Reviews of Books

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, KING'S ADVOCATE, OF ROSEHAUGH. His Life and Times, 1636?-1691. By Andrew Lang. Pp. x, 347. With four illustrations. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1908. 15s. nett.

MR. ANDREW LANG has of late been performing a useful function. It is not exactly that of the Devil's Advocate, for this personage deals only with saints, and his duty is to throw doubts upon their reputation for sanctity—such work he has indeed done, but he has also taken up the cause of the sinners, and if he seeks to show that the former are not without their failings, he discovers for us unsuspected virtues in certain of the latter, who have been in many cases the victims of popular and partisan prejudice. At all events he endeavours to prove that they have not always been so black as they are painted. Sir George Mackenzie is one of those men who have been very generally condemned without much of a hearing. According to popular history, which still continues to flow from the Press, he deserves the epithet which has been prefixed to his name. It is sufficient that he was the public prosecutor under and the legal adviser of the Government to which is justly attributed the many cruelties which mark the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. If the fact be recalled, that he was a gentleman of broad and philosophical views, with some pretensions to literature, it only serves to leave him without excuse as one whose practice did not square with his theories, and who, to serve his own worldly ambitions, did much cruel and ignoble work. While Claverhouse and other rude soldiers performed the actual shedding of blood, it was this cunning lawyer (they say) who was mainly answerable for sending the saints to the scaffold. He has even been held 'chiefly responsible for the introduction of torture to extract the truth from suspected persons.' The fact that he defended Argyll and other covenanters only affords proof that he was a turncoat. Sir Walter Scott, in one of the finest passages he ever wrote, has well enlisted the popular sympathy, depicting him amidst a group of infernal ghosts joining in their ghastly revelries. Mackenzie, the author of the *Religious Stoic*—the friend of Evelyn and Dryden—is remembered in Scotland as an unprincipled lawyer—a torturer of covenanters and witches, and a man so fond of blood, that the very manner of his death exhibited Heaven's testimony to the fact.

It was certainly his misfortune to have been born and lived his life in Scotland during the seventeenth century. He passed away just as that period of rest and peace was dawning, in which literature and philosophy were again to have a place. Imagine Mackenzie a century later, when reverend Principals wrote history, and ministers wrote plays, when your Renwicks and Cargills had given place to Blairs and Carlyles, and when the worst act of tyranny he could have performed would have been the prosecuting of a radical. The question is, would this period not have come sooner, had the Government which Mackenzie served, the Government of the Restoration, adopted a different policy? Mr. Lang cannot deny Mackenzie's share in the course which was actually followed. But he seeks in some measure to justify it. The Restoration found the great mass of the Scottish people wearied out with the conflict through which they had passed—joyful at the disappearance of the English sectaries and full of sentiment for their rightful king. There was much loyalty for him, but there was also a loyalty for the Kirk, and the latter could be more easily excited. Should that Kirk be restored? This was the main question which Lauderdale's administration had to decide. Mr. Lang answers it in the negative. So convinced is he of the share which the ministers, and their beloved Covenant, had in the miseries of the past, that he thinks nothing but a repression of the Presbyterian system, and in particular of the General Assembly, would serve to secure peace. 'How,' he writes, 'the pretensions of the preachers could have been reduced save by the ferocities of repression, I am unable to imagine.'

But Scotland had just afforded an illustration of how the preachers could be kept in hand, and their Assembly silenced, when it did not behave itself, without persecution. Under Cromwell, these preachers had turned to their own proper work—because they knew they had to deal with one who, while he sympathised with that work, would stand no nonsense. Hence, during the period of the usurpation, one of their own number tells us, much good was done which was occasioned through ministers 'preaching nothing through all that time but the Gospel, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances.'

But leagues were formed, resolutions and remonstrances revived as soon as prelacy raised again its hated head. No doubt it was of the most shadowy description, yet it was prelacy, and at once four hundred pulpits were emptied, to be filled by the curates whom Burnet described as the worst preachers he ever heard, and Leighton calls owls and satyrs. Not only so, the outed ministers and their flocks were not allowed the peaceful possession of the hillsides, to which they had fled; they were pursued and scattered, and men were forced to 'sit under' the satyrs. In 1843 a similar exodus took place, and there was much fanatical agitation. But there was no persecution, and in course of time Free churchmen settled down under the sway of reason. Mackenzie, himself, says that it falls with heretics as with tops, 'which so long as they are scourged keep foot and run pleasantly, but fall as soon as they are neglected and left to themselves.'

It must be admitted that the Scottish preachers of this period were most difficult men to deal with, and that they had been responsible for much mischief in the past, owing to their insatiable love of politics and assertion of spiritual powers. But, had the Government secured the support of the great mass of sensible men, it could have afforded to ignore the movements of the extremists. As it was, the sympathy excited by the covenanting agitation was just sufficient to make it dangerous and to keep the country in a state of disorder, which ultimately brought about the Revolution. No consistent system was adopted. Now, there was a concession, again an outburst of cruelties. The individual rulers were hated, and much of the persecution was due to their own dishonest propensities. It was in such a government that Mackenzie worked, and it is not surprising that in spite of all his efforts Mr. Lang can only plead that there was something of Dr. Jekyll as well as of Mr. Hyde in his composition.

Mr. Lang, quoting these words of Mackenzie, 'So strange and dangerous thing is advancement,' says that they 'sum up the tragedy of his own career.' The advancement was rapid enough. Admitted to the bar in 1659, we find him one of the counsel for Argyll in 1661. This fact in itself by no means indicates that Mackenzie was then in opposition to the Government. It was merely the case of a rising young advocate whose services were secured for an important client. Although he was a junior, he had a speech to make, and the argument he advanced must have made his judges feel awkward. If, he contended, Argyll were guilty, because he complied with Cromwell, then all were guilty, since all had found it convenient to accommodate themselves to circumstances. But his position with regard to other matters points to his having started with, and maintained for years, bold and independent views. Thus, when certain of the Scottish burghs presented a letter to the King, calling for a new Parliament, a step which resulted in the imprisonment of the provosts concerned, it turned out that Mackenzie was the author of the letter. Again he signed the document drawn up by his rival Lockhart, relating the grievances of the majority of the Scottish bar who had been driven into exile because they would not abandon their heretical belief in the right of appeal to Parliament.

He was certainly a bold man, but he was also an ambitious man of the world, who quite recognised the wisdom of keeping in with those in power, whose rule had every prospect of being a long one. These were not days when a sudden change of the popular vote might give to the opposition the sweets of office. A great man like the Duke of Hamilton might oppose, but for an advocate with his way to make, the wise policy was to be on the Government side. To be on the other meant exile in Holland. As it was in Edinburgh a hundred years later, so it was then—to be a Whig lawyer was, from a worldly point of view, folly. Lauderdale, the all powerful, held out a kindly hand to him, and he became henceforward Lauderdale's man. He had his reward, but Mr. Omond is in error when he states that he obtained a knighthood at this time, as the *Justiciary Records* show that he was 'Sir George' at a considerably earlier period. But he soon became King's Advocate, and ceased to defend popular rights. His career in this capacity, and the prosecutions which he conducted, are not likely to be forgotten while his countrymen recite the tales of the Covenant. The facts that in the time of James II. he was again in opposition and actually appeared as counsel for covenanters are not so well known.

The greatest blot in Mackenzie's official life is connected with the trial of Mitchell. It is not the mere fact that he prosecuted, for he prosecuted much less guilty men, but that he defended the monstrous action of the Privy Council by preposterous reasoning. For it was with this body rather than with the Justiciary Court that the chief blame lay. That the former, through one of their number duly authorised, had given Mitchell an assurance 'as to his life' in return for his confession of guilt, is proved not only by Haltoun's letter, but by the Act of Council in which that assurance was formally withdrawn in respect that before the Justiciary the prisoner had not adhered to his confession, and which contains a full narrative of the whole affair. A copy will be found in the *Justiciary Records*, vol. ii. 307. There was something to be said for the withdrawal of the assurance under the circumstances, but nothing for the denial of the fact that it had been given. And yet this denial was solemnly made by the unprincipled councillors who appeared in the witness-box at Mitchell's trial. One after another they stood up, and either by direct perjury or still meaner equivocation deprived the wretched man of the only slender chance he had. All that was against Mitchell—his confession—was remembered; all that was in his favour—that assurance as to his life—was conveniently forgotten. The only concession which Mackenzie, as prosecutor, made to the defence was the permission to read to the jury the Act of Council founded on. But he knew well that the Court would, upon a technical plea, refuse to find it relevant, so that this concession was a perfectly safe one. The finding of the Court may have been partly justified by our somewhat unelastic system of criminal procedure, a system which however tells just as often in the prisoner's favour as against him. But what can be said for the wretched Rothes, Lauderdale, Haltoun, and Sharp? Surely this action alone is sufficient to link their names with eternal infamy. But Mackenzie, Lauderdale's henchman, exerted his ingenuity and eloquence in order to procure a conviction. He actually contended that the Act being *ex post facto* proved nothing, and suggested that it was issued lest a false rumour of this assurance should have got abroad.

Mackenzie very early in his professional career became, as Justice Depute, a criminal judge. It is in connection with his judicial functions that Mr. Lang writes of him as a defender of witches. The position which such a man, in so many respects in advance of his age, and superior to the prevailing ideas which characterised it, assumed towards the popular notions regarding Satanic agency, is an interesting subject, and especially attractive to those who, like our author, pursue psychical research. Scottish superstition partook of the climate and theology,—it was gloomy and depressing. The gay and light-hearted fairies had given place to a set of wretched women—mostly old and poor, who, as everybody then covenanted, must needs have their covenants with Satan. It sometimes fell to Mackenzie to try them. What did he think about it all, and how did he act? He has written upon the subject, and his views are sensible. He will not deny the possibility of witchcraft, and thus go against the Bible and the law of Scotland, nor will he define what is, and what is not, possible. Are we not ourselves in these days becoming less dogmatic, and more inclined to suspend judgment regarding the supernatural? We invite mysterious experiences, and record them. But there is little doubt that the ordinary witch had a better chance with Mackenzie than with the parish ministers and kirk sessions, ever ready to wring out false confessions by means of illegal torture. Mackenzie recognised the existence of hallucinations; he did not believe that a woman could take the shape of bird or animal. He knew what want of sleep and food, in addition to inflicted pain, could do in bringing forth strange stories, which, as recorded, bear a marked family resemblance. He denounced the knaves who traded upon superstitions. He found 'prickers' who were 'villainous cheats.' He called for the most convincing probation, and he condemned, next to the witches themselves, 'these cruel and too forward judges who burn persons by the thousand as guilty of this crime.' Mr. Lang attributes in part to his action the temporary disappearance in 1662 of the usual commissions from the Privy Council, to ministers and others, to try confessed witches, a monstrous source of cruelty. Perhaps the most successful part of this book, viewed as a vindication of Mackenzie, is that which proclaims him a 'defender of witches.'

'We will put them all to the torture,' writes Mackenzie to Lauderdale, referring to a number of suspects in connection with the murder of Sharp. Cruelty was of course a special charge made against the King's Advocate. In virtue of his office, he must certainly have come a good deal in contact with this vile method of extracting confessions. He saw the horror of it in the case of witches, but there is no evidence that his sympathy ever extended to the Hugh Mackails, and other victims of Privy Council tyranny. If information was necessary in the interests of the State, he certainly would not have scrupled to make use of the 'boot' and thumbscrews upon the persons from whom it was to be drawn. But Mr. Lang is right in pointing out that the charge against Mackenzie in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of being the introducer of torture, is not supported by evidence. Torture had revived before he had become a leading man, and at a time indeed when, as a young counsel, he was defending Covenanters. When he came into office, he must have found this practice well established, and he accepted it as a matter of course. Let it be noted that those who denounced torture when applied to State prisoners conveniently ignored the barbarities from which the poor witches suffered. Mackenzie in his Vindication defends torture as legal, which in our barbarous country was the case, and he rather ridicules the inconsistent position taken up by the 1688 reformers, who, while they condemned torture as inconsistent with human nature, were nevertheless prepared to reserve the right of inflicting it to the King and Parliament.

As Mackenzie only survived the coronation of William and Mary for two years, one can but speculate as to whether, had he lived longer, he would have joined in Jacobite plots or buried himself in libraries. 'If,' he writes to Lord Yester in 1689, 'I cannot be allowed to live peaceably, I will goe to Hamburge, or goe to England, which last shews that I will live peaceably and with great satisfaction under the new elected King, for tho I was not clear to make a King, yet I love not civill warrs nor disorders, and wee owe much to him.' He certainly did not owe much to James, who had deprived him of office and put Lockhart in his place. He did in point of fact go to England, as Leighton had done, and it is pleasant to think of him at Oxford and studying in the Bodleian. Mr. Lang says, '*Deus nobis haec otia fecit*, Mackenzie may have murmured to himself in the uninvaded peace of the gardens of Magdalen or St. John's, in the crystal October days.' It was about this time that Evelyn met him in London, and entered the note of his conversation in his diary. Mackenzie seems to have dwelt only upon the faults of the Covenanters, some of which he traced to the Jesuits. He died in St. James Street in May, 1691, while, for a lawyer at least, in the prime of life.

The characters of seventeenth-century Scotsmen drawn by their contemporaries are of little value. They partake too much of either flattery or scandal. A good illustration of the latter element is afforded by the covenanting accounts of Archbishop Leighton. According to the author of *Naphthali*, quoted by Mr. Lang, p. 95, he was a hypocritical papist, who sought his own advancement under the cloak of humility. That a good man should have been on that side was inconceivable—the very idea intolerable. If Leighton could not escape, such a man as Mackenzie had but a poor chance. At this distance of time we can arrive at a safer judgment. Mr. Lang has done his best for his subject. He has rightly felt that certain popular impressions of the man are not altogether warranted by the facts. The truth is, that there were two Mackenzies—there was the author who wrote very nicely, and there was the man of affairs who acted very badly. To the one we are indebted for certain learned works and the foundation of a great library, while to the other must be attributed transactions which, for the credit of our country, we should like to forget. W. G. Scott-Moncrieff.

Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit. Von Dr. Karl Stählin, Privatdocent an der Universität Heidelberg. Erster Band. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

The biographer of Sir Francis Walsingham is certainly not embarrassed by the bulk of the material relative to the earlier life of his subject. Sir Francis had reached middle age before he attained to anything like eminence in the political history of his country. Born about 1530, he does not emerge into official prominence before the embassy to France which he undertook in 1570 and which lasted till 1573. In view of the obscurity of his life previous to this date, it may almost be said that his biography only begins in his fortieth year. What is authentically known of him during his youth and earlier manhood might be compressed into a few pages. Froude had already noted the meagreness of the sources relative to this period of the life of the great Elizabethan statesman, and Dr. Stählin, the author of this new biography in two volumes, of which this forms the first instalment, has been unable, in spite of his keenness of investigation, to materially enlarge our defective knowledge.

Despite the lack of pertinent material, the author devotes nearly one-half of this bulky volume to this long and obscure period in the life of his hero. The greater portion of these preliminary chapters is made up of a general review of the history of the time. This review forms a painstaking piece of generalisation, and the author leaves no movement or circumstance in the history of England and the continent untouched that might illustrate the environment at home and abroad in which Walsingham grew to early manhood and middle age. In this respect these chapters are a good example of German thoroughness of treatment and at the same time of the author's wide knowledge of contemporary history. They bear, too, gratifying evidence of the breadth and objectivity of view which Ranke, above all others, infused into the study of international history in Germany, in contrast to historians of the pronouncedly patriotic type of a Treitschke, and helped to foster in this country and America.

At the same time, from the point of view of a biography of Walsingham, they reveal a tendency to discursiveness which proves rather trying to the patience of the reader. The sense of proportion is an indispensable requisite in the work of a biographer who undertakes to review the history of the time in addition to that of his hero. He should from the outset carefully weigh the relative importance of the person whose life he relates to that of the age, and adjust his treatment of the particular and the general history accordingly. Some great works of biographical and historical research, such as Masson's *Life of Milton* and Seeley's *Life of Stein*, have been marred by this lack of true perspective, and it seems to me that Dr. Stählin, whose subject is, of course, of more limited scope and importance than that of either of these great writers, has, like them, not sufficiently considered this essential preliminary question.

To make of an individual life the theme for a general history is an almost inevitably futile task except in the case of a man like Napoleon, who really was the mainspring of a great part of the activity of his age. To do so in the case of a man like Walsingham is to review general history for a specific end out of keeping with the purpose of a biography. The title of the work, *Walsingham and his Time*, does not invalidate this objection, for in the first half of the volume it merely covers the attempt to generalise the history of England and Western Europe in connection with that of a man who played absolutely no rôle of any importance in that history up to his fortieth year, and of whom very little is indeed known during these years. The only excuse for these digressions lies in the prospective eminence of the future Elizabethan ambassador and secretary of state. Even so, they might have been curtailed with advantage. The mere fact, for instance, that Walsingham spent a short time as a student at Padua in 1555-56 is hardly a sufficient ground for a long review of the history of contemporary Italy for the purpose of bringing before the reader the facts and influences which *might* have interested and impressed the foreign student, especially as we have no evidence worth mentioning of what he did or thought whilst a member of the 'English nation' of the Venetian seat of learning. Whilst both interesting and readable in themselves, they are for the most part unnecessary to the specialist, and they would have been more serviceable to the general reader if they had been shorter. The general reader who wishes to peruse a biography of Walsingham will, in fact, find some difficulty in 'seeing the wood for the trees,' and will be inclined to wish for greater compression of this introductory matter. At all events, Walsingham's 'time,' in the sense of his active participation in its political and religious history, cannot be said to date before the reign of Elizabeth, and even during the first ten years of this reign all that can be said of him is that he was a quiescent member of her first two parliaments, and was employed by Cecil towards the end of the decade in attempts to discover the intrigues and plots of which Elizabeth was already the object on the part of her enemies.

In the second half of the volume the author may be said to launch *in medias res*, and this part is satisfactory from both the biographical and historical points of view. Here we see Walsingham, as ambassador at Paris, in closest touch with the mighty Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements, and his activity as ambassador during the two critical years preceding the massacre of St. Bartholomew enables his biographer to delineate, without undue rambling, the religious and political currents and counter-currents in the international history of the period in protraying the efforts of Walsingham to negotiate the alliance of England and France which culminated in the Treaty of Blois in April, 1572. In striving to draw the two countries into this alliance against Spain, Walsingham was following the bent of his religious as well as his political convictions. He was the staunch advocate of a decisive and aggressive policy on behalf of Protestantism against the vacillating moods of Elizabeth and the more cautious statesmanship of Burghley, who, in contrast to his more zealous Puritan colleague, had been trained in the opportunist school of Henry VIII. and Northumberland. In him the militant spirit of Calvinism found its most insistent exponent among the great Elizabethan statesmen, and the author has brought forcibly out this side of his political activity in the long and tedious negotiation for the Anjou marriage with which his diplomacy was so intimately concerned as a means to the greater end he had in view. Unfortunately, his able and intricate diplomacy proved ultimately futile, in spite of the treaty of Blois, and instead of the Anglo-French co-operation in behalf of the struggling Dutch Protestants, which he succeeded in negotiating on paper, came, four months later, what seemed the wreck of the Protestant cause as well as of the ambassador's work in the massacre of the Huguenots on the 24th of August, 1572, and the following days. One of the most interesting chapters in the work is the delineation of Walsingham's desperate situation in Paris during these terrible days.

