

Reviews of Books

THE CONSTITUTION AND FINANCE OF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH AND IRISH JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES TO 1720. By William Robert Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D. Volume II., COMPANIES FOR FOREIGN TRADE, COLONIZATION, FISHING AND MINING. Pp. x, 504. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 15s. nett.

THIS is a very valuable contribution to economic history, and it is impossible in a short space to give an idea of the scope and thoroughness of research of Dr. Scott's book.

The sixteenth century is a period of great interest in economic history, and one of its most important phenomena is the increase of capital and of opportunities for its employment. From the middle of the century onwards an ever increasing amount was invested in joint-stock companies. The formation and growth of these companies were influenced by different conditions from those of the present day. Dr. Scott finds that these conditions fall into two classes, those which affected all the companies, and those which only affected special trades or industries. The first class of conditions is to be treated of in Volume I,¹ which is an account of the 'general development of the joint-stock system' brought 'into relation with the chief social, political, industrial and commercial tendencies which influenced it.' Thus an account will be given of the uses of capital in modern times. Volume II. contains accounts of companies formed for trading, colonizing, fishing and mining. The history of some, by no means all, of these companies has been written. But, as Dr. Scott says, attention has been chiefly given heretofore to the work and results of the companies, rather than to their constitution and their financial organization and methods. This latter side is fully and ably dealt with in Dr. Scott's book. Dr. Scott begins with the earliest companies formed, those for foreign trade, such as the six companies which were successively formed to trade with Africa, the first expedition sailing in 1553; the company for trade to Russia, which obtained a charter in 1555; the 'Adventurers to the North-West for the Discovery of a North-West Passage,' which accomplished nothing, and lost over £30,000; the Levant Company; and the Hudson Bay Company.

The East India Company, founded in 1600, is the best known and the most important. Almost from the beginning it had great difficulties to face at home as well as abroad. It was attacked by the bullionists and the

¹ For reasons connected with the printing Volume II. is published before Volume I.

clothiers, who declared that it exported bullion and imported goods which competed with the woollen manufacture. About 1670 the Levant Company, jealous of the success of the East India trade, the interlopers, and the opponents of the whole system of joint-stock companies joined in the attack. In 1681 efforts were made to promote a rival joint-stock company, but the favour of the crown was secured for the old company, chiefly by an annual New Year's gift of 10,000 guineas, until the Revolution. After 1689 the opponents of the company attacked it with renewed vigour both in Parliament and on the stock-market, and at last were established in 1698 as the New Company. It then appeared necessary that some arrangement for amalgamation should be made. Accordingly it was decided, in 1702, that the companies should be united in 1709, the trade in the meantime to be carried on by a joint committee of the New and Old Companies. The financial adjustments were very complicated. The Old Company held more dead stock than the New, but it had a large debt due on bond. In addition, a two million loan had been raised, of which each company held a different proportion. Even after the amalgamation there were still difficulties to be faced by the United East India Company—the control of the officials in the east, for instance, \$2000 was spent on liquor at Bencoolen in six months, while the stores were left to rot; an alarm about interlopers from Ostend, with a commission from the Emperor (surely not the 'Emperor of Austria' in 1716); and the crisis of 1720. Dr. Scott's history of the finance and constitution of this company and its long struggle with the interlopers is most valuable.

The failure of the Scottish East India Company (the Darien Company) was largely due to the opposition of the English Company, though in any case the Scots, even had they been able to raise their proposed capital of £600,000, would have had a hard struggle with the long-established East India and African companies with their joint capital of £1,372,540. The stock of the English Company fell 46 per cent. after the development of Paterson's scheme. Parliament was urged to interfere, both by the East India Company and also, though Dr. Scott does not mention it, by the plantation officials, afraid of Scottish settlement in America and infringement of the Navigation Acts. The House of Commons decided to seize the papers of the subscribers and to impeach the leading members, and the company was really ruined before the subscription in Scotland was begun. £400,000 was subscribed in Scotland, of which £170,000 was nominally paid up, though only about £150,000 was actually paid. This was lost, and debts of £14,809 18s. 11d. were incurred by 1707, when the assets were £1,654 11s. 0²/₃d. Some of the stock was sold at 10 in 1706, the purchasers making a profit of about 600 per cent. when payment was made from the Equivalent.

Some of the colonizing companies had very important results, including the founding of settlements in Virginia, Massachusetts, other parts of New England, and the Bermudas. An unsuccessful Scottish attempt was made to settle Nova Scotia by Sir William Alexander (1621-1633) in which the title of baronet was offered to those who ventured 3000 marks and sent out six colonists.

