

Reviews of Books

THE SCOTTISH STAPLE IN THE NETHERLANDS : an Account of the Trade Relations between Scotland and the Low Countries from 1292 till 1676, with a Calendar of Illustrative Documents. By M. P. Rooseboom. Pp. x, 237. Calendar of Documents CCXXXI. With Illustrations. Royal 8vo. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff. 1910. 15s. nett.

SCOTCH students will welcome this very useful and business-like volume, in which some two hundred and thirty pages of a summary of the Staple history is followed by another two hundred and thirty pages of documents taken from various sources in Holland, Flanders, and Scotland. The method is simple, direct, and thoroughly well carried out, and the book will be a valuable aid to the history of Scottish commerce.

Mr. Rooseboom has confined himself within definite limits, and it is not in any spirit of criticism that we venture to point them out. His main thesis is the course of negotiation in the Netherlands for Staple privileges, and there is no attempt to give any account of Scotch trade either as to its merchandise or its development. Nor is there any mention of the contemporary settlements of Staplers or Adventurers from England in neighbouring ports to those chosen by the Scotch. Yet we can hardly doubt that the Scotch sale both of wool and cloth must have played a considerable part in the commercial conflicts that arose when England in her new industrial policy was endeavouring to push her cloth in the Netherlands, and as a consequence to limit the supply of wool. The English effort to seize the market was in full force at the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, and thus covered the time when the Scotch negotiations as to their own Staple town were of the most complicated kind. These conflicts, and the rise of a powerful class of protected manufacturers in England, must have profoundly affected the policy of traders as shrewd and active as the Scotch ; and the outline given by Mr. Rooseboom's documents will need to be filled up by later students.

Mr. Rooseboom speaks of a trade with Flanders in raw wool carried on by the monks of Melrose and of Scone in the twelfth century. This commerce was probably of very early date. For example in the seventh century an English noble, Egbert, who had gone on pilgrimage to Ireland and there made a vow never to return to his own native land, desired to go as apostle to the Frisians, then the chief trading people of the northern seas. His project was to sail round Britain and start for Frisia without

touching England, which meant either that he must take a trading ship direct from Ireland or start from an Alban port. His proposed voyage, and the interest taken by the Northumbrians of that time in the Frisians, seems to imply some intercourse with that mercantile and sea-faring people. Mr. Rooseboom speaks of a medieval trade in raw wool only between Scotland and Flanders, but there was certainly a trade in Scotch cloth in the thirteenth century, and probably long before. In 1282 it was ordered in Flanders that English cloth should be marked with three crosses, Scotch with two, and Irish with one; and there are other references to Scotch trade in the valuable collection which contains this notice—*Espinass and Pirene, Recueil de documents de l'industrie drapière en Flandre*. Brussels, 1906—a collection which is not quoted in this book. The absence of special mention of cloth in the charters quoted by Mr. Rooseboom does not imply that there was no such trade, since they are all drawn up in general terms, allowing freedom to merchants and merchandise without special description. The few extracts from Acts of Parliament given are after 1526, and relate only to the Staple towns. To complete the lessons indicated by this book it would be necessary to examine not only statutes, but every source which could throw any light upon economical conditions in Scotland and on the growth of its industries.

Mr. Rooseboom's picture of Scotch trade in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century shows a world of keenest commercial rivalry. The earlier Scotch merchants had their centre at Bruges; the final effort of Bruges in 1407 to secure the monopoly of their commerce happened in the same year as the grant by Antwerp to the Adventurers of a house in perpetual succession. This is one of the many coincidences which do not enter into this book, but might throw light on the Netherlands policy. From a declining Bruges the trade passed in a few years to Middelburg, and thence to Veere, where it was to remain for some two hundred and fifty years. Antwerp bid for the Scotch Staple in 1539, offering lavish privileges. Middelburg immediately competed with offers as rich and full as those of Antwerp, and for the next twenty years kept on renewing its temptations to the Scotch merchants. In 1545 Bruges joined in the rivalry to secure the coveted Staple, all the towns outbidding one another in offers of privileges. But Maximilian of Burgundy distanced them all in his offers and secured the continuance of trade in Veere. New negotiations opened in 1578 with demands for an honourable and commodious place to be appointed for preaching and prayers according to the Scotch religion, and that the Scotch should have jurisdiction in criminal cases over all the men of their own nation. Everything asked for was given, and Veere again secured the monopoly. A new controversy in 1611 between Veere and Middelburg for the Scotch Staple was decided again for Veere in 1612 on terms of extraordinary liberality for the Scotch. Once only did the Staple remove from Veere, when it was carried to Dordrecht in 1668, only to return, after a limited and struggling existence, to Veere in 1675. The Scotch may perhaps not have cared for the proximity of the English Merchant Adventurers, established at Dordrecht since 1655.

The keenness of competition shows the wealth and importance which

attached to the Scotch trade at that time. There is mention of a fleet of seventeen ships from Scotland with merchant goods, besides three or four hundred persons, merchants and sailors, who had to be provided lodgings in free houses according to contract. A document of the merchant burghesses of the Free Royal Boroughs of Scotland and traffickers to the Low Countries in 1642 bears four hundred and forty-nine signatures. And in 1639 Cunningham, a Scotch merchant at Veere, was able to supply the Scottish army with '12 great brazen cannon, 49982 lbs. weight of cannon-ball, 15673 lbs. of match, 15416 lbs. of saltpetre, 6965 swords and 52 pairs of pistols'; and three years later to send over for the subduing of Ireland '6000 muskets, 4000 pikes, 10000 swords, and 10000 swordbelts.' The trade in Scotch plaids, kerseys, and cloth had so increased that two measurers were appointed instead of one. Under James VI. weavers were smuggled over from Leyden and Amsterdam to start the manufacture in Scotland of the finer kinds of cloth. The Scotch no doubt were shrewd bargainers and keen business men. Their community maintained a close connection between theology and trade. The minister appointed to the church at Veere had his post and duties as official of the Staple; besides his relations with the elders and deacons, he was a police officer under the direction of the Conservator, and as such obliged to keep an account of all goods arriving from Scotland, and to collect the dues not only for his own stipend but for the Conservator's salary. Scotch thrift gave offence on the continent. The inveterate custom of the merchants to leave their best garments at home, and travel in their evil and worst clothes to the dishonour of Scotland, brought down on them an order, repeated in 1529, 1532, and 1565, that if they had not proper apparel in the Netherlands the Conservator should have fit clothing made for them, and pay himself out of their goods. The merchant was forbidden, too, to carry home his own wares, but must hire some other to do it; and if he bought his meat in the market he might not bring it home in his sleeve or on his knife's point. The Scotch trader was evidently 'not slothful in business.'

The result of the union of Scotland and England in 1603 was to check the competition of Scotland in the foreign trade by closing her independent relations with any foreign country and her power of separate commercial legislation. It was in vain that the Scotch towns attempted to secure that the Conservator, or supervisor of their trade in the Netherlands, should be elected by the boroughs and not nominated by the king, now the king of England. In the course of the next half century the Conservator in Veere became more and more a political agent of the English king, and scarcely in any sense a representative of the Scotch boroughs. The boroughs were even forced to yield to the pressure of James in the matter of the ministers banished from Scotland for religion's sake, who had taken shelter in the Low Countries, where the merchants of Veere were accustomed to provide them with the means of living: they agreed to restrain that 'impertinent and undutiful supply.' It was an uneasy life for traders, pressed on one side by the severity of James, who required a testimonial from every passenger or

merchant taking ship for Scotland that he was a professor of the true religion established in Scotland; and on the other side by the military despotism of Spanish generals, who ordered the quartering of soldiers on the free houses of the Scotch, whether they were Catholics or not. But the financiers of the Netherlands were destined to play a considerable part in later English complications.

It is to be hoped that this book will prove the beginning of new researches as to Scotch industry at home, and the intercourse of her people with Europe.

Alice Stofford Green.

FREDERICK WILLIAM MAITLAND, DOWNING PROFESSOR OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH. By H. A. L. Fisher. Pp. 179. With Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1910. 5s. nett.

IN a volume of less than 200 pages, Mr. Herbert Fisher has paid an admirable tribute to the memory of his distinguished brother-in-law. His sketch is perfect in tone and tact, and is written with both rare literary felicity, and a restraint that, if anything, is almost excessive. All that Mr. Fisher has attempted to do he has accomplished most successfully. He has given a most vivid and lifelike sketch of Maitland's singularly brilliant and charming personality which, with all its brevity, is yet full enough to give even those who have not the advantage of knowing Maitland, a clear, if not a very coloured, conception both of his attractiveness and of his greatness. He has set forth in order the simple incidents of the scholar's life and career, and analysed the chief conclusions of his various books. He has been at great pains in making us realise Maitland's point of view, not only in relation to the medieval studies in which he won enduring fame, but also as regards the very numerous political, academic, and speculative matters in which Maitland had a keen interest and decided opinions.

Altogether, Mr. Fisher has written the model of a scholar's biography. It is perhaps the only appreciation of a scholar of our times of which we can honestly complain that it is too short. In particular, we wish that Mr. Fisher had been able to give us more of Maitland's own letters. The few that he has printed have all the charm and vividness of Maitland at his best. We could have wished also that Mr. Fisher had been able to add a little to his personal touches, and in particular to tell us a little more of Maitland's table-talk. There are few scholars who were privileged to enjoy his acquaintance who have not derived from their personal intercourse with him a fresh stimulus and a new insight into their work. If Maitland did not found a school in the sense in which a German or French professor founds a school, it is not too much to say that all medieval students who read his books, and talked to him about the subject which he knew so well, were in a very real sense his disciples. That he did not attempt to found a school, is surely to be set down to the ill-health which forced him to consecrate his little strength to his individual work, and not to his acquiescence in the rather conventional view of the 'climate of an English University' being

unfavourable to historical technique, wherein we see the note of the Oxford tutor rather than the mind of the Cambridge professor.

There is only one serious complaint that can be made as regards Mr. Fisher's excellent book. It is, we think, to be regretted that he has made no attempt to appreciate the permanent contribution which Maitland has made to the study of English medieval history. As an expositor of what Maitland set out to do, as an analyst of what Maitland thought and wrote, Mr. Fisher leaves nothing to be desired. But only in one or two vague and general sentences does he aspire to be critical. Maitland was one of the greatest scholars that England has ever seen, and probably possessed a brighter and keener intellect than any other scholar who, with adequate equipment, consecrated his life to unravelling the story of England's early history. He was so great a man that he had a right, like Oliver Cromwell, to demand of those who would paint his picture that they should paint him truly like himself, and 'remark all the roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything.' Such a picture of Maitland has not yet been painted. It is certainly not to be found either in the indiscriminating eulogy which Mr. A. L. Smith printed two years ago, or even in the present more balanced volume. It may well have been that Mr. Fisher thought his personal connection with Maitland was too close to make him the man to do it. It is probable also that such a reasoned appreciation can only come from a scholar whose chief life-work, like that of Maitland, is devoted to the study and exposition of the unpublished records of the English Middle Age. It is not, however, quite an adequate tribute to the memory of a very great man to be content with summarising in a few sentences his chief published conclusions without indicating the extent to which they are disputable, or even the extent to which Maitland himself recognised their provisional character. For Maitland, like everybody else, had the defects of his qualities. Sometimes his temperament drew him, as Mr. Fisher himself points out, 'too far on the path of scepticism.' Sometimes his very fixed and clear-cut convictions impaired his sympathy, or limited his interest. There were whole fields of medieval English history which hardly existed for him. Often the very quickness of his intelligence, his extraordinary delight in analogies and allusions, the facility with which he would take a hint suggested, perhaps, by his reading in quite different fields, led him to over emphasis, or to the neglect of the proper qualification of the doctrine that he was expounding.

Thus Maitland's study, let us say, of Dr. Keutgen's learned and scholarly work would at once suggest to him the question whether there was not something to be said for the 'garrison theory' as a possible explanation of the origin of the English borough. Every one knows with what brilliant ingenuity he put together the English evidence on this subject in *Domesday Book and Beyond*. There is little doubt that he went too far, and he confessed so much in a note to *Township and Borough*, and freely admitted in conversation and private correspondence that he was a little shaken in his faith. It is just the same with his attractive doctrine that the Domesday manor was the unit of geld assessment. To Mr. Fisher now, as to Maitland then, this

view is rightly 'an ingenious hypothesis,' but it would have been as well to add that it is a hypothesis which is regarded as tenable by but few scholars. Similarly, as regards Maitland's doctrine that the Domesday hide contained 120 arable acres, we should remember not only the larger hides of the south-east, which of course support Maitland's general theory of the nature of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, but also the clearly proven small hides of south-western Wessex, which can only be properly explained on Maitland's lines by the distinction subsequently developed by Prof. Vinogradoff between the 'fiscal hide' and the hide as a unit of land measurement.

It was clearly not Mr. Fisher's business to elaborate the lines of criticism here suggested, but had he even briefly indicated their substance, or had he so much as added to his bibliography references to such criticisms of Maitland as have been written by Miss Bateson, Mr. Round, and Prof. Tait, he would have done something towards indicating those 'warts and roughnesses' in Maitland's historical methods which Maitland himself would have been the first man to recognise and desire to be recorded. Even a man of Maitland's calibre cannot be expected often to attain that scientific certainty of demonstration attained in his refutation of the doctrine of Stubbs that Roman Canon Law was not recognised as binding on the ecclesiastical courts of medieval England. However, Mr. Fisher goes much too far when he says that 'the case for the legal continuity of the church of England was demolished by Maitland,' though he certainly destroyed an argument on which many upholders of the doctrine of 'continuity' placed very great reliance. Yet we may accept Maitland's demonstration, and even give general adherence to the doctrines expressed in his wonderful contribution to the *Cambridge Modern History* without quite endorsing Mr. Fisher's judgment that Maitland brought a 'thoroughly impartial mind' to a task which, however unwillingly undertaken, he discharged with manifest enjoyment. Mr. Fisher apparently holds the quaint conceit that theological detachment is the condition of impartiality, as if it might not have its own partisanship, quite as dangerous, and nowadays almost as common, as the partisanship of the churches. We should not allow our admiration for this great scholar to lead us to regard him, as many of us were taught a quarter of a century ago to regard Stubbs, as an almost infallible exponent of history from whose judgments and methods there could be no appeal.