This part of the work may be welcomed as a contribution to the history of the subject, even if the patience of the reader is somewhat tried

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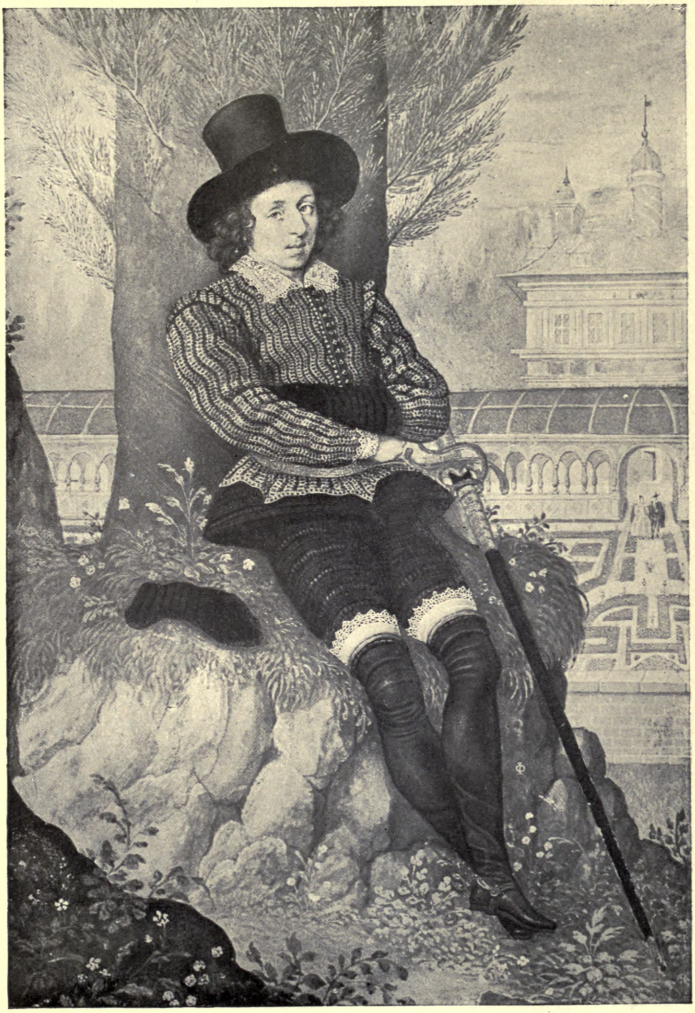


SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

From *Historical Portraits* by C. R. L. Fletcher in following the windings and turnings of the long negotiation for the marriage of a queen who persisted in toying with Hymen for purely political purposes, in spite of the insistence of both her ministers and parliaments on this crucial point. In connection with these and other episodes, in which Walsingham took so important a part, the author has done a considerable amount of research in the original authorities. He is, however, greatly indebted to English writers like Pollard for the earlier part of his work, and Froude for the later as well as the earlier part, and it is rather surprising to find an author who has so large a knowledge at first hand of the state papers of the period citing such second-hand collections of parliamentary statutes as Lee's *Leading Documents of English History* and Prothero's *Select Statutes*, instead of going direct to the *Statutes of the Realm.* In dealing with French history he has made ample use of the work of Ranke and of Mark's biography of Admiral Coligny as well as of contemporary sources. He is, however, evidently unacquainted with the recent *Histoire de France* edited by Lavisse, which is an improvement on Ranke for this period, and the work of Mark's is not the only recent book by a foreigner on sixteenth century French history which merits attention. In his treatment of Scottish history he has largely relied on Froude, and seems to be ignorant of the more recent research work done by Scottish writers on the period since Froude wrote. The Scottish student will accordingly find nothing new in his incursions into Scottish history, as it centres round such figures as Queen Mary and the Regents Murray and Morton, though it is interesting to have this history reviewed in connection with the general religious and political history of the period.

JAMES MACKINNON.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS. RICHARD II. TO HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, 1400-1600. The Lives by C. R. L. Fletcher. The Portraits chosen by Emery Walker. With an Introduction on The History of Portraiture in England. Pp. xxiii, 199. Quarto. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8s. 6d. nett.

PERHAPS some day the *The Dictionary of National Biography* may have a companion collection of portraits. For the personages of British history prior to 1600 such a work is handsomely begun by this fine gathering of one hundred and three portraits, admirably reproduced. Thirty-six are full-page plates, to many of which this large size ensures impressiveness and an added conviction of truth, as for instance the likenesses of Richard II., Henry VI., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., the sketch of James IV., and the attractive picture of James V. Mary Queen of Scots is represented by the winsome crayon sketch attributed to Clouet, and John Knox by the gowned, bearded, and capped portrait (anonymous) in the National Portrait Gallery.

Many plates combine two or more portraits—often significant in their position, as in the case of Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV., and her sister; Katharine, Queen of Henry VIII., and Anne Boleyn; the Dowager Queen Mary of Guise and Cardinal Beaton; Maitland of Lethington and the Regent Moray, and—most striking contrast of all—the full length figure of the overgrown, loutish Darnley and the compact and telling miniature of Bothwell, looking, as he was, *capable de tout.* George Buchanan is placed, as became a scholar, alongside of Casaubon, although we can hardly forgive Mr. Fletcher for telling us that Buchanan's history 'remains perhaps the best and most trustworthy history of Scotland for the three centuries preceding the Reformation.'

The biographical sketches are swift brisk notes of biography, not severely exact in style. Mr. Fletcher ranks Falstaff as Shakespeare's 'most immortal' creation. He ignores some criticism when he declares Shakespeare's Stratford bust an 'unassailably authentic' portrait. He is satisfied of the 'innate baseness' of Bacon's character.

In the estimates of the Scottish personages his standpoints are generally orthodox. Margaret, Queen of James IV., he reckons 'probably the worst specimen of the great House of Tudor.' For the political difficulties of Cardinal Beaton and the Dowager Queen Mary he makes full allowance, and George Wishart (represented by the Glasgow University portrait) has his zeal, eloquence, and courage duly appreciated. To our Queen Mary, in the matter of Darnley, he gives perhaps as much doubt as the case demands, which he thinks is not much. Darnley appears as sufficiently futile: his marriage with Mary, and the dispensation for it, are incorrectly recorded, Father Pollen's recent studies (*S.H.R.* iv. 243) being overlooked. Bothwell is 'a most dangerous fellow.' To Knox and Buchanan Mr. Fletcher is sympathetically fair. Maitland of Lethington gets small credit, and Regent Moray becomes almost equally a creature of intrigue.

The picture gallery has a running commentary of biographical summary and judgment, full of national history. Prefixed is an introduction on historical portraiture in England, acknowledging the meagreness and generally crude workmanship of the earlier pictures, but deducing from both documents and extant paintings the fact that a prosperous school of pictorial art already existed in England in the fifteenth century. While it is true, as the introduction owns, that nearly all the paintings reproduced are primitive, and many are stiff and hard, there are splendid exceptions. Perhaps Holbein's Henry VIII., Sir Thomas More, and the third Earl of Norfolk are glories out of the concourse, but Richard III., Queen Margaret Tudor, James V., and Sir Walter Raleigh are eminently real character-pictures. The debonair Colet, the grammarian Linacre, the pensive Spenser, and the rotund Sir Nicholas Bacon speak from the canvas, and the veritable dandy Sir Philip Sidney still reflects to a nicety the mingled grace and affectation of *Arcadia.* Biographical as portraits, mirrors of contemporary dress and personal ornament, such paintings are doubly historical in being the autobiography of art.

This excellent and moderately-priced popular collection of them is a very great service to study as well as attractively pictorial in itself. The hope expressed by the publisher that subsequent volumes may carry the series down to the middle of the nineteenth century, every lover of British biography will hail as implying a welcome promise.

Geo. Neilson.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS, vol. ii. By John Herkless, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and Robert Kerr Hannay, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. 267. 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1909. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume is entirely devoted to an account of Andrew Forman, the fifth archbishop, and deals with his history both before and after his elevation to the primatial see. The leading features of Forman's career are concerned rather with politics and the arts of diplomacy than with ecclesiastical affairs; and several pages are occupied with the tangled negotiations of European states (including the papacy) during the closing years of the reign of James IV. The picture presented is not very clear; but it is probably beyond the reach of any in our day to reconstruct in quite intelligible form the perpetually shifting policy and complicated intrigues of the period.

As regards the religious and ecclesiastical condition of Scotland little that is new will be found in this volume. Some interesting documents from the MS. Style-book, or *Formulare*, of a notary of the time (and the authors give reasons which make it highly probable that he was one John Lauder) are summarised, and made public for the first time. Joseph Robertson in the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae* made considerable use of this manuscript, now in the possession of the University of St. Andrews; and, despite the element of doubt as to the exact historical value of records appearing in a book of this kind, when unsupported by other evidence, it would be a real advantage if the whole original text were printed. Could Prof. Herkless or Mr. Hannay be persuaded to undertake this useful piece of work? It is worthy of note that in one of the few cases in which we can in some measure test the historical accuracy of the *Formulare*,—the question as to the prelate who was the consecrator of Gavin Douglas,—our authors (p. 167) set aside the testimony of the *Formulare* in favour of the statement of Myln in his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*.

As in the case of the first volume (see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. v. pp. 346-349) all manner of sources of information have been ransacked by the writers; and yet in the handling of the documents there are instances where the result leaves something to be desired. Thus, when noticing (p. 96) a representation to the Pope from Scotland in 1514 that the Apostolic See had been accustomed to await nominations to certain Scottish prelacies for a period of eight months, and that Julius II. had observed this practice even when prelates had died at Rome, we find the not very intelligible note, 'The implication was that a see might strictly be held as vacant *apud sedem*.' Why not? If a bishop of Aberdeen died at Rome, it was reasonable to suppose that the see of Aberdeen was void. The real point is that it was for some centuries an accepted principle that if a foreign prelate died at the Apostolic See, the Pope had the right, without any capitular election, to nominate his successor, and that Julius had waived even that right in the case of Scotland. There is a startling lapse when we are told (p. 34) that 'Dryburgh was a foundation of the White Friars.'

Again, among the requests of Henry VIII. of England to Leo X. after

Flodden was that Coldingham should be restored, not 'to the see of Durham' (p. 85) but to the *priory* of Durham, of which in early times it had been a cell. It is not quite accurate (p. 97) to say that Margaret Tudor, in her letter of 5th Aug. 1514, to Leo about ecclesiastical appointments 'had no new choice to announce.' It was then suggested that Crichton, abbot of Holyrood, should have Aberdeen, while at an earlier date Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness, had been the nominee for that see (p. 87).

Once again, our authors are too ready to infer from the Synodal Constitutions of Forman (as given in the *Formulare*) that the prohibitions of the Constitutions necessarily present us with a picture specially characteristic of the current evils and abuses of the time. It is familiar to students of ecclesiastical legislation in the medieval period that statutes were again and again re-enacted to keep them in force. Non-user for a period of forty years, if not protested against by those in authority, was regarded as evacuating a canon of its binding authority. And several of Forman's canons were little more than re-promulgations of canons as old as the thirteenth century. The general truth, here referred to, must always be borne in mind in attempts to reconstruct pictures of church life from the ecclesiastical legislation of any particular epoch.

A word of explanation should have been given as to the manual *Manipulus Curatorum* (p. 205), which the clergy with pastoral charges were required to study. It was the treatise of Guido de Monte Rocherii (a Spanish theologian of the fourteenth century) which was again and again printed in the fifteenth century, and continued to be a favourite in the sixteenth. Again, liturgists need not be puzzled when they read that the clergy were 'to prostrate themselves on the ground when prayers were being said' (pp. 201-2)—a rather astounding statement—if they can turn to the original and find 'in vocationibus,' a word of a narrow technical significance, which in early times in England was used for certain suffrages of the Litany. I suspect that Lauder, the notary, may have erroneously copied 'in invocationibus,' a more common expression. But whatever it means it certainly does not justify such a wide rendering as 'when prayers were being said.'

Our authors allow but few virtues to Andrew Forman; but among these they in more places than one claim that his character was not disfigured by sins of incontinence. I have to acknowledge that I was ready with gladness to accept a view which added one to the few prelates of the period whose lives were beyond reproach in this respect; but a learned friend has supplied me with a reference to the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (xxxii. fol. 76), where we find the record (22nd Feb. 1518-19) of the marriage contract, made at the Abbey of Dunfermline, between, on the one part, Archbishop Forman 'and Jhane Forman his dochter naturale,' and, on the other part, Sir John Oliphant of Kellie, knight, and Alexander Oliphant, 'his oye and apperent air.'

Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay assume throughout, and contrary to the view of previous writers, that the Cottingham in England, of which Forman was commendator, was only the parish church, and not also the

Austin Priory of Haltemprise, or Cottingham. Cottingham parish church was in early times an appropriate church of the Priory, and I am unable at present to say how its advowson fell to the Crown. If earlier writers like Keith are in error, they were, not inexcusably, guided by such expressions as 'commendatarius de Pettinweme et Cottinghame in Anglia.' Several small errors of reference and of print need not be noticed.

It is to be regretted that a book which shows so many evidences of research should be occasionally marred by a certain *du haut en bas* style in treating the lives and characters of the personages dealt with. The superior standpoint of the authors is emphasised in a somewhat provocative manner.

JOHN DOWDEN.

THE SCOTTISH STAPLE AT VEERE. By the Late John Davidson, M.A., D.Phil. (Edin.), sometime Professor of Political Economy in the University of New Brunswick, and Alexander Gray, M.A. Pp. xi, 453. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1909. 12s. 6d. nett.

PROFESSOR DAVIDSON and Mr. Gray have made a very valuable and interesting addition to Scottish economic history. Not only do they deal very fully with Scottish trade to the Netherlands, but they also devote several chapters to a useful sketch of the organisation and nature of early Scottish trade in general. The organisation and regulation of foreign as well as of inland trade and of interburghal relations were under the control of the Convention of Royal Burghs. The result of this was, as Professor Davidson says, a considerable 'measure of uniformity in burghal life and regulation'; and also that the burghs were able 'to pursue . . . a general policy in which the interests of all were observed.' This, of course, only applies to the Royal Burghs, which jealously guarded their very considerable privileges from infringement by the other burghs. One of the most important of these was the exclusive right of their burgesses to take part in foreign trade. Scotland's chief exports were raw materials, especially wool, woolfels and hides. The authors give lists of exported commodities from several sources, but have omitted one of the most detailed, the 'Table of Scottish produce exported yearly' (1614), from the Mar and Kellie Papers. The imports were principally manufactured goods.

Trade was carried on chiefly with England, France, the 'Eist seys,' and the Netherlands. English trade, after the War of Independence, which dealt a severe blow to Scottish prosperity, was much hampered by hostile laws and regulations on both sides of the Border. Scottish hostility to England also influenced her commercial relations with France, where her merchants enjoyed considerable privileges. These were, however, gradually withdrawn in the seventeeth century, as a result of the Reformation and the Union of the Crowns. The Baltic ports which the Scots chiefly frequented were Dantzig and Königsberg; but the most interesting features of this connection were the extensive settlement of Scottish families in Prussia and Poland, and the number of Scots pedlars who traded in these parts.

The trade with the Low Countries seems to have been more important than any other. During the reigns of Malcolm and David Scots merchants chiefly traded thither, and in the thirteenth century there was a considerable trade with Flanders. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this trade chiefly centred at Bruges, which in 1407 made a definite commercial treaty with Scotland. Competition on the part of various cities in the Low Countries in the early years of the sixteenth century ended in an arrangement being made with Veere, or Campvere, in 1541, by which the Staple for Scottish trade was fixed there. But for a few short intervals the Staple remained at Campvere until the connection came to an end in 1799 with the disturbances of the Revolutionary Wars. A contract was drawn up in 1578 which was several times ratified and renewed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The essence of the arrangement was that certain Scots commodities, known as Staple goods, and including all the most important exports, should be conveyed to Campvere and to no other port in the United Netherlands. The Scots, in return, were generally exempted from the payment of duties on their goods. During the early years of the seventeenth century trade flourished considerably, but after the Restoration the Staple policy, advantageous and necessary in the early years of commercial development, gradually became an anachronism, and the prosperity and usefulness of the trade declined.

Contract making and renewing, the fixing of Staple commodities, the regulation of trade, and the supervision of the merchants were amongst the functions of the Convention of the Burghs. The supervision of affairs at Campvere and the maintenance of Scottish privileges there were in the hands of the Conservator, an officer generally appointed by the King, but responsible to the Convention. In time he became the King's Agent in the Low Countries, and similarly the Staple gradually assumed some administrative functions, supervising the execution of commercial legislation. All merchants trading to Campvere were required to lodge in the Conciergery House, provided for their use by the town. Even there the merchants were pursued by the regulations of the Convention, which laid down rules concerning the daily bill of fare, changes of table linen, etc., and imposed a tariff of fines for breakages, swearing and various offences, including 'Ane pund Fleymes' for calling 'any ane vther ane knaif or lowne.' The Scottish Church, to the history of which some chapters are devoted, was an important element in the life of the colony from 1614, when the first minister was appointed, until 1799.

The authors draw a very interesting comparison between the Scottish Staple and two great English institutions to which it was somewhat akin—the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers Company. The resemblance to the former is more in name than in constitution and object. The English Staple was primarily a fiscal device; the Scottish was primarily for the encouragement of trade, and was only secondarily made use of for fiscal regulation. The Merchant Adventurers Company, on the other hand, was organised, like the Scots, for the benefit of the merchants, but it was managed as a private enterprise, while the control of the Scots trade was in the hands of the Convention, a national authority.

Professor Davidson and Mr. Gray have examined a great deal of Dutch and Flemish material, as well as almost all the available Scottish records, and have therefore been able to give a very full account of the history of the Staple. More might, however, have been said of the effect of Scotland's relations with England upon her trade in the seventeenth century, when commercial interests were becoming extremely important. The Navigation Act of 1651 was probably injurious to Scottish trade with Holland, but the prohibition of some of her chief exports, owing to her complete union with England, was even more detrimental. The disastrous effect of Charles II.'s Dutch Wars on Scottish trade is not mentioned. In this period, too, England, engaged in developing a strong protective system by successive Navigation Acts, viewed with jealousy her rival Holland's trade connection with the still commercially independent Scotland.