The success of the Dutch in fishing off the British coasts inspired the foundation of the 'Society of the Fishery of Great Britain and Ireland' (1632-40). But the Scots were not at all anxious to co-operate, the capital raised was insufficient, and was almost entirely lost.

Nearly all the companies, for whatever purpose they were formed, were incorporated by charter from the crown, seldom in Tudor and Stewart periods confirmed by Parliament, although the Russia Company had its privileges confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1566. The East India Company for long endeavoured to get authorization from Parliament, and pointed to the Scots act constituting the Darien company as evidence in favour of its demand.

The charter of the Russia Company, 1555, is one of the earliest examples. It incorporates certain persons named as 'one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and commualtie' endowed with perpetual succession and a common seal, capable of holding bonds and of suing and being sued; with a governor and provision for the fellowship electing some of the 'most sad, discrete and honest persons' of the fellowship as assistants, who had considerable power. Most of the later charters were much on these lines, sometimes providing for an annual meeting of shareholders, or specifying the number of shares, twenty-four in the Society of the Mines Royal; or the voting qualification, which in the 1661 charter of the East India Company was fixed at £500.

A very important feature in the charters of the trading companies was the extent and character of the monopoly granted to them. The East India Company was granted in 1600 the 'whole entire and only trade and traffic' in all places from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan; the Royal African Company in 1672 was to have the whole trade from Sallee to the Cape. They were also often authorized to punish interlopers, who forfeited their ships and cargoes.

The difficulties of the Russia Company with interlopers are interesting, illustrating the complications which arose in commercial matters before the complete union of England and Scotland. James I., by letters patent under the great seal of Scotland, incorporated Sir James Cunningham and other adventurers as a Scottish East India and Greenland Company. Cunningham, to the alarm of the Russia Company, began to fit out a whaling expedition, but an arrangement was come to by which the charter was to be recalled and Cunningham compensated. In 1626 Charles I., as king of Scotland, gave a license for whaling to Edwards, or Uduard as the Scottish records call him, and his partners. After some controversy the Company was ordered to admit them as members, but in 1634 the Greenland Adventurers were again in difficulties with interlopers, one of whom had got hold of Edwards' license.

The financial history of the companies is given with great fulness and clearness by Dr. Scott. In the trading companies there was not always a permanent joint-stock at the early stages, but members could subscribe for one voyage only or for a group of voyages. In the early years of the East India Company the voyages were organized on the system of terminable stocks. By 1613 they had sent out twelve voyages,

for each of which there was a separate subscription, except that one and two, and three and five were inter-related. In that year a subscription was made on the basis that there should be four voyages with the capital adventured, this was called the First Joint-Stock. In 1617 a Second Joint-Stock was formed, but it was found advisable to purchase the assets of the First, and similarly the Third bought the 'remains' of the Persian Voyages, which had been sent out separately. In 1657 it was arranged that the Fourth Joint-Stock and the United Joint-Stock should be wound up, and gradually the system of a permanent capital was adopted.

The methods of finance were not always strictly business-like. The Royal African Company, chartered in 1672, was involved by 1712 in difficulties 'without precedent or parallel.' In 1702 dividends had been paid out of capital to induce the shareholders to pay an assessment on their stock, and by 1712 the price had fallen to $2\frac{1}{4}$ for £100 stock. When trade was depressed on account of the Dutch war, two dividends amounting to 50 per cent. were declared by the East India Company because the capital could not be employed, and also, and probably more important though not stated by the committee, because they feared the crown might compel them to make large loans if they were known to have large resources.

The East India Company occasionally paid dividends in commodities, such as pepper or calico, in its earlier years. This was not appreciated by those who were not merchants, and in 1629 it was declared 'in order to give contentment to the gentry' that the distribution should be made in money.

Occasionally in the companies for plantation and for reclaiming the land dividends were given in land. Such a dividend was promised to every adventurer of a £12 10s. share in the first Virginia Company, who did not emigrate himself. The land division in Bermudas in 1617 gave 25 acres per share (an interesting map is given shewing the principle of the division). The shareholders in the company for draining the Great Level were to receive 95,000 acres; and the Irish society, financed by a rate levied on the London Livery companies, divided a great part of Ulster amongst the shareholders.

In some of the colonizing companies there were subordinate joint-stocks founded for particular purposes. Such were the Magazine in the Virginia Company for bringing the tobacco to market; a joint-stock of £800 for transporting '100 Maids to Virginia to be made Wives'; and £1000 for sending out shipwrights.

