# Reviews of Books

Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, A.D. 1153-1214. Collected by Sir Archibald Campbell Lawrie. Pp. xxxvi, 459. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1910. 10s. nett.

In *Early Scottish Charters* Sir Archibald Lawrie's aim was not merely to produce correct texts, but to make the charters serve as annals of the period, by putting each of them, as far as possible, in its true historical connection. For the succeeding period, corresponding roughly to the English reigns of Henry II., Richard I. and John, charters are many, chronicles contemporaneous and circumstantial, and English records increasingly voluminous. He has, therefore, begun with providing the setting; that is, a series of extracts from the chronicles and records, arranged so as to give a chronologically accurate outline of the history. Many papal Bulls are included, some as historically valuable, some (I take it) simply because they can be dated, and therefore can be safely used as landmarks. And all chronicle notices of even rather obscure persons are given; thus the charter student is provided with materials which hitherto he could only have obtained by laboriously collecting them himself. I congratulate the editor on what he has accomplished, and hope that the reception of his work may be such as to encourage him to proceed.

But the outline history from primary sources is of more general interest. By restricting his period, he has been able to give practically complete what his predecessors, including Mr. A. O. Anderson, could only give in selection. Naturally, most of the book is in Latin; Gaelic extracts, being few, are given in Gaelic and English, old French extracts, being many, in English only, whereby space is saved but colour lost. For the plan of the work precludes the selection of passages not referring to Scotland, even for the sake of their literary charm. So the lighter vein is rare; we have, however, St. Cuthbert's vengeance on the sacrilegious bull-baiter of Kirkcudbright (p. 90), and the curious tale of King Malcolm and his mother (p. 102); this latter introduced, I suspect, as an argument against the authenticity of an often-quoted Kelso charter. The editor's proneness to scepticism in such matters, so marked a feature of his previous book, is still at work, but not so much in evidence here as there. In one case, indeed, that of the Bull of Pope Adrian IV. subjecting the Scottish Bishops to the metropolitan jurisdiction of York, a quite surprising complacency is shown. The Bull was rightly included

by Haddan and Stubbs in their collection, for its genuineness is not altogether impossible. But its best friends could put the case no higher. It is 'one of a series of late copies, stands in bad company, and is itself a very questionable document,' so says Cosmo Innes; it is not a verdict, but the observation is undeniably just.

The bulk of the book is derived from English historians, who (as the editor remarks), tell us little or nothing of the internal affairs of Scotland. But they are far from exhibiting uniformly an anti-Scottish bias; clearly King William, in spite of his determined attitude in the affair of the rival Bishops Hugh and John of St. Andrews, stood well with the church; better perhaps than any of the English Kings, his contemporaries. And in those days all historians were churchmen.

Both Malcolm and William were all their lives pro-Norman, if not pro-English. And William, after the fiasco of 1174, though sometimes on bad terms with his southern neighbour, always avoided actual conflict. From 1210 onwards his policy, if not surrendering the independence of Scotland, certainly tended to compromise it. That what he did was *contra voluntatem Scotorum* (p. 366), is easily credible. But the Treaty of Norham inaugurated that *tempus pacis* to which men afterwards looked back as the golden age. To attribute his policy to fear of Celtic reaction, seems to me to transpose cause and effect; the texts imply rather that it was the King's compliance with England which provoked his magnates, or some of them, to complicity with Macwilliam. As to the story of an English contingent sent in 1212 to co-operate against that rebel, the editor seems suspicious, and so am I. Why are the English records silent on the subject? But if there was such a contingent, however small, it is not hard to believe that it readily obtained (in England) full credit for the success of the compaign.

The remarks in the preface as to the legislation attributed to our early Kings, are interesting, but will not command universal assent. To call Thomas Thomson 'most arbitrary of editors' is somewhat hasty. That great scholar's modesty took the form of an almost morbid dislike of committing himself in prefaces or commentaries; hence he gave the world his conclusions, but rarely his reasons. But if his work were to be done over again by a competent modern, from the same materials, the result would perhaps differ only in minor details. If such a task is to be usefully undertaken, it must be on the lines of Miss Bateson's work for the Selden Society, and from the standpoint of Sir Thomas Craig—the history of Scottish law must be treated as part of the history of the law of Europe.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE BORDER MINSTRELSY. By Andrew Lang. Pp. x, 157. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 5s. nett.

To review this argument fairly it would be necessary to repeat it, and that can scarcely be done in smaller compass than the original. It is an answer to the interesting work of Colonel Fitzwilliam Elliot in *The Trustworthiness*

*of the Border Ballads* (1906) and *Further Essays on Border Ballads* (1910); chiefly, a refutation of the charge made against Scott in the latter book, of having joined with Hogg to 'palm off' the ballad of *Auld Maitland* on the public. The other subjects are the ballads of *Otterburn*, *Jamie Telfer* and *Kinmont Willie*.

The discussion of *Auld Maitland*, which comes first, is the most important, because the evidence there put forward by Mr. Lang has a bearing on all the rest of the *Border Minstrelsy*. Mr. Lang proves conclusively that Colonel Elliot is wrong in thinking that *Auld Maitland* was forged by Hogg, and of course with the exploding of that opinion the allegations against the good faith of Scott are also cleared away. The proof is in Hogg's manuscript copy of the ballad now at Abbotsford, and in Hogg's letter to Scott, dated Ettrick House, June 30 (1802). This letter, which has never been published as a whole, is remarkably interesting both with regard to the tradition and collection of ballads in general, and also the motives and critical skill of Hogg. Hogg, it is clear, was not only thoroughly and genuinely taken up with the pursuit of ballads over the country side, but also an excellent critic. Thus he marks the end of *Clerk Saunders* and the place where Scott's version of the ballad passes into another (*Sweet William's Ghost*)—'All the rest of the song in your edition is another song altogether, which my mother hath mostly likewise, and I am persuaded from the change in the stile that she is right, for it is scarce consistent with the forepart of the ballad.'

It is a pity that Mr. Lang does not give the whole letter, and does not say what he has omitted. It is partly printed in Mr. Douglas's edition of Scott's *Letters* (1894) i. p. 12, but there the technical parts are left out (including the sentence quoted above) apparently as unfit for the 'reading public,' and here Mr. Lang leaves out a good deal of the end of the letter, without remark—all the glorious passage about Hogg and his uncle and how religion interfered with the ballads—'what a deluge was poured on me of errors, sins, lusts, covenants broken, burned and buried, legal teachers, patronage, and what not! In short, my dram was lost to my purpose. The mentioning a song put him in a passion.' There never was such a letter writer as Hogg.

From Hogg's copy of *Auld Maitland* it is proved that his account of his mother's recitation is true; he was not inventing; he takes down what he does not understand. He writes:

> 'With springs; wall stanes and good o'ern
> Among them fast he threw.'

Which Scott corrected:

> 'With springalds, stones and gads o' airn.'

There is a grammatical point which Mr. Lang does not mention, which seems to help in the same direction. The ballad uses 'inon' for 'in' or 'on' or 'upon.'

> But sic a gloom inon ae browhead.

Earlier we find:

> Then fifteen barks, all gaily good,
> Met themen on a day.

So printed; read

> Met them inon a day.

This idiom is evidently found in the original. Hogg's copy is what it professes to be; he wrote down *Auld Maitland* as accurately as he could from recitation.

This still leaves the problem: Where did the ballad come from? It is not a true ballad; in style it is a mixture of the ballad and the hack romance. The latter element comes out in the 'springald' verse—

> 'With springalds, stones and gads o' airn
> Among them fast he threw.'

This is prosy grammar, such as historians use. *Auld Maitland* came into oral tradition from a more or less literary source; it is not the same sort of thing as the ballads which have their whole life in oral tradition; it belongs to another stock, closely related indeed to the true ballad. That it was handed on in the same manner as the ballads, that Hogg's mother knew it, and repeated it in the same way as her other songs, and that Hogg's account is true, it seems impossible now to question.

The chapters on *Otterburn* also prove Hogg's good faith. 'Hogg had a copy from reciters—a copy which he could not understand.' It may be enough, for the present, to recommend Mr. Lang's demonstration to those who care for these matters; to do proper justice to it would need as much space as the original chapters themselves. One thing in it perhaps is doubtful. Hogg's version gives 'Almonshire' where 'Bambroughshire' is usually read; Hogg knew 'Bamborowshire,' but both his reciters insisted on 'Almonshire.' Mr. Lang says, and one would like to believe, that 'Almonshire' is 'Alneshire' or 'Alnwickshire,' where is the Percy's Alnwick Castle. But is there authority in the history of Northumberland for 'Alneshire'?

In *Jamie Telfer* it is shown that Scott did not tamper with the facts as Colonel Elliot thinks he did; there are two separate versions of the story, an Elliot ballad and a Scott ballad dealing the honours differently. As for the facts, there are none; the story is impossible with the geography as given in any version; though 'in a higher sense' it may be true as a general statement of what might and did happen in raids and recoveries of driven cattle on the Borders.

*Kinmont Willie* remains as a problem hard to solve. The external evidence that decides *Auld Maitland* is wanting in this case, except what is given in Satchells' narrative, and the relation of Satchells to the ballad may be construed in different ways. It is minutely examined by Colonel Elliot, with the conclusion that Satchells was turned into the ballad by Scott. The other side is presented here, not so as to deny Scott's share in the poem of *Kinmont Willie*, but so as to make it probable that Satchells, in the first place,

knew a ballad on the subject of the rescue at Carlisle, and secondly, that Scott knew a traditional ballad independent of Satchells. The whole discussion brings out, among other things, the dangerous nature of internal evidence and *a priori* judgments on the ballad style. The following example deserves to be borne in mind as a warning :

> 'By the cross of my sword, says Willie then,
> I'll take my leave of thee.'

'It *looks* like Scott's work,' says Mr. Lang. 'But it is *not* Scott's work, it is in Satchells.' Mr. Lang argues that if Scott had been making up his ballad from Satchells he would not have left this out. But it does not appear in *Kinmont Willie.*

Mr. Lang has controverted Colonel Elliot on most points, but it would be wrong to overlook the services that his antagonist has rendered to this branch of study ; antiquarians and lovers of poetry will agree that this debate has had good results—not only in prose, but in the three ballads of his own which Mr. Lang has given at the end of his volume.

W. P. KER.

THE PARALLEL BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CIVIL WARS. The Rede Lecture delivered in the Senate House, Cambridge, on 14th June, 1910. By C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. Pp. 50. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 1s. 6d. nett.

