderson be spetial directioun from your *grace* hade dischardged the same, and I according to your hyghnes commandement hade wryttin to that same effect to my Lord Duk's *grace* Whilk wrytting he hade receaved lang of befoir. Wherfor finding the opportunitie maist comodious declared to your *grace's* nobilitie your *hyghnes* will towardis the deferringe of the parliament unto your majesties haym cumying, and als the reassembling of the same in the end of Julii or beginning of August for receaving of your hyghnes. As to the first they maist willingly obeyt, sua that no parliament wes halding at this tyme. As tuiching the reassembling declared they wald be in all radynes upon deu advertisement in thair maist honest maneir with als glade hartis as evir subjects receaved thair Souveraine.

Anents the commission of thesaurer direct to maister Robert Rychartson[12] he hayth acceptit the same in presence of the counsele and nobilitie wha hes promisit to him ane assured concurrence and fortification in the execution of his chardge. And I for my part hes not only offerit but sall performe to my uttermaist the same as evir he sall requyir, and thairof hes assured him. Treuth it is, madame, as then it was propounded, sa judge I, that the said commission sall litill advance the weal of your hyenes service in sa far as during your *grace's* absence thair is nayn that hes any commission to receave resignatioun, or subscryve signatouris, the whilks enforce man be done befoir the thesaurer cum to ony composition as the custum of this your majesties realme hayth evir obteyned. In utheris your *hyghnes* affaires besydes sic as requyris resignatiouns, and subscrivit signatour, thair sall be na diligence omyttit as I suppon your hienes sall hayf guid experience.

And as to your majesties office of Controllour I fand the haill nobilitie maist willing that your *hyghnes* patrymonye the revenue of your crown suld be in all quarters ouplifted and imbrought be your majesties Controllour to your *grace's* comoditie, and thairunto hes promisit thair assystance and fortification as evir necessite sall requyir. Tuiching the admission of Willemore thair ansuer wes that they wald haif bein maist glade to haif fallowed your majesties command thairin, but in respect he wes na born man of your majesties realm it seymeth to thayme prejudicial to ane of the chief capitulatiounis of the last treatty past betuix your majesties deputes and thayme. Without observation of the whilk, madame, I find your haill nobilitie of that resolved mynd that na suirty remaneyth to thayme. And yit for declaracion of thair good affection towardis the wele of your *hyghnes* service callit in before thayme Thomas Grahame and ernistly requyred him for this cause to accept the full chardge, lest your *hyghnes* affayres suld in onywyis ly behind: assuring him of all concurrence and fortification as evir he wald. Whilk he acceptit and Willemore fand verray guid and will assist the said Thomas Grahame with his advise and counsale in all things that may promote the wele of your hienes service (as I haif advisit him to do) in sic sort as your *grace's* service sall haif na hinder hereby.

Tuiching your hyghnes desyr of not troubilling of the ecclesiasticall persounis in thare possessionis to thame apperteyning, thair ansuer wes that indede thay thought it manifest wrang to trouble any man in the possession of sic things as of deu did apperteyn to thame, they doing the chardge requisit for the same. But to grant sic things to thai persounis whilk, notoriously to the haill people, wes knawin unhable for sic chardge,

[12] By instructions to her Commissioners Mary, on 12th January, 1560-1, states that as she intends to come to her realm as soon as she has settled her affairs 'she desired that her rents and revenues that had been handileit sen hir motheris deceis, and siclyk the revenue that come not to her said derrest motheris knawlege induring the lait trublis, be als hastelie and diligentlie lukit on as possible maye.' The estates shall choose certain capable persons of whom her Majesty will choose a Treasurer and Comptroller.—Bain's *Scottish Papers* I, p. 507.

als wele for evil example of lyif or doctrin, they thought that verray prejudiciall to your *hyghnes* commoun wele and alsua verray dangerous for suddand emotion and ouprayr amangst your majesties subjects; being at this present, als wele nobilitie as commonte, sa ernistlie bent upon ane reformation of sic abuses. Not doubting but your hyghnes wald wele considder the same being treuly informed be gude and wele advisit counsale. And seing, madame, I culd obteyn no farther in this point I thought best to refer the same to your *hyghnes* haym cumyng in considderation of the present estate of all things. And at that tyme I doubt not but your *hyghnes* sall obteyn herin whatsoevir may stand with the gloir of God, the wele of your hyghnes realme and advancement of your service. Your *grace* inclyning to the gude advise of your nobilitie fearing God and wisshing from thair hart the wele of your hyenes service, conform as your *grace* gef me to understand, being present with your *hyghnes*, your majesties affection thairin whilk God contineu with your *grace*. As for my awin opinion in this mater your *grace* hard the same in your presence wherein I did not dissemble as I sall nevir God willing in ony case that sal concern your majesties wele.

I haif also desyred your *hyghnes* Controllour and uthers your *majesties* officiars to prepair your *hyghnes* palaces and mak provision for your *grace's* house againe the latter end of Julii: unto the whilk and all utheris your *hyghnes'* affayres I will hald hand unto my uttermaist conform to your majesties desyre.

The ferd of this instant I receaved your *grace's* lettre dated at Joinville the xvi. of May wherein your *grace* desyris to be surely informit of me tuiching the alledgit sute of the Quene of England to cause your *grace's* subjects tak armoure for expulsion of the Franch Garrisounis out of Dunbarre and Inch Keyth and of sic preparationis als wele be sea as be land at Barwick. Whereof your *grace* wryttis ye ar be sure meanes informit. Madame, I assur your *grace* as I spak the Ambassador Throgmorton or my departour out of Paris, and lykwiss the Quene of Eng*land* in my journey toward Scotland yit culd I never find ony sic meaninge of eyther of the twa. And lat your *grace* be maist assured (as I am faythful to my God and you my souverane) gif I hade hard that or ony the lyk practise to your *grace's* prejudice I wuld not nor suld not haif ommitted to haif signified the same to your *hyghnes* be my said cusing Sainct Colme. As alsua I promise your *grace* in presence of my God to aventure my bluid and my lyf in the defence of your *hyghnes* realme when evir that or the lyk occasion salbe offerit without exception of any persoun under God. As for preparation of schippis I culd nevir heyre of nane in Eng*land* being at the Courte or elswhere. Nor yit of ony amass of viveris or munitions at Barwick bot after the accustomat maneir. Not doubting but yff sic things wer I wuld get knawledge as supson als soone as utheris, but madame it appearyth to me thair is ovir mony willing to gif your *hyghnes* fals alarmes; thinking thairby eyther to lett your *hyghnes* cumyng in your realme which they wiss wer nevir (and yit plainly dare no say sua) or then be sic fals reportis wald dryve

ane suspition in your *hyghnes* heid agaynst yor *grace's* maist faythful subjects whereupon they considder wele that first ane division and syn ane vehement trouble man enseu betuix your *hyghnes* and your maist luiffing subjects whilk is the mark they shoot at, and that for their pryvay advantage. From sic conselouris and thair masquit messengeris for God saik (as your *hyghnes* tenders your awin wele) be war. Your majestie (beleif me for I tak it on my liff) hes ane great number at this present of als faythful and als luiffing subjects as hayth ony ane prince in Europe. Whais advise gif it pleis God to inclyn your majesties hart to fallow as I knaw thaime affectionet to your *hyghnes* common wele and advancement of your service, I dar answer for it that neyther hade your majesties father, gudeschir, grandsire nor ony your *hyghnes* maist noble progenitors evir sic obedience, nor yit sa flurishing ane realme as your majestie sall haif in feu days. This my conscience muiffis me to testifie of deuty unto your *hyghnes*; God grant your majestie weye it als hyghly as I speik it treuly and frome the botome of my hart. For gif your majestie upon the ane part, or your nobilitie and estates upon the uther part, sall haif earis oppin to all taill tellaris, than sall neyther of you ever be red of sinister suspition the ane of the uther. Whereupon what may follow is easy to your *hyghnes* to judge, and the experience mony ane tyme hayth declared be the miserable calamiteis of realmes and nationis. God preserve your *hyghnes* and your realme from the lyk.

As tuiching my advise in this thing, and in all utheris concerning the wele of your *hyghnes* affayres, seeing your *grace* requyris, as I am double bound to gif it, as treuly sall your *grace* haif it, and that in the presence of my God whom I reverence and fear abuif all things in heaven or earth. Thair seymeyth to me, madame, na thing sa necessair for quyetting of your realme and wele of your haill affayres as your majesties awin presence whilk I wald wiss wer unfailzeand at the time affixit be your *hyghnes*; and when be Godis grace your *hyghnes* is prosperouslie arryvit your *grace* man aluterly lean you to the counsale and advise of your nobilitie, especiallie of sic as ar indewyt with the knawladge and lang experience of the affayres of your *hyghnes* realme and thairwith haif the feare of God in thair harte, ane ernist zeal to justice and ernistly and treuly desyris the wele of your hienes service. For in this a point (thar is madame) in chusing of ane faythful counsale whereupon your *grace* may repose you standeyth under God your hyghnes advancement or ruyn. As tuiching sic as hayth experience of the affayres of your *hyghnes* realme they are easely knawin and the feare they haif of God will manifest the self in thair conversation. Sa will alsua thare affection towards justice: rests only to knaw the affection towards the wele and advancement of your hyghnes service whilk I may refer to your *hyghnes* awin judgement albeit I am assured your *hyghnes* hes ane guid number of sic whilks your majestie may gather be this or the lyk conjectures. For sum thair be that unfeindly desyris your *grace's* advancement, and will employ thameselves faythfullie thairto only for thair conscience saik; because they knaw perfytly it is the will and command of God that sa they suld;

utheris for this cause and for natural affection: sum for bayth thir causes and farther because that thair particular wele hingeyth haill herupon, in sa far as thair particular wele and advancement man stande and fall with your *grace's* wele. Utheris their be I confess of the plat contrair conditionis in all points whais consalis only, and na thing else, is to be feyred not only in thair awin persounis bot als in thair secret and masquit boutefeus. Your *hyghnes* doing this, I speik plain, I see not what your majestie needs to feare under God within or without your realme.

But, yf, as God forbyd, your *grace* sal be lett ony urgent impediment to keep your said affixit tryst the best and the only remedye in that cace salbe evin agains that same tyme to haif your *hyghnes* commission bayth large and full direct to sic as your majesties hart can trust to govern your hienes people during your *hyghnes* absence. For I speik my conscience before God it seymeyth to me utherwiss impossible to contayn your *grace's* subjects in that queytnes whilk presentlie they joyse gif neyther your *hyghnes* self (the only assured way) nor nain under your grace sall tak the government at the tym lookyt for. That your people, madame, hayth sa lang contineuyt in sic quyetnes without ony ordinarie government (as prayse to God to this they haif) it passes the judgment of all men of experience within your *hyghnes'* realme, and is reckkonyt by thayme ane manifest miracle of God for thair hayth bene na ordinayrie Government the space of twa yeirs bygane, saiff only that sum of your hyenes nobilitie, moved only of zeal towards your *grace* commonwele far beyond thair puissance, wald now and then convene at Edinburgh for that effect; gif ains it brek it will not be lytly quyettit and what sall fallow thairupon your *hyghnes* may judge.

Abuiff all things, madame, for the luif of God presse na maters of religion, not for ony mans advise on the earth. I doubt not bot your *hyghnes* sall haif uther counsellars anew in contrarye heirof, but my conscience bearis me; veroly I say and wryttis this na les for wele of your service, nor for the affection I bear towards the religion, whilk alwais maist willingly I will confess before God and man. Of your *hyghnes* counselleyris in the contrarye sum are moved be haytred against the religion they knaw not, and far less knawin or regarding what danger may enseu to your *hyghnes* affayres thair through. Uthers will not cayr to put all in hazard thinking the prikking forwards of your *grace* hyrin to be the only way for thame to recover thair lost estates and dignities; wherefra they haif bene deposed by the oppynning of the treuth of God whereby theyr unworthynes wes discoverit lytill suffering what may fallow upon your *grace* and your realme. But thir madame ar plain and oppin thairfor not mekle to be feyred, but utheris thair be mayr secrit and mayr coverit and thairfor far mayr to be feyrd. Of thir sum be ane class of idill vagabones and ignorants whais good qualities wes nevir hable to obteyn thame lyfe in ony quyett commonwele; mary, in sic ouprayr and tumults as may onforce fallow division amongst the prince and subjects, ungodly and fals reports dois purchase them sum credit at the ane or uther hand or els bayth, and be lyk meanes daylie gaips for mair at the hands of the princes whome they miserablie abuse. But

ane uther sorte there is, mair wytty and mair crafty, wha perceaves a feire that the yssue of sic troubills sall alwais serve to thair purpose and pryvay advancement, for that cause dois hound on boldly, and to that effects promytts wounders to haif the mater anis brought aloft, whilk they nevir propose to sett doing but rather be all meanes to hald the cart thereof gangand, because that in quyetnes of commonweles sic may nevir abyde justice, and in destruction of princes and commonweles standeyth thair chief surety and advancement as thai think. Your *grace's* mother wha restis in God hade gude experience heirof, God saif your *hyghnes* from the lyik. To be short, madame judge this with yourself that thair is na man that knaweth perfectly the present estate of your realme, and desyris with ane treu affection the advancement of your graces securite that evir wull advise yor *grace* to mell with mattiris of religion at this tym. Gif it sall pleis your *grace* to credit me and fallow my forsaid advise, proceading from ane unfeind hart that treuly willeth your *hyghnes* advancement, then feare not bot your *grace* sall haif ane perfyt obedience in despyte of ony will presse the contrair whatsoevir thai be (God willing); and thairupon I will bestow my awin lyiff maist willinglye.

I understand alsua be John Acheson your maister cungzeoure ane commission to haif bene direct from your *grace* to my Lord of Sainct Andrews and me tuiching the said coyn; wherof I taik occasion maist humilie and maist ernistly to desyr your *hyghnes* to shaw me that favour that it may be your *hyghnes* pleasure nevir to joyn me in tymis cumyng in ony commission with that man nor with ony his lyik. For besydes that I knaw weale as wele the dyversitie of naturalls as religion will nevir permitt ony sic conjunction betwix that man and me as ony fruict may redound thairof to the wele of your hienes service. Sa am I fully persuaded in my hart that man nevir myndeth treuly the advancement of your *hyghnes* service, quhairof he hayth gevin ample and dyverse significationis and apparand to gif mair. And thairfor your *grace* will pleis nevir joyn me with ony sic in ony commission concerning your *hyghnes* service. As to the particuleyr affayres of your hienes realme and the lyik materis, because it wer to lang and tedious to your *grace* to wrytt thayme, I haif reserved thaym to the berar whome I haif amply instructit for that cause, to whom thairfor it may pleis your majesties give creddence as myself.

And this after maist humble commendations of my service unto your hienes I pray the eternall God replenishe your majesties hart with his haly spreit. From your majesties town of Edinburgh the x day of June 1561.

Your Majesties maist humble and
obeysant servitour and subject,
(Signed) JAMES STEWART.

[Endorsed]
To the Queenes Grace.

The Siege of Edinburgh Castle, March-June, 1689.

THE military history of the Revolution in Scotland is the sum of two episodes. The more vital and engaging is the adventure which saw Dundee's death at Killiecrankie and flickered out at Cromdale. The second is the siege of Edinburgh Castle and its surrender on 13th June, 1689. Of it no considerable account exists. A pamphlet bearing the promising title, *The Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh*, is reprinted by Mr. Henry Jenner in his edition (1903) of the *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*. But the information it contains is of the slightest. The Minutes of the Convention of 1689 furnish a few details, and other contemporary authorities eke out scanty information. There exists, however, a source of information which has been practically overlooked. From March, 1689, while the issue of the Revolution was still in the balance in Scotland, a series of bi-weekly newsletters were published in London, giving information transmitted by Scottish correspondents. Under the title *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (Lond. 1689), this series of letters furnishes interesting and, for the most part, reliable information regarding the progress of the siege of the Castle. Upon it the account given in the following pages is chiefly based.

When the Convention opened at Edinburgh on 14th March, 1689, Edinburgh Castle was held for King James by the Duke of Gordon. His Jacobitism was of a timorous character. In February he had been on the point of evacuating his command, when a timely visit from Dundee and the Earl of Balcarres, on their return from the Stuart *débâcle* in England, induced him to stiffen his back, and 'to keep it out until he saw what the Convention would do.'[1] The opening of the Convention on 14th March found him at his post. The Castle's menace was

[1] Colin, Earl of Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*. Lond. 1714, p. 58.

intolerable, and on the first day of its session (14th March) the Convention commissioned the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale to demand its surrender on 'ane act to Exhoner his grace and other papists there for bygons.' The message was verbal; and Gordon demanded the undertaking in writing, with 'tyme alloued him to advyse.' The two Earls made their report to the Estates, and returned to the Castle with a written summons and undertaking, signed by the Duke of Hamilton, as President.[2] Dundee and Balcarres watched the negotiations with anxiety. That afternoon (14th March) their messenger got into the Castle, and exhorted the Duke to stand to his guns. Gordon asked of them a written declaration that it was 'of absolute necessity' for James's affairs that he should hold out. He had no mind to immolate himself unless his party proved to have a kick in it. Dundee and Balcarres hastened to assure him that the retention of the Castle was vital. Early next morning (15th March) Dundee himself got access to the Castle, and 'confirmed him [Gordon] absolutely in his Resolution of keeping it out.'[3] A few hours later (15th March), Gordon's reply was communicated to the Convention. He had written it before Dundee's visit, and it no longer reflected his present resolution. It expressed his willingness to remove from the Castle, but desired that before doing so he should be allowed to await the Prince of Orange's reply to his request for conditions. He offered bail in £20,000 sterling that he would not molest the Convention's 'illustrious assemblie' in the meanwhile. The conditions he required were: A promise of indemnity for himself and his friends, 'both protestants and papists,' to be ratified by the next ensuing Parliament; permission to the Protestant members of the garrison to continue their employment; to himself, and to others who preferred that course, license 'to goe beyond seas or remane within the Kingdome as our occasion shall lead us'; and payment to the garrison of arrears due to it. The Convention rejected Gordon's request to be allowed to await the Prince's reply before surrendering, but was otherwise sympathetic to his conditions. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that the Estates received a further communication (15th March) from the Duke. Gordon now refused to surrender the Castle, 'notwithstanding what the

[2] *The Minutes of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland holden att Edinburgh 14 March* 1689 (Advocates' Library MS. 33. 7. 8), fol. 3.

[3] Balcarres, pp. 64, 66.

meeting had agried to,' but, in a letter to Dundee, offered to vacate his Captaincy of the Castle in favour of the Earl of Airlie. It is probable that Dundee himself had suggested the proposal. Airlie had served in his regiment, and could be better relied on than Gordon. For that reason, no doubt, among others, the 'overture' was not agreed to. In place of it, the Convention ordained two heralds, two pursuivants, and two trumpeters to formally require Gordon 'and other papists in the Castle of Edinburgh to remove themselvis therfrom immediatly on paine of treason.' Proclamation was also made 'discharging the leidges to converse with, abbet, or assist the Duke' and his adherents. A reward of six months' pay was offered to any of the garrison who should succeed in expelling the Duke and possessing themselves of the Castle.[4] Orders were given 'to block up the Castle' forthwith.[5]

The third day's meeting of the Convention (Saturday, 16th March) proved critical. A plot against the lives of Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie was communicated to the Estates, and the managers of the Jacobite party that evening resolved to leave Edinburgh and summon a rival Convention at Stirling. A hint of what was maturing probably reached Gordon. On the night of the 15th he appears to have ventured from the Castle into the town to confer with his colleagues.[6] On the 16th he wrote to Tweeddale begging him to see him at the Castle, with a hint that 'what I have to communicat shall not be disagriable.' Captain Lawder, 'commander of the Edinburgh guards,' received a similar invitation, and had permission to report 'what should be overtured by the Duke in wryting subscribed be the Duke.'[7] Gordon's 'overture' proved to be a threat 'to rame doun his cannon on the toun nixt week.' He had written to the Provost and Magistrates to desire 'a correspondence with the good toun.'[8] In the course of the afternoon (16th March) 'several Barrels of Provisions' on their way to the Castle were impounded.[9]

On Monday, 18th March, Dundee rode out of Edinburgh, and held his famous interview with Gordon as he skirted the Castle rock. That he exhorted the Duke to hold the Castle at all hazards can easily be inferred. Gordon, however, within

[4] *Minutes of the Convention*, ff. 5-8. [5] *Account of the Proceedings*, etc., p. 6.

[6] See *Minutes of the Convention*, ff. 8, 10. [7] *Ibid.* fol. 10. [8] *Ibid.* fol. 12.