The book has a full index and some interesting appendices giving the text of some of the contracts with Campvere, etc. There are also photographs of some picturesque buildings at Campvere, which were connected with the Scots Staple.

THEODORA KEITH.

IRELAND UNDER THE STEWARTS AND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. By Richard Bagwell, M.A. 2 vols. Vol. I. 1603-1642, pp. xv, 370; Vol. II. 1642-1660, pp. xi, 388. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909. 28s. nett.

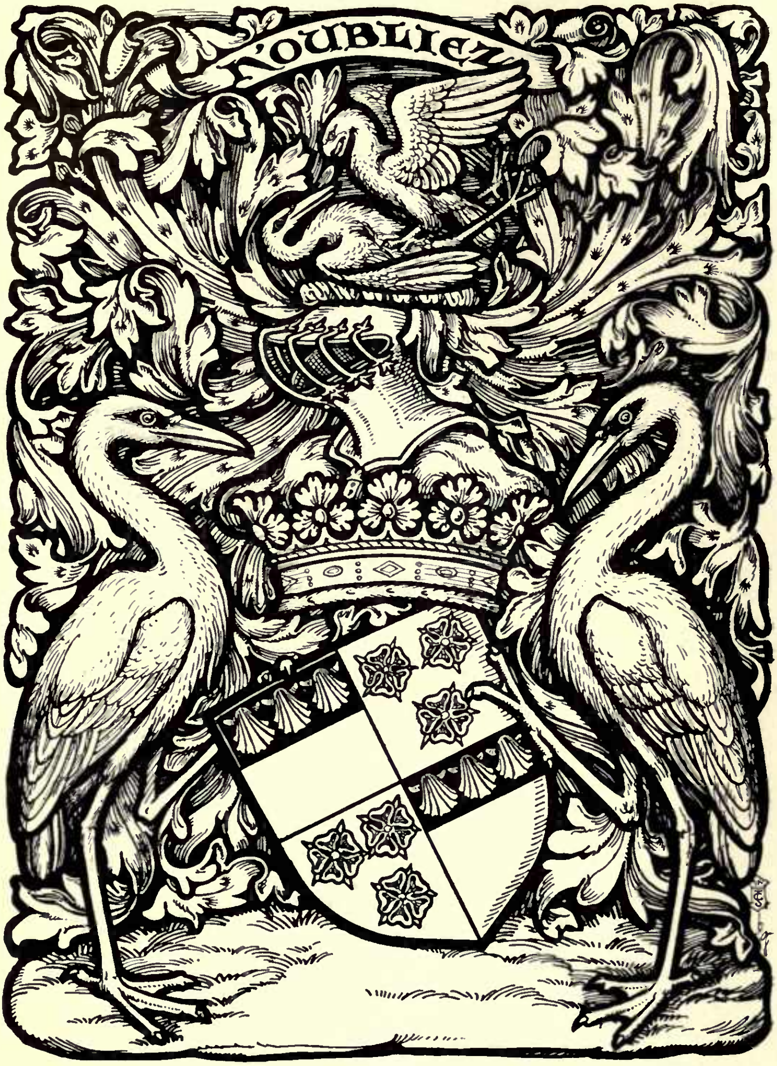
IN these two volumes Mr. Bagwell continues his elaborate history of Ireland, of which three volumes, covering the ground from the Norse invasions, have already been published, while a third in the present set is here promised to carry the narrative to the Restoration. The scale of the work may thus be guessed at. It allows the author scope for that minute analysis of events—political, economic, and military—which is his most impressive accomplishment. He has consciously preferred this part, as he explains in his preface where he affirms the principle that 'the true function of history is to bring out the facts, and not to maintain a thesis.' And he is equally conscious of the probable result of this attitude: 'No party will be pleased with the present work' in a land where party seems to colour every form of human activity. We must therefore take Mr. Bagwell on his own profession, and pronounce that he has given us a study distinguished throughout by a patient disentangling, and luminous and judicial presentation of a complicated series of events, such as, in a peculiar measure, suggest persistently that easy and attractive method of partisan treatment which he has made it his aim to avoid.

For these are critical and determinative years—years of religious and dynastic struggles, of rebellions and massacres, of conquests and plantations, of Davis, Strafford, and Cromwell. At certain stages we should have felt grateful to Mr. Bagwell for a more general summing up of events, and an indication of the new problems which were likely to arise from the attempts to solve old ones. Some judgment would have been welcome on the political propriety and value of the plantation policy. We are shown clearly its failure in details, partly because it was at no time fully carried out on the lines laid down, but on the wider issue Mr. Bagwell leaves us to form our own conclusions. At least it made the Irish problem predominantly an agrarian one, where there already existed sufficient difficulties of another kind. And it is clear that in allotting the natives to reservations, excluding them from towns, and forbidding intermarriage with the settlers, seventeenth-century statesmanship in Ireland had not progressed an inch beyond that of the Plantagenets.

Mr. Bagwell, however, is not quite so austere in his handling of personalities, and his method is perhaps seen at its best in the case of Strafford, the champion of a ruthless and routine efficiency, with not a little to recommend him as an administrator and not without more attractive traits of character, to which due consideration is given. Scottish readers will be interested in his high-handed and entirely illegal attempt to forestall any active sympathy with the Covenant among the Scots of Ulster. His imposition of the Black Oath, his proposal to deport the Scots, and his vicious utterances upon the Scottish rising, undoubtedly helped to prejudice in that country not only himself, but, by implication, the case of his royal master. To this influence upon the struggle it is possible our Scottish historians have not given sufficient weight. Then come the dramatic changes, when the loyalist settlers are the rebels and the disloyal Irish are joined with the royalists. On Cromwell's sophisticated harshness and his essential failure Mr. Bagwell might have been as precise as he is upon the failure of Strafford. Drogheda and its successors are not to be humanly, or even politically excused, by the plea that the massacres were not contrary to the laws of war, and Cromwell's own excuses are condemned by the facts. Other disputable matters, such as Tyrone's flight in 1607 and the Ulster massacre of 1641, are handled in an impartial, common-sense fashion; and even the case against Sir Phelim O'Neill is strongly countered for the defender, which is saying a good deal. Necessarily there is much painful reading, none the less so for the author's unimpassioned unrolling of a passion-driven record. Each volume is introduced by a map, and these significantly strike the dominant note of the period, for they represent phases of the plantations. Mr. Bagwell maintains throughout his judicial attitude and mode of utterance; his analysis of economic and military operations and of personages is always good; he has made use of much manuscript material; and his volumes will thoroughly recommend themselves to those whose suspicions might be aroused by a less equable and restrained treatise. And the 'parties' will at least find them serviceable in the interests of their respective theses. W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE SCOTS PEERAGE. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms. Vol. V. pp. vi, 639; Vol. VI. pp. vi. 601. Ry. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1908-9. 25s. nett each.

OUR last notice of the Scottish Peerage appeared in October, 1907, and the literary 'output' of a volume a year having been steadily maintained, vols. v. and vi. are now before us, containing articles of no less than twenty-three different writers. With such variety of talent it will be quite safe to quote the first part of Martial's line, '*Sunt bona, sunt mediocria*,' though we will



MONTROSE

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul not be unkind or unjust enough to apply the rest of the hexameter. Among the good ones we should certainly single out Ingram, Viscount Irvine, of which the title only and not the grantee has anything to do with the kingdom of Scotland, as anyone can tell who reads the first few lines about the citizen and tallow chandler of London who married the daughter of the York haberdasher—a humble opening much more in the style of the cynical and sceptical G. E. C. than of the courtly and credulous Burke.

This account in vol. v. seems to us just what it ought to be, being marked by precision and relevance: and the same remarks apply to 'Newhaven' in the next volume, which we had selected for an award of merit, not because we realised that it was by the same writer, but because we had observed that it contained what, alas, is too rarely found, the places where, as well as the dates when, events occurred. Even better, because dealing with matters more obscure and difficult, is the article on 'Oliphant' in vol. vi. by Mr. Maitland Thomson. The number of new facts and dates which have never before appeared in any history of the family is very noticeable, and is a great tribute to the energetic and successful research of the author.

We believe that some Scotsman was found to say of himself, or some other base Saxon to say of him, that he joked wi' deeficulty, but we have come on an easy, delightful, and, we trust, intentional jest in Mr. William Macmath's work, vol. v. p. 116, where Viscount Kenmure expostulates with his Roman Catholic sisters and brother-in-law on their 'rotten religion,' and the reference given in the notes for this broadminded and charitable remark is to *Heavenly Speeches*, 17!

We will now turn to the long article on the Douglas Earls of Morton, which is the joint work of Lyon and his able coadjutor the Rev. John Anderson; perhaps the most striking and revolutionary feature therein is the abolition of 'Dalkeith' as a peerage title, although it had not been assailed before either by G. Burnett or by G. E. C.

Although we were a little startled to find poor Sir James Douglas, who had been 'one of the first persons dignified with the title of a *Lord of Parliament*,' now called upon to take up the comparatively obscure position of a laird, yet we are bound to admit that there seems little or no evidence that a Barony of Dalkeith was ever created, or that it was anything more than a subsidiary and courtesy title of the heirs apparent of the Earls of Morton, and as is pointed out on p. 350 the supposed Lord is described in Royal charters before and after his death merely as 'James, Lord of Dalkeith, Knight.' All that can be said on the other side is that Robert the eighth (Douglas) Earl of Morton is called Lord Dalkeith in a charter dated 3 Nov., 1632, before his accession to the earldom, and on 9 Sept., 1672, his son William, Earl of Morton, formally by deed renounced his right to the style and designation of Lord Dalkeith, although the estate of that name had been alienated nearly thirty years before.

By the way, to contemplate quite another subject, what cold-blooded scoundrels many of these grand old Scottish nobles were. Imagine the delicate sense of honour and family feeling of John Maxwell, Earl of Morton, who, when his uncle the Regent of Scotland was in trouble, made a bargain with the Earl of Lennox that they should divide his property between them if he was forfeited, and then proceeded to sit on the jury which found the aforesaid uncle guilty of high treason, and condemned him to death!

Of course there would be no difficulty in filling a whole number of the *Historical Review* with a detailed examination of these two stout and handsome tomes, but we think we have already said enough to show that there is no falling off from, and if anything an advance on, the high standard previously attained.

VICARY GIBBS.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH JOURNALISM TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE GAZETTE. By J. B. Williams. With illustrations. Pp. x, 293. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

LITERARY and political historians have alike had cause to revere the memory of George Thomason, a London bookseller of Civil War and Restoration times; for to his forethought and energy they are beyond measure indebted. His idea that a complete collection of the pamphlets that were pouring from the press at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion would be valuable for future ages was put into practical shape with great diligence, intelligence, and expense; and 'the result is a collection which has no equal of its kind in the world, for it contains a mass of fugitive and ephemeral literature, much of which would otherwise have perished.' This priceless collection was bought by George III. for what is very properly described as 'the absurd sum of £300,' and presented to the British Museum in 1762. The existence of this collection must have greatly simplified the researches which have resulted in the production of this volume, and have given Mr. Williams a signal advantage over workers in cognate fields like Mr. Couper, whose book on the Scottish Press was reviewed at pp. 204-5 of this volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*. Moreover, where the Thomason collection failed him Mr. Williams had equally accessible material in the Burney collection, covering the period before and after that embraced by the Thomason assemblage. But the accessibility of his material, while simplifying research, has not tempted him to shrink from laborious investigation: it has rather enabled him to reach at a first attempt an approach to that definitive treatment of his subject which is, as a rule, only reached by the slow labours of a succession of workers.

As in Scotland, so in England, the earliest periodicals dealt with matters outside the kingdom. The earliest English papers dealt with foreign affairs, while the first Scottish periodical, being a reprint of one of the early English periodicals, may also be said to deal with 'foreign' affairs. 'England was entirely without any printed periodical of domestic news until the end of the year 1641. . . When the periodicals of domestic news really come into being, they come with a rush—a veritable deluge—and as if to make up for the tardiness of their arrival, no other country in the world has anything at all comparable either in number, matter, or manner to the newsbooks which appeared during the years 1643 to 1649

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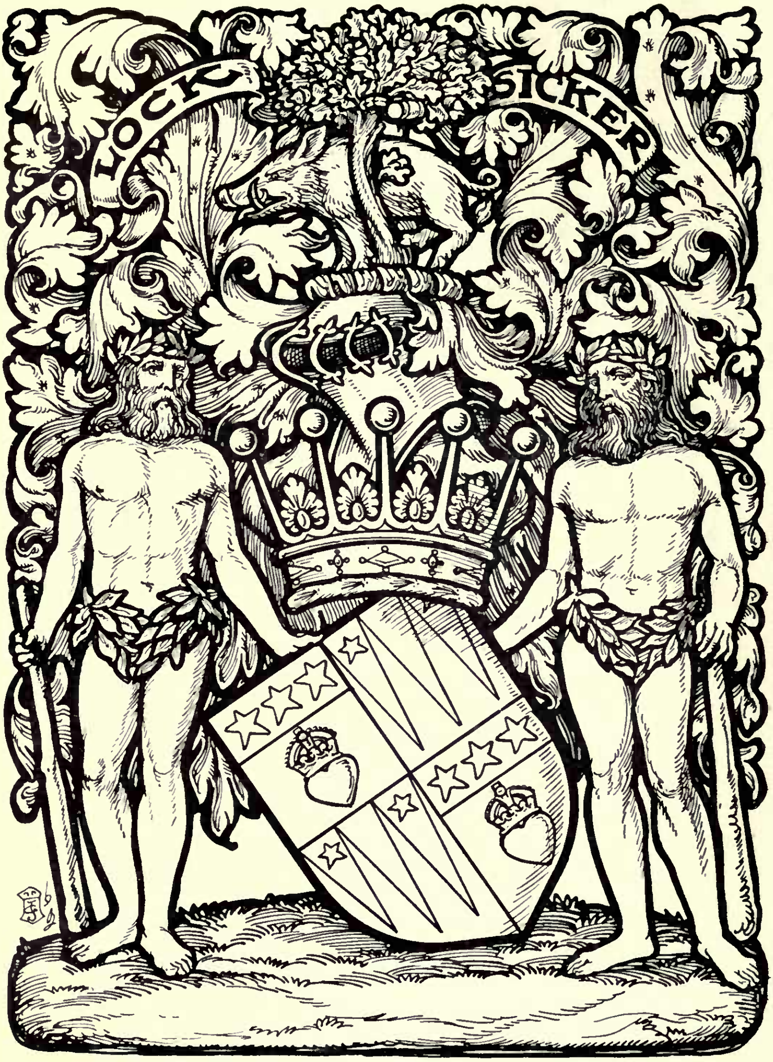

LOCK SICKER

MORTON

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul inclusive.' With patient labour Mr. Williams has pieced together the story of the genesis and careers of those periodicals—the 'Corantos' and 'Mercuries' and 'Intelligencers'—with annotations drawn from the contents of the papers and from other sources, and has interwoven biographical notices of the individuals—often though not always political vicars of Bray—who furnished the news to an avid if limited public. Among them are shady characters like Henry Walker and Marchamont Nedham, more reputable characters like Henry Muddiman, the founder of the *London Gazette*, and even the great Milton himself, who, however, was an editor in the modern sense rather than a newsbook 'author.'

The law that brought forth the 'Areopagitica' pervades the volume, sometimes evaded or defied, but continuously hampering the action of the newsman. The licensing law had its strictest application under Cromwell—Mr. Williams is no admirer of the Protector—who preferred that people should know only what he chose to tell them; but even he could not altogether suppress the Royalist *Mercuries*; and Mr. Williams is able to reprint in an appendix the complete contents of *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 1, which 'describes events at the murder of King Charles I. It has escaped notice owing to the fact that the date is 1648-49 and has been bound up among the periodicals of 1648.' It settles the identity of the man who spat in the king's face, and the meaning of the word 'Remember.' A chapter of great interest deals with the history of advertising; and, indeed, every subject relating to newsbooks as they were conducted down till the *terminus ad quem* selected by Mr. Williams—the foundation of the *Oxford*, now the *London*, *Gazette* in 1665—is exhaustively treated. The illustrations, except for the frontispiece portrait of Charles II., are reproduced from early periodicals.

W. STEWART.

THE GILDS AND COMPANIES OF LONDON. By George Unwin, Lecturer on Economic History in the University of Edinburgh. With Thirty-seven Illustrations. Pp. xvi, 397. Medium 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book aims at giving an outline of the continuous organic development of the gilds and companies of London, with special reference to their bearing on the constitutional history of the city and on the social and economic development of the nation at large. In an opening chapter the author alludes to the contrast between the gilds of China and other Eastern countries where, preserved and fostered in the interests of order, much of their original form is retained, and those of Western Europe where, as regards their old organisation, the gilds are lifeless because they have performed the most useful of their functions, and, moving in the path of progress, have helped to build up a social structure by which they have been superseded. Passing from preliminary observations to the special topic on hand, it is noted that a gild of knights, combining a social with a religious element, and a Frith gild for the suppression of theft, are vaguely heard of in the tenth century, and about two hundred years later information regarding the gilds becomes comparatively full and reliable. Associations of the Bakers, Fishmongers, and Weavers are found conducting their affairs and holding courts in the twelfth century. In 1155 the Bakers were paying into the Royal Exchequer £6 a year for their gild, a contribution which seems to have been the compounded value of tolls or market dues which the king was entitled to exact. A few years later fines, varying in amount from half a mark to forty-five marks, were imposed by the king on eighteen separate gilds, including goldsmiths, cloth workers, and butchers for having come into existence without licence, evidencing a widespread system of organisation among Londoners at that time. A municipal body had not yet been constituted, but the grant of Mayor and Commune came in 1191, hastened, it is believed, by the spread of civic opinion as indicated by the rise of so many voluntary associations.

As many as one hundred and eleven London crafts are counted in 1422, at which time the population of the city was about 50,000, but later on a number of the crafts disappeared or were amalgamated with others. The term 'craft' in the middle ages signified a trade or calling generally, and the typical member of a craft was a well-to-do shopkeeper, a tradesman. Though he had gone through an apprenticeship to the manual side of his craft, the full master of a craft was always a trader, and as trade and industry developed, the master rose in the social scale. The system of grouping several branches of a craft under one denomination did not prevail in London to the same extent as in Scottish towns, mainly perhaps on account of the wide difference in population. Edinburgh and Glasgow had only fourteen incorporated trades each, but to show how grouping existed, it may be mentioned that in Edinburgh the Hammermen craft embraced seven branches, six of which appear as separate crafts in the London list of 1422. Up till the fifteenth century livery had been worn by all members of the London companies, but some of those incorporated about that time contained members known as the yeomanry, and only the more prosperous of these were advanced into the livery. In 1430 the Grocers had 55 members in the livery, 17 in hoods, and 42 householders not in the livery. The practice of the livery companies possessing halls of their own did not become general till well on in the fifteenth century. Feasting is heard of at a much earlier date and that hospitable custom has been continuously upheld.

