

## Reviews of Books

SCOTTISH ANNALS FROM ENGLISH CHRONICLERS. A.D. 500 TO 1286.

By Alan O. Anderson, M.A. Edinb. Pp. xiii, 403. 8vo. London :  
David Nutt. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

HOWEVER we may regard the fact, it is not to be forgotten that our national history till the close of the thirteenth century would be all but a blank page but for the existence of extraneous sources. It is to Tacitus and other Roman writers that we owe such information as we possess regarding the beginnings of Scotland as a separate territory on the world's map. It is from Adamnan and the Irish annalists that we know of the process by which the different peoples in North Britain became united under a single ruler. To these foreign sources must be added another, without which the history of Scotland from the reign of Malcolm Canmore till the death of Alexander III. in 1286 could hardly be written. It is in the incidental references of English chroniclers to the northern kingdom that we have the fullest account of the most important Scottish events of that period ; and it is only with the general aid of these chroniclers that a continuous narrative is possible. We have but to glance at the authorities for the period quoted by such writers as E. W. Robertson, Skene, and Lord Hailes in his *Annals of Scotland* to realise the extent of their debt to these English sources.

In view of these facts Mr. Anderson's book can hardly fail to be received as one of the most important contributions that have been made to Scottish history during recent years. For the first time he has brought together, in the compass of one volume, all or nearly all the materials supplied by English chroniclers for the history of Scotland from 500 A.D. till 1286. The task was not a light one. Mr. Anderson has made translations from more than forty writers, whose mediæval Latin is frequently as difficult to understand as it is difficult to render in equivalent and intelligible English. Moreover, the relevant passages had to be selected, texts collated, and contradictory statements illustrated from the different chroniclers who have recorded the same events. Of the thoroughness with which Mr. Anderson has done his work every page of his book bears evidence. The introductory Table of Reference is German in its *Gründlichkeit*, and the same may be said of the appended notes, which are more voluminous than the text.

From the nature of Mr. Anderson's work it can hardly as a whole appeal to the general reader, but for the serious student of Scottish history its interest and instructiveness are apparent. He has here the chief

materials out of which the history of the period has to be constructed, and from which he can receive his own direct impression of the events that are recorded. Many of the excerpts merely state briefly that an event occurred, but others record at considerable length all the circumstances that occasioned it. Such, for example, are certain passages from Bede, Ailred of Rievaulx, and Matthew Paris, where incidents and characters are presented with a vividness which the modern historian cannot reproduce. In view of the increasing interest in our national history, indeed, a selection of such passages might form a school text-book which would possess an educational value that would go far to stimulate an interest in historical studies in Scotland. Except for a few later periods we have no such books, composed from contemporary records, as are available in other countries. If Mr. Anderson's book could be utilised for this purpose, his countrymen would owe him an added debt. And there is another work which, as we gather from his book, he has the necessary equipment to undertake. He is a Celtic scholar and a practised transcriber of Celtic MSS.; could he not do for Celtic records what he has done so admirably for the English chroniclers?

P. HUME BROWN.

FOLK-MEMORY; OR THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY. By Walter Johnson, F.G.S. Pp. 416. With many illustrations. Med. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS book, by an honoured worker in the prehistoric field, is mainly a summary of the results of the labours of others; a handbook and bibliography such as could only have been compiled by one familiar alike with antiquities and with antiquarian literature. In one chapter, at least, that on 'Old Roads and Trackways,' he makes good use of his own facts, and throughout he has 'done diligence' to verify the facts of his predecessors. The central idea, expressed in the alternative title, is of course not now for the first time enunciated; but he has well earned the right to be remembered hereafter as its systematic exponent. Yet, though he has seen so much, he has usually seen it through great men's spectacles; this excess of veneration, and some defect of verve, make him seem almost dull compared with (for instance) Sir Arthur Mitchell, whose already classical book is written from a not dissimilar standpoint.

The foundation is laid in the second chapter, which recapitulates the received classification of prehistoric man into stone-users, bronze-users, and iron-users, with intricate subdivisions and transition stages; the thesis, very plausibly argued, being that the evidence does not require us to believe (as an earlier school taught) that any two successive stages were divided by such a break as to make it impossible that men of the later period could have learned something from their forerunners. This once accepted, it becomes conceivable that customs and beliefs may have been transmitted continuously from the earliest stone age to the present day. Something of the kind is claimed in a later chapter for the manufacture of flints; the actual evidence of continuity being weaker than one would have expected. In other chapters the author endeavours,

with different degrees of success, to show the influence of the various classes of old time remains upon later custom and belief.

Other chapters begin at the other end, and trace existing industries to their remote origin, sometimes with a good deal of *Apriorismus* (to borrow a word from Pope Pius X.), especially in chapter xiv. on primeval water supply; but never failing to be suggestive. Perusal of this comprehensive digest naturally raises reflections; two, not startling, may be instanced. One is, that of the forms of 'folk-memory,' the most enduring is custom, the most evanescent, at all events in Great Britain, is tradition proper. The other is that tradition persists longest where the population is predominantly non-Teutonic; the only good examples come from the 'Celtic fringe.' From eastern England, however, we have a quasi-tradition in the name 'Dane-hole,' corrupted by the literary into Dene-hole, applied to certain remarkable excavations of unknown age in Essex and Kent. On this, Mr. Johnson pertinently remarks, 'One can hardly believe that the pits were dug as refuges from the foe,' Danish or otherwise, though they may have served that purpose later. Perhaps the Teutons took little interest in the relics of an inferior race, until they came to have their own associations with the pits. A passage from a romance of the 'Arthur Cycle,' reproduced not long ago in certain newspapers and duly cited in this book, makes it highly probable that an earlier tradition relative to those very 'Dane-holes' was still current in Wales in the twelfth century.

The opening chapter deals with the metaphysics of 'Folk-memory.' The theory of a 'subliminal race-self,' there maintained, in which ideas lie latent and periodically emerge into consciousness, is well illustrated in that passage of the eighth chapter where we are taught (within quotation marks) that 'we may regard many of these fairy sagas as told by men of the Iron Age of events which happened to men of the Bronze Age in their conflicts with men of the Neolithic Age.' Eliminate the improbable from legend and the residuum is history—that doctrine has appeared before. Euemerism had an immense vogue for many ages, especially among the deeply learned and the pre-eminently able—at last, having no root it withered away. Has it come back to stay? For the present, Mr. Johnson, in favouring it, is in the height of fashion and the best of company.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

A SURVEY OF LONDON. By John Stow. Reprinted from the Text of 1603. With Introduction and Notes by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. Two Vols. Vol. I. pp. c, 352. Vol. II. pp. 476. With Illustrations, Maps, Indexes, and Glossary. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 30s. nett.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts vii. and viii. With Appendices, including Extracts from Leland's Collectanea. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Vol. IV. pp. x, 216. With Map. Foolscap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1909. 12s. nett.

It is fitting that the republication of these famous topographical works should be noticed on the same page, seeing that we owe the preservation

of so much of Leland's text to Stow's indefatigable labours. The lives of the two great antiquaries overlapped for a short space, and the mantle of the elder may be said to have been bequeathed to the younger. Miss Toulmin Smith has not failed to recognise her indebtedness to the enterprise of Stow. His copy of the *Itinerary*, she says, made only twenty-four years after the author's death, before the original had suffered much injury, was of the greatest importance in restoring Leland's text, filling up *lacunae* caused by decay, and supplying the whole of three lost books. Five bound volumes, transcribed in Stow's small, neat handwriting out of Leland's works, exist in the Bodleian Library, and have been largely used in the collation of the original text that has survived. It is high testimony to the importance and popularity of topographical studies that the texts of Leland and Stow should have attracted the services of two scholars so accomplished as Miss Toulmin Smith and Mr. Kingsford, who have produced what must be regarded, by reason of their intrinsic merits, as the standard editions of these remarkable works.

Mr. Kingsford has given us an edition of the *Survey of London* for which antiquaries have been in want for a considerable time. Following out the suggestion of Hearne, made two centuries ago, he has reprinted the text of the black-letter edition of 1603, collating it with that of the first edition of 1598, and adding notes on the variations between the two versions. Not the least valuable portion of the editor's work is the full appendix of notes, covering over one hundred pages of well-digested historical and explanatory matter, which makes the edition of surpassing interest to the professed student as well as the general reader, indeed to all who wish to understand the allusions in the text. There is no occasion to criticise the value of Stow's researches, or to point out modern indebtedness to his enterprise. Mr. Kingsford has done both for us with a loyalty and reverence one would expect from the pupil to the master. There is no disposition to accept all his historical facts. When an error is found it is corrected in the notes, and the authorities are given on which the correction is made. Stow, for instance, on the assumed authority of Hector Boece, gave 1395 as the year of the joust on London Bridge between Sir David Lyndesay and John de Welle, the respective champions of Scotland and England, but the statement was not allowed to pass without correction. Scotland Yard, now a well-known place in London, the acquaintance of which few Scotsmen at the present day are disposed to cultivate, is situated between Charing Cross and Whitehall, 'where the kinges of Scotland were used to be lodged.' It was traditionally known to Stow as 'Scotland,' but at a much earlier date as 'the king of Scottis ground.' The monument of 'John Dore, Want Water,' in the Charterhouse, as printed in the editions of 1598 and 1603, must have been a puzzle at first sight, though it was easy enough to see that it was an error. The correction to 'John Dorewentwater, knight,' was made from Stow's manuscript list in Harley MSS. Nichols printed this list in 1834 in *Collectanea Top. et Geneal.* i. 21, from certain collections said to have been made by

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Robert Aske in the reign of Henry VIII. The origin of this and similar lists of London burials calls for some elucidation.

Miss Toulmin Smith's fourth volume of the *Itinerary*, composed though it is of miscellaneous matter, keeps up the reputation of the series. There are references to no less than thirty-two counties in England, four in Wales, and to the Channel Islands, but the English counties specially dealt with are Cheshire, Gloucester, Kent, Leicester, Nottingham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. In the notes and illustrations we have a repetition of the skill and circumspection heretofore pointed out in this *Review* (v. 98-9) in our notice of previous volumes. It is disappointing that Leland's page is torn away at the critical place where John Wyclif's supposed birth-place was given, but the want has been supplied from Stow's transcript. The maps are again of much value, not the least interesting of which is a thumb-nail sketch of the Channel Islands from the manuscript of Leland's *Collectanea* in the Bodleian.

The local historian will have no excuse in future if he fails to take advantage of collections so renowned as those of Leland and Stow. With the illuminating editions of Miss Toulmin Smith and Mr. Kingsford, so conveniently arranged and so well indexed, to guide him, he should seldom stumble or fall into error in their interpretation. Sound texts of these ancient writers in agreeable type and in volumes of handy size have been at last supplied.

JAMES WILSON.

STUDIES AND NOTES, SUPPLEMENTARY TO STUBBS' CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, DOWN TO THE GREAT CHARTER. By Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Rector of the University of Grenoble. Translated by W. E. Rhodes, M.A. Pp. xiv, 152. Medium 8vo. Manchester: the University Press. 1908. 4s. nett.

FOR students desirous of initiation into the mysteries of English constitutional origins, there is, at the present day, only one recognised avenue of approach. The monumental work of Bishop Stubbs, in its three compact volumes, forms the only trustworthy and adequate authority. Since that was published, twenty-five years ago (1873-1875-1878), no writer has seriously attempted to rival or supersede it, although the intervening period has been notable in the annals of English historical scholarship because of the amount of labour expended upon the original materials of history and also of the floods of light which recent works of research have thrown upon almost every aspect of the subjects on which Dr. Stubbs wrote.

That so distinguished a French historian as Professor Petit-Dutaillis should have selected Stubbs' famous work as the best medium for introducing his fellow-countymen to the study of the English constitution, forces a reconsideration of the place occupied by that book in relation to modern scholarship. The Rector of Grenoble, while fully appreciating the greatness of the work which he is introducing to French readers, finds what many English teachers have already found, but yet have hesitated to express freely—namely that the *Constitutional History*, considered as a

text-book for tyros, is marred by somewhat grave defects. It is unnecessary here to speak of the merits of a work, the excellences of which are known to all. It must not be forgotten, however, that the *Constitutional History of England*, planned originally for mature scholars, was never exactly suited to the needs of beginners, and that its doctrines have necessarily been rendered obsolete in numerous particulars by the advances made by historical research to which the labours of Bishop Stubbs himself formed the chief stimulus.

In spite of a natural reluctance to admit the existence of spots on the sun, it may not be unprofitable to consider in what respects the cherished work of Bishop Stubbs falls short of perfection. In the first place, the genius of that writer was of a broad and eclectic type, delighting rather in the accumulation of detailed facts than in arranging them according to theories of his own. From one point of view—an important one—this characteristic forms a merit rather than a defect; for to it is due much of the permanent value of the work considered as a book of reference for researchers. From another point of view, however, it is regrettable that the three volumes of the history must be considered as a quarry for future workers rather than as a completed and artistic structure. Parts of the first volume, in particular, are unfinished and inconclusive. Further, in the absence of pronounced political theories of his own, Bishop Stubbs at times allowed his judgment to be too readily biassed by the impetuous zeal of Professor Freeman, whose one-sided preconceptions have exercised a distorting influence on the trend of English historical studies for nearly half a century, and are only now being gradually discarded as erroneous. These preconceptions were inherently inconsistent with a great proportion of the facts amassed by Dr. Stubbs; and attempts made by him, more or less unconsciously, at reconciling the irreconcilable resulted often in obscurity and nebulosity. These defects became more prominent in later editions, in which the eclectic tendency is even more pronounced; for the late Bishop of Oxford was more willing to make additions to his treatise than to discard matter that had become obsolete. On numerous points, such as the theory of the mark, folkland, and Henry II.'s attitude towards the Church, Dr. Stubbs was forced to yield a reluctant assent to the destructive criticisms of recent scholarship. While adopting the newer theories in footnotes, or even in the text itself, he would almost seem to have been constitutionally incapable of remodelling the rest of his work, so as to bring it into harmony with them. While 'the mark,' for instance, was grudgingly admitted in his later editions to be dead and even buried, its ghost was still allowed to stalk through many of his pages. The result is that parts of a great book have come to be very much of the nature of patchwork. This lack of organic unity increases the difficulties of students, by rendering whole passages vague, inconsistent, and deficient in a sense of form and proportion. For still another reason, the *Constitutional History* would seem to require supplement; since, as was only natural for one of his generation, Bishop Stubbs laid more stress upon the chronicles as materials for history than upon the record evidence—the exact reverse of the method approved by historians trained a quarter of

a century later. These defects, more than counterbalanced as they are by compensating excellences, somewhat diminish the confidence with which the teacher of constitutional origins places Dr. Stubbs' masterpiece in the hands of inexperienced pupils. Supplementary lectures are required to fill up gaps, to clear away ambiguities, and to rectify statements which later discoveries have shown to be erroneous.