It is to be regretted that the book has no index.

In conclusion, let us thank Mr. Fisher once more for the manner in which he has discharged his labour of love. Whatever reason we may have to supplement any of his statements, there is absolutely no cause for traversing them. He may be warmly congratulated in having shewn us—and that we feel sure he will regard as the real object of his task—not only the eminence and originality of Maitland, but also the charm and beauty of his character, as well as the passionate love of truth, the courage, the heroic struggle against disease, the sympathy, and the modesty, of the great man who crowded into a short life of broken health more distinguished achievement than was attained by any other historian of his generation.

T. F. TOUT.

76 Corbett : The Campaign of Trafalgar

THE CAMPAIGN OF TRAFALGAR. By Julian S. Corbett. Pp. xvi, 473, with Charts and Diagrams. 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 16s. nett.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that if there had been no battle of Trafalgar the naval campaign of 1805 would be very much better understood than it is. That most people have thoroughly erroneous ideas about it is partly because the true relation of the battle to the campaign is not grasped, and partly because Nelson's share in the campaign, invested with the special interest attaching to his personality, has unduly eclipsed the work of other men who, like Barham and Cornwallis, really played greater parts. The most conspicuous naval victory gained by England over the combined forces of France and Spain, the crowning moment in Nelson's career, to some extent the decisive battle of the Napoleonic wars, inasmuch as the destruction of the largest portion of his fleet made it impossible for Napoleon to revive his schemes for the invasion of England, and so drove him to have recourse to the 'Continental System' and all that it involved, Trafalgar was nevertheless merely the epilogue to the campaign of 1805, so far at least as that had as its object the invasion of England. That great project to which Napoleon had devoted so much thought and labour only to be countered by his less famous opponents with no less ingenuity and a much more accurate appreciation of the essentials of naval strategy, had been foiled two months before Trafalgar, and it is not that battle but Calder's action of July 22nd off the Spanish Finisterre, tactically incomplete though it was, which has the best claim to be called the decisive blow of the campaign as far as concerned the invasion of England. To students of naval history, these points are familiar enough ; but it is to be hoped that Mr. Corbett's admirable account of the campaign, told with all his vigour and vividness in narrative and all his lucidity in argument and exposition, will do much to make the true version of the story more universally recognised. And while Nelson's work is in no danger of being undervalued, certainly not by Mr. Corbett, it is high time that adequate justice should be done to the even greater services of Barham and Cornwallis, to say nothing of lesser men. But this is just what Mr. Corbett's study of the campaign does. It goes without saying that he has availed himself of the great mass of materials, published and unpublished, dealing with the naval side of the campaign, but what is of special value is that he has brought the naval events into their true connection with the military and the diplomatic, and that the different features of the story are arranged in their proper proportion.

One is accustomed to expect something new in Mr. Corbett's books, not merely new facts brought to light by his researches, but new constructions put on old facts and new solutions of old puzzles. His wide knowledge, his ingenuity and his insight help him to bring fresh light to bear on the most familiar points, and it would have been surprising indeed had he not found reason to call for a reconsideration of some of the salient features of the Trafalgar campaign. His most important new contention is that one should not regard the campaign, as one of mere defence against invasion, not as a merely naval campaign, but as essentially offensive and closely connected

with the development of the Third Coalition. Among the schemes under discussion by the Allies was included the expulsion of the French from Southern Italy by a joint Anglo-Russian force. England's contribution to this project was the force under Sir James Craig, some 6,000 to 8,000 strong, which sailed for the Mediterranean early in 1805, and, after various perils on the way, an episode well told by Mr. Corbett, ended by occupying Sicily on the collapse of the Coalition after Austerlitz and maintaining its hold on that island till the conclusion of peace in 1814.

According to Mr. Corbett this combined action with Russia is the key to the events of the year. He regards all Napoleon's plans for a naval combination to give him command of the Channel as wholly impracticable (p. 15), as a desperate attempt to free himself from the toils Pitt and the Czar were weaving round him, in the hope that the threat of an invasion would cause England to keep her troops at home and paralyse her proposed offensive. This is certainly a view of the case for which there is much to be said, but one cannot help feeling that Mr. Corbett goes a little further than is quite reasonable. He is much too positive about the hopelessness of the invasion to be altogether convincing. Admitting that Napoleon failed to grasp the great difficulties of wind and tide and that the arrangements for the invasion were never quite completed, still he had achieved many of his greatest successes by attempting things which his enemies had believed impossible. There is nothing in the version which ascribes all the luck to the English, and represents Napoleon's non-success as an inexplicable marvel. The chances were certainly very much in our favour, but there is a great difference between the 'most unlikely' and the 'impossible,' and if we had not had strategists like Barham and Cornwallis to direct the operations of a strong and thoroughly efficient fleet Napoleon's discomfiture might not have been such a certainty: the favourite does not always win. But, quite apart from this there is another caution to be urged against accepting in full Mr. Corbett's estimate of Craig's expedition. One cannot overlook its numerical weakness, even when one allows for its possibilities as an 'amphibious' force. Despite Mr. Corbett's comments on it, there is a good deal in Napoleon's criticism: 'plans of continental operations based on detachments of a few thousand men are the plans of pygmies.' The lesson of the Seven Years' War is that mere diversions cannot produce any decisive effect, there must be something substantial behind; as Mr. Corbett himself has shown their efficacy lies more in the threat than in the performance, and a threat with nothing behind it is of a short-lived efficacy. Pitt did attempt a true counter-stroke after the abandonment of the invasion, not with Craig's little force but with the much larger and equally little-studied expedition to the Weser under Cathcart, which was ruined by the precipitation of the Czar in fighting prematurely at Austerlitz and by the fatal delays and hesitation of Prussia, though it must also be allowed that it would have had a better chance had it landed a month earlier. However, while we should still regard the foiling of Napoleon's invasion-project as really more important than the counter-stroke with Craig's force, Mr. Corbett has certainly made out a clear case for his theory that it was this counter-

stroke which led to the actual battle of Trafalgar. But for the need to do something to check this Anglo-Russian attack on Naples, there would have been nothing to make the French quit Cadiz and give Nelson the chance to bring them to battle. Otherwise they might have remained quietly on the defensive in Cadiz, imposing on the English the difficult and exhausting task of keeping up a blockade. A passive defensive inside a well-protected port was, as Mr. Corbett has shown, the strategical alternative which the French always found most effective as a reply to the naval supremacy of England, and unless some stroke such as Craig's expedition could be struck at a vulnerable point it was bound to produce a deadlock.

Seeing then how important Sicily was as the key to the diplomatic and strategical situation in the Mediterranean, not merely being essential as the source of supply for our fleet but providing a point where England might have given the Coalition effective aid on land, one criticism often directed against Nelson must be modified. He is charged with having left the Straits open to Villeneuve through undue over-anxiety for Sicily and Sardinia. Mr. Corbett shows that this was in accord with his instructions, and he approves of his action in not leaving the position in which he covered those islands until he had positive intelligence of Villeneuve's course (p. 60). Yet one hardly feels inclined to make quite as light as Mr. Corbett does of the risks of leaving the Straits open (p. 55). Of course his whole view is coloured by his conviction that there was no serious danger of invasion, and that the projected offensive was the more important consideration, but one must point out that the special feature which governed the strategical situation was the inefficiency of the Allies. Their unreadiness to face a pitched battle was the true guarantee against invasion and Nelson's justification for leaving the Straits open. Had they been able to face the English on equal terms with as good chances of success as the French fleets had between 1778 and 1783, Nelson's strategy would have been most dangerous, both in leaving the Straits open—it is a little strained by the way to speak of Nelson as having 'driven Villeneuve through the Straits' (p. 97)—and also in returning to Gibraltar from the West Indies instead of making for Brest and Ferrol. Mr. Corbett does not discuss the route taken by Nelson at any length, but the chart certainly suggests that had Nelson made for either of those ports he must have fallen in with Villeneuve on the way. Certainly had he not left so many frigates in the Mediterranean he would have had a better chance of locating Villeneuve either in the West Indies or in Mid-Atlantic. But especially in view of what Mr. Corbett says of the tradition of concentrating on the Western Squadron, it does look as if Nelson was wrong in making for Gibraltar. It was not for the Mediterranean that Villeneuve was likely to be making, but for one of the ports where he would find another detachment of the Allied fleet. The return to the Straits was taking Nelson well out of the way to do any effective service while the crisis was being decided elsewhere. Luckily Villeneuve's fleet was not battleworthy enough to beat Calder or to attempt to come up to Brest even when re-enforced by the Ferrol ships. It was the inability of the Allies to face even weaker forces with any prospect of success that was at the root of their failure, though one must remember that

in discussing attempts at co-operation between a blockaded squadron and would-be relievers one must keep clear of the analogy of a besieged fortress by land where the relievers can almost always count on the garrison co-operating (p. 133). At sea this is not the case. The wind that was fair to bring Villeneuve up would keep Ganteaume from coming out, and so the separate portions of the Allied fleet would be exposed to defeat in detail. And Mr. Corbett makes a good point when he shows (pp. 180 and 189) how the dangers of opening a port for a short period, as Cornwallis did from July 12th to 24th, were not as great as they might appear. As he shows (p. 192), even if Ganteaume had ventured to come out while Cornwallis was standing to the westward on the chance of meeting Villeneuve, the chances were all against his escaping disaster if he entered the Channel.

The tradition of concentrating on the Western Squadron is a point of which Mr. Corbett makes a good deal. He shows that Orde's action in doing this when driven off from Cadiz by Villeneuve, a step somewhat vehemently and hastily condemned by Nelson, was not only fully in accordance with the established rule of the service, but exactly anticipated the orders Barham was drafting for him (p. 64). But one cannot follow Mr. Corbett in his statement that the blockade of Brest was merely 'incidental' to the work of the Western Squadron in 'holding the approaches to the Channel.' The all-essential task before the Western Squadron was to keep Ganteaume well watched and held in check. Ganteaume would not come out and fight, he had therefore to be blockaded, and it was largely to the efficiency with which the blockade was maintained that the impotence of the French fleet for harm was due. It is curious to find Mr. Corbett using language which rather belittles the blockade and seeming to attach a value to mere positions in themselves, as though he were of Jomini's school of strategists. Undoubtedly the control of the approaches to the Channel was important, but had Cherbourg been the headquarters of the French Atlantic fleet, the Western Squadron would not have been found off Ushant.

The very able defence which Mr. Corbett brings forward for Cornwallis' much criticised division of his fleet on August 16th really seems to bring out the fact that where the French squadrons were there was the place for the main fleets of the English. The division in question took place after Nelson and Calder had fallen back on Cornwallis, at the time when Villeneuve was off Ferrol and was expected to be coming north. Admiral Mahan¹ and Mr. Leyland² have condemned Cornwallis for dividing his force and sending Calder with twenty of his thirty-eight battleships to resume the blockade of Ferrol, arguing that this violated the great principle of concentration and risked defeat in detail. Napoleon himself called the move 'une insigne bêtise,' and yet Mr. Corbett is able to show good cause for approving highly of it. The stroke was 'well within fair risk of war' (p. 252). There were plenty of British

¹ *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire.*

² *Blockade of Brest* (Navy Records Society).

cruisers about the Bay—Ferrol was never left unwatched—and there was very little chance of Villeneuve escaping observation or ‘playing prisoners’ base’ with Calder and Cornwallis. And had he fallen in with either division, would the collection of ships he had with him—it cannot be called a fleet—have been equal to tackling eighteen or twenty British battleships? Jervis had won St. Vincent against greater odds. Moreover, as has been shown, Ganteaume could hardly have been able to take part in an action between Cornwallis and Villeneuve. But the great thing was that as long as the British fleet was concentrated off Ushant, Villeneuve was free to go where he would. To have kept the whole Western Squadron concentrated would have been to adopt a mere defensive and to leave the initiative to Napoleon, who might have used Villeneuve with effect in the Mediterranean (p. 250). The division did not give Villeneuve the interior position; he already was between Cornwallis and the Mediterranean Squadron under Collingwood. What the detaching of Calder to the southward did was that it deprived Villeneuve of his liberty of action, a very urgent need which might well have justified a more risky step. And after all, the division was not merely approved by Barham, in making it Cornwallis was only anticipating the instructions Barham gave.

There is much more of which one might write. The praise given to Barham is not more than is fully deserved. The account of the battle is full of interest and a valuable contribution to its controversies. The charts are excellent and a great help to the reader. The attention given to the workings of the cruisers is very well bestowed: it enables Mr. Corbett to show on what intelligence the Admiralty and the commanders acted and how it was collected. The record of Allemand’s cruises and narrow escapes is really astonishing; he, at least, could not complain of his luck. Lastly, though one would have preferred not to end a review with a criticism, when the book is one of such real interest and value, it seems a little too positive to say that the decision to attack Austria was quite independent of Villeneuve’s failure to reach Brest. It was taken after a letter from Decrès in which the Minister of Marine expressed his conviction that Villeneuve must have gone to Cadiz (p. 275). The admiral’s letter of August 3rd had shown that he was contemplating a retreat to Cadiz. His non-appearance off Brest may well have led Napoleon to leap to a conclusion which M. Desbrière¹ has well described as ‘la merveilleuse intuition montrée par l’Empereur,’ even if, as he adds, ‘jamais décision plus grave ne paraît avoir été prise sur des motifs moins solides.’ Napoleon would not have realised, as a sailor would, that the delay might easily be explained by adverse winds; he knew Villeneuve was none too confident of himself or his fleet, and he may have realised that the admiral not merely had not come but was not coming. Mr. Corbett thinks it was on September 1st that Napoleon got definite news that Villeneuve was in Cadiz; but it was on August 29th that he heard of Cornwallis dividing his fleet and remarked ‘quelle chance a manquée Villeneuve,’ as though speaking of a thing past. Had he any more positive information then than on the 23rd or 24th?