PROFESSOR FIRTH was certainly happily inspired in his choice of a subject for his Rede lecture. There is no man better qualified to speak of the Great Rebellion and its consequences, while the knowledge which he displays of the great struggle between North and South is really remarkable. He deals in turn with the political, military, and personal aspects of the comparison, selecting Cromwell and Lincoln as the great representatives of the two contests, and a most interesting and suggestive parallel it is which he draws between them, not altogether to Cromwell's advantage as a man, though of course Cromwell was a great soldier as well as a political leader. Both struggles are shown to have had as their formal causes the great question of sovereignty, but in England the contest between one man and a nation would never have resulted in a war but for the complication of the political question by religious issues. The King was only able to fight because the Puritan assault on the Church provided him with a party. In America a majority was contending with a minority to decide whether, as Lincoln's Inaugural expressed it, 'in a free government the minority have a right to break it up whenever they choose,' to prove 'that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided there can be no appeal to bullets.' Here too a question of conscience came in, and it was Lincoln's great achievement that he combined the cause of the union with that of the slaves, inducing those whose zeal for one cause was so great that they were prepared to sacrifice the other object to nevertheless remain in co-operation until the two causes became practically fused.

The military parallel is not less suggestively handled. It is pointed out that in both struggles the victorious side owed much to the assistance of the naval forces of the nation and to the possession of greater resources. But the North had the advantage over the Parliament in having for it from the first all that the country possessed of a professional army. Yet this trained nucleus was not properly utilised to leaven the raw levies of the North, and whereas the Parliament owed its victory to its success in creating a disciplined and organised force while the Royalists remained undisciplined and therefore inefficient, the North achieved success in the end not by superior discipline and soldierliness, nor by superior strategy, but by sheer weight of numbers and a relentless policy of mere attrition. If Grant be contrasted with Lee and Jackson the comparison favours the vanquished far more than it does if Cromwell be matched against Rupert.

Finally Professor Firth deals with the settlements which followed the wars, and the treatment meted out to the vanquished. The North may appear to more advantage here, but between 1650 and 1865 political education had progressed, and the attitude of the American nation towards the necessity of compromise was well ahead of the English two hundred years earlier; moreover, in England stern measures were only taken after the Second Civil War. The lands of the Southerners were not confiscated, but they were none the less ruined by the emancipation of the slaves and the monstrous folly of giving the franchise to the emancipated negroes, while the ex-Confederates were deprived of political power, has no parallel in England. And this enfranchising of a class unfitted to exercise political power has had, as it always will, very bad results, so much so that Professor Firth compares its consequences to the legacy which Cromwell's Irish policy has left behind.

C. T. ATKINSON.

THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI. A new version by Robert H. Hobart Cust, M.A. Vol. I. Pp. xxxvii, 390. Vol. II. Pp. xx, 533. With portrait and many illustrations. Post 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1910. 25s. net.

AMONGST artistic autobiographies none stands quite so high for vividness of interest, picturesqueness of incident, and abandon in telling, as that written by Benvenuto Cellini, the celebrated artist-craftsman and sculptor of Florence. Mr. Arthur Symons said: 'He hurls at you this book of his own deeds that it may smite you into acquiescent admiration,' and reading his story afresh, in the new translation by Mr. R. H. Hobart Cust, one admits at once the vital success which attended his literary adventure.

While Cellini's reputation as an artist is not perhaps what it was, his great technical finesse being required to palliate the over-ornateness of his style, his name still remains synonymous with all that is most characteristic of renaissance skill in jewellery and small-scale sculpture. Yet, as Mr. Cust points out, it is something of an irony of fate that

the *Autobiography* should have acquired for him a fame such as none of his much vaunted works could ever have secured for themselves.

Mr. Cust has founded his translation upon the learned Italian texts of Professor Orazio Bacci and of Signori Rusconi and Valeri, both of which appeared in 1901, and his principal object—in the main very happily achieved—has been to reproduce in English the Italian spirit of the original. He regrets, indeed, that it is impossible to translate into an English equivalent the Florentine slang used so volubly by the narrator himself, and, pleading that the ephemeral nature of such argot makes its use inexpedient, professes pity for those to whom the original is a sealed book. Still, for even exact students of Italian, the slang of sixteenth century Florence must have lost its real savour, and we who cannot follow its subtilties are not badly off with the directness and forcefulness of the translator's renderings. To this careful translation he has added many useful and illuminating footnotes; a full bibliography (compiled by Mr. Sidney Churchill) of Cellini literature in ten European languages; a list of Cellini's works derived from contemporary documents; and a catalogue, founded chiefly on the researches of M. Eugène Plon and Mr. Churchill, of pieces by the master still extant.

The book, which is in two volumes, is well illustrated by over sixty half-tone plates, chiefly of important works by Cellini.

James L. Caw.

The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543. Parts IX., X., and XI. With two Appendices, a Glossary, and General Index. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Vol. V. Pp. xxii, 352. With two Maps. Foolscap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1910. 18s. nett.

The editor and publishers of this important work deserve the utmost commendation on the successful termination of their united undertaking. As each volume appeared we have not withheld in the pages of this *Review* (vols. v. 98-9, 478, vi. 294-6) our admiration for the pains and skill that Miss Toulmin Smith has exercised in making her labours as editor useful to her readers and just to her author. The last volume of the series now before us shows, as it was to be expected, a continuation of her former care and painstaking research in doing ample justice to her subject.

Though this volume covers a wide field, comprising what may be regarded as a separate tour of the indefatigable antiquary, it is of special interest to north-country students inasmuch as it includes the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland, and parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Leland's route in the northern counties has been set out in an excellent map, showing the order in which he visited the various places, the base from whence he started and the direction of his journey home. The bishops and bishopric of Durham, like those of Lincoln, Worcester, Hereford and Canterbury, come in for a full discussion, and particulars are also given of several of the religious houses.

Miss Toulmin Smith evidently regards the preface of her final volume as supplementary to what has gone before, for she has collected additional references to her author's career and to the manuscripts and pieces of manuscript of his writings. Looking down the list and comparing it with the table of manuscripts and editions given in the first volume, one is glad to acknowledge that Leland has at last found an interpreter worthy of his reputation.

Students will thank the editor for the general index which covers the five volumes. In these days of pace and pressure, such a time-saving apparatus is always welcome. The glossary, which enumerates the principal archaic words and explains them in the senses in which Leland understood them, is also a valuable addition. Seldom has it been our pleasure to bear witness to such excellent work, and we take leave of Miss Toulmin Smith with sincere regret.

JAMES WILSON.

LECTURES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Lord Acton. Edited by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence. Pp. 378. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1910. 10s. nett.

THESE lectures, which were delivered at Cambridge during the Academical years 1895-1899, form, as stated by the present Lord Acton in a letter to the *Times*, the last of the four volumes containing his father's collected notes; they are edited by Mr. Figgis and Mr. Laurence. In expressing his thanks to these gentlemen, Lord Acton points out the difficulty under which they laboured owing to the fact that a homogeneous text had to be evolved from two different manuscripts, portions of which were fragmentary only; but they appear to have executed their task very successfully. A book upon so important a period of history by such an author is most valuable. It is the work of one fully acquainted with the literature of his subject and fully qualified to give a well-balanced and judicial expression of opinion.

Lord Acton was both a peer and a Roman Catholic, and he writes of a great event which shook to their foundations both the peerage and the Church of France, and which shook and has permanently weakened both institutions in every country where they existed. Yet we have here no exhibition of aristocratic or priest-bound prejudice. He has, it is true, a word to say for a Creed, observing that liberty apart from belief is liberty with a good deal of the substance taken out of it, and that 'nations that have not the self-governing force of religion within them are unprepared for freedom'—a remark which the subsequent history of France itself may be held to justify. But there is no exaggerated declamation against the horrors of the Reign of Terror. On the contrary, this is his conclusion: 'The Revolution will never be intelligibly known to us until we discover its conformity to the common law, and recognize that it is not utterly singular and exceptional, that other scenes have been as horrible as these, and many men as bad.'

To the casual observer the Revolution in France which closed the

eighteenth century may seem to have been a bolt from the blue, or, as Lord Acton expresses it, a 'meteor from the unknown.' It was not so to him, but rather the product of historic influences; and it is with these sources from which it sprang—the causes which led up to it—that his opening lectures deal. Among the heralds of the Revolution the author includes certain French writers of the eighteenth century who contributed by the promulgation of their views to the general feeling of dissatisfaction with things as they were. Whatever tyranny existed, it does not appear to have been exerted, as in more recent times in Russia, in suppressing a free expression of opinion. It seems to have been rather fashionable, among men of leisure and rank, to play with ideas which, when put into practice, were destined to make quick work of all fashionable society.

These writers were by no means of one type, and embraced Christian divines, lawyers, philosophers, and politicians. Maultrot, an ecclesiastical lawyer whose work was published just three years before the climax, identified the principles of 1688 with the Canon Law and rejected divine right. Fenelon was, says Lord Acton, 'the first who saw through the majestic hypocrisy of the court, and knew that France was on the road to ruin.' In his judgment, 'power is poison; and as kings are nearly always bad, they ought not to govern but only to execute the law.' D'Argenson, Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1745, 'was perpetually contriving schemes of fundamental change, and is the earliest writer from whom we can extract the system of 1789.' The influence of such men as Turgot and of Rousseau, himself a Swiss and an upholder of the Swiss Republic, was doubtless great.

But there was another influence even greater than that of individual writers. It was to be found in the fact of the American Republic. In the struggle of these Colonies against Great Britain all France had sympathized, since it was a struggle against her ancient enemy. In the success which followed it the friends of freedom in France, who had been somewhat dreamy and speculative over the subject, saw an example of theory put into practice and a nation in which democracy ruled alone and as it might yet do in their own country, if only the opportunity arose. What proved ultimately to be the opportunity did not seem at first a likely one. 'The confluence of French theory with American example caused the Revolution to break out, not in an excess of irritation and despair, but in a moment of better feeling between the nation and the king.' The calling of the States General, a constitutional act by an amiable king, pointed rather to an improvement in the existing state of things, and yet that convocation was the beginning of the end. The king wavered between the aristocracy and the people; his weakness and that of his supporters was manifested; and the masses at last realized the strength which lay in their numbers, and that their former tyrants were really in their power. The Bastille fell, and the revolt became a revolution.

The French Revolution was for a long time, especially in this country, identified with its excesses. It was not, men said, a revolution, but a

reign of terror, a devilish outburst of atheism and cruelty, stained by the murder of a good king and a beautiful queen, and sending into exile an ancient aristocracy whose members were reduced to giving music and dancing lessons, or teaching their own language so as to earn the bare means of existence. To it and to the fears which it aroused are to be attributed the extravagances of men like our own Braxfield and the dire fate of such harmless individuals as Thomas Muir. The cause of reform was set back, and every effort to ameliorate the condition of the masses was apt to be identified with French infidelity. The enemies of progress rejoiced. But we trust it is not true, as stated by Lord Acton, that Pitt refused to save Louis XVI., because his execution would have raised a storm in England sufficient to submerge the Whigs.