Our entire constitutional history, indeed, requires to be re-written by some one capable of welding the imperishable ore of Stubbs' classic book into one whole with the products of more recent research. In the absence of such a work, English scholars will warmly welcome, as the next best thing, the *Supplementary Studies* of Professor Petit-Dutaillis, which attempt to provide, within narrow compass, the materials necessary for bringing the *Constitutional History* up to date. These studies form an appendix to the first volume of the French translation, the only one yet published. Excellent footnotes and a fuller index make this French edition the best one even for English readers. M. Petit-Dutaillis, however, has done more than this. While giving French students access to the *Constitutional History* in their own language, he has sought to guard them from accepting theories that are now generally discarded. No one could be better qualified for such a task than the distinguished French scholar who has been trained to clearness of thinking, precision of language, and lucidity of exposition in a school that still follows classical models, a historian who is comprehensively equipped for his task and thoroughly versed, in particular, in everything that pertains to the medieval history of England, as is evidenced by his references to England in his *Etude sur la vie et la règne de Louis VIII.*, a book of established reputation. Of his twelve valuable *Supplementary Studies*, containing accurate and comprehensive summaries of recent discussions on various topics of importance, the most valuable are, perhaps, those on 'The Evolution of the Rural Classes and the Origin of the Manor,' 'The Origin of the Exchequer,' 'English Society in the Feudal Period,' 'The Origin of the Towns in England,' 'London in the Twelfth Century,' 'The Unknown Charter of Liberties,' and 'The Great Charter.' It is, perhaps, ungrateful that, while welcoming these useful monographs, we should suggest that M. Petit-Dutaillis has neglected other topics that called equally for similar treatment. The value of his work would undoubtedly have gained materially from the inclusion of studies on such subjects as the Origin of the Hundred, the rise and fall of the Mark Theory, the powers and composition of the Witenagemot, the alleged Debate on Danegeld (1163), the Oxford Debate on Foreign Service (1197), the origin of Trial by Jury, the relations of Frithborh and Frankpledge, the Writ Process, the Title to the Crown, and the growth of the Common Law.

Of actual criticisms passed on the work of Dr. Stubbs, we have left too little room to speak in detail. The inadequacy of his treatment of scutage and the military tenures is made plain in more passages than one. It is also pointed out how inconsistencies between the text and footnotes of the *Constitutional History* have arisen from a reluctance to

discard entirely the exploded democratic theory of 'folkland.' Professor Petit-Dutaillis might have extended a like criticism to the half-hearted rejection of the 'mark theory.'

With all their admirable features, Professor Petit-Dutaillis' studies are not free from a few imperfections of their own. He fails, for example, to note the difference between grand and petty serjeanties (p. 57). Such omissions are, however, few in number, and do not detract from the value of the work taken as a whole. These monographs by the Rector of Grenoble, indeed, so far as they go, are admirably suited to their purpose. Their originality lies not so much in the discovery of new items of knowledge, but rather in the new results gained by the combination into systematic wholes of the numerous contributions that others have made to the sum of our knowledge. The admirable lucidity of his writing makes even familiar truths appear in a fresh light, and brings out aspects that may previously have escaped attention. M. Petit-Dutaillis' knowledge of recent English authorities is marvellous. Nothing seems to have escaped his vigilance—not even casual references scattered through the numerous volumes of the new *Victoria County Histories*, or items of information contained in articles contributed to recent historical and legal magazines.

Readers of the French translation were thus placed at a distinct advantage over those who had to be content with the original, until Mr. Rhodes, a former Fellow of Manchester University, has now redressed the balance by translating the *Supplementary Studies* into English. This task has been carefully and well performed, under the supervision of Professor Tait, who has written a short but adequate introduction. This little book ought, without delay, to be added to every public or private library that contains a copy of the classic work to which it forms an indispensable supplement.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE MAID OF FRANCE, Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d'Arc. By Andrew Lang. Pp. xvi, 379. With illustrations and maps. Royal 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE life of Jeanne d'Arc is a unique phenomenon in history. There is in it a supernatural element ('supernormal' the cautious call it) that might be explained away as legendary, or brushed aside altogether, if she had lived in a remote past with scanty records; but she lived and died almost on the threshold of the Renaissance, when the world was very much alive, when friends and foes watched every step in her short career, and their evidence remains to this day in numberless documents that have exercised the acumen of sincere seekers after truth and of theorists with axes of their own to grind. Many widely diverging conclusions have been reached, which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, might be arranged as the steps of a ladder, with the beatification of Jeanne in Rome at the top and the 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc' of M. Anatole France on the lowest rung. The 'Maid of France,' avowedly a reply to the 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc,' occupies a place very near the summit.



The key-note to the volume under review is struck in these wise words of the Introduction: 'In studying history we must accept the past as it existed: when occupied with the characters and events of the Middle Ages, we must learn to think mediævally.' So Mr. Andrew Lang takes his stand in the fifteenth century; he listens to all the witnesses, friendly or hostile, examines their evidence in the atmosphere of the time, accepts what appeared true to the contemporaries, and does not attempt to explain what he cannot understand. That Jeanne had visions and heard voices is proved, whether they were from within or from without he does not decide: 'I cannot tell, God knoweth,' was said long ago in circumstances not wholly dissimilar. That she foretold events was generally believed; why waste time in trying to explain? The great miracle of her life is what she did, not what she said.

After a few chapters describing the state of France and the childhood of the Maid, we start with her from Domremy, which she never saw again, we follow her step by step, almost literally day by day, every statement being supported by references to the best contemporary authority, till she has accomplished her mission and suffered her martyrdom at the hands of Bedford and Cauchon in the Old Market of Rouen before she had attained her twenty-first year. Mr. Lang is certainly not a Burgundian; he is French throughout; so were the Scots in those days, as he loves to tell us; but the best exposition of his views will be found in the noble words in the last page of the book. 'I incline to think that in a sense not easily defined, Jeanne was "inspired," and I am convinced that she was a person of the highest genius, of the noblest character. Without her genius and her character, her glimpses of hidden things (supposing them to have occurred) would have been of no avail in the great task of redeeming France. Another might have heard Voices offering the monitions; but no other could have displayed her dauntless courage and gift of encouragement, her sweetness of soul, and her marvellous and victorious tenacity of will.'

It is well known that Mr. Lang loves nothing better than to have a tilt at an adversary; practice has made him a skilled hitter, and also a hard one. One feels at times, however, that he yields too readily to that diversion when dealing with his chief opponent, the clever novelist and satirist, who in a moment of aberration mistook himself for a historian, to the sincere regret of his admirers. Almost every page contains some reference to his shortcomings, to the annoyance of the reader who is quite willing to accept the guidance of the Maid's champion without being pulled up suddenly simply to be told that somebody else has blundered again. It would be an improvement if, in a future edition, these allusive remarks were left out altogether, or relegated to the notes, which have wisely been placed at the end of the volume for the very purpose of not disturbing the reader's attention.

Everyone knows also that, out of the stores of his mansided knowledge, the author takes delight in bringing out 'modern instances,' and old ones too, that generally illuminate his subject, even when they startle by their unexpectedness. We should resent the absence of the familiar sign-manual,

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though once or twice we may feel a painful jar, as in connexion with the incident of the 'sowing of beans' at Troyes, p. 174.

Along with some clear maps the volume contains a portrait of Charles VII. and two of Jeanne. The second of these two should appeal to the imagination of the reader. One feels inclined to fancy that the painter had known the Maid, and that his hand was less skilled than his memory was faithful.

F. J. AMOURS.

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CAUCASUS. By John F. Baddeley. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Pp. xxxviii and 518. Royal 8vo. London: Longmans. 1908. 21s. nett.

THIS volume is a notable contribution to our knowledge of Russian history. The author—Mr. John F. Baddeley—tells us in the preface that he has travelled through and through the regions he describes, lived with the people, and become acquainted with their character and ways of life, and gathered by hearsay many traditional stories of the patriot chiefs who fought for independence against the Russian invader. The work has evidently been a labour of love, and must have involved an immense amount of research among Russian and German authorities. Scarcely anything has been written on the subject in English, and no complete history of it in any language.

The mountain chain of the Caucasus stretches in a south-easterly direction from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and appears to have been inhabited from the earliest times by a mixed race, with many independent savage tribes and free communities, who were in a continual state of war with each other if not with Russia. The religion was Muhammadan. To the south of the mountains lay the Christian communities of Georgia, and it was in order to protect these Christian communities that Russia first found a reason or an excuse for attacking and subjugating the semi-civilised tribes which peopled the intervening regions.

The area of warfare is roughly divided into three great tracts. First, that on the west near the Black Sea, and, second, that on the east near the Caspian. Between these was a gap through which lay the road over the mountains to the country south of the Caucasus. This country formed the third tract, bounded on the south by the Turkish and Persian Empires.

The early chapters sketch the history of the war from the time of Peter the Great to the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, and are mainly taken up with the wars with Turkey and Persia for the possession of the Georgian provinces, which were one by one annexed to the Russian Empire. It was in 1771, during the reign of Catherine the Great, that the revolt of the Tartars took place described by De Quincey in his famous essay—'a fantastic performance,' says Mr. Baddeley, 'magnificent as literature, but historically beneath contempt.' The war with the western tribes is only incidentally mentioned, although it continued longest, not being finally concluded until 1864. The tribes bordering on the line of communication between north and south appear to have

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accepted Russian rule more or less completely. The second part of the book is the history of the long life-and-death struggle made by, and the final conquest of, the warlike tribes inhabiting the eastern tract, comprising Daghestan and Tchetchnia. These held out until 1859, or three years after the close of the Crimean war. On the north very little progress seems to have been made during these early years. Many of Russia's leading generals took part in the war. There is a succession of brilliant soldiers and administrators, such as Todleben, Tsitsianoff and Yermoloff, Klugenau and Freitag, some drafted to the Caucasus after distinguishing themselves at Austerlitz, Bautzen, and Kulm. It was the grave of not a few reputations. Another great name is that of Veliamonoff, who advocated 'methods of barbarism.'

The total population of the Caucasus at the time of the war is given roughly at four millions, and that of Daghestan at half a million. The Avars, who were the most warlike of the tribes, numbered 125,000. Daghestan has a seaboard on the Caspian, while the inland parts are made up of barren plateaus of mountains, intersected by rivers, which have cut their way thousands of feet deep. Villages, or 'aouls,' as they are called, were placed here and there in spots capable of easy defence. The Daghestanis are described as 'men with blue eyes, fair hair, and well-cut features and somewhat prominent cheek-bones, whose like may be seen any day north of the Tweed.' The region of Tchetchnia, lying more to the north, was, on the other hand, covered with dense forests, which afforded shelter in times of trouble. It was not until Yermoloff's plan of campaign was followed and the country made accessible by roads and clearings that the inhabitants were forced to submit. 'In the long run it was by the axe and not by the sword that the conquest was effected.'

This latter part of the war, from 1829 onwards, is called the Murid War, from the religious character which it assumed. Murid is a mystic term meaning 'one who desires to find the way.' The fanaticism of the tribes was aroused by the preaching of the Ghazavat or Holy War.

The main interest centres round the leader Shamil, who was proclaimed Imám in 1834. The stern discipline introduced and the fanaticism aroused by him welded the tribes together in a way that had never been known before, and with varying success he maintained his position and authority over the tribesmen, who in their mountain strongholds and almost inaccessible fastnesses defied the might of Russia for more than twenty years. The Russians suffered many terrible disasters in the course of the war, and even though our sympathies may go with the rude defenders of their native mountains, we are compelled to admire the splendid courage and dogged persistence of the Russian soldier in the face of overwhelming difficulties. The whole of the latter part of the book is full of stirring incidents. The retreat of the ten thousand after the Dargo expedition, the invasion of Kabardá, and the assault on Gherghébil are conspicuous examples of these terrible conflicts, where, as a rule, quarter was neither asked nor given. Shamil himself is one

of the most interesting and picturesque 'Kings of the mountain,' to be met with in history, while the name of his lieutenant Hadji Mourád was on one occasion sufficient to put to flight 1500 native militia under a Russian officer. This Hadji Mourád was by far the most daring and bravest of all Shamil's lieutenants, and his death, brought about by his chief through jealousy, is one of the darkest spots on Shamil's memory. It was in this war, we are told, that Count Tolstoy gained his experience of Cossack life and Caucasian warfare which he has used to such good purpose, and it is interesting to know that Hadji Mourád is the hero of a work by the great novelist, not to be published until after his death. Shamil was cruel, even among a people who cared little for human life, and in the end this is said to have contributed to his downfall. He had, among other qualities, an unsurpassed faculty for organisation, and was able to seize on the weak point of an enemy's position with unerring certainty, while the secrecy of his movements and the quickness with which he struck rendered him a terror to his foes. It is pleasant to turn for a moment to a more humane aspect of this warrior chief. Shamil's son, a boy of twelve years of age, was taken from him at the siege of Akhoulgó and grew up to be a uniformed servant of the Tsar. It was not until sixteen years afterwards that Shamil was able to procure his return in exchange for two captured Georgian princesses. By that time, however, the son had become a stranger to his father and his native land, and the estrangement was a bitter grief to his father.