Money was occasionally raised by lottery, as by the Virginia Company in 1612, the Royal Fishery Company in 1661, the Company of Mine Adventurers in 1699. The last was managed by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, one of the earliest company promoters. He, or his agents, excelled in writing pamphlets, precursors of the modern prospectus, describing the prospects of the company in most glowing terms, 'the most artistic touch' being the 'plea that, from the superfluity of profits, the happy shareholder should vote considerable sums for charitable purposes.' The proceeds of 2000 shares, amounting to £10,000, were used by Mackworth

chiefly in providing treats at the lotteries and in paying his own personal expenses.

The remaining volumes of this work will be most welcome, and we look forward with special interest to Volume I., which will contain the generalizations on the facts which Dr. Scott has collected from many sources and handled with great ability.

THEODORA KEITH.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE, WITH SOME NOTICE OF SIMILAR OR RELATED WORK IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND ELSEWHERE. By Arthur C. Champneys, M.A. Pp. xxxiii, 258. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 4to. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1910. 31s. 6d. nett.

THE volume before us makes no attempt at a survey of the whole field of Irish Architecture, secular and military as well as sacred, such as was accomplished for Scotland in the works of Drs. MacGibbon and Ross, but it represents a much more systematic study of the building art in Ireland than has been previously essayed. Mr. Champneys does not indeed ignore the structures of the pagan period, for he emphasizes the fact that it is from these dry-stone monuments that the primitive cells and oratories of Early Christian times were originally evolved, and he describes and illustrates in his first chapter some of the more important of the stone forts of the western seaboard. On the other side the term 'ecclesiastical architecture' is liberally extended to cover a treatment of such work as that of the carved crosses, which is not in the strict sense structural. The book is illustrated throughout by numerous process reproductions of photographs, for the most part from the author's own negatives, but, as a serious set-off against this, there is an absolute dearth of ground-plans, the want of which will be felt especially by the professional reader. The illustrations would also have been strengthened by some drawings of details and ornaments of special interest, as well as by some analytical diagrams and sections of vaults. The untouched photograph, on which reliance is almost exclusively placed, is not an ideal form of illustration where details are in question, as the photograph seems to accentuate disturbing patches of discolouration, caused by lichen and similar accidents. It would also have conduced to the comfort of the reader if references to the illustrations had been introduced into the text, according to a practically universal and most salutary custom.

These defects may easily be remedied in a subsequent issue of what will remain probably for a long time the standard work on its subject. It is a thoroughly sound, well-thought-out production, and exhibits the architecture of Ireland in its connections with that of other parts of the British Isles, while at the same time doing full justice to those aspects of it in which it seems purely Hibernian. On certain questions of dating and of origin the author takes the reasonable view which has been practically established for the last two decades. It is now sufficiently recognized that, while the more primitive structures are of uncertain date, those in which

the highly ornamental style called Irish Romanesque makes itself apparent cannot be earlier than the twelfth century. This needs to be said, because in a recent Italian work on medieval architecture, which in its English dress is likely to be widely read, the author seems to assume that the too early dating for which Petrie is in part responsible has remained an article of faith to this day. This is by no means the case, and the sane chronology of buildings like those at Glendalough, on which Mr. Champneys has set his seal, has been well understood for some time past. It is true that there are examples of Irish Romanesque, such as the chancel arch at St. Caimin's, Iniscealtra, and the western door of St. Flannan's, Killaloe, in which no details occur that can be chronologically fixed; but in the majority of cases the chevron, an unmistakable symptom of twelfth century date, is much in evidence, and this is quite sufficient to fix the chronology of the style.

In the matter of the older structures that are devoid of ornamental details, dating must be largely a matter of conjecture. These are of special interest to Scottish students, as they consist in the beehive huts, stone-roofed oratories, and other dry-stone structures that occur in the Celtic parts of Scotland as well as in the western isle. The technique of these is so obviously derived from that of the pagan tombs and stone forts of the pre-Christian centuries that in themselves they might be of any date within the limits of the ecclesiastical history of the island. Mr. Champneys seems inclined to show unnecessary scepticism as to their high antiquity, but this is a matter on which there must be considerable latitude of opinion. On one minor point connected with these interesting structures his opinion may be contested. The projection of the side walls upon the western front of many early Irish churches he appears to treat as decorative features, calling them 'antae,' 'pilasters terminating the side walls,' and, when they occur in later work, 'buttresses.' Surely the example on St. Macdara's Island, off Connemara, which he mentions on p. 38, shows that the feature is constructive. Here it is not only the wall, but the corbelled stone roof into which the upright side wall passes off, that expresses itself in this fashion on the ends of the building, and this seems to proclaim the constructive independence of the combined wall and roof. Where there is no stone roof the 'antae' are to be regarded as merely survivals.