[9] *The London Gazette*, No. 2438.

a few days again made overtures to the Convention. Their purport was a proposal that he should be allowed to visit James in Ireland to gain his sanction for the surrender of the Castle. With greater daring he proposed that he should be commissioned to act as intermediary between James and a Convention assembled in defiance of his authority.[10] His proposals were naturally rejected, and on 25th March he proclaimed defiance in a message to the Convention and to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, asserting his intention to 'set up King James's Standard, and give the ordinary vollies of Cannon, which he desired them not to fear, or mistake, and accordingly he fired the Cannon without Bullets, but not without fear to those that lie at the mercy of his Cannon.'[11]

The blockade of the Castle had so far been entrusted to the Western levies, or Cameronian 'rabble,' which had been brought into Edinburgh on the eve of the Convention. Besieged and besiegers fired 'often one at the other with Small Shot,' but without serious casualty.[12] According to the pamphlet printed by Mr. Jenner, the blockaders had drawn 'a trench from the West Port to the West Kirk, which was performed with so great ignorance, that if his grace [the Duke of Gordon] had not been merciful, and a lover of his countrymen, he might have killed the most part of them, and done great mischief to the city of Edinburgh.'[13] On 27th March, Major-General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, who had lately arrived with the regiments of the Scots Brigade in Dutch service, took the blockade of the fortress under his care, and was empowered 'to parley with the Duke of Gourdon from time to time, as he shall see cause.'[14] The next day (28th March) the Western levies marched from Edinburgh, leaving the conduct of the siege to more experienced forces.[15] Batteries were raised, one at 'the Mouterhouse Hill,' another at 'the castle of Collups,' a third at 'Heriot's work,' behind which a bomb battery, under Captain Brown, was emplaced. The second of these batteries was alone successful in effecting a breach in the wall, 'near the back gate,' though the steepness of the hill made it impracticable.[16] To mask and protect the batteries from the Castle's guns, Mackay made a requisition for the supply

[10] *Account of the Proceedings*, pp. 14-16.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 19. [12] *Ibid.* p. 20. [13] *Memoirs of Dundee*, ed. Jenner, p. 30.

[14] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 21. [15] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[16] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 30.

of wool-packs, and placed them on the Castle Hill, 'near the Blew Stone.'[17] On 2nd April, upon the petition of the Magistrates, the Estates guaranteed compensation 'for what damage shall happen to the Wool they furnish'd to Major General Mackay, to build up a Defence against the Cannon of the Castle.'[18]

The siege was now in full swing. The garrison 'fired so hotly' upon the wool-pack screen that the besiegers were forced to abandon that enterprise.[19] There was 'great shooting' on both sides, and several were killed, though not many.[20] On 3rd April Gordon beat a parley, and communicated his willingness to allow the besiegers to carry off their wounded, 'to whom they durst not send Chyrurgeons, because of the danger.' Gordon's courtesy was curtly repulsed by his enemy, who replied: 'That they would take off their wounded Men when they pleased, without his leave.'[21] Mackay pushed on his attack with vigour. By 5th April preparations were in train for an assault, 'which is intended to be done in few days.'[22] The entrenchments were heightened and strengthened, so that by 9th April the Castle's guns were no longer able to 'prejudice' them.[23] A few days later (18th April), 'more Cannon, Mortar-pieces, Bombs, etc.,' arrived from England, and 'smart work' was anticipated.[24] Gordon again beat a parley (25th April), but for what purpose is not clear. At least he was resolute not to surrender, and the besiegers resorted to another expedient. Directions were given to drain the North Loch, 'of design to find out the bottom of the Well of Water that furnishes the Castle, and some think with a further design, to undermine the Castle on that side.'[25] The plan failed of result; 'for the castle well had always two fathom of water.'[26]

The siege caused considerable danger and discomfort to the town and its non-combatants. James Nimmo, who lived in the Grassmarket, 'could hardlie go out or in but in vew of the Castle,' and some of his neighbours were killed 'upon the streat.'[27] At the beginning of the siege, 'some foolish easie

[17] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 30. [18] *Ibid.* p 24.

[19] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31. [20] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 22.

[21] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 27. [22] *Ibid.* p. 28. [23] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 42. [25] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[26] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31.

[27] *Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo*, Scott. Hist. Soc., p. 92.

Countrey People kept their ordinary Road to the Markets by the Castle-wall, and so a few of them were reach'd and destroy'd by the Garison.' Experience taught, 'That the furthermost way about is the safest,' and the markets were removed to 'the other remotest end of the Town.'[28] On 13th May the Castle 'plays fiercely against the Trenches and the Town, to the loss of some Lives.'[29] A few days later six men and one woman were killed by a bomb. The citizens were indignant, and on 24th May 'The Duke of Gourdon beat a Parley, with this Message, That he had been sick for eight days, and declared that the shooting into the Town was without his knowledge, and passed his Paroll of Honour, That during his life he would never prejudice the Town; which gives great satisfaction to the Citizens.'[30]

Gordon, in fact, was already running short of ammunition. On 28th May 'The Besiegers and Besieged in this Castle play warmly one at the other: The Besiegers constantly throw in their Bombs and other Fire-works into the Castle, tho often for whole days the Garison is so uncivil as not to return one Bullet.' 'By this constant firing,' the newsletter adds, 'the Garison will certainly fail, and surrender, tho it's believed the Rock of the Castle cannot be destroy'd by the Bombs.'[30] Gordon was perhaps of a similar mind as to his chance of success. Elsewhere the outlook was not hopeful. Save for his meteoric raid upon Perth and the Lowlands, Dundee had so far done little. From James and Ireland the prospect of relief was as remote as ever. On 15th May Gordon had been proclaimed a rebel, and the lieges were forbidden to intercommune with him.[31] A fortnight later (30th May) he beat a parley, and sent a letter to Lord Ross desiring 'to speak with him about some important Affairs.' The interview led to nothing; for while Ross was instructed not to enter the Castle, Gordon refused to venture out of it. He represented, however, that as a result of the bombardment the public Registers preserved in the Castle were in danger, and offered the opportunity to have them removed. The Committee of Estates refused the proposal, 'looking upon it as a contrivance to delay time, whereby he [Gordon] might cover his Bartisons and Roofs of his Houses with Earth; and that in the removal of the Registers, Letters and other things might be conveyed to or from the Duke.' The Castle was, in fact, in dismal plight.

[28] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 48. [29] *Ibid.* p. 56. [30] *Ibid.* p. 69.
[31] *Ibid.* p. 64.

'Several bombs' had fallen through 'the whole stories of the Houses in the Castle, so that many of them are destroyed, and they [the garrison] have neither safety, nor Rest to refresh themselves.'[32] A few weeks later (4th July), when Balcarres was sent to it a prisoner, the Castle was so battered that there was 'scarce a roome' in which he could be confined.[33]

The persistent bombardment, failure of ammunition and supplies, at length told upon the *morale* of the garrison. In the early hours of 1st June fifteen men and two women deserted, 'the Men having their Musquets ready cock'd, well charg'd with a Brace of Bullets.' One of the women made off 'through the North-Logh.' The other woman and the fifteen men were made prisoners, and were conveyed to the Duke of Hamilton for examination. Upon the woman were found a large packet of letters and many keys, 'particularly the Keys of the Outer-gate of the Castle, and the Key of the Postern-gate of the Castle.' The other woman was apprehended later, near Leith, bearing 'many more Letters.' The prisoners upon examination declared, 'That the Garison is in great want of Provisions, and that they fear that their Water will fail them by constant shooting. They say further, That there is great Discontents and Repining amongst the Soldiery in the Garison; so they believe that it will turn to an open Mutiny, if they get not Relief.' The newsletter adds: 'The Castle holds out still, though they are grown very sparing of their Powder and Bullets, seldom firing on the Besiegers, though there is constant firing against them. The throwing of the Bombs into the Castle is so ordered, to keep the Garison in motion, and without sleep, and to destroy the Houses and other Buildings where the Garison lodges, and where the Store and Magazines are kept.'[34]

Upon their re-examination, the deserters captured on 1st June gave a more particular account of the Castle's ability to hold out. They declared that there were eighty barrels of powder remaining; that the garrison numbered one hundred and twenty men and eighteen women; that provisions would last for a month or two. They added that 'Drink and Mault' would be

[32] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 71.

[33] *Letters and State Papers chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville.* Bann. Club, p. 142.

[34] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 72. In an account printed in *The London Gazette*, No. 2460, the deserters are described as 'the Centinels of the Outward Gates.'

exhausted 'in three weeks time,' and that there would have been a water-famine already 'had it not been for the extraordinar Snow that fell here lately.' Gordon, they averred, was 'forced, for his own safety, to retire and lodge in the strongest Vaults, the Bombs making their way through the principal Houses, into the Cellars, where great part of their Beer, Wine, Bread, Meal and Mault were spoiled by them.'[35] Some exaggeration the circumstances invited. The fact that a part of the garrison had deserted is sufficient proof that the deserters' story is, in the main, reliable.

An incident on the evening of 1st June went some way to substantiate the story told by the defaulting fifteen. A woman was apprehended on her way from the Castle 'to buy fresh Provisions.' She also carried intelligence: letters to Sir James Grant were found upon her.[36] The faithless fifteen were instrumental in her capture. They made also a valuable communication to their late enemies by discovering 'the design of a Grandchild of the late Bishop of Galloway, who lodged in the uppermost House on the Castle-hill (next to the Castle), and did use to write in large, or Capital Letters, any News in a Table or Board, over her Window, whereby the Duke might read it through his Tellescope. When any thing of good News, she hung out a white cloth, and when bad, a black cloth.' The daring Jacobite and her mother were at once seized, and were imprisoned in the common gaol.[37]

Fruitful of incident was 1st June. About three o'clock in the afternoon, 'three several persons came walking quietly to the side of the North-Logh at the foot of the Castle, and went through all the Mud to the very Rock.' The guards investing the Castle 'fired briskly at them all the way.' In spite of the fusilade, one of the adventurous three, 'a Genteel-like Man in black Cloaths,' drew his sword 'and scrap'd off the Dirt which stuck to his Shoes, and so calmly and unconcernedly walked up to the Castle-gate, into which they all safely entred, to the admiration of all men, there having been some hundreds of Shots fired at them in their passage to the Castle.'[38] Clearly the threat to drain the North Loch was not an empty one.

[35] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 73.

[36] *Ibid.* p. 73. In the *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 216, there is the docquet (dated 16 August 1688) of a warrant creating James Grant, Advocate, a Knight.

[37] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 73. [38] *Ibid.* p. 74.

Meanwhile the siege was nearing its end. A newsletter of 6th June reports: 'The Batteries continue to play still upon the Castle, and a great Battery is ordered to be raised above the Weighhouse, as high as the top of the Houses in the Street.'[39] A week later (12th June) Gordon beat a parley, hung out a white flag, and intimated his willingness to consider terms of surrender. Commissioners were appointed to treat with him. But 'while they were communing together in the Castle, the Duke demanding unreasonable terms, a Man run suddenly into the Castle (during the Truce) and delivered several Letters to the Duke, as it's supposed from Dundee, or the late King in Ireland.' The Commissioners demanded the messenger's surrender, 'since none ought to come in during the Truce without their consent.' Gordon refused, asserting, 'That since he had come to him, he would protect him. And so the Treaty broke off.' Gordon resolved to make a final effort to convince his foe that he was still capable of giving trouble. That night 'the Garison fired both their great and small Shot against the Town it self, and every way that they thought to do mischief, several persons being killed, others wounded, and some Houses prejudiced by the Canon.' The morning (13th June) brought calmer counsel. Gordon agreed to the articles of surrender proposed to him, marched out his men to the Castle Hill, where they laid down their arms, and surrendered the keys of the fortress. Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, Scourie's brother, and Major Somerville, with a force of three hundred men, thereupon entered the Castle, and took possession of it.[40]

So the three months' siege ended. Give Gordon and his garrison their due for a memorable exploit. Yet it ranks with Dundee's campaign in its futility to stem a current which carried the nation at flood tide to its destined haven. The defence of the Castle had been conducted in the spirit of conciliation. 'Tho it hath been very dreadful to us in this Town,' says a newsletter from Edinburgh, 'to lye at the mercy of the Cannons of the Castle during this Siege, yet we must confess, that Gourdon hath not done us so much Mischief as he might have done if he had pleased.'[41] The beleaguered fortress had not been so tenderly handled. 'I have been all through the Castle,' writes

[39] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 76.

[40] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 79. The articles of surrender are printed in *The History of the Affaires of Scotland* (London, 1690), p. 81.

[41] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 78.

another correspondent, 'and seen the Desolations of War: It is not credible what Havock the Bombs have done upon the House, and all the other Buildings.'[42] Partly on the ground that ammunition was becoming scarce, an order to the besiegers to suspend their fire upon the Castle was issued upon the very day that Gordon surrendered.[43] That the Castle capitulated from lack of ammunition to continue the defence seems certain. A Jacobite pamphlet accuses one of the officers of the garrison of 'embezzling' it. The statement matches the assertion that 'all the loss he [Gordon] sustained was a brewing of ale, and one sentinel, Patrick Kelley.'[44] The writer was not without humour. And Patrick Kelly was clearly an Irishman!

C. SANFORD TERRY.

[42] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 80.

[43] *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 57.

[44] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31.

Six Early Charters

IN the spring of this year there was found in the office of a well-known firm of Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh a small envelope containing six early charters which deserve notice. We will take the more modern first, summarising the least interesting, and numbering them as they are endorsed.

No. 8 is an acknowledgment by John de Ogilvile to William de Kindelouch, that he had received from him charters of the lands of Partebrothoc[1] and Kyndesleue,[2] of pasture on the island of Inchecostin in the tenement of the Mount pertaining to the land of Partebrothoc, likewise of Forthir and Lediferine,[3] pertaining to the right and property of Cristina, wife of the granter, and discharging the said William and his heirs of all actions claims and demands competent now or hereafter to the granter and his spouse by reason of the said charters. Dated at Dervesin,[4] on Wednesday in the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, 1315, in presence of William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; and whereas the seal of the granter was not known, he procured the seal of the said bishop to be set with his own to the writ. The tag with the seal is torn off.

The next three are undated, but, from the similarity of the witnessing, they would appear to be nearly contemporaneous, and Roger de Quincy's dates are well known. He was neither Earl of Winchester nor Constable of Scotland before 1235, and he died in 1264.[5]

No. 6 is a confirmation by William Malerbe to John de Kyndelouh and his heirs of the privilege of a millpool between the granter's land of Colethin and Kinloch's land of Pethclouchyn, where John Kinloch shall think it most convenient, and a mill lead to the pond and from the pond to the mill; for two white gloves yearly at Whitsunday.

[1] Parbroath. [2] Kinsleith. [3] Lindifferon. [4] Dairsie.
[5] G.E.C.'s complete peerage.

Witnesses,—Sirs, William de Haya, Duncan Sibaud, William de Bosco, Warin de Tunderle, Master Eustace, Elyas Sweyn, Robert de Trafford and others.

The seal, which is of brown wax, and 1¼ inches in diameter, carries the legend 'Sigillum Will Malerbe' around a shield on which are three undecipherable charges.

No. 5 is a charter of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winton, Constable of Scotland, to John de Kindeloue and his heirs of all the lands of Brekinge for his homage and service.

Witnesses,—Sir Duncan Sibaut, Sir Wal de Burge, Sir Robert de Betun, Master A. Malcarwestun, Patric de Petglassin and others. Seal missing.

No. 4 is a charter by Roger de Quincy, Earl of Wynton, Constable of Scotland, granting to John de Kyndelouh and his heirs for homage and service a free mill within his lands of Petclokyn to grind his grain of the lands of Petclokyn, which Ness son of William[6] gave to Ucthred his grandfather quit of multure, which grant the Earl confirms with the additional lands of Petbaudoc and Galwel, and the shielings which Ness gave to Ucthred for his sheep in Kalcos.[7]

Witnesses,—Sirs Warin de Tundurle, Yvo de Nauntun, John de Karle, Symon de Noysiac, parson of Locres, Patric de Petglassyn, Elyas Sweyn, then Constable of Locres, Radulf de Byseth, Robert de St. Andrews, and others.

Attached is a fragment of the great equestrian seal of Roger de Quincy, showing mascles on the shield and horse trappings. It is brown wax, and if complete would be three inches in diameter.

No 3 and 2 must be given in full, and, their owners having been kind enough to allow them to be photographed, we are able also to show them in fac-simile.

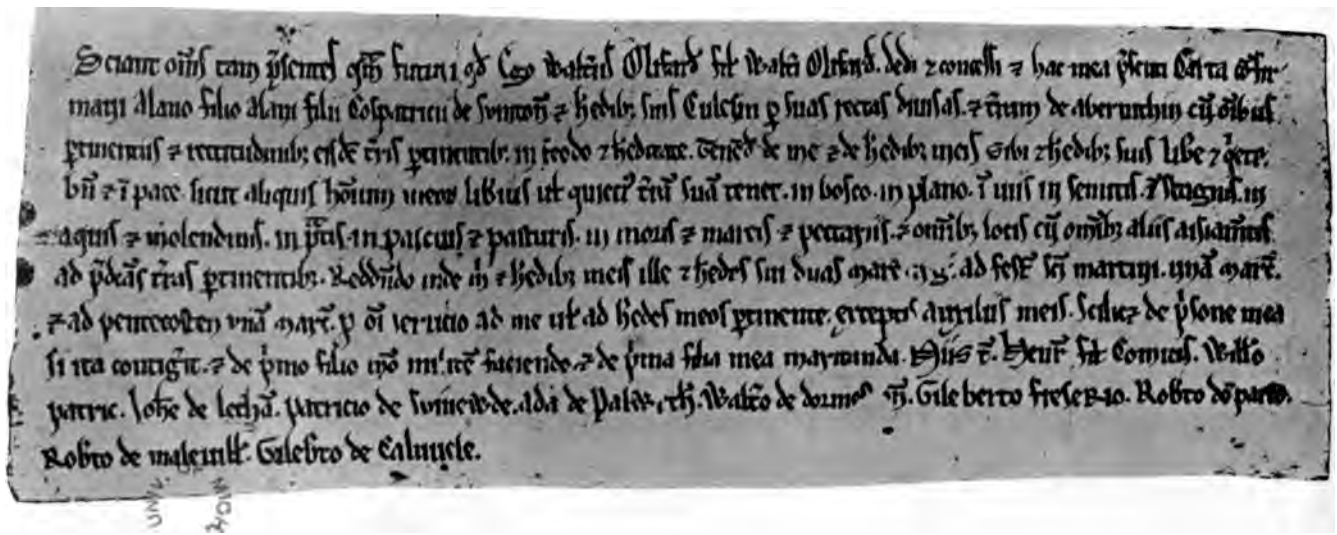
No. 3.—Charter by Walter Olifard the son of Walter Olifard, to Alan the son of Alan the son of Cospatric de Swinton.[8]

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Walterus Olifard filius Walteri Olifard dedi et concessi, et hac mea presenti carta confirmaŭi Alano filio Alani filii Cospatricii de Svinton et heredibus suis, Culesin, per suas rectas diuisas, et terram de Abernithin cum omnibus pertinenciis et

[6] Ness, of Leuchars in Fife, son of William, was father of Orabilis, the wife of Robert de Quincy. Ness was therefore Roger's own great-grandfather.—*The Genealogist*, vol. iv. p. 179, note.

[7] Kilwhiss.

[8] The contractions in the originals are here written out in full.



CHARTER OF WALTER OLIFARD.
(Reduced; original is 9 inches by 4 inches).

Facing page 174

rectitudinibus eisdem terris pertinentibus, in feodo et hereditate; Tenendas de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete, bene et in pace, sicut aliquis hominum meorum liberius uel quiecius terram suam tenet, in bosco, in plano, in uiis, in semitis, in stagnis, in aquis et molendinis, in pratis, in pascuis et pasturis, in moris et mareis et pettariis, et omnibus locis cum omnibus aliis aisiamentis ad predictas terras pertinentibus. Reddendo inde mihi et heredibus meis ille et heredes sui duas marcas argenti ad festum Sancti Martini unam marcam et ad Pentecosten vnam marcam pro omni seruicio ad me uel ad heredes meos pertinente exceptis auxiliis meis, scilicet, de prisone mea si ita contigerit et de primo filio meo militem faciendo, et de prima filia mea maritanda; hiis testibus, Henrico filio Comitis, Wilelmo Patric, Johanne de Letham, Patricio de Svinewde, Ada de Palwrth, Waltero de Dormeston, Gileberto Freserio, Robertode Parco, Roberto de Maleuille, Gileberto de Caluuele.