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¹ *Trafalgar*, p. 112.

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-1797. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series xxvii., Nos. 8-12. By William Thomas Laprade, Ph.D. Pp. 232. 8vo. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1909. One dollar.

MR. LAPRADE has given very careful research to the subject of his monograph. He set out meaning to relate the effect of the French Revolution on the social and political life of England, but his research has led him to the conclusion that the influence of the Revolution in social matters was practically *nil*, and that in political matters it did little more than serve as a *deus ex machina* to the political purposes of William Pitt. His conclusions are disappointing and lead one to ask, if this be all, why not say so in fewer words? The answer would seem to be that Mr. Laprade has in the course of his study become so much interested in the politics of English ministers, and especially of their great leader, William Pitt, in the years from 1789-1797, that he has found in them his real subject. His researches have led him to believe that Pitt and his colleagues 'used' the French Revolution 'for their own political purposes as a pretext for reviving the old-time struggle with France for supremacy in the commercial and in the colonial world.' In other words, that they forced a war on France. In adopting this view Mr. Laprade separates himself from the accepted historical opinion. He has therefore to build up his own theory with elaborate care. English history has regarded Pitt as essentially a peace-minister. 'His enthusiasm,' says Lord Rosebery, 'was all for peace, retrenchment and reform. . . . To no human being did war come with such a curse as to Pitt, by none was it more hated or shunned,' and what Lord Rosebery has said later historians have endorsed. Such is not Mr. Laprade's view. Pitt, he maintains, incited Holland against France on the question of the opening of the Scheldt, broke the commercial treaty of 1786 between France and England by his Alien Bill of 1792, refused what Mr. Laprade considers a satisfactory explanation by France of the famous decrees which in November, 1792, threatened all established governments, and 'cultivated the fears' aroused in England by revolutionary societies and seditious writings. Finally he 'took advantage' of the execution of the king for the action which he expected would force the English to declare war—'he arranged to hold a meeting of the Privy Council immediately after the execution of Louis XVI. that an order might be issued requiring Chauvelin to leave England.' One cannot but respect the industry which Mr. Laprade has devoted to the working out of his theory, but, unfortunately, in the whole course of his enquiry he writes as if conducting a case against Pitt and his colleagues. With the writer's other conclusion, 'That the uprising in France played but a minor rôle in the domestic history of England,' historians will be less inclined to quarrel. The English and Scottish revolutionary societies had little direct permanent effect on the life of England, and what they had can hardly be ascribed to the French Revolution. It was due rather to the spirit of the time, to the influence of the American Revolution, and to the writings of men who, like Priestley and Paine, had formed their opinions before the French

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Revolution broke out. Their indirect influence was seen in the repressive measures to which the English Government had recourse. The account given of these Societies by Mr. Laprade forms the most interesting and instructive part of his book. But here again, in taking the side of the Societies as against the Government, he is too much inclined to discount the dangerous element and to leave untold the inflammatory oratory. Contemporary pamphlets quote passages that could not lightly be passed over. It must not be forgotten by the historian of the twentieth century that the standpoint of the eighteenth century was not and could not be ours. The monograph is full of points too detailed to be taken up in a short notice, and should be read by those interested in the politics of the time. It is furnished with an Index and an ample Bibliography.

SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN LANCASHIRE, 1642-1651. By Ernest Broxap, M.A. Pp. xv, 226. With Map and Plans. 8vo. Manchester University Press. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a history the compilation of which must have involved much labour and research, as the exactitude of detail shewn in it is quite beyond what is usually found in similar works. The period to which it relates is a difficult one for the historian desiring to give an account of the whole struggle between King and Parliament, for it was not a war carried on by one leading general, with forces concentrated for one main struggle.

In many respects it was a war conducted piecemeal in different localities, to which the two contending parties in each district of the country were allies respectively to those in other parts of the land, and gave assistance when able to assist without weakening their own power of resistance to their local adversaries. This was markedly the case in Lancashire, which was in the war before others joined issue, and remained in it till the struggle had waned and died out elsewhere. Lancashire was then an unimportant county, with much moor, and isolated by the natural configuration of the land from the eastern part. This led to the contest being local, though having an important bearing on the whole campaign.

In Lancashire the struggle was a class one, as indeed it was in degree everywhere, but the parliamentarians in that county had to meet the powerful royalists who clung to the great county magnate, Lord Derby, who drew to himself almost all the then so powerful aristocratic element. There was great reluctance in Lancashire to open war, both partisans probably realising that when once begun the fight would be bitter and the issue doubtful. But once the combatants took the field, there was resolute determination on both sides, and there was much of up-and-down in the events which followed, and of these the author has given a clear and graphic account. His love of accuracy and detail—or rather his conscientiousness in working it out—to some extent may detract from the interest of the book to the general reader, but the lover of history will be grateful to him for so full an account of a section of the great war, which had a telling influence on the subsequent course of events. For had the revolutionists been effectively crushed in Lancashire, as they well might

have been if generalship had been better on the royalist side than it was, the whole course of events might have been affected, either to cause prolongation of the royalist resistance, or even failure of their opponents to obtain the mastery.

The opening of the campaign as reported at the time is ludicrously like the modern accounts of events in newspapers, where the reporter sees what the other reporter for the other side does not see. Lord Strange's visit to Manchester for negotiation is reported as a scene of joy, 'acclamations, bonfires, streets strewed with flowers,' Lord Strange entering unarmed in his coach, with only his ordinary attendants. The other side's report described his 'coming in a warlike manner, attended by many horsemen, with cocked pistols and shouts that the town was their own.' It is not surprising that on that very afternoon there was crowd and melee, shots fired at Lord Strange, a royalist knocked off his horse and his assailant killed. This was the lighting of the match that kindled the flame, which for years burned fiercely throughout the county. Had Lancashire been left to fight its own battles, it is probable the royalists would have crushed the opposition, but orders from headquarters caused a large force of royalists to be moved elsewhere, with disastrous effects upon their cause. Those opposed to the King were not of one mind among themselves, and might easily have been overawed into submission had power of forces been maintained. Instead of which Strange, in loyal obedience, allowed much of his power to be carried off to other parts of the land.

There is not much interest attaching to the field fights. There were few combats that could be called pitched battles. There was much of what may be called running fighting. Interest concentrates on the sieges. Of these two stand out prominently—the siege of the town of Manchester, and the siege of Lathom House, the seat of the Derby family. The siege of Manchester by the royalists affords a strong illustration of the folly of dividing forces, and enabling defenders to meet attacks made with too small forces to act rapidly and effectively. The author goes into great, perhaps too great, detail in describing this siege, as such minute treatment makes the account wearisome to the non-technical reader, and there is little of instruction for the soldier.

The siege of Lathom is a much more interesting episode, as it is full of incident, and has the romance attached to it that the defence was conducted bravely and skilfully under the leadership of a woman, the Countess of Derby, a daughter of the Duc de Touars, and granddaughter of William the Silent; a brave woman, whose answer to the besiegers is worth recording—'Though a woman and a stranger divorced from my friends, I am ready to receive your utmost violence, trusting in God for protection and deliverance.'

But her celebrated later answer is historical: 'Tell that insolent rebel, he shall have neither persons, goods, nor house; when our strength and provision is spent, we shall find a fire more merciful than Rigby, and then, if the providence of God prevent it not, my goods and house shall burn in his sight; myself, children, and soldiers, rather than fall into his hands, will seal our religion and our loyalty in the same flame.' It is a pleasure to

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know that this brave lady repelled the besiegers successfully till succour came. Lathom only fell in a later siege, when the inspiration of the Countess no longer upheld the garrison.

Sufficient has been said to indicate the interest and value of this history. It is written in a clear style, and there are many verifying and interesting notes from contemporary writings.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

THE RECORDS OF THE TRADES HOUSE OF GLASGOW, A.D. 1605-1678.

Edited by Harry Lumsden. Pp. xxvii, 574, 4to. Glasgow: Printed for the Trades House of Glasgow. 1910.

No obscurity surrounds the origin of the body known as the Trades House of Glasgow. A little over three hundred years ago, or to be exact, on 9th February, 1605, an award was pronounced by arbiters who had been appointed to treat and decide concerning the privileges of the merchants and craftsmen within the burgh and the settlement of controversies between them; and by this award, familiarly known as the Letter of Guildry, it was provided that there should thenceforth be in the city a dean of guild, a deacon convener, and a visitor of maltmen. The deacon convener was to be chosen by the town council from a leet presented by the deacons of the respective crafts, and when appointed he was directed to convene the whole deacons of crafts 'and their assisteris,' as occasion required, and with their advice to judge betwixt them in matters pertaining to their crafts and callings, and to make acts and statutes for good order amongst them. The several deacons and their assistants were at first called the Deacon Convener's Council, and it is the record of their proceedings down to the year 1678 which is now published. At the first recorded election of the council the deacon convener nominated the whole deacons of crafts, the visitor of maltmen, and other nine persons, 'to be his counsellours to convey with him and to advyse in all things that sall concerne the glorie of God, the weale of this burgh, and their particular weale, nocht hurtand the weale of ony wther within this burgh.' As latterly constituted, the council consisted of 14 deacons and 40 assistants, making 54 members in all. About half a century after it was first formed, the Council began to assume the name of the Crafts House or Trades House, by which latter it is now invariably designated.

Though the Glasgow of 1605, with Stockwell Street at its western limit and with a population of about 7,000, was inconsiderable when viewed from a modern standpoint, it is described in a contemporary document as having then 'becum well peopled and hes ane greit traide and trafficque,' and it had 'speciall plaice and voice as ane frie citye of the kingdome.' There were 213 burgesses of the merchant rank and 363 of the trades rank. Only those burgesses who were members of the incorporations were allowed to practise their craft as masters, and their seals of cause regulated the employment of journeymen and apprentices. The earlier seals of cause always stipulated for contributions to specified altars, but subsequent to the Reformation the dues which, as described in one of these documents, were 'of old superstitiously bestowed on their blind

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devotions,' were applied towards support of the poor. While the individual crafts incorporations were still to continue in charge of their own decayed members, the letter of guildry provided for the maintenance of hospitals by both merchants and craftsmen for so many of their respective poor. The new deacon convener and his council lost no time in purchasing a site for their hospital. By the expenditure of 'diveris and greit sowmes of money,' the ruinous and decayed hospital at the Stablegreen, founded in the beginning of the previous century by Sir Roland Blacader, subdean, was procured for the purpose, but within a couple of years that design was abandoned, and the manse of the parson of Morebattle was acquired and fitted up as the almshouse. The endowments of Blacader's hospital appear in the early accounts as the 'craftis auld rental, extending to £26 9s. 4d.,' and a sum of 10 merks was paid 'for translatting of the hospitalis fundatioun in Inglische.' The minutes and accounts now printed show how the work of starting the new hospital proceeded and how a voluntary contribution was collected to meet the expense. Slates were carted from the Broomielaw, having probably been brought from Argyllshire in boats, nails were brought from Bannockburn, quarriers were paid for stones, 5s. 4d. was paid 'to the wrichtis for aill quhen they began to lay the hospitall wark,' and the like sum for other two quarts when they finished the job. After the hospital had been set agoing six poor men were lodged in it, getting yearly pensions of £48 each besides allowances of clothing, 'sarkis' and 'schoone.'

In the accounts for the year 1607-8 the gross charge, including £133 of borrowed money, a legacy of £3, and £152 contributed by the crafts, amounted to £449 Scots, or £37 sterling, a small beginning for an institution which to-day has assets valued at £158,261, and an annual revenue of £7,895. Successful speculation in land, beginning with the purchase of Gorbals in 1650, was one of the chief means by which this wealth was accumulated.

With the exception of one or two lost leaves, the first MS. volume of records, embracing the period 1678-1713, is complete, and its contents are given in full. This is commendable, though it results in the printing of much routine matter, such as procedure at the annual elections, reports on the yearly accounts, regulations for the contributions leviable from the several incorporations, and details as to the investment of funds. Loyal support was usually given to schemes having the general welfare of the town in view. A sum of £500 was raised for one of the town's ministers, contributions were made towards the expense of defending the thirlage rights of the city at a critical juncture, the deacons gave money for supplies of arms and armour, and assistance was given in carrying out a resolution of the town council instructing the removal of stones from Dumbuck ford for improving the navigation of the Clyde. An example of the way in which the deacon convener's council settled disputes occurs in 1638, when seven members of the coopers' incorporation complained that the rule under which purchases of imported material ought to be dealt equally to poor and rich had been infringed. The council ordered that the deacon of the coopers, accompanied by two or three honest men of the calling, should in

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future purchase such material and divide the same equally among the poor and the rich, 'without respect of persons,' it being lawful for any poor cooper to sell his lot at a profit if he was unable to pay the price. At another time the council cordially approved of the proceedings of the incorporation of wrights in trying to repress and punish an incorrigible member who had 'malitiouslie' called his deacon a 'pendicle.'

This carefully edited volume, with its valuable information on points of local history, commercial and industrial development, has its attractive appearance enhanced by well-executed facsimiles of portions of the original record.

ROBERT RENWICK.

ANCIENT CHURCH DEDICATIONS IN SCOTLAND (Scriptural Dedications).

By James Murray Mackinlay. Pp. xxiii, 419. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1910. 12s. 6d. nett.