By a systematic plan of campaign, the building of forts, and the opening up of the country by means of roads and bridges, Shamil was at length driven from one stronghold to another, until he was fairly hemmed in by his enemies on all sides. Russia, after the Crimean war, had wakened up to the danger involved in having a hostile foe within her own borders—a fact which the Allies seem not to have appreciated at its full value—and she now brought her full force to bear on the doomed chief. It must be remembered, too, that Shamil had no artillery save what he could capture from the Russians. Prince Bariatinsky was at this time Viceroy, and Yevdokeemoff led the main attack. The last scene described is the surrender of Shamil in 1859 at Gouneeb, a fortress in his native Daghestan whither he had fled with his family and a few hundreds of his most devoted followers. He was taken to Russia, where he was kindly treated, allowed in later years to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and died at Medinah in 1871. After Shamil's surrender the tribesmen settled down quietly under Russian rule—a result due in some measure to the ruthless despotism with which they had been treated by their own leader.

It is difficult to speak too highly of this book. It is a masterpiece in its way, and recounts in nervous language an episode well worthy of remembrance, and one that is little known to English readers. The style is bright and clear, and the author carries the reader's attention on with him throughout the terrible conflict with unflinching interest. It is more than a mere military history, and contains some profound

observations on the problems raised when civilised nations come into conflict with barbarous ones.

The book is well supplied with good maps and plans. There are several illustrations and portraits, including a beautiful one of Shamil by Mrs. Tyrrel Lewis, and there is a copious index. The system of transliteration gives the ordinary reader a very fair idea of how the unpronounceable Russian names ought to be sounded. The work is written with impartiality and sobriety, and is valuable for the light which it sheds on a people well worth studying, and on a region which the author tells us may some day come to be a larger 'playground of Europe.'

J. B. DOUGLAS.

SKETCHES OF RULERS OF INDIA. Four Vols. By G. D. Oswell, M.A., Oxon., Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur, Central Provinces, India. Vol. I. pp. xxviii, 171; Vol. II. pp. 215; Vol. III. pp. 228; Vol. IV. pp. 232. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 2s. nett per vol.

PUBLIC attention is at the present time being directed towards India. These volumes give in compressed form the earlier chapters in its history.

The author does not claim originality; his work as a whole is based on the series of 'Rulers of India,' edited by the late Sir W. W. Hunter. His interpretation of the term 'Ruler' is generous, and the choice of subjects has been made with the view of acquainting the reader with every phase of Indian life and history. The historical background is well preserved, so that while the sketches are mainly biographical, indirectly a careful resumé is given of the rise and progress of the problems in Indian administration that still confront and concern those in charge of it, and these problems are enlarged on in the lengthy introduction which forms an important part of each of the volumes. Vol. IV. deals with the native rulers and races of India, Vols. II. and III. with the names most prominent in the struggle for British supremacy and in the foundation of British rule; while Vol. I. deals with the central figures of the Mutiny Era and the period which marked the complete transfer of government to the Crown.

The character sketches are short and interesting, but the author has not allowed himself a free enough hand. Both the sketches and the introductions suffer considerably by an excess of quotations from other writers, and these quotations are not always aptly used. Throughout the volumes the author fills the rôle of hero-worshipper and overdoes it. No field of British activity has been richer in heroes and public-spirited servants, but the author is too indiscriminate and unmeasured in his praise to convey a correct estimate of the careers he portrays. He seldom makes due allowance for the controversies that have been waged round many of the great names connected with India, and notably those of our Indian pioneers. A somewhat similar want of balance marks the introductions to Vols. III. and IV., where he deals with the events of

recent years and the present conditions of unrest in India. His thirty years' experience in that country, chiefly in educational work, lends weight to his remarks generally ; but the force of much of what he says is marred by too evident an enthusiasm. And again, many of the conclusions at which he arrives are weakened by being set forth as if drawn from experiences that are personal to the author, whereas they are really the conclusions at which all intelligent study of India and its peoples, arrives.

These volumes, however, will furnish the general reader or the advanced pupil with what is required for an understanding of the nature and magnitude of the responsibility that rests upon, and the difficult and delicate problems that face, Great Britain in her relations with India. A fifth volume treating of the careers of the viceroys of the last fifty years is promised, and should complete a very useful and informing set of books.

A. R. DUNCAN.

LANDS AND LAIRDS OF LARBERT AND DUNIPACE PARISHES. By John C. Gibson. Glasgow : Hugh Hopkins. 1908.

A COMPLETE parish history of Larbert and Dunipace would require qualifications hardly to be found combined in one individual. Stenhouse with the site of Arthur's Oon, Torwood with its Broch and (apparently) its strange medieval legend told in the *Lai del Désiré*, might well tempt an archaeologist : several fine old houses are there to attract the architect : the district is now a considerable centre of industry. Mr. Gibson has very wisely resisted the seductions of borrowed lore. On the antiquities he confines himself to brief quotations ; on the architecture, to the reproduction of a series of excellent sketches ; on industrial development, to an interesting chapter on the Carron Company.

What he does give us is a series of genealogical accounts of all the important families who have held land in the parishes from the fifteenth century onwards, interspersed with extracts from contemporary records, enabling us to realize in a measure the characters and modes of life of his subjects. This from an expert genealogist and capable record student, and dealing with numerous ancient and distinguished families, and with many remarkable men, of whom the two illustrious Bruces of Kinnaird are only the most conspicuous, fills a well-proportioned and well got up volume which to my mind has not an uninteresting page. Of course faults may always be found. The little that there is to tell of the medieval proprietors is not exhaustively nor always accurately told. The footnote on page 146 is puzzling ; why should Huguenot refugees, even though they were the ancestors of Sir James Simpson, be brought in to account for the Jarvies, who (as easily accessible records show) were established in Stirling-shire at least two generations before the Reformation ? But the general trustworthiness of the work is unmistakable, and there is very little that even the most microscopic criticism can carp at.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

THE ELDER OR POETIC EDDA, COMMONLY KNOWN AS SAEMUND'S EDDA : Part I. The Mythological Poems. Edited and translated with Introduction and Notes by Olive Bray ; illustrated by W. G. Collingwood. Pp. lxxx, 327. Medium 8vo. London (Viking Club Translation Series, Vol. II.): David Nutt. 1908. 15s. nett.

THIS volume is the second in a series of praiseworthy attempts to attract readers, by means of translations, to a literature well deserving study in the original. Although the text is given side by side with the version, the book is not offered to scholars and students of Old Norse literature, to whom the original is easily accessible in many continental editions, but to general readers interested in mythology ; the only extant English version being Vigfusson's, which is buried under a mass of other material in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. The present volume is not therefore overburdened with editorial matter, the explanatory footnotes being few and short. Nor is the text edited to any great extent : it has been taken from current standard editions, with some rearrangement of strophes in several poems to render the sequence clearer.

Miss Bray has done her part well ; her version is idiomatic and unaffected, and sufficiently close. The chief difficulty in translating these poems is the extreme condensation and terseness which constitute the main attraction of their style. This must often be sacrificed, if the version is to be intelligible. Some passages in *Grimnismál* and *Vafthrudnismál*, for example, would be strings of unintelligible names, without some expansion ; Miss Bray, therefore, either paraphrases the proper names, or gives both name and paraphrase. Unnecessary expansions are few.

The Introduction contains a clear summary of the history and manuscript sources of the Edda, with a short discussion and analysis of each poem. In analysing origin and meaning, there is perhaps too strong a tendency to nature interpretation, and too little consideration of the part played by culture and custom in forming myth : this is noticeable in the treatment of Frey ; while in discussing the Balder myth, so fertile a field for speculation, Miss Bray seems to acknowledge modern research and theory only to hint her dislike of their results. In discussing the place of authorship, she follows the sounder and more probable view which assigns them to Iceland, at the close of the heathen times. Though probably in the main written then, they are not a representative expression of Northern paganism. They throw little light on the ancient beliefs of Scandinavia, except what can be gained by working back from story to custom, by comparison with the myth and custom of other races and with what is known from other sources of Germanic religion. In the past the whole subject suffered by the attributing to the Edda of a grey antiquity to which it has no claim ; it has long been recognised to be a literary production.

The outward form of the volume is very attractive, and the decoration is appropriate and often imaginative. Mr. Collingwood gets beyond the Gothic style dear to illustrators of the Scandinavian, and attains a

primitive effect in keeping with the feeling of the poems. In some cases his pictures are based on suggestions from Scandinavian monuments in England.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

THE BERNSTORFF PAPERS. THE LIFE OF COUNT ALBRECHT VON BERNSTORFF. By Dr. Karl Ringhoffer. Translated by Mrs. Charles Edward Barrett-Lennard and M. W. Hoper. Two Vols. Vol. I. pp. xvi, 350. Vol. II. pp. viii, 333. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s. nett.

THE life of Count Bernstorff consists largely of extracts from despatches, state papers, and correspondence, and affords material of great interest for the student of those very important years in nineteenth century history, 1848-1871. To the English reader, at any rate, it is of more interest from this point of view than as a study of Bernstorff's career, for he did not stand in the front rank as a creative statesman. The principal posts which he held were those of Prussian Minister at Vienna, 1848-51, and at London, 1854 until his death in 1873, except for the year 1861-2, when he was Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs. His position in Vienna was very trying, for, in spite of his own views as to the necessity for Prussia assuming the leadership in Germany at the expense of Austria, he had to submit to Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz.

The greater and most eventful part of his career was spent in England. He found there great ignorance of the affairs of Germany, even amongst politicians. The Queen understood German questions better than most of her ministers. According to Bernstorff, Lord Palmerston's policy was inspired by antipathy to Prussia. Of Court life Count and Countess Bernstorff saw a good deal, especially during the negotiations for the marriage of the Princess Royal.

During the Crimean War the King's hesitation made it impossible for Prussia to follow any definite policy. This so annoyed the English Ministers that Bernstorff at one time feared that England would declare war on her. The difficulty of his position was increased by the special mission of Usedom to the English Court. During the dispute over the Schleswig-Holstein question he was also afraid that there might be war between the two countries.

At the close of the Franco-Prussian War Bernstorff was engaged in several attempts to negotiate peace, notably with the Empress, with whom he had an interview at Lord Cowley's house in London. Dr. Ringhoffer gives 1870 as the date of the Benedetti draft-treaty between France and Prussia, whose publication caused much ill-feeling in England against France, but it is more probable that it was drawn up in 1866 or 1867. The document was taken to the *Times* office by Bernstorff's son.

The translators have done their work well, but the use of italics is somewhat confusing, as no indication is given whether these are due to the transcriber or to the original writer of the despatch or letter.

THEODORA KEITH.



RELIGIO SCOTICA, ITS NATURE AS TRACEABLE IN SCOTIC SAINTLY TRADITION. By Robert Craig Maclagan, M.D. 8vo. Pp. viii, 233. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co. 1909.

THIS strange book may be taken as a symptom of one of the intellectual infirmities of our time so far as it illustrates the tendency to discredit and uproot the accepted verdicts of past history. If excessive credulity can be ascribed to a former generation of students by reason of too great an inclination to believe historical traditions, the swing of the pendulum is apt to throw us into the corresponding danger of equal credulity in our denial of them. Superstition arising from unreasonable doubt is as much to be deplored as the superstition of unquestioning faith. It does not help us to call our new methods by meritorious names: labels are not always true definitions: what is conceived as an evidence of superior intelligence may be nothing else than the very vice we have endeavoured to avoid: reaction against the easy credulity of belief may reappear under the form of what has been tersely described as the credulous incredulity of doubt. In other words, there is as much gullibility in the making of the sceptic as of the saint.

Dr. Maclagan, a painstaking and well-read scholar of the modern type, has set himself the task of reversing the old accounts of the origin of the Scotie name and religion, and in the course of his studies he has discovered a theory sufficient, as he thinks, to determine the mythology which surrounds the cradle of Scotie beliefs and habits. The theory is first formulated, and then the early traditions of the ancient people, as history has handed them down, are accommodated by an ingenious array of philological combinations so as to fit in with the author's scheme for their interpretation. Scot is not the name of a tribe, as we have been accustomed to think, but of a religion, and, from its etymology, an unsavoury religion associated with the works of darkness. The Gael, of course, originated in Egypt about the time of the Exodus, and we know that one of the plagues at that time was a miracle of 'darkness that could be felt,' which affected the Egyptians only and not the Hebrews. Scota, daughter of Pharaoh and ancestress of the Gael, was evidently meant to personate Venus, the goddess of night. Caesar connected the Celts with the under-world, and made them descendants of Pluto, which has significance from its connexion with darkness and wealth as seen in reproduction.

All subsequent manifestations of the cult take their colour from this common origin of the Scot, Gael and Celt. The worship of the human functions of generation, male and female, is but a natural growth from this root of darkness. 'The result,' says the author, 'as we find it in the stories of the Gaelic saints, is that the female potency itself, regarded as a pre-Christian object of reverence, appears with lunar attributes and bears the same name as the principal saint of Christian times, Brigit,' and therefore Brigit is the eponymous representative of the cult in its Christian shape.

It is not possible here to follow the author in his interpretations of early Scotie history and legend, or to enumerate the steps by which he has reached his conclusions. The reader must be referred to the book. But

it may be stated that such historical personages as Columba, Patrick, Aidan, Hilda, Adamnan and the rest emerge from the critical laboratory as only mythological personifications of some feature or function, organ or act in the physiological process of human reproduction. In fact, the phallic cult is the veritable fetish which accounts for the whole story of early traditional beliefs which has hitherto passed as history in many of its features. The argument of the book is pictorially illustrated on the title-page by a figure of the phallus surmounted by a crucifix.

Few will read this essay without a feeling of sadness that a man of genius and culture should have undertaken to build so vast a structure on such flimsy foundations. The most innocent stories of early Christian folk-lore and the sacred sites with which they are connected have been tortured through a series of etymological speculations, that they might give forth the odour and take the shape of occult mysteries. If an instance of reckless etymology is needed, one may recall the odd hallucination which adopts with approval the explanation of the 'Tracht Romra' of Adamnan's narrative as the 'Roman shore.' Nor is this etymology more fanciful, though it is less prurient, than the representation of Columba in the new hagiology as the male instrument of life, and Iona as its female counterpart. To believe with Dr. Maclagan that early Scotie tradition contains no germs of genuine history, and is only to be regarded as the drapery of an obscene cult, surpasses the medieval credulity which delighted only in wonders and prodigies.