Yet of the tyranny, the religious hypocrisy, the preposterous class privileges, which preceded and brought about the Revolution, one heard little. That time has passed. That the Revolutionary party committed terrible mistakes it is impossible to deny. In its wild efforts to secure liberty it for a time destroyed all liberty, and the country only exchanged one tyranny for another. Nevertheless, the cause was a good one. Lord Acton recognizes a much weaker right in the Americans to rebel than that which the French could claim. But the American movement resulted at once in a well-established and permanent constitution, while the French had many a stormy year before them and strange experiences in the way of rulers. For they took from the Americans 'a theory of revolution, not a theory of government.'

To deal with a subject such as this in the course of a few lectures implies much compression of historical detail, yet enough has been given to render these pages bright and interesting, although men will seek in Lord Acton the able expounder of principles and the critic of men and measures rather than the narrator of a picturesque story.

W. G. Scott Moncrieff.

British Credit in the Last Napoleonic War. By Audrey Cunningham, B.A. Trin. Coll. Dublin, of Girton College, Cambridge. With an Appendix containing a reprint of *Des Finances de l'Angleterre*. By H. Lasalle. Pp. vi, 146. Crown 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 2s. nett.

A side of Napoleon's policy which has been subjected to much adverse criticism is the Continental System, the attack on British trade by attempting to close Continental ports to British merchants and goods; while he was pursuing this policy he is said to have committed a great blunder by allowing corn to be imported into Britain in 1810, when the country was greatly in need of it. Miss Cunningham has taken up this aspect of the Napoleonic Wars, with the object of shewing that, though the Emperor's project failed, it was not a great mistake based upon obsolete mercantilist theories, but a well-considered attempt to undermine the whole fabric of British credit by depleting the gold reserve in the Bank of England, and thus to attain indirectly the object which the Trafalgar victory had shewn him could not be accomplished by a direct attack.

Miss Cunningham gives an interesting account of contemporary French opinion on the subject of finance. Neither past experience nor the writings of pamphleteers, Paine, D'Hauterive, etc., inclined the French people to put much confidence in a system of public borrowing or in any connection between the government and the banks. Lasalle, whose *Des Finances de l'Angleterre*, in which the facts and figures are taken from recognised British authorities, is printed in the appendix, makes a careful examination into the position of the Bank, which he thinks had been practically insolvent since the suspension of cash payments in 1797. The writer most in touch with Napoleon was De Guer, who as an *émigré* had studied British finance at first hand. He points out the danger of an excessive issue of paper money, and shews that Britain has difficulty in paying subsidies and supplying her armies in countries where she has no commercial credit, and must either lose on her foreign exchanges or export specie.

Napoleon himself, though not a financier, held strong views as to the harmfulness of a weak gold reserve, of public borrowing and paper currency, all of which he saw existing in Britain. In 1806, therefore, he began his attack on British credit by the issue of the Berlin Decree, followed by the Milan Decree, aiming at keeping British goods out of the Continent; and he also allowed the import of corn, because he thought specie must be exported to pay for it. The decrees could not be strictly carried out, and the defection of Russia ruined the scheme, but, even so, the results were severely felt in Britain. There was great distress, many bankruptcies, much unemployment, supplies of gold were hard to get, and expenses for the armies abroad were difficult to meet, and the Bank reserve fell from £7,855,470 in 1808 to £2,036,910 in 1815. Nevertheless the attempt was a failure, and British credit was not undermined. Miss Cunningham attributes this chiefly to the prosperity of agriculture during the period, to the facilities for trade with other countries than Europe, and to the confidence of the people in the stability of the Government. She points the moral that, though Napoleon failed, our credit system is far more complex now, and that its fall would be correspondingly greater. Therefore, we should see to it that our reserve is sufficient and our financial position secure. Miss Cunningham has given an interesting study of a very important period in our financial history.

THEODORA KEITH.

THE STORY OF PROVAND'S LORDSHIP: THE MANSE OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS. By William Gemmell, M.B., F.S.A. Pp. 171. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Glasgow: Hay Nisbet & Co., Ld. 1910. 3s 6d. nett.

WHEN, a few years ago, the public began to hear about a pre-reformation house as still existing in Glasgow, many people—including the present writer—were very doubtful about this. Those who have seen the great changes and transformations of the last forty years, within which period the city has been almost rebuilt, might well be excused for their scepticism, even after a passing glance at the house. As seen

from the outside, it would hardly strike the ordinary passer-by as much different from houses of a later time to be seen in many provincial towns and villages where the exigencies of modern life are not so pressing as in a great city.

But a minute inspection of the house all round and throughout, presents certain features which could not but arrest the attention of an antiquary or architect who had knowledge of domestic architecture. It contains features which are not of the ordinary kind, to be found in old town family residences.

The plan at once suggests that this house was not built for a family one, although it has been altered in later times and made suitable for this purpose; but rather as the common residence of members belonging to some ecclesiastical establishment, and that it was such a house is clearly shewn in this volume, in which Dr. Gemmell writes of its geographical position, and the documentary evidence connected with it, and Mr. Whitelaw of its architecture. The house is three storeys high, with three rooms on each storey, separated by thick walls and approached by a stair, from the landing of which each mid-room enters, the other two rooms being reached by projecting timber galleries such as were frequently used in our old castles and houses. In references to the middle storey, these rooms are spoken about in 1589 as the 'north-mid chalmer' and the 'south mid-chalmer,' by the occupant of the mid-chalmer.

From the situation of the house in relation to the Cathedral and to the bishop's palace, the outer wall of which was within a few yards distance, Dr. Gemmell identifies it as the manse or clergy-house of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, and for the priests serving at the altars of the same in the Cathedral, and also for the Prebendary of Balernock. This hospital was founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead in 1471, and, as the name implies, it served the purpose of a modern inn for the reception of travellers and strangers. By a piece of good luck the arms of the bishop can still be seen carved on the building, thus practically dating the principal portion. On the rear of the house another stone bears the date 1670, shewing, what the architectural features also shew, that this part is later. This is further confirmed by a sundial, which could hardly be earlier than the seventeenth century. Some of the other details, such as the fireplaces, clearly confirm these two periods.

Such is the house which, amid the ever-changing scenes of Glasgow, has survived all the ups and downs of more than four centuries and come down to our day almost alone. From this most interesting volume by Dr. Gemmell and his coadjutors we learn that the house was in danger of being swept away when a few gentlemen, in the name of *The Provand's Lordship Club*, purchased it and so saved it from immediate destruction. Their venture was not a commercial speculation, but an effort to uphold the dignity of the city as an ancient and historical one. And this book on the history of its oldest house should receive a warm welcome. It is well illustrated, and has a good index.

THOMAS ROSS.

THE RATIONALE OF CEREMONIAL, 1540-1543. Edited by Cyril S. Cobb, M.A., B.C.L. Alcuin Club Collections, XVIII. Pp. lxxv, 80. With Illustrations. 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 10s.

LITURGICAL students who recognise the debt of gratitude they owe to the Alcuin Club for giving them access to original sources of information will welcome the above work. In this case the sources are two MSS., one at Lambeth and the other in the British Museum. The interest of the *Rationale* lies not only in itself, but also in that it opens the door to a comparison between the Reformation movement in England and in Germany. This is admirably dealt with by Mr. Cobb in his Introduction. Erasmus, in deploring the destructive violence that accompanied the Reformation abroad, asked, 'Is there no middle course?' Something of this middle course was indicated by the *Rationale*. It was not, it is true, a revision of the old services, but it was an attempt to give them a higher religious value by making them more intelligible to the people. It distinguished between things 'necessary for a Christian man's life' and 'rites and ceremonies devised by men,' and it sought to remove the danger of superstition by explaining the inner meaning of externalism.

A study of Appendix I. will show the student that its desire to popularise, in the best sense of the term, public worship, was both in keeping with the traditions of the Church of England as well as with the tone of contemporary religious literature.

Though now printed for the first time, it has an importance that is due to its probable date. While not unmindful of present evils, nor lacking in insistence upon that spiritual character of Religion, which was the essence of the Reformation, it exemplifies that desire for continuity which characterised Anglican Reform, and which justifies Mr. Cobb's statement that 'there is nothing in the *Rationale* which the English Church cannot accept to-day.'

Facsimiles are included of some of the handwritings of the two MSS., together with other interesting matter. The footnotes betoken wide reading. This work is a real and valuable contribution to learning.

E. M. BLACKIE.

BERCY. Par M. Lucien Lambeau. Pp. 506. 4to. With Illustrations. Paris : Ernest Leroux. 1910. 12 fr. 50.

THIS volume is the first of a series of monographs planned by the General Council of the Seine, which are to collect and combine the available materials into a history of the communes which were united to Paris in 1859 up till the time of their annexation. That the author is well qualified for his task is amply proved.

The district of Bercy lies to the south-east of Paris, on the right bank of the Seine, and M. Lambeau gives a full account of its topography from the fourteenth century onwards, with accompanying plans. The owners and tenants of the various sections, some of them distinguished names in

the annals of France, are fully discussed, as also the *Seigneurie*, with the château and its treasures. The town of Bercy and its social, political, industrial, and ecclesiastical history naturally occupies the greater part of the book. It was formed into a commune in 1790, and then in 1859, with the other neighbouring communes, became incorporated with Paris.

M. Lambeau's volume is thus full of information on the growth of municipal and communal institutions, the progress of industry in a suburban township, and the gradual establishment of ecclesiastical foundations. The great princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were intimately associated with the history of Bercy, and they import a hint of splendour and romance into the author's sober narrative.

A point of modern interest lies in the frequent references in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century records to the flooding of the Seine, which from time to time caused great distress and damage to the town and its occupants: the river sometimes rose to a height of 24 feet; and in 1658 the castle and park were submerged.

A valuable section of the volume is the appendix, containing 'Pièces Justificatives' from the National Archives, upon which much of M. Lambeau's history is founded. The illustrations are numerous and finely executed.

MARY LOVE.

THE FIRST DUKE AND DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. By the author of A Life of Sir Kenelm Digby. Pp. xi, 287. With 14 Illustrations. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE Duke and Duchess of Newcastle are among the most interesting figures in Caroline history. The friend of Hobbes, the patron of Ben Jonson, Newcastle was also for a while tutor to Charles II., while he played a stirring part in the great Civil War, and probably spent more on behalf of the royal cause than any other cavalier. It is true that nowadays his writings are but little known, but his book on horsemanship was highly esteemed in its own day; while his work as dramatist won this distinction, at least, that selections therefrom were included by Charles Lamb in his memorable anthology, *Specimens of English dramatic Poets who lived about the Time of Shakespeare*. A kindred reason gives interest to the Duchess, for, albeit some of her contemporaries regarded her as mad, and although Pepys speaks of her with singular scorn, her memory was dearly beloved of Elia, who mentions her with affectionate admiration in many of his essays and letters.