In a Prefatory Note the author defines the object of this volume as twofold. 'In the first place, to give some account of the Cathedrals, Parish and Collegiate Churches, Chapels, Hospitals, and Monasteries, under the invocation of saints mentioned in Holy Scripture; and, in the second place, to trace the influence that these saints have had on ecclesiastical festivals, usages and symbolism.'

The result is a *catalogue raisonné* which partakes more of the nature of a work of reference than of a definite and articulated treatise. There is room for an authoritative work on the Consecration of Churches, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Mackinlay has confined himself to the topographical side of his subject. An historical introduction, in which the evolution of the subject of Consecration from the early Roman and Gallican rites through the legislation of the Medieval Church would have been traced, would have added greatly to the interest of his researches. The special field which he has chosen offers admirable illustrations of the difficulties which presented themselves in every country to the Canon lawyers, and the general rules which were framed to meet them throw light on Scottish usages which at first sight seem somewhat arbitrary. The conflicting claims of national and Roman saints, *e.g.*, had to be met in many fields. But within his self-imposed limits Mr. Mackinlay has dealt adequately with his subject, and the material which he has collected has a permanent value for local historians.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

NEWS LETTERS OF 1715-16. Edited by A. Francis Steuart, Advocate.

Pp. xv, 157. 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd. 1910. 5s. nett.

At the time of its occurrence the Jacobite rising of 1715 was allowed to pass with small comment, while the offenders were leniently dealt with by the reigning powers. Consequently few records were left of the affair, and consequently, in turn, historians have said comparatively little on the subject. But albeit lacking the romance of the great rising thirty years later, the 'Fifteen is distinctly an interesting episode, and the mere fact that it has been so slightly handled heretofore lends an additional fascination to any sidelights thereon.

The News Letters now set forth by Mr. A. Francis Steuart are printed from originals in the possession of Mr. Charles E. S. Chambers, who inherited them from his grandfather, Dr. Robert Chambers, the well-known historian. They formerly belonged to Sir Archibald Steuart Denham of Coltness, Bart., and it was to him they were addressed from time to time during the rising. The writer's own name is not disclosed, but it is evident that he was an enthusiastic Whig; and, though any literary gift is conspicuous by its absence from his correspondence, the latter is none the less valuable historically because of this limitation. It furnishes accounts, of course, of the raising of Mar's standard, of the Jacobites' abortive attempt to take Edinburgh Castle, and of the battle of Sheriffmuir; while ever and anon it leads from these highways into less familiar byways, and gives information anent various recondite matters. It is useful, in particular, in the light it throws on the genesis of the 'Fifteen, and in what it tells of the less important parties implicated therein. It shows, moreover, to what a large extent mercenaries from Holland and Switzerland were employed to quell the rebellious clans, while it illuminates the behaviour of the government troops during their sojourn in Scotland, and the degree of discipline maintained amongst them. On this subject the writer gives nothing but praise, speaking with marked enthusiasm of the equipment of the soldiers, and saying of certain of them: 'I scarce think there is a more showy regiment in Europe.' Of the insurgent Highlanders he writes less generously, describing them as 'a crewell enemie'; but one can hardly blame him for this misconception, for was it not universal at the time, both in England and in lowland Scotland?

As regards the editor's own part of the book, here and there he is inclined to be disappointing. He mentions Sir James Steuart Denham, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Sir Archibald, first as a 'cadet,' and then as a 'relative' of the latter. Now Sir James is so very interesting a figure in history—for he practically founded the science of political economy—that one is naturally anxious to know the precise consanguinity between him and the owner of the MSS. The *Dictionary of National Biography* offers no information on this head, so it is a pity that Mr. Steuart says nothing, and the same is true of another section. This describes attempts to suppress Jacobite plots and plans in and around Edinburgh, and it speaks of 'neer catching some ringleaders had been at the principall Chainge House at Wrightshowses.' What a pity that Mr. Steuart does not give any elucidation on this passage, for one cannot but wonder if the writer refers to the ancient 'Golf Tavern,' which overlooks Bruntsfield Links to this day. The veteran building was lately demolished, but, as its street is still named 'Wright's Houses,' one would fain believe that the present hostelry is a relic of Jacobite hopes, and that it was here the culprits met to drink the health of the king over the water.

These are infinitesimal matters, however, and in the main the editor has done his work excellently. His volume cannot be called indispensable to students of Jacobite history, yet it is one which most such will read with interest, and will surely care to possess.

88 Oman : England before the Norman Conquest

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST. Being a History of the Celtic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon Periods down to the year 1066. By Charles Oman. Pp. xx, 679, with 3 Maps. Demy 8vo. London : Methuen & Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. nett.

PROFESSOR OMAN'S latest book marks a new stage in the writing of Early English history. Within recent years, thanks to the work of scholars like Haverfield, Stevenson, Chadwick, and Maitland, the conclusions of older historians have been everywhere undermined, but while tentative local reconstructions have been attempted, until the appearance of this volume, no general summary of results had been made. But now Mr. Oman has given us a book which, without pretending to any original detailed research of its own, gives the general reader a fair statement of the results arrived at by scholarship since J. R. Green, and Freeman, and Stubbs wrote their histories. It has not, of course, the picturesque style and pious fervour of Green's *Making of England* and *Conquest of England*, nor does it surrender so pleasantly to the charms of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as Green does in some of his best pages. But by way of substitute we have a sane, restrained, and scholarly narrative, which attempts little fine writing, and refuses to give speculation, however fascinating, where plain fact alone is justified.

For practically the first time, the general reader is given an account of Roman Britain, not merely interesting, but authoritative, and Mr. Haverfield's supervision of the Roman sections lends an additional force to Mr. Oman's work. In the same way, the grain has been sifted from the chaff in Mr. Chadwick's recent highly speculative work, and much of what is soundest in that scholar's *Origins of the English Nation* may be found here, related in sober fashion to the main body of Early English history.

In work demanding so much readjustment and replacement, errors in judgment, or unfortunate changes in emphasis were to be looked for—the more naturally because Mr. Oman owes no special allegiance to this period. But, on the whole, he must receive praise as an extraordinarily skilful *improvisatore*. His earlier pages, on Celtic Britain, show more difficulty, are less certain in their information, than the rest of the book. The rather culpable neglect to mention, in any adequate way, Early English literature, coupled with a little slip in a reference to Beowulf (on page 403, where Hygelac appears as Beowulf's elder brother) suggests either that he does not know, or that he does not care, for one important aspect of his subject. The chapters on ecclesiastical history, while moderately comprehensive, hardly do justice to the church in Ireland and Iona. And, to bring the ungrateful task of fault-finding to an end, while Mr. Oman's caution in social and constitutional reconstruction is admirable, it has, in two instances at least, made him inadequate as a substitute for Stubbs or Freeman. The pages which deal with the early English monarchy (352-358) are hardly illuminating, and in no sense do justice to the most important of all Mr. Chadwick's contributions to early constitutional history; and distinctly too little has been made of Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, more especially with reference to the origins of feudalism.

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But when all has been said, the book stands out as a sound and authoritative account of the most difficult period in British history. Considering how few Mr. Oman's opportunities for picturesque narrative have been, compared with those allowed by earlier canons of scholarship to writers like J. R. Green, the book is wonderfully interesting, and proves once more how unusual a gift its author has for popularising the researches of more plodding minds. As a populariser, Mr. Oman cannot expect to have the easy power of the great scholars, whose work he is assisting to supersede; for, with all his faults, J. R. Green's knowledge of, and sympathy with, Anglo-Saxon England, gave all he wrote on his subject an air of distinction; and the virile understanding and profound learning of Dr. Stubbs made even his errors in Early English history profitable. One naturally expects to find history interpreted more narrowly where the resources of the writer are restricted. But, after all, the comparison is unfair; and as a text-book, or accessible account of the period, the volume takes a distinct place of its own.

One peculiarly pleasing feature in Mr. Oman's work must receive some recognition. His field of inquiry is one, famous of old for acrid controversy, and scholars of name have lost their tempers and their manners over the very issues discussed in these pages. But even where the conclusions of earlier scholars had to be set aside, Mr. Oman has done it without an unfair reflection, and not even the suggestion of personal abuse.

The book is provided with an adequate index, but it is hardly possible to praise the system (or confusion of systems) on which modern and ancient place-names are allotted in the three maps at the end of the volume.

J. L. MORISON.

THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ENGLAND. By J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

With twenty-four illustrations. The Antiquary's Books. Pp. xx, 290.

Demy 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

THERE was no need for a well-informed antiquary like Dr. Cox to make an apology for undertaking a book on the parish registers of England, for few men living are better equipped by knowledge and experience for the task. Nor can it be said that such a book is outside the scope of the series of which the author is editor, and to which he has already rendered valuable service. The various branches of English antiquities comprehended in 'The Antiquary's Books,' so far as the scheme has been accomplished, have been treated in such a scholarly and popular way that the volumes may be regarded as indispensable to the working student as well as the general reader. The latest contribution to the series is worthy of high rank among the volumes already published.

Dr. Cox has entered the lists in competition with some eminent pioneers in the same field, and we do not think that his claim for respectful consideration has been strengthened by a half-hearted appreciation of the labours of some of his predecessors. It would have been better if he had frankly stated that each of the previous manuals had a value and individuality of its own. Workers on parish registers owe too great a debt to

Ralph Bigland, *Somerset Herald*, who published his observations so long ago as 1764, and to John Southerden Burn, who wrote on parish registers in 1829, to forget how much help they had received from a perusal of their pages. If the successors of these pioneers have produced more trustworthy and comprehensive compilations, much was no doubt due to the work already done, and to the greater opportunities which have arisen in recent years by the printing of so many registers in various parts of the country. Despite the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Chester Waters, carried on in a spirit that almost amounted to heroism, and when every recognition for painstaking research and accurate knowledge is accorded to Mr. Meredyth Burke and Dr. Cox for their respective contributions to the history of parish registers, one cannot help feeling that Bigland and Burn will hold honourable niches among them, and that students will turn to their pages on some points where the others have failed to give the required guidance.

The importance of some record like a parish register of baptisms, marriages, and burials had been long felt before Thomas Cromwell, the famous minister of Henry VIII., brought the institution into being in 1538. In vain have we looked in Dr. Cox's pages for a discussion of the forerunners of the parish register in England. Perhaps the author believed that 'there were no snakes in Iceland.' Anyhow we should like to have the explicit opinion of an expert of the public records, as Dr. Cox undoubtedly is, on the calendars of parish churches and the entries in missals and psalters which meet us, notably in proofs of age, during the medieval period. The hazard of a forecast is small that the institution had been slowly growing and taking shape in men's minds till the psychological moment came with the destruction of the religious houses and the necessity for parochial registration dawned on King Henry's astute adviser, who made it compulsory on the English clergy. It is thought by many students that the arguments of Mr. Chester Waters on this matter will not stand the test of more recent knowledge.

Notwithstanding a sincere admiration for Dr. Cox and his book, we take leave to dissent from his views on the origin of Bishops' Transcripts. It is to be regretted that the old story of the Injunctions of 1597 has been accepted and handed on. A more careful scrutiny of diocesan registries will reveal the existence of transcripts at a much earlier period than the date indicated by the author. Genuine transcripts will be met with in the parochial bundles of such repositories at various dates from 1560 onwards, perhaps from a much earlier period. Dr. Cox has noticed the abortive attempts in 1563 and 1590 to establish a general registry in each diocese. These projects should have suggested to him that the idea of Bishops' Transcripts at that period was not only in the air, but very much on the firm ground. If he takes up his Cardwell he will find that Archbishop Parker inquired in 1569 'whether your ministers keepe their registers well and do present the copy of them once every yeare by indenture to the ordinarye or his officers.' In 1571 a precisely similar injunction was given by Archbishop Grindal in his metropolitical visitation of the province of York. There is little doubt that Bishops' transcripts, as well as parish registers, were in existence as an institution long before they

received definitive recognition by synodical or other authority. The existence of numerous genuine transcripts in several diocesan registries before the date assigned for their origin, when read in the light of the archiepiscopal injunctions in both provinces, should convince Dr. Cox that the old theory to which he has given his adherence needs revisal.

The volume is well arranged in chapters under separate titles according to subject-matter. Among the appendices there is a list of parish registers beginning in 1538, and another in 1539, while a third gives a list of those wholly or partly in print. The illustrations are as curious as they are valuable. The most interesting are perhaps the facsimiles of some title-pages of registers. The portrait of Thomas Cromwell, the founder of parish registers, fitly occupies the chief place. The motto of the volume that 'every parish must have a history, every parish has a register, every person has a parish,' is not the least happy of the proverbial sayings of Bishop Stubbs. There is a good index.

JAMES WILSON.

THE BARDON PAPERS: Documents relating to the Imprisonment and Trial of Mary Queen of Scots. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Conyers Read, Ph.D., with a Prefatory Note by Charles Cotton, F.R.C.P.E., M.R.C.S. Pp. xlv, 139. 4to. London: Offices of the Society. 1909.

THE Bardon Papers are certain MSS. discovered in 1834 at Bardon House, Somerset, and now in the British Museum. Though they reveal nothing of cardinal importance not already well known in regard to the imprisonment and trial of the Queen of Scots, they supply a number of details of various interest; and while they further confirm the reluctance of Elizabeth to assent to her execution, they render, if that were possible, still more evident the determination of her accusers to secure it by hook or by crook. At the same time they contain no really fresh evidence as to Mary's innocence or guilt. They leave the matter where it was, wherever that may be.