From the earliest times an influential part of the industrial population of London had been made up not only of 'foreigners' from English counties but likewise of alien strangers, and the influx was always on the increase. These new settlers were indispensable for the due development of manufactures and commerce, but all the citizens did not look upon them in that light, and much diplomacy was employed in allaying agitation and feuds, and in framing regulations for preserving the trading privileges of the gilds, and at the same time fostering the material interests of the community. Besides the craft-gilds there were, at least from the fourteenth century, a number of local or parish fraternities connected with the churches and having as their chief object the securing of religious observances. At the Reformation the endowments of chantries and obits, whether of the crafts or parish gilds, were forfeited to the king, but, in consequence of a scheme of repurchase, it is thought that no serious loss was sustained.

During the past eight centuries the London gilds and companies have played a prominent part in social, commercial, and civic affairs, and, in their earlier stages especially, the gilds afford the best material for the history of the city. Many and radical are the changes which have from time to time taken place, both in their own constitution and in their relationship to the municipality and the state, and the more important of these are ably discussed in Mr. Unwin's pages. The mass of facts collected by him from all available sources is skilfully arranged and digested, being handled with the freedom enjoyed by an author who is thoroughly at home in his subject. The book is enlivened with several quaint illustrations, and there are occasional passages of an entertaining character which come as a relief to the strain of following an exposition of no little complexity.

Referring to the court books of the companies, most of which begin about the middle of the sixteenth century, the author says that, apart from 'such formal items as the registering of apprenticeships and the admission of freemen or of householders, perhaps the most constantly recurring class of item is the record of disputes settled amongst members. Very often these have arisen out of hard words and insulting gestures. A pewterer named Wiltshire tells a fellow-craftsman named Scot that he "plays a Scot's part and has a Scot's heart," and Scot tells Wiltshire that he is a beggarly knave. One barber likens another to Æsop's dog. A tailor declares his fellow to be a prating boy. The disputants are bidden to be friends and bring the matter no more in question; or a light fine is inflicted with the warning that if they mock or scorn each other henceforth it will be a more serious matter. Sometimes it is an apprentice that has to be admonished or chastised for riotously wasting his master's substance, or for drawing blood from his mistress; or a master is imprisoned for unlawfully breaking an apprentice's head. Sometimes a journeyman complains that he cannot get arrears of wages, or an employer wishes to have a workman who owes him money restrained from working for anyone else till the debt is paid. Small debts of various kinds are ordered to be paid by instalments. Unsatisfactory bargains are revised. Ill-executed work is condemned. A barber-surgeon, who had undertaken to cure a client's wife "*de morbo Gallico*," and had not given satisfaction, is ordered to pay the customer 20s. or cure his said wife, and prefers to pay.' ROBERT RENWICK.

LA LIBERTÉ DE CONSCIENCE EN FRANCE, DEPUIS L'EDIT DE NANTES JUSQU'À LA SEPARATION (1598–1905). Par G. Bonet Maury, Correspondant de l'Institut. Deuxième edition, revue et augmentée. Paris: Felix Alcan. 1909. 5 francs.

M. BONET MAURY's volume will be cordially welcomed by all students of the complex modern movement in behalf of liberty, which dates from the Renascence and the Reformation. This movement embraces the struggle for political, religious, intellectual, and social rights, which may rightly be denominated the soul of modern history. It is specially pleasing to one who has for a number of years been engaged in the task of tracing the general development of this movement to find in M. Bonet Maury so able and sympathetic an exponent of one of its phases, as illustrated by the history of modern France.

The work consists of seven long chapters, and traces the vicissitudes of the aspirations and the efforts for freedom of conscience in France from the edict of Nantes to the recent separation of Church and State. The first contains an account of the great Edict of 1598 and the religious peace which resulted from it during the reign of Henry IV. and the ministries of Richelieu and Mazarin, who loyally followed the policy of the greatest of the Bourbon kings. Chapter II. reviews the reaction under Louis XIV., which gradually reversed this policy and culminated in the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, and traces the gradual counter-reaction throughout the eighteenth century, which at length restored a certain measure of religious liberty to the Protestants in the Edict of 1787. Chapters III., IV., and V. deal respectively with the history of the subject as affected by the Revolution and the régime of Napoleon, the Restoration, and the reign of Louis Philippe, whilst the last two embrace the period of the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

Throughout the whole of this long interval M. Maury examines the chief legislative acts and the chief writings for or against religious liberty in France, and we do not read far into this examination before feeling that we are following a guide who has mastered most of the sources of the subject and is gifted with the power of lucid, if matter-of-fact exposition. At the same time we are very favourably impressed with the large-minded, judicious, and moderate tone of the work. Though a Protestant by connection (he is Professor of Church History in the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Paris) M. Maury does not hesitate to emphasise the failings of the Huguenots as a political as well as a religious party, and rightly extols the enlightened policy of Richelieu, who, while depriving them of their misused political organisation, recognised the rights of the Protestant conscience, and transformed them by his wise firmness into law-abiding and patriotic Frenchmen. On the other hand, he emphasises with equal impartiality the deplorable Catholic bigotry and short-sightedness which, under Louis XIV., undid the wise statesmanship of Henry and Richelieu, and inflicted such deep material as well as moral wounds on France.

This feature of impartiality, objectiveness appears, in fact, all through the work, and is nowhere more in evidence than in the treatment in the concluding chapter of the struggle between the clericals and the Republican Government, which culminated in 1905 in the separation of Church and State in France. It is not too much to say that M. Maury's review of the latest phase of a subject that has stirred so deeply the passions of contemporary France may be read with edification by Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Free Thinkers alike. He is, indeed, a confirmed believer in the policy of separation; but he is, above all, an advocate of the rights of conscience, apart altogether from any prepossessions of party, church, or sect. He accordingly subjects to well-merited criticism the doctrinaire vehemence of the advanced Radical and Socialist party which, in its zeal for secular education, has been wanting in respect for individual liberty. He rightly considers that the treatment by this party of the congregations in the matter of education was a violation of the rights of conscience under the pretext of enforcing those of the State. On the other hand, he shows as convincingly that the exclusive dogmatism of the clerical party and its interference in politics, under the guise of religion, was a menace to the Republic as well as to toleration, and provoked a struggle which, while infringing the rights of the Catholic conscience in some particulars, vindicated Republican institutions from the intrigues of its clerical, monarchic opponents.

In a future edition, more space should be allotted to the question of toleration not only as between Catholics, Protestants, and other religious bodies in France, but within the various churches themselves. In my opinion, the author allows, for instance (p. 5), too large a right of intolerance to constituted religious societies towards their members. There is a history of liberty of conscience within as well as between the churches, which, under the influence of the intolerant spirit arising from the theological controversies inherited from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have grievously sinned at times against the consciences of their members by their insistence on an unreasonable doctrinal conformity. The incidental notice of this part of the subject might well be enlarged.

Again, it is somewhat risky to assert that Henry IV. had risen to the true conception of religious liberty in virtue of the spirit of justice rather than of political necessity. It is true that his undoubted love of the people impelled him to curb the spirit of intolerance which had worked such material and moral mischief to France. In the domain of foreign policy, however, he was the champion, not of toleration, but of Roman Catholic intolerance, as M. Poirson in his *Histoire d'Henri IV.*, which M. Maury has evidently overlooked, has forcibly brought out in reference to his Italian policy, for instance.

Further, M. Maury's appreciation of the historical importance of the Edict of Nantes is rather meagre, and I should be inclined to elaborate its superlative greatness in comparison with the intolerant contemporary policies of other lands, Germany not excepted, in spite of the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Nor does he lay sufficient stress, in treating of the causes of the Revocation of this Edict, on the important fact that dissent was offensive to the autocratic instincts of Louis XIV. On the other hand, he tends to exaggerate the ruinous effects on France of the Revocation by ignoring the baneful tendency of Louis' aggressive and long-continued wars, which contributed far more to the paralysis of the material prosperity of France at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Among the *lacunae* of this otherwise very recommendable work, I should also note the resistance of the Protestants of the Cevennes, which only receives an incidental notice; and the sources of the numerous edicts to which the author refers should be added. Why not, for instance, refer the reader to the great *Récueil Général des anciennes lois françaises*, edited by M. Isambert and others?

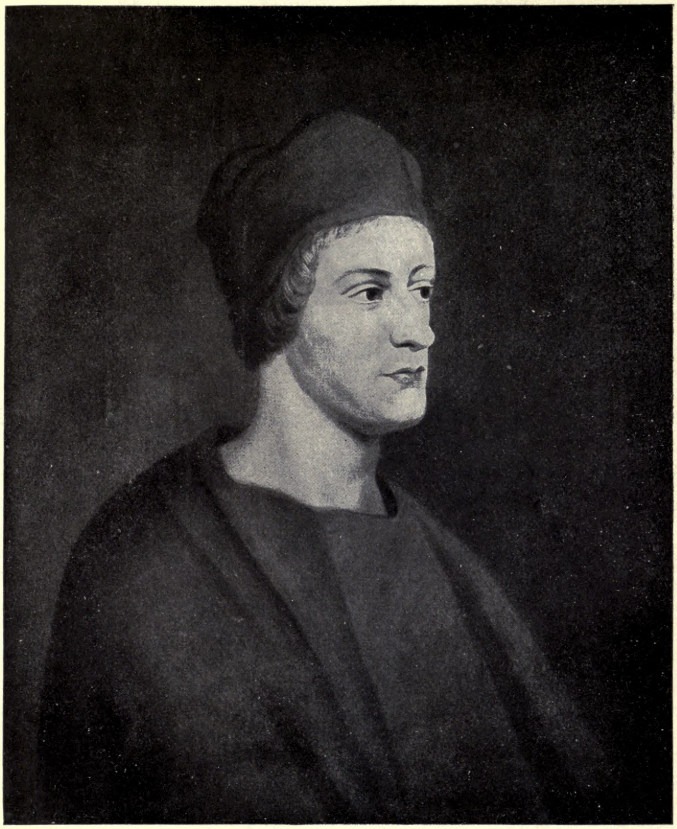
JAMES MACKINNON.

PEEPS INTO THE PAST: BEING PASSAGES FROM THE DIARY OF THOMAS ASLINE WARD. Pp. viii, 368. 4to. London: Sir W. C. Leng & Co., Ltd. 1909. 7s. 6d. nett.

A SHEFFIELD cutler, town-trustee, Unitarian, and man of leading, a founder and sometime editor of the *Sheffield Independent*, who was born in 1781, kept elaborate diaries from 1800 until 1869, and died in the odour of public veneration in 1871,—Mr. T. A. Ward has had his notebooks edited by Mr. Alex. B. Bell of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, with an introduction and annotations by Mr. R. E. Leader. The volume, double-columned and in small type, is at first sight a trifle portentous as the record of a man whose amiability was not the accompaniment of any particular public achievement or literary incisiveness. But Sheffield was clearly the better of him, and to the Sheffield district the collective notes must be an almost unparalleled mine of reminiscence. Besides, the first impression of disproportion wears off, and the outside reader finds much of interest in the circle of Ward's acquaintance and activities.

At the centre of Sheffield's intellectual, political, and literary movement he came into touch with many notable figures. He gossips pleasantly about the 'infant Roscius' in 1804. Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-Law rhymer, nominated him for Parliament after the Reform Bill was passed. Chantrey, the sculptor, not only painted him, but was his intimate friend and correspondent. His circle was influential and cultured. He was Master Cutler in 1816, and a prominent spirit in establishing the local Literary and Philosophical Society. Most distinguished of his cronies was James Montgomery, 'the gentle and precise poet-editor' of the *Iris*, to which Ward was long a contributor. Of Montgomery we get many glimpses, which from first to last do him honour. It is not Ward but a correspondent of his that refers jocularly to the poet of *The World before the Flood* as 'Jingling James'! For many passages of minor biography and contemporary estimate the literary gleaner may turn with advantage to this book. A friend both of Ward and Montgomery was Joseph Hunter, a famed record scholar, historian of Hallamshire, with whom Ward had much correspondence. When Hunter wrote for the *Iris* the character of a lady deceased, and concluded by giving her unusually assured prospects in the next world, Montgomery, editorially, would have none of it. A blue-stocking poetess who came into the horizon was Miss Margaret Holford, whose work *Wallace* must now, alas, be known to few. Montgomery thought her, in heroic tone of feeling, 'without rival among contemporary bards.'

Less surprise, perhaps, than disappointment is caused by the paucity of references to the great contemporary things, whether of war, politics, or literature. Byron is discussed; Scott is the study of an admiring circle; the coterie in Sheffield has its tastes. Nelson's victory and death, however, are only mentioned by accident. Vittoria gets into record too, merely because the bells of rejoicing for it rang on Ward's birthday. Of Napoleon and the crisis of struggle with him there is little. There is, however, the fact that from 1804 onwards Ward was an energetic volunteer during the whole Napoleonic phase of volunteering. He declined a brother officer's



DEAN COLET

From *Historical Portraits* by C. R. L. Fletcher

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challenge to a duel by reporting the challenge as a breach of the Articles of War. He records in January, 1804, a talk with a Dutchman named Genslin of the Hague. 'Mr. G.,' he says, 'ridicules the idea of invasion by means of the petty gunboats of which the Corsican boasts so much.'

Unexpected relationships crop up here and there. He buys a set of Tassie's medallion gems. His wife's sister becomes the wife of Bowring, editor of the *Westminster Review.* Through this there comes contact with Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1823, appears once in the flesh, not the immortal, sedate philosopher one might have expected, but a sage sprightly and amorous, 'thumping his reprobates with a thick stick for fun, and displaying his agility by running up and down hill to win the favour of a fine lady.' 'A widow she was,' said young Tom Lewin, Ward's brother-in-law, 'a very handsome woman, has written on the Rights of Woman, and in favour of womankind. I think old Bentham wants her for better or worse.' Mr. Bell has had much toil over Ward's tangle of memories which, by their variety, will assure for the diarist a lasting place among the worthies of Yorkshire. Were it for the index alone the editor would have deserved well of Sheffield, but he and Mr. Leader have added excellent annotations. The work itself is a garner of local lore and biography—a modest but valuable chronicle of public and literary interests by one of the leaders of his town and time.

GEO. NEILSON.

A LIFE OF JOHN COLET, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School. With an Appendix of some of his English Writings. By the late J. H. Lupton, D.D., formerly Surmaster of St. Paul's School. Pp. xiv, 323. Demy 8vo. New Edition. London: George Bell & Sons. 1909. 8s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume carries us back to the revival of humanism, to the time when a new, warm feeling for beauty in literature and art was being fanned by the ardent study of the classics, stimulated by the ever-recurring discovery of some Greek manuscript, and diffused by the aid of the recent invention of printing. England was beginning to share with the other countries of Europe that quickening which, in Italy, was already life in its full maturity. Very quickly a small group of English scholars emerged into a fame that ranked them on a level with those of Italy itself. Dean Colet was one of the number. Such is the select society to which we are introduced by one who,—as his edition of Colet's works and this re-issue bear witness—must himself have spent no small part of his life in the loving study of it. Dr. Lupton consoles himself for the time and labour he has bestowed on his subject by appreciatively contrasting them with the privilege he has enjoyed. Has he not, in spirit, listened to the familiar talk of a Colet and an Erasmus, of a Lily and a More? And the reader of this life cannot but be grateful to the late Surmaster of St. Paul's for some reflection of the same high privilege. Colet, as delineated in these pages, was a great and a good man, a most attractive personality. Of his education either at school or at the university, we are told very little of a positive character, but, if the attested facts are few, and based mainly on conjecture, we have, what some will regard as of little, if at all, less value, a very clear account of the nature of the education obtainable in the closing decades of the fifteenth century. The same obscurity as to details and the same strong probability as to main outlines characterise the chapter on Colet's three years' sojourn on the continent.

A most interesting account is given of Colet's gratuitous lectures in Oxford, of the use he made of the incomes from his benefices, of his pathetic attempt, by new statutes and otherwise, to reform the secular spirit and practice of the huge ecclesiastical community that fattened on the revenues of the old cathedral of St. Paul's, of his household management and customs, of his kind patronage of poor scholars, of his close friendship with Erasmus and other leaders of thought, and especially of the teaching by which he sought to stem the flood of worldliness that threatened to engulf alike the clergy among whom it originated and the laity to whom it spread. Grieved at the foulness and the corruption of the church, he assailed these in a reforming spirit that had in it no tincture of rancour, no suggestion of personal spleen. Of the three famous sermons he delivered on great occasions, one is fully translated in the appendix. Addressed to the Meeting of Convocation in the beginning of 1512, it taxed the clergy with their pride of life, their concupiscence, their covetousness and their secular occupations, in a style all the more convincing for its friendly source. That his candour, infused though it was with a pleading earnestness, should have raised up for him powerful enemies, and brought him within easy reach of the stake for heresy, is not surprising. Yet he lived to see the success of his greatest and wisest achievement, the foundation of St. Paul's School. It is here that the 'Life' has a special and inspiring interest for the teaching profession, whose pride, however, in such predecessors as Wolsey and Lily is apt to be dashed by Erasmus's description of teachers as 'a shabby broken-down sort of men, hardly in their senses.' Colet might well have been his own first headmaster. He possessed that prime requisite, reverence for the young. An eloquent light is shed on the tender nobility of the otherwise rather austere man by the concluding words of the preface to his Latin grammar: 'Trustynge of this beginnynge that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be grete clarkes. And lyfte up your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to God: to whom . . .' WILLIAM THOMSON.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster, and Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. 108. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1909. 5s. nett.

THE HISTORY OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By John Flete. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Pp. 151. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1909. 5s. nett.

THESE two volumes are the earliest issues of a series dealing with 'Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey.' They are admirably printed, and in every respect a credit to the Cambridge Press, while the names of the Dean and of the Provost of King's are an ample guarantee of learned and more than competent editing.

The former volume gives a detailed list of the MSS. of Westminster Abbey, and does not lend itself readily to the reviewer's purpose. The introduction throws much interesting light on the 'Making and Keeping' of the Abbey books, the cost of them and the manner of their production. It is curious to read about the expenses 'that be leyde owte for the Seyny books,' regarding which we learn that these were for those monks who, having been 'bled,' were permitted to *sit* during certain offices, and had for their use the 'liber minutorum' (*vid.* De Cange, *sub voc.* 'Minutus'). And other like pieces of quaint information are to be met with throughout these pages, *e.g.* some excellent 'Rules for the behaviour of Schoolboys,' from which it appears that the difficulty which clergymen with surpliced choirs experience to-day in restraining their young musicians from singing to the congregation, as to an audience at a concert, was not unknown, since they are bidden not to have their eyes 'deflexos ad laycos, sed pocius versus Altare,' etc.