Fragment of seal.

No. 2.—Confirmation of No. 3 by King William the Lion.[9]

Willelmus Dei gracia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue, clericis et laicis, salutem, Sciant presentes et futuri me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Alano filio Alani filii Cospatricii de Swinton donacionem illam quam Walterus Olifard filius Walteri Olifard ei fecit de Culesin per rectas diuisas suas et de terra de Abernithin; Tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de predicto Waltero Olifard et heredibus suis in feudo et hereditate cum omnibus ad predictas terras iuste pertinentibus ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut carta predicti Walteri Olifard testatur, saluo seruicio meo, Testibus Oliuero Capellano meo, Philippo de Valon[iis] camerario meo, Willelmo de Boscho et Hugone de Sigillo, clericis meis, Henrico filio Comitis David. Apud Edenburch viii. die Nouembris.

Seal missing.

Apart from their age and the beauty of their caligraphy, they have several points of special interest. Here we find the authority for there having been two Walter Olifards, father and son. This was always suspected, as a Walter Olifard was found appearing over so great a length of time, and because on one occasion he is called 'Walter Olifard junior';[10] but there was no certainty. Both were Justiciars of Lothian. Still attached to No. 3 is Walter's seal, but so wofully mutilated as to be useless for reproduction. On the fragment which remains can be deciphered the points of a star and a large crescent. If we rule out the highly problematical seal of David Olifard, said to be appended to a grant by King David, for which

[9] Contractions written out. [10] *Reg. Epis.*, Glasg.

our sole authority is Crawford writing nearly two hundred years ago, this is the earliest seal of the family. There is, moreover, only one other Olifard seal. That is attached to a Coldingham charter[11] of *c.* 1220, granted also by one of the Walters, but whether the father or the son it is impossible to be certain. Canon Greenwell of Durham writes of this seal: 'The principal part is wanting. It was probably equestrian. The secretum is in excellent condition. A crescent enclosing a star of wavy lines.' He goes on to say that this device was a common one, and that he questions whether it has any armorial significance; but family heraldry grew from the very commonest devices, and not only are the Oliphants' three crescents and the Murrays' (they succeeded the Olifards at Bothwell) three stars suggestive, but we have Nisbet's testimony that he saw a charter of the date of 1282 granted by Hugh Arbuthnott, to which is appended Hugh's seal, 'having thereon a crescent and a star.'[12] For undoubtedly the Arbuthnotts held inheritance somehow from the Olifards.

Then the writ refers to a feudal custom, known in England, but of which this instance is perhaps unique north of the Tweed, a contribution to the ransom of the granter if imprisoned, and a payment on the occasion of the knighthood of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. I have failed to hear of any other instance in Scottish Charters.[13]

As regards the Swintons,[14] these three, Cospatric, and Alan, and Alan son of Alan,[15] though their exact relationship was not proved, were all well established before, but here we find them in their proper order, and the grandson, though he retained his ancestral lands in the Merse, pushing out also into the broad track, which, whether the crossing was by North Berwick and the Earl's Ferry, or by the Queen's Ferry and Inverkeithing and Dunfermline, led on to the fat country further north, the track along which the invasion of the new people, Normans, Flemings, English, and Northumbrians, carried the civilising effects of landed possession and settled government.

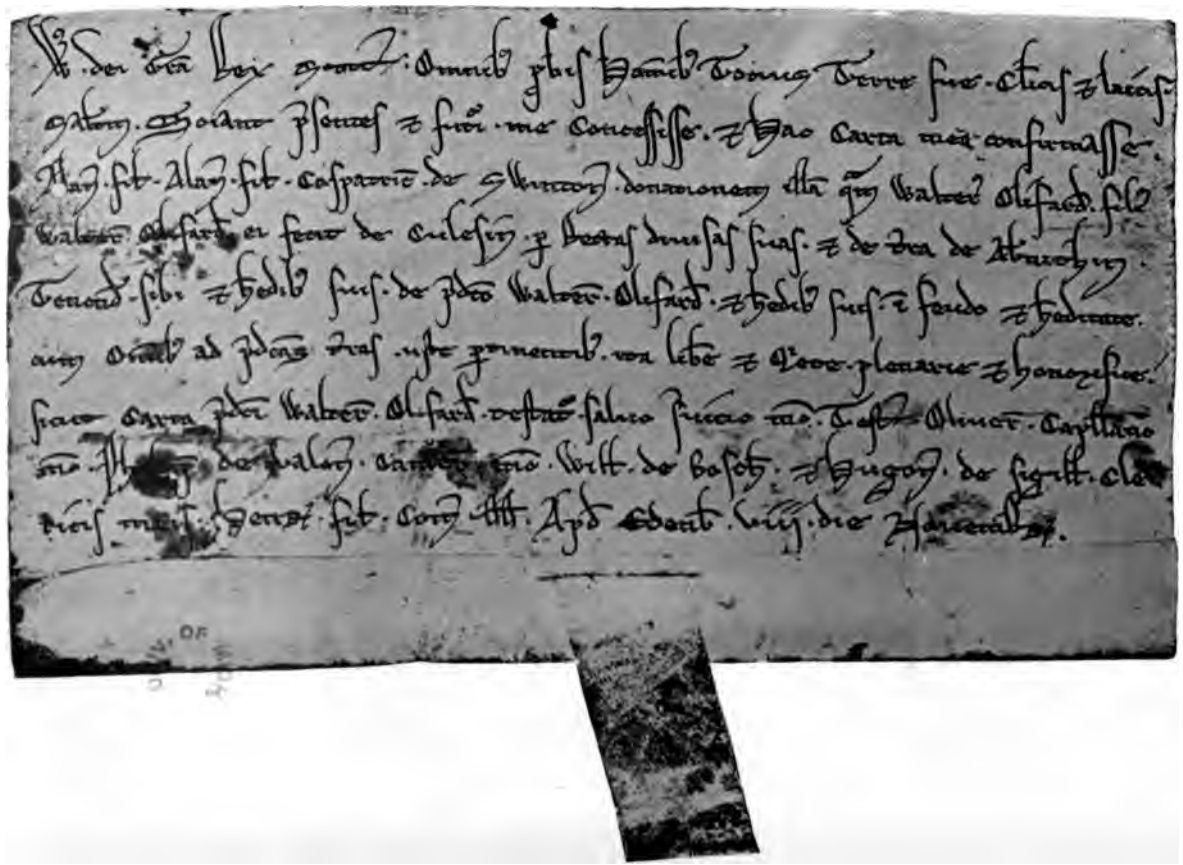
[11] Raine's *History of North Durham*, appendix, No. clix.

[12] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app. 82.

[13] *v.* Sir Thomas Craig's *Jus. Feudale*, Lib. ii. p. 291.

[14] *The Genealogist*, new series, vol. xv.

[15] Besides many Alan de Swintons, an Alan, son of Alan, appears in Coldingham charters about this time or shortly after. Raine, app., No. cxviii., etc.



CHARTER OF WILLIAM THE LION.
Reproduced same size as original.

Facing page 176

Lastly, the witnesses of course claim attention, and we see, in a charter relating to North Fife, the Berwickshire names of William Patric,[16] of Letham, Swinewood, and Polwarth. But in No. 3 we have no further clue as to where and when the grant was made.

No. 2, the confirmation of William the Lion, helps us to this. It is given at Edinburgh on the 8th of November, and as William de Bosco, who here appears as one of the King's clerks, became Chancellor in June, 1211, at the latest the charters must be of November, 1210. It is improbable that they can be much earlier. On the tags are still traces of a seal, some two inches in diameter. A century and a half ago the Great Seal is stated to have hung there.

For, after all, this is not a discovery but a re-discovery. The packet has been long hidden away, but so late as in 1777 careful copies were taken of the two early charters, and one copy somehow found its way to the Lyon Office, only to lie unknown and forgotten from that day to this. They have even been referred to in print. Nisbet, or whoever was responsible for his second volume, mentions all six as 'in the hands of Hamilton of Wishaw, a learned antiquary,'[17] but he can hardly have seen them, for he garbles them strangely. Douglas followed Nisbet, and made confusion worse confounded.[18] In both we find the curious mistake, if it is a mistake, that they are all said to be Kinloch charters. Probably for many a long year they have lain side by side, perhaps there was a tradition, that they belonged to each other, but now that we have them all before us we see that between the two earliest and the four latest there is on their face no connection whatever. There is a gap of a generation, and, save that a William de Bosco appears in both, evidently a case of two different men, not one name is the same. Beyond the statement that he had a grandfather, whether paternal or maternal we can only conjecture, called Ucthred, we have no clue to the origin of John of the head of the Loch. The lands also do not help us much, for, though all are situated in North Fife, they are scattered about. Weddersbie, *alias* Wester Collessie, was, indeed, part of the ancient estate of Cruvie, but there is no record of the Kinlochs having in after times had any rights over Abernethy.

[16] William, son of Earl Patric of Dunbar.

[17] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app., p. 26. [18] *Baronage*, p. 533.

Still we cannot dismiss altogether the possibility of a line running through these charters. All six are endorsed and numbered by apparently the same straggling hand, which may be of the fifteenth century, and, if so, a witness that they have been together for at least four hundred years, while it will be noted that two numbers are missing. John of Ogilvie's is No. 8., William the Lion's, placed royally out of its turn and before the charter which it confirms, is No. 2. No. 7, which should come somewhere between 1235 and 1315, is not here. No more is No. 1, perhaps an earlier royal grant. How interesting it might be to trace these to some other charter chest.

Nor must we neglect the help that heraldry can give us. Nisbet points to the Kinloch arms, and, describing Roger de Quincy's seal and its seven mascles, goes on: 'which mascles the name of Kinloch now carrying, took their three from Roger Quincy as their patron or superior of some of those lands so disposed by him to them, and laid aside the old arms, the bishop's pall, above mentioned; but bears a boar's head erased betwixt two mascles.'[19]

Of the bishop's pall we know nothing; it is more likely to have been the personal coat of some clerical member of the family; but the mascles or lozenges and the boar's head appear on the seal of a David de Kinloch in 1418,[20] and with these charters before us we recognise not only the charges of de Quincy, but a suspicion of an inheritance from Alan de Swinton. With the further knowledge that this Alan had, as well as a third Alan who succeeded him at Swinton, another son, John, who in 1248 makes his only appearance in charter history,[21] we might think that we had now arrived at a solution of the parentage of John of Kinloch, the more so because, though no actual recorded connection between Alan and the Earls of Winchester has come down to us, we can advance some curious pieces of circumstantial evidence.

Not only did Earl Roger grant the church of Culessin to Lindores,[22] but his father, Earl Seyer, before him is mentioned in connection with the place.[23] Were not the Dalswinton lands a portion of the Dumfriesshire inheritance which Roger got

[19] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app., p. 26.

[20] W. R. Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1507.

[21] Raine's App., ch. ccclxiv. [22] *Chartulary of Lindores*, p. 169.

[23] De Quincy Charters at Magdalen College, Oxford.

with his wife Helen of Galloway, and which passed with their daughter to the Comyns? But whence, and at what date did these lands get their name? How comes it that when Roger and the Abbot of Holyrood discuss their milling arrangements they should fall back as a last resource on the mill at Inveresk, 'quod vocatur Shireuif milne'?[24] For this mill belonged to no Sheriff, but to Alan de Swinton.[25] Oddest chance of all, considering that the Monks of Coldingham valued their Swinton possessions as the 'chief de lour sustenance,'[26] and therefore might have been expected to know how to spell the name of the place, that when in 1235 a list was drawn up of those Mersemen owing homage to the Prior of Durham, the scribe should blunder into heading it with Alan de parva Wintona (*sic*).[27]

But whatever light further research may throw on what are perhaps only chance coincidences, it is most improbable that John de Kindeloch and John fil Alani de Swinton were identical. Among the places in the neighbourhood of Inveresk over which Alan apparently had rights was Elphinstone,[28] and if a younger son John lived to found a family of his own many circumstances make it more likely that 'de Elphinstone' was the territorial surname which he assumed. Stronger evidence still is an apparently contemporary copy of a charter[29] in the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford, an agreement between the Abbey of Inchaffray and the Hospital at Brackele, to which among others are witnesses, Sir Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, and Morin de Kindeloch, the Earl's steward. As this charter cannot be later than 1238, we may imagine that Morin preceded John, and that he was the first to be known as 'of Kinloch.'

If anywhere in that neighbourhood, and between 1200 and 1230, we could find a Morin son of Ucthred, we might presume to add two generations to an interesting pedigree. —.

One other paragraph might with advantage be added to this paper, for anything connecting Olifard and Swinton bears on

[24] Bannatyne Club, 'Chartulary of Holyrood.'
[25] Bannatyne Club, 'Register of Dunfermlin,' p. 147.
[26] Surtees Soc., 'Priory of Coldingham,' p. 22.
[27] Surtees Soc., 'Priory of Coldingham,' p. 241.
[28] Bannatyne Club, 'Register of Dunfermlin,' p. 112.
[29] Brackley, D., 126.

the origin of yet another ancient house. In the *Scots Peerage* it is shown that the lands of Arbuthnott, which had been first granted to Osbert Olifard, were for some reason passed on at the end of the twelfth century by Walter Olifard, said to have been his nephew, to Hugh de Swinton; or as Principal Arbuthnott, who compiled the history of his family, preferred to state it (we have only an early copy to go by). 'Hugoni de Abirbuthnot . . . quem etiam ex præclara Swyntoniorum familia quæ Marchiæ comitatum tum temporis tenebat[80] descendisse ex iisdem monumentis apparet.'

Commenting on this, or rather on the early translation of it which he quotes, Mr. Macphail, the writer of the article, points out that Cospatric de Swinton and Hugh his son are witnesses to a charter of Duncan, Earl of Fife, in 1177,[81] and that therefore the progenitor of the Arbuthnotts was perhaps the son of Cospatric and the grandson of Ernulf de Swinton. With this view our new discoveries quite fall into line.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

[80] We are told that between 1577 and 1587 this was 'Englischit' into 'Earlis of Marchie for the tyme,' but one would like to see the Principal's original manuscript. Even if there was some tradition of a descent from the Gospatrics, or some recollection of the name, it is curious to find a serious student of history making such a mistake within a century of the fall of the great house of Dunbar and March. Or is it possible that in the original it was '*Vice*-comitatum,' for the Swintons claim descent with the lands which give them their name, from Liulf and Odard, Sheriffs on both sides of the Border?

Sir Alan de Swinton, died *c.* 1250. Of his son John, who in 1248 was in company with Lothian neighbours, David de Haddington and Adam de Morham, and of Sir Alan's possessions in Elphinston, we hear no more; unless it be in the person of John de Elphinstone, the reputed founder, *c.* 1250, of the family of that name. In 1296 two de Elphinstones, perhaps John's sons, did homage; Aleyn, or Alan, as belonging to the county of Berwick; John, as belonging to the county of Edinburgh. The latter sealed with a boar's head couped turned to sinister, with a fleur de lys in chief. To-day, and for at least four centuries, the Elphinstone arms are a chevron between three boars' heads, the same as the Swinton's.

[81] Bannatyne Club, 'Chartulary of North Berwick,' p. 5.

Notes and Comments

In Memoriam, Thomas Dickson, LL.D.

It is only fitting that some notice should be taken in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review* of the demise of one to whom all students engaged in the investigation of the political, social, or family history of Scotland owe a deep debt of gratitude. Other men of eminence in the same field have passed away honoured with the usual column in the daily press, but no such memorial has been given to one who deserves in a very high degree to be remembered for his life's work. It is perhaps only consonant with the character of the man that such should have been the case; but, on the other hand, it is but proper that some record should be made of one who did so much in the cause of historical knowledge.

Dr. Dickson's career was a simple one, and can be easily told. Born some seventy-nine years ago, he was, as a young man, destined for the ministry of the Free Church; an affection of the throat, however, occasioned it is said by a chill after some athletic exercise, put an end to his hopes of preaching, and led him to turn his footsteps into less declamatory paths. In 1859 he obtained the appointment of principal assistant in the Advocates' Library, and the literary gifts and cultivated scholarship which he there developed and displayed led him to be appointed in 1867 successor to Joseph Robertson (who himself expressed a desire that he should succeed him) as Curator of the Historical Department in the Register House of Edinburgh. It was no small task to succeed such a man, who had been cut off in the fulness of his intellectual powers, and it says much for Dickson's ability and force of character that before long he was recognised as a worthy holder of the office. Of a singularly modest and retiring disposition he did not give to the public many results of his labours, but no man was more willing to communicate to inquirers any information which he could supply, and there is hardly a single student of Scottish History, in its various branches, who is not obliged to him for assistance freely rendered from his stores of knowledge. In 1878 he was appointed one of the secretaries for foreign correspondence to the Society of Antiquaries, a post which he held till 1891. Save in the excellent working order in which he handed over his office of Historical Curator to his successor, he left few permanent records of his learning and zeal; but under the editorship of Cosmo Innes he personally superintended the preparation of the fac-similes of the National Manuscripts of Scotland; and, indeed, all the Record publications which appeared during his tenure of office owe much of their excellence to his skilled guidance. The public, too, are indebted to him for one of the best prefaces which was ever written to a volume of the

Records. In 1877 he completed his great introduction to the first volume of the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He had done the work of editing entirely in his leisure hours, and from pure love of his subject, as he did not receive a penny of remuneration for it from the Government. It is a worthy memorial of the man, displaying not only a great knowledge of Scottish History, but an intimate acquaintance with the social life of the period (1473-98). Whether he discoursed on costume, military and naval affairs, the sports and pastimes of the people, the price of food, or the rate of wages, he threw an illumination on the subject such as had never been done before. A list of the Heralds and Pursuivants of Scotland, which was appended to the preface, was a valuable addition to a little-known bye-path of research. His merits were soon to be recognised in an appropriate way, and in 1886 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. For years afterwards he worked quietly but effectively in the office which he loved, and for the efficiency of which he spared no trouble. But at last the time came when, under the regulations of the service, he had to retire; and while he twice got extensions of his period of service, he had ultimately to give up what was to him a congenial and absorbing occupation, and in 1895 he finally quitted his post. He felt the parting from his official work keenly—too keenly in fact. His friends tried to persuade him again to take up the editorship of the Treasurer's Accounts, with which Government had resolved to proceed, but his finely-strung and sensitive nature had received too severe a shock to permit him to undertake it with pleasure, and no inducement could prevail on him to resume work. Very occasionally his former colleagues saw him in his old haunts, but of late years his health gave way, and he led a very retired life. He passed away peacefully on the 16th of November, leaving behind him a memory which will be gratefully cherished by all who knew him, and having worthily enrolled himself in that distinguished band of record scholars of which Scotland is so justly proud.

J. Balfour Paul.

Coin-hoard in Annandale.

Within the burgh bounds of Lochmaben in October, a labourer lighted on one of those hoards of medieval silver pennies that come to light from time to time in Scotland. Its chief interest, from the point of view of general Scottish history, lies in the fresh illustration it affords of the character of the Scottish currency in the fourteenth century. Internal evidence indicated that it had been buried about the end of Edward II.'s reign. It comprised some 450 pieces, and of these only 9 had been minted in Scotland. The remainder consisted of 422 English pennies, 5 Irish pennies, and 12 'counterfeit sterlings.' The proportion of purely Scottish coins is thus rather smaller than usual; Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, considered 1 in 30 to be the average. Possibly proximity to the Border may account for this. The comparatively large number of counterfeits prove how serious was the economic danger that led to such strong measures being taken against the importation of the 'lussheburghes' (*i.e.* 'Luxembourgers'), as the Host of Chaucer's Pilgrims calls them. Among the 12 found

at Lochmaben was a specimen minted by John the Blind, the King of Bohemia, whose fate at Crecy has invested him with a halo of romance. It is odd to be reminded that among his own contemporaries in England and Scotland his reputation must have rested mainly on the variety of forged coins which he produced, and on the inveterate persistency with which these were 'dumped' on the shores of our island.

Minor Studies in Manuscript.