The annotation of the documents by Dr. Conyers Read is careful and illuminating; and his introduction supplies all that is necessary for an intelligent perusal of them, in addition to what may be termed supplementary matter. On one or two points his statements are, however, not quite accurate, or stand in need of qualification. Every one will not agree with him that it is difficult to answer the question as to whether Mary was guilty of connection with the murder of Darnley, if that be what he means to affirm; nor will every one agree with him that the answer to this depends upon the question of the authenticity of the casket letters, if that be what he means to imply. Many have had no difficulty in answering the former question in the affirmative, even when not fully persuaded as to the letters; and as regards even the letters, Mr. Lang himself—who is supposed to be prejudiced rather in favour of than against Mary, if he be prejudiced at all, which of course he will deny—has confessed, admittedly with reluctance, that he has no option but to assign to her the fatally incriminating Glasgow letter.

It is hardly correct to say of the Duke of Norfolk that, while nominally a Protestant, 'he was well known to be strongly Catholic in his sympathies.' On the contrary, Maitland and other Protestants projected his marriage to Mary because of his Protestantism. The duke was strong in nothing; he was merely a wobbler, whom in the end the Catholic conspirators purposed to make a Catholic, and whom they and Mary befooled for their own purposes. And is there much difficulty, as Dr. Read states, in guessing Mary's motive in encouraging him? She might, or might not, intend to marry him, but she at least desired to utilize him as an instrument in securing her liberty.

It seems rather rash to affirm that D'Aubigny's fall 'destroyed perhaps the best chance Mary ever had of realizing her hopes.' Unless Dr. Read is able to fathom the mystery of D'Aubigny's real aims, unless he knows that D'Aubigny was more devoted to Mary than to James or to his own self, he can hardly indulge in even a perhaps as to the destruction of the 'best chance,' for was it so much as a chance?

Dr. Read is of opinion that it would be rash to attempt any definite pronouncement as to Mary's guilt or innocence of the Babington murder plot, though, judging from what is otherwise known of her, he thinks she 'would not have been deterred by any nice moral scruples.' Now, to those who have not given full attention to the various items of cumulative evidence, this may seem a remarkably judicial verdict; but a verdict of not proven, unaccompanied with a careful summary of the evidence, has no more claims for acceptance than a verdict, in similar circumstances, of either innocent or guilty. Its impartiality depends wholly on the character of the evidence; and since there is no room here for adequate discussion of this, I refrain from expressing an opinion, beyond the remark that Mary must have been a phenomenally weak, soft, or angelic woman if she did not approve of Elizabeth's assassination; that her approval of it, if she did approve of it, can hardly in the circumstances be deemed a crime; that, therefore, the question of her innocence or guilt is a very minor matter indeed: a minor matter as regards herself, and a minor matter, also, as regards her accusers, who, whether she was guilty or innocent, were the begetters of the crime, real or imaginary, for which she suffered execution.

T. F. HENDERSON.

THE BOOK OF ARRAN. Edited by J. A. Balfour, F.R. Hist. S., F.S.A.Scot. Pp. xiv, 295. With numerous Illustrations. 4to. Published for the Arran Society of Glasgow by Hugh Hopkins, Glasgow. 1910. 21s. nett.

HALF a century has elapsed since Mr. Bryce, mathematical master in Glasgow, was requested to prepare a geological guide to the Valley of the Clyde for the members of the British Association. Out of that production was developed by the same author, *The Geology of Arran and the other Clyde Islands*, a work scientific in conception and popular in form, than which no more entertaining local guide-book could be obtained anywhere. One feature of the book was the supplement of sections dealing with the history of the Isle, and of chapters devoted to its Fauna and Flora contributed by

various writers. That excellent book was a model precursor of this now under review. In some respects the modern *Book of Arran* is like the old in being a collaborated work by experts in various branches of science. Their up-to-date results and conclusions, with photographic and engraved illustrations of first merit, are edited by Mr. J. A. Balfour, who has personally contributed seven chapters of great interest, dealing with subjects within the pre-historic and historic periods.

The Introduction, entitled 'The Building up of the Island,' is the work of Sir Archibald Geikie; Professor Thomas H. Bryce describes 'The Sepulchral Remains'; Mr. R. F. Coles delineates 'The Cup and Ring-marked Stones'; Mr. F. C. Eeles discusses the 'Effigy of an Abbot at Shisken'; Mr. C. E. Whitelaw, architect, describes 'The Castles'; and Dr. Erik Brate, Stockholm, contributes an interesting chapter on the 'Runic Inscriptions in the Cell of St. Molaise.' Treatises on the recondite subjects so dear to antiquarians are sometimes so dull and soporific that few trouble to read them. But these archaeological essays, although written with great precision, are presented in such lucid and simple terms that ordinary readers, whether interested in the locality or not, cannot fail to be fascinated in their perusal. The charming introductory chapter by Sir Archibald Geikie affords an educative account of the geological up-building of an Isle, no small part of whose romance lies in the fact that it has been detached from the mainland at a late period of its history. A diagram indicates the results of the seven distinct periods of eruption, and the resultant lie of the land after the schists, grits, and conglomerates found settlement, the sandstones took their bed, the upper measures were fixed, and the irresistible lava stream burst up through all these strata and cooled down on those ragged peaks, so grand to the eye of the traveller. The picture given of the elements at their formative work is almost cinematographic in its realism. The glamour of the scene is on the writer himself, and the eye of a poet guides the hand of a scientist.

With similar ease and grace of style Professor Bryce glides in and out the chambered cairns which he lays bare in order to memorialise them better with fascinating photographs from his camera. Here again the reader is on solid ground, facing the evidences of the past carefully set out, measured to a hair's-breadth, weighed, tabulated, compared, and judiciously pronounced on. Chamber and cist, skull and skeleton, urn and tool, are critically examined, and in this valley of Dry Bones, the deft anatomist raises up the aboriginals, restores flesh and feature, declares their sexes, displays broad-head and narrow-head, in order to assert that 'a new and pure race appeared in Scotland at the beginning of the Bronze age, bringing with them the beaker urn and a new form of culture. In stature these new people do not appear to have greatly exceeded the earlier Iberian settlers, and in complexion they were probably dark like them.' Only by experience and a long residence in the West can one comprehend all the significance of the weighty conclusion of the learned professor;—'As an ethnic factor, the broadheads have left very little trace of their presence. The dominant type in the later population of Bute and Argyll has always been dark and dolichocephalic. This type was, of course, strongly rein-

forced from Ireland, but the district remained, in the main, true to the characters of the earlier settlement.'

The Report on 'The Cup and Ring-marked Rocks at Stronach Ridge, Brodick,' prepared by Mr. Coles for the Society of Antiquaries, is here reproduced without any further comment or suggestion as to the meaning or origin of these mysterious memorials. The Editor, dealing with the Proto-historic period, gives a short sketch of Viking burials with reference to a find at King's Cross Point. Another interesting chapter on 'An Irish-Celtic Monastery,' gives the Editor an opportunity of drawing attention to the discovery of an early monastic establishment near Kilpatrick, and to his suggestion that this may be the site of that monastery on Aileach founded by St. Brendan. Very instructive, also, are the Editor's other contributions to the volume, namely, 'Chapels and Sculpture Stones,' 'The Holy Isle,' 'Miscellanea,' etc.

Mr. F. C. Eeles, in a very informative chapter 'On the Effigy of an Abbot at Shisken,' clearly disposes of the tradition that this monument represents St. Molio. The figure, now preserved in the Church at Shisken, is none other than a medieval priest in his eucharistic vestments, as antiquarians have long decided. The notes by Mr. Eeles on the forms of vestments on West Highland monuments are very valuable.

From an architectural point of view Mr. C. E. Whitelaw has done justice to 'The Castles,' but it is a pity that space did not permit of references to the part they played in the national and local story. It is unfortunate that the present state of the Norse Runic inscriptions in the cell of St. Molaise, Holy Isle, does not permit of Dr. Erik Brate making more of them than suggestive interpretations. A catalogue of Arran place-names, in their amended form, is a necessary accompaniment, as also is an excellent map. Altogether this superb volume is a credit to the Arran Society of Glasgow, and to its Editor, is a delightful guide-book to the antiquities of a wonderful isle, and should be in the hands of lovers of accurate research.

J. KING HEWISON.

MEMOIR OF THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN M'NEILL, G.C.B., and of his second wife, Elizabeth Wilson. By their grand-daughter. Pp. xiv, 426. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: John Murray. 1910. 15s. nett.

SIR JOHN M'NEILL, whose name is associated with British interests in Persia, well deserved a monograph, and the book before us has given a satisfactory one. He was born in 1795, and, being the third son of the Laird of Colonsay, was a true Highlander. In early life he shared the frugal life of the other islanders, and of this simple life Professor Mackinnon gives us a very interesting account. At the age of twelve he went to Glasgow and then to Edinburgh to follow the medical profession. In Edinburgh (to show his strength, he once, it is said, for a wager, walked thence to Glasgow and back in twenty-four hours) he made the acquaintance of the family of Wilson, the best known member of which became 'Christopher North,' and having obtained his degree, married Miss Robinson, of Clermiston—an imprudent match, the bridegroom being nineteen, and the bride two years

younger—and with his wife went to India in the service of the East India Company. His young wife died in 1816, and he himself joined the Field Force at Baroda, and saw some active service against Holkar and the Pindarees.

In 1820 his long career in Persia began, as he was attached to the British Mission in Teheran. After returning home in 1822 he married Elizabeth Wilson, whose brothers were his dearest friends, a charming Scottish lady (whose name is rightly associated with his in this book), in whom he found an admirable wife and ally, and in 1823 went with her to Persia, from whence her lively letters (she was a friend of Lockhart and the Blackwood 'group') make agreeable reading. M'Neill took part in the negotiations for peace after the Russo-Persian war, and had considerable influence in altering the tortuous policy of Persian finance. In 1831 he was made Resident at Bushire, brought his weight to bear on old Fattah Ali Shah, and was Envoy to Khorassan.

During a visit to Europe he wrote a *brochure*, *The Progress and present position of Russia in the East*, which became famous later during the Crimean War. Then, parting from his wife and sole surviving child, he again went out to Persia—but this time as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary—in 1836. The complications between the Afghans and the aggressive Persians brought him, though successful, into disfavour with the new Shah, and he left for home, remaining there two years, and there was created G.C.B. for his services. He returned to Persia for his last term in 1841, retiring next year, having pursued a policy crowned with success.

Forty-one years of retirement followed, but he was never idle for a moment. He wrote, he was a Commissioner of the first Scottish Board of Supervision, and he inquired into the potato famine (his report gives what the author calls 'the final word on the Crofter Question'), and he interested himself in Highland emigration. In 1855, in his sixtieth year, he was sent out to the Crimea to inquire into the working of the Commissariats. This brought about a friendship with Miss Florence Nightingale, and, as he wrote to his wife 'enough remained to be done to make me thankful I agreed to come here.' His dignified behaviour in the storm which followed the publication of the Reports is very temperately told. Honours fell thickly on him in the evening of his life, but his beloved wife died in 1868. He continued, however, to be of use to the world, and died as lately as 1883, being tended by his third wife, the Duke of Argyll's sister, Lady Emma Campbell, and his fame has caused him to be claimed (in 1903) as Mrs. Eddy's great-grandfather by a very misguided Biographer of the Founder of Christian Science!

The editor has done her difficult work well, she has given a glimpse into Persian and Russian history and politics sufficient for her subject, and she has inlaid her work with extracts from delightful family letters with great skill. We think she is not wrong in having used the old orthography of Oriental names instead of the more modern forms, but she should have seen to their uniformity, and corrected not only some misprints but also the spelling of the names of the German, Russian, and Austrian nobles mentioned in her very readable biography.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

HERALDRY SIMPLIFIED : AN EASY INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE AND A COMPLETE BODY OF ARMORY. By W. A. Copinger, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Manchester. Pp. 379. Illustrated by nearly 3000 examples. 4to. Manchester : University Press. 1910. 10s. 6d. nett.

DR. COPINGER endeavoured to present within moderate compass all he could find in the best authorities, in such a way as to enable anyone from his volume alone, to acquire a competent knowledge of English heraldry. And we regret that the reputation which the distinguished author gained by other works is not likely to be enhanced by this volume.

The book proceeds, so far, on the lines of *Clark's Introduction to Heraldry*, and there is a very full chapter extending to about fifty pages giving hints on the compilation of pedigrees, and setting forth in detail all the well-known sources of genealogical authority. A new feature appears to be the arrangement of the common charges in alphabetical order, the examples being so placed that when the description is too long to be printed underneath it appears on the opposite page.

Throughout the book there are statements which we are inclined to challenge, and inaccuracies which we are afraid we cannot always attribute to the printer. We give a few instances. In referring to arms of pretension the author says: 'On the union with Ireland the arms of France were first omitted, and the ensign of Ireland substituted in the third quarter of the royal arms of Great Britain.' Now, there was no such substitution; the arms of Ireland have occupied the third quarter in every reign since the accession of James I. In describing subordinate ordinaries, he says: 'The Orle is an insulated border in the shape of the Shield to which when the half fleur-de-lis is affixed it becomes a Tressure.' This is incorrect: the tressure is not more than half the breadth of the orle and, clearly, the orle itself may be borne flory. Again, 'the Flanch is formed of two curved lines on each side of the Shield. They take their beginning from the corner of the Chief, and from thence swelling by degrees until they come to the middle of the Shield, and thence proportionably declinary to the Sinister base point.' Should a beginner try to portray flanches of this pattern he would make the curved lines meet at the fess point, and would then continue both lines downwards to the same point, on the same side of the shield! In treating of borders, the author gives a dozen examples before he explains what a border is, and would seem to contradict his glossary by stating that 'a border is never metal upon metal.' A border enurny, he proceeds, is one charged with 'lines,' evidently meaning lions, while in another case the border is stated to be 'charged with entoyre of bezants' instead of 'charged with bezants,' or 'entoyre of bezants,' one or the other. And in speaking of ostrich feathers, he says that a plume of three heights should consist of twelve feathers, six, five, four, and three, an arithmetical and heraldic feat that we do not attempt.