The latter volume will appeal to a wider circle of readers. John Flete, whose *History of Westminster Abbey* is here reproduced, was a Monk of the House from 1420 to 1465. The Dean tells us quite candidly that Flete 'displays no graces of style and not the most rudimentary sense of humour'; but at the same time he assures us that the writer 'has devoted vast pains to his task, and refrains from guessing where he can find no evidence.' The work consists of over a hundred pages of the usual Chroniclers' Latin, and falls into four main divisions, viz. the story of the Abbey's Foundation, Evidence of its Privileges, a List of Relics and of Indulgencies, and Lives of the Abbots. In point of time it extends from the traditional foundation by K. Lucius ('primi Britonum regis Christiani') A.D. 184, down to 1386; and in the course of that long survey we read of the legendary consecration of the new church (erected by K. Sebert on the desecrated site of Lucius' building) by St. Peter himself 'in the spirit,' and how the miracle is attested by the tithe of salmon which the successors of the fisherman who rowed the Apostle across the Thames on that occasion, paid ever after 'beato Petro eique servientibus.' By reason of the number of Papal Bulls and of Charters granted by Kings and Bishops, conferring the highest dignities and privileges on the Abbey, 'et quia ex primitiva fundatione locus iste est regiae consecrationis, regum sepultura repositoriumque regalium insignium, Caput Angliae merito diademaque regni ab antiquo nominatur'; and some of the Bishops cursed very prettily those who should dare to violate the Abbey's privileges: 'ignibus aeternis, cruciatibus perpetuis illos damus, portas caeli eis claudimus, et deleantur nomina eorum de libro vitae, nisi resipiscant,' and thereupon do penance apart from communion for three years.

As to the third section, the list of relics is perhaps not longer nor more varied than that of some other illustrious churches; but still it ranges from some of the straw of The Manger and inevitable pieces of The Cross, through relics of St. Mary and the Apostles, of Martyrs and Confessors, down to more than five hundred others found 'in feretris et aliis jocalibus, sine titulis.' Space does not allow of dwelling on the last division, the Lives of the Abbots. Dean Armitage Robinson himself writes: 'The critical discussion of the last section of Flete's work cannot be attempted now; for it would involve an investigation of the history of the Abbey during a period of more than three hundred years. Indeed, it is as a preliminary contribution to such an enquiry that Flete's work is *for the first time* printed here.' The lives are of course related with more or less fulness according to the length of the Abbot's reign and the interest appertaining to each. Epitaphs are in many cases recorded, such as that of Richardus de Ware who, repairing to Rome for confirmation of his election, brought back workmen along with porphyries and marbles, at his own charges, and constructed the wonderful pavement in front of the High Altar. His work was not forgotten in death:

> 'Abbas Richardus de Wara qui requiescit
> hic portat lapides quos huc portavit ab urbe.'

Notice ought to be taken also of two 'Curtains or Dossals of the Choir,' which contained the Story of the Saviour and of St. Edward, with the Inscriptions on them (amounting to no fewer than 48) in Latin verse quatrains and couplets. The volume is well worthy of the attention of the historical student.

Both volumes are furnished with very serviceable indices.

M. B. HUTCHISON.

THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN EDUCATION. By J. W. ALLEN. Pp. vii, 258. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1909. 5s. nett.

PROFESSOR ALLEN has given us a closely reasoned, clearly and brightly written, and practically valuable treatise on a subject as important as it is full of perplexity. Broadly speaking, the spirit which is to transform the teaching of history must be the same as that which is transforming the teaching of geography—concentration upon the lines of causation and careful analysis of all contributory factors in the shaping of any result. This is the ultimate thesis of the present work, but, before he reaches that stage, Professor Allen devotes a series of chapters to the consideration, respectively, of what History ought to be and of what Education probably would be did we know exactly what we wanted. Thus very big questions indeed are brought into view, and no mere summary could do justice to a discussion in which the author has not wasted a word or failed to give fair consideration to contrary views. He takes his stand upon history as a science, to which either moral, aesthetic or political accessories are, of themselves, as irrelevant as they would be to any other science. This is severe, but it is supplemented by the confession that history is thus really a field for co-operative work, and that the other, the more humanistic and literary variety, is bound to persist, in even better condition as the common foundations are more firmly laid. Nothing that Prof. Allen says could, probably, present what he is arguing for in a more salient fashion than these sentences: 'The teaching of English history definitely from a patriotic point of view is, of course, a thing not to be tolerated. No procedure could be less scientific, and perhaps no point of view is more distorting' (p. 143). Other 'isms' receive similar summary handling. But every page offers matter for reflection, and the fulness and fitness of illustration keep the main lines of thought in close touch with the realities of the case.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

IONIA AND THE EAST. Six Lectures delivered before the University of London. By David G. Hogarth, Fellow of Magdalen College. Pp. 117. With map. Medium 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS unpretending little volume is packed full of valuable matter, set forth with a degree of lucidity that it is not given to all archaeologists to attain. Everybody is aware in a general way that within the last few years the work of the spade, particularly in Crete, has let in a flood of light upon the history of the early civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The details of the evidence are, however, as yet largely inaccessible. Mr. Hogarth belongs to the small band of *color chi sanno*, and in the six lectures here reprinted he has made excellent and liberal use of his stores of knowledge. The problem to which he addresses himself is 'to consider the circumstances under which Hellenic civilization, properly so called, came into being, and in particular, the origin of that brilliant Ionian society which a French writer has named *le printemps de la Grèce*.' He is careful to qualify his solution as provisional only. But, even so, the train of reasoning by which he reaches it is singularly informing and suggestive. It would be idle to attempt to summarize it here. Suffice it to say that Crete and the Danube valley, as well as distant Mesopotamia, play an honourable part, and that we get a vivid picture of the great Syro-Cappadocian empire of the Hittites, whose influence seems at one time to have reached the very shores of the Aegean. The volume is admirably printed, although the name of a distinguished German historian is twice mis-spelt on p. 22. The binding is not so satisfactory, the covers being either too stiff or not stiff enough. Lastly, we hope that, when the criminal code is next revised, it will be made an indictable offence to produce a good book without an index.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Edited and Abridged by Prof. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D. Second Series, vol. viii. A.D. 1544-1660. Royal 8vo. Pp. xiv, 605. Third Series, vol. i. A.D. 1661-1664. Royal 8vo. Pp. lxv, 898. Edinburgh: Register House. 15s. nett each.

THE concluding volume of the second series has as its first half the Privy Council Register from 1643 until 1650, when the Council ceased to exist under the Commonwealth. The second half, consisting of papers not long ago found in a basement room of the General Register House, is a miscellany of petitions, reports of trials, and documents dating from 1544 until 1660.

Supplementary to earlier volumes, this latter miscellany of over 400 pages contains so much history that we rather regret Professor Hume Brown's introductory self-denial in deciding not to pass again over the ground covered in older prefaces by Hill Burton and Masson. For the domestic annals of Scotland under King James after the Union and under Charles I. are materially enriched by these new papers, with their mass of narrative, oftenest in the form of complaint and supplication.

The disturbed state of the country at and after the Union sufficiently appears from the continual resort to lawburrows, and the infinite variety of charges of violence committed by bands of retainers 'all boddin in feir of weare with lancis, halberts, bowis, darlochis, durkis, swordis, secretis and uthairis vaponis invasive.' Occasionally a complainer tells how his enemy 'appeallit' him 'to the combat': we hear of 'ane solempe vow to get . . . certane . . . burgesses of the said burgh hangit': the laird of Drumlanrig 'barbarouslie and inhumanelie raisit the corps' of the laird of Enoch's son buried in the aisle of Durisdeer: a Dumfries maltman 'drew his quhinger' on a surgeon in the parish church: in the baron-court of Towie, Aberdeenshire, a defender 'cruellie and ferselie invadit and persewet' the members of the court: an attempt to survey the Debatable Land met with determined resistance, 'oppression and bangstrie'—such were characteristic episodes before the Council in 1607.

The King, applying to Scotland methods long at work in England, instituted Justices of the Peace in 1610, and the course of this judicial expedient is marked by a number of most interesting instructions as to the test-oaths to be taken by the justices, the duties to be assigned to them, and the steps necessary to avoid conflict of jurisdiction with the rival courts of baronies and burghs. Friction was not avoided, however, and despite some superfluity of courts the elements of anarchy seemed to thrive as briskly as ever they had in Scotland at its worst. The constable of Forfar 'sittand in judgement' was defied: there were serious riots by 'deboshed bodyis' in Edinburgh: on the border 'pernitious lymmers' committed 'slachteris,' 'pykreis,' and 'open stouthis': commissions of fire and sword were a frequent resource in the north: deadly feud everywhere took forms of violence and wanton cruelty. Many disturbances arose over disputed peat or 'elding' rights in mosses, as for instance at Inverness in 1627, where Lord Lovat not only drove off the townsmen, but called the magistrates 'lownes, lowsie knaves, villanes, and deboshed doggis.' Highland trouble of course was always present: the 'lymmaris of the Clanchattane' were in the vortex of it; the captain of Clanranald evaded the service of the king's writs on him by retreat to an isle of the sea: Clan Gregor were proscribed and their resetters penalised: Claneane (M'Leans) were wreckers: Mackintoshes fell foul of and 'unmercifullie invadit' the town piper of Inverness, leaving him for dead;—it was the old song.

Later, as the civil war threatens and is entered upon, there come other commotions, religious and secular. Lady Lamington's stout opposition to the induction of Andrew M'Gie to the church of Lamington and the scene she made in the kirk on the subject give matter for many pages of the record. The rebellion in Ireland and the position of the Scots there engross much attention. Montrose's meteoric campaign of 1644-45 would be almost unmentioned however were it not for a cattle thief's trial, where it was with unavailing ingenuity pled that the 'steilling of sax kye furthe of the park of Mugdok' was justified as a good service to the public, they being the goods of Montrose, who had invaded and taken up arms against his country.

Quaint things are not wanting, especially in the numerous witchcraft passages in which charms play a great part. In an Orkney trial the devil is named 'Walliman'; in others we hear of witches in shape of cats, of 'the waff of an ill wind' as the subject of a charm, of surrender to Satan by laying the hand on the head and giving all between the hand and the earth, and of the use for magic purposes of phallic emblems in clay. The intermittent action of the Council and its suspension from 1650 explain the hiatus in the record, and the fact that Cromwell's name never occurs in this volume. The final entry, dated 17th October, 1660, is the proclamation at Edinburgh cross of a reward for the apprehension of Johnston of Wariston.

The next volume, and with it the third series, begins in 1661 after Argyll's execution, when the Restoration had started a fresh and very autocratic dispensation, and when reaction was at its height. Out of his abundant material the editor draws the contents of a varied and significant preface which sets in lucid order the leading public events and tendencies. Amongst them may be remarked the order to destroy the citadels at Inverness, Perth, Ayr, Leith, and Linlithgow, constructed by the 'Englishes' under Cromwell, the pressure put on the people to take test oaths, the efforts to enforce payment of fines levied for offences during the troubles, and the local risings in Galloway against the intrusion of ministers taking the places of others who had been ousted for refusal to take the oath.

Apart from ecclesiastical turmoil there was more than enough of domestic disturbance, for the Borders were full of bloodshed and violence (as indeed was well shown by the Jedburgh assize in 1622, published in Wilson's *Annals of Hawick* in 1850), and in the Highlands matters were still worse. MacDonald of Keppoch, subject of grevious charges of hamesucken and spoliation, was put to the horn. A commission of fire and sword was granted against Cameron of Lochiel. Clan Gregor of course were not behindhand in depredation. The sheriffship of Caithness was debated with pistol and sword.

English Navigation Acts in 1660 and 1663 had struck heavily against the foreign trade of Scotland, and the old alliance with France and the 'reciprocall naturalization' conceded in 1558 were brought before King Charles with a view to obtaining his interposition with the French King to secure the ancient privileges. Intervention on behalf of one interest was apt to be disastrous to another, as happened when the Council prohibited the exporting of oysters, for the oyster dredgers of the Forth protested that the prohibition deprived them of the means of subsistence. Similarly the weavers of Glasgow protested against the prohibition to export linen yarn. Trade was being developed by joint companies, among which fishery enterprises were prominent. A cloth factory in the 'citadel' of Ayr was supported by the Council's warrant to impress all idle persons and vagabonds in the adjacent shires 'and keip them within the said manufactory, and to compell them to work for meat and cloathing.'

A Glasgow printer, Robert Saunders, was granted exemption from excise on books and paper imported from abroad. Glasgow coalmasters, harassed by water in the mines, sought help from the Council in their difficulties caused 'by the coall heughers not working bot four compleit dayes of sex.' So numerous are the cases of witchcraft from every quarter of the country that the index of them alone fills three columns. While the passages are somewhat stereotyped there are special features: an 'ordinar priker of witches' is summoned to answer for pricking a woman 'who immediatly thereafter dyed'; another is bound over to desist from pricking without warrant; the minister of Rhynd and certain of his parishioners are accused of the like illegality against three suspected witches 'by pricking watching keeping of them from sleip and other tortur,' thereby extorting a confession. The theoretical essence of the offence consisted in the renouncing of baptism and entering into 'paction with the devil.' The Council, as the editor remarks, 'was disposed to check rather than encourage the popular delusion.' An entry of date 19th April, 1664 (not 29th as stated by Wodrow), gives the proclamation against an English translation of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*. Two brass guns are mentioned which had seen service in the citadel of Leith: they bore an inscription of date 1650, to Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, translator of Rabelais, and captive at Worcester in the King's cause in 1651. The colour and note of the time appeared in a thousand ways, whether in assythment for murder, prosecution for illegal carrying of hagbuts and pistols, tales of ravishment and threats of kidnapping, the plague and precautions against it, privateering under letters of marque, conventicles and the exile of Covenanters like Andrew Cant and John Livingstone, birthbreeves for Scots abroad, sanctuary in the precincts of Holyrood, or in the blast or the echo of the 'trumpett of sedition and rebellion.'

While the preface of the first of the two volumes under notice briefly describes the subsidiary work done by the Council from 1643 until 1650, the preface to the second is a historical essay of conspicuous grasp and merit as a narrative of the active policy of Charles II. and the constitutional, ecclesiastical, industrial, and domestic movement of the country from 1661 until 1664—years in which the religious aspects of policy were pushed into dangerous prominence in the effort to impose episcopacy upon the loyalty of an unwilling nation. The Council was once more the chief engine of government, and these years see Middleton's ambition broken against the influence of Lauderdale. As the tribunal of enquiry into every kind of grievance and form of misgovernment the Privy Council had cognizance over such a variety of internal affairs that the Register became an unequalled repository of public and private information, often conveyed in piquant vernacular complaints and representations. Professor Hume Brown's talent for clear, well-ordered, and accurate exposition displays itself to high advantage amid such records, which abound in passages exceeding Pitscottie himself in quaint vivacity of narration.

Geo. Neilson.

GEORGE CANNING AND HIS FRIENDS. Edited by Captain Josceline Bagot. 2 vols. Vol. i. 423 pp. Vol. ii. 463 pp. Demy 8vo. John Murray. 1909. 30s. nett.

THESE two handsomely illustrated and withal readable volumes are begun by the reader with so much expectation that he can hardly help laying them down with a feeling akin to disappointment. It seems so very desirable to us to know as much as possible of the talents of Canning. He appeared in so many aspects; the young wit; the head of a versatile coterie who gave such support to the Tories in the Anti-Jacobin; then the brilliant politician, often suspected as an intriguer; the Foreign Minister, conservative at home and radical abroad. One looks forward however rather vainly to completing one's knowledge of this Proteus here. With the exception of Canning's own letters the correspondence in these volumes, though it is pleasant to read, is not of a very high order of merit or interest, although it includes many letters from the Rev. John Sneyd, J. H. Frere, Sir Charles Bagot, the Ellis family (Charles Ellis was Canning's second in his duel with Castlereagh) and the Wellesleys. The editor has done his work well, giving us as much about Canning in his home and political life as his material allows, but he is almost too conscientious or he would have laid more stress upon the Anti-Jacobin and less on that *vieux jeu* the 'Musae Cateatonenses.' The account of Canning's famous rhymed cypher dispatch to the Minister at the Hague (Bagot) beginning

> 'In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
> Is offering too little and asking too much,'

and the excitement it caused to its recipient is indeed worth reading, and shows the delightful intimacy in which this Georgian Minister stood with his diplomatic subordinates and friends. Some new light is thrown also on Canning's courtship, which, favoured by Pitt, and conducted under the kind auspices of 'Lady S. E,' led to his happy marriage to Miss Joan Scott of Balcomie, and gave him the assistance of her handsome fortune and the friendship of her many powerful relatives. A. F. S.

THE ROYAL STUARTS IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH ART AND LETTERS. By W. G. Blaikie Murdoch. Pp. 309. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh: J. & J. Gray & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

SYMPATHY and enthusiasm are necessary elements of an editor's equipment when he sets himself to draw up an inventory of the literary achievement of a line of princes. The list is bound to be not a little made up of flat items; and it may even be that a hard critic's best word for the songs of Stewart royalties will fall short of Sir James Melville's commendation of Queen Mary that she versified 'raisonably for a Queen.'

Yet the record is no slight one, for not only was there poetry in the race, there was the gift of invoking the poetry of others; and a story which begins with the patronage of John Barbour, maintains itself handsomely through sunshine and storm until the memories of a dethroned and exiled house have passed into romantic and occasionally perfervid inspirations. Nor is it a mere case of memory purified and glorified by misfortune: the splendour of Scottish literature gathers itself round the Scottish Court. Mr. Blaikie Murdoch has cast a wide net for his matter. The names of his helpers are such an enumeration of historical, literary, and antiquarian celebrity, that absence from the list is a downright stigma of obscurity!

He has been helped to good purpose, and has produced a handy volume, attractively frontispieced with a drawing by Prince Charlie, concluding with an echo of the Jacobite yearning caught in the verse of Swinburne, and filled in the intervening 300 pages with a detailed and well-referenced narrative of the place the Stewarts occupy in our island story of letters and of art.

A well-ordered narrative starts with the royal encouragement given to Barbour, who, besides *The Bruce*, wrote a 'propyr genealogy' from Sir Dardan of Phrygia down to Robert II. No mention is made of the *Ring of the Roy Robert*; and more might have been said of David Duke of Rothesay. King James I. could not fail to receive a full measure of attention, albeit one marvels that M. Jusserand's *Jacques Ier d'Écosse Fut-il Poète?* has escaped the drag-net of research. There is less occasion for surprise that James's Latin couplet, made when he committed Alexander of the Isles to ward in the Castle of Inverness, has evaded capture than there is for regret at losing John Major's criticism of it, that allowance was to be made for false quantities when a king was the poet. By an extraordinary misconception a lament by the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.) for his wife Margaret, daughter of James I., on her death in 1446, is attributed to Margaret herself! Besides, it ought to have been readily discovered that the work at one place styled *Chronicon Jacobi Primi* is the same as that styled in the same chapter *Liber Pluscardensis*. King James II. had a verse made on him by his contemporary François Villon, here unnoted.