Save for a few quotations from the Welbeck MSS., the biography now before us does not set forth any documents likely to be unknown to the average student of history; and, in the main, it is based on comparatively familiar authorities. But granting this limitation, the book really fulfils its purpose remarkably well; for it narrates Newcastle's career in such a fashion as to make the more important events stand out clearly, while it pays particular attention to such of these events as were misrepresented by the Duchess in her life of her husband, and frequently serves to fill up

gaps which were left by the noble authoress. For instance, the Duchess gives only a short paragraph to Newcastle's teaching of Charles II., and therein depicts him as in every way a perfect tutor; but the work at present in question deals with this subject at length, and, besides furnishing many fascinating personal details, shows that in some respects Newcastle was positively Machiavellian in his training of the royal pupil.

This admirable tone of fairness characterizes the entire volume. The anthor is no hero-worshipper, but aims throughout at veracity, and deals frankly alike with failings and with merits. Nor is this true only as regards what he says of the Newcastles themselves, for it marks also all that he writes of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, while it distinguishes his handling of the political history of the period, in which particular he does not betray predilections for either royalists or puritans.

W. G. Blaikie Murdoch.

From the Restoration to the Death of William III. (1660–1702). By Richard Lodge, M.A., LL.D. [The Political History of England. In 12 volumes. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M.A., LL.D. Vol. VIII.] Pp. xix, 517. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

The period covered by this volume has been partially dealt with by Lingard and fully by Ranke. It has also been treated by Hallam in his *Constitutional History*, which takes constant account of 'politics.' Macaulay's *History*, as Professor Lodge notes, still dominates the public mind.

Professor Lodge is of the school of Ranke rather than of Macaulay. His volume has none of the premeditated brilliance of the great Whig historian; it is free from that 'stamping emphasis' of which Lord Morley once complained. But the style fits the subject, being concise yet supple; it is laudably free from needless rhetoric, being set rather in the 'scientific' key. The order of treatment of the subjects (which cannot always be chronological) could hardly be bettered. Foreign politics are brought into adequate relation to the main theme, while the position in Scotland and Ireland at the various crises is sketched lucidly and with liberal insight.

It seems to us, however, that there is something rather grudging, if not indeed confusing, in the final estimate of William. He is rated as having no superior among his English predecessors, but is forbidden to take his place among the greatest, not because of inherent inferiority or any real sacrifice of English to Dutch interests, but simply because he was not an Englishman. This seems to us taking away with one hand what was being given with the other. As William's place in history is to be judged by his actual achievement (the comparative merit of which Professor Lodge does not dispute) can his mere Dutch descent and attachment form such discounting elements?

Altogether the volume is a most welcome contribution to the literature of the subject, and should find a place in the front rank of the studies

of a period that is extremely interesting but difficult to handle because of its 'unstable equilibrium.'

Besides containing a list of authorities, the book has a good index, and is supplied with maps showing the English colonization of North America and illustrating William's campaigns.

A. R. Cowan.

A History of Abingdon. By James Townsend, M.A. Pp. 183. With Illustrations. 4to. London: Henry Frowde. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

*Abbendonensibus Abbendonensis hoc opusculum.* Mr. Townsend's dedication at once gives the clue to both the merits and defects of his book. Strong local interest is its most striking feature. It is right and pleasant that an Abingdon scholar should write the history of Abingdon school, and that Abingdon churches should find a chronicler in one who has himself heard the 'peal of great sweetness' from their bells. At the same time the path of the local historian is beset with pitfalls, and a town history dealing with a period of twelve centuries is a difficult task. On the whole, Mr. Townsend's book belongs rather to the old than the new school of historical writing, and is not altogether free from some defects of the older method. First and worst of these is the tendency to rely upon secondary rather than primary sources of information. A glance through the authorities referred to in the footnotes of the present work at once suggests this criticism. One example may be given. An interesting episode in Abingdon history was an attack made on the abbey in 1327, 'in warlike manner.' Walls were broken, houses were burnt, vestments, chalices, church ornaments were stolen, while the sick prior was dragged off to Bagley, and threatened with the loss of his head if he would not do what his assailants wanted. Under this compulsion the latter secured various deeds, one binding the abbey and convent to them in £1000, others conferring certain privileges, among them the right to have a provost and bailiffs for the custody of the town, to be elected annually by themselves. Mr. Townsend quotes in full the account given by Anthony Wood in his *History of Oxford*, written in the seventeenth century. This he supplements by rather casual reference to 'state papers of Edward III.' to 'Edward III., patentrolls' (no page reference) and to a passage in the *Chronicles of Edward I. and II.* (Rolls Series) i. 345. This method is putting the cart before the horse. There is plenty of contemporary material for an account. The printed calendars of Patent and Close Rolls (especially *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1327-1330, pp. 151, 210, 221, 222, 287, 288, 289, 526, 559) contain the series of commissions of *oyer and terminer* set up to investigate the matter, as well as letters taking the abbey under royal protection. Primary sources such as these should have been thoroughly 'despoiled'—to use the expressive phrase of a French historian—before secondary authorities were cited.

On page 27 Mr. Townsend quotes from Mr. J. R. Green's *Short History* a tale of the sufferings of two Brothers Minor at a grange belonging to Abingdon Abbey. 'Grancia,' by the way, finds a closer equivalent in 'cell'

—that is, a dependent house. It would have been worth while to seek out the original, though Green does not indicate the source, if only to read the very characteristic visions and retribution with which the story closes. It may be found in Bartholomew of Pisa's *Liber Conformitatum*, and appears as an appendix in Mr. A. G. Little's recent edition of the *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, or, Englished, in Father Cuthbert's translation of the same work.

The history of the great abbey forms a large and interesting part of the book, though a few of Mr. Townsend's *obiter dicta* concerning monasticism might give a captious critic opportunities. Medieval monasticism knew nothing of the 'cell' in the modern sense. It is therefore unwise to say that Blaecman built a church 'with monastic cells.' Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, iv. 143-4, n.) and the *Abingdon Chronicle* (Rolls Series), i. 474, are cited as authorities, but Freeman, translating the chronicler's phrase '*ad monachorum formam habitaculorum*' as 'buildings of a monastic pattern,' avoided the trap into which the present author falls.

Mr. Townsend's book is full of patient work, interesting detail and an enthusiasm which goes far to excuse both some amateurishness of treatment, and a few easily remediable defects such as those mentioned above. 'L'amour est la véritable clef de l'histoire,' said M. Sabatier. If so, Mr. Townsend will not find many closed doors.

The facsimiles of documents, which have been chosen in place of more conventional illustrations, are admirable.

Hilda Johnstone.

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1908. In two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo. Pp. 539. Washington : Government Printing Office. 1909.

So numerous are the papers and so extensive the material in the yearly report of the American Historical Association that its publication (usually later than its nominal date) loses nothing by keeping. The present volume registers discussions on the relations of geography to history, on teaching methods, on research in English history and on American and colonial and revolutionary history. Special articles also deal with census records as historical and economic data, and with the American newspapers of the eighteenth century as sources of information. Citations establish the deep interest of contemporary journals, which are not only stocked with domestic fact from 1704 onward, but reach the tragic point in the Revolution time. Perhaps one chief characteristic of such evidence scarcely receives due attention ; that is the fact that its short views, its day to day register, and its futility in foresight, emphasise the occurrence of the unexpected in the actual course of events.

History in this diary form, in which to-day's fact is not coloured by to-morrow's result, probably has possibilities far beyond current estimates of historical method. Most writers of history deal with the beginning as a part of the end. The other way about, where to-morrow is not assumed, has much to say for itself, and in that mode newspaper evidence is invaluable, if not supreme.

Military history receives its due in a triple criticism of the Wilderness campaign, a general, who was a participant, discussing Grant's conduct of it and insisting on Lee's 'one fatal blunder'; a colonel condemning Grant's 'hammering tactics' and praising Lee's superior skill; and a major holding between the two a balance heavily leaning to Lee's side.

Many very important facts are garnered in (1) an elaborate series of reports on archives of Maine, Missouri and Washington; and (2) a list of journals and acts of the thirteen original colonies and the Floridas preserved in the Record Office in London. The hundred pages of this list strikingly show how great a labour was the substructure and administration of the American States before the Revolution.

FROM METTERNICH TO BISMARCK. A Text-Book of European History, 1815-1878. By L. Cecil Jane. Pp. 288. With Plans and Maps. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 4s. 6d.

THIS account of sixty-three years of European history covers the difficult period from the re-settlement under the Holy Alliance to the entirely new era of Nationality. To say that it is well and carefully written is to say little. Metternich's position and outlook is treated with an insight and sympathy that can only come from real knowledge and study, and the gradual growth of the claims of Nationalities and of the recognition by the European Powers of the Republican Idea is exceedingly well brought out. The writer's account of the affairs of France is usually very happy, although the childlessness of the Duc de Berri (p. 26) is a misleading phrase, and the description of the accession of Louis Philippe, 'The Paris crowds wanted loaves of bread; they received a citizen king, his family, cash boxes, and umbrella,' is a true refrain from Thackeray. The rise of Bismarck and his system is also excellently recounted, and the whole book is one that gives instructive pleasure to its readers.

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE MUTINY IN THE BLACK WATCH. A London Incident of the Year 1743. Compiled and edited by W. D. MacWilliam. Pp. cxxviii, 237. With Illustrations. 4to. London: Forster, Groom & Co., Ltd. 1910. 12s. 6d.

THE mutiny of the Black Watch in 1743 had, in the editor's opinion, no inconsiderable influence upon the Jacobite rising which we now know as 'The '45.' The regimental records have for long been lost, and for this reason he prints verbatim all the military records on the subject which have been disinterred after a long search in the Public Record Office, and other original papers as well. In the long introduction he lays great stress on the fear expressed, by Lord President Forbes of Culloden, that if the Black Watch were sent abroad in 1743 it would cause great dissatisfaction in Scotland, left then without its Highland guard. He seems to think that the regiment, having really enlisted for home service in 1739, was thoroughly hoodwinked about the reasons why they were marched to London, and it is certain that during this march many deserted.

The order to embark for foreign service was the last straw, and part of the regiment, which never fancied it was to serve out of its native hills, promptly proceeded to try to march back there. The men were stopped by a pursuing force at Lady Wood, near Oundle, and after fruitless delays surrendered, and were taken, pinioned, to the Tower of London. A court martial of the kind in vogue followed, and all were condemned to death. This sentence was, however, commuted to transportation to regiments abroad, except in the case of three of the ringleaders—two Macphersons and a Shaw.

The Highlands were thus denuded of their native garrison, and soon were seething with discontent; and the Macphersons—two of whose clan had been shot (as we have seen) as leaders of the mutiny—played a gallant part in support of Prince Charlie in 1745-6. The book, which has considerable value in regimental history, is dedicated to the 'Brave Highlanders' who were 'victims of deception and tyranny, *nominatim*,' and to the three humane English officers connected with them.