Dr. Copinger's examples are occasionally too brief to be clear, as in this case, 'Text R. by a sprig of Laurel.' At other times they are unnecessarily full, as for example, 'Two fishes in saltier debriused by another in pale, the tail erect, or, as sometimes termed, "teste a la Queve or Queue," or a trien

of fishes lying cross, the heads and tails interchangeably posed, anciently blazoned Tres trouts, etc., paly bendy, barony.'

Again, as simplicity was his aim, would it not have been better to have avoided variations in the spelling of certain words which frequently recur? Sometimes close together, we find dawnset, dancettée, dancette; nebulé, nebulée, nebuly; tортаaux, tортаeaux; beviled, bevelled, etc.

As regards the illustrations we hardly share the author's complacency. They are not above the average, and we have seldom seen a more puerile representation of a shield with supporters than is to be found on page 243.

On account of faults such as we have indicated we hesitate to say that the volume, whatever its merits, may be considered a safe and only guide to the study of heraldry.

WILLIAM D. KER.

LES SOURCES ITALIENNES DE LA 'DEFFENSE ET ILLUSTRATION DE LA LANGUE FRANÇOISE,' de Joachim du Bellay. Par Pierre Villey. Sm. 8vo, pp. xlviij, 162. Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908.

THE series, appropriately named 'Bibliothèque Litteraire de la Renaissance,' promises to enhance the credit of the publisher by its special contributions to medieval and renaissance study, and to the criticism of such authors as Petrarch, Rabelais, and Montaigne. As a search of sources the present work is of unusual interest, and very clearly shows the use made in 1549 by Du Bellay of Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle Lingue*, by wholesale incorporations of it in the famous *Deffense et Illustration*.

M. Villey's admirable introduction, moreover, demonstrates that the adoption of the Italian's arguments and refitment of them from the case of Italy to the case of France was only one stage of the important general movement by which the vernacular tongues became decisively victorious over Latin as the vehicle for the highest thought in politics as well as literature. Du Bellay had probably read the *Prose della lingua volgare* of Pietro Bembo. Born about 1500, and dead in 1588, Speroni, writing in 1542, was expanding the thesis of Bembo's *Prose* in favour of the vernacular. The *Prose* had been written in 1502, although not published until 1525.

In mode, and to some extent in national spirit, Speroni's book follows the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, published in 1529, adopting the dialogue form, and justifiably making Bembo the chief spokesman for the Tuscan dialect. When transferring the argument to its new requirements, Du Bellay had no need to establish the supremacy of any one form of the French tongue: that was settled, and the speech of Paris was the national language. Pleading for French, with arguments translated page after page from Italian, the *Deffense* was a direct instance of the Italianisation so abundantly evident in other aspects of European culture at the time, and so familiar to us through its later manifestations in the England of Shakespeare. But underneath was a keenness of national sense which made the argument live and conquer, and which was also the dominant factor in the Scottish parallel already commented on (*S.H.R.* vii. 429), viz. the *Complaynte of Scotland*, adapted from the French, and published in the same year as Du Bellay's adaptation from Italian. M. Villey's shrewdness of criticism can hardly be better exhibited than by quoting his two verdicts: (1) that

contrary to previous opinion, Du Bellay's work had 'almost no originality' (except to apply to French what had previously been applied to Italian); and (2) that the glory of the work was its fortune to be 'the programme of the *Pléiade*.' As a collation of sources and a crisp, learned, and satisfying analysis of the results, M. Villey's little book is a capital exposition of the art of historical literary criticism.

ALL constitutional subjects have a special antiquarian interest, sometimes acute, as in the case of the coronation oath. Scotland's concern in the subject may safely be reckoned vital in view of the part that religion played in Scottish history, constitutionally considered, not only from the Reformation to the Union of 1707, but ever since. Dr. Hay Fleming has therefore chosen the fit hour for publishing his *Historical Notes concerning the Coronation Oaths and the Accession Declaration* (pp. 20; The Knox Club, 1910, second edition, price threepence).

The pamphlet traces the position by law and practice in Scotland from 1329, when the long-sought privilege of unction and consecration was granted to Scottish kings at their coronation, down to the Act of Union. By the papal bull of 1329 the privilege of unction was granted subject to an oath by the successive monarchs to exterminate all heretics (*universos hereticos exterminare*). At the Reformation, under a statute of 1567, the kings were required thenceforth at their coronation to 'make their faithful promise by oath in presence of the Eternal God' to maintain the 'true religion' as 'now received and preached within this realm,' and 'to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God.' Oath in these terms was made by James VI., Charles I., Charles II., William and Mary, and Anne, but not by James VII. and II.

Though superseded by the Act of Union, the Scottish enactment of 1567 is yet unrepealed, and remains, however dormant, on the statute book, in terms of the Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Act of 1906. Some of the anathemas of Roman Catholic councils and confessions are printed for comparative purposes by Dr. Hay Fleming. He would doubtless find instructive suggestion in the coronation oaths of King George of Bohemia in 1458, and the dubiety consequent on the king's silence or indirectness regarding the *Compacta* and the *utraquist* tenets of the bulk of the Bohemian people. The current question in view is too political to be discussed here, but the pamphlet is timely in now offering a short survey of Scots coronation practice. It is a valuable supplement to Professor Cooper's paper in the *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society* for 1902, itself a mine of Scottish coronation-lore.

In the *English Historical Review* (July) Miss Dilben groups a great many references to the position or office of Secretary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries shewing an original connection with the English king's 'secret' council, coming to be associated with a clerk, and from 1307 until 1367 combined with the keepership of the king's privy or secret seal. There were many varieties of the species, however, and Miss Dilben's collection of specimens throws much light on the official evolution.

Bibliographers and book lovers will appreciate Mr. P. S. Allen's account of Bishop Shirwood of Durham, 1450-93, and his library, the gradual acquisition of years of purchases of manuscripts and incunabula, especially of Greek and Latin classics. Mr. H. L. Schoolcraft, in a paper on 'England and Denmark, 1660-1667,' traces the course of Charles II.'s policy in the abortive effort to secure an offensive alliance with Denmark. Mr. J. H. Clapham, writing on the 'Last Years of the Navigation Acts,' begins an explanation of the antecedents of the repeal, and surveys the British treaty relations with the leading European powers. Miss Kate Norgate, carefully working over the papers of the late Mr. T. A. Archer, presents a most interesting parallel collation between the well-known *Itinerarium* of the crusade of Richard I., and the *Song of Ambrose*, which is a French metrical equivalent of the *Itinerarium*. She concludes that the song was most probably a translation from a primitive text of the Latin work.

A first serial article in the *Law Quarterly Review* for July deals with an important subject from rather a fresh standpoint. From the pen of M. de W. Hemmeon, its proposition is that the records of Burgage Tenure in Medieval England prove the development of feudalism in England to have been antedated by a system of land holding in the boroughs, which later came to be known as the burgage tenure. It is shown by the initial section that the incidents of burgage tenure did not include aids or marriage, but did include wardship, and sometimes relief. Heriot, too, was included, meaning not 'the best chattel' (as we say in Scotland, 'the best aught') but a piece of arms, such as a sword, lance, or bill. Escheat and forfeiture, fealty and homage existed, but with characteristic differences from the feudal mode. The *retrait féodal* is occasionally found, and so are alienation fees, usually styled 'sellings'—the latter being small payments answering somewhat to what Scots law calls the taxed entry of a singular successor. The future course of these articles is sure to deserve close attention for their direct and indirect Scottish interest.

In the *Modern Language Review* (July) the biography of Spenser as interpreting, and interpreted by, his *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* is discussed by Mr. J. C. Smith with a tendency to the view that the *Amoretti* were originally written in honour of Lady Carey, but were rehandled later—as the poets know how—along with the *Epithalamion*, for the praise of another, his bride, Elizabeth Boyle. Mr. Smith concludes his paper with an appeal for the necessity of a historical exegesis of the *Faerie Queene*. A list of Scandinavian personal names used in England, drawn up by Mr. H. C. Wyld, will be found useful for examination of place-name theories. The texts of two Middle High German poems are edited by Mr. L. A. Willoughby, the first a version of the legend of the fifteen signs of the approaching day of judgment, and the second a poem on doomsday itself.

In the *Juridical Review* for July Mr. Valentine completes his study of the Air considered as a realm of law. He inclines to the view that rights of private property in land extending *ad coelum* are restricted by rights of public passage at higher elevations than building structures, and therefore that liability to damage from mishaps will not arise simply because of damage

done, but will only be incurred by negligence on the part of aeronauts. He deprecates legislation, preferring to let general principles adjust themselves for a while in the new medium before any attempt is made at an enactment. Mr. Ferguson, K.C., sketches, without really fresh contribution, the history of the Sheriff in Scotland. His paper indirectly establishes the great need there is for some antiquary to make the story of the great office the theme of an extended monograph. Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson gives an account of the medieval church doctrine of *cognatio spiritualis*, or the principle of quasi-kinships constituted by baptism and confirmation. We observe that he makes no reference to Bishop Dowden's Rhind lectures, which dealt intimately with this subject, and are to be posthumously published. A note on Professor Maitland by Professor Millar is a pleasant feature among the reviews.

The *Revue Historique* (July-August) has a study in economic history from 1697 until 1713 in an article by M. Ph. Sagnac on the commercial foreign policy of France from the peace of Ryswick until the treaty of Utrecht—a period when necessity made a relaxation of Protectionism imperative, and gave occasion to many rearrangements of international tariffs.

A series of despatches regarding the Westphalian campaign of 1761 is edited. A discussion is in progress over the word *Gorthonicus*, held with documentary authority by Dr. Henry Bradley to be geographical, a term for Gaul and Gaulish, but now maintained by M. Treich, on an airy argument of philosophy, to be a descriptive epithet. It is always as interesting to see a philologist at work on history as it is to see a historian arguing philology. Dr. Bradley appears to have the documents behind his contention, while M. Treich tries ineffectually to persuade them away.

A further stage is reached in the important question of interpreting the table of penalties in the *Lex Salica*—whether as indemnities to the injured or as fines to the State. The rival theorists have not yet reconciled the anomalies of either interpretation, but the previously current doctrine of indemnity is seriously shaken.

The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (May-June, 1910) contains an article by M. de Vaissière on the intimate letters of a young French aristocrat of the middle of the eighteenth century—Joseph Marie de Lordat to wit: the letters throw fresh psychological side-lights on the French nobility during that critical period, and some interesting deductions thereupon are made by M. de Vaissière. M. Morane writes on an episode in the troublous history of Poland, and discusses the temperament and character of the Grand Duke Constantin, brother of Alexander I.

Amongst the reviews in this number (chiefly of biographical works) may be noted as of especial interest, remarks on the hitherto unpublished letters of Luise Ulrike, sister of Frederick the Great; on the Recollections of Princess Galitzin; and on the valuable series of Memoirs in the course of publication by M. Funck-Brentano.

Communications

FRANCIS JOSEPH AMOURS. The death of our distinguished contributor, Monsieur Francis Joseph Amours, has deprived Scotland of a profound student of the national literary antiquities. Perhaps there is no other instance of a Frenchman getting so complete a mastery of Old Scots, and thus winning recognition as a foremost authority. He was born on 23rd November, 1841, at the village of Tilleul-Othon, in Normandy, in the department of Eure, the son of Pierre Joseph Amours and Rosalie Adèle Conard. So well were the foundations of his education laid by the good curé of Tilleul-Othon that on going, at the age of eighteen, to the college of Bernay he proved a brilliant student. Under Principal Roger he was dux in all subjects, and carried off the *prix d'honneur* offered by the Minister of Education. He took his degree of Bachelier-ès-Lettres of the University of France at Caen in 1862.

By this time he seems to have given up any idea of entering the church, and he became for a short while a *Régent* in the college of Lisieux. In 1864 he was granted unlimited leave (*congé d'inactivité sans traitement*) from the Minister of Education, who was then the famous historian, Victor Duruy. Passing over into England he taught in a private school in Gloucestershire until 1867. He was then appointed assistant to M. Havet, a well-known French master in Edinburgh, where he resided until 1869, when he was chosen French master in Glasgow Academy. After fifteen years there he was preferred to the like position in Glasgow High School, where he remained until his retirement on a pension after twenty years' service in 1904. During those five and thirty years of active teaching in this country he passed through his hands a very large number of students of French, and there are many who remember with gratitude and admiration (chequered, of course, with the godly fear inseparable from the part) his systematic and thorough methods of instruction and his encouragement of pupils of promise. He long acted also as an examiner in French, at one time for intermediate education in Ireland, and latterly for degree and other purposes in Glasgow University. Side-products of his profession as a teacher were two school books, his *Study of French Verbs* and his *French Primer*, both in considerable demand.

But it was not as a French grammarian that he was to win his chief distinctions. His study of Old French led him to the study of Old English. For a number of years he paid special attention to the Old French words incorporated in medieval English, and drew up an elaborate list of examples he had found. Early in 1885 he appears to have tendered to

Dr. J. A. H. Murray, then at work on the first volume of the *New English Dictionary*, the fruit of his researches. Needless to say, Dr. Murray warmly accepted from M. Amours what he termed his 'generous and enthusiastic offer of help,' and in 1888 the preface to the first volume of the Dictionary contains an acknowledgment for 'a series of references for early instances of French words in Middle English.' So began a connection maintained for five and twenty years, during which the resources of M. Amours' scholarship and reading were steadily utilised in the making of the great Dictionary which is so proud an achievement of collective effort in English study.