The most that can be said in the author's favour is that he writes with candour, and while he is conscious of entertaining unorthodox and gross opinions, he has presented them in a courageous and by no means offensive way.

JAMES WILSON.

THE KIRK AND PARISH OF AUCHTERTOOL. By the late Rev. William Stevenson, M.A., Minister of the Parish, with a MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, by the Rev. J. Campbell, B.D., Kirkcaldy. Pp. 223. Kirkcaldy: 1908.

THIS, though a posthumous work and lacking the final touches which its accomplished author would have given it, is really a model Parish History, distinguished alike by breadth of view and accuracy of detail. It is surprising with how many events of national interest, from the days of Malcolm Canmore to our own, the rural Fifeshire parish has been associated, and the student of the main currents of Scottish History cannot fail to derive light and illustration from the pages of this unpretentious little book. The notice, for example, of the family of Kirkcaldy of Grange, the first lay 'heritors' of the chief estate in Auchtertool, is luminous in regard to one of the few true heroes in the story of Queen Mary. Not less interesting is the connexion of the Carlyles with the Manse, where the historian and his wife were frequent visitors. In fact, it was in the Manse drawing-room that Carlyle wrote the first chapters of *The French Revolution*, and the well-known passage 'rises the little kirk' was composed with the Church of Auchtertool literally in the writer's eye.

## 310 Sandeman: Calais under English Rule

Mr. Campbell has contributed a graceful memoir of the author—a clergyman whose early death was a serious loss alike to the scholarship and the administrative work of the Church of Scotland.

JAMES COOPER.

CALAIS UNDER ENGLISH RULE. By G. A. C. Sandeman. Pp. 140. Post 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS Essay, one of the two awarded the Arnold Prize for 1908, is a useful and interesting contribution to the History of the English border towards France. The materials for a connected account of Calais as an English possession are, Mr. Sandeman remarks, somewhat scanty and incomplete. Many papers no doubt disappeared at the time of the siege in 1558; and the life of such a town was so many-sided that it must certainly have been no easy task to shape a coherent history uniting the various phases of it, from Records and Annals dealing with separate interests and even isolated facts connected therewith. The result is that Mr. Sandeman's book produces somewhat the effect of an interesting collection of materials for history, rather than a piece of thoroughly welded historical writing. Perhaps he would have put his picture of Calais in better perspective had he added to the introduction a brief summary of the great events of the English occupation with one or two dates; and it is to be regretted that there is not even a sketch-map of the Pale. There is much excellent matter carefully marshalled in the account of the Garrison and Defences of Calais, of the Royal officers (Lord Berners, be it remembered, was one of the most notable of many notable Deputies), of the military, social, municipal and commercial history of the town and Pale. We wonder if there is any good reason for referring to the inventor of herring-curing as 'Benchelens of Barsliet,' 'Barsliet' at least is impossible surely. Willem Beukelszoon of Biervliet apparently died in 1397, but if this be so it is an injustice to his memory to bring down the date of his beneficent invention to 1416, as Mr. Sandeman has it on page 57.

Calais was, of course, chiefly important to England as a commercial centre; the wool staple was established there permanently in 1363, and the presence of large numbers of foreign merchants in this connection, together with the primary fact that the town was the gateway into the great enemy's territory, necessitated the presence of a strong garrison; the English kings always took a keen interest in the town and its fortifications, the upkeep of which cost roughly about £8000 a year in time of peace, and varied to any extent in war-time. But by 1558 the staple had declined—methods of commerce were changing—the Hundred Years' War was over, 'and,' says Mr. Sandeman, 'it may be argued that Calais had outlasted its utility. Its loss was disgraceful, but it was not a national disaster, apart from the fact that it involved diminished prestige in Europe, for as a fortress its value was gone.'

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE: THE GLADSTONE ESSAY. By Murray L. R. Beaven. Pp. 130. Post 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

MR. BEAVEN'S brief introductory account of the various branches of the Temple stock during four centuries, gives his careful and competent study of the seventeenth century diplomatist an excellent setting; Sir William Temple takes honourable rank amidst his distinguished relatives, amongst whom, it is almost needless to mention, appear the well-known names of Pitt, Grenville, Buckingham, Palmerston, and Dufferin.

Sir William was, unlike some of them, essentially not a fighter nor a party man: he was not very ambitious of place or power, nor at all desirous of money: from his boyhood his ideals in life were not of the strenuous order—'health and peace and fair weather,' he says in one of his Essays—but such as they were they were the expression of a temperament which has been interpreted by his modern biographers a good deal to his disadvantage. Mr. Beaven does entire justice to Temple's diplomatic work: he gives a full and dispassionate account of his successful conduct of affairs, and speaks sympathetically of his reasons for retiring, at fifty-two, from public office.

Temple had been in active diplomatic and other service for sixteen years and more; he had made the Triple Alliance; had seen it unmade; renewed the peace; brought about the marriage of William and Mary; besides doing a great deal of less obvious work. He had thoroughly tested the untrustworthiness of Charles' disposition, and the political dishonesty of the time. He had not hesitated, like more than one of his relatives in a later day, to speak with much firmness and independence to his Sovereign, and at the latter's urgent request had finally tried to help with the Privy Council scheme—wise or unwise. His health was not good; he had had losses in his family; and chiefly he was a diplomatist and not a practical politician, and as such considered himself totally unfitted to cope with the conflicting problems and factions of home politics. So that all things considered it is perhaps not quite fair to speak of *il gran rifiuto* and put down to extreme selfishness his desire to possess his soul, cultivate his garden, and write works which he seriously meant to be of use to the community.

Mr. Beaven's account of the politics and personalities of the time is written in a clear and pleasant style; the essay is distinctively from the point of view of political history; therefore it is not surprising perhaps that the literary criticism of Temple is somewhat inadequate, and there are various conclusions that might be challenged if space permitted. The author, by the way, differs from Macaulay in giving less credit to Temple for far-reaching intentions in the establishment of the new Privy Council; and he backs his view by adducing a considerable weight of contemporary opinion, besides the agreement of two nineteenth century historians of the period, that Temple was much less solely responsible for the scheme than he himself represented, or than has been frequently thought.

MARY LOVE.

A BLACK WATCH EPISODE OF THE YEAR 1731. Compiled from Contemporary Records. With an Introduction and Notes. By H. D. MacWilliam. Pp. 50. La. 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, Ltd. 1908. 5s. nett.

WITH patient zeal the author has got together some new facts which add considerably to our knowledge of the early history of the Black Watch. He prints the Orders for Raising and Augmenting the Companies in 1725 and 1727, and in some points corrects General Stewart of Garth. The 'Episode' he puts before his readers was the killing of Ensign James Grant, by John M'Neill of Lord Lovat's Company, in August, 1731. A court-martial was held on the prisoner, then he was again tried, and was eventually sentenced (through the influence of Lord Lovat, who wrote that 'the drunken villain is well out of the way') to transportation to America for life.

The whole history of this incident is interesting from the Highland customs it reveals and the genealogical facts it shows, and the author is to be congratulated on his careful work.

RUINED AND DESERTED CHURCHES. By Lucy Elizabeth Beedham. Pp. 106. With numerous illustrations. Post 8vo. London: Elliot Stock. 1908. 5s.

THIS fascinating little book is likely to have a wide circle of readers, not only for the pleasant gossip it contains about ruined and disused churches, but for the original pictures which give a charm to a well-written narrative. The lady who planned it can use her camera with as much skill as her pen, and it is the blending of these accomplishments in so rare a combination which makes the book so attractive. We shall be much surprised if the publication is not welcomed by the antiquary, artist, architect, and ecclesiologist, as well as by the unprofessional book-lover who wishes to study at his leisure some of the most beautiful objects of our English landscapes.

CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). Pp. xx, 297, with Plan. Post 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1908. 4s. 6d. nett.

REGARDED either as an English rendering to be used for translation purposes, or as a companion volume to Dr. Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* and *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, this work is admirable. The English is free and literary, and at the same time true to the meaning of the original. The book is well furnished with footnotes, explanatory of the text and its subject-matter and giving references to works bearing on the subject, and it has an excellent map and a very complete index.

The tract on *The 'Interpretations' of the Bishops and their influence on Elizabethan Episcopal Policy*, by W. H. Kennedy (Alcuin Club Tracts: Longmans & Co. 1908) forms an interesting contribution towards the

solution of the vexed question of the correct interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer. The 'Interpretations' have been known to students in different and generally imperfect forms since the time of Strype; but Mr. Kennedy has been able to produce what will generally be accepted as the authoritative version, based as it is on a careful examination of sounds. Mr. Kennedy in his introduction treats the document as evidence of 'a wider policy' on the part of the bishops, and as 'the earliest attempt on their part to dispense with some of the legal ceremonial requirements rather than alienate the vast majority of the clergy.' He has satisfied himself that 'the ceremonial compromise erected by the document was in some cases effectual.' The subject is a thorny one, and the document is open to widely differing interpretations, but all students of the period are indebted to Mr. Kennedy for the production of a complete text for the first time.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

To the Clarendon Press we are indebted for a very pretty reprint of Galt's *Annals of the Parish* (pp. xxiv, 216; with frontispiece, 2s. 6d. nett), to which Mr. G. S. Gordon, of Magdalen College, has contributed an interesting introduction. We are inclined, however, to think that Mr. Gordon underestimates the interest taken in Galt when he says that 'the present generation knows nothing about him.'

The English County History movement for schools already noticed in Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn's little story-volume on Berkshire (*S.H.R.* vi. 213) is carried further by the same author's *School History of Berkshire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, 8vo, pp. 256, with 61 illustrations, price 1s. 6d.), which is a bright, popular sketch. Its illustrations, the work of the author's pupils, are distinctively architectural, and the work shows kindred sympathies. In the notice of Windsor the error, corrected by Mr. J. T. T. Brown, as to King James I.'s prison being Windsor is repeated. The *Kingis Quair* may have been in some degree a historical romance of Berkshire, but Mr. Lamborn is clearly wrong in supposing that the royal author was continuously a prisoner at Windsor. Berkshire annals are full of spirit, and a spirited interpreter of them, like Mr. Lamborn, may well make the schoolboy's task of study a patriotic pleasure.

*The English Historical Review* sustains a level of excellence which is beyond the reach of envy, and is chiefly due to its cultivation of studies at first-hand by specialist authorities and to its constancy of textual contributions. The January number shows its customary catholicity, covering themes so widely apart as the campaign of A.D. 324 between Constantine and Licinius, which determined the fortunes of the Empire and made Europe Christendom, the Counter-Reformation in Germany as illustrated in the career (1521-69) of the Jesuit Petrus Canisius, the economic causes of the Scottish Union, and the British relations with Napoleon in 1802. Dr. Figgis draws from the memorials of the suave and able Canisius a spirited sketch of the clerical, social and political conditions prevalent

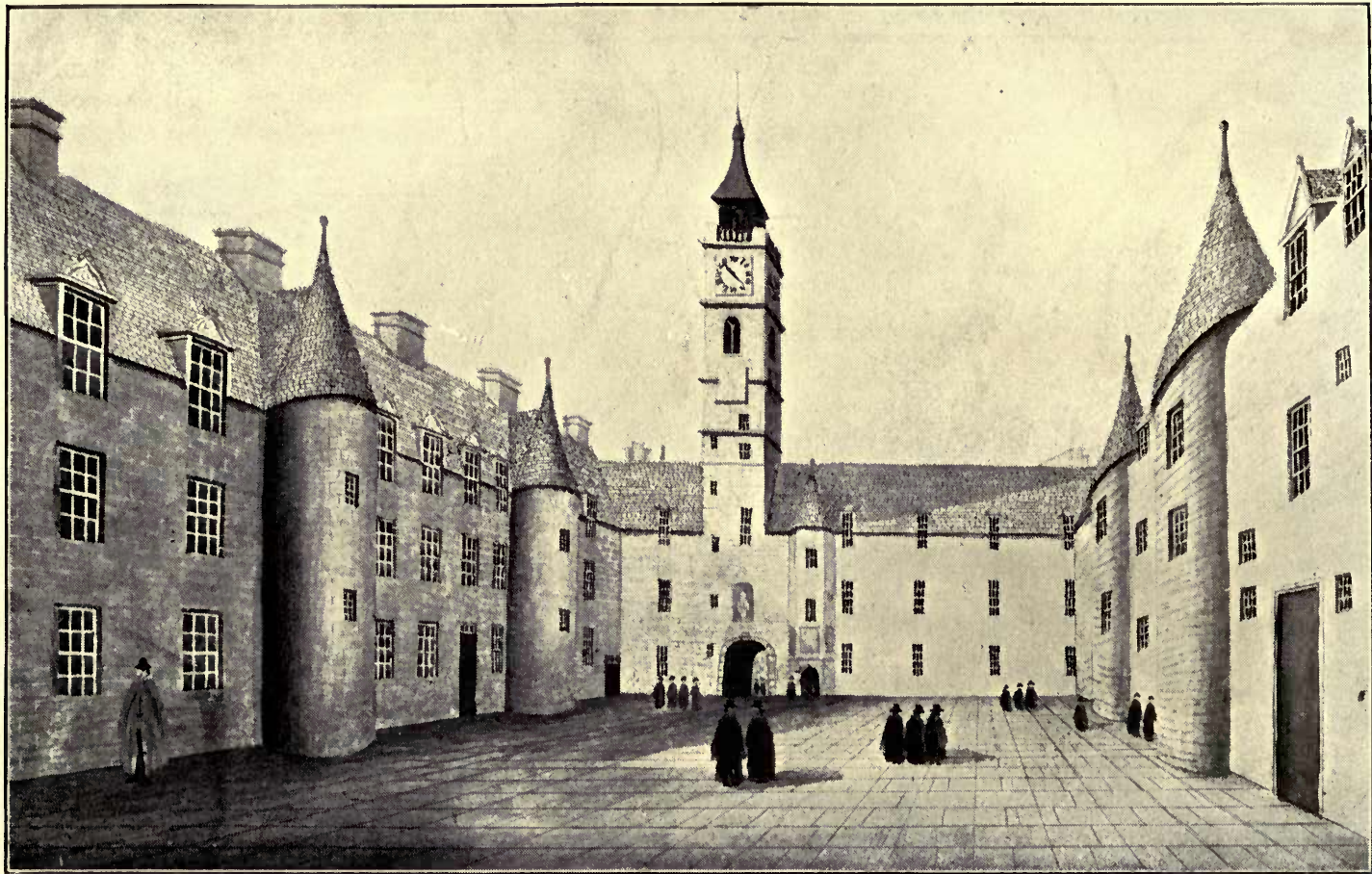
between the classes which made the long debate and struggle of the Reformation, especially the students and controversialists of the time. Numerous citations from his utterances are lively and pregnant reflections of a disputatious age. Miss Theodora Keith, in tracing the influence of trading relationships upon policy in England and Scotland, appears to advantage in a field to which some of her studies in our own columns have served a useful purpose of introduction. Her present essay emphasises the direct force of the economic cross purposes, combined with the question of the succession, as the compelling elements of the Union. In a paper on an Italian rendering of Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici Quinti*, Mr. Hamilton Wylie by printing several pages of the Italian MS. text gives the proof that the translator worked from Tito Livio's original, not from the expanded narrative attributed to Thomas Elmham. The latter work Mr. Wylie inclines to regard as only a version of the life by Tito Livio 'expanded and embellished by himself.'