Bacon is Shake-speare. By Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bt. Together with a Reprint of Bacon's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*. Pp. xiv, 286. With Illustrations. 8vo. London: Gay & Hancock, Ltd. 1910. 2s. 6d. nett.

Yet another lawyer has taken up the case of Bacon *versus* Shakespeare. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence—we are told in a paper sent out with this book—is a member of the bar, an LL.B., and a J.P. And here is a specimen of his evidence and proof: 'The mighty author of the immortal plays was gifted with the most brilliant genius ever conferred upon man. He possessed an intimate and accurate acquaintance, which could not have been artificially acquired, with all the intricacies and mysteries of Court life. He had by study obtained nearly all the learning that could be gained from books. And he had by travel and experience acquired a knowledge of cities and of men that has never been surpassed. Who was in existence at that period who could by any possibility be supposed to be this universal genius? In the days of Queen Elizabeth, for the first time in human history, one such man appeared, the man who is described as the marvel and mystery of the age, and this was the man known to us under the name of Francis Bacon.' The volume will serve as a good introduction to Baconianism. It presents a collection of Baconian ingenuities, exhibited—we believe—in all seriousness. If the reader has a taste for figures, let him see how Bacon's authorship is 'proved mechanically in a short chapter on the long word Honorificabilitudinitatibus.' This, the 151st word on the 136th page of the First Folio, is an obvious anagram for 'Hi ludi F. Baconis nati tuiti orbi'—which is 'a correct Latin hexameter,' and means, 'These plays, F. Bacon's offspring, are preserved for the world.' Those who do not enjoy the Baconian ingenuities may find some interest in the illustrations. What serious value the book has lies in them, and in the reprint of Bacon's *Promus*, which has been 'collated with the original MS. by the late F. B. Bickley, and revised by F. A. Herbert of the British Museum.'

A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect on an Historical Basis. By Heinrich Mutschmann. 8vo. Pp. x, 88. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1909.

A doctorate thesis in the University of Bonn, this study of northern Scottish appears as one of the Bonn studies in English philology under the general editorship of Professor Bülbring whose student the author was. Now holding an educational appointment in England, he bids fair to prove a valuable auxiliary in our midst to the German wing of philological research into British dialect. His investigation starts from the basis of the dialect as, conjecturally, it existed about the year 1300; he claims to have formulated for the first time a 'sound-law,' that 'the regular representative of Middle Scots *au* is *ā*': we observe that his own examples prove a very healthy and numerous family of exceptions. He indicates the importance of Scandinavian and Celtic influence respectively. His observations on 'Polite Scotch' as a disintegrating factor of dialect are shrewd, and are results of first-hand examination. The whole thesis attests an acute and industrious application of the current German technical method—often not over-illuminating to us home-keepers—to the analysis of dialect. But it is difficult to rest content with a 'historical basis' itself based on a conjecture as to what the dialect was in 1300.

Longmans' Historical Illustrations—England in the Middle Ages. (Portfolio I. The xi Century; Portfolio II. The xii Century; Portfolio III. The xiii Century; Portfolio IV. The xiv Century; Portfolio V. The xiv and xv Centuries; Portfolio VI. The xv Century). Drawn and described by T. C. Barfield. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. Price 2s. 6d. nett each portfolio.

A series of pictorial charts of architecture, costume, and manners from the eleventh century to the fifteenth hardly needs assurance of welcome, when the work of delineation and description has been discriminatingly and intelligently done. Mr. Barfield's drawings, in which early buildings have a becoming prominence, are adequately touched with the archaeological spirit, and strive to make the past as far as possible yield an autobiographical record. The evolution of war, the Church, and the people, is exhibited in all the manifold and changing forms of feudal life. Ecclesiasticism in all its shapes, keeps, houses, armour, tournaments, sieges, ships, heraldry, popular customs, and the beginnings of industry are all rendered with painstaking and approximate fidelity. Had Mr. Barfield been yet more of an archaeologist perhaps the evolution of the Norman castle from the *Motte* would have given a sounder architectural centre-point. As it is, the types of 'Norman' castles are too advanced for the periods to which they are assigned; it was the fault of 'Castle Clark' himself, and is hardly yet rectified. But for the successive stages of general architecture and aspects of the contemporaneous life, students, whether of a younger or an elder growth, hardly need better, and cannot possibly have clearer guidance than is diagrammatically afforded by these progressive pictures of English history.

If in some future edition this panorama of five centuries should assume a format more convenient for reference its value for study would be enhanced. As it is, however, it seems to move with the centuries across which its track lies. Nothing can well be more notable than the increasing complexity of society as exhibited in the later sheets compared with the earlier. Fashions grow more extravagant alike in arms, costume, and dwelling. Mr. Barfield draws without any exceptional power of line, it is true, but with fair accuracy, a stately picture of England through the ages. His is a gallery in which art aims at actual truth, not at an aesthetic compromise of fact with beauty. Not the less, however, is beauty there.

Jacobite Extracts from the Parish Registers of St. Germain-en-Laye. Edited by C. E. Lart. Pp. xiv, 176. With Illustration. 8vo. London: The St. Catherine Press, Ltd. 1910. 21s. nett.

This record, full of the pathos of a lost cause, is the first instalment of a work of great interest to students of the Jacobite Period and of considerable value to Irish and Scottish genealogists. It gives the marriages, births, and deaths of the little band of Jacobites who settled at St. Germain-en-Laye (from the curiously spelled registers of which these records are extracted) round the exiled King James and Queen Mary after 1688, and who constituted the centre of Jacobitism until after the Queen's death. The great majority were in some way or another connected either with the exiled court or with the Irish Brigade, and many of the names are associated with the offices of the former, and show in a touching way how James II. was still treated as a king, and regarded by his following as if he was in every way king *de facto*.

There was still *par example* an 'Ambassador from the King of England' to Holland. We find a 'chef de goblet du Roy,' who appears in these pages, and there was an 'escuier de la bouche de la Reine.' The Queen's chief lady of honour, who from her constant appearance in these entries seems to have had much influence, was her old friend the Italian, Victoria Montecuculi d'Avia Countess of Almond, but she had also another Lady, Sophia Stuart, widow of Henry Bulkeley, of whom we should like to know more, as she was sister of Gramont's 'La belle Stuart,' but, unlike the latter, had followed the court into exile.

The King and Queen showed their interest in their adherents by becoming, with 'the Prince of Wales' and 'serenissime Princesse Louise Marie, Princesse d'Angleterre,' godfather and godmother to many children born to their dependents during their exile, and many of these 'born Jacobites' naturally perpetuated their parents' political faith, and followed their master's 'royal' son and grandson. But, if the King and Queen showed this interest in their Catholic court, they showed (perhaps because their sufferings were purposely hidden from them) terribly little in regard to their unfortunate Protestant subjects, who, having been equally ruined in their cause, also followed them into France. These were exposed to the most bitter persecutions from the French court and clergy to force them to abjure. The editor points out that it was wonderful that more did not do so, as they were poverty-stricken and could look to no other support except their

King. He tells us also that Lord Dunfermline, a Protestant whose fortune had gone in the Stuart cause, had to be buried at night by his friends to avoid scandal, and that Dr. Gordon, a Scottish Bishop, abjured to keep himself from starving. The same want of consideration was shown to the Quakers who followed the king into exile, and we find at least one 'Trembleur' forced to own his 'conversion.'

The entries in this book will fill many gaps in the difficult pedigrees of Irish exiles of the eighteenth century, and even in the better known Scottish family histories, and one is grateful to the editor for the learning, patience, and care that he has bestowed on this historical bypath.

A. Francis Steuart.

The Song of the Stewarts: Prelude. By Douglas Ainslie. Pp. x, 202. Demy 8vo. London: Arch. Constable & Co., Ltd. 1909. 7s. 6d. nett.

A most interesting experiment is being tried by Mr. Douglas Ainslie, best known, perhaps, as an interpreter of Eastern religious thought in his very original poem *John of Damascus.* The experiment is no less than that of attempting to record the history of Scotland, or at any rate of its royal house, in metre. His 'Prelude' carries the tale from the coming of Walter, son of Alan, to Paisley and Cathcart in the train of King David I. down through the strife with Norway and the war of Independence to the crusading journey of Douglas with the heart of Bruce. It is a story full of incident of battle and chivalry, and he is a poor patriot who will not enjoy these dashing new rimes of the old deeds, fired as they are with national spirit so intense that the author thinks

'the Jew Iscariot
Less felon than Menteith the Scot.'

He skilfully varies the graces of divers types of measure and stanza to suit the episode, whether it be a dirge for Wallace, a description of Bannockburn, or the moving narrative of the Douglas vow. One regret only the historical critic cannot avoid—that so clever a singer of history should not have had the good fortune to be kept abreast of the newer lights which abound on the lives of both Wallace and Bruce. How clear a conception of the national exploits and fortunes, however, can in a general way be afforded by a sympathetic poet interpreting the current version of the facts—with fresh genealogical data curiously interwoven—the readers of the Prelude will have no manner of doubt. Nor will the dustiest critic fail to enjoy with a new zest his country's history echoed in song.

*New Facts concerning John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.* By Champlin Burrage (8vo, pp. 35. 1s. 6d. nett. Oxford: University Press, 1910). A manuscript in the Bodleian has been identified by Mr. Burrage as a tractate, probably dating from 1609, written by an unidentified controversialist in answer to writings of Robinson. Incidentally it contains statements not only making clear Robinson's local connection with the Church of England in Norwich, but also indicating that his separation from the Church was not entirely voluntary. Students of puritanism and the Brownist position will find important data in Mr. Burrage's extracts and inferences.

*A Short History of Southampton* (8vo, pp. 256. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 2s. nett) consists of two parts, one being the general story of Southampton by Professor Hearnshaw, the other being collective studies of aspects of town life by various contributors, edited by Professor F. Clarke. Southampton has filled so large a part in English history that its annals are often saved from dulness, and its local celebrities range from Shakespeare's patron, the earl, to Isaac Watts, Richard Taunton (founder of a marine school), Charles Dibdin and Sir John Millais. The port plumes itself on the voyage of the *Mayflower* starting there. As a whole, the book does credit to the public-spirited auspices under which it is produced.

*The Utopia of Sir Thomas More*, edited by George Sampson (8vo, pp. xxv, 442. London: G. Bell & Sons. 5s.). Few volumes of Bohn's standard library can be more welcome to the literary antiquary than the new edition of the *Utopia*. It contains Ralph Robinson's translation, first printed in 1551; Roper's well-known life of More, his father-in-law; a series of the beautiful letters chiefly to and from Margaret Roper; and the Latin text of the *Utopia*, reprinted from the first edition of 1516, followed by a very significant bibliography covering both the life of Sir Thomas and his writings. Mr. A. Guthkelch's introduction gives in outline the few facts needed for preface, and Mr. Sampson's footnotes to the text are unobtrusive but requisite helps to the appreciation both of a great book and a great man. We wish the publishers would follow this up with a reprint of More's English writings, still buried in the inaccessible original folio of 1557.