The connection of M. Amours with the alliterative poems began, as he himself has said, in the happy accident of his making the acquaintance of Sir Frederick Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, that noble Bannatyne Club volume so fitted to stir a kindred soul to the study of old poetry, and so worthy, by its masterly treatment of palaeographical, textual, and glossarial problems, to be a begetter of equally scholarly work in the archaeology of literature. With its bases equally Old French, Middle English, and Scots, it presented in its collection of archaic verse many of the glossarial and etymological elements on which M. Amours was already working from the philological standpoint. Henceforward he pursued those researches and studies in early Scottish poetry which resulted in his editing the *Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas*, of which the text appeared in 1892, followed by the notes in the complete volume for the Scottish Text Society in 1897. That work needs no commending, having earned its own place by its sanity, accuracy, and complex learning alike in history, philology, and criticism. The alliteratives, before M. Amours took them up, were a 'strange dark book'; his glossaries cleared away much of the obscurity; his notes and introduction brought an un hoped-for mass of explanatory learning to the whole cycle; and, in a word, the volume must long hold place as a master-key for early Scottish literature. Conservative in mood, he never pressed discovery beyond the obvious limits of the evidence, so that his propositions, erring if at all on the side of understatement, are invariably characterised by their safety. He had learned to write English in a diction which had all the clearness of the best literary French without a touch of its rhetoric, and his prefatorial essays are as well turned in phrase as they are restrained in style.

His patient, sure-footed ways of study had set him completely at his ease in a field full of difficulties due partly to the relative scarcity of material and partly to the deliberate selection of archaic forms by certain fourteenth and fifteenth century poets, of whom he became the skilled interpreter. It was no slight conquest to have been made by a Frenchman who in 1864 came to England unable to speak English. His pen had no trace of the French accent, and his speech would only to a quick ear betray the foreigner. His marriage in 1871 with Miss Margaret Marr (now his widow) no doubt furthered his knowledge of the Scottish vernacular, and quickened his power of dealing with its ancient phases. Mrs. Amours thus too has her modest though subsidiary place in the studious successes of her husband.

The alliteratives finished, he set himself with accustomed courage and application to a still longer, although not more difficult, task. Wyntoun, the chronicler, badly needed editing anew, for historical equally with philological reasons, and high gratification was felt by the Scottish Text Society when M. Amours resolved to undertake a parallel double-text edition from the Cottonian and Wemyss manuscripts, with the variants of other texts in foot-notes. How steadily he pursued the task, how regularly the volumes came out successively in 1903, 1904, 1906, 1907, and 1908 (when the text was complete in 2150 pages heavy with footnotes) all critical students of Scots history and literature are gratefully aware. Promise and performance went together with this great editor, and beyond doubt, had not life failed him, he would have brought his studies to the termination in 1911 designed, by the final volume in which the editorial introduction and apparatus would have set the last seal of his learning on *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*. But he was not to see that end of his splendid labours: an illness beginning last autumn gradually revealed itself as mortal, and he died on 9th September, 1910, grieving only, he said, to leave his wife and his Andrew of Wyntoun. Nine days before his death he was still revising proofs for the *New English Dictionary*. He had toiled till the last also at Wyntoun, and one of his last half-conscious utterances was an exclamation, 'Score all that out; I have not time to finish it.' Happily, however, there was actually finished enough of his task of annotation to make the projected final volume no mere torso, but a virtually full attainment of his purpose, albeit the invaluable advantage of his ripest opinion and research is lost, and the chronicle must be shorn of what would surely have been a critical performance in the discussion of sources, of literary relationships, and of historical values such as to make the introduction a standard of modern historical craftsmanship.

While it may be regretted that Scotland did not by a University honour sufficiently attest her gratitude for an adopted son of such devotion to her service, there was no lack of either public or private appreciation of his learning and merit, or of those sterling qualities of character, that plain 'downrightness,' and that fearless independence mingling with all the clubable virtues which won him his multitude of friends. When in 1904 the French government did itself honour by conferring on this exiled but most loyal son of France the dignity of Officier de l'Instruction Publique he was entertained at a public dinner, organised by the Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow. He was then President of that section, in connection with which several of his too few fugitive papers were written, some of them relative to Wyntoun as prior of St. Serf's on Loch Leven. One most gratifying fact of his studies was that his estimate of the old chronicler's personal worth, historical acumen and fidelity, and capacity of poetic expression steadily rose as he critically probed his record to find not only constant and unexpected confirmations of fact but also continual signs of literary power. Perhaps it was not wholly a fanciful conception which saw in the industrious and skilful editor, working with calm and orderly precision by the lamplight at his desk, a vital brotherhood with the chronicler-canon in

the scriptorium of St. Serf's. Certainly no aspect of Franco-Scottish alliance can ever be regarded with heartier satisfaction than that constituted by the association across five centuries of those two, eminently worthy of each other, in their united homage to the history of medieval Scotland.

THE SARACEN MERCENARIES OF RICHARD I.

M. Dieulafoy, in his essay upon Château-Gaillard (*Mémoires de l'Institut ; Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1898, vol. xxxvi. pt. i. p. 371, note), has called attention to a passage in one of the continuators of William of Tyre, in which King Richard is said to have brought away one hundred and twenty Saracens (*Mamelos*) from the Holy Land. The passage occurs in a manuscript of the fourteenth century, which has been printed as text D in the edition of the so-called *Histoire d'Heracles*, published by the Académie des Inscriptions (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. ii. (1859) p. 196):

Puis que l'ost fu venus et le rei ot rescousse Japhe, un grant descort sorst entre Salahadin et ses amiraus. Dont nos gens ne s'aparsurent jusques a tant que les Sarasins furent deslogies devant Japhe et alerent herbergier au Chastel des Plains. Salahadin oi dire que le roi venoit après lui. Il douta son frere Seif Eddin et les autres amiraus, si ne l'osa atendre, ains se desloja, et s'en ala escheriement envers la Surie Sobal, por garnir le Crac et Montreal que il aveient novelement conquis. Le rei et l'ost alerent herbergier pres d'un chastel dou Temple que l'on nomeit la Toron des Chevaliers. Les Bedoyns s'acointerent dou rei: si pristrent de lui fiance, et li jurerent que il li serviroient leiaument et espiereent, et li fereient assavoir le covine (?) et l'estre de Salahadin et de toute la payenisme, et les Memelos des amiraus oient parler de la largesse et des dons dou rei. Chascun qui se corouseit a son seignor, il s'en fuioient et veneient au rei d'Engleterre. Il fu aucune fois que le rei avait des Memelos bien trois cens, dont il mena o lui bien cent et vingt Memelos outre mer quant il s'en parti de cest pays.

The version (D) from which this account is taken comes from a MS. of the 14th century. In the opinion of its editors it is of eastern origin, like some other continuations of William of Tyre, including the famous Colbert manuscript, and was written in Cyprus before 1267 (*Hist. Occid.* ii. p. vii). Although of no value in determining the text of the original chronicle of Ernoul, upon which, as M. L. de Mas Latrie has shown (*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris, 1871), the widespread continuations of William of Tyre are largely based, this Cypriot version is well and specially informed.¹ The allusion to King Richard's Saracen mercenaries cannot therefore be set aside summarily, in spite of the fact that it is not found elsewhere. The context is corroborated by Beha-ed-din, whose narrative shows that Richard was in close communication with Saracen prisoners and ambassadors, after the relief of Jaffa on July 31st, 1192 (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's translation of Beha-ed-din, p. 371 *seqq.*). Beha-ed-din also refers to the anger of Saladin on his retreat to Yazur (the Castle of the Plains). The friend-

¹ See Mas Latrie's *Essai de classification (Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 486) for the place of this MS. in the series of continuators. It is now at Lyons.

The Saracen Mercenaries of Richard I. 105

ship between Richard and the Sultan's brother (El-Adel Saphadin, or Seif Eddin) is a theme of historians on both sides.

The story that Richard took some Mamelukes away with him is confirmed by the Norman Exchequer rolls. On the roll of 1195 the following entries occur (ed. Stapleton, I. 221):

In liberationibus Saracenorum morantium apud Domfront per preceptum Regis, a die Lune proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis usque de die lune post festum Sancti Egidii, c. li. ix. li. vj. so. per breve Regis. . . Gibelino Saresceno in solta pertae equi sui l. so. per idem breve.

Two other entries on this page refer to the Saracens. Again, on the roll for the year 1198 (ii. 301):

Soubresailant et Saracenis suis c. li. xxxv. li. de liberatione sua per breve Regis.

Stapleton, whose caution was as great as his general accuracy, regarded these Saracens as ordinary mercenaries. 'The bands of whatever country,' he says, 'who fought for him, were known by the name of Saraceni, and in this instance [*i.e.* in 1195] appear to have been *Walenses*' (*Observations*, I clix.). The word *Saracen* is certainly found either as a second name or a nickname in documents of this period. Besides the well-known chamberlain of St. Louis, Jean Sarrasin, we have the Roman citizen, Peter Saracenus, whose name occurs frequently in the Patent Rolls of John (*Rot. Pat.* ed. Hardy, p. 126, etc.), and the Alexander, son of William, Sarazein, who was a hostage of John of Courci in 1205 (*Rot. Pat.* 55b). But the term in its general sense was the usual term for the Arabs and Turks in Spain, Sicily, and Syria—and there is no reason to suppose that Richard's Welsh mercenaries were called Saracens.

The names given in the Exchequer Rolls add an element of certainty. Under the curious Soubresailant an Eastern name might well lurk. Fortunately *Gibelinus* can be traced more definitely. Professor Margoliouth has been so kind as to inform me that 'persons are known to have been called *Jibrīnī*' on the ground that they were natives of Bait-Jibrīn. The name Gibelin[us] in Frankish documents is a transliteration of the Arabic *Jibrīn*, in 'Bait-Jibrīn.' Professor Margoliouth adds, 'the individual to whom you refer may well have come from this place.'

I would suggest, then, that the garrison of Domfront in 1195 contained some of these Saracens who had been attracted in Syria by the tales of Richard's generosity.¹

F. M. POWICKE.

The University, Belfast.

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that the presence of Saracens in Richard's army would help to spread belief in the current stories about the Assassins who were supposed to be employed by him. Richard would be most likely to use the mercenaries in siege works and for the manipulation of the Eastern crossbows, etc., which so attracted him. The Exchequer Rolls give at least one indication of travellers of another sort in an entry for 1195: 'Cuidam feminae moranti apud Almanesches quae venit de ultra mare x. li. per idem breve' (i. 184). The phrase 'ultra mare' had almost a technical meaning, to describe journeys to and from the Holy Land.

THE PILLS OF POPE ALEXANDER. In the Cartulary of Glasgow in its oldest shape, the *Registrum Vetus*, there were certain entries, somewhat apart from the business of the See, which Professor Cosmo Innes in editing the *Registrum Glasguense* in 1843 relegated to an appendix. Amongst them was one very interesting reminiscence of early medicine, and yet more interesting and mysterious there was a charm against colic. The latter was the subject of an essay by Dr. Alex. Tille, who, in *Scots Lore*, pp. 61-78, discussed at some length the significance of 'Thebal Guth Guthani,' the words of power which were prescribed as the posy of a ring to be used *contra dolorem ylii*. The former has apparently hitherto escaped examination. The two formulæ are printed on p. 610 of the *Registrum*, and in the preface, p. liv, Professor Innes said of them :

'The medical prescriptions against colic savouring shrewdly of art magical, and the recipe for the famous pills which the Pope Alexander himself had deigned to use, are at least characteristic and amusing. They are both in a hand as old as 1200.'

It is the simplest way of treating the matter to reprint here the prescription for the pills in order to make clear what follows :

Pilule famose.

Pilule iste confecte fuerunt in presentia nostra quarum species electe erant et recentes · earum uero commendationes sunt satis famose · videlicet quia pre omnibus usum clarificant · auditum corroborant · spiritualia confortant · memoriam reparant · sanitatem custodiunt · regunt pre omnibus corpus humanum. Inuenimus quod papa Alexander qualibet die eis utebatur · earum uero receptio talis est. Recipe calami aromatici · cubebe · nucis muscate · macis · spice · epithimi · carpobalsami · squinanti · masticis · asari · gariofilorum · ana · dragmas duas · turbith · colloquintide · ana · dragmas tres · singulorum mirabolanorum · ana dragmas ij^{ss} · agarici · sene · ana vnciam seriis · aloen citocrini ad pondus omnium. Confice. De usu uero & administratione istarum pilularum secundum quod experti sumus dicimus quod vij · uel · ix · ad quantitatem ciceris uel pisi · in nebulis de quarto · in quartum cum omni securitate precedente vsu oximellis dare possunt. Quamuis quidam aliter sentiant dicentes · propter exhibicionem istarum pilularum dietam assuetam nullatenus esse permutandam. De hora uero sumendi nulla sit hesitatio quia in nocte ante sompnum instantem debent sumi.

Not rashly should the layman adventure himself among the physicians whether in this age or in that of the vague pontiff Alexander, who, lacking his due ordinal number, may be hard to determine. But the presentment of a variant will certainly be admissible as an inoffensive commentary on this prescription, and may supply the best note on the claim of the pill to clear the eyesight, strengthen the hearing, comfort the soul, repair the memory, guard the health, and, above all, regulate the human body. Its variety of ingredients, including calamus root, cubeb, nutmeg, gum, spike-nard, gillyflower, colocynth, myrobalan, agaric, senna and aloes, may be

taken as an assurance that so many simples would probably not all be in vain for at least some of the complex aids of soul and body which the pilule was vaunted to afford.