James IV., James V., Queen Mary, and James VI. all receive generous measure, although the fact that for more than two centuries the official circle of the Court had a decided literary bent, indeed almost a monopoly of poetic production, seems scarcely to be appreciated by the literary chronicler. His acquaintance with the famous John of Ireland appears somewhat distant, but he may be complimented on the neatness of his identification of Jean Cochlee's *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia* (cf. *S.H.R.* iv. 85). A good word is found even for Darnley, as a rhymester and alleged translator of Valerius Maximus. As regards James VI., the author hardly makes clear enough the poetic coterie of the young king's surroundings, as indicated by his *Lusus Regius*; he does not deal with the literature of James's pet doctrine of Divine Right; and he passes by a whole series of paragraphs in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, which, with far subtler eulogy than the dedication of that work, are directly addressed to King James. Such episodes as Ben Jonson's durance vile in relation to *Eastward Ho* might have been chronicled; for the reverse side of the picture has its rights. King Charles I. appears as author of a hymn, in which the royal bard, fallen on evil days, reminded the Almighty of the unavailing doctrine of kingship which he had inherited—

> 'Nature and law by thy divine decree
> (The only root of righteous royaltie)
> With this dim diadem invested me,

With it the sacred sceptre, purple globe,
The holy unction and the royal globe,
Yet am I levell'd with the life of Job.'

Charles IX. of France, replying to complimentary lines of Ronsard, modestly hinted that the art of verse deserved higher reward than the art of government, and that the crown he wore was of less degree than that which Ronsard as poet could bestow—in a realm of poesy where no tyranny holds sway. Certainly diadems grow dim; but it is as true of poets as of kings. Charles II. appears more as a connoisseur of art than as a patron of, or dabbler in, letters. James II. ('James Misfortunate') was no great timber for songcraft. The Jacobite exile, the abortive returns, the lingering end of the hopes of an old dynasty, and the loyalties of rebellious sentiment—these, however, have a literature too vast for the present little book, and supply abundant material for the sequel which they suggest.

A task which by its very nature enlists goodwill and merits welcome and encouragement, has been carried out by Mr. Blaikie Murdoch in such a manner as to constitute no unfit monument of the share of the Stewarts prominently in the literature, and incidentally in the art, of four centuries. Every chapter is buttressed with the solid support of references. The expressed estimates of literary merit silently apply John Major's golden rule in making ample allowance for royal metrists. Yet the introductory declaration of 'frank and avowed affection for the Stuarts' is the prelude to very little extravagance indeed, and indicates a geniality of spirit perfectly compatible with sound chronicle and temperate criticism.

THE STORMING OF LONDON AND THE THAMES VALLEY CAMPAIGN: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN BY THE ANGLES. By Major P. T. Godsal. Pp. xxxiv, 288, and 6 Maps. Demy 8vo. London: Harrison & Sons. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

IN this too lengthy work—evidently a labour of love—the writer attempts to show that the conquest of England by the Germanic tribes was not, as has been hitherto generally held, the result of mere independent, if fortuitous, raids by different tribes, but a carefully-planned invasion carried out by the Saxons and Jutes under the leadership of the Angles against the Romanised Britons. The period he chooses is that 'mysterious' one from the battle of Crayford, *circa* 457 A.D., to the time the Ealdorman Cedric assumed the rank of king about 520 A.D., regarding which there are few historical references remaining. He therefore attempts, and with some success, to build up a theory of the strategic advance of the invaders; first on London, and then, after the fall of London, the campaign under Ælla the heretoga, up the Thames valley towards the Chilterns until the fall of the walled city of Silchester. He defends his theory by an examination of the place names, the planting of the 'tuns,' 'hams,' and 'burhs,' the position of the 'stokes' and the situation of the 'hundreds.' He certainly shows that the settlement was both immediate and important, which presupposes not only the total extirpation of the British inhabitants, but the immigration of a very great number of Germanic settlers, who could scarcely have been at hand had the invasion been the result of chance raids. He attempts, moreover, to reconstruct the life of Ælla, the first Bretwalda, for whose strategy, as he sees it, he has conceived immense admiration, and he holds that his title was proclaimed at Runnemede in 510 A.D. We think, however, that his connection of Ælla with the Arthurian legend and the round table will need to be more satisfactorily examined before it can be adopted even as a theory, and this remark applies to one or two of the author's theories.

THE SOBIESKI STUARTS: THEIR CLAIM TO BE DESCENDED FROM PRINCE CHARLIE. By Hugh Beveridge, F.S.A., Scot. Pp. v, 122. Cr. 4to. Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons. 1909. 5s.

A REAL consideration of the 'claims' of the Sobieski Stuarts would be an interesting book—if only as an example of poor human credulity—but such we do not find here. This work gives only a tiresome reiteration of their vague and contradictory claims, and weighs neither their probability nor possibility at all. The book is therefore of no value, and its only interest is that it contains portraits of the Sobieski Stuarts, and of their progenitor, Admiral Allen, and that it also gives some little known statements about the second marriage of his son, Thomas Allen, who by his first wife was father of the two brothers who asserted a royal descent on no real evidence whatever.

Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1494 to 1514) in a revised translation by Mr. G. R. Dennis (cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 448. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909; price 6s. nett) is a recent addition to Bohn's Standard Library. Equipped with a capital index, it presents Ranke's earliest work, published in 1824 in the shape he gave it in a second edition in 1874, but with the slips and misprints corrected by Mr. Dennis, and with an introductory essay by Mr. Edward Armstrong on the book and its place in Ranke's evolution as a historian. This is a restrained but cordial tribute to the achievement of the youthful author, which was great in itself though yet greater in its promise. With the imperfections of a work exposed to comparison with the writer's riper performances this parallel study of the history of the Latin and Teutonic nations is still unsupplanted as a vivid, circumstantial, and historically-philosophic narrative of the European movement, especially in Italy, during the reigns of King Charles VIII. and King Louis XII. of France.

Its estimates of popes like Alexander VI. or Julius II., of monarchs like Ferdinand and Isabella or the Emperor Maximilian, and of celebrities like Savonarola or Ludovico Sforza retain their charm of clear presentment with authority little impaired by eighty years of research and criticism. The volume will take a place of esteem corresponding to that of the same translator and publishers' edition of Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

The Lone Shieling, or The Authorship of the Canadian Boat Song, with other Literary and Historical Sketches, by G. M. Fraser (8vo, pp. xii, 242. Aberdeen: Wm. Smith & Sons. 1908. 4s. nett), makes a pleasant handful of reprinted essays, chiefly on Aberdeen subjects, such as the Town Council's connection with literature, Sir Walter Scott's attitude—a little aloof—towards the city, the Fintray Chapbooks, the place-name 'Aberdeen,' the market cross, and celebrities like Gordon of Rothiemay, Peter Buchanan, James Beattie, and John Longmuir. The title-giving paper presents insinuating persuasions for Mr. Fraser's conclusion that Professor John Wilson wrote the boat song, with its haunting melancholy of reminiscence, when 'Mountains divide us and a waste of seas.'

Parallels from Wilson's other poems are adduced, which are not without distinct force as evidence, in spite of the fact that this noble piece originally appeared in a Blackwood article which Wilson did not write. It is always hard to establish authorship on internal evidence. Mr. Fraser wins hearty sympathy at least for his zealous advocacy of a claim for Wilson which Wilson himself never made. Easy in style, and with a local patriotism well ballasted with literary and historical lore, Mr. Fraser's volume is a north country collection worth making and worth having.

Voyages of Drake & Gilbert: Select Narratives from the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt (Clarendon Press, pp. lxii, 193-327, price 2s. 6d.) may be described as a partial offprint of the larger volume, *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, by the same editors, Mr. E. J. Payne and Prof. C. R. Beazley. Containing narratives of Drake's famous voyage 'about the whole Globe of the Earth,' of the exploits of his 'great armada' in the West Indies in 1585, and of Sir H. Gilbert's expedition to Florida, attempted in 1583, it is prefaced by Mr. Payne's informing introduction containing a capital narrative—as it were, a historical chart—of the whole course of adventurous navigation which reconstituted the world. It makes a compact companion sketch to Prof. Raleigh's brilliant and picturesque essay.

Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster, by Mr. A. F. Leach (pp. 24, price 1s. nett), is a notable print from the Proceedings of the British Academy. It shows the influence of St. Paul's School under its 'high master,' Alexander Gill, on the mind and art of the future poet, pupil there 1621-24. Gill was a fearless critic of royalty, and paid the price of his strictures of Charles I. The curriculum of Paul's in his day included Lactantius, Prudentius, and Baptista Mantuanus, inherited from Colet, who excluded many generally received works 'which more ratheyr may be callid blatterature than litterature.' Mr. Leach convincingly tracks snatches of *Paradise Lost* to Lactantius, of the hymn on the Nativity to Prudentius and—somewhat curiously—to Mantuanus, who, by the way, is not here recognised as he deserves to be as the 'Mantuan' (not Virgil) of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Milton kept a school, and Mr. Leach thinks the *Tractate on Education* showed that if he did not wish to call it an Academy, it supplied the ground-lines for his ideal of a combined school and university. Mr. Leach's observations on the poet as an educational theorist might well have touched on *Nova Solyma*, that work (whether Milton's or not) so interestingly collateral to the *Tractate.*

A short essay on *Milton and Party*, by Professor O. Elton (pp. 8), is one of the 'Leaflets' published by the English Association. Its rather indistinct propositions are graced by some fine *obiter dicta.* 'We are creatures of the dead.' 'Milton had a very medieval side to his brain.' 'The Cromwell and Hampden of heaven secede, fight, fill the stage, occupy the sympathy, and then fail.' Like so many tercentenary celebrators, Prof. Elton speaks as one who has never heard of Vondel.

The Functions of Criticism, by Mr. Nichol Smith (pp. 24, Clarendon Press, price 1s. nett), distinguishes four chief modes of criticism, the historical, relating the work to its time and circumstances; the genealogical, tracing *quellen* and influences; the biographical, deducing the author's character from his writing; and the separate judgment of the individual work, not by comparison, but in itself. Johnson's failure to fulfil his promise of writing a 'History of Criticism' is regretted; Pope's poem is approved for its taste of judgment, although hopeless as a system; and Boileau is applauded for his early insight into Molière and Racine. Mr. Smith, averse to hard distinctions, clearly admires interpretativeness—a quality in which he himself excels—as the truest feature of criticism in all the modes.

The *School History of the County Palatine of Durham*, by Mr. F. S. Eden (8vo, pp. 256, Clarendon Press, 1909), inevitably centres upon the cathedral, the bishops, and the peculiar palatinate rights and duties. Containing a good many rough but effective drawings by the author and others, it catches the salient points of an eminently historic shire, and popularises the story of the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert, with an intelligent appreciation of unique features in the tenures of its Halywerkfolk. The law of sanctuary is briefly described. Noted personalities among the bishops receive cordial recognition. Among them Antony Beck gets considerably more than his share of approbation, and Richard de Bury has the book-lover's tribute he so well deserves.

A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect (Pp. x, 34. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1909), being Part I. of the inaugural dissertation of Dr. Heinrich Mutschmann, reports the Scottish dialects of the present day 'as everywhere in a state of utter dissolution' and 'Polite Scotch' as a standard language, apart from English, generally established. Directed to a skilful analysis, phonological and historical, of the Middle-Scotch vowels, it is the prelude of a complete study announced to appear in Professor Büllbring's 'Bonner Studien.'

In the *English Historical Review* (April) Prof. Haskins has the premier place with an article (following up that which is noted in the preceding paragraph) on the 'Administration of Normandy under Henry I.,' embracing the text of seventeen charters of the period, most of them hitherto unprinted. Scrutiny is chiefly directed, as in the other article, to the judicial and fiscal indications of the documents, which reveal many new facts concerning the Norman justices under Henry I.,—king's judges sometimes found sitting in the feudal court of the *vicomte*, and not only creating a body of law, but centralising its administration. The office of treasurer is also illustrated by numerous references to successive holders, and fresh light is thrown upon the exchequer movements generally.

Another important textual communication is by Mr. H. E. Salter, who prints twenty-six charters of Henry II. to the See of Lincoln.

A third medieval documentary paper is by Mr. H. W. C. Davis editing a fragment from a MS. of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. It tells how, in 1264, before the battle of Lewes, some 300 'bachelors' conspired against the constituted authorities of the borough and raised a gild which they called the 'gilda juvenum.' Determined to elect their own alderman and bailiffs, and despising the 'mothorn' of the community, they started a horn of their own, and marched with a mob behind them to attack the abbey. But the surprise came to nothing, and the insurgent and probably adulterine gild was quashed. Mr. Davis, in his interesting comment, perhaps lays too little stress on the corporate character assumed by the rebellious body—a point which obviously impressed the annalists, and which appears to give the episode a special significance, and to suggest a technical sense for 'bachelors' in a corporate connection.

Other subjects of this issue include the deprivations of Puritan ministers in 1605, now estimated at 60 in all; the British relations with Germany, 1660-1679, notable for Count Waldstein's anti-French memorial of 1677; and the Mission of William Grenville in 1787 to Holland and France.

In the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Professor Firth's 'Ballad History of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.' attractively surveys an odd and wayward series of quasi-records of England under the first two Tudor kings. 'The Song of Lady Bessee' tells of Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., and of her part before her marriage with Henry VII. in the overthrow of Richard III. 'Scottish Field,' 'Flodden Field,' and 'Sir Andrew Barton' all deal with the events, to a great degree Scottish, culminating in 1513. Wolsey's rise and fall are, like Cromwell's after him, chronicled in popular verse, mostly satirical. Henry VIII.'s bluff personality fails to bulk impressively, the meagreness of his appearances in the ballads being perhaps explained by his severe intolerance of criticism. On the Reformation question there were balladmongers on both sides, although as regards the monasteries 'the generation which witnessed their destruction had doubts about the advantage of that work.' Some ballads cried out upon the aliens who 'buy and sell amongst us free.' Many reflected other public grievances:

> 'The towns go down, the land decays,
> Great men maketh nowadays
> A sheepcote in a church.'

Liberal quotations from those fugitive songs of a day display their limitations as well as their value. The literary charm of the finest examples of early poetry is constantly challenged, and sometimes overcome by the historical interest of archaic fact, thought, and expression. In the ballads the balance is quite different, for the narrative, not the verse, is the life of the composition. Professor Firth, who has enriched this field of study by his own research among broadsides and manuscripts under the Stuarts, here shows himself a happy expositor of the Tudor ballad lore, to which his footnotes are a bibliography in outline.

The Genealogist (April) presents its usual rich variety of pedigree and armorial matter relative to England. The licenses to pass beyond seas which we have noticed at times heretofore as contributed by Mr. G. Fothergill still continue. On the list are the following:

8 May 1633 Adam Story clerke to Holland to be tutor to the children of Sir James Sandelands children (sic) at the Hagh.
28 June 1633 Sir Archibald Duglas and his Ladie to Spain.
23 August 1633 Sir Wm. Hamilton a Scotts man.
15 September 1633 Gowen Dalyell son of Sir Robert Dalyell to travell.

Marriage licenses, grants of arms, and inquisitions post-mortem make available the fruits of many records, none however more interesting than a note by Mr. Keith W. Murray transcribing an

> Acco^{t} of Money disburs'd by order of the R^{t} Hono^{ble} The Earle of Findlater & Seafield for fitting out to sea the Hono^{ble} Alexander Ogilvie Brother to the Lord Bamff By Captain George Ogilvie.

The date was January, 1732-3. Alexander, second surviving son of George fourth Lord Bamff, born in 1718, was now entering the Royal Navy, and the account of his outfit is of great interest. It included 'a Lac'd Hatt,' six 'fyne checque shirts,' six night caps, a 'fair wigg,' a silver-hilted sword and a prospect glass; and there was an item 'for Scouring an old red big coatt, 9^{d}.'

Dr. George Macdonald contributes to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (fourth series, vol. ix.) a descriptive catalogue of the 'Roman Contorniates in the Hunterian Collection.' The nature and purpose of these medals, named from the furrow on the circumference, he declines to discuss until at least a provisional *corpus* of examples is compiled. Towards this he devotes his account of the eighty-five examples in the Hunterian cabinet, registering with his customary lucidity, learning, and caution, the many numismatic indications as well as the historical and mythological data. In these, it may be divined, he has found less to countenance the theory of a connection with gambling than with games, for the agonistic type persistently recurs. A concluding note supplements the catalogue of Hunter's Roman medallions, and describes four omitted specimens.

The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal (April) begins its fifteenth annual volume with indications of well-merited satisfaction with its progress. This number contains architectural accounts of several churches, notes of feet of fines for Berkshire (26-28 George II.), and articles including one on the proposed memorial to Henry I. as founder of Reading Abbey in 1121, and another on 'The Yew and the Bow.'

In the *Rutland Magazine* (Jan.), besides numerous county notes—biographical, monumental, and topographical — there is a notice of the Court Leet and Court Baron of Oakham, with a transcript of the 'Antient Pains Orders and Bye-Laws' thereof—mainly agricultural regulations and rules of good neighbourhood. The wage of the 'Crow Scarer' is subject of communal cess. Balks are to be respected in ploughing. No man is to tether his horse on a neighbour's ground. Gleaners in the wheat and bean fields are restricted. Swine in the common field must be rung. A jury in 1748 confirmed a series of such regulations, to which penalties varying from 1s. up to 15s. attach.

Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings during the year 1908 begin with a record of the Society's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. Major part of the general contents consists of the Wick Barrow report already noted (*S.H.R.*, vi. 214). Other well-illustrated papers describe Barlinch Priory, anciently Berliz, excavations at Glastonbury Abbey and Norton Camp near Taunton, and screen work in the churches of that district. A section details the recent additions to the Museum, including a flail locally named a 'dreshel,' the original chartulary of Mynchin Buckland Nunnery connected with the Hospitallers, many coins, and a collection of lace. The researches at Glastonbury Abbey reflect no light on the curious connection of Glastonbury with the Arthurian legend, which so suggestively bears on the theses now being worked out by M. Bedier on the interconnection of saint-cults and romance.

In *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* there is a constant supply of local antiquary lore. In the December part the report of a Star Chamber trial in 1536 quotes racy proof of heresy against Philip Gamon, a chandler in Axminster, who had not only said that if the 'sacrement of the awter' really were the body of Christ 'the bones wold crusche in his tethe,' but had declared that 'all prystes were nofte' (=Sc. *nocht*), and that he would as soon confess to a post or a stone. Worse still was Philip's doctrine on bishops, for 'the same Philippe did say to the same Margery Hore that the blessing of a bishoppe was as good as the blessing of his old horse, and the sayd Margery sayd that it cowde nott be trewe for the bysshope was inoynted with holy oyle. And the seid Philippe seid that there was as muche vertue in the oyle of a beaste fote as was in the oyle that the bysshoppe was inoynted with all.'