*The Genealogist* (Oct.) among its pedigree records, which are many and serviceable, with heraldic plates, prints a Roll of Arms of 1673.

The Devonshire church of Branscombe and the Sussex manor house of Cowdray are chief themes of the *Reliquary* for January. Its illustrations comprise fine bits of early pottery.

*The Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (May-Nov.) collects an endless variety of provincial memorials, and illustrates many of them. The high cross of Drumgolan, the heraldry of Clonoe churchyard, the cross-slabs in the Franciscan friary at Doe Castle and at Dunsford Protestant Church, the records and insignia of Irish volunteers, the O'Neill Castle at Seafin, and the round church of Carrickfergus Castle, supply pictures and text as interesting as the portraits and biographies of Ulster notables of whom the poets and harpers are a *genus* by themselves. Andrew Craig, Presbyterian minister of Lisburn, wrote an autobiography in or about 1787, and the frontispiece of the May-August number reproduces an original drawing by him of Glasgow University *circa* 1790, showing the interior of the quadrangle, with gowned figures promenading the flagstones, and giving a peep through the archway under the clock-tower to High Street. By permission of Messrs. Davidson and M'Cormack we reproduce this.

Several papers in the January number of the *American Historical Review* concern European subjects. One of these by G. Seeliger takes up a vital side of feudalism in an attempt to ascertain the relations between seigniorial authority and the state in early German history. He dismisses the proposition that seigniorial authority was the true cradle of German territorialism, and that out of it the German states were developed. He denies that the German town grew out of seigniorial institutions concerning agriculture, holds that the empire formed the German state, which was never broken up into the dominions of private lords, as



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Germany was never fully feudalised, and arrives at the major conclusion that all the essential elements of corporate and communal power originated in the empire, and are imperial powers transferred to local spheres. But these opinions are provokingly theoretical and unconvincing.

Another essay, very different, by Prof. Alex. Bugge, deals with the origin and credibility of the Icelandic Saga. He asserts that the saga developed in the Viking settlements on the British Isles earlier than it did in Norway or in Iceland. The first saga to arise concerning a Norwegian king was the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason who fell in the year 1000. A saga of him was narrated in England in the eleventh century. Olaf was, according to Prof. Bugge, confounded with another Olaf, the Northumbrian king, known by the Celtic name Cuaran. He fought at Brunanburh in 937, and has been regarded as the prototype of Havelok the Dane (*S.H.R.* i. 446). Mr. Bugge is to discuss the entire question in a Year-book of Northern Antiquities, after which Prof. Skeat and Prof. Gollancz may have a word to say about the interesting romance-pedigree.

A statement that Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum* 'is full of Viking stories,' and that Geoffrey was quoting from an Irish saga on the battle of Clontarf when describing the fight of the armies of Brennius and Belinus, is hardly established by the citations made. The armies met near a forest named Calaterium, says Geoffrey (iii. 3), and their cohorts fell 'like corn before the reapers.' The same phrase is used in an Irish saga about the fall of the warriors in the forest at Clontarf in the battle of 1014, and the Irish saga connects with an ancient Norse saga of King Brian. There is bold, ingenious and not unpersuasive speculation in thus equating King Brennius with King Brian Boru, the forest and battlefield of Calaterium on the sea coast with the forest and battlefield of Clontarf, near Dublin, the harvest-like fall of Norwegians and Britons with the slaughter—'as when a great host are reaping a field'—of Danes and Irish in 1014, and the final flight of the defeated Brennius and his Norwegians to their ships pursued by Belinus to the flight of the defeated Danes pursued by the victorious troops of Brian Boru. But it is a very far cry, and before believing one would fain seek further and better grounds of faith.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1906* (vol. i. pp. 454, vol. ii. pp. 572, Washington Government Printing Office, 1908), although naturally taken up chiefly with material of American history, displays at once the catholicity of research and the energetic prosecution of study abroad as well as at home. Indian Consolidation and the Civil War are native themes discussed, and the whole of the second volume is devoted to reports on the public and local archives of various states. Several papers deal with phases of British history prior to the Declaration of Independence. Miss Susan M. Kingsbury compares the Virginia Company, organized in 1609, with the English trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and shows the concern not only as a trading company but also as a vital part of the general

commercial movement which advanced the colony and made easy the development of Crown control on the dissolution of the association. Her conclusion urges the imperative need for publication of many records of similar companies in order to disclose the economic history of the seventeenth century. Mr. G. L. Beer surveys the general colonial policy of Britain from 1760 until 1765, in which dominant considerations were the desire to encourage colonial production of goods imported by Britain, to play off the British West Indies against the French in the Antilles, and to levy a share of the costs of garrisons from the colonies on which they were stationed.

Professor E. Channing, in an appreciation of William Penn, emphasizes the want of practical judgment which explained the failure of his fine theories and intentions when applied to the mechanism of actual government in Pennsylvania. Pedagogic reports of great interest register a conference on the teaching of history in the elementary schools, and another on its place in the college curriculum. The syllabus for school courses connecting European and American events from Roman times to the present day is a capital programme, while the views of contributors to a discussion on more advanced general teaching display healthy disagreements, both as regards sequence of subjects and method, as well as matter, of instruction. Nor is the interest of the medieval student left wholly ungratified. Prof. Dana C. Munro has found an attractive title to work upon in the 'Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,' which he seeks to establish by its development of political ideas, of literature, and even of science, especially instancing geography nourished by the crusades. John of Salisbury's argument for tyrannicide is connected with Suger's career as a statesman and the preaching of St. Bernard. Mr. H. O. Taylor has allowed himself only a little more scope in 'A Medieval Humanist,' viz. Bishop Hildebert of Lavardin (1095-1134), whose letters and verses reward a re-examination. His verse was worth quotation; there is still charm in such a couplet as this about the remains of statuary at Rome:

'Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,  
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.'

But when the Bishop drops into the free leonine hexameters familiar to his age, his critic should hardly commit the solecism of saying that his pen was freed from the restraints of metre.

In the issue for October last of the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord*, M. Petit-Dutaillis gives in nearly eighty pages of most valuable and curious text, the concluding instalment (see *S.H.R.* v. 381, 515; vi. 100) of the letters of remission granted by Philip the Good between 1438 and 1467. A strange record of crimes is presented by the documents. Much of it is drunken violence originating in the tavern, whether *le Paon*, *le Baers*, *le Coquelet*, *le Tour a vaiches*, *les Trois Roys* or *la Fleur de lys*, and the quarrels are sometimes rendered with a vigour extraordinary for such writs. Revenge and jealousy are frequent motives of disturbance in spite of the 'peace and satisfaction'—a security for good behaviour to which parties have previously had to subject themselves. Types closely

similar to instances cited in previous notices constantly recur, for vengeance and turbulence are chronic.

An example or two may be added. Jehan Lecdoul had complained of getting a beating from Jehan Caudun. Soon after Denis Caffet, brother-in-law of Jehan Lecdoul, came one night upon Jehan Caudun and in revenge attacked and stabbed him with a boar spear on the thigh, so that he died; wherefore Denis fled and went a-crusading into Turkey in 1464 and elsewhere, and afterwards on pilgrimage to Rome. On his return to Lille in 1467 Denis, with six others, went to drink in the tavern of the *Fleur de lys*. His comrades left him there without paying the score, and as it was 'the custom of the said town that the last pays all,' he was sent to the town prison, where says the good Duke who pardoned him, 'he is doomed to end his days if our grace and mercy are not granted to him.' Occasionally advantage is taken of the privilege of sanctuary. A form of insult is to refuse to drink with one who proposes it, the refusal leading in the case of Cornille Gheeritssone to a mishap *en chaude colle*—'of the which stroke the said Therry about five or six days afterwards terminated his life by death.' Subsequently Cornille made peace and compact with Therry's relatives, which the Duke confirmed by a remission. Some of the narratives suggest how surprisingly little variation the vocabulary of personal abuse shows in the Newgate Calendar of Europe from the fourteenth century to our own. M. Petit-Dutaillis, by the tribute he has drawn from the archives, justifies the conclusions of his introductory dissertation by a body of authentic evidence as remarkable for its actuality and vividness as for its social, historical and legal significance. How grimly the old order was dying, yet how steadily it was dying, has nowhere been better shown than by the series of these articles which we are almost reluctant to see completed.

## Queries and Replies

WINE ON THE NIGHT OF A DEATH (*S.H.R.* vi. 141). Mr. J. G. A. Baird thinks it difficult to account for the purchase of '8 bottles of sack ye night ye said Anna died' (12th May, 1699). I venture to suggest that it was for the use of those who would 'wake,' or watch, the body during the three days and nights between the lady's death and her funeral. I asked my mother—an old lady of ninety-six—about the custom of 'waking' the dead, as she remembers it in Banffshire in her early days.

The origin of the custom, she informs me,—so, she says, she used to be told,—was lest rats, or cats, 'or other vermin,' should begin to gnaw the corpse! Houses, especially in the country, were very open—the doors did not close; and there were many wild creatures about, polecats and foxes, as well as rats. Obviously, if this reason for the practice existed in Scotland, it existed no less in Ireland, where the cabins of the poor were so wretched.

So far back as my mother's memory extends—and she clearly remembers deaths among her kindred in 1820, and before that—the practice of 'waking' the dead had been given up among the better classes, whose houses were well finished; but there were some families even in the upper ranks who retained the old custom, simply because it was a custom. Among the poor, however, in their miserable cottages (the older sort of which, as she remembers them, had no structural partitions whatever), the need continued, and with the need the observance. Friends and neighbours sat with the dead by turns, both by day and night. Among the more pious, one of the little company would read aloud a chapter of the Bible; possibly the same thing might be done where there was less piety, for the purpose of scaring 'bogles.' Readers of *Rob Roy* will remember how Andrew Fairservice employed 'the namiest chapter in Nehemiah' as an exorcism; while readers of *Redgauntlet* will recall how 'naebody cared to wake' the dead Sir Robert, 'like any other corpse.' Dougal provided himself for the occasion with a tass of brandy; the genteel friends of the Edinburgh merchant's widow very naturally would have 'sack.' The Banffshire peasants of the first half of the nineteenth century took care to provide either beer, or a bottle of whisky, and bread. The custom was still necessary in the Old Town of Keith, and still in use there, when my mother left that county in 1845. JAMES COOPER.

The University, Glasgow.

20th February, 1909.

THE MAKING OF IRELAND AND ITS UNDOING (*S.H.R.* vi. 194). The questions opened in this book have been hitherto little studied. In fact, the whole history of the Celtic races comprised in the United Kingdom is in a very backward state, not only in Ireland but in Scotland. Ignorance has remained entrenched behind a theory of barbarism. When that theory is broken down we shall have a more true, a more varied, and a more interesting survey of the history of these islands than is now possible.

In his review of my book Dr. Lawlor's object is to show that no serious attention need be given to my argument for a richer trade and a higher culture in Medieval Ireland than has been formerly supposed. I should regret if the idea prevailed that I have proved nothing, and that there need be no further curiosity; because I am particularly anxious to awaken curiosity, so that new workers, and many of them, may open fresh studies in the history of Ireland and Scotland.

On this ground alone I ask for some explanation in your pages.

A few words first as to the authorities which Dr. Lawlor accuses me of leaving out. Much leniency is shown to those who maintain the orthodox legend of Irish barbarism. They may leave out what they choose.<sup>1</sup> A sudden strictness, on the other hand, is discovered for those who dare to question the legend. I may venture a word on my own behalf. I was not writing a general history of Ireland, but merely gathering together some indications as to the trade, social life, and culture of medieval Irishmen—a study which has been too generally ignored by historians. Some selection of materials was inevitable. The Statutes are very important, and I quoted those of England and Ireland so far as they related to my subject. I did not quote them from Berry's *Early Irish Statutes* because that volume appeared after most of my book was in print. There is very little for me in the *Pipe Rolls*. The *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls* covers so far *eight* years, and for that time confirms my statements as to foreign trade. The *Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls* give certain licenses, mostly to Englishmen, for trade, and incidentally strengthen the argument for the export from Ireland of corn, peas, beans, and wool, and add some evidence for the trade with Scotland. The references confirm my story, but they are not of much use to me. The *Fiants* are quite useless for my purpose; grants of lands, fees, pardons, they contain scarcely anything on trade, and nothing on culture. The trade and culture of Ireland were not all organised by the English Government, and were indeed mainly independent of it. The most important references are not in the English records. I might rather have been blamed for not having used the *Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch*, a fault which I have remedied for a future edition.