GLASGOW University Historical Society was opened (November 15), under the presidency of Prof. Medley, with a lecture by Mr. G. Neilson, who made four MS. exhibits. The first was a wage roll of Edward I. for work, chiefly ditching, at the peel of Linlithgow in September, 1302—a roll belonging to Mr. J. H. Stevenson, advocate. The second was a fly-fisher's pocket-book acquired by Mr. Ludovic Mann in a Lanarkshire cottage, and containing as constituent of its parchment pockets a number of well-written leaves from a Roman breviary, probably of the 15th century. The third was a charter or transumpt under the great seal in January, 1448-49, authenticating the engrossed copies of no fewer than seven charters of lands which at the date of the transumpt were all in the hands of William, Earl of Douglas. This document, which supplied some lists of witnesses and other *lacunae* in the public records was treated as marking the threatening culmination of Douglas' power and that coalition with the Earl of Crawford and the Livingston party which was the prelude and occasion of the Douglas overthrow. The last item was the common-place book of Bernardo Bembo, a Venetian orator and ambassador (fl. 1433-1519), father of the cardinal-poet-historian, Pietro Bembo. Referring to the breviary as a memorial of a universal faith and a universal ritual, apparently supreme and eternal in its time, but subsequently displaced from its universality, the lecturer said that Scotland since the 15th century had more than once to re-define the word 'kirk,' with the assistance first of John Knox the preacher, and afterwards of those more subtle theologians, Claverhouse and Lord Halsbury.

Jacobite Drinking Glasses.

AT the opening meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society (Nov. 17), at which Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple was unanimously elected President, Mr. Rees Price read a communication on 'Jacobite Drinking Glasses,' about twenty different types of which were exhibited. The most interesting glass of the series was one relating to the Jacobite Rising of 1715, the property of Dr. Perry of Glasgow. Only seven of these glasses have been recorded. They are unique in that they bear the cypher 'I. R.,' crowned—the cypher of the Chevalier St. George, proclaimed at St. Germains, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. This cypher, peculiarly French in style, is so engraved that it might conceivably pass as standing for Georgius Rex. In the glass of Dr. Perry, careful examination of the scroll work shows the figure 8, referring undoubtedly to James VIII. of Scotland. Another feature of these glasses is, that they have inscribed on them a Jacobite paraphrase of the song which was written by Bull at the time of the gun-powder plot, beginning, 'God save great James our King';

a song adapted by Dr. Arne in 1745 for the Georgian National Anthem, and set to the music we now sing in 'God save our Lord the King.'

All the other glasses exhibited referred to the Rising of 1745, and they and their analogues were used at the meetings of the many Jacobite clubs which existed then and later, where the members toasted 'the King over the water.' The glasses have inscribed on their bowls emblems and mottoes which had an important significance to the Jacobite adherents. Most of them are engraved with the quasi-heraldic six-petalled rose of the Stuarts, in contradistinction to the heraldic five-petalled Tudor rose. The rose has associated with it two natural buds, signifying the Chevalier St. George and Prince Charles Edward. A star is also frequently engraved on the bowl. And in toasting the 'King over the water,' as the glass was raised over the bowl of water on the table, the star, held outwards, rose also.

The oakleaf is a frequent decoration. Its reference to the Stuart dynasty is obvious. Various words and mottoes are also found engraved on Jacobite glasses, for example, the Virgilian 'Turno tempus erit,' and the motto 'Cujus est cuique suum reddite,' and 'Audentior Ibo.'

The air-stemmed 'drawn' glass (*i.e.* bowl and stem in one), here illustrated (Fig. 1), and belonging to Mrs. Rees Price, has engraved on the bowl, the rose and two buds, the oakleaf, the star, and the cycle word 'FIAT.' This form of glass was largely used by the Cycle which had its origin at Wynnstay in 1710, and ramified through Shropshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and the North of England, up to Scotland, and as far south as Wiltshire.

Another interesting glass, here figured (Fig. 2), is the property of Mr. Percy Bate of Glasgow. It is a drawn air-stemmed glass with a collar on the stem. The bowl is bell shaped, and is engraved with the rose and two natural buds, the star, and the word 'REDEAT.'

A unique glass belonging to Mrs. Rees Price, air-stemmed, with a straight-sided bowl, is engraved with the Prince of Wales' feathers and the Royal Arms of England and Scotland quarterly—purposely incorrect, and the word 'RADIAT.' (Fig. 3.)

Finally may be mentioned a large air-stemmed glass with an ogee bowl, engraved with a portrait of Prince Charles Edward, flanked with the six petalled rose and two buds, and the thistle. The bowl is also inscribed with the star and the cycle word 'FIAT.'

Anti-Jacobite Jottings on a Confession of Faith, of 1647.

AT the same meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society there was exhibited an interesting booklet which belonged to the late Dr. James Macdonald. It was a well-preserved copy of the earliest Scottish print of 'The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith,' being one of an edition of three hundred printed at Edinburgh in the autumn of 1647, 'for the use of the Generall Assembly.' The name of the original owner is doubtful. But in the early part of the eighteenth century the book had been in the possession of an Elgin family named

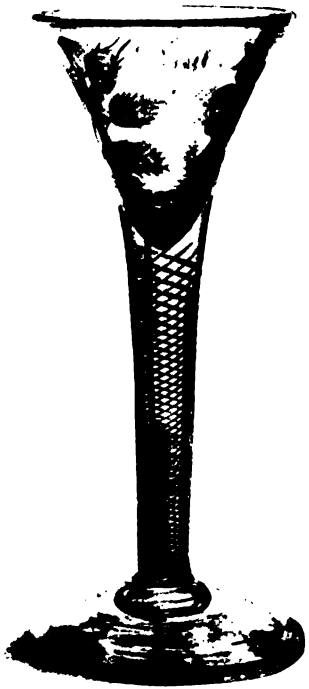


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

JACOBITE GLASSES.

Facing page 184

Sutherland, one of whom was evidently an ardent Hanoverian. On a fly-leaf he has inscribed the following Latin verses:

'Lues ex silvis prodiens, spem Jacobitorum
Scotorum extinxit; pereat omne malum.
Plangite Jacobum, Jacobini, nunc moriturum,
Octavum falso, cognominare solent.
Tristia jocosis succedunt carmina vestris,
Tubicines nigri, nunc ululate fatum.'

It will be seen that he was not very strong in punctuation. In the art of verse translation he was even weaker. This is his doggerel rendering of the first three lines.

'George from the wood his progress makes.
The Jacobs hope its neck he breaks.
So let all evil perish.
Lament your darlin Jacobits.'

The Celtic Union.

GAELIC subjects of history are prominent in the programme of the Celtic Union, which is affiliated to the Comunn Gaidhealach, of which it is an Edinburgh section. Statutes of Iona, Jacobite Bards, Origins of Gaelic Literature (by Prof. Kuno Meyer), Old Highland Cures, and Celtic Art, are themes of special contributions. Mr. David MacRitchie is president for the session 1904-05. The Union boasts two honorary bards and one honorary piper, who doubtless enliven the work of the archaeological section, which in the syllabus for the current winter manifests a most vigorous spirit. An institution so helpful towards the study of the Highlands in history may well command wide support. The committee on archaeology evidently designs to foster research and at the same time to popularise it—a double policy which is on both sides happy and commendable.

A Survival of Norse Law.

NORSE memories of all kinds are, of course, strong in Orkney and Zetland, and the Court of Session has recently passed judgment on a very remarkable survival of Norse law in the land tenure there. A dual system has long prevailed. Where a proprietor feudalises his title by once coming under a Crown charter, the limitations attached to all feudal holdings from the Crown thenceforth obtain. Where the 'udaller,' on the other hand, holding by the traditional allodial or self-contained proprietary right has never feudalised, what is his position? Has he any more extensive or exclusive right in his own as in a question with the Crown than if he held feudally? This issue came sharply up for decision on the important point whether the foreshore at Lerwick was private or Crown property. By general Norse customary law, anciently and still, the foreshore is the udaller's: the march line of a riparian property is the lowest low water-mark. Property reaches 'fra ye hyast of ye hill to ye lanest of ye eb. . . .' By Scottish feudal law, however, that is by normal Scots law, the foreshore is the patrimonial property, *inter regalia*, of the Crown. Hence in the case of *Smith versus Lerwick Harbour Trustees* (17th March, 1903, 5 Fraser 680) the contest

was direct and uncompromising between Norse *odal* and Scottish *feudum*. The *odal* being an unburdened freehold is the very negation of *feudum*. After an extremely interesting and learned litigation, in which histories, sagas, and charters, as well as old law treatises of Iceland, Norway, and Denmark were ransacked for authorities, the court decreed that the riparian udal holder who has never feudalised, not only owns the ground to the lowest tide-mark, but also maintains this right against the Crown. Mr. W. P. Drever, of Kirkwall, has reprinted from the *Juridical Review* an article on the law of the udal foreshore, which calls for welcome as an excellent exposition of both sides of a case of peculiar interest, and a curious chapter of historical law.

Irish Historical Societies, 1904.

THE publications of the various historical and antiquarian societies which, as we noticed last January, are now tolerably numerous, have been well maintained during the past year. With the exception of Waterford, all the societies already in existence at the beginning of 1904 have published their *Proceedings* with commendable regularity; and this year has been marked by the foundation of a new society in Louth. This county, though almost the the smallest in Ireland, is not only peculiarly rich in archaelogical remains of great interest, but, from its propinquity to the Pale, and its situation between the seat of English power and the practically independent Ulster of pre-Stuart times, it has historical associations of great interest. The town of Drogheda alone should furnish abundant material for investigation. The first number of the Louth journal has been admirably brought out by local printers, and we wish the society a prosperous career. But while the quantity of archaeological and antiquarian work performed by the local societies has been well maintained, as much cannot be said for the quality of the output. The high standard of earlier days has not been maintained of late years. For example, the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* which is much the most eminent, in point of tradition, of the local journals, tends both to repetition and superficiality. This periodical seems to depend too exclusively on its assiduous editor, and Mr. Bigger's own work suffers in consequence. Such a narrative as he supplies in his account of Sir Arthur Chichester was well worth giving; though scarcely judicial in tone, it summarises much scattered information on an interesting subject. But in a journal of this kind careful references to the sources utilised are properly expected. And these are not always forthcoming either in Mr. Bigger's paper or in Dr. Knowles' addition, to Bishop Reeves' essay on Crannogs. In these criticisms we speak, of course, only of the work of the provincial associations, as indicated in the local journals, and not of the Royal Irish Academy or Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Both of these institutions, and more especially the former, exact from their contributors to their *Proceedings* a high level of efficient scholarship, and their papers seldom fail to show proof of independent and original research. This is particularly the case in the work of the past year in such very dissimilar contributions as Mr. H. F. Berry's 'Gild of St. Ann in St. Andrews,

Dublin, 1430-1740,' Mr. F. E. Ball's 'Judges of Ireland in 1739,' and Mr. Herbert Wood's 'Addison's Connection with Ireland.' The last-named paper merits the praise of being the most graceful and literary of the antiquarian papers published in Ireland during the year. Only in one paper, that on the identification of the Pass of Plumes, does the Society of Antiquaries seem to have fallen below the standard we have mentioned. Lord Walter Fitzgerald's paper is, indeed, marked by industry and research; but it adds nothing to knowledge, since the information given in it was published some thirty years ago by Canon O'Hanlon in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. In the absence of an efficient digest of antiquarian literature, such as *Poole's Index* supplies for general periodicals, it is possible for well-informed antiquaries to imagine that they are tilling for the first time ground which has already been worked out. The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has recently published a full index to the first twenty volumes of its *Proceedings*. It is to be wished that other societies would follow this excellent example. A complete index of this kind to the *Ulster Journal* would be much appreciated by Irish antiquarians.

Recent Discoveries of Medieval and Prehistoric Objects.

A FINE 'food vessel' was found last summer in Wigtownshire in a massively built cist, with an inhumed skeleton and small decorated slate objects. In Tiree, Mr. Ludovic Mann has recovered from the soil vessels of clay apparently prehistoric. One of the vessels is 18 inches high and has a hoop moulding. These objects, with a large collection of prehistoric implements from Coll, Iona, and other Hebridean Islands, may be seen in the People's Palace, Glasgow, as well as sepulchral urns (one found with the cremated remains of a child) from Cumnock Parish. A prehistoric workshop at Culmore has been carefully examined. The site has yielded about 100 implements. Specially valuable finds are a large flint knife and several flint arrow-heads; one apparently in course of manufacture. This autumn an important discovery took place at Newlands, Glasgow, eight bronze-age burials having come to light. One of the urns is exceptionally large and another is decorated in relief. In the South of Scotland a string-marked 'drinking cup' has been found.

The importance of early fictilia in the solution of the problems of prehistoric chronologies cannot be over-estimated, and it is satisfactory to know that all the discoveries referred to will be exhaustively recorded.

The ninth Century site in Wigtownshire continues to yield bronze objects, usually large pins with ornamented heads; an iron spear-head and large thick perforated discs of pottery of unknown use have been found at the site. A green-glazed pottery jar with handle, of medieval manufacture, has been found near Bridge-of-Weir Railway Station, a few feet from the surface.

Queries

CUMING OF ALTYRE. Robert Cuming of Altyre died in 1675, leaving a son Alexander. The latter married (1) Elizabeth Brodie, (2) the widow of Sir Alexander Innes of Cockstoun. Alexander died in 1745-50, and left three sons, James, Alexander, and George. James died s.p. 1754. Alexander continued the line now represented by the Cumings of Altyre. Whom did George marry, what were the names of his children, and when did he die? He was at one time an ensign in the Marines. [Bruce's *The Bruces and Cumyns* gives no further information.]

George's sister Elizabeth married a certain Dr. John Innes. Was the latter one of the Inneses of Cockstoun, and if so in what way was he related?

ST. MARJORY. Chalmers in his *Caledonia* (vol. iii. p. 192) remarks: 'The church of Dornock (in Dumfries-shire) was dedicated to St. Marjory, who is not, however, mentioned by the sanctologists: Yet is her memory perpetuated here, by a simple monument, which is called *St. Marjory's Cross*.' I have looked into Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints* and Owen's *Sanctorale Catholicum*, but cannot find any reference to St. Marjory. Is nothing really known about the Saint?

J. M. M.

JOHN LIVINGSTON was one of the colony who emigrated to America in 1764 with the Rev. Thomas Clark, M.D., from Ballybay, Ireland. After a brief stay in Stillwater he settled in Salem, New York. Family tradition tells us that this John Livingston was a descendant of the Rev. John Livingston who was born in Monybroch, Kilsyth, 1603, and a cousin of the Livingstons of Livingston Manor, who settled near Albany and were prominent in the early history of New York State. These Livingstons were descended from Robert, youngest son of Mr. John. Tradition also says that John Livingston of Salem came from Ballybay, but was of Scottish descent, and that he married a Miss Boyd previous to his coming to this country. Can his descent be traced?

Mrs. Alfred T. Livingston.

155 Forest Avenue,
Jamestown, New York.

JOHNSTON OF ELSIESHEILLS. The first of the family, as disclosed by the Register of the Great Seal, was Gavin Johnston of Esby, in Annandale, who, as his grandson was apparently of age in the year 1485, was probably born about 1410. Does any evidence exist to show who was the father of Gavin Johnston of Esby?

16 Draycott Place, London, S.W. F. A. JOHNSTON.

MITCHELL OF WESTSHORE. Sir Andrew Mitchell, Bart., died in 1764 and was succeeded by his son John, who died s.p. 1783. Had Sir Andrew any daughters?

Replies

'BARON OF ARGENTINE' (vol. i. p. 459). The lands of Silverton Hill in Hamilton Parish do not appear to have been a barony, but in the barony of Hamilton. It is obscure how they, or half of them, passed from John Hamilton of Broomhill, who had a G.S. charter of them dated 10th May, 1491, and died in August, 1526, to Sir James Hamilton of Silverton Hill, Knt., who ranks next to John Hamilton of Broomhill in the G.S. charter of settlement of the Hamilton estates, dated 17th January, 1512-13, and so to his son John Hamilton of Newton, who died in 1535, but Andrew Hamilton, 'grandson, heir, and successor' of John Hamilton of Newton, seems clearly to have succeeded in that year to half of them, and to have been then a minor, with his uncle Alexander Hamilton, described as 'Tutor of Silverton Hill,' in a G.S. charter to him of 16th January, 1545-6, as his guardian. See Anderson's *Supplement*, 1827, to his *House of Hamilton*, pp. 425-6. Alexander's testament, dated at Newton, 31st August, 1547 (*Glasgow Commissary Records*), which shows that he left no lawful issue at his death, appoints 'Andrew his bruyer's son the heir,' to be his executor. As Sir Andrew Hamilton of Silverton Hill, Knt., this Andrew is witness on 20th December, 1552, to a charter in the G.S. register. In 1553 he gets sasine of the lands of Goslinton which had been purchased in 1528 by his father Andrew, who died in 1533. Also in 1542, 1548, and 1554, of Newton in Avondale and other lands which had belonged to his grandfather, John, of Newton, and of the lands of Langkipe, which had belonged to his uncle and tutor, Alexander. (See *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 17, p. 585, and vol. 18, pp. 442, 563 and 576.) It is clear, therefore, that neither Andrew Hamilton of Newton, Silverton Hill, and Goslinton, nor Alexander Hamilton, Tutor of Silverton Hill, was killed at the Battle of the Butts in March, 1543-4. Sir Andrew appears in the Records either as of Silverton Hill or Goslinton until 1592. Anderson's account of the family, founded on the *Baronage of Scotland*, is shown by the Records to be

erroneous in many particulars, and the Newton which the family held seems to have been Newton in Avondale, not Newton in Cambuslang, as Douglas and Anderson say.

Anderson gives an amended account of the Hamiltons of Cambuskeith in his *Supplement*, 1827, p. 463, in which he admits that John Hamilton of Cambuskeith was killed at the Battle of the Butts in 1543, and was succeeded by his elder son John, who died on 12th September, 1547, and so far the amended account seems to be correct. The son John appears to have died from the wounds he received at the battle of Fawside (9th September, 1547) the day before Pinkie, leaving a son John, a minor, to whom his uncle William Hamilton, Tutor of Cambuskeith, was guardian on 3rd December, 1550. This John had sasine in 1568 of Cambuskeith on payment of the feudal dues to the Crown for the twenty-five years since his grandfather's death in 1543. (See *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 20, p. 386.) The retours of this family which Anderson says were obtained in the years 1548 and 1561 do not appear to be in the printed Inquisitions.

W. H. C. HAMILTON.

THE CELTIC TREWS (vol. i. pp. 389-398). With reference to my paper on this subject, a correspondent has favoured me with the following additional information: In Professor Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Edin., 1899, p. 219) an extract is made from a letter of General Monk's to Secretary Thurloe, dated 2nd Dec., 1654, wherein Monk refers to General Middleton, who was then 'in some place in Glengaries bounds,' as living 'in such a cuntry where hee cannot ride or travell but in trouses and a plad.' General Monk writes from Dalkeith, where he had been staying for some time, and the inference is that in the Scottish Lowlands, as in England, the trews (otherwise 'trouses' and 'trossers') was then regarded as a garment peculiar to the Highlands, and probably also to Ireland.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

KENKYNOL (vol. ii. p. 15). In his extremely interesting article on Earlsferry Mr. Law introduces the word 'KenKynol,' which he seems to treat as the name of a person or clan. From the way in which Mr. E. W. Robertson in his *Historical Essays* (p. 163) used the word, it looks as if he also had dealt with it as a proper name. The Charter from which the word is taken is one dated 1450, by which James II., confirming a Charter of Robert II., granted to James Kennedy, ancestor of the house of Ailsa, 'quod dictus Jacobus Kennedy et heredes sui masculi essent capud totius progeniei sue tam in calumpniis quam in aliis articulis et negociis ad Kenkynol pertinere valentibus, etc.' (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. 87). This Charter follows on two granted by Robert II. in 1372 ratifying a Charter of Alexander III. dated 1275-6, and an earlier grant by Neil, Earl of Carrick to Roland de Carrick, ancestor of the said James Kennedy, conferring on Roland the headship of the house (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. 114, 115). In all of these the word occurs, variations on the

spelling being Kenkynoll and Kenkenoll. The word means simply the head of a clan or family, being from Gaelic *ceann* a head and *cineal* progeny (see Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary*, *s.v.* Ceann-cinnidh). This being so, the Charters mentioned grant such rights and privileges as naturally pertain to the chief of a clan, not of any particular clan. The same word is to be found in a bond of manrent by John M'Allan M'Eane in Lochaber in favour of Sir John Campbell of Calder, dated 1519 (*The Thanes of Cawdor*, Spalding Club, p. 130). There the obligation was 'to geff to the forsaid Sir Johne and his aris our calp kenkenoll and our manrent,' the word 'kenkenoll' being used as an adjective, clearly with the meaning 'due to a clanchief.'

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW.

THE BULLOCH FAMILY (vol. i. p. 419). It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Millar and myself should have been working at the same time at such an out of the way genealogical investigation as the Bulloch family; but if we started on the same road we have not reached the same goal. Despite a certain phonetic similarity, I do not think that the family of Bulloch has anything whatever to do with the family of Bullock. In the first place the name Bulloch was originally spelt Balloch, a fact which will be seen by every searcher of records, even although he is not prepared to believe the tradition resurrected by the American historian of the family that the house was founded by Donald Balloch, 'Lord of the Isles.'