Miss E. M. Wilmot, Buxton, has written *A Junior History of Great Britain* (8vo, pp. x, 210. London: Methuen & Co.) which succinctly sketches in anecdotal and biographical form the story of the kingdom. The union of the Crowns in 1603 is not mentioned, the Act of Union of 1707 appears as an entirely minor episode, the Union of Great Britain and Ireland is unrecorded, and the last chapter deals with 'the progress of England.' South English schoolmistresses should try to get more precision and a truer perspective for the history of Great Britain.

*Great Britain and Ireland. A History for Lower Forms.* By John E. Morris, D.Litt. (pp. viii, 480. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 3s.). More than the 'Lower Forms,' for whom this history is intended, can read it with pleasure and profit. It is easily written, contains quite enough without being overladen with unnecessary facts, and is extraordinarily well illustrated. The pictures and maps really illuminate (unlike so many illustrated books) each period of which the author treats.

The public libraries committee of Newcastle-upon-Tyne did well to direct the librarian, Mr. Basil Anderton, to prepare a *Catalogue of Books and Tracts on Genealogy and Heraldry* in the Central Public Libraries (4to. pp. 68. Newcastle: Doig Bros. & Co.). The classification is unfamiliar, but the catalogue will be a service to research. This kind of antiquarian bibliography for rapid reference merits encouragement.

The Cambridge University Press has added to their series of useful County Geographies by issuing *Lanarkshire*, by Frederick Mort, M.A. (Pp. viii, 168. 1s. 6d.) The volume is illustrated, and has a couple of maps.

In American history 'Reconstruction' has an important place, being the name given to what might otherwise be called the pacification of the Southern States. Mr. John R. Ficklen contributes to the Johns Hopkins University Studies a stirring chapter of the story, being his *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana* (*Through* 1868). (8vo, pp. ix, 234. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1910.) Starting with a sketch of conditions *ante bellum*, followed by a short account of the State government during the war, Mr. Ficklen devotes much attention to General Butler's much abused administration in New Orleans before, during, and after the actual hostilities, and, in particular, discusses his policy of enlisting negroes on the side of the Union, and the effects of emancipation on the liberated but demoralised slaves. After the war negro suffrage became the great constitutional question, leading to passionate controversy culminating in riot and bloodshed in 1866, and to more serious violence and the 'massacre' of many negroes in 1868. This monograph on the course of events in a great Slave-State is a careful record of the part played by party action and ideas influenced by racial animosities in a time when civil war and slave emancipation had together produced a chaos and political fury perhaps without historical parallel.

Another of the Johns Hopkins University studies in Historical and Political Science is *The Doctrine of Non-Suability of the State in the United States*, by Karl Singewald, Ph.D. (8vo, pp. viii, 117. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press). Legal tractates in this series grow in importance as the magnitude of state interests under one administration gives so wide a play and therefore so varied a test in lawsuits to general canons of state-rights and liabilities. In the unceasing difficulty of reconciling government action with private property and privilege, the immunity of the state from being sued—a principle springing from English law—is not determined with the nicety and distinctions required. It is subject to large exceptions, for instance in international claims, but perhaps the class of liabilities to which its application has been the matter of most litigation is where not the state itself but a public officer acting on its behalf was the subject of an injunction, or a claim of damages, or for recovery of property. While generally the right of action against public officers would seem to supersede the maxim of non-suability, the leading judgments are not harmonious, and the problem is made more intricate where a federal question, the constitutional authority, is at issue. Dr. Singewald has grouped the American decisions and examined them with frankness and impartiality.

*Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club*. Vol. VI. 1899 to 1906. (Demy 8vo, pp. vi, 377. With Illustrations. Inverness: *Courier* Office. 1910.) Seven years' local study is garnered into this volume under the editorship of Mr. James Barron, and upwards of twenty

contributions out of five and fifty are historical and antiquarian. Dr. W. J. Watson, writing on the Celtic Church in Ross, deals with the lives of Saints Maelruba and Duthus. The Rev. G. A. Breguet traces the early history of Tain, touching on the privilege of sanctuary and transcribing documents and charters on the burghal liberties. Cromwell's Fort at Inverness is well described and illustrated with plans by Mr. James Fraser. Citations from seventeenth century accounts of it must interest any one who has seen the extant remains. Various tribute is paid to Hugh Miller in view of his centenary in 1902. A composite note on the field of Culloden accompanies a reproduction of the sketch plan of the battle made by Colonel Yorke, the Duke of Cumberland's aide-de-camp. A short notice of Kinloss Abbey is given by Rev. G. S. Peebles, minister of the parish. The editor himself contributes two good holiday articles, one on Gaul in Caesar's time, and the other descriptive of a visit to Alesia (now Mount Auxois, 38 miles north-west of Dijon), with plans showing the terrain and the lines of Caesar's circumvallation during the siege. This publication manifests a healthy spirit of history in the community of Inverness, and should stimulate local work.

*Transactions of the Buteshire Natural History Society.* Vol. II. 1909-1910. (8vo, pp. 89. Rothesay: *Chronicle* Office. 1910. 2s. 6d.) Amid the meteorology and zoology of these proceedings there appear three historical papers: on Prehistory of Bute, by Professor Bryce, M.D.; on the Town Council of Rothesay from 1654 until 1833, by Mr. R. D. Whyte; and on Rothesay in the Seventeenth Century, by Mr. A. D. Macbeth. Professor Bryce describes and classifies the early cairns and cists and their remains. Mr. Whyte tells his story by extracts from the old minute books, and is chiefly concerned to trace modes of election. Mr. Macbeth brings an important contribution to burghal study by the use he has made of 'the old rentall buiks of the lands' within the burgh to show the rather puzzling distinctions of 'said lands, both heretage, commoun and king's landis.' It is the last category that gives difficulty, for evidently these 'king's lands' were, like the others, become private property. Many old place-names are set forth, as well as old surnames of occupants. A letter of Professor Maitland is appended. Some day we hope Mr. Macbeth will return to the subject of these peculiar land-tenures, and make a trial-plan of old Rothesay on the lines of that done for Glasgow in Mr. Renwick's *Glasgow Protocols*.

We have on a former occasion noticed Miss Griffin's Bibliography of books and articles on the United States and Canadian History. A further volume containing writings published during the year 1908 has just been issued. The volume implies much careful research, and should be of interest to librarians.

The Viking Club's serial publications are so many that they almost call for a catalogue quarterly. The *Old Lore Miscellany* (October) prints the closing part of a contribution, *Gróttasongr*, edited and annotated by E. Magnússon. It was wisely thought worth separate issue—*Gróttasongr*,

edited and translated by Eiríkr Magnússon. (Pp. 39. Coventry: Curtis & Beamish, 1910. Price 1s. 6d. nett.) There are two pages of facsimile from the fourteenth century MS. of this *Song of the Quern Grotte*—the quern of northern mythology through whose potent grinding the sea became salt. It is a poem of many enigmas which the editor's learning makes much less dark. Most helpful notes of all are the four prose passages prefixed, giving the leading versions of the strange Norse legend.

The Club's *Year Book* (Vol. II., 1909-10) has reports summarizing the year's studies and discoveries in matters Norse, besides a series of notes and reviews having a somewhat similar view. A band of keen workers is clearly going forward with great spirit in their task.

The *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* never fails in richness of antiquarian matter on churches. The July number reproduces three brasses—a bearded civilian, John of Walden; a canon of Hertford or Hereford named Thomas of Busshbury; and a bachelor *utriusque juris*, William Skelton, provost in the cathedral church of Wells. In the October number transcripts are given from Oxfordshire parish registers. The rector of Hanborough, Dr. Peter Mews, in 1667, 'did uterly renounce the Solemne Leage and Convent' (sic). In 1570 a stranger and *peregrinus* dying by the wayside in Spelsbury was buried 'super montem nuncupatum Leedownes ex certis legittimis causis.'

The *Rutland Magazine* for July and October has many fine eighteenth century portraits of the Edwards family, whose estates passed to the Noels in 1811. Interest of another kind attaches to extracts made by the editor, Mr. G. Phillips, from quarter sessions records. A warrant and pass for an Irish vagrant in 1769 is included, to send him on from Rutland to Lancashire, and put him on board 'any ship or vessel bound for the said kingdom of Ireland,' and convey him thither.

Among the contents of the *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (September), besides the many law papers and charters which are always so gratifying a feature of this magazine, there is a note on the Somersetshire 'dolemoors,' or pieces of common land divided into separate acres, each marked by a horn, pole-axe, dung-fork or the like cut in the turf under curious local folk-regulations. There is a capital portrait of Colonel Giles Strangways (1615-75), a royalist soldier whose ill luck was less notable than his loyalty. Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey receive descriptive attention.

*Scotia* always interests in its selection of pictures illustrative of Scottish landscape and life. Warm-hearted tribute is paid to Professor Blackie in the Lammas issue. The Martinmas number extols the work of William Burns (1809-1876), historian of the War of Independence.

*The Modern Language Review* (October) has an article by Mr. Wright Roberts showing the debt of Chateaubriand to Milton. Messrs. E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick edit part of a collection of fifteenth century carols by John Audelay, *circa* 1426. He is called 'Jon the blynde Awdlay' in one place of the MS. (Douce 302), and in another is described

as a chaplain '*qui fuit secus et surdus.*' One of the twelve carols now printed is *de rege henrico sexto.*

*The Home Counties Magazine* for June is a bright number, rich in pictures of open-air statues in London, and has articles on Judge Jeffreys, on the Friar-confessors of English kings (rather too discursive and indirect, but gossipy), and on the current pageants in English home-counties.

In its September issue are papers on Poplar Chapel, early churches of South Essex, and the history of Enfield. A continued paper on the open-air statues in London is, with its many pictures of these historical memorials, a revelation of the contribution made by sculpture to what is a surprisingly full record of public, political, and literary life in the metropolis, from Sir Richard Whittington's time till our own.

In the July issue of the *American Historical Review*, the root-question of the philosophy of history is treated in Mr. F. J. Teggart's article on 'The Circumstance or the Substance of History,' contrasting the conception of history as narrative of mere fact with the higher generalisation sometimes called evolution. Mr. Teggart's sympathies are not with the chronicler laying an undue emphasis upon 'events' and preoccupied in recording the vicissitudes of authorities. Perhaps he himself gives scarcely enough recognition to the fact that these are the foundations, though he might answer that architecture only begins there. But to call inferences substance, and actual facts only circumstances, is a challenge full of hazard.

Mr. L. M. Larson opens a new and important furrow and attempts to raise from the Charters of Cnut the material for inferences regarding changes of policy during various periods. In the first four years of his reign, 1016-20, he was establishing himself firmly in the throne. From 1020, after his return from Denmark, he began to utilise the services of Englishmen and to make for a unification of the peoples. At this time he started his long series of benefactions to English ecclesiastics. In the last years, 1030-35, the vigour of his sovereignty seemed to have exhausted itself.