We now proceed to the main body of criticisms. I have gone over a wide ground in attempting to gather up indications of trade, social life,

<sup>1</sup> Has not Mr. Bagwell omitted in his many volumes of Irish history to give any reference to the records of the Bruges Staple or of the Hanse towns for Irish trade, or the evidences of Irish culture given by Stanihurst, in Irish manuscripts, or in the work of scholars such as Dr. Norman Moore or Mr. Whitley Stokes?

and culture in the Middle Ages. Dr. Lawlor takes a small part of my account of Waterford, and examines half a dozen points. My special contention with regard to Irish towns is, that the colonists and the Irish got on well together in them, and through trade and marriage and common interests learned to live together happily and profitably for their country. It is interesting to find how singularly unwelcome this theory is. I am quite unable to understand the particular kind of jealousy felt by Englishmen in Ireland for the reputation of their ancestors or fore-runners. No slur on their fair name seems to be as dark as the suggestion that they ever made friends with an Irishman, gave him equality of opportunity, or lived even for business purposes on good terms with him. At once the Englishman of Ireland is up in arms. *That* at least their worthy ancestors and models of behaviour never did! The stainless colonists were too 'loyal' for that. They lived on their own little local industries, a small thing indeed, but the laborious Englishman's own; what had he to say to the 'hinterland,' what need to make friends with any Irishman? It seems even now to hurt an Englishman less to tell of his plundering, hanging, selling into slavery, refusing religion or education to the Irish, than to suggest that he took them into his towns and did prosperous business with them on equal terms. Surely we may exclaim with Lynch, 'That time could not slacken or cool down the fiery ardour of this hatred, that English obstinacy should be eternal, is truly astonishing.'

Dr. Lawlor is not without this characteristic jealousy for his race. He cannot believe that Waterford drew from its 'hinterland' Irish manufactured goods. We need not fancy manufactured articles were sent out to pay for silks and furs and wines and spices. 'Foreign fineries' were bought in some ruder and more indolent a fashion. He blames me for not informing my readers of the document that tells how the extravagance of women in dress brought their city to poverty and idleness, with the 'obvious conclusion' that a trade must have been small indeed to be thus easily ruined. I can only answer that there is no such document. As there is positive evidence of a large trade (for medieval times) we are not left to fancy conjectures. We know the merchants bought cloth from all the Irish counties round them. I have given proofs (pp. 145-152) that English traders during and after the wars of conquest, were backed by the English government in carrying away 'yarn unwrought,' for the benefit of English weavers and to the loss of the Irish. I have shown how Lord-Deputy Sidney attempted to save 'the manufacture of commodities within the country,' and how his efforts were foiled. Waterford, an active manufacturing centre, shared in the poverty and distress which this policy was bringing on Ireland. The Council sought to revive the home industries, first by forbidding export of wool, then by an order for the use of home fabrics. In this ordinance of 1599 nothing is said of extravagance; but only a complaint that citizens and their servants 'do wear in their attire no part or parcell of anything wrought within this city or realm'; and to the end 'the inhabitants of this city may be withdrawn from idleness and made to work and content themselves with the clothes wrought

and made within this realm,' it was ordered that no citizen or his servants 'shall wear in their attire or garment any fur, fringe, lace, silk, or any woollen or linen *save such as shall be wrought within this city or realm.*' The economic situation was very like that of our own day in Ireland. It would be manifestly absurd to accuse the modern Sinn Fein party, who urge the use of Irish fabrics, of having brought Irish commerce to ruin by their previous spendthrift extravagance in dress. The question was really the violent capture of the market by the dominant partner, then in a very dominating mood.

2. Dr. Lawlor accuses me of quoting, or rather misquoting, the rule against defaming a man by calling him Irishman. I did not quote or misquote, but gave a summary which I see no reason to alter. The ordinance was made in 1384, and may have been taken from two Statutes passed some few years before, in 1357 and 1366, forbidding quarrels between Englishmen born in England or in Ireland. Whether there were enough new in-comers of English birth in 1384 into Waterford to make such a rule necessary I cannot say. It would seem at least possible that in the common use of ordinary people the phrase came to fit the facts, and was used to forbid quarrels and defamations between men of English and mixed Irish blood. If the rule took this wider meaning in Waterford (as I think it must inevitably have done in Galway) then it shows more fusion of races than was contemplated or desired in the Statute of Kilkenny.

3. As to Irish as well as English freemen carrying arms (1470) I quoted the words 'be he never so simple,' because in the circumstances of the capture and settlement of Waterford, it is probable that the class described 'be he never so simple,' would contain Irishmen. I think my sentence as it stands is liable to mistake, and I alter it to the statement that every freeman, Irish or English, 'be he never so simple,' was bound to carry arms.

4. Dr. Lawlor objects to my saying that 'their language was secured to the Irish.' The ordinance of 1492 decreed that freemen and foreigners were to plead in English in the courts, the foreigner having 'a man that can speak English to declare his matter, *except one party be of the country; then every such dweller shall be at liberty to speak Irish.*' This seems to me to give what I contend for, that no Irishman was forced to speak English in court. How much Irish was used in the courts depended on how many Irishmen there were in the town.

5. In his suggestion that Irishmen were put under a special disability by the town's requiring them to have 'their liberty of the king' Dr. Lawlor overlooks the conditions of the case. The rule that a man of Irish blood must have his freedom from the king before he was received into the city does not imply any distrust or hostility of the towns to the Irish. By English law Irishmen, unless enfranchised by special charters, were not admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England; and they were therefore disabled from bringing actions in court, and so far out of the protection of the law that it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace. (See

Davies, *Discovery*, 77-101; Berry, Stat. 211; *H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 308.) Now by the rules of Waterford, as distinguished from the laws of the English government, the slaying of a man, English or Irish, was punished under one law (*H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 309-7); and all pleas were tried in the same court. It was thus essential that every Irish citizen should be openly admitted to the use and protection of the common law, to preserve the order of the city, and to prevent legal complications. The English government, if we believe Davies (p. 86), intended to make a perpetual separation between English and Irish. The city rulers, on the other hand, united them on terms of complete equality in the courts, which, I think, was a reasonable and friendly relation.

6. Again, Dr. Lawlor says I do not 'seem to refer' to the ordinance against selling materials for a boat to any idle-man of the surrounding counties—which law, he says, 'is hardly consistent with relations entirely friendly with the neighbouring Irish.' Dr. Lawlor takes idle-men to be Irishmen: Mr. Dunlop in the *Quarterly Review* assumes them to be Englishmen. In any case I have pointed out on p. 182 that ordinances of this kind were the usual medieval precautions taken by towns everywhere against the smuggling competition of outland or country men. Waterford had a large traffic throughout the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow, for frieze, timber, and victuals, much of it river-borne. A considerable timber trade in the fifteenth century was carried in boats, the number of men to each boat, and their wages being fixed, and all sworn to be true to the king and *the city* (*H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 296, 299, 325). No doubt the monopoly of boat traffic was jealously guarded, not only against the Irish smugglers of the surrounding counties but against the English interlopers also.

So far for my 'curious method of dealing with the evidence' as regards the towns. I still adhere to my belief, founded on many illustrations which I have given, that in the towns as in the country there were friendly relations and a gradual fusion of the two races. It is such instances that prove to me the belief I have expressed that all the wrong-doing was not on the side of the English. (See p. 233.) Where the English and Irish settled down together to do their common business, and take share alike in the development of the country, they did well enough. An 'exploiting' government from London, and 'adventurers' flocking over to grab the land and expel the 'natives,' made another story.

Finally, Dr. Lawlor confounds me as to the culture of Ireland by a single effort. He says I have made too much of Waterford School. Here is a list of my assumptions. I state that in 1518 the scholars were numerous, because I presume that unless there had been a good many 'scholars' who bought wax to make their own candles, the town would not have troubled to forbid that practice. In 1469 there were a large number of Irish gentlemen's children boarded in Waterford, and considering the general love of education in Ireland, and the universal speaking of Latin as a second tongue, I believe they went to school to learn it. In such a centre of commerce is it conceivable that some



of these for business purposes learned somehow English, French, or Spanish? We have later evidence that it was the custom of the Irish gentry to send their children to town schools for training. In reply to an imaginary assertion that the Irish lived as far as possible from the towns—'the new Irish and the old dwell in the same places,' said Lynch. 'If the character of the townsmen were so depraved, then the whole nobility of Ireland, both of the ancient and of the newer stock, would not send their children among them to be instructed both in letters and in polite manners.' I further presume the school was a sufficient one, because Peter White, bred at Waterford, had gone thence to Oxford and was lecturing there on metaphysics in 1563. Other Waterford men, Walshe and Quemerford, were at Oxford in 1530 and 1535. I suppose they had some education first. And I venture to guess they learned Irish geography and history, because Richard Stanihurst, pupil of Peter White the Waterford man, had learned something of these studies, and neither master nor pupil would have gained any such knowledge at Oxford. I suppose Peter White picked up something of them at Waterford.

These are my suppositions. Dr. Lawlor may prefer other suppositions, that these Waterford Englishmen learned nothing, having too petty and narrow a trade to need even Latin, and taught nothing to the Irish who came among them. Does therefore the whole evidence I have given of learning in Ireland fall to the ground? Is there nothing worthy of attention in the cumulative argument I have offered in some 150 pages? Will it be possible in future to write of Ireland on the unquestioned assumption that its people were barbarous in customs, incapable of manufactures, and recalcitrant to learning?

I have not space to notice a number of other points to which I should have liked to call attention, and I can only in conclusion urge that Celtic history shall be taken up on all sides with new vigour, by men earnest to open up fresh fields of enquiry and knowledge. It is ardently to be hoped that Scotch students will pursue the study of Celtic Scotland on better lines than those of Skene, and will collect what may still be known of its medieval trade and culture, and its relations in both these directions with Ireland.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

I have read Mrs. Green's remarks with care, and with all readiness to be convinced. But I see no reason to modify or to withdraw anything that I said in my notice of her book; and it seems to me that no good purpose would be gained by examining afresh the points raised in her reply. I content myself, therefore, with an attempt to remove a misconception by which it appears to be in large measure inspired. Mrs. Green describes me as an Englishman in Ireland jealous for the honour of my ancestors, 'the stainless colonists,' and arguing (so she insinuates) with corresponding prejudice. But 'very many of her most confident assertions will be found to have little or no evidence to support them,' and in the present case I am unable even to guess the grounds on

which her assumption rests. I should have supposed that my surname would have led one so well versed in Irish affairs to a different view of my nationality. The fact is that I am an Irishman; and I have good reason to believe that there flows in my veins not a drop of the blood of the 'colonists,' except such as may have filtered through generations of men *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. But I am a seeker for historic truth, and I have yet to learn that I should be more likely to attain the object of my search if I allowed myself to be guided by anti-English animus.

H. J. LAWLOR.

#### CELTIC SCOTLAND IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The thesis of Mr. Evan M. Barron, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. vi. pp. 129-139) is that 'the old Celtic kingdom of Scotland really maintained and ultimately won that struggle.' What is or was 'the old Celtic kingdom of Scotland'? If Mr. Barron means as much of Scotland as was held, say, by Duncan ('the gracious Duncan,' or the usurper properly punished by Macbeth, as you please), nobody will differ from him. Again, all over Scotland in the time of Robert Bruce, the people, even when they had long been English in speech and in institutions, must have had in their veins a good deal of the blood of ancestral Celts or, at least, of ancestors who spoke a Celtic language.

Mr. Barron's argument, however, is that 'the part played by the *North of Scotland* in the War of Independence has been consistently ignored by Scottish historians.' This would suggest that Southern Scots alone have written the history of Scotland. Why have the northern men been so indolent? But the fact seems to me to be that Mr. Barron conceives of 'the north of Scotland' and 'Celtic Scotland' as synonymous terms, while he also appears to regard 'the Lowlanders' as necessarily the people of the south. By the Lowlands, when I write of the Lowlands, I mean 'the low countrie,' as the bereaved lady sings in 'I wish I were where Goudie rins.' I mean the fertile low country which is found all along the east coast and in the *hinterland* of the east coast in Fifeshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Kincardineshire, the county of Moray, Ross-shire, and the shire of Inverness, and so on. By Bruce's time in the greater part of this territory burghs were established whose inhabitants were English in language, ideas and institutions, while the *seigneurs* were usually English, Anglo-Norman, or, even when of Celtic origin, Anglicised in name, speech, and manners. Take the names of the leaders who, at one time or another, sided with Bruce, north of Forth. David de Moravia is not a Celtic name: we all know that the higher clergy were either English or Anglicised by the time of Bruce, like Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews. Does Mr. Barron suppose that the Bishop of Moravia preached a 'Holy War'—in Gaelic, and that in Gaelic the preachers of the North-Eastern Lowlands addressed their flocks, including, for example, the writer of the well-known letter from Forfar?<sup>1</sup> I shall be happy to consider any evidence to this effect.

<sup>1</sup> Bain, ii. p. 513.

We may ascertain the speech, and to some extent the race of the leaders of northern Scotland from Perth to Elgin, by the inspection of the portion of Ragman's Roll for that district. Out of more than eighty names of signatories, I find only six at most which, I think, may possibly be Celtic. Fitzcan, perhaps, is Macan (?), but I have not observed a 'Mac' in the northern list. Now, no fewer than forty-five clan names with 'Mac' occur in the volume of Bain's Calendar which contains Ragman's Roll. I am not denying that many of the gentlemen and burghers who sign may have had Celtic blood, more or less, but they were Anglicised in names, speech, and ideas. Mr. Barron's Frasers, Cheynes, Hays, Berkeleys, Wisemans, Fentons, are non-Celtic names; non-Celtic is the great Alexander Pilche, like the famous cricketer Fuller Pilch.