Stirlingshire, and more particularly the parish of Baldernock is the cradle of the race, and I found from a transcript of the births and deaths Registers that the form Balloch was almost invariably used until the middle of the 18th century, after which for some extraordinary reason it is almost as invariably not used. The Bullocks on the other hand appear in the State Records spelt with a K, very often as English officials, although there was a family of sailors of the name trading between English and Scots ports in the 14th century.

The word Balloch is, I believe, of Gaelic origin, although I am no authority, and means 'freckled.' It is familiar to geographers in such names as Ballochmyle, Ballochbuie, and so on. The form Balloch was not entirely suppressed by the form Bulloch, and I have been surprised in the course of my investigations to find several families of the name Balloch, most of them being in very humble circumstances.

Although Stirlingshire was the cradle of the race the name Balloch is found occasionally in other parts of the country from Berwick to Buchan, although, of course, it is in the counties nearest to Stirlingshire that it is most commonly found. There was a family of Balloch in the Marnoch district in the end of the 18th century. Alastair Balloch (Alexander the Speckled) is a hero of Sutherlandshire legend, and may have been connected with Donald Balloch, the warlike chieftain of the Isles. My own family came from Baldernock, and belongs, I believe, to the same line as the founders of the well-known Glasgow firm, Bulloch, Lade & Co. The race has not been known much to fame, which is probably the reason that it

has been quite overlooked by the genealogists, except the inevitable American. It may be connected with the Peeblesshire family of Bullo, but I feel almost certain it has nothing to do with Bullock.

118 Pall Mall, London. J. M. BULLOCH.

[Mr. Millar does not accept the positions above advanced. He writes:

Mr. Bulloch's researches as to the history of the Bulloch family will have been seriously complicated, and somewhat reduced in value, if he has taken 'Bulloch' as synonymous with 'Balloch.' The latter is a purely Gaelic patronymic, derived from the place-name *bealach*, signifying, not 'speckled,' as he suggests, but "a narrow pass." The Scottish form is 'Balloch,' and from this root the composite names of Ballochmyle, Ballochgoy, Ballochluie, and countless others are derived. Bulloch is a Lowland (if not an English) name; and is rarely met in that form in purely Highland districts, save as importations. If 'Stirlingshire was the cradle of the race,' as Mr. Bulloch suggests, then it is more probable that they were settlers from the south, than that they crossed the Highland line and lost their Celtic characteristics.

In reply to this, Mr. Bulloch adds:

'Whether Balloch means "spreckled" as well as a 'narrow pass' does not affect my point. If again Ballock is the origin of Bulloch why is Balloch never represented as 'Ballock?' I cannot say when registers were began to be kept in Baldernock, but the first preserved dates from 1654. The following are typical entries:

1731 Feb. 18—James, lawful son to Allan Balloch in Balmore and Margreat Watson, his spouse.

1745 Dec. 29—William, son lawful to Allan Bulloch, Buckley in the parish of Calder and Margaret Watson, his spouse.

1729 March 23—James lawful son to Robert Balloch and Jonet Guthrie his spouse.

1742 Feb. 14—Betheath, lawful daughter to Robert Bulloch and Janet Guthrie his spouse.

The same occurs in dozens of other entries, the difference in the spelling beginning about 1740. Not a single 'Ballock' nor 'Bullock' occurs. Why not? Besides we find Donald Balloch contemporaneous with John Bullok, the Aberdeen merchant. It seems to me as likely that Bulloch is a corruption of Bullock as that I am descended from the Aberdeen merchant John Bullok, because my family happens to have resided there for 75 years.]

Reviews of Books

A History of French Versification. By L. E. Kastner, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in French Language and Literature at the Owens College, Manchester. Pp. xx, 312. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. 5s. 6d. nett.

M. Kastner's Thesaurus of French versification is so full and painstaking, and the want of such a thing in English was so great, that one may feel inclined to greet it with nothing but hearty thanks, and as hearty recommendations. Even in French I am not acquainted with anything quite so thorough of its own kind; and even in France the curious and arbitrary intricacies of the subject are by no means universally understood; while as for this side of the Channel, you may find pieces of French inserted in English work, by poets of no small genius and education, with prosodic values which it is utterly impossible for the French words to bear. Here, under the successive heads of 'Syllabic Value,' 'Rhyme,' 'Caesura,' '*Enjambement*,' 'Hiatus,' 'Poetic License,' and the various classes of line and stanza, almost all the facts and laws of the subject are given, with abundant examples from all the periods of the language. This latter feature, which must always be one of the most important (perhaps we might say *the* most important) in a treatise of the kind, is very well presented: and I hardly know whether to approve most of the abundance of examples of old French, or of the many 'modern instances' with their daring neglect of what used to be considered prosodic orthodoxy.

For what is here we may therefore (let it be repeated) be truly thankful; but perhaps some reserves must be made on the manner of giving it. That there is no index is a rather serious drawback; but that can be easily made good. It would not be so easy to alter the method of the book itself, which I cannot help thinking unfortunate. In calling it a 'Thesaurus' instead of a 'History' I have intended neither cavil nor discourtesy, but a simple rectification. The fact is that, except in the part devoted to lines and stanzas, where historical treatment was almost unavoidable, the treatment is scarcely historic at all. One would have thought, even if the treatise were not definitely announced as a history, that prosodic rather more than any other linguistic or literary enquiry could only be satisfactorily conducted by beginning at the beginning, and showing what the *actual* verse-forms of the language have successively been. But M. Kastner begins with a chapter on 'Principles,' in which these principles are stated as if they existed somewhere in an Ark

of the Covenant, and illustrated only by examples from Racine. So it is at the beginning of that on the Counting of Syllables: and so (though less) at the beginning of that on Rhyme. Now it may be fully admitted that the extreme *homogeneousness* of French Prosody, till quite recently, both invites this proceeding and makes it less mischievous than it would be elsewhere. But still I venture to think it not the most excellent way. And if, allowing to the full Victor Hugo's famous and peremptory restriction of the critic to the question, '*How* has this author done his work?' and not '*What* has he done?' we admit that M. Kastner had a right to give what he chose and hold back what he chose, *we* have still the right to ask whether he has given it in the best manner. I think myself that for this matter a dictionary arrangement would have been superior to the present. It would certainly have been easier to consult on particular points, and to study as a whole it would, I think, have been less confusing to novices. But once more, almost all information which can reasonably be wanted by English readers, on a subject as to which they had, save in the rarest cases, very little information before, is here. And it is not often that one can say as much of a book as this.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. By W. J. Courthope, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. III., pp. xxxii, 533; Vol. IV., pp. xxix, 476. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1903. 10s. nett per volume.

THE third and fourth volumes of Mr. Courthope's *History of English Poetry* are devoted to the seventeenth century. The former, beginning with the successors of Spenser, deals with the different poetical schools till the time of Dryden; and the latter is given up entirely to the drama.

The book is not a 'complete collection of the English poets.' Many names which appear in humbler histories are not to be found here. English poetry is studied, not in itself, not in relation to its authors, but in relation to politics, society, and the national life. Believing that Warton erred in dealing too much in detail and 'in the spirit of an antiquary,'—though it is to this patient labour united with genuine scholarship and taste that our first history owes its abiding value—Mr. Courthope aims at giving his work a unity by treating poetry as 'an expression of the imagination, not simply of the individual poet, but of the English people.' We need not, therefore, expect detached appreciations of individual poets; nor should we consult these volumes for the less obvious facts of a writer's career. There is here so much unity that the poets are not to be taken out of their setting; they are exhibited as the embodiment of forces in the intellectual and national life. It should be an interesting question, in due time, to inquire into the forces which have gone to the making of Mr. Courthope's own critical method. Will it be shown to be partly the outcome of the evolutionary doctrines of the nineteenth century? It has an obvious relationship to the methods of Taine and Monsieur Brunetière. Happily Mr. Courthope is never more in love

with his theory than with his subject matter, and so is never forced to bend his facts to his purpose. His method is saner and more disinterested than Taine's; and it is much wider than Monsieur Brunetière's. The author of the *Evolution des Genres* has shown himself liable to deal exclusively with the 'influence of books upon books' and the externals of literature. Mr. Courthope's work has not the artistic value of Taine's, and it may lack the forcefulness of Monsieur Brunetière's somewhat pugnacious style, but it shows greater breadth of vision.

The method is well illustrated by the chapters on the poetical wit of the seventeenth century. Mr. Courthope has felt the inadequacy of all previous attempts to explain its rise. The critics of Donne and his school who point to Marino and Gongora forget that Donne is not the first 'conceited' writer in our language. As the same tendencies are found at the same time in the chief European literatures, they had presumably a common source; and this Mr. Courthope finds in 'the decay of the scholastic philosophy and of the feudal system, common to the whole of Europe, and in the revival, at the same time, of the civic standards of antiquity operating on the genius of many rising nations and languages' (iii. 105). The qualities of the wit of the seventeenth century are shown to appear 'germinally' in the poetry of the fourteenth, their predominance in the latter age being only the 'efflorescence of decay.' Whether or not this explanation is itself adequate, the manner of treatment has at least served to throw new light on a difficult problem. The dangers of a critical method which deals with influences have been well known since Taine's day. Being powerless to grasp the problem of the individuality of a poet, it tends to treat him merely as the passive exemplification of tendencies. The charge will not be made against Mr. Courthope, for, even in the two chapters which argue that in the work of Milton we find the 'reconciliation of the conflicting elements of race, religion, and language,' we lose sight of the poet's personality only in the more technical passages. But there is the further charge that the method prevents the critic from 'communicating his impressions to the reader in words which reflect his own enthusiasm,' to quote the author's own words in praise of Symonds. To make this charge, however, would be to neglect Mr. Courthope's purpose. He has not tried to interpret his authors and make them live again in his own pages. As he continually reminds us, he is tracing through our poetry the growth of the national imagination.

While the treatment of poetical wit is perhaps the chief contribution to English criticism of Mr. Courthope's third volume, there are important sections on the rise of the classical school. He will not allow Waller's claim to have been the first poet to write smoothly in the heroic couplet, but he grants him the smaller titles of 'the founder of the familiar style in complimentary poetry' (iii. 275), and 'the chief pioneer in harmonising the familiar use of the heroic couplet' (iii. 280). From Dryden's day Waller was known as a 'reformer of our numbers.' But Dryden knew that Waller confessed a debt to Fairfax, and Pope, when he drew up the scheme of his history of English poetry, said that Waller's

models were Fairfax and Sandys. Mr. Courthope believes that Waller owed nothing to the 'stately, semi-archaic style of Fairfax,' the pretended debt being only an attempt to conceal obligations to more immediate predecessors; but he admits the influence of Sandys, and he urges the influence of such writers as Sir John Beaumont. In particular, he insists on the importance of Beaumont's poem, *Concerning the True Form of English Poetry*, as both an early statement and illustration of the classical spirit in English verse. Had Beaumont's poem been written at the end of the century we should have been familiar with it as an infallible proof of the influence of Boileau. Beaumont was not an innovator, as anticipations of his views are to be found in Elizabethan criticism; but he helps to prove that English classicism was a continuous national growth, and that the French influence at the end of the century is commonly overstated.

In the discussion of the members of the classical school Denham is restored to the place which was given by Dryden and Pope, but from which he has been deposed by modern criticism. Easy as it is to find faults in Denham's work, difficult as it is to overlook his limitations, Mr. Courthope yet holds that the older reputation was merited. He finds 'many proofs of the fineness of Denham's judgment' (iii. 284), and he speaks of 'his weighty effects of style,' which is only another way of alluding to what Pope called his 'strength.' In the chapter on the Court poets of the Restoration more attention is paid than we find in other histories to the Duke of Buckinghamshire and the Earl of Roscommon, who have been neglected or despised since the eighteenth century. One of the merits of Mr. Courthope's method is that it cannot afford to ignore contemporary fame. A poet who was well thought of in his own day but has been forgotten since has presumably more to tell us of 'the growth of the national imagination' than perhaps greater poets whose worth is only of recent discovery. The recurring reference to Pope and Johnson is a pleasing feature of this book. And it is no less pleasing to be continually reminded, by the spirit of the argument, of the author's own *Life in Poetry, Law in Taste*, as in the passage which traverses Johnson's view that *Hudibras* lacks the 'universal' element of interest. The *History of English Poetry* is in a sense the historical application of the principles stated in the Oxford lectures.

In the fourth volume it is contended that 'England alone presented such social conditions at the close of the sixteenth century as allowed all the great contemporary tendencies of human action to be reflected in the drama' (iv. 199). The most important section of this volume is the long and detailed account of Shakespeare. Mr. Courthope shirks none of the common points of controversy, and he reopens controversies that are thought to have been settled. He holds the orthodox belief that 'the key-note for interpreting all Shakespeare's tragedies is to be found in the Sonnets,' (iv. 168); but he is courageously heretical in placing the *Tempest* as early as 1596 and identifying it with the play of *Love's Labour Won* mentioned by Meres in 1598. The arguments in support of his views are, it must be admitted, far from convincing. He says

himself that 'the strongest argument' against a date so late as 1610 is that 'the play appears to be plainly alluded to by Ben Jonson in the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*, first acted in the November of 1596' (iv. 95); but it is by no means certain that the *Tempest* is the play alluded to in this prologue, and there is no proof that the prologue itself was not written till many years later. Mr. Courthope agrees unreservedly with Mr. Swinburne in assigning to the youthful hand of Shakespeare *Arden of Feversham*, which he characterises as the 'finest poetical melodrama in the English language' (iv. 235), and he claims for him also the *Contention of York and Lancaster*, the *True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York, etc.*, the *Troublesome Reign of King John*, and the *Taming of A Shrew*.

There are one or two minor points to be noted. Is there not a double mistake in crediting Gabriel Harvey, pedant though he was, with introducing the false theory of *quantitative* hexameters (iii. 171)? This view has been traditional since Southey summarised the old controversy in the introduction to his *Vision of Judgement*. But was it not Drant who began the quantitative craze, and did not Harvey plead for accent? In Mr. Courthope's second volume he is quoted as spurning 'the authority of five hundred Master Drants' (ii. 291). *Pericles* was not 'admitted among Shakespeare's plays by all Malone's predecessors from the time of Rowe' (iv. 456). It was omitted in Pope's edition of 1725, and was not again included till Malone's edition of 1790. The reference to Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* as mentioning *Pericles* (iv. 469) is apparently a mistake for the *Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age*. It was not only 'Malone's disciples' (iv. 133) who complained of Jonson for attacking Shakespeare. Malone only carried on a controversy which had started in the seventeenth century. Sir John Harington was not a student of Christ's College, Cambridge (iii. 74), as is commonly stated, but of King's: see Mr. Walter Raleigh's article in the *New Review*, September, 1896. There is a mistake in the date of Castelvetro's edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which was issued in 1570 (iv. 271); and a common error reappears in the title of Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* (iii. 335, 337). It is regrettable that Mr. Courthope finds himself unable to dissent from Macaulay's views on Dryden's change of religion.

D. Nichol Smith.

Manx Names, or The Surnames and Place Names of the Isle of Man. By A. W. Moore, C.V.O. Second Edition, revised. Pp. xvi, 261. 8vo. London: Eliot Stock, 1903.

Manxland offers peculiar facilities for the study of its place and name words because of a certain homogeneity due to isolation, because its size renders it possible for a diligent worker to master not only its records but its topography, and because, while possessing some characteristics all its own, it has more which are cognate with those independently found in the Irish, Gaelic and Norse elements of British names. The speaker of the House of Keys carries authority when he quits the chair for the study. Historian of the island alike politically and *quoad sacra*, and versed besides in its folklore, he starts with a first-class

knowledge of Manx records, and from them incidentally draws instructive and interesting material for historical etymologies. His method is more satisfactory in the treatment of persons than of places: of the former we have the names with dates and variants, of the latter such particulars are much too rarely given. This is matter of regret; these details are the best check upon the validity of derivations. Isle of Man names are to about 70 per cent. Celtic; Norse comes next. C, K, and Q are the prevalent initial letters, a fact due partly to the contracting of names in Mac, and partly to the generic frequency of Q in the Manx section of the Celtic tongue. Of course very many etymologies offered are vulnerable, although Mr. Moore is always eminently sane, and like all sound etymologists avoids hybrids as he would the plague. It may be suggested that Kissack is not from MacIsaac, but from MacKessog, a name known in Irish hagiology. Hutchin, without doubt, is an old diminutive of Hugh by way of Huguccio-onis. Garret as a place name may be from that O.E. term for a watch-tower. Peel was historically French, the Celtic term being borrowed. Evidently Mr. Moore has not studied the historical evolution of this medieval fortification. To derive Hango Hill from a body hanging on the gallows seems a trifle forced, though the writer of this critique remembers, thirty years ago, finding what was believed to be a human collar bone in the rapidly disappearing seabrow there. Mr. Moore's book will bear scrutiny at any angle. *Quocunque jeceris stabit.*

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ANCIENT LIBRARIES OF CANTERBURY AND DOVER. THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARIES OF CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY AT CANTERBURY AND OF ST. MARTIN'S PRIORY AT DOVER. By Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. Pp. xcvi, 552, 8vo. Cambridge Press, 1903. 20s. nett.

DR. M. R. JAMES has proved once more and on a larger scale than hitherto his genius as a bibliographical explorer. He has not only printed seven catalogues throwing light on the condition of the monastic library of Christchurch, Canterbury, at the various stages of its existence; the great fifteenth century catalogue of St. Augustine's, with its 1837 entries, compiled at the time when the library was fullest; and the catalogue of Dover Priory, compiled in 1389; but he has given an introduction which will have far-reaching effect on many branches of the study of medieval literary history. It is a *tour de force* in the interpretation of evidence. Having cultivated a scent for a particular kind of bibliographical game, Dr. James runs it to earth with the skill and zest of a Red Indian. Every manuscript that is tracked to its home in a medieval library gains a kind of personality which enhances enormously the value of its contents. Chapter after chapter of the romance of manuscript fly-leaves is unfolded in the brilliant introduction. We are helped to a knowledge both of the school of Christchurch handwriting, which owed its origin to Lanfranc, and of Christchurch drawing; for instance, the celebrated Early English Heptateuch, Claudius B IV., is proved with

certainty to be a St. Augustine's book. Men who have been little more than mere names in literary history are made real and knowable. John of London, Roger Bacon's 'perfect mathematician,' and Michael de Northgate, author of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, are among the number. The catalogue of St. Augustine's, which names them frequently as donors, has made it possible to know what books were in the possession of these men. To recover the scattered volumes and bring life into these catalogues, many libraries have been ransacked. Turin was unhappily not of the number, and the Vatican has yet to yield its contribution. Scotland provides in the Hunterian a treatise on alchemy, and an ecclesiastical '*compotus*,' one of the many books given by the monk Michael to Dover; the Advocates' Library has the Dover *Statius*. A John of 'Edinbroke' was a donor of two copies of the *Sentences* to St. Augustine's. The editing of the texts of the catalogues is scarcely worthy of the introduction, for they betray, especially that of St. Augustine's, certain traces of haste. No notes are given, and the index is an index of donors only. Some facsimiles in illustration of the palæographical points noted in the introduction were much to be desired; the reader is told to compare scripts that lie in libraries far apart. The one facsimile that is provided is not good. MARY BATESON.

IDEALS OF SCIENCE AND FAITH. Essays by Sir Oliver Lodge and others. Edited by Rev. J. E. Hand. Pp. xix, 333. Crown 8vo. London: George Allen, 1904. 5s. nett.

THIS is a small but interesting volume of essays, written by scientific men on the one side and by ministers of some of the great Christian communities on the other. Their object is to show that the world is wide enough for both science and religion, and that there is no need of continuing the ancient quarrel between them. All that is required is 'that the religious should become scientific, and the scientific religious; then there may be peace.' But the peace must be 'active and constructive'—not the peace of men who are not on speaking terms with one another. They must co-operate, and their ideals 'must complete one another.'

In this most desirable and laudable work of co-operation and construction the first step is taken by Sir Oliver Lodge, in an essay entitled 'The Physical Approach.' He first sets forth the ground of quarrel, and finds it in two distinct conceptions of the universe; the one represents it 'as self-contained and self-sufficient, with no outlook into or links with anything beyond, uninfluenced by any life or mind except such as is connected with a visible, tangible, material body'; the other, as 'lying open to all manner of spiritual influences . . . a universe by no means self-sufficient or self-contained, but with feelers at every pore groping into another supersensuous order of existence.' The first conception makes 'faith childish and prayer absurd,' the other leaves ample room for both. The reconciliation Sir Oliver Lodge looks for will come through the conversion of 'orthodox science,' so that it shall consider

and find room for 'premonition, inspiration, prevision, telepathy.' At present all these 'are beyond the pale of science. . . . It cannot see guidance, it cannot recognise the meaning of the whole trend of things, —the constant leadings, the control, the help, the revelations, the beckonings, beyond our normal bodily and mental powers. No! for it will not look.'