Written probably at a considerably later date than the *Glasgow Registrum* is a miscellany volume in my possession consisting of expositions of theology and canon law, on 187 folios of paper, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ascribed by a former owner to the fourteenth century,¹ and probably derived originally from a German monastery. Prefixed is a fly-leaf, which, like the chief part of the first leaf, is filled with things which can scarcely be reckoned theology, and have nothing to do with canon law. With the fly-leaf alone, and only with a part of that, am I at present concerned. Its first item is a prescription for a most comprehensive antidote powder: *Pulis optimus ad omnes malos humores consumendos paulatime et successive*. Next comes another powder against flatulence and gross and phlegmatic humours, to warm the stomach and aid digestion. Item the third is the business of this paper, and here it is:

Pilule gloriosissimi regis Cyclicie quibus utebatur singulis diebus eis etiam utebatur papa Alexander. pre omnibus. visum clarificant. auditum corroborant. spiritualia confortant. singulas superfluitates expellunt. sanitatem custodiunt. humanum corpus ante omnia regunt. accipiantur. vij. uel ix. de tercio in tercium. uel de quarto in quartum. quibus faciend[is] omnem mutare dietam. ter. uel. quater. ducunt. Recipe Calami aromatici. cynamonis cubebe. nucis muscate. spice nardi. macis. carpobalsami. epythimi. viole. asari. garifiali masticis. *oum*² omnium mirabolanorum. an^a 3. ij. turbit coloquintidis. an^a. 3. iij. sene reu. barbari. agarici. ana. 3. ss. aloes epatici. uel citrioni. ad pondus omnium. Confice ad modum pise. cum oximelle. uel ut melius seruetur etiam si volueris in magdalone.

It will be at once apparent that the famous pills of Pope Alexander in the *Glasgow Registrum* and those he shared with the most glorious King of Sicily in my codex are the same. Yet the time-honoured privilege of doctors to disagree is pleasantly illustrated by the fact that the authority in the *Registrum* allowed it as a moot point whether the diet of the patient should be changed, whereas my prescription is definite that it should. Fortified by the kind advice of a distinguished member of the Medical Council, I am enabled to state that the pilule is, in modern medical judgment, 'a perfectly good pill.' The profusion of such active drugs as colocynth, senna, rhubarb (*reubarbarum*) and aloes must have guaranteed efficiency, while the mixture with oxymel no doubt helped to make the pea-like pilule—'or, if you like, pastille'—palatable. It is right to confess that the process of editing this prescription has not been carried out with the scientific severity of actual experiment on the *humanum corpus* of the expositor.

¹ My own opinion is that the work more probably belongs to the fifteenth century.

² This word is expuncted by being underlined. It is proper to state that I have extended the contractions, and that two or three words have given me difficulty and are uncertain.

There remains a slight, yet, as it proves, a by no means whimsical problem of date and of the identity of the 'most glorious King of Sicily' and the Pope, those high historic personages so strangely associated in the prescription for the confection of this momentous pill. The king can hardly have been other than William (son of Roger), King of Sicily from 1154 until 1166, renowned in chronicle (despite his traditional name of William the Bad) for many victories over the Saracens, and specially and personally associated, as Villani and older annalists record, with the great Pope Alexander III. as his ally from 1161 until 1166, during the struggle for the papacy and against the Emperor Frederick—the schism and strife which were to drive Barbarossa, in 1177, to that submission to Alexander at Venice, sometimes reckoned as a second Canossa. In 1161, when the great contest had just begun, and when Pope Alexander, hard pressed, was seeking refuge in France, it was William of Sicily whose fleet secured his passage and supplied him with invaluable sea power. Again, in 1165, when Alexander was returning to France, he betook himself to Sicily and the protection of William, who not only gave the venerable pontiff stately welcome at Messina, but sent him costly presents and furnished him with a noble convoy of galleys for his return to Rome. Not long afterwards, on 30th April, 1156, William died, bequeathing to his holiness that substantial proof of friendship, a legacy of 40,000 sterlings. No wonder, therefore, that he died in good odour with the papal court, and that an old and official biography, the *Vita Alexandri Tertii Papae* (first edited by Muratori, and afterwards prefixed to volume CC. of Migne's *Patrologia*¹) speaks of this king as *Gulielmus illustris et gloriosus rex Siciliae, cujus animam Domino commendamus*.

Thus we may with some security conclude that the *gloriosissimus rex Cylie* of the prescription and the *gloriosus rex Siciliae* of the papal biographer are one, and that the pills purport to have rendered corporal and spiritual comfort to King William of Sicily and Pope Alexander III. Perhaps the epilogue of history offers dubious, or at least divided, commendation to the pretensions of the prescription, for although the learned and forceful Alexander lived to a ripe old age, the pills did not avail to prevent William of Sicily from dying at forty-six, of dysentery. G. N.

FURTHER ESSAYS ON BORDER BALLADS (*S.H.R.* vii. 419).—I scarcely think that Sir George Douglas is right in saying that the weight of metal is with Colonel Elliot in our discussion about Scott and the Border ballads. *Facts* have most weight, and in a little forthcoming volume, *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Ballads*, I am able to show that the facts are very imperfectly known to my opponent. He seems to have overlooked Laidlaw's evidence as to *Auld Maitland*, and that of Hogg's letter

¹ *Patrologia*, Migne, vol. 200, p. 30. For other references to this King William see p. 18. It is noteworthy that the epithet *gloriosus*, above applied to William the Bad, is never given by the papal biographer to his son William the Good, *devotus beati Petri filius rex Siciliae*. He was only a boy of 12 when he succeeded in 1166.

to Scott of June 30, 1802, with Ritson's to Scott of June 10, 1802, and Hogg's holograph MS. of the ballad, addressed to Laidlaw.

The evidence entirely clears Sir Walter from the charge of having been art and part with Hogg in palming off a modern imitation on the world, while representing it to Ellis and Ritson as a genuine antique. Such conduct would have been highly dishonourable.

Evidence of the same nature—a long letter to Hogg of Scott's, and Hogg's manuscript of the ballad of Otterburn—gives the full history of that poem, and I show exactly how Scott edited it: what he excised, and what he took from Herd's and Kirkpatrick Sharpe's traditional copies, with one line from the old English of *circa* 1550.

In the case of *Jamie Telfer* and *Kinmont Willie*, in the absence of manuscript testimony, I have to rely on ballad lore, on logic, and on literary criticism, *faute de mieux*.

A. LANG.

SAINT MAELRUBHA (*S.H.R.* vi. 260-442). The recent litigation concerning Dunstaffnage Castle has resulted in at least one discovery of no small interest, viz. in the recovery of the long-lost name and dedication of the small ancient chapel near Dunstaffnage, now roofless, where generations of the captains of that stronghold have been laid to rest. Interested by the difficulty there appeared to be in identifying some of the land names in the Dunstaffnage Infeftments, the writer of this note compiled three parallel lists in columns of the nine names which occur in precisely the same order in deeds of the years 1502, 1585 and 1609. In the year 1502 'the pennyland of pengyn Kilmor' is named. In 1585 it appears as 'the pennyland of Kilmorrie alias Clazemorrie' (Cladh=burying ground in Gaelic), and in 1609 it appears as the 'pennyland of Kilmoir.' As all the other pennylands named are in immediate proximity to the castle, it is obvious that we have in this name the long-lost dedication of the ancient chapel belonging to those lands.

'Morrie' here conceals the famous name of S. Maelrubha, Abbat of Abercrossan (Applecross), who on his first coming from Ireland was the founder of a large number of churches in what is the modern county of Argyll. Mr. Archibald Scott (*loc. cit.*) has shown how he founded Kilmarrow in Kintyre; Kilarrow in Islay; Kilmalrew in Craignish; Kilmorrie in Strathlachlan on Loch Fyne; Cill Mharu on Eilean-an-t-sagairt, Muckairn; and Cill Ma'ru in Arisaig. To these I have since added Melfort in Argyll (*vide* Papal Registers), and now add as an eighth Dunstaffnage Chapel *alias* Kilmorrie.

As Mr. Scott has already remarked, the dates of these first foundations of this great saint's apostolate lie between the years 671 and 673.

I may add that I recently found evidence in the Argyll charter chest of a long-forgotten chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin at Carrick on Loch Goil, on the altar of which a certain payment of a Reversion is ordered to be made. It is described as in the Parish of Lochgoilshead, and was clearly somewhere in the neighbourhood of Carrick Castle, but I have not yet examined the site.

Kilkatrine, Inveraray.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

Query

DR. JAMES FEA 'OF CLESTRAIN' (Surgeon in the Royal Navy), author of *Present State of the Orkney Islands*, 1775, and *Considerations on the Fisheries in the Scotch Islands*, 1783. I should be much obliged for any information as to the date of death and place of interment of the above author. Nothing is known in Orkney beyond the fact (mentioned in Hossach's recent work) that he and his wife Grizel Ross purchased a house in Kirkwall in 1772. Presumably he did not live there long. His first book was published at 'Holy-Rood House,' Edinburgh, and his second one in London—'printed for the author at *Dover*,' so it is stated in the title page. At this time he is described as late Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

His name I find is recorded in Steel's Navy List so late as April, 1796, among the first list of surgeons. I know nothing of his issue beyond the conjecture that a Henrietta Fea, the daughter of a James Fea of Clestrain, is said to have been his daughter. She married William Sutherland of Greenwall, Jamaica, and died in 1806, the same year that she returned to England or Scotland.

William Sutherland was the grandfather of the late Alexander Malcolm Graeme, Esq., of Graemeshall, Orkney, but no records unfortunately are preserved in this family to throw any light upon Dr. James Fea's place of interment.

There would most probably have been an obituary notice in one of the Edinburgh papers.

The Doctor's father, James Fea, was first cousin to the James Fea of Clestrain who captured the pirate Gow in 1725. I should be glad to know who possesses the original letters which passed between Fea and Gow, or of any other Fea correspondence addressed from Edinburgh after the date given above.

ALLAN FEA.

South Lodge, Pinner.

Notes and Comments

'THE Historical Association' does good service by such leaflets as that issued in June (Leaflet No. 21), being 'A Brief Bibliography of Scottish History for the Use of Teachers.' This gives an excellent general guide to historical and literary standard authorities. We welcome such signs of a growing attention to Scottish history among English teachers.

Bibliography of Scottish History.

A MOVEMENT is afoot to clear out and preserve the surviving portions of the ancient church of Southdean, in Jedforest, Roxburghshire. Mr. Adam Laing, 3 Bridge Street, Hawick, hon. sec. of the committee, is acting as treasurer. We commend the scheme altogether apart from any discussion as to whether Froissart's 'Zedon,' in his story of the Battle of Otterburn, was Southdean or was not rather, as some commentators reckon it, Yetholm. Mr. Laing's circular possibly takes the wisest plan of ignoring any division of opinion and pronounces unhesitatingly for Southdean, which certainly lay on the direct road for Otterburn. We trust he will quickly raise the £100 required for the pious object of preserving an undoubtedly old and interesting church fabric. It will be time enough after that to discuss any problems of the itinerary of Otterburn.

The Church of Southdean.

THE Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in their *Archaeologia Aeliana*, edited by Mr. Robert Blair (Third Series, volume vi. 4to, pp. xliii, 302) display varied and excellent work for the year 1909. Pedigrees, documents, heraldry, ecclesiology, and Roman antiquity all find solid contributions. While there are perhaps fewer entries than usual directly touching Scotland and the Scots, there are not a few which will repay examination, even when this Northumbrian register is looked at from the narrowest Scottish standpoint. To begin with, Mr. Crawford Hodgson, dealing with the ancient owners of Eslington near Whittingham, on the river Aln, traces the history of the family of Hesilrig—a name always of interest to us in the North from its part in the story of Wallace. It is therefore with some surprise that we note the absence of allusion to William of Hesilrig slain at Lanark by Wallace. Another Hesilrig somewhat later is found to have been a victim at the 'descomfiture' of Stirling, meaning thereby, no doubt, the battle of Bannockburn. The name, we learn, was probably derived from Hazelrig, in the parish of Chatton, not far from Belford, Northumberland.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. Dendy edits a great array of extracts from the De Banco rolls, which must be a mine of pedigree lore for North England. About six hundred separate entries reveal many glimpses of litigation by border families from 1308 down to 1855. The list bristles with names often heard of in our Scottish history. In some cases both litigants are Scots, as *e.g.* the pleas in 1363 between David of Strathbogie, Earl of Athol, and Sir Adomar of Athol.

No paper in the series, however, represents more creditable study than Mr. C. H. Blair's long and well-illustrated treatise—*The Armorial of Northumberland: An Index and Ordinary to 1666*. Numerous plates in colour show arms of Balliol, Fitz-Roger, Grey, and Umfraville and derivative shields; there are five plates of shields; and other illustrations are of armorial-bearing buildings, such as the gate towers, etc., at the castles of Alnwick, Bothal, and Lumley. A large body of notes is appended, in which we observe the suggestion regarding the well-known orle of the Balliols. 'This shield,' says Mr. Blair, 'is possibly canting, adopted as a play upon their name from the similarity to the *ballium* of a castle.' A first prejudice against this suggestion may be to some degree dispelled by the consideration that *balliolum* might be a diminutive of *ballium*, and by remembering that the old description of Carlaverock was that it was like a shield, for it had three sides:

Cum nus escus estoit de taile
Car ne ot ke trois costez entour.

Roll of Carlaverock.

But, notwithstanding, the canting inference seems rather a forced interpretation. On the Umfraville cinquefoil, best known to us here as borne by the Hamiltons—doubtless a sign of cadency—the suggestion is made that it originally denoted the herb 'bennet,' anciently reputed to have virtue to put the devil to flight. This one does not find convincing.

Another long paper is a fully illustrated report on the excavations at Corstopitum (Corbridge) for 1909. These elaborate diggings, while they have failed to uncover any great and decisive points of direct evidence, have yielded a very rich return of detail, adding to our knowledge of the life of a Roman garrison town, and deepening the impression of lengthened occupancy which all evidences, direct and indirect, unite to make. Mr. R. H. Forster and Mr. W. H. Knowles give a full and systematic statement of their work in charge of the excavations. Mr. H. H. E. Craster continues his methodical report on the coins, among which is a well-preserved medal of Septimius Severus, struck at Hadriancina in Hellespontus.

Professor Haverfield summarises the smaller finds, including some pottery assigned to the age of Agricola, as well as more numerous fragments dating from the second to the fourth century.