Again, Mr. Barron must be aware that the landowners of Aberdeenshire and Angus were ancestors of the men who, at Harlaw, when 'Donald came branking down the brae,' repulsed the truly Celtic warriors that had trysted their galleys in Loch Aline. They were Lowlanders, the cavalry who

'Rode the ranks sae rude  
As they would among the fern,'

when

'Hielands and Lowlands might mournful be,  
For the sair fecht o' Harlaw.'

The regions where the leading men were Celtic are the west and the Isles. Their policy, as far as they were united in a policy, was alliance with England against Anglicised Scotland, against the Scottish Crown. This policy endured till the fall of the Lords of the Isles, and appears in the Treaty of Ardtornish and Westminster.

The north of Scotland did to Bruce knight's service, who denies it? He was superior of the Earldom of Garioch, and natural guardian of the young Earl of Mar, as Mr. Barron says. He had these claims on the north, and I have shewn irrefutably that, in the north, the leading men were Anglicised Lowlanders in an enormous proportion. Their followings, Celt or English, followed them. Bruce won the towns more rapidly than in the south, because they were more remote from the English base, and the burghers and knights were Anglicised, were Lowlanders.

When we add to the northern leaders of non-Celtic names,

Douglas,  
Randolph,  
Keith,  
Lindsay,  
Wallace,  
Stewart,  
Ramsay,  
Thomson,  
Boyd,

we see that the men who made Scotland independent were almost all 'Lowland,' 'Anglo-Norman,' and (whether they had Celtic ancestors or not) were men of English speech, bred under English institutions.

The most eminent and serviceable Celts who joined Bruce were Donald of Islay, Sir Niall Campbell, the Knight of Lochow, whose clan, till the days of the gleyed marquis, was true to the Crown, and Angus Og, to whom, I think, Bruce owed his Highland and Island contingent at Bannockburn. Without these Celts the Maccowalls would have been too heavy for Bruce, and these Celts played a noble part in shaking off the English yoke. But surely no southern historian has denied to the Celts their share in the glory? Again, the followings of the Lowland or Anglicised nobles, knights and bishops of the north (present at Inverness in 1312) must have been, to a large extent, of Celtic origin. But they were brought into the cause by their leaders, men of English speech, bred in English institutions.

I no more 'hold a special brief' against the Celts than Mr. Barron holds a brief for them. It was not 'unpatriotic' for the western Celts to be old enemies of Anglicised Scotland, as they proclaim themselves in their dealings with Henry VIII. Their king was the Lord of the Isles, or any Macheth or Macwilliam, their ally was England, their cause was the retention of their land and institutions, and recovery of the territory from which the English had been driving them for many centuries. Their Bannockburn was Nechtan's Mere: their defeat was Harlaw. They were not to be successful; they had little education, had scarcely a truly Celtic town, and they had no horses fit for cavalry use.

ANDREW LANG.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.** Mr. Evan Barron's complaint that Scottish historians have given undue credit to the people of Lowland Scotland for their share in winning independence for the realm, raises a somewhat invidious question which, in the interest of civil harmony, it might perhaps have been wiser to allow to slumber. He attributes Bruce's success 'to the support he obtained in the north and in other parts of Celtic Scotland.'

Now Celtic Scotland, roughly speaking, consisted in the fourteenth century of the Highland counties (not including Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, where the population was chiefly Scandinavian), the Western Isles and Galloway. In these districts, owing to their physical character, Bruce and his adherents most naturally sought shelter in times of stress. He found in the Celtic and semi-Celtic north several powerful territorial lords, chiefly of Norman or Flemish descent—Fraseres, Hays, Keiths, Morays, Lindsays, etc., who brought out their feudal retainers in his cause. That the people at large—the burgesses, kindly tenants and *adscripti glebae* cared little of which king they were subjects we may surely believe; as little as did the Atholl clansmen whom Lord Tullibardine had to burn out of their houses to make them fight for Prince Charlie in 1745. Ensign Small, employed on secret service in the Highlands in 1750 no doubt reported

truly that—'The gentry are fond of a rising; the commoners hate it'; and so it must ever be in dynastic war. In the southern uplands of Galloway, a thoroughly Celtic district, the chiefs and their people were all for Norman Balliol and entertained a deadly hatred for Bruce.

Most of the hard fighting, from Stirling Bridge in 1297 to Bannockburn in 1314, went on in the lowlands; the burden of defence lying especially and constantly upon the English-speaking countries of Lothian and the Border. What forces could Bruce have reckoned on had the stout pikemen of Annandale and the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire failed him? How would his cause have been affected by defection of the Knight of Liddesdale's border riders or the bowmen of Ettrick and Teviotdale?

Turning to the ethnology of the most prominent champions of independence, the preponderance is certainly not Celtic. Besides Robert Bruce (himself, like John Balliol, of Norman descent, but born of a Celtic mother) there occur to mind Wallace, his colleague young Andrew Moray, Randolph, Earl of Moray, Sir James Douglas, Sir Christopher Seton, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, Sir Robert Keith, who commanded the small force of cavalry at Bannockburn, Walter the Steward, who shared with Douglas the command of the left wing at the same battle, Sir Simon Fraser, Bishop William Fraser of St. Andrews, and Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow. Of these, Wallace may be claimed as a Brythonic Celt—*le Waleys*, the Welshman—a native of Strathclyde, part of ancient Cumbria or Wales, but in no sense a Scottish Highlander. Of the rest, Randolph was descended from the Galloway Pict, Dunegal of Straithnith, but he was no Highlander, deriving all his influence from the lands of his family in Nithsdale. Lennox certainly was a Highland chief, but Andrew Moray and James Douglas were probably of common descent from Freskin the Fleming, whom David I. had planted in the turbulent district of Moray 150 years earlier. Wyntoun admits that the pedigree could not be clearly traced, but cites the similarity of their armorial bearings as confirming the tradition.

Of Murrawe and the Douglas,  
 How that thare begynnyng was,  
 Syn syndry men spekis syndryly  
 I can put that in na story.  
 But in thare armyeis bath thai bere  
 The sternys set in lyk manere;  
 Til mony men it is yhit sene  
 Apperand lyk that thai had bene  
 Of kyn be descens lyneale,  
 Or be branchys collaterale.

[*Cronykil*, B viii. c. 7.]

It will be remembered that, previous to Sir James Douglas's mission with the heart of Bruce, the arms of Douglas consisted only of 'the Moray's silver stars' set on a chief azure.

The other leaders mentioned above were all of Norman or English descent. In this brief note I cannot pursue the analysis further, and can only direct attention to some of the chief enemies of Bruce among the

Scots—the Comyns; Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March; Sir Dougal Macdouall of Galloway, who captured Thomas and Alexander Bruce, brothers of the King, and sent them to the gallows at Carlisle; John of Lorn, who brought his 800 gilly-lightfoots to hunt Bruce out of Glentroof. All these were pure Celts.

I cannot claim to have given the question raised by Mr. Barron much attention, nor can I consider it of very great importance, having regard to the large number of Norman and Flemish barons holding sway in the Scottish Highlands. I submit that, allowing full credit to the Highlanders for the hospitality shown to Bruce from time to time, and to the Lowlanders for having borne the brunt of the fighting, not only in Bruce's day but for two hundred years after it, the verdict on the part played by Celt and Saxon in the struggle for independence should be 'Honours easy!'

HERBERT MAXWELL.

[The editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* has shown Mr. Barron a proof of Mr. Lang's and Sir Herbert Maxwell's papers, and has heard from Mr. Barron that he is no way convinced by the above replies. He states, that in his original article in the January number he put forward the theory that Bruce's success was due to the support which he had obtained in Scotland, north of the Forth, at the most critical period of his career, and in support of that theory he related a number of facts which had never before been put together as a whole; while Mr. Lang, and Sir Herbert Maxwell also, in the above notes have argued that Scotland, north of the Forth, was not so Celtic as they think Mr. Barron believes; into that question Mr. Barron says he did not enter at all. His contention is that Bruce's ultimate success was made possible, not by the support obtained from the Lowland Scots or in the Lowlands, but by the support he obtained in the North and other parts of Celtic Scotland, and he is prepared to prove that his contention is not in any way shaken by the arguments of Mr. Lang and Sir Herbert Maxwell, many of which he regards as either inaccurate or irrelevant.

The editor regrets that the space at his disposal precludes him from finding room for a more full discussion of this matter, for the present at least.]

DID THE EARL OF CASSILLIS AND THE EARL OF EGLINTON DESERT MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS? In Mr. Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 237, dealing with the events which happened during Lennox's Regency, and Argyll's deserting Mary and making terms with Lennox, August 12th, 1571, the following sentence occurs, 'Cassillis, Eglintoun, and Boyd also turned their coats.'

On turning to the *Scots Peerage*, edited by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, vol. ii. p. 472 (article 'Cassillis'), I find that Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, held out from complete allegiance to the new Government until the spring of 1571, when he was forced by Lennox at the head of a large force to surrender and suffer imprisonment (in Dumbarton Castle)

until about 25th August, 1571, when he joined the King's party and his forfeiture was not carried out. See *Acta Parl. Scot.* iii. p. 63, where the escheats of Argyll, Eglinton and Boyd are also remitted.

Further details of Cassillis' surrender are given in Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii. pp. 488, 503, 509, 510, 517, 518, 531, 535, 584, 643, also in *Register of the Privy Council Addenda*, vol. xiv. pp. 90, 323, 324. There is also in the Culzean Charter Chest a letter from Mary Queen of Scots to Cassillis dated at Sheffield, 6th May, 1571, excusing him for having been constrained to concur with her adversaries for fear of loss of his goods (*Family of Kennedy*, Printed 1849, Appendix, pp. 24, 25).

On turning to *Scots Peerage*, vol. iii. pp. 440, 441 (article 'Eglinton'), I find that the third Earl of Eglinton (like Cassillis) was 'one of the first to join Queen Mary's standard after her escape from Lochleven, and after the battle of Langside he was among the last to go over to the King's party.'

'He was compelled to join by being thrown into ward in Doune Castle 1571, and on 12th August he and the Earls of Argyll and Cassillis with Lord Boyd, bound themselves to serve the King and Regent.'

As a matter of fact, Cassillis and Eglinton had had their estates ravaged by Lennox and Glencairn at the head of not only a large Scots army, but also of a large English force lent by Elizabeth for the purpose of ruining Mary's followers.

On looking at *Scots Peerage*, v. p. 159 (article 'Boyd'), I find that the fifth Lord Boyd, at the meeting of nobility at Dunblane, 17th July, 1571, is recorded as having endeavoured to bring all to the Queen's side; but on 12th August he, together with the Earls of Argyll, Cassillis and Eglinton 'considering the calamite quahairwith this realme, thair native cuntre, is plagit,' and that the Queen was detained in England, came to an agreement with the Earls of Morton and Mar to serve the King (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii. pp. 631, 635).

Surely the term of turning their coats is not applicable to these devoted adherents of the unfortunate Queen, who held out for so long after Langside, and who were at last compelled to desist because they saw

'Now all is done that men can do,

'And all is done in vain.'

CASSILLIS.

ROBERT HAMILTON, merchant, burghess of Edinburgh, 1577, died before 20th April, 1608 (*Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh*), leaving five daughters, heiresses portioner, namely: Barbara, Elizabeth, Marioun, Margaret, and Beatrix (*Reg. P. C. Scot.* vol. ix. p. 537). The three younger daughters seem to have been under age, and James Hamilton, 'servant to Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Byris, Secretary of this Kingdom,' was appointed tutor-dative (*Ibid.*).

Barbara Hamilton married, 30th July, 1607, John Mein [Meane or Meyne] (*Edinburgh Marriage Register*). According to Wodrow (*Analecta*, vol. i. p. 64) it was 'the constant belived tradition that it was Mrs. Mean, wife to John Mean, merchant in Edinburgh, that cast the first stool when

the Service-Book was read in the Neu Kirk, Edinburgh, 1637.' John Mein, elder, merchant, burghess of Edinburgh, and Barbara Hamilton, his spouse, died before 23rd November, 1654 (*Testaments, Commissariat of Edinburgh*). Elizabeth Hamilton was the second wife of Richard Dickson, minister of Kinneil (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 171). She survived her husband, and died in 1667 (*Reg. of Interments, Greyfriars, Edinburgh*). Beatrix Hamilton married as his first wife, the Rev. Robert Blair, A.M., minister of St. Andrew's, who, in right of his wife, entered burghess of Edinburgh, 16th July, 1626. She died in July, 1632, aged 27, leaving two sons and a daughter (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 390).

Information wanted as to the ancestry of Robert Hamilton.

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

HERIOTS OF TRABROUN (*S.H.R.* iv. p. 231). Mr. Robert Heriot of Lymphy does not seem to have been of the Trabroun family. He is described in 1550 as 'son of the late John Heriot,' and as a 'kinsman or cousin' of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross (see Mr. J. C. Gibson's *Lands and Lairds of Larbert and Dunipace*, pp. 128, 171). John Heriot was probably a rentaller in the Barony of Glasgow, and may be identical with a John Heriot, witness to protocols, 1503 to 1511 (*Diocesan Registers*). He had three sons: Allan, Mr. Robert, and Gilbert. Allan was rented, 31st December, 1518, 'in Ramishorn and Medwflat, and in the twa part off Gardarrow (Cardarroch) afftyr his modyr deses and off hir consent' (*Diocesan Registers*, i. p. 76), failing him his two brothers to succeed (*Ibid.* i. pp. 76, 77). Allan died before 4th October, 1531, when his widow, Marion Flemyng, pleaded the privilege of 'Sanct Mungo's wedo' (*Glasgow Protocols*, iv. No. 1096), but probably without success. Mr. Robert Heriot was occupier of the four merk land of Cardarroch, and the 33s. 4d. land of 'Rammishorn and Meadow Flat' in 1545 (*Diocesan Registers*, i. p. 128), and he and his wife, Helen Swynton, are again mentioned, 9th November, 1555 (*Ibid.* i. p. 161). He was dead before 1558-9, his relict, Helen Swynton, being permitted, 27th February, 1558-9, to marry Mr. Edward Henderson, and to 'bruk' the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat (*Ibid.* i. p. 172).