That these telepathic and spiritualistic phenomena are inside 'the universe of fact' Sir Oliver 'begins to believe'; that they are subject to law he is assured; and that their laws are continuous with those of ordinary human life he suggests. If science would only take account of these facts, all would be well, for 'the region of religion and of a completer science are one.'

The second essay, entitled 'The Biological Approach,' aims at the same end, but is conceived in a different spirit. Biological science 'is not concerned with theoretical may-be's of the future': it only describes, in conceptual formulae; it accounts for no origins, knows no 'agents'; leaves the attempted analysis of psychical phenomena in terms of physical categories and of personal experiences in terms of sub-personal categories to the psychologist. Biology leaves room for faith, but has nothing direct to say of the reality or nature of its objects. But it helps religion—*intellectually* by striving to establish inductively the unity of nature, which the poet, artist, metaphysician, and theologian see instinctively and reach deductively; *emotionally*, by revealing the mystery, wonder, and beauty of life, its intricacy and subtlety, its history, its tragedy and its comedy, 'approaching thereby another aspect of the idea of God'; *practically*, or *ethically*, by revealing possibilities of betterment, of saving, strengthening, regenerating men.

A more fresh, picturesque, and yet thoroughly scientific summary of the principles that constitute the attitude of biological science can hardly be desired. It is admirably written and thoroughly sane, and as full of the religious spirit as it is free from theological dogma.

Professor Muirhead follows with an able article entitled 'A Psychological Approach.' Its chief object is to show that psychology 'removes the obstacle to religion which comes from the opposition of the physical to the mental, and from the apparent secondariness of the latter in the order of creation.'

The article by Mr. Victor Brandford on the sociological approach ends with a diagram of the reconciled interests of man, and an intimation to those who are 'contemplating a mutual understanding' that they will find a 'common ground in the Sociological Society' recently formed in London.

To Mr. Bertrand Russell, who follows with 'An Ethical Approach,' there is a breach between 'fact and ideal,' to be healed by resignation, and renunciation, and the contemplation that both provides a vision of heaven and transmutes the earthly life. 'To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to eschew all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things—this is emancipation, and this is the free man's worship.'

The later part of the volume consists of 'Approaches' from the Educational, the Presbyterian, the Church of England, the outsiders' point of view, and from that of the Church of Rome.

The articles are of varying value, the results arrived at are not always definite, and if the writers discussed them the symposium would become lively. But the volume, taken as a whole, is both unusually interesting and instructive. HENRY JONES.

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS IN OUTLINE. By D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. Pp. xiii, 84. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS well-appointed reprint presents, with some additional details, on the re-establishment of Episcopacy (1662), the Court of High Commission (1664), the Cess (1678), the victims of Bothwell Bridge, the Test Act of 1681 and the Dunnottar prisoners, Dr. Hay Fleming's introduction to the late Rev. J. H. Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, published a year previously, and briefly notes the origin and effect of the various 'bands' (or 'covenants' as they were later termed)—documents which prove the intensely fervent politico-religious sentiments which inspired Presbyterian Scotland from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

In revising and expanding his prefatory chapter, we should have been glad if the author had said something more as to the more purely political antecedents of the idea of a 'band.' P. HENDERSON AITKEN.

THE MACKINTOSHES AND CLAN CHATTAN. By A. M. Mackintosh. Pp. xxiv, 566. Printed for the author, 1903.

THE history of the Mackintoshes is important, even apart from other reasons, on account of their central position in the Highlands, and their close association for centuries with the town of Inverness. Like that of most of the clans, their origin is shrouded in much obscurity, but the author of this volume has spared no pains to make his information as interesting and reliable as possible. As early as 1880 he published a book on the same subject. This second edition is intended to represent the results of wider research and fuller knowledge. Favourably situated as the author has been for the purpose, he has endeavoured, as he tells us, to present a *correct* history of the Clan Chattan generally, and of its component septs in particular. To this end he has carefully piloted his way 'by the help of record and documentary evidence alone, disregarding or not insisting on the delusive lights of tradition, taking for granted no statements of family historians as to ancient events, and avoiding all temptation to speculations or guesses of his own, or to writing for writing's sake.'

There have been two views taken of the origin of the Clan Mackintosh. According to the one, supported by a MS. of date 1467, the family can be traced to the Dalriadic kings; according to the other, founded on the Kinrara MS., which was completed about the year 1679, they

are descended from the ancient Earls of Fife. For reasons assigned, Mr. Mackintosh follows the latter document as his chief authority for the earlier period. It is a family history written in English by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, brother of the 18th chief, and afterwards abbreviated and translated into Latin. This Lachlan quotes from three older MSS. which are now no longer extant. One of these was the work of Ferquhard, 12th chief; another, that of Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy; and the third was written by George Munro of Davochgartie.

Briefly, the account in the Kinrara MS. is, that Shaw, second son of Duncan, 3rd Earl of Fife, came to the north with King Malcolm IV. in 1163, to suppress a rebellion of the men of Moray; and that as a reward for his services he was made keeper or constable of the royal castle of Inverness, and received possession of the lands of Petty and Breachley, with the forest of Stratherne (Strathdearn). The name Mackintosh is said to mean 'son of the thane,' and this Shaw Macduff was the first to bear it, because his father, though an earl, was commonly called *Toshach*, that is, 'thane.'

The first mention of the name in its present form, which the author of the book under review could find as unmistakably applied to one of the Clan Chattan occurs in the case of Malcolm Mackintosh in 1428. Another Angus Mackintosh figures in the Exchequer Rolls of Aberdeen as early as 1412-13, but the author cannot say whether he belonged to the clan or not.

Though there is no extant proof that the Mackintoshes occupied the above-mentioned lands in the twelfth century, they are found there as king's tenants in the fifteenth—the earliest period for which records of these lands are available. If the Kinrara MS. is correct in stating that their founder was keeper of the castle of Inverness, the connection of the family with that town is coeval with their residence in the north, and indeed with their existence under the name they now bear.

With regard to the headship of the Clan Chattan, over which the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes have long been at feud, each sept claiming the right for its own chief, Mr. Mackintosh remarks: 'Those who have carefully and impartially followed me so far, must admit, I venture to think, that although the Macphersons of Cluny may possibly be the lineal representatives of the heads of the old or pre-historic Clan Chattan, the right to the headship of the clan as it has existed during its historical period belongs solely to the chiefs of Mackintosh, who possess it by the consent of the majority of the clan—of the whole, down to the latter half of the seventeenth century and during part of the eighteenth century—and by continual usage for a period of nearly six hundred years, not to speak of the authority of King and Government at various periods. The position as regards the alleged original right is not so satisfactory, but although there is absolutely no *evidence* either in favour or against that right, I have perhaps succeeded in showing at least that—supposing the story of the marriage of Eva to be true in the main—neither Macpherson of Cluny nor any one else is in a position

to furnish a better title than that of Mackintosh to the chiefship of Clan Chattan.'

Yet with every good intention, Mr. Mackintosh need hardly expect to find that he has closed a controversy in which the traditions and sentiments of the rival clans mingle so freely.

On the famous clan battle at Perth in 1396 he has an interesting chapter, in which he deals at some length with the various historical references to that event. Discussing the old puzzle as to which were the clans involved—the Clahynnhe Qwhewyl and Clachiny-hā mentioned by Wyntoun—he inclines to the opinion that they were the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, among the former of whom were some Mackintoshes.

How soon even more modern facts and events get wrapped in obscurity may be gathered, by the way, from another reference in this book. It concerns the parentage of so noted a man as James Macpherson of Ossianic fame. In a paper of 1797 quoted in *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands*, he is said to have been the son of 'Andrew Macpherson, son to Ewan Macpherson, brother to the then Macpherson of Cluny,' but, remarks Mr. Mackintosh, nothing appears in the genealogy of the Cluny family to warrant that statement.

On some points, as might be expected, the author differs in his opinions from those of well-known writers, such as Dr. Skene and Sir Walter Scott, and he is emphatic in assuring us that the Lady Mackintosh of the ''Forty-Five' was not such a forward Amazon as she has been depicted by English scribes. His work, on the whole, is a valuable addition to the Clan histories, and Mr. Mackintosh deserves great credit for his zeal and patient endeavour to make it as complete as possible. It may be added that the book closes with a short account of the heraldry of Clan Chattan.

MAGNUS MACLEAN.

NOVA SOLYMA, THE IDEAL CITY, OR, JERUSALEM REGAINED. An Anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I., now first drawn from obscurity and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays, and a Bibliography by the Rev. Walter Begley. Two Vols. Vol. I., pp. xxi, 359; Vol. II., pp. xi, 414. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1902. 21s. nett.

WHATEVER be the fate of Mr. Begley's thesis on authorship, prefacing, accompanying, and footnoting his finely wrought translation, he has assuredly recovered a contribution of moment to the world's literature. Milton's or not, this work is of prime value for the interpretation of Milton. Conceptions, explanations, theories, poetical images, modes, occur on page after page with a parallelism to Milton so remarkable that the proof adduced for him as author seems to be at least beyond a *semiplena probatio*. Verdicts of leading critics have said as much, and some who have pronounced finally against the plea have done so with difficulty. Of course at the outset is the question, Can authorship be

vindicated by mere internal evidence? Is there any arithmetic for critics whereby the intensity, character, and number of coincidences in two books may compel the inference of one mind as the source? That authorship can be so proved, that there are even ways of valuing and counting coincidences, must be believed, though we may wait long enough for the conclave of literary authority to determine the rules.

Nova Solyma, a high and solemn romance, sets forth a Puritan ideal of national life, education, and government, broad and enlightened in its principles, exacting in its moral and physical culture, and imbued with religion. Couched in a rich and often ornate Latin prose, which is interspersed with skilful examples of felicitous and many-metred verse, it was published in 1648, although bearing to have been written a considerable time before. On the one hand, we meet a pervasive loftiness and consciousness of power through its pages, a long succession of close Miltonic parallels, and a body of circumstances more or less indicative of or favourable to Miltonic authorship; on the other, a set of obstacles perhaps awkward rather than insurmountable, to admitting that Milton could have been the author, while behind stands grimly the still harder necessity of proving that *Nova Solyma* might not have been written by some other man. It is a noble question, for the book is worthy of the great learning—classical, English, and historical—which Mr. Begley has lavished upon it, and Mr. Begley's argumentative treatise demands earnest study by every admirer of *Paradise Lost*.

My vote is of small account, being that of one unable to commit himself definitely to either yea or nay, although vastly more impressed by the *pros* than by the *cons*, chiefly because so many things that are implicit in Milton's known work are express in *Nova Solyma*, because the parallels are so recondite and so intimate, and because their volume is far too considerable to be explained away as ordinary coincidence. Examples are, the system of naming the angels (i. 283), the lamps like the sky (i. 115), the iron sceptre (i. 285), the ideal of academies (i. 236), Terror's laugh (i. 339), man's countenance (ii. 28), totality of death (ii. 113), the distinctions of penitence (ii. 175), the nature of the Sabbath (ii. 190), Christ as God's image, etc. (ii. 154), the vine and the elm (ii. 227). To these let me add one, not in Mr. Begley's list, viz. Adam's fall treated as inferring forfeiture to his posterity because of its character as high treason (*Nova Solyma*, ii. 35, 36, 59. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, iii. 200-210, a pivot of the plot).

Even if such and so numerous identities of thought and expression were all commonplaces, which they emphatically are not, there remains their colligation relating them equally to the scheme and system of both authors, the use of the same subtle and remote things by these two men so cognate in their gifts—Milton and this other, his rival in stately prose and verse; Utopian, moralist, theologian; patriot-author of the eminently Miltonic *Armada Epic*; Milton's contemporary, sharing so many of his standpoints and antipathies, and so often his comrade in power.

GEO. NEILSON.

ASSER'S LIFE OF KING ALFRED, TOGETHER WITH THE ANNALS OF SAINT NEOTS, ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO ASSER. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by William Henry Stevenson, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College. Pp. cxxxii, 386. Crown 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1904. 12s. nett.

STUDENTS of Alfred and his times will welcome this new edition of Asser which Mr. Stevenson offers after the most searching examination of the facts that scholarly insight and great critical powers can devise.

In a long and closely-reasoned introduction he traces the history of the printed text from the original edition of Archbishop Parker in 1574, notoriously interpolated, to Petrie's edition in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, published in 1848. Describing the lost MS. and its transcripts, etc., and discussing the authenticity of the work he subjects to minute destructive criticism, the two most serious attacks, made by Thomas Wright in 1841, and Sir Henry Howorth in 1876-7. He points out that in the arguments they use 'almost every statement of fact' is 'founded upon interpolated matter, upon misunderstandings of the text, or upon unwarrantable assumptions.' He admits, of course, that the darkness of the period, the paucity of the evidence, and the difficulties which arise in the sifting of that evidence, leave much that is problematical, and that it cannot be proved definitely that the *Life* was written by Asser in Alfred's life-time, but he is convinced—and convinces—that 'there is no anachronism or other proof that it is a spurious compilation of later date.' His general conclusion may be thus stated in his own words: 'The serious charges brought against its authenticity break down altogether under examination, while there remain several features that point with varying strength to the conclusion that it is, despite its difficulties and corruptions, really a work of the time it purports to be.'

The rest of the book consists of a collated critical text, to which is added a text of *Saint Neots*, also with an Introduction. Both texts are excellent, illuminated by the copious notes of a master of Anglo-Saxon record.

J. CLARK.

SCOTTISH ARMORIAL SEALS. By William Rae Macdonald, Carrick Pursuivant. Pp. xviii, 382. 8vo, with twenty-two Plates. Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1904. 15s. nett.

THIS work is an outcome of the Heraldic Exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1891, at which time a large mass of heraldic material was necessarily brought together. In his volume Mr. William Rae Macdonald deals with that section which relates to Scottish seals, but he gives in addition the result of his scrutiny of the seals in a number of other collections, both public and private, which are practically out of the reach of most students. The compilation does not profess to be exhaustive—in particular, it does not include ecclesiastical and burghal seals—but it is extremely welcome, and should be the means of inducing the least sympathetic of those possessing material to allow the use of it for the production by Mr. Macdonald of a complete and monumental work.

In this volume about three thousand seals, numbered and arranged alphabetically, are minutely described, with clear references to the sources from which particulars have been taken, while in many cases the exact measurement and date of the seal are also given. An impression of the compiler's laborious task may be conveyed by giving the following specimen:

> '1792. MACDONALD, Angus, of the Isles, son of Donald, died *c.* 1292. A lymphad on waves, with four men seated therein. (Not on a shield.) Legend (Goth. caps.), S : ENGVS : DE : YLE : FILII : DOMNALDI. diam. 1⅝ in. Record. Off. detached seal 631, Bain ii, Laing i, 450, B.M. 16401/2.'

A number of plates have been contributed, which, though excellent of their kind, show plainly the advantage of having a skilful guide in deciphering old seals.

We cannot too highly praise the useful dictionary which Mr. Macdonald has produced; but we confess we are not yet accustomed to the expressions, 'a unicorn head,' 'an eagle head,' etc., employed throughout the book in place of 'a unicorn's head,' 'an eagle's head,' etc. Probably the alteration is justified, but we think it would be more agreeable to the ear to return to the form used by the older writers.

We observe several printer's errors, and that the Exhibition above referred to is erroneously stated in the Introduction to have been held in 1901 instead of in 1891. W. D. KER.

FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EUROPE. Twelve Lectures delivered in the University of London. By Emil Reich. Pp. x, 262. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 5s. nett.

THIS is the rather ambitious title of a series of lectures on the events, persons, and movements that, in the author's opinion, have mainly moulded modern political conditions—the American War of Independence; the French Revolution (two lectures); Napoleon (four lectures); the Reactionary Period; the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848-51; the Italian *Risorgimento*; Bismarck, the Franco-German War, and the German Empire (two lectures). In 233 pages of text it was obviously impossible to carry out at all fully such a programme; the author has been concerned mainly with indicating 'circumstances hitherto unnoticed or neglected' by writers too eager to 'advertise' the share their own country had in the great developments of modern history. As such, the lectures are indubitably suggestive and entertaining; many, perhaps most, of the facts are indisputable, and some of the new interpretations valuable; but often the facts seem debatable or arbitrarily selected, the inferences paradoxical, and the application perhaps a little too expressly designed to put Englishmen and Americans in their proper place—surely a laudable enterprise. In America 'the British Government repeatedly, and since 1774 almost invariably, behaved with all the conciliation that a loyal colony can fairly expect from its metropolis'; 'most of the colonials showed a curiously persistent ill-will

to any kind of measures the Government proposed.' The trouble lay not in stamp acts or taxes, but in the colonists' determination to have their own way with their magnificent *hinterland*. Chatham was more to blame for the loss of the Colonies than George III. or Lord North, through his 'rancorous hatred' of France, and his efforts before and after 1763 to 'widen and envenom the wound from which the French were smarting.' The French vowed vengeance; more particularly Beaumarchais, author of the *Barber of Seville* and *Figaro*, 'made up his mind to wipe out the shame of the Treaty of 1763 in the most terrible loss ever caused to Great Britain.' The Americans single-handed won only one success and apparently had but little to do with securing their own freedom; it was the French who were 'victors in that great struggle.' 'What the French Encyclopaedists had done by suggestion, and what Beaumarchais had set in movement by ingenious personal exertion, de Grasse had brought to a final termination by a successful naval engagement [off Cape Henry in September, 1781].'

Arthur Young was 'completely taken in' by the French peasants when they persuaded him of their unparalleled misery. Contrariwise, they were much better off under Louis XVI. than under Louis XV., and vastly more comfortable than under Louis XIII. In 1792 there was reason to believe that the powers had resolved to do with France what they had done with Poland—to parcel it out amongst foreigners. The 'atrocious' proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, comparable only with the exploits of Attila or Genghis Khan, was—quite naturally, one gathers—'replied to by the French by the so-called September Massacres.'

It is a mere delusion, 'a well known legend,' that the Prussians or the Duke of Wellington, or either or both of them, brought about the fall of Napoleon. There is 'not the slightest basis in fact' for the notion that England saved Europe from Napoleon, who was 'defeated by one man only—by himself.' But had the French done their duty by their great benefactor, he would have emerged triumphant from his worst disasters. 'Twice in history the French dealt by their greatest character and their greatest glory in the most unpardonable and inexcusable fashion. . . . It is no exaggeration to hold that the ingratitude and indifference of the French to their greatest character in modern times entailed upon them the same terrible consequences that followed in the wake of their unspeakably shameful neglect of the Saint of Domrémy.' It is 'to be regretted' that the Spaniards fought so senselessly against the man 'who alone of all the rulers and statesmen would have been able to restore their ancient greatness.' They wasted their strength in 'an absurd fight against the principles of modern liberalism offered to them by Napoleon'; and, instead of digging his grave, as they foolishly thought they were doing, they 'dug the grave of the Spanish nation.'

On Germany also Napoleon had conferred signal benefits, and if he had been allowed would have conferred still greater; 'it was Napoleon who rendered Bismarck's final triumph possible.' When in

1813-15 they insanely turned against their true friend, the mistaken peoples of Europe were soon to see that they had rivetted on their own necks a far worse bondage; they had only 'rid the absolutistic sovereigns of their great nightmare, and the liberties of Europe of their possible protector.' The reaction under Metternich 'has done Germany more harm than did the Thirty Years War.'

These are but a few pronouncements out of hundreds in the book which even Dr. Reich would hardly affirm to be approved historical conclusions. To support such theses and the precise parallels drawn between political conditions on the one hand, and literature, science, and music on the other, would require more than summary assertion. No proof is adduced, and any argument is of the briefest. To win even provisional assent to such unfamiliar assumptions, the author should avoid contradicting himself about the genius of the French nation as, to meet temporary turns in his argument, he does at page 70 ('the French mind is most sober, matter of fact, and moderate, and the people are less given to sudden changes than the English or Americans'); at page 115 ('one essential element in the French is a volcanic force ever tending to upheavals, revolutions, and social eruptions'); and at page 118 ('of all countries, France has the most remarkable power of profound change').