Mr. James F. Baldwin completes his weighty study of the King's Council and the Chancery and their special phases of equity jurisdiction as they became gradually differentiated. They were essentially summary courts much used for cases of riot and violence, and largely resorted to in civil causes for appeals against the delays, or in respect of defect of jurisdiction of the common law. Mr. Baldwin, who has gone deeply into the whole subject, shows that the multitude of documents surviving must contain a great mass of historical matter, although mostly of subordinate value and difficult to verify.

In the October issue of the same *Review*, Professor Beazley makes an interesting commentary on the Crusade aspect of the expeditions from 1415 until 1459, along the coast of Africa, carried out by Prince Henry the Navigator, Infante of Portugal. Contemporary citations show the crusading side of these enterprises with a degree of emphasis lost in later history, which was more concerned with discovery and conquest than with the pious purpose which gave inspiration, or at any rate countenance to the

movement. That it was truly inspiration the chroniclers as well as the papal bulls patently show, and Professor Beazley strikes a telling note when he concludes by pointing out how fully the Portuguese in this as in other respects anticipated Columbus. 'To him the idea of crusade is part of his very life.'

Mr. Ralph Catterall tests the credibility of Marat and finds his veracity, in the matter of his own biography, so badly suspect as to make his unsupported statement quite untrustworthy. The chief test worked out is an examination of his narrative about the publication of his pamphlet, *The Chains of Slavery*, which was issued at London in 1774, but according to him was suppressed by Lord North until a new edition was brought out by a patriotic society at Newcastle. This tale of suppression Mr. Catterall maintains is false, and the Newcastle edition he believes to be only a re-issue in 1775 of the unsaleable copies of the London book, with a new title page. But the case against Marat needs more direct proofs than Mr. Catterall has yet brought forward.

An important series of historical documents is printed in this number, being the letters passing between Toussaint Louverture, President John Adams and Edward Stevens, in 1798-1800. Stevens was consul-general in St. Domingo, and his reports to the U.S. Government on his intercourse with the negro insurgent leader give a very intimate narrative of events, as well as a capable estimate of the policy and designs of Toussaint, first as merely general of the colonial army, and ultimately as invested by the inhabitants of the colony with supreme power, civil and military.

In the *Iowa Journal* (October) a long report is given of a conference held in May last of local historical societies of Iowa. Each of fourteen county historical societies was represented by a delegate who described its work and condition. From the disappointing accounts these delegates gave, it is severely clear that the fourteen societies of Iowa have not yet won their spurs in the field of history.

In the *Queen's Quarterly* (Jul.-Sept.), published by Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, the only historical contribution is Professor J. L. Morison's Political Estimate of Lord Sydenham, whose tactful and high-principled governor-generalship of two years, 1839-41, is sympathetically described as constituting him a true maker of the Dominion.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* (October) has one continued article on the apocryphal Acts of Peter and the conclusion of another on the mystico-political ideas of a Franciscan, being a study of the *Arbor Vitae* of Ubertin de Casale. It has also the end of a sketch of the origins and development of the apostolic Secretaryship of State from 1417 till 1823. To the time of Innocent XII. (1691-1700) is ascribed the overthrow of nepotism and a consequent unity of direction to papal policy thenceforward. As usual this number, besides a weighty section of book reviews, is furnished with an appendix of bibliography (pp. 162) specialised into sections such as the publications and criticisms of sources, the history of divine service and discipline, and local and corporate records.

*Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* Troisième série. Tome I. (Jul.-Sept.). Poitiers, 1909. The principal paper in this part is a short account of the building used as the Town Council-hall of Poitiers from 1740 until 1791, now used as the library of the Society. References to armorial bearings formerly in the hall, and to others sculptured under the windows of the adjoining chapel, but apparently all defaced in 1791, are of great interest, and tend not a little to pique curiosity as to the history of the building, part of which appears to be assigned to the years 1459-60.

We take the opportunity of asking whether some member cannot explain the remarkable reference made in Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (Book ix. chap. vii. lines 859-60 of Mr. Amours' edition for the Scottish Text Society) to the great hall of Poitiers :

> And Schir Thomas of Erskine was
> Woundit thar felly in the face
> He may weill, syne[1] the weme[2] apperis
> Eit in the great hall of Poyteris.

We should welcome a communication from any archaeologist of Poitiers on the subject.

In the *Revue Historique* (Sept.-Oct.; Nov.-Dec.) special studies deal with Russia and the Italian policy of Napoleon III.; the advice of Villeroy to the Regent Marie de Médicis on the Mantuan succession in 1613; and the letters (curious and far from affectionate) between Louis XIII. and Marie de Médicis, his mother, in 1619.

A strike of labourers in 1786 at Paris is well described, with its attendant features of 'tumultuous and scandalous assemblies' in the streets, when shopkeepers were insulted by songs sung in derision of them before their doors. In 1785 a sort of parcel post had been instituted with red vans drawn by men. The *gagne-deniers* protested against this as an infringement of their privileges and struck work—a course of action in which they were backed by a good deal of public sympathy. Disturbances broke out, and the police had to drive off the strikers with fixed bayonets. Full of their grievances, a body of 800 men set out to march to Versailles in order to petition the king. He was hunting, and this—prophetic—deputation failed. A few of the men were punished by being paraded and put in the *carcan* with labels, '*Violent et rebelle envers la garde*,' and by fines. The strike achieved nothing, and the little red vehicles continued to run for a time. One important fact, however, which M. Marcel Rouff deduces from the matter is that the incident demonstrated the unanimity of public opinion against the government. 'It was,' he says, 'one of those movements in which the people tried their strength, and it was the prelude to acts better organized and directed.'

In those two numbers of the *Revue* appears a long article by M. Henri Cavaillès on a sort of federation existing in the valleys of the Pyrenees under the old regime, constituted by agreements of ancient standing between the dalesmen, on both the French and Spanish sides of the mountains. These were called *lies* and *passeries*, and were treaties of

[1] *syne*, since, as. [2] *weme*, scar.

alliance and peace. *Passerie* (*patzaria*, *patzeria*, *carta de la patz*) seems to be a diminutive of *pax*. Pierre de Marca gives it the form of *passerille*. Originating long before the Pyrenees were the frontier line of two great kingdoms, these codes are found reduced to precise terms and articles from the twelfth century, although the oldest extant agreements between the opposite sides of the mountains belongs to the early fourteenth century. For a long time the valleys preserved a semi-independence, but in 1258 the Pyrenees became the boundary between France and Aragon, and the gradual consolidation of one royal authority north of the mountains and of another one south of them led to slow changes, culminating in the seventeenth century, when the old system broke up and the inter-valley treaties gave way to an administration now exercised by the *Commission des Pyrénées*.

Rights of pasturage and the like on the scattered plateaux and sheltered shoulders of the mountains—remote as well from the French as from the Spanish townships in the valleys below—had grown up through the course of centuries into definite and stable understandings and agreements. These regulated a whole series of usages for the exercise of common pasture and privilege, determined by the geographical position and by the contrast of climate between the opposite mountain slopes. The Spanish side is quickly parched in summer; on the French side there is more sheltering shade. Spanish flocks had right of feeding in certain months on the French soil and *vice versa*. Marketing arrangements were similarly international—if we may use that term to include the period before the kingdoms were defined. Salt was one of the indispensable commodities, and there are still shown, high up on the very frontier line, recesses cut in the rocks wherein of old the salt was measured. Naturally the systems of rights varied greatly: each valley had its treaty only with the two or three which marched with it; the codes were of origin so distant that tradition and legend gathered round them. Chief interest to a Scottish student must be in the many points of parallel those frontier codes, traditions, and legends present to the story of the *Leges Marchiarum*, the border code between England and Scotland.

Thus there are memories of the duel and sanctuary, of boundary crosses and debatable land (*milieu contentieux*), of annual payments of cattle, of fixed schemes of compensation, of usages of truce in warfare, and of regular commercial conventions—all bringing the Pyrenean law of the mountain into line with our law of the marches. So strong was the principle these local treaties of peace expressed that notwithstanding the consolidation of the nations and kingdoms, the valleys were at peace with one another in spite of the kingdoms being at war. The kings reserved their rights, but as these mountain fastnesses were no fit theatre for campaigns the mountain law was allowed, and peace had a refuge in the hills. This little *imperium in imperio* had as its centre the mechanism for adjusting disputes between the inhabitants of the valleys, and specially for determining the amends for cattle-lifting and other depredations inevitable under the conditions of their rustic life. Sometimes the award was levied on the village, but usually the liability was individual.

As on the English and Scottish border, deputies met at fixed times and at places determined by tradition or treaty to hear and decide upon claims. Just as our border customs included a dignified ceremonial when the Wardens of the Marches met at a Day of Truce or a March Day—the etiquette prescribing who was to salute and how the companies were to greet each other—so the seventeenth century historian of Béarn, following old Spanish authority, describes its Pyrenean analogue. At a spot on the frontier marked by a great stone a fathom and half high, the jurats of Roncal used to meet the jurats of Barétous. They stood facing each other across the march line, neither party saluting. The men of Roncal asked if they of Barétous would swear to the accustomed peace. This agreed to on both sides, the Roncalois laid their pike on the ground along the boundary line, and the Béarnois laid theirs across, making Béarn, as it were, the head of the cross. By this cross both sides knelt and swore to the wonted pactions. Five times over they cried aloud, *Paz abant* (peace henceforward); then they rose and greeted each other; and 30 men of Barétous drove over the line the three choice and spotless cows which were the traditional tribute due to the Roncalois. Then the Roncalois entertained the others to bread, meat, and wine, after which the proceedings resolved themselves into a public market.

These curious proceedings were the implement of a treaty made in 1375 after long and constant quarrels between the men of Béarn and their Navarrese neighbours across the mountain. The former were conceded the right of pasture on the Spanish side of the frontier, and the three two-year-old cows were a sort of rent. A law of trespass was stringently enforced by a custom of poinding or impounding called the law of *carnal* or *carnau*, evidently implying an original right to kill and eat the animals found on forbidden territory. It was in 1646 suppressed and a fixed compensation in money substituted. The learned exponent of these frontier practices sees in the entire system unfailing indications that the *passeries* in their essence presuppose a state of warfare, and his numerous citations show that the border meetings on the Pyrenean slopes, like ours on the Tweed and the Solway, were in fact as well as in name days of truce. Much archaism is visible in these frontier usages of the mountaineers which were well worthy of the fine exposition M. Cavaillès has written.