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.



## Notes and Comments

PROFESSOR W. P. KER's brilliant dissertation *On the Philosophy of History* (pp. 25, MacLehose, 1909, price 1s. nett) begins with a sort of text in the story of Hegel's being asked by another philosopher to 'deduce his quill pen' and proceeds in the shadow of that 'frivolous problem' to ask 'whether the Philosophy of History is not the same kind of impossibility.' With equal dexterity of criticism and happiness of wit he cross-examines the testimony of literature, leaving on the reader an impression of ingrained scepticism, despite the evident and deep impress of Hegel on his thought. 'Historians are naturally inclined to be suspicious or unrespectful about the philosophy of history. They regard it as an amateurish and at the same time pretentious way of cutting the difficulties. What there is good in it is history: what is not history in it is superfluous. This opinion,' concludes Professor Ker, 'is not unreasonable.'

*Philosophy  
of History.*

From his essay, with its sparkling points which are most luminous, albeit the light is oftenest by way of parable, we can turn to Professor George B. Adams's graver and more direct, though hardly less interesting, discussion of *History and the Philosophy of History* in the *American Historical Review* for January. It begins with a verse of *Sordello*:

God has conceded two sights to a man—  
One of man's whole work, time's completed plan,  
The other of the minute's work, man's first  
Step to the plan's completeness.

Perhaps the last word is said in this finely apt motto. Professor Adams after glancing at Ranke's influence on the standards of scientific method in historical study, contrasts two questions. 'It is one thing to raise the question, Is human action dominated by law, and can we by discovering those laws construct a science of history in the sense in which there exists a science of chemistry? It is quite a different thing to ask, Can methods of investigation which are strictly scientific be applied to the study of the past action of the race in such a way as to give a knowledge of what happened greater certainty? The school of Ranke has never endeavoured to go beyond this last question, but their answer to it has been clear and, I believe, an indisputable affirmative.'

In his conclusion he denies any call superior to Ranke's, proclaiming the first duty of the historian to establish *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, and he declines to add *wie es eigentlich geworden*. 'To the true historian,' Prof

Adams says, 'the being of a fact has always included all the portion of its becoming which belongs to the definite understanding of it. What is more than that we can safely leave to others.' In describing changes of concept as to the matter and method of history, he indicates a striking forecast of the effects of five elements of change—the results to be anticipated from political science, geographical study, economics, sociology and social psychology. He instances Lamprecht and Ferrero as modern authors of great histories, evincing remarkable applications of economic and sociological principles, and 'especially interesting as the first promise of the harvest which the new culture may bring forth.' The function of the historian, the discovery and recording of what actually happened, Prof. Adams finds perfectly compatible with a philosophy of history in the sense of Buckle. 'He may well hold to the belief that the facts which he is establishing tend to prove this or that final explanation of history.'

It is only on rare occasions that the *Revue Historique* ceases to be impersonal. In the last number issued (Jan.-Feb.) the editors, Messrs. Gabriel Monod and Charles Bémont, by way of introduction to this, the first part of the hundredth volume of their great periodical, each prefix an address to the readers. M. Monod surveys the course traversed by the review since 1875, when as original editor he revised the proof sheets of its first articles.

We can appreciate the sentiment of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride with which he briefly and simply registers the biography of the review, which has changed neither its printer nor its publisher since it began, and with the editing of which, first in only a junior capacity as secretary and, since 1882, as co-editor, M. Bémont has been associated. They have striven to maintain the highest standards of French historical workmanship—standards which change and develop always in the direction of better penetrating behind the outward shows, so as to 'comprehend, recover, and express the soul' of things, and ascertain the true bonds of relationship in the manifestations of civilisation as well as the causes which produce them. Glancing at the condition of study in Germany, 'the classic land of erudition and criticism,' M. Monod prophesies a reaction in France analogous to that in Germany, on the same lines of broader and deeper synthesis, and of wider yet more precise historical generalisation on the greater forces and currents of civilisation, in the study of which sociology appears to strike him as of the profoundest interest. His definition is worth quoting. 'Sociology is an effort to establish upon scientific bases the philosophy of history in submitting the essential elements of social life and of the development of humanity to a double process, first of abstraction and then of synthesis, in order to reach and determine the laws, or at any rate the modalities, of the evolution of societies.'

M. Bémont briefly defines the aspirations of the *Revue* in the field of European history other than French. Incidentally he regrets the meagreness of historical material in course of publication regarding Canada,

'whose history interests the French on so many counts.' Need we say how heartily we tender homage and congratulations as well as good wishes for yet greater successes to the *Revue* and the band of scholars who conduct it?

Among the contents of this inaugural part of 'Tome C.' is a sequel by Prof. Ch. V. Langlois to an article (noticed in *S.H.R.* iv. 105) on the complaints made against crown officers in thirteenth century France. The text of many representations of grave and petty injustices is incorporated in the paper. Among them may be noted claims of a fine *pour sesines brisiées*, of others for playing at dice, for bad language, for digging below the highway, for appropriating timber, and for not paying the custom. There is mention of *maletolt*, of the crusader's *essoign* or privilege—*car il estoit croisié*—of failure to fulfil a *corvée*, of putting a Templar *in gehina* (probably a torture chamber) and slaying him there, of a charge against a woman *que ele avoit prise blanche monnoie*, and of putting people wrongfully in prison, and, in one case, into a pit at a fair and tying them round the waist with cords like thieves. An interesting cross-examination, dating from about 1295, brings out the witnesses agreeing that a promise to pay 28 l. for a *mesconte* to the provost of Orleans had been made *en chastelet par desous ou plaidoir*. The *plaidoir*, as the second witness explains, was the place in Orleans where the provost held his pleas. But the two disagreed about the time, the one said it was *environ la Toussains* (Nov. 1), the other said it was *apries la Saint Remi* (after Jan. 13). This discrepancy nonsuited the claimant, and the provost was 'assoilized of the demand.' Great as is the interest of these rolls of the grievances of small people against the men in office—provosts, sergeants, and bailiffs—resulting from commissions of enquiry *pro correctione curialium*, not less may be expected from other representations made by local communities, clergy, and townsmen for the rectification of abuses. Some of these are to be the subject of future studies by M. Langlois, who never fails to vivify his documents.

REPORTS of archaeological and historical enterprises performed or in progress reach us from various bodies. That of the Committee on Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures succinctly registers (1) sundry steps taken for the protection of English earthworks, (2) a bibliography of the year's publications touching the subject, (3) a note of known cases of partial destruction of such works, and (4) an account of explanatory operations. Mere allusion is made to a description of the earthworks at Arthuret associated with the battle of Ardderyd *circa* 573.

From Dorset comes an interim account by Mr. H. St. George Gray of excavations made last year at Maumbury Rings, near Dorchester, regarded by many as a Roman amphitheatre. Cuttings through the encircling bank have disclosed Roman and Romano-British pottery, traces of post-holes indicative of wooden buildings, a coin of Claudius I. A.D. 51-54, iron shears, an iron javelin, and a bronze fibula. Below the Roman deposits flint flakes and chippings, perhaps from a Neolithic flint workshop, were

*Reports on  
Earthworks  
and  
Excavations.*

got; also nine antler-picks, supposed to have been used by Neolithic men in cutting the chalk-shaft where they were found.

WE have received the Second Annual Report of the Historical Association, of which Professor Firth is President, and with it a volume of leaflets published by the Association during its two years' existence. The aim of the Association is to collect information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad, to represent the needs of the study of history to governing bodies, and above all to further the proper teaching of history in schools, whether public or private. For this last its leaflets are issued and are admirably fitted to effect their object. They give excellent bibliographical guidance on historical source-books, on text-books for teaching general English, European and Ancient history, on authorities for special periods, and on books useful in supplementary reading. They also furnish a list of illustrations, portraits, and lantern slides suitable for schoolroom purposes, and a summary of historical examinations affecting schools.

But as well as providing definite information the leaflets endeavour to help the teacher by publishing addresses on the teaching of history in schools by men such as Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. James Bryce, and on local history as a means of first awakening a love of history, by Professor Child.

The Association is to be congratulated on the work it has already done, and on the invaluable aid it is rendering to historical teachers—above all to those isolated teachers who are far from libraries and centres of learning.

WE are indebted to Mr. Thomas Ross for the interesting account of the so-called Chapter House of Restalrig, which is situated in the Churchyard on the south side of the old Parish Church. About two years ago the Ecclesiological Society called the attention of the Earl of Moray to the condition of this building, and by his directions it has been put in proper order. It had been used as a burial vault from the sixteenth century, and both inside and outside of the building there was much earth piled up. During the removal of the earth from the interior of the building constant difficulty was experienced owing to water rising from below the floor of the building. After several ineffectual efforts to get rid of the water it became apparent that this building had never been anything else than a well.

The mullions and tracery of the east window had been removed so as to effect an entrance to the burial vault; the other two windows had been built up and their mullions destroyed. These have now been restored, as has also the finely moulded base of the central shaft, which otherwise was found perfect.

On the new roof of the building is a figure of St. Triduana, who worked, died, and was buried at Restalrig. Throughout the Middle Ages her well was resorted to by people with injured eyes. Her legend is that Nectan, King of the Picts, was so captivated by her bright witching eyes that,



SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL PEWTER VESSELS

*Exhibited at the Pewter Exhibition, Provand's Lordship, Glasgow.*

to prevent his following her, she plucked them out and sent them to the King on a thorn.

These and many more particulars with regard to Restalrig are to be found in the interesting paper which Mr. Ross contributed to the *Scotsman* on Christmas day. It is a matter of gratification that this ancient well has now been put into good order, and we are indebted to the Earl of Moray for the care that has been given to the matter.

THE recent exhibition of old pewter, domestic and ecclesiastic, in Provand's Lordship, Cathedral Square, Glasgów, has attracted considerable attention, and the Provand's Lordship club is to be congratulated on their very interesting collection, and on the admirable catalogue which has been prepared. *Exhibition of old Pewter.*

In his speech, when opening the exhibition, Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., complimented the Club on the line it had taken up in pursuing what he called the antiquities of the household, and the specimens of domestic ware exhibited in the cases were of genuine interest as illustrating the home life of the past. The collection of Church pewter from Churches widely apart in doctrine as well as geographically was of even greater importance, and it is of their success in obtaining these for exhibition, that the Committee have most reason to be proud.

We are indebted to Dr. William Gemmell and to Mr. Lewis Clapperton for the accompanying engraving of some of the ecclesiastical vessels shown in the exhibition. The large centre flagon in the back row of the engraving is from Govan parish, and is by a Glasgow maker at the end of the eighteenth century. On either side of it, is a chalice from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Glasgow Green; these chalices, which are most uncommon, are each nine inches high, quadrangular in shape, on a pillared stem rising from a beautifully moulded base. At either end of the back row is a Presbyterian Communion flagon lent by the Kirk-session of the Tron Church, Edinburgh. On each is engraved 'For the use of the Holy Sacrament of our Lord's Supper in the South-east Parioch of Edinburgh—Anno 1688'; their modelling is remarkable for its simplicity and strength.

In the centre of the front row is a very beautiful chalice and cover, both of them engraved with the sacred monogram in a glory. These are from old St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh. On either side of these is an example of chalice of early form from the Episcopal Church of St. Laurence, Laurencekirk. On either side of these again, are two Italian chalices, each belonging to a different private collector. The two large flagons near the ends of the front row are of English make, but belong to the Cathedral of Glasgow; the small chalices at the extreme ends are both Church of England vessels, that on the right dividing into three pieces for easy transport to the bedside of the sick.

The oldest piece of Scottish pewter known is a piece at Slains Castle, Aberdeenshire, made probably in the sixteenth century. In 1496 pewterers and coppersmiths are mentioned for the first time among the crafts of the Incorporation in a charter granted by the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh to the Hammermen of that city. In 1518

the Town Council of Edinburgh framed regulations as to the stamping of vessels used by innkeepers, and ordered that a 'talpoun' or 'plook' should be inserted in the neck of each measure to mark the point up to which the liquor must be filled.

The various Incorporations of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee and other towns tried, very much as the English Pewterer's Company was trying, to protect the interests of their trade by getting Acts passed and by making regulations as to the stamping of pewter with the maker's 'touch' or mark, the quality of metal used and the weight of the articles, and as to the admission of members after apprenticeship and trial. In 1652 William Abernethie of Edinburgh was punished for using bad metal—the only instance of the kind recorded, whether because it was the only instance that ever occurred, or whether because they did not care to chronicle such falls from virtue, it is impossible to say.

The first pewterer in Glasgow designated as such appears in a list of 1648. Part of the fees of entry to the craft of Hammermen was devoted to the up-keep of an altar to Saint Eloi, which was apparently in the Cathedral. An essay piece was always required from a craftsman when he sought admission to the Incorporation, and in 1775 in Glasgow the required essay is described as a 'bulged decanter.'

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the steady decline of the pewterer's craft. The Incorporations lost their power of control. The marking of articles with the maker's touch-mark only, had become a dead letter, and makers used stamps as they pleased, and the importation of foreign pewter went on unchecked. Self-advertising became common. The makers too lost their originality, and their care to suit the form to the purpose, and more and more became content to copy forms designed, and only suited, for gold and silver.

The cheapness of glass, china, and crockery, the invention of block tin (or steel coated with iron), Britannia metal and German silver, and the discovery of nickel drove pewter from the inns and the kitchens of the people, and the pewterers were too lazy or too overweighted to fight against extinction. The last touch-mark at Pewterers' Hall, London, is dated 1824. A Mr. James Moyes had a shop in Edinburgh till about 1875, but since then the trade has become almost extinct, except that a few firms still make public-house measures. The Church vessels, the domestic plates, spoons, candle-sticks, pepper-pots, and teapots of our day are made of other material, and now, thanks to the increasing interest in pewter, an interest which the Provand's Lordship Exhibition has done a great deal to increase, any specimens of old pewter that have escaped the solder-pot have a chance of spending a dignified old age in a museum case or on a collector's shelves.