He should not make too sweeping statements about matters of common knowledge, as by saying that in 1850 Prussia had 'perfect unity of language' (p. 191). The three millions of Poles in Prussia are even now a very serious obstacle to Prussian homogeneity, and their ancestors were all there in 1850—not to speak of Masures, Kashubes, Wends, Czechs and Moravians, as well as Walloons, who were all included in the monarchy of 1850, and then, as now, spake in their own tongues.

Above all, he should not make startling (and not unimportant) slips such as when (on p. 210) he speaks of 'the absurd statement of Émile Ollivier that the French army was completely ready to the last button.' Most people who are not historians remember that it was Marshal Leboeuf, Minister of War, who misled Napoleon by the famous speech to that effect in the Corps Législatif. Such solecisms in spelling as Duc de *Grammont* (*passim* for *Gramont*) and *Jemmapes* (for *Jemappes*) are disturbing to faith, 'let alone' (to use a very favourite formula of the author's) *obstreporous*. And why spell Leibniz (rightly) and Würtzburg (wrongly), or in a book for English youth speak of the Scheldt as the Escaut?

The work is, on the whole, written in vigorous if somewhat singular English, but is disfigured by innumerable awkward locutions—such as 'screw back the tide,' 'clinching naval manœuvres,' 'gigantic fights' (for great wars), 'to while and linger over,' 'discomforting' (for 'disconcerting'), 'her insipid husband'—some of them visibly English as she is wrote by foreigners. Not a few sentences are confused, clumsy, or ungrammatical. 'Neither Central nor South America; neither modern Egypt nor South Africa, let alone Canada or Australia, are endowed with,' etc. 'What however must be pointed out, and of what most students must be reminded. . . .' And sometimes the sentences are so lamentably ill-constructed that the author, wholly

losing his bearings, says just the contrary of what he means: 'As to the question whether Napoleon's luck must not be considered a considerable element of his success, it can certainly not be denied that, like all great captains, his was an astounding luck, yet until 1810, that is, until the time when he did not overrate himself, and had still,' etc. (pp. 57, 58; that is: 'so long as he did not overrate himself').

Only a reader familiar with German will understand that 'a strongly-timbered Poland' (p. 80) has nothing to do with woods and forests, but is meant to signify a strongly constructed or firmly knit Poland. In defiance of English usage we are told (p. 212) that 'it is on the cards' that in 1870 Austria ought to have joined France. And most Englishmen will be puzzled at the very outset by the statement, several times repeated, that since 1815 there have been no international wars! As we use the word, an international contest or match or war is usually between two nations; but by an international war the author means (on the analogy of 'international law') a war in which several or many nations take part —a sense elsewhere meant to be conveyed by the odd word 'inter-European.'

Dr. Reich published a *History of Civilisation* at Cincinnati in 1887; he is author of a historical atlas and of a history of Hungarian literature (presumably that in which he is most perfectly at home); and a book on *Success among Nations*, even more recent than the work now under review, shows equal confidence in his own judgment. His opinions are pregnant, original, and almost always stimulating. Natheless he might with advantage reconsider very many of his historical verdicts, as well as take advice on his style: though there is a fascination as one turns the leaves in knowing not what greater marvel the next page may produce. But if we add that Bullialdus and Althusius, Brenz and Savaron are amongst authorities familiarly alluded to, it will be manifest that the lectures or essays on the 'Foundations of Modern Europe' are better adapted for the self-examination of well-grown men than for the guidance of the unsuspecting extension babes for whom they appear to have been primarily designed.

DAVID PATRICK.

THE DOMESDAY BOROUGHS. By Adolphus Ballard, B.A., LL.B. Pp. viii, 135. Clarendon Press, 1904. 6s. 6d. nett.

INTEREST in Domesday Book will be quickened by Mr. Ballard's contribution to the study of its Boroughs. As the author states that his essay is based on the researches of Professor Maitland and Mr. Round, it may be taken that his views embody the most trustworthy interpretation of our great national record. But in Mr. Ballard we have not a second-hand expositor of other men's opinions: he has a mind of his own, and he is not afraid to plead his own cause when he thinks that the evidence is in his favour. His agreement with recognised authorities cannot be purchased at the expense of doing violence to the materials before him. In his opinion, for instance, there is no evidence in Domesday, except in a few isolated places, that the borough was a hundred of itself, nor that, at the time of the

survey, there was a separate borough court which excluded the jurisdiction of the hundred. The establishment of an independent court and the exclusion of the sheriff are ascribed to a later period.

The classification of the Domesday boroughs according to tenurial organisation, and not according to ownership, has at least this recommendation, that it has led to the subdivision of the work into short sections which help the reader to follow the thread of the discussion. By this arrangement the boroughs fall into two classes—the composite boroughs, that is those of heterogeneous tenure, and the simple boroughs; the former class might be again divided according to their position on the record into county and quasi-county boroughs. The account of the composite boroughs, as we should expect, occupies a large space and contains a careful collation of the evidence from the points of view of tenure, internal organisation and finance. Institutions of this class were not holden by any one, neither by the king nor the earl; while many of the houses were in the King's demesne, a proportion belonged to the land-owners as appurtenances to their rural estates; there was no uniformity in the obligations or immunities of the burgesses. These things speak for themselves. A composite borough as it existed at the time of the survey was an archaic institution: like a famous character in modern romance, it 'growed' and was not made. On the other hand, a simple borough, as the name indicates, belonged to one magnate, and resembled what is known in ecclesiastical law as a peculiar. It was holden of one person: all the burgesses were his men, and no other magnate had anything to do with it. In addition to the evidence supplied by Domesday, Mr. Ballard has collected in an appendix all the incidental references to urban properties and burghal customs which he could find in the conveyances and laws before the Norman Conquest. Though the information is scanty enough, some interesting chapters have been written on the borough as a stronghold, the earl, sheriff and portreeve, the burgesses, market, mint, court and revenue. This supplementary evidence adds considerable value to the work. Four maps are given to illustrate the contributory places belonging to the boroughs of Lewes, Chichester, Arundel, Leicester and Wallingford.

It may be said without hesitation that few students of the early history of municipal institutions can afford to neglect the materials arranged with so much pains and skill in this handy little volume.

JAMES WILSON.

THE BAXTER BOOKS OF ST. ANDREWS. A RECORD OF THREE CENTURIES. With an Introduction and Notes by J. H. Macadam, F.S.A. (Scot.), Editor, *British Baker*. Pp. ciii, 338. Demy 8vo. Printed for the Scottish Association of Master Bakers by Geo. C. Mackay, Leith, 1903.

WHEN it is considered that in nearly every Scottish burgh several crafts incorporations were in active operation little more than half a century ago, and that most if not all of them possessed written constitutions and recorded their transactions in minute books, it seems not unlikely that inquiry in the

proper quarter is all that is needed to secure a mass of information, more or less exhaustive, regarding these interesting societies and the localities to which they belonged. It may be difficult, however, to gather from any single source such a complete series of records as that which, on the suggestion of Dr. Hay Fleming, has been deposited in the University Library of St. Andrews, and which is now brought to public notice through the literary enterprise of a commercial association. Commencing in 1548, the Minute books of the Baxter Craft of St. Andrews, barring two blanks of four and seven years respectively, have been preserved in a continuous series down till 1861, when the old organisation was dissolved. Though 1548 is the date of the earliest preserved minute, there are allusions to previous proceedings of the craft, and there need be little doubt that the baxters, as well as most of the other six incorporated trades of St. Andrews, originated in a previous century. In Scotland merchant guilds are traced in the 12th century, but associations of artizans are not noticed till a later period. Incorporation usually took the form of a body of rules and regulations ratified by the town council and attested by the seal of the burgh court, called the seal of causes. Hence the name 'seal of cause,' by which the document itself was known. In the books of the St. Andrews baxters their seal of cause is not specially mentioned, though it may have been among the 'xxxv peices of parchemin and paprie' which were in 'the boxe' on 12th September, 1587. In any case, these parchments and papers, probably including the title deeds of the ten annualrents specified in the rental of 1587, might be well worth examination if now within reach. Many of the MS. minutes are merely formal, such as those recording the admission of apprentices and freemen and the elections of office-bearers. For the saving of space, these particulars are tabulated, and in consequence of this compression the whole minutes are reproduced in one volume. Presided over by a deacon, and having as office-bearers a 'positor' or treasurer, an officer or serjeant, keepers of keys and a clerk, there were as many as seventy-two freemen on the roll in 1573. About that time the depopulating effect of the Reformation began to tell on the ancient cathedral city, and by degrees the bakers were proportionately reduced in number. Thirty-nine names appear on a list in 1603, and later on there was only about a third of that number. Previous to the Reformation crafts' incorporations made special provision for altar services. In St. Andrews, as in some other towns, including Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert was patron of the bakers. The name is sometimes written St. Tobert or St. Cobert ('T' and 'C' are often indistinguishable in old writings). Mr. Macadam says 'the Perth bakers honored a somewhat obscure saint in St. Obert.' Is this not St. Cobert transformed after the manner of the Glasgow 'Sanctennoch' into 'St. Enoch'? Stirling bakers, in accordance with English custom, adopted St. Hubert, 'perhaps because the fleshers of that burgh had appropriated 'Sanccubart.' Dues of admission of members usually included wax for the altar, and wine or money or both to the chaplain, who also acted as clerk. The earlier meetings of the craft were held on the 'Gallow-bank,' otherwise called the Gallowhill, which, in 1584, is stated to have been the accustomed meeting place past the memory of man. At the first

recorded meeting four masters of craft were admitted, and, with the view of restricting competition in the trade, they undertook not to take any apprentice till after the lapse of twelve years. Enforcement of this condition was left to the 'official' (*i.e.* the judge in the ecclesiastical court), and the penalty for infringement was 'cursyne' or excommunication. In 1556 a similar undertaking was enforceable in the burgh court, this being what is meant by enactment in the 'tolbewcht buk.' In 1566, and again in 1583, the deacon and his brethren prohibited the baking of sale bread on Sundays, under a penalty in the former case of 8s., to be given to the poor, and in the latter of 40s., the destination of which is not stated. Besides these pecuniary mulcts, offenders would doubtless have to face the ordeal of kirk discipline.

With only a few references to topics of national importance, the book is full of information regarding local matters, not confined to the bakers' affairs, their industrial and social relations and the technicalities of their trade, but also not unfrequently relating to the varied concerns of the community at large. A comprehensive introduction and numerous explanatory notes, with illustrative allusions, derived from home and foreign sources and bearing on the working of similar institutions elsewhere, throw light on archaic customs and clear up some obscure passages in the minute books. Many of the obsolete or unfamiliar words and phrases are expounded, but the addition of a glossary, as well as an index, would have been advantageous. The word 'annaris' (probably written 'aunaris') on p. 35 means owners, not annuals. 'Positor' seems to have been derived from the same source as our Scottish 'pose,' a hoard of money. Where pains are taken to reproduce the records *literatim* the result is not always satisfactory. In giving dates, the scribe of former days usually contracted 'millesimo' by writing 'm.,' which in course of time took the fanciful form of 'aj.,' and the editor prints it so. A no less objectionable literalism is the use of the letter 'y' to reproduce the 'th' symbol, and it is preferable to print 'u' and 'v' accordto the power rather than the letter when these differ. 'Ane vyer manis' would be more intelligible and just as accurate if the middle word had been printed 'uther.' 'Ye' and 'yis' would serve their purpose better if printed 'the' and 'this.' For such superficial blemishes there is unfortunately ample precedent, and these observations are intended more as an appeal to future editors of old MSS. than as seriously detracting from the merits of a book which, in its main features, may well be taken as a model for any work of a similar character. R. Renwick.

Scottish Heraldry Made Easy. By G. Harvey Johnston. Pp. xiv, 159, with eight heraldic plates in colours. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, 1904. 5s. nett.

The bugbear to the dilettanti desirous of acquiring a knowledge of heraldry is its language. In the introduction to *Scottish Heraldry Made Easy* we meet with the announcement: 'In this little book I have put everything in plain English that can be so put with advantage, and to make matters clear I have explained most of the heraldic terms as they

occur, and have also added a Glossary at the end of the Work.' To write a book in plain English does certainly eliminate the difficulties of technicalities from that book; but whether it makes the subject any easier is a separate question; and whether it makes other literature on the subject any easier of comprehension is still another question. If, then, Mr. Johnston proposes a revolt against what has been called the jargon of the heralds, his method of translating the technical language of heraldry into 'plain English' ought to be examined on its merits; but on any other assumption, the preliminary question must be answered first. What advantage is it to the student to be able to describe a coat of arms in his own words if he is not taught to understand the description when he meets it in the ordinary language of the heralds, for Mr. Johnston's book does not pretend to stand in the place of all heraldic literature. His description of the coat of *MacGillivray*, p. 71, illustrates his method with its advantages and its dangers: '*Blue, a gold galley, with sails furled and oars in action; flags red, within a silver bordure. On a gold chief a black buck's head cabossed with red horns, between two black cross crosslets fitchy.*' This description—it ought probably not to be called a *blazon*—is by no means emancipated from technical terms or construction, and yet it has become entangled in the ambiguities of general language. It does not say if the sails and oars are of gold like the galley; and we must go to Natural History to find if a '*black buck's head*' may not be something quite different from a buck's head painted black. In heraldry a *black man's head* may be represented in its *proper* colours, and be by no means a *man's head sable.* The words *flags red, within a silver bordure* succeed a semicolon, and end with a full stop. It is doubtful if the statement which they contain would entitle a herald-painter to include within the bordure anything more than the flags.

The verbal blazon of the same coat—No. 2892 in Sir James Paul's *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* (2nd edit.)—exhibits the evils from which Mr. Johnston seeks to flee: *Azure, a galley, sails furled, oars in action, or, flagged gules, within a bordure argent, on a chief of the second a buck's head cabossed sable, attired of the third, between two cross crosslets fitchée of the last.* But though the use of the words *second, third,* and *last* may be a compliance with a pedantic rule—to avoid repetitions in a blazon, the blazon is at any rate certain in its meaning.

The volume is well got up. The cover is bright; but it is doubtful if it is admissible to take the King's Scottish armorial ensigns for the design of a book cover, differenced only by stamping the title of the book on the vacant parts of the field.

Mr. Johnston's work partakes largely of the character of a first sketch, and is by no means free from the errors peculiarly incident to such undertakings, but his style is simple and his arrangement of the various sections of his subject is generally convenient. The book is well fitted to engage the interest of the uninstructed, and, mayhap, lure him on to the study of works which are larger and more exact, if less attractive.

J. H. Stevenson.

CHRONICON ADÆ DE USK, A.D. 1377-1421. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B. Pp. xxxviii, 347. Second Edition. London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 10s. 6d. nett.

IN 1876 appeared the first edition of this attractive chronicle, then only a fragment covering the years 1377-1404. In 1885 'a quire of vellum leaves carelessly folded up was found among a number of neglected documents in a loft at Belvoir Castle,' and this eventually proved to be the missing conclusion of Adam Usk's chronicle, now edited for the second time and this time complete, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson. During the interval other workers also have been searching out the career of this Welsh chronicler, and quite a full light falls upon him, singular clergyman as he is, Doctor of Laws, adherent of Owen Glendower, deserter to Henry IV., fugitive on a charge of horse-stealing, finally incumbent of a benefice in Monmouthshire, and buried in Usk Church, where a brass contains part of his poetical epitaph in Welsh. The editor's preface is a capitally picturesque bit of medieval biography.

This chronicle, already in the first edition found of profit for details of the fall of Richard II. and the establishment of the new dynasty by Henry IV., now gains materially by the added annals of seventeen years, although desultory and inconsequent, deviating frequently into portent and miracle. Students of things Scottish cannot afford to neglect the new matter relative to hostile movements against the north of England in 1414, and again in 1417. Passing reference is made under the latter date to the capture of James I. some years before. Of most note, however, is the narrative of the years 1406-1408, including the story of the Scottish intrigues and ultimate defeat in north England of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

Fond of marvels, Adam inserts many odd things by the way, sometimes to the benefit of searchers into antique Scots usages. He saw the head of the Baptist at Amiens; he records the heraldic dishonour to the Pope done by reversing his arms and painting his picture head downwards; he cites an invocation of St. Columba by way of charm against fire; he tells of the surrender of Harfleur by its naked citizens with ropes round their necks. One important contribution he makes towards clearing up a historical difficulty in the contemporary records of the War of Independence. The learned editor has here not taken advantage of an analogy which he would have found of service. It is in relation to the *Passio Francorum*, a strange profane parody of Scripture coarsely gloating over the defeat of the Count of Artois by the Flemings in the Battle of Courtrai in 1302. This remarkable piece runs parallel to the *Passio Scotorum Perjuratorum*, dating from about 1307 (edited by the late Marquess of Bute in the *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1884-85, pp. 166-192), and not only helps to explain that grotesque and cruel production, but is in turn to a certain extent explained by it. Difficult to understand separately, the two in conjunction appear to establish the *passio* as a literary form and medium of satire current at the dawn

of the fourteenth century. These two examples will probably prove less isolated than they at present seem. Adam deserves gratitude for preserving the queer Flemish utterance of truculent sarcasm, albeit not very congruous to his immediate business.

The translation is in every way excellent. Seldom there is met with a rendering which can be called in question, such, for example, as the transliteration of *usurpacione duellorum* into 'usurping the right of conquest' (pp. 86, 257), when it is far more likely to mean the breach of prerogative by Welsh lords allowing their vassals the duel of chivalry reserved to the crown. Numerous notes are admirably filled with well-vouched and relevant facts. Once only do we find a slight injustice to the garrulous author, when he is checked for saying that pepper was exchanged between Darius and Alexander (pp. 98, 274). It was not pepper, says the editorial footnote. But Adam's authority doubtless rested on the *De Preliis Alexandri* (see ed. Landgraf, p. 60, and cf. *Wars of Alexander*, E.E.T.S., l. 2023), where the commodity is as Adam states.

GEO. NEILSON.

SHAKESPEARE'S BOOKS. A Dissertation on Shakespeare's reading and the immediate sources of his works. By H. R. D. Anders. Pp. xx, 316. Berlin: George Reimer, 1904.

THIS work appears as the first volume of the *Schriften der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, and both the society and the author are to be congratulated on the good start thus made. The object Mr. Anders has had in view is to bring together in a connected fashion the various literary influences and allusions which can be traced in the plays and poems of Shakespeare; and the result is not merely an interesting and enlightening commentary on the great dramatist's work, but a valuable book of reference as well. The subjects dealt with in the course of the book range from the Latin and Greek classics to the popular ballads and songs of the times of Elizabeth, and the number of separate items that fall to be discussed under each heading brings out with striking clearness the very complex nature of Shakespeare's learning. Whether this came directly or indirectly from the sources indicated may often be a matter of debate, and Mr. Anders is in no way dogmatic in such cases, being rather more inclined to doubt than to affirm where uncertainty is possible. A comparison of the historical plays with their sources does not enter into the scheme of the work, but the extraneous literary references in these, as well as in the other dramas, are fully dealt with. One of the most useful chapters is that on 'Popular Literature,' in which much bibliographical matter of an out-of-the-way order is conveniently brought together. There is also a good index, and all that is required to make the work complete is a list, in the order of the plays, of the passages cited and discussed.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

THE THISTLE AND THE FLEUR DE LYS. A Vocabulary of Franco-Scottish Words. By Isabel G. Sinclair. Pp. 64. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 3s. nett.

READERS who may be attracted by the quaint title and the neat appearance of this little book will feel disappointed in its contents. Lovers of the Scottish vernacular have always been fond of noting the numerous French words that have survived, even to the present day, as a proof of the close connexion between France and Scotland in the days of old, and a very interesting collection might be compiled, if kept within proper limits. The book under review knows no limits; it includes words that belong to the literature and speech of England, and many that never came from France, directly or indirectly. It is true that criticism is disarmed by the admission that 'many of the words given are entered on account of similarity of pronunciation rather than of derivation.'

Jamieson did noble work in his day, but it is not pardonable now to copy his etymologies wholesale, and to ignore such authorities as the dictionaries of Dr. Murray and Dr. Wright. The orthography of the French words lays a great responsibility on printer or author; the burden will be heavy, even if equally divided. In spite of its weak points, the book will be of use to the searcher in the same field, on account of the quotations taken from comparatively recent Scottish literature, and of the words that have come to the personal knowledge of the writer.