# Communications and Replies

'FURTHER ESSAYS ON BORDER BALLADS' (*S.H.R.* viii. 108). Mr. Lang writes, with reference to 'Auld Maitland,' that certain letters entirely clear Sir Walter Scott '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.' This sentence is ambiguous; it may mean that to pass off an imitation on the world—and that was my charge—is dishonourable, to which the reply is Sir Walter did not think so. It may mean that to include friends in such a deception is dishonourable—that to deceive a friend is more objectionable than to confide in him and force him to choose between betraying and screening you. Unless Scott can be claimed as favouring this view, Mr. Lang's argument falls to the ground. Again, too much value may be attached to letters as evidence; thus, hasty judges might have pronounced some of Scott's letters to be clear proof that he was not the author of 'Waverley.' Are we not too serious? Is there not something humorous in everything relating to this 'genuine antique'?

As to 'Otterburn,' Mr. Lang says he has shown 'how Scott edited it, what he excised, and what he took from' other copies. This does not weaken my argument that the ballad is not genuine, and it strengthens my contention that it was not obtained in the manner related in the Minstrelsy. Sir George Douglas rightly says 'the "aged persons" who "lived at the head of Ettrick Forest," and stored ballads in their retentive memories, have had their day' (*S.H.R.* vii. 419).

For his views on 'Kinmont Willie' and 'Jamie Telfer,' Mr. Lang relies 'faute de mieux'—an expression implying a knowledge of weak foundations—'on ballad lore'—I know of none relating specially to either ballad —'on logic,'—so also do I, though it has somewhere been referred to as 'that wonderful one-hoss shay'—'and on literary criticism.' I am glad to remember that Mr. Lang has referred to my literary criticism of 'Jamie Telfer' in terms of high approbation (*S.H.R.* iv. 87).

FITZWILLIAM ELLIOT.

My little book, *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy*, contains all that I have to say in reply to Colonel FitzWilliam Elliot's letter. My proof of Scott's entire innocence of forging *Auld Maitland* and of telling falsehoods about that ballad reposes on facts, which I give, and on ascertained dates.

As to *Otterbourne*, I give every detail of Scott's making of the text published by him; his proceedings were those which he professedly employed when he had before him incomplete variants in MS. or even complete variants.

As regards *Jamie Telfer* and *Kinmont Willie*, as there is almost no external evidence, I do as Colonel Elliot does; I criticise the ballads as we possess them, commenting on some features unnoticed by Colonel Elliot. He says that of 'ballad lore' he 'knows none relating to either ballad.' That is his misfortune, not my fault! I am able to give references to the appearance, in other old ballads, of most of a verse which we read in Scott's, but not in Sharpe's, version of *Jamie Telfer*. The stanza, in *Jamie Telfer*, is meaningless; wherefore I presume that it was not inserted by Scott. It is rather curious, though unimportant, that in a chapter-heading of *The Black Dwarf* Scott gives a variant version of a stanza of *Jamie Telfer*. Mr. W. J. Kennedy also points out to me that in a book called *Feats on the Border*, of about 1830, there occurs an otherwise unknown stanza of *Kinmont Willie*.

To Mr. Kennedy I also owe complete proof, from a MS. of Laidlaw's, that Leyden did not know Hogg till the day after that on which Laidlaw gave to Scott, in Leyden's presence, Hogg's holograph MS. of *Auld Maitland*. This is important, because, on Colonel Elliot's theory, Hogg and Leyden must have known each other; and from Leyden Hogg might have got his knowledge of 'Auld Maitland and his bairnis three.' The theory is ingenious, but baseless.

As I prove, in my book, that Scott deceived nobody in regard to *Auld Maitland*, I might be dispensed from remarking on an example of Colonel Elliot's logic, but it invites comment. As a matter of fact, Scott received from Laidlaw, in the spring vacation of 1802, the MS. of *Auld Maitland* which Hogg had sent to Laidlaw. In the same spring Scott sent this same holograph MS. to Joseph Ritson, with an account of its *provenance*, which was entirely true. Had Scott lied in his account, I have my own opinion as to the ethical nature of his conduct: it would be 'highly dishonourable.' Colonel Elliot says that I may 'mean that to include friends in such a deception is dishonourable—that to deceive a friend is more objectionable than to confide in him and force him to choose between betraying and screening you.' *Manet sors tertia*: you need say nothing about the matter to your friend, to Ritson or Ellis. I hope never to return to these 'antiquarian old womanries' again, but if any one can disprove the facts and dates on which I rely in the matter of *Auld Maitland*, I will 'burn my faggot' with due publicity.

A. Lang.

The editor has sent Mr. Lang's note to Colonel Fitzwilliam Elliot who writes: 'Mr. Lang's "ballad lore" is now limited to appearances, in old ballads, of part of a verse in Scott's version of "Jamie Telfer." How this bears upon the genuineness of the older versions—and that is the whole of my point—it is impossible to understand.'

Colonel Fitzwilliam Elliot also adds, that 'regarding *Auld Maitland*

Mr. Lang is incorrect in saying that my theory depends upon when Hogg and Leyden first became acquainted.'

The editor would call attention to the paper on Border Ballads by Professor W. Paton Ker on page 190 of this number of the *Scottish Historical Review.*

EARLY CHARTER AT INVERARAY.—The following charter, found last year by me at Inveraray, in the Argyll charter chest, into which it seems to have strayed in some manner, *is the earliest writ now extant* in that charter room, and I suppose the lands named are in Fife. Two earls of Fife bore the name of Malcolm, the former holding the earldom from 1203 to 1228 and the latter from 1228 to 1266, and it is probably to the latter that this writ should be assigned. Alexander of Blar, a witness herein, had himself a charter of the lands of Thases, Kinteases, and Ballendurich for service of one knight from Earl Malcolm of Fife, to which William of Wiuille, Walter and Gregory, chaplains, are all witnesses. (Vide *Fourth Report Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 503, *penes* Earl of Zetland, formerly *penes* Earl of Rothes.)

'Comes Malcolmus de fif omnibus amicis suis et hominibus salutem Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Ricardo filio Andree de Lintune meas tres tarvez per rectas divisas suas cum omnibus justis pertinentiis suis et Findakech et medietatem de Balebranin per rectas divisas suas et cum omnibus ipsius pertinentiis quibuscunque. In bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis In moris et maresiis In stagnis et molendinis et In omnibus aliis aisiamentis eisdem terris predictis pertinentibus. Tenend sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate, adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliquis miles in regno scocie feudum suum de comite ut barone liberius quiecius plenius et honorificentius tenet et possidet faciendo servicium unius militis in Testibus Alexandro et Willelmo de Blar, Willelmo de Wyvilla, Elia filio odonis, Willelmo filio Alexandri, Waltero et gregorio capellanis. Stephano de Blar, Gregorio filio Walteri de Ecclis, Rogero de berkelay, Willelmo clerico cum nonnullis (?) aliis.'

A very fine and perfect seal in green wax remains appended on a cord of interwoven black and brown thread, bearing the equestrian figure of an armed knight apparently crowned with flowing surcoat, sword in hand and shield on breast. Legend, SIGILLUM MALCOLMI COMITIS DE FIF. Reverse, a small shield (obliterated); legend, SECRET̄ COM̄IS M · DE · FIF. Dimensions of charter, $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches by 4 inches plus 1 inch folded over.

Dorso is written, 'Charter be Malcolm Earle of Fife to Richard sone to Andrew of Linton of the lands of Tarbet without date,' and another hand has written '1217-1266.'

I have expanded the numerous contractions in the above transcript.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

LETTERS FROM FRANCIS KENNEDY RELATIVE TO THE SIEGE OF EDINBURGH, 1745. The Editor has to thank Mr. John Morrison for pointing out that the letter from Mr. Francis Kennedy (*S.H.R.* viii. 54), which is dated 8th September, 1745, should have been dated 8th October, 1745; this letter, instead of being the first of the series, should, therefore, have been the third. The Editor regrets that this error in dating on Mr. Francis Kennedy's part was not noticed earlier. The occupation of Edinburgh by the Jacobites only began on 17th September, and internal evidence also goes to show that this letter should have followed that of 5th October.

THE CORONATION STONE OF SCOTLAND. How great a hold on Scottish and English history, and on English as well as Scottish imagination, the 'stone of Scone' possesses is well shown by Mr. George Watson's paper in the transactions of the *Scottish Ecclesiological Society* on 'The Coronation Stone of Scotland,' of which he has sent us an offprint. It is an excellent statement of the whole story, supplementing at many points W. F. Skene's classic essay on the subject. It traces anew the pedigree and adventures of this famous stone and the literature of romance, prophecy, record and chronicle which time, ever prone to broider fact with legend, has evoked.

Geology is said to favour a native Scots origin, as authorities forty years ago agreed that the stone was of west-coast Scottish sandstone. This discredited the legend of an Egyptian source and a journey westward interrupted by a sojourn of 2000 years or so in Spain prior to its being set up in Ireland for an age or two, before its conveyance across the Channel to Lorn and Scone. The legend appears at least as early as 1301, then simply bearing that Pharaoh's daughter sailed to Ireland and thence to Scotland carrying the stone with her.

That long before this it was invested by tradition with high national sanctions appears sufficiently from Hemingburgh's description of John Balliol's coronation in 1292, when in accordance with the ancient ceremony the king was set in the 'huge stone' beside the great altar of the monastery-church of Scone. On Balliol's overthrow in 1296 Edward I. carried off the stone to Westminster whence, in spite of negotiation and direct undertaking by treaty to return it, it never returned.

Mr. Watson has faithfully assembled the medieval historical references to it, but we suspect there must be many even of the early period and still more since the Union which would increase the value of the collection. It strikes a Scotsman as very curious that such a work as Mr. Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records* should be indefinite and devoid of information about the 'Stone of Destiny'; and that among all the profusion of liturgical writings on the ceremonial of the coronation, with its more than ample store of petty rubrics about faldstools, imperial mantles and holy oil, the ingenuity of court ceremonialists from the time of Charles I. till that of Victoria should never have found room in the 'Coronation Orders' for the fact that the stone is a great historic part of the function. 'King Edward's Chair' is no doubt a fit enough memory of St. Edward. It is meet that

English traditions should live even in rubric, but why should not the 'stone of Scotland' be specifically countenanced in the liturgy of the day?

Mr. Watson's numerous, and often odd, citations do not seem to include one from a chronicle noticed by Leland (*Collectanea*, i. 189) where, following an account of the coronation of Henry IV. there is mention of the *Lapis regalis Scotiæ*. We observe with pleasure that he adds to the stock of known allusions a passage from a Bodleian manuscript attributing to Moses the prediction about the 'fatal' stone that

> qui ceste piere avera
> De molt estraunge terre conquerour serra.

This form of the prophecy is a little more general than the well-known standard couplet,

> Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocunque
> Inveniunt lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem.

> ['The Scottis sall brook that realme as native ground,
> gif weirdes faill not, q^r^ever this chyre is found.'

But the broader prophecy has had perhaps the more triumphant vindication.