The March issue, unusually varied, has extracts from the works of a Dorsetshire oddity and visionary named William Freke, who had, by his own account of it, attained 'a most free full and familiar communication with the Father Son and Holy Ghost,' in virtue of which he warned George I. in 1718 'of a fate of assassination' menacing his Hanoverian majesty. A transcript is given of the Bishop of Bath's manor-roll of

Evercreech in 1382-3, containing numerous unfamiliar terms in its medieval Latin such as *cullardus*, a lamb; *ingressus*, an heir's relief on his succession; *terre de antiquo astro* (a phrase in which the editor explains the last word as Old French *astre*, a hearth); *capitagium*, poll money. A Christmas festivity bears the appetising name of '*Gustum Villanorum*.' The roll offers an abundance of matter for economic and feudal exposition of the usages of an old Somerset manor in its agriculture and administration.

Viking Club records multiply with a profuseness betokening high vitality. Four different series are running together, *Orkney and Shetland Records*, *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, *Old Lore Miscellany*, *Caithness and Sutherland Records*, all separate from the Saga Book. The result in the present instalments is a truly catholic assembling of northern memories and antiquities, whether in charters, stories of wrecks, descriptions of rune-stones, or notices of battle or witchcraft, often finely corroborated by pictures and portraits. One notable distinction is evident in the documents; those of the mainland in Caithness and Sutherland show far less infusion of Norse law and diction than those of the islands.

In *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (Aug. '08—Feb. '09) various Scottish references occur in a series of depositions regarding the Ulster Civil War in 1641. One deponent, Nicholas Willoughby, examined relative to the commission or authority alleged to have been given to the Irish in revolt, declared 'that the Scotes were and had been allwayes ther friends and that they had a Covenant to shew whereby might appeare the faire Correspondence between them the Irish and the Scotes in Scotland, Which Covenant imported that the Irish should never take parte with the English against the Scotts, And that the Scotts should never take parte with the English against the Irish and that it was so Covenanted between many of the Lords of Scotland and many of the Lords and chief Gentrie of Ireland and that Hugh m'Maughon had the Covenant to shew which they would not shew us.' To this it was said the King was privy: 'What they did the King did well enough know of.' Another deponent spoke to having heard a rebel, Miles O'Riley, 'say that they had the King's broade seale for what they did' and added that, asking him 'why they did not meddle with the Scottes he said the Scottes did joyne with them.' Another witness declared that O'Riley, who was High Sheriff of Cavan, made a seizure of arms at Farnham Castle 'saying That he had Comission from the Kinge at Edinborough to disarme all English and to furnish the Irish and the Scotts with arms.' Dr. Fitzpatrick's extracts throw much light on the troubles of 1641, and the persistent allegations of a clandestine commission by King Charles, and on the arrangement whereby the Scottish settlers were to be left unmolested. Prof. Hume Brown in the preface to vol. vii., second series, of the *Privy Council Register* (1638-1643), has commented on various allusions in the text to the plot, in relation to Scotland. Dr. Fitzpatrick emphasises the conflict of Irish testimonies as regards the royal complicity with the revolt. The February continuation of his extracts adds some striking testimonies.

George Creighton, vicar of Lurgan, County Cavan, declared how the rebels had told him 'There was a generall Insurreccon through the Kingdom wholly; The Castle of Dublin was taken and all the Castles and Citties of Ireland. They had directions from his Ma^{ty} to doe all theis thinges to curb the Parliament of England.' He regarded his own escape as providential. 'Hee never had the like store of Provition to that which God had then given him: and because he was a Scotchman he was not pillaged.' In an account of Archbold MacDonnell there is quoted an interesting if confused traditional narrative of the career and death of Alastair MacDonald, Montrose's well-known general, 'Colkitto.' His birth is thus chronicled—'Coll cittagh [Coll MacDonald, father of Alastair] was brought up in military practices, and often distinguished himself against the clan Campbell. He paid his addresses to a daughter of the laird of Sandha. Taking advantage of his absence on a visit here the clan Campbell seized his castle of Dunaverty. Coll cittagh returning was warned not to land by a piper in the dun playing *Stachia aroon*; *dhimashin a lave*, by which understanding what had happened Coll put about his curragh and so escaped. The Campbells cut off the piper's fingers. Coll had only one son Alister born in Killoran in Collinsa and it was said there that on the night of his birth every hand there drew a sword out of the scabbard and every gun fired a shot.' The narrative proceeds to record that Alister left his father early in life and came to Ireland, where the earl of Antrim gave him the command of 1500 men whom he sent to the assistance of Montrose in Scotland.' This is the final episode. 'At the battle of Knocknanosse or Crooknadosse [November, 1647] having been deceived by some of their allies they [MacDonald and his men] were hemmed in and cut to pieces. Alister at the close of the engagement surrendered himself to one of Cromwell's troopers who was about to conduct him to the camp when they were met by . . . . who insisted on having the prisoner. The trooper appealed to the general and said he should decide. MacDonell said he certainly was the prisoner of the person to whom he had surrendered which so enraged . . . . that he drew his sword and thrust him through the back.'

In the *Irish Church Quarterly* (April) Prof. Burkitt examines early Latin hymns; Bishop Baynes commends the religious teaching of Browning; and the Rev. Dr. Macran—in the light of Father Tyrrell—contrasts medievalism and modernism; while an unsigned review of Mrs. Green's recent volume mingles censure freely with praise.

The *American Historical Review* (April) contains an article of equal interest and weight by Professor C. H. Haskins on the feudal organisation of Normandy in and prior to the time of William the Conqueror. Anglo-Norman institutions are being made the subject of converging studies by three able investigators—M. Ferdinand Lot, for the early dukes of Normandy; Mr. H. W. C. Davis, for the English charters, 1066-1154; and Prof. Haskins, for the Norman charters of the same period. Most suggestive foretaste of the work to be expected appears in Prof. Haskins' present article. Tracing the tenures and jurisdictions of the Norman vassals, it illustrates the maintenance of the Duke's judicial supremacy, and discusses the fiscal system with special enquiry into the organisation and offices, especially as to the ducal *camera*, the functions of the *vicomtes*, and of the chamberlain, seneschal, butler, and constable, and above all of the *curia*, already a highly developed institution before 1066. A centre-point of coming research is the question of the existence of a chancery or of a chancellorship before Duke William became King of England. It is refreshing to note the firm-footed positions often taken by Prof. Haskins in the course of this paper where his lines of study cross the paths of Mr. Round and Mr. Vernon Harcourt. His appearance on the field is a historical advent, which promises much.

Other notable papers in this number are M. Pirenne's account of the formation and constitution of the Burgundian State by the union of seventeen provinces, half Romanic and half Germanic, under a single dynasty, and the relaxation and severance of its ties to France on the one side and Germany on the other—a process completed by the Convention of Augsburg in 1548, establishing an independent state under the great-grandson of Charles the Bold. Dr. W. C Abbott begins an elaborate narrative-study of 'English Conspiracy and Dissent' during 1660-1674, and reaches the period in 1664 when civil struggle, primarily sectarian, and persecution tempered by plots for revolt, were for the time set aside by war with the Dutch.

Modern political movements are dealt with in two Johns Hopkins University Studies. One by Dr. W. S. Myers on *The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*, 1864-67 (pp. 131, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press) traces the constitutional history of the state at and after the War of Secession, and illustrates the difficulty of finding a common basis after the great rupture. Drastic disfranchisement in 1865 was followed by a compromise policy, which in 1867 became a legislative Democratic constitution. Another by Dr. J. B. Kennedy on *Beneficiary Features of American Trade Unions* (pp. 120) discusses the insurance schemes, the death benefit, sick benefit, out-of-work benefit, and superannuation benefit features of the Unions, and the rules for their administration as regulated by State legislation.

The March-May issue of these publications is a solid contribution to the history of law in Mr. James Wallace Bryan's essay: *The Development of the English Law of Conspiracy* (8vo, pp. 161) which traces the partial genesis of the conception to the reign of Edward I., although it was named earlier by Bracton. Its first significance was a combination to defeat justice. Against this the Ordinance of Conspirators 21 Edward I. was directed. While subsequently it took shapes leading to civil actions *sur le case*, the interest and historical importance of this branch of law depended on its place among crimes. A statute of 4 Edward III. enjoined the king's judges to take cognisance of it, and the subsequent expansion of the doctrine was most marked under Elizabeth and James I. A very great variety of suits found their way into the reports, and there was a long array of precedents for the guidance of Lord Denman in Rex *v.* Jones, 1832, when he indicated the minimum requirement of the charge to be 'a conspiracy either to do an unlawful act, or a lawful act by unlawful means.' This dictum was the starting point for no small part of the nineteenth and twentieth century extensions of the concept in statutes and judgments on trading and labour combinations and their limits of legality. There is less of historical and political illustration than the records would have countenanced, as the viewpoint is that of legal evolution in the presence of current problems, such as those suggested by the dubious principle of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, conferring immunity on trades unions for tortious acts.

Mr. Bryan's treatise is based on a thorough collation of law reports from the old year books down to the House of Lords Appeals of 1906; its body of references is, whether for lawyer or historian, its best credential; and its interpretations alike of special decisions and of the trend of a doctrine which has dangers and is emphatically in motion, stamp the author as a fully-equipped and capable expositor, whose judgment is as good as his method.

The Iowa Journal for April is wholly dedicated to the minor political and constitutional history of the State of Iowa towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

The *Revue Historique* (Mars-Avril) begins with a survey of the state of the French army in 1787 on the eve of the Revolution, especially as regards the officers. Another article deals with Napoleon's intervention and the course of his diplomacy in Germany in 1803. A 'bulletin' or survey of recent publications relative to France also takes for its period the Revolution and the Empire. A curious collation of two MSS., now first edited, is made by M. Hauser giving the text of two letters to the Emperor Ferdinand by Leo X. after Francis I.'s victory of Marignan. The second letter is found to be an altered version of another addressed to the King of Portugal, of the same date, 14th December, 1515. Both are from the pen of Pietro Bembo, the pope's 'semi-pagan' secretary, with piquant differences. While both press the cause of a crusade against the Turk, the one for the Portuguese monarch edges in a delicate compliment to the incredible perseverance and energy shown in the unheard of voyages of the Portuguese navigators. A paper by M. François Ricci on the tariffs of the Salic laws urges that the money awards allocated to various delicts are not, as was supposed, compositions or indemnities, but are fines. An editorial note commends the proposition as well worthy of debate. We notice that Messrs. Hessels and Kern's *Lex Salica* (1880, John Murray) is not referred to. The difficulty may be to establish the explanation throughout the code, although it seems certain in many instances. Parallel passages in early British codes seem to favour it, and the discussion may simplify in the laws of the Brets and Scots some of the same puzzling failures in relativity of values as occur in the Salic law.

Queries and Replies

FRANCIS HAMILTON OF SILVERTONHILL. 'KING JAMES HIS ENCOMIUM. Or a Poeme, in memorie and commendation of the High and mightie Monarch Iames . . . our late Soveraigne. By FRANCIS HAMILTOUN of Silvertown-hill. *Edinburgh. Printed by John Wreittoun*, 1626.' A copy of the above was recently offered for sale, and was stated to be one of the only two known.

The author, Francis Hamilton, born probably about 1585, was eldest son of Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslington and Silvertonhill by Elizabeth Bailie, eventually heiress of Provand, near Glasgow. Elizabeth Bailie, with consent of her husband, granted a charter in 1599 in favour of their eldest son, Francis Hamilton, of the lands of Provand, reserving the life rent and certain provisions in favour of her five daughters (*R.M.S.* 1593-1608, No. 973). 'Franciscus Hammiltoune Sylvertonii haeres' matriculated at Glasgow College in 1601 (*Mun. Univ. Glas.* iii. p. 64). He had a licence, 10th July, 1621, 'to go abroad and remain for three years beyond seas for his lawful affairs' (*R.P.C. Scot.* xii. p. 529), but we find him raising an action against his father, which was unsuccessful, 18th January, 1622 (Morison's *Decisions*, xii. p. 9451). Another licence was granted to him, 31st March, 1624, to go abroad for seven years (*R.P.C. Scot.* xiii. p. 485). He raised another action, this time against his sisters, in the endeavour to escape the fulfilment of the provisions secured to them on the lands of Provand, but was again unsuccessful, 29th June, 1624 (Morison's *Decisions*, v. p. 4098). He now seems to have run deeply into debt, and his lands of Provand were 'apprized' from him by John Crawfurd in Milntoun of Provand for 1550 [2550?] merks owing to him, 3rd July, 1624 (*R.M.S.* 1620-1633, No. 670). The next mention is 6th March, 1634, when Robert Stevenson finds caution for 300 merks 'that Francis Hamiltoun, younger of Silvertounhill, and his family and possessions, would not be molested by him nor by any of his causing' (*R.P.C. Scot.* 2nd Series, v. p. 227). The lands of Provand were recovered by Edward Hamilton of Balgray, immediate younger brother of Francis, and were included in a confirmation to Edward under the Great Seal, 18th July, 1635 (*R.M.S.* 1633-1651, No. 350). A charter was granted by Edward Hamilton in favour of Christiane and Agnes, lawful daughters of Francis Hamilton of Silvertonhill, eldest son of Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslingtoun, of annual rents of 560 merks and 400 merks respectively, out of Provand, to come into force on the decease of Sir Robert, dated 8th July, 1637, and confirmed under the Great Seal, 24th July, 1657 (*R.M.S.* 1652-1659, No. 606).

According to Douglas (*Baronage*, p. 425), who, however, makes him the last of an imaginary elder line of the Silvertonhill family, Francis Hamilton was 'a very enthusiastick wrong-headed man. He fancied himself bewitched by dam Isabel Boyd, lady Blair, which appears by several extravagant petitions to parliament from "Francis Hamilton of Silvertonhill against the said dam Isabel Boyd, *anno* 1641."' The authority given is the Minutes of Parliament, but these, so far as printed in the Appendix to the *Acts*, make no mention of the petitions.

Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslingtoun and Silvertonhill died in January, 1642. Francis is not named in the Will, dated 20th December, 1641 (*Glas. Com. Rec. Tests.*). In the confirmation (9th March, 1642) Edward is described as 'then styled feare and now of Siluertonhill.' 'Francis Hamiltoune of Silvertounhill, indueller in Edinburgh,' died in 1645, and his testament dative was recorded 7th February, 1646 (*Commissariot of Edinburgh*).

A. W. Gray-Buchanan.

WOOLLEN AND LINEN TRADE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. I asked a question in your Review some months ago (*S.H.R.* vi. 103) as to the Scotch woollen industry, and the foreign trade in cloth and wool in the Middle Ages. Some very interesting information was sent me by Miss Theodora Keith regarding the later Scotch industry for which I desire to thank her; but there seems still work needed on the earlier periods. The only other response sent to me was from a correspondent in a daily paper, who was of the opinion that no such trade existed on any scale. In the course of my reading I have come across a great number of references to Scotch wool and Scotch cloth in the Netherlands market. For example, I have found some of these scattered through the *Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch* and in *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandres* by Espines and Pirenne. I have not kept these references, as they lay outside my subject, but I feel sure that any student of medieval Scotch history would be rewarded by collecting such information as to the industrial and commercial activity of medieval Scotland.

I should be grateful if any scholar who in his researches meets with references to Irish commerce would be good enough to send them to me.

Alice Stopford Green.

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'A NEW YEAR'S GIFT FOR THE WHIGS' (*S.H.R.* vi. 245). In the first note which Professor Frith has appended to his interesting contribution under the above heading, there is an obvious *lapsus plumae.* He says that Papillon and Dubois (the 'Papillion' and 'Duboice' of the ballad) were Whig candidates for the post of Sheriffs of London in 168*4*. This should be 168*2*. There was no popular election of Sheriffs in the years 1684 to 1687 inclusive, these functionaries being appointed directly by the King during the suspension of the charter. A full account of the election in 1682, at which Papillon and Dubois were candidates, is found in Dr.

Sharpe's admirable work *London and the Kingdom* (vol. ii. pp. 479-488), and the official record of the poll is in Journal 49, fo. 317, at Guildhall.

ALFRED B. BEAVEN.

CAPTAIN FARQUHARSON OF BROUGHDEARG.—In Mr. Blaikie's notes to his interesting collection of letters relating to 'The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745,' it is stated (*S.H.R.* vi. 233) that Captain Farquharson who commanded a company in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment was 'of Broughdurg, Forfarshire.' The small estate belonging to this branch of the Farquharsons, and acquired by them about 1590, is situated in Glenshee, Perthshire. The name is variously spelled: Brouchdearg, Broughdearg, Broughdarg (presumably 'The Red Fort'). Mr. A. M. Mackintosh states that the Broughdearg family 'was well represented in the Jacobite army in 1715' (*The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 444). Its most eminent representative in 1715 belonged to the family of Rochally, at the foot of Glenshee, cadets of Broughdearg. This was Peter Farquharson, younger of Rochally, a captain in Mar's Regiment, who fell at the defence of the barricades at Preston. He is described by Patten as 'a gentleman of an invincible spirit and almost inimitable bravery.'

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

LIND, UDNY, CUMMINGS-LIND. Where can I obtain information as to members of the above families, who lost their estates in Scotland, and fled to France, after 1745?

GEORGE J. LIND.

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MATTHEW HAMILTON OF TORRANCE is mentioned in the Register of the Great Seal as witness to charters, dated 18th December, 1543 (*R.M.S.* 1546-1580, Nos. 52, 53, 54). He was also on an inquest, 27th March, 1550 (*Maxwells of Pollok*, i. p. 293), but James Hamilton, who was 'of Torrance' in 1540 (*R.M.S.*) had a confirmation under the Great Seal, 13th February, 1545-6 (*R.M.S.* 1513-1546, No. 3210). A James Hamilton of Torrance was Provost of Glasgow at 11th March, 1549-50 (*Burgh Records*, 1573-1642, p. 32), and was probably the same James Hamilton of Torrance, who was included in a Remission under the Privy Seal, 2nd January, 1565-6. Robert Hamilton of Torrance is mentioned as a witness in a charter, dated 21st and 30th September, 1566 (*R.M.S.* 1580-1593, No. 1136).

According to Anderson, Matthew Hamilton of Torrance was son of Robert Hamilton of Torrance, and grandson of James Hamilton of Torrance, 1540, but he evidently confuses him with a later Matthew, a younger son of the above Robert.

Was Matthew Hamilton only 'younger' of Torrance, dying v.p.? If so, was Robert his son, or, what seems more probable from the number of generations, a younger brother?