F. J. AMOURS.

CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES. By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Pp. xviii, 315, with numerous illustrations. 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

MR. ROMILLY ALLEN has done a real service to the class of readers who read for increase of knowledge, by the issue (in the series of what are called *The Antiquary's Books*) of an excellent manual of Celtic Art, presenting a general digest of the whole subject within the compass of a moderately sized volume, at a moderate price. Hitherto the student has had to follow it out in sections, as presented in costly monographs, of metal work, illuminated manuscripts, and sculptured monuments—extremely useful for consultation by experts, but not intended to supply the systematic elementary treatment suitable to the needs of the uninitiated, which is the special merit of the present work. Defining Celtic Art as 'the Art of the peoples in Europe who spoke the Celtic language,' Mr. Allen begins by describing the Continental Celts, and how they are supposed to have come to Britain in two immigrations—the Goidelic Celts, bringing with them the characteristic culture of the Bronze Age, and (after a long interval) the Belgic or Brythonic Celts, bringing with them the special culture of the Iron Age. The Art of the Bronze Age, as applied to the pottery, weapons and utensils of bronze, and personal ornaments of gold, bronze, and jet, was a system of linear ornament, 'spiral ornament being as conspicuously absent on the implements and objects of the Bronze Age in Gaul, as in Britain.' There

BRONZE ARMLET FROM THE CULBIN SANDS
Now at Altyre, near Forres.

BRONZE ARMLET FROM THE CULBIN SANDS
Now at Altyre, near Forres.

Facing page 216

is a certain speculative attribution of some curvilinear and spiral motives carved on rocks and stones, to the latter part of the Bronze Age in Britain, but the line of demarcation cannot be clearly drawn, and it was only in the Late Celtic period of the Iron Age that the curvilinear and spiral ornament gave distinctive character to the Art. The three chapters in which the Pagan Celtic Art of the British Isles (*circa* B.C. 300 to A.D. 450) is discussed, present an admirable summary of all that is known on the subject. Especially interesting and informative is the section describing the technical processes and the patterns of ornament employed. Passing to the description of the Christian Celtic Art of Britain (from about A.D. 450 to A.D. 1100) Mr. Allen finds that a series of enamelled discs forming the attachments of the handles of bronze bowls, found chiefly in England, illustrates the transition from the Pagan to the Christian style, which naturally followed the lines of development controlled by its application to ecclesiastical objects of prescribed forms and purposes. Three chapters are devoted to the description of the Celtic Art of the Christian period, and the technical processes and varieties of ornament employed in the different applications of Christian Art to Manuscripts, Metal-work and Sculptured Monuments. Perhaps the most important result of Mr. Allen's exhaustive analysis of the ornament is the discovery that its bewildering multitude of patterns of interlaced knotwork can all be derived from simple plaitwork by merely making vertical or horizontal breaks in the plait at regular intervals —a solution he says, 'which, simple as it appears when explained, took me quite twenty years to think out, whilst classifying the patterns that occur on the early Christian Monuments of Scotland, England and Wales, nearly all of which I have examined personally.' In this section he has also discussed at some length the probable solutions of the various questions arising as regards the presumed sources from which the Celtic artists 'got' the elementary geometrical and other motives which they used with such consummate skill. In view of our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances, tentative conclusious on points like these are of no real value, unless supported by direct evidence. The ascertained facts with respect to the art and its surviving products affording sufficient material of genuine interest and importance for a popular manual, the theories of origins and the 'higher criticism' of how much or how little of Celtic Art is really Celtic may be left to the philosophers. Whatever may have been the source or sources of the inspiration of the artists of the Celtic Church they created and maintained for five or six centuries a very remarkable and distinctive style of Early Christian Art. As Mr. Allen says: 'Although their materials may not all have been of native origin, they were so skilfully made use of in combination with native designs, and developed with such exquisite taste, that the result was to produce an entirely original style, the like of which the world had never seen before.' The book is well illustrated by upwards of eighty blocks in the text and forty-four plates. Unfortunately no illustrations have been given from the Celtic Manuscripts, for the reason which Mr. Allen has explained. Some of the plates have been cut too closely, and one or two misprints in the text are somewhat obtrusive, but these are small matters. JOSEPH ANDERSON.

NEOLITHIC MAN IN NORTH-EAST SURREY. By Walter Johnson and William Wright. Pp. viii, 200, with 32 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Stock, 1903. 6s. nett.

THIS volume is a semi-popular work on the relics of prehistoric man, which still exist, or of which there is some previous record, in the district immediately south of London. The authors approach the subject mainly as collectors of surface flint implements. The interest in their account of the distribution of types is chiefly local, but one point may be referred to. They identify a finer type of Neolith with lower sandy sites, and a coarser with sites generally higher on the chalk, which they associate with later and earlier occupants of the district. Their area yields them no results from the exploration of burial places. For data as to the 'Races' (a word loosely used by the authors, and rather unfortunately, associated with the accident of their stage of culture) they are indebted to analogy and the various authorities. Their picture of Neolithic times is well worked up, but as it is drawn chiefly from what are at best only speculations, the indicative would in various instances have been well replaced by the conditional.

THOMAS H. BRYCE.

FROM THE MONARCHY TO THE REPUBLIC IN FRANCE, 1788-1792. By Sophia H. MacLehose. Pp. xvi, 447. Cr. 8vo, with 42 illustrations, Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1904. 6s. nett.

IT is a gratifying fact in this bookmaking age to find that there is yet a powerful school of historians who, not content with the histories of their predecessors, go back with patient care to the original sources of information and draw the real facts forth from the mass of tradition which surround them. It is to this school that Miss MacLehose, we are glad to say, belongs, and her scholarship has produced this book, which is not only brilliantly written, but is also the most comprehensible history of the pre-republican struggles in France which we have yet seen. The Haigh Hall papers have been freely referred to, and some new contemporary letters describing the state of Paris in 1791-2, and no original authority has been left unconsulted.

The reader is struck at the commencement of the work by the extent to which reforms had been carried before the Revolution. Louis XVI. had assisted the Protestants. Justice had been somewhat purified, the *corvée* abolished, and the condition of the poor ameliorated; but the system of government prevented these well-meant reforms from stemming the tide of revolt, and the States General were convoked in 1789. The rise and preponderance of the Third Estate is well detailed, and we are shown how, as it alone deliberated with open doors, it soon dominated the people, until by the inaction of the two privileged orders it became the self-constituted National Assembly.

The blindness of Louis XVI. to the rise of the power of the commons is also well shown, until he was forced by their immovablity to say: 'Ah, well, if they do not wish to leave their hall, let them stay,'

and to pray the nobles and clergy to come to terms with them. It is later pointed out that the *Assemblée Générale* were not the 'unruly mob' they are generally represented to be, but a deliberative assembly; and that it was not until the taking of the Bastille that the cruel murders of the Revolution began. From this period the power of the King waned rapidly. The Flight to Varennes and the ignoble capture brought him back to Paris as the enemy of his people, and the uncompromising Royalist manifesto of his Allies finally caused his destruction. The writer shows how the great constitutional questions with which the Revolutionary movement began, narrowed down to mere tumultuous party politics, and that this left Paris a prey to the *bas peuple*, whose ascendency was later to cause the time of 'The Terror.' Miss MacLehose's excellent book ends with the establishment of the Republic (which began somewhat informally) in 1792. It is to be hoped that she will add yet another volume on French History to the two which are already on our shelves.

A. Francis Steuart.

Essays on Home Subjects. By John Third Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D. Pp. 270. 8vo. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904. Price, 7s. 6d.

The executors of the late Marquess of Bute have done well in reprinting from the *Scottish Review* seven scholarly essays and lectures which he wrote on Scottish historical subjects, including his St. Andrews Rectorial Address. These essays perpetuate a taste of what Scotland was intended to receive from her gifted son in a new history of Scotland which the Marquess had long prepared himself to produce. The unique attainments, the illimitable literary and monetary resources, and the enthusiasm of the author would have placed his *magnum opus* on the same shelf as the great editions of the classics and Fathers. But overlooking the brevity of human life, and with a humane temperament which could not accustom itself to the harnessing of other minds and pens to the work, the author was cut off just as his project began to take practical form. Thus each of these seven essays is a finished article. All the known or knowable has been exhausted for it, and accurately reproduced with taste within it. The small literary output of so erudite a man is easily accounted for by the noble horror he had for misinterpreting even the most indifferent authority, and by his fidelity to his own fundamental axiom, 'Verify your Quotations.' He mastered his subject *verbatim et literatim*.

The first essay, entitled 'Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns' treats with an exuberance of authority of a group of 27 Latin hymns which entered into the worship of the Celtic Church. The essayist shows the real value of these hymns to consist in their illustration of the beliefs and practices of the Celtic churchmen who sang them. In another essay, 'New Light upon St. Patrick,' the author's spirit appears in the attempt to unravel the twisted skein of history regarding Sucat or Patrick. In a complimentary note he suggests that he was another famous native

of Paisley—'Ventra' or 'Vanduara.' In 'St. Brendan's Fabulous Voyage' he touches on the field of Celtic allegory. An essay on the Scottish Peerage shows how mixed it has become. An account of the 'Scottish Parliament' is a plea for Scottish Home-rule. Lord Bute, in a fine lecture on 'David Duke of Rothesay,' threw his strength against the pernicious traditions regarding that ill-fated prince made historic by Sir Walter Scott. The Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews shows the fruit of Lord Bute's historical genius, and makes a fitting conclusion to an interesting volume. JAMES KING HEWISON.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, A DRAMA TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF GEORGE BUCHANAN. By A. Gordon Mitchell. Pp. 127. Paisley: Gardner, 1904. 3s. 6d. nett.

BUCHANAN'S *Baptistes* was dedicated to James VI. in 1576, in order to instil into the boy-king's mind a wholesome appreciation of the torment and misery that tyrants undergo, and to be a sign to posterity that if the deterrent failed the royal pupil and not his tutor was to blame. So the outspoken dedication bore—doubtless to be reckoned among the many occasions of future dissatisfaction to the champion of divine right. A general political sense was obvious, and the translation of the play in 1613 into French, in 1642 into English (some have suspected by Milton), and in 1656 into Dutch, proved its applicability to current discussions of kingship. Herod debates the old doctrine that what pleases the prince is law, and the poet places the vexed phrase, *quod principi placuit*, on the lip of the daughter of Herodias. But the original no more served to warn King James than did the translation of 1642 to save King Charles. Mr. Mitchell's rendering is good blank verse, and (tested at many points with Buchanan's text) proves to be almost rigorously faithful. GEO. NEILSON.

THE GLASGOW POETS: THEIR LIVES AND POEMS. Edited by George Eyre-Todd. Pp. xiv, 437. Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1903. 7s. 6d.

A BOOK of this character demands no other justification than that it shall be well done. Almost every minor poet has some single poem, or perhaps two, worthy of the most careful preservation, but in danger of being lost if allowed to remain hidden among the author's own works. In making illustrative selections from the writings of well over three-score poets, ranging from the extraordinary and voluminous Zachary Boyd to the late Robert Walker, there is so much room for the operation of difference of taste and opinion that no anthology can possibly meet with universal approval. Yet on the whole the editor has produced a selection worthy of general acceptance. As a rule he has taken the best-known pieces of each author—though in some cases these are so well known that they have become a little hackneyed. Nevertheless the selection in its entirety is a worthy one, and the little biographical notices are very satisfactory. W. S.

A Short History of Brechin Cathedral. By Walter William Coats, B.D., Minister of the First Charge. Pp. 64. Cr. 8vo. Brechin: Black & Johnston. 1s. nett.

This brief, plain, unpretentious history, unlike the tastefully got up little volumes in Bell's Cathedral Series, is, saving the chapter seal on the title-page, destitute of illustration. Though practically of no service as a guide-book, it will help to quicken the interest of visitors in the recently restored church. It will be prized by parishioners, and also by those who have not wandered in the by-paths of Scottish history. Some of the statements might be challenged, such as those concerning the use of the English liturgy in the Scottish Church, and that which appears to combine the distinct offices of minister and reader in the case of John Hepburn. In gathering his material, Mr. Coats has not neglected the records of the Kirk-Session; and he has appended lists of the bishops and ministers.

D. H. F.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements. April and July, 1904. Published at the Office, 38 Conduit Street, London, W.

The highly important excavations at Gezer continue to occupy the first place in these *Statements*. In the April number Mr. Macalister gives an excellent summary of the results that have been attained during the twenty months that the work has been in progress. His earlier conclusions as to the different periods at which the site has been occupied have been for the most part amply confirmed. From the Neolithic period onwards to the Roman the site was in continuous occupation, a period of some three thousand years. In tracing these various occupations, as revealed in the different strata and in the large number of stone and bronze and other objects that have come to light, Mr. Macalister has not only exhibited great patience and thoroughness but a most commendable caution in the statement of conclusions. His reports are accompanied with full illustrations both of the excavations and of the objects that have been discovered. In the July number he is able to announce a most important 'find,' a fragment of an Assyrian tablet, the first specimen of cuneiform writing that has been found on the tell. It is evidently a contract-tablet referring to the sale of an estate with houses and slaves. The names are almost all Assyrian, pointing to an Assyrian occupation, probably by a garrison. The date is 649 B.C. A photograph of the tablet is given along with a transcription and translation by Dr. Pinches. Professor Sayce and Rev. C. H. W. Johns have also notes on it, the latter's being particularly full and interesting. An extension of the firman for Gezer has been granted for another year.

Messrs. Bell & Son have issued a third edition, revised, of Mr. E. Belfort Bax's *Handbook of the History of Philosophy* (pp. x, 435, price 5s.). A lucid, well-reasoned and readable guide through the infinite chaos, sometimes of darkness, oftener of irreconcilable light, this compact survey of the course of philosophic theory from Zoroaster and Thales

to Hegel and Spencer well merits its place in Bohn's Philosophical Library as a handy and serviceable work for study and reference.

Old Ingleborough: *Talks by the Lonsdale Hermit, Herbert M. White, B.A.* (London: Eliot Stock, pp. 108, price 2s. 6d. nett) is an antiquary's rhapsody, descriptive, geological, archaeological and historical, on the Lancashire mountain, whose bulky and impressive outline it will, with some infection of enthusiasm, recall to many memories. 'It is commonly said,' wrote Camden,

> 'Ingleborrow, Pendle and Penigent
> Are the highest hills between Scotland and Trent.'

Mr White finds the first-named an engrossing centre of study. We note his attitude on the *mottes* of the district as chiefly of Norman erection, and his promise of a pamphlet to discuss them.

Professor Hume Brown's *John Knox and his Times* (pp. 24, Edin.: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) is a biographical tract in the simplest diction dedicated to the young people of the Protestant churches in all lands, in view of the quater-centenary celebrations. As becomes at once the theme and the author, this little sketch plainly yet gracefully and frankly outlines the man as the spirit of his age.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have again placed all who care for useful books of reference under a debt of obligation by their new issues for 1905 of *Who's Who* (pp. xx, 1796, 7s. 6d. nett), *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (pp. xxxvi, 368, 2s. 6d. nett), and *Who's Who Year Book* (pp. x, 128, 1s. nett). As usual they are growing in size, and unless the editor of *Who's Who* can curtail the length of some of the biographies, the volume runs a danger of losing some of its value as a handy book. But it is ungrateful to utter a grumble in noticing such an excellent piece of work.

In *The English Historical Review* (Oct.) Mr. Haverfield undermines most of the alleged data for inferring that Silchester was destroyed in the middle of the sixth century. He considerately leaves us free to draw our own conclusions some day from the chronology of fibulae and burials. Mr. R. G. Marsden starts one more question of marine and personal identification. It is about the Mayflower which carried the pilgrim fathers in 1620. A fairly satisfactory chain of proofs is put together for the view that the historic ship was an east coast whaler, and that her master was not Captain *Thomas* Jones as heretofore supposed. The new inference about the commander arises from a will in 1621 made on board, witnessed by 'Christopher Joanes.' Professor Owen calculates the French losses in the Waterloo campaign at a total of 55,200 killed, wounded and taken. Professor Tout investigates the use of the 'schiltrum' of dismounted men at arms 'in the Scottish manner' at Boroughbridge in 1322. The great importance of this description was pointed out in an article on 'The Shield Wall' in the *Antiquary* for 1897.

Rutland, smallest of shires, is not least in attention to its antiquities. This is well evinced by the *Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record* (quarterly 1/6, conducted by Mr. G. Philips, Oakham), which is alert on all sides of study. The editor has in the July issue a well-informed article on early weighing instruments, illustrated by a plate of a small Roman steelyard found in Rutlandshire in 1863. We are sorry to notice countenance given to a derivation of Brooke, a parish, from Broc, a badger. Against such an etymology the odds must be about a thousand to one.

To *The American Historical Review* for October Mr. Charles H. Haskins has contributed a curious and interesting account of student life in the University of Paris, collected out of the sermons of the thirteenth century. Though we do not usually go to the pulpit for historical material, few will deny after reading this article that the unintentional and incidental references made by preachers, when skilfully interpreted, are of value in throwing light on the routine of academic institutions at this early period. The example might well be followed for tracing the history of educational methods in Scotland. In the same review Mr. Goldwin Smith gossips pleasantly on the connection of English poetry with English history. It is not to be expected that he will command the sympathy of Scottish readers in his estimate of Burns, whom he places in 'the second class of poets.' His enthusiasm for Scott leaves nothing to be desired.

Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (September) has notes of English etymologies by F. Holthausen, and on sources of Lewis's *Monk*, by O. Ritter, besides a detailed search and criticism by Leo Jordan on the sources and composition of *Eustache le Moine*, a romantic chanson de geste on the career of the famous 'arch-pirate' French seaman, killed in a great fight in the Channel in 1217. 'The fishes' (says, drily, an English chronicler) 'gave him sepulture and obsequies.' The poem is at many points inter-related with the Robin Hood ballads, and Dr. Jordan's analysis offers a valuable example of method in tracking the origins of the half-historical romance.

The Reliquary for October illustrates Norman and pre-Norman crosses of the Dovedale district. A distinctively Scottish paper is Mr. W. G. Collingwood's description of an archaeological pilgrimage to the Hebrides, with excellent photographs of crosses and architectural remains at Hinba (Eilean-na-Naoimh), Eilean Mor, Kilmory, Kildalton, and Oransay.

Scottish Notes and Queries, now printed and published monthly by the Rosemount Press, Aberdeen, is always a miscellany of genealogy and history, especially of Aberdeenshire and the North. A recent literary recovery of some interest presented in its pages is the *Apobaterion*, or 'Farewell to Aberdeen,' of William Barclay, 'Master of Arts and Doctor of Physic,' who sang the virtues of tobacco. His parting tribute to

'Devana,' Athens restored, the glory of the North, was printed in 1619. Wherever the fates might call the bard:

'Seu me nobile Belgium tenebit,
Seu Germania imago Charitatis,
Seu altae moenia tam superba Romae,
Seu Gallus pater hospitalitatis,
Seu dia Anglia patria Angelorum'—

his heart would turn wistfully to the city by the Don.

We have received the *Review of Reviews*; *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*; *American Journal of Psychology* (October); *Berks Bucks, and Oxon Archæological Journal*; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

We have also to acknowledge the concluding volume of Messrs. Waller & Glover's edition of the collected works of William Hazlitt (Dent) which was reviewed in our pages recently.

An Introduction to English Antiquities, by Mrs. Armitage (Dent, 1903, pp. xii, 143, illustrated, price 1s. 6d. nett), directs itself mainly to the work of the English as builders, first of earthworks and then of castles and churches, with notices of tools and utensils from stone scrapers and axes to bronze daggers and spears and sepulchral pottery, till the iron age was found mature when the Romans came. Medieval costume is studied from brasses and effigies. Good chapters on monastic buildings and services and on the parish churches trace the course of religious history, reflected in architecture. Worthy of particular commendation is the sketch of the evolution of the great Elizabethan country-house from the earlier types of the fortified baronial residence.

In the *Revue des Études Historiques* (Sept.-Oct.) a peculiarly piquant demonstration is made by M. Lavollée that the *Mémoires de Richelieu*, at least for the period from 1624 till 1638, are not the personal work of the great cardinal, but were written by Achille de Harlay, baron of Sancy and bishop of St. Malo. The argument is finely vouched by eight pages of facsimile, comparing the MS. of the memoirs with the handwriting of the bishop, who was specially intimate with the cardinal, and whose share in the composition was, it is now believed, that of substantial authorship, although Richelieu supplied materials and purposed to revise the whole.

The *Queen's Quarterly*, published by a committee of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, has in its October issue a discussion of what has passed from an academic to a burning question, viz.: 'Is Ontario to abandon classical education?' Under the new Education Bill Latin has been made merely optional in the training of the Public School teacher. Professor James Cappon protests vigorously, and presses the argument that the change is likely to work disastrously on the competency of the new schoolmaster. It strikes one as surprising that the anti-classical movement, otherwise intelligible enough, should have begun at the very core of the executive of national education.