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

Communications

HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

In the crypt or lower church of Glasgow Cathedral there is an inscription in Hebrew characters, of which no account seems ever to have been published, although its existence has been known for well on to fifty years at least. Two distinguished students of Semitic Languages in the University, Mr. Louis C. Phillips, M.A., and Mr. Alexander S. Fulton, made an examination of the inscription lately, and the following are the facts regarding it. It will be found on the south side of the crypt, on the third pillar counting from the west, and on the east face of the pillar, about four feet from the ground. The surface of the single stone upon which it is cut is 14¼ inches high by 9¼ inches broad. The words form a somewhat quaint and primitive hymn containing eight lines, each line consisting of no more than two words or three words, and each couplet rhyming. Owing partly to a defect in the stone and partly to the author's composition having overrun his space, the last two lines are not altogether decipherable. At the end of the last line, but beyond the angle and on the adjacent surface of the stone, is a solitary letter standing by itself, or it may be two letters, being apparently the end of the last line. The letters, which are about one inch in height and well, some even elegantly, formed, run as follows:

יהוה לי
עלני מי
נפשי שמים
עם עלם חים
יביא מתבל
כי יהיה הבל
חש (?) הודו
מה ידי כחו | ח (?)

‘Jehovah is for me. | Against me who is? | My life is in heaven | with those who live for ever. | He will bring me from the world, | for it is vanity. | Hasten (?) His majesty. | How ——— is His strength.’ |

If the solitary letter or pair of letters belong to the inscription, the last line should probably read מה ידי (?) כבודו—‘How ——— is His glory.’

Lines 1 and 2 contain an obvious reference to the epistle to the Romans viii. 31, and line 3 is a reminiscence of Philippians iii. 20. Although the writer's meaning is obvious enough, the language is quite ungrammatical, and it has been suggested that we have here the work of a junior student of Hebrew in the Old College. As far as the character of the writing goes it is impossible to say how old it is, as the present Hebrew script has not altered for centuries, but that it is not very ancient would appear from the fact that the letters, which have been made by filing the stone with some blunt instrument, such as an iron nail, are still fairly fresh. That it was written in haste may be inferred from the writer not having allowed for the ל in the top line, the head of which consequently passes across the seam into the stone above. On the adjacent surface of the stone to the left of the inscription there is cut in small letters the name 'A. Kinloch' (?), and below the inscription are scratched two letters—D.M.,—which appear to be quite recent.

T. H. Weir.

SAINT MAOLRUBHA (*S.H.R.* vi. 260). Having read the interesting article by Mr. Archibald Scott on Saint Maolrubha, I would like to point out that there is another important church in the Diocese of Argyll, dedicated to him and of which he was no doubt the primitive founder, viz. the Parish Church of Melfort. When *Origines Parochiales* was published this had not been discovered, but in vol. vii. of the *Papal Registers* recently published by our government, p. 268, is the following entry: '13th Kalends April 1423 being the 6th year of the Pontificate of Martin V. To Celestine son of Celestine called Macgillemichael rector of St Molrwas de Molferth, in the diocese of Argyll. Reserving for collation to him who is a priest and who lately received papal dispensation, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman to be promoted and to hold St Molrwas, provision of which was ordered to be made to him, and any other compatible benefices with or without cure, and to resign all (for exchange or otherwise as often as he pleased, of the perpetual vicarage of S Finans in Kerwe in the diocese of Argyll, value not exceeding 25 mks of old sterlings, which is shortly to become void under the terms of the Popes recent mandate to make provision for Nigel (sic for Niall) son of Colin Cambell of the rectory of St Columbas in Glasrod in the same diocese; notwithstanding that he holds the said rectory of St Molrwas value not exceeding £11 sterling with which he is hereby dispensed to hold the said vicarage for three years.'

These Registers are full of entries throwing light on the early history of the Celtic Dioceses, and should be more referred to by future historians. It is interesting to notice that this entry likewise restores the long-lost dedication of the *ancient* Parish Church of Glasrie or Killenure, near Ford, at the southern end of Lochaw. There is constant mention of this church as S. Columba's of Killenewre, and S. Columba's of Glasrich, Glasrod, etc., in the Argyll and Glassary Inventories and Charters, as well as in the Papal Registers. Eventually Kilmichael in Glassary, owing to some change in the population, became the chief Parish Church of that vast lordship, as it is to this day. The chancel of S. Columba's, Killenure, bears every mark of a hoary antiquity, whilst the nave is not as old; both have long been roofless, and the site probably marks a hitherto unidentified visit of S. Columba himself. The dedications of those churches which do not in their name enshrine the memory of their original patron have had a tendency to drop out of sight. In this case, for instance, Killenewr means simply the Church of the Yews, of which tree tradition dimly remembers a number in the old burial-yard.

The church of 'S. Finans' in Kerry-Cowall, mentioned in the above Papal Letter, is of course the well-known Killfinan, Kerry being the old name of that part of Cowall. The writer of this note having recently recovered from old documents the dedications of many other of the old Celtic Parish Churches in the Diocese of Argyll hitherto deemed as unknown, hopes to be shortly able to contribute a further and longer article on the subject, as it is important that the ancient patrons of what are amongst the oldest of Scotland's holy sites should be restored to the buildings they were anciently attached to, and were in many cases the actual founders of.

He may mention that he has lately found incontestable proof of the dedications of Inverchaolain in Cowall to S. Bridget; Dunoon to the B.V.M.; Kilmore, near Oban, to S. Bean; Kilberry to S. Berchan (not, as has been supposed, to S. Finbar of Cork, or to S. Mary or to S. Berach); Lochgoilhead 'to the Three Brethren'; Kilmorich to S. Mordach or Morich; Inishaall to S. Fyndoca; and many others nearly all to purely Celtic saints.

In the paragraph about St. Maolrubha in modern times Mr. Scott might well have recorded the restoration of his Name, Festival, and Special Office to its appointed place in the 'Proper' of the Diocese, issued by Alexander, late Bishop of Argyll, for use in his Diocese, in which work a great number of the ancient Celtic festivals have most patriotically been restored. But no church built in modern times has as yet been dedicated to this illustrious Gael by either of the communities who still honour him. It may be further noted that the late Pope Leo XIII., after centuries of omission, in 1898 restored S. Maolrubha's office for such as follow the Latin Rite, as well as those of seventeen other Celtic saints, as being of those who had been the objects of an immemorial veneration in Scotland (vide *Dublin Review*, 1899). These two actions are signs of what the Celtic race movement has accomplished in restoring the apostles of Gaeldom to their rightful place.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

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DOMHNULL CAM MACCUMHAIL.[1] HOW HE WAS OUTWITTED BY 'BIG GRAHAME' AND 'THE BREVE.' Kintail had been for years intriguing to get possession of the Lews. Hitherto he had met with little success. His kinswoman had been the first wife of the Lord of Lewis; but her husband had doubted, and with justice, her fidelity, and so had bundled her off to her kinsfolk with her infant son. This son was the famous Torquil Conaldach or Conanach, and it was by fathering this lad's claim that Mackenzie hoped eventually to succeed to the patrimony of the Macleods.

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[1] The Editor is indebted to Mr. Kenneth Macleod for the following tale, which he has translated from Gaelic as told by Donald Maclean, carpenter, Duncarloway, Lewis.

Dissension was rife in the Macleod family. The many sons of Old Ruairidh, legitimate and illegitimate, seemed to have conspired to make the last years of the rule of their race the bloodiest in the history of their family. But the more virile of them were as resolute in resisting the encroachments of an alien race as they were troublesome to their legitimate rulers. To Torquil Oighre, the second son of the old chief, they were unanimously loyal; but this pattern of chieftainship was unfortunately lost in a storm in the Minch. A third son remained, Torquil Og (the Torquil Dubh of history), and Torquil Og, though not the last of his race, was the last legitimate claimant that Mackenzie had to fear.

The Judge of the Lewis, Morrison of Ness, had been a notable character at that time. He it was that was held by the commons to have been the father of Torquil Conanach. Certain it is that he was in very bad odour with the Macleod family; and just as he had become the partisan of Mackenzie in secret, so had his great rival, Domhnull Càm MacCumhail of Uig, espoused openly the cause of his rightful lord. Mackenzie and Morrison felt that guile would have to effect what force could not accomplish, and their first move was to win over to their counsels 'Greumach Mor Bharbhais.'[1]

A great storm suddenly arose, and when it abated it was found that a great ship had been forced by the gale into Shawbost Loch. Big Grahame, the chieftain of the district, being informed of this, at once conceived a plan by which he hoped not only to reap immediate profit, but also to score a success against Macleod and his adherents. In the dead of night he boarded the great ship of Lochlann, and slew all who resisted his will. The remainder he removed to the dungeons of 'Borve Dun,' the ruins of which are seen to this day. Next morning he hastened to the Breve's place in Ness, and, after consultation, it was decided to send an express to Torquil Og, to inform him that a great ship full of gold had been driven ashore, and to invite him to come and share in the spoil as high chief of the land.

'And what do you think,' quoth the Breve; 'will it profit you to capture Torquil Og if Domhnull Càm is at large? Send to Mangersta at once for him.'

Eventually the messenger reached Domhnull Càm, who summoned his clansmen to meet him at 'Traigh Mhor.' There were many voices against going. 'Trust not the word of a Morrison or of a Nessman,' quoth Donald's wife. He had been silent, but now his dreadful fury burst forth. 'I am going,' he said, 'and with Alasdair an gobha (the smith) alone. Tend the herds till we return, and be ready then to give me a reckoning.'

The two men marched. They passed Ceann Thulivig; they reached the Dune at Carloway; henceforth they were in territories from which a Macaulay had seldom returned 'unless it were on his own two hands.'[1] They arrived at Loch Shawbost, and were taken on board the ship by Big Grahame. Here they found a large company, and conspicuous among them was Torquil Og. Hearty was his greeting of his stark retainer of Uig, and hearty was the response of Domhnull Càm. He almost forgot his suspicions.

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[1] Big Grahame of Barvas.

Suddenly Grahame invited them 'down below' to partake of a repast, preparatory to discussing the question of the gold. They went down, and all soon became uproariously happy. Strong drink was there in plenty, and 'the heroes' partook of it not sparingly. The behaviour of certain of the Ness men attracted Donald's attention, and, ever suspicious, he resolved to keep his wits about him. He made pretence of drinking the liquor with which he was assiduously plied, but he poured most of it down his 'sark of mail.' Suddenly the revellers felt themselves lurching heavily against one another; there was a cry that the ship was under sail, and all made for the deck who were not already in a drunken stupor. With a wild oath Donald leaped up the steps, but when his head appeared above the deck a noose was thrown round him, and he was perforce lashed to the mast. The rest made little resistance.

Bitter was the mind of Donald Càm, but for many a long hour he bore without complaint his hard fortune. At length realizing that his only hope lay in speaking his foes fair, he addressed 'Greumach Mòr.'

'My fetters are biting into my flesh, O Graham,' he said.

'The gibbet of Kintail will soon relieve you,' was the grim answer, and Donald Càm was silent.

Once again he tried to talk his foe over, only to meet with a crueller response; and at that his ill-repressed rage broke forth. 'Thou son of a dog,' quoth he, 'a short time and the crows will be picking out thine eyes, or there won't be a Macaulay in Uig.'[2]

No more words passed the lips of the Macaulay till he reached Kintail. Here he was thrown into a dungeon together with his armourer Alastair. His chief, Torquil Og, never saw again his home at Eye, and a similar fate was evidently intended for the men of Uig. Donald Càm's fetters[3] have passed into a byeword. A ring of iron was round his ankle, a chain round his waist, and suspended to the chain was a heavy bar of iron which he was compelled to support in making the least movement; and, to crown all, his henchman Alastair was linked to him by a chain which terminated in an iron ring—this ring was round Alastair's ankle.

But despite it all Donald's indomitable spirit refused to acknowledge defeat. 'He had made a plan.'[4]

Some one came and asked what he would eat.

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[1] 'Mur a robh e air a dha laimh fein,' meaning 'If he were not strong enough to force a passage.'

[2] 'A Mhic a choin! Uin ghearr 's bheir na staragan na suilean asd', mu bhitheas MacCumhail an Uig.'

[3] 'Geámhal Dhomhnuill Chàim' = The fetters of Donald Càm.

[4] 'Bha e air "planna" dheanamh.'

'The head of a black sheep,'[1] answered Donald; and this was brought. Every morning came the same question, 'What will you eat to-day, Donald?';[2] and every morning the same response was given, 'The head of a black sheep.'

But one day, when the Kintail man came down, he found the dungeon empty. Domhnull Càm and his servant had escaped. Immediately the news was brought to Mackenzie. The old fox was furious. 'What!' he said, 'Domhnull Càm escaped? He must never reach Lewis; he is a worse man than Neil, the Bastard.' A party was at once organized to pursue the fugitives, and at the same time swift messengers were sent forth to order on pain of death that the coast should be watched, and especially 'that all boats should be dry-docked.'[3]

Domhnull Càm had certainly escaped. Patiently he had worked and filed away with the jawbone of the black sheep, until at length he was free; and men to this day speak with wonder of what he had done 'le carabad na caorach duibhe.' He had been greatly aided by his henchman, who was the smith and armourer of his family. Here it was that Alastair received the name by which he is now remembered. Rather than delay the attempt to escape, Alastair bravely pulled his foot through the iron ring, leaving his heel behind him, so that men call him 'Alastair of the small heel' to this day.[4]

The fugitives hastened north, but they were in the land of their foes, and they dared not show face near the habitation of man. At night they made for the shore, where they tried to find a craft of some sort in which to essay a passage across the Minch. But no boats were to be found. Grimmer and grimmer grew Domhnull Càm. At length he came to a half-broken coble which had been left on the beach as absolutely unseaworthy. The two men looked at one another, and then without a word launched 'the wreck' into the sea. Two oars they procured and a baler,[5] which they caulked with peat; and thus fitted they set out on their venturesome voyage. Turn about they rowed and baled, and bit by bit the grey land in the distance became more and more distinct. Suddenly, when nearing land, Domhnull Càm took the baler and cast it into the sea, and then looked at the oarsman. Alastair gave a look to his chief, but said never a word. At length they leaped ashore from the now sinking craft. 'If you had spoken to me, Alastair, when I threw out the baler, you would have been thrown out along with it,' said the grim Macaulay as he leaped up the rocks. They were the first words which had passed his lips since he had left the 'Morthir.'[6]

Never halting, the two men worked their way westwards until they arrived at Uig. They reached Mangersta, to find that it had been harried by the Ness men. Then they made for the Glen. Here Donald found his kinsmen, whose joy was unbounded at the return of their renowned chief. Messengers were sent east and west and north and south for all men to gather at the Glen the following night; and to the 'twelve heroes'[1] of Uig were special ones sent, lest by any means they should fail to turn up.

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[1] 'Cia a dh' itheas tu an diugh, a Dhomhnuill.'

[2] 'Ceann na caorach duibhe.'

[3] 'Gu'm biodh na h-eathrichean gu leir air an tarruing.'

[4] 'Alastair na saile bige.'

[5] 'Da ablach raimh agus taoman tolltach' = Two wretched oars and a leaking baler.

[6] 'Morthir' = mainland.

I shall not recount here how Macaulay led the forces of the west against the fort of Stornoway, which, built by the Fife men, had in his absence passed into the hands of Kintail; neither dwell upon the grim slaughter which took place at its capture. It was not against Kintail that Donald's anger burned fiercest, but against 'Big Grahame' of Barvas, who had made the first move against him, and with success. Accordingly Domhnull Càm commissioned the 'twelve heroes' of Uig to go secretly to Barvas and bring Big Grahame to Uig, dead or alive. Their lives were forfeit if they failed.

They set out, and the second night arrived at the house of the 'Greumach Mòr.' They entered; he was at supper alone; an old crone, his mother, sat spinning in a corner; the men of Uig sat them down in silence on the peat heap;[2] no word passed between them.

Such behaviour surprised Big Grahame. He naturally concluded that they were come to intercede for peace and protection. He called them up to the table, at the same time commanding his mother to place before them food. The men of Uig in silence placed themselves at the table, six on either side of him. He went on with his supper, but they tasted no food. Suddenly they gripped him. He leaped up. Awful must have been the struggle. At last they forced him to his knees, but such was his strength that, in spite of all their efforts, they could not manacle him. The old crone had looked on in silence. She did not love her son. A story is told of her ferocity in youth. She had been a Macaulay, and bitter grew her mood at seeing the threatened discomfiture of her tribesmen. 'Hawks were the men of my youth,' she said; 'now the Macaulays are hoodie crows.'[3] She gave them a hint, and the twelve Uig heroes soon reduced the Barvas champion to helplessness.

Without delay they set out for home. Great would be their danger on the journey. But by taking secret paths and spending one whole day in the 'Black Corry,' they managed to evade any pursuing bands. Greumach Mòr was growing hopeless. He asked them to ease his bands a little. They consented. A strong 'sioman,' a rope, was round his waist. Six men went on in front, having one end of it; the other six came on behind, holding the other. Grahame silently worked his arms free. He would make one dash for liberty. They were crossing Grimersta

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[1] 'Da reug Uige.'

[2] 'Anus a chuil mhonich' = on the peat heap.

[3] 'Bu sheabhagan fir m' oige-sa, ach an diugh cha Chlanna Cumhail ach Staragan. Cha chuala iad a riamh mu. Spoth nan collach.' (The last half I have not translated.)

River. The six men of the van had climbed up the steep bank on one side; the other six were entering the river on the other. Grahame was in the middle of the stream. Suddenly, without any warning, he stretched forth his arms, and, exerting all his strength, pulled the twelve into the river. But they clung on; and their prisoner was soon again at their mercy.

The twelve men of Uig decided not to pursue their course westward any further. They crossed the narrow channel at Linshader into Bernera, and sent for Domhnull Càm. At Kirkibost men gathered from all parts, for it was known that on the morrow Domhnull Càm would arrive.

In the morning a forerunner came in to say that the Macaulay was coming. The prisoner addressed him.

'How does Domhnull Càm look to-day?' quoth he.

'As the eagle when it pounces on a lamb newly born,' was the reply.

'Alas!' was the sad rejoinder, 'my spoiling is done.'[1]

Soon Macaulay appeared. The prisoner was the first to speak.

'Mercy, mercy, O Dhomhnull Chàim!' said he.[2]

'Mercy to a dog! Do you remember, Big Grahame, your reply to me on board your ship, and my promise to you?' was Macaulay's answer.

Immediately he was ordered to prepare for death. The executioner, wielding a great sword, advanced upon his victim, who, without a word, laid his neck on a rude kind of block.[3] He raised his sword, and brought it down with such force as would have cut through an inch of iron. But from the neck of the Greumach Mòr it didn't draw blood. All were amazed; many were frightened. Suddenly a thin piping voice was heard, and all turned their eyes on an old mendicant from Assynt. 'Cut the grass between his feet,'[4] he said, and smiled in a superior way. This was done, and the power of the magic which had hitherto protected him being thus nullified, the next blow severed Big Grahame's head from his body.

[1] 'Tha mo chreachsa deannt.'

[2] 'Pais, pais, a Dhomhnuill Chàim!' ar' esan.

[3] 'Ealag' = block.

[4] 'Gearr a feur eadar a dha chois.