The later chapters of the volume, on the different periods of Irish Gothic, are full of interesting matter. The Cistercian influence is excellently handled, and the connection with England, illustrated in the work at Christ Church, Dublin, is made clear, while at the same time the vernacular elements in the later Irish Gothic are amply vindicated. Ireland never became, any more than Scotland, an architectural province of England, and, though owing much to the English lancet and decorated styles, Erin did not go on to adopt the Perpendicular forms, but like Scotland pursued an independent course. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Irish architecture exhibits specially indigenous features.

G. BALDWIN BROWN.

ESSAYS BY HENRY FRANCIS PELHAM, Late President of Trinity College, Oxford, and Camden Professor of Ancient History. Collected and edited by F. Haverfield. Pp. xxiii, 328. With Map. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 10s. 6d. nett.

THOSE who knew the late Professor Pelham will feel grateful to his successor in the Camden Chair for the admirably balanced and finely phrased appreciation which serves as introduction to this volume of collected papers. Those who did not, will learn from it something of the singular combination of qualities that enabled their possessor to exercise such an influence in so many departments of University life at Oxford. Pelham was a man of wide sympathies and of quite unusual charm and sincerity of manner. He was a brilliant teacher, and a most capable administrator. But he was also, perhaps above everything else, a scholar with a genuine love of learning, a broad outlook over the field of knowledge, and an easy mastery of the multitudinous mass of detail belonging to his own special subject. He published only one book—his brief but altogether excellent *Outlines of Roman History*. That his output was not greater was doubtless mainly due to the fact that when he was in the prime of his vigour he was threatened with blindness. A successful operation averted the calamity, but for years afterwards he could not use his eyes with ordinary freedom. The interruption to his work came just as he was setting his hand in earnest to what he hoped up to the very last to make the great achievement of his life, a large 'History of the Roman Empire.' Only three or four chapters had been written when his sight began to fail. Whether, even under the most favourable circumstances, the 'History' would ever have been completed, is perhaps open to doubt. As Professor Haverfield points out in his biographical sketch, the task was one of immense and of rapidly increasing difficulty; Mommsen himself had turned aside from it deliberately. But the present volume at all events shows clearly that very few were so well equipped for attempting it as Pelham.

The longest and most important of the papers the book contains deals with the domestic policy of Augustus. Next to it we should rank the description of the Roman Frontier in Southern Germany. The former, a hitherto unpublished chapter of the 'History,' is well calculated to serve as a specimen of the writer's quality. It is a model of lucid exposition and of sound and sane reasoning. There is no English discussion of the subject at once so full and so informing. We doubt whether any so judicious has appeared upon the Continent. The paper on the German Limes was originally printed in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society. It is a really first-rate summary of the first fourteen years' work of the Limes-Commission. As discovery progresses, it will tend to fall out of date, but it is not likely to lose its value for many years to come. Professor Haverfield has supplied a capital map, which enables the printed text to be easily followed.

The majority of the other essays are strictly and severely technical—the stern stuff of which history must be made if it is to be not merely readable, but reliable. As such they will command the attention of specialists. The remainder are of more general interest, and among these we should give the

palm to the *Quarterly Review* article upon the 'Early Roman Emperors.' The least satisfactory is that upon 'Discoveries at Rome, 1870-89.' Excavation has been so active during the last two decades that editorial notes of correction and supplement are frequently called for here, and yet even here the careful reader will find a good deal that deserves attention.

Of the volume as a whole it may safely be predicted that it will long remain entitled to an honoured place on the shelves of students of Roman history.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE : Essays on the Constitutional History from the Accession of Domitian (81 A.D.) to the retirement of Nicephorus III. (1081 A.D.). By F. W. Bussell. 2 volumes. Vol. I. xiv, 402, Vol. II. xxiii, 521. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 28s. nett.

IN spite of a few well-known writers, Byzantine History has not received the attention from English scholars which it deserves. Gibbon, notwithstanding his rather Olympian altitude, entered closely into the subject and did much for its elucidation : and Finlay, with a more sympathetic treatment, carried research a good deal further. But Finlay's history was completed in 1861, and since then Byzantine studies have somewhat languished, although Professor Bury, in the intervals of other work, has done much to carry them on. Dr. Bussell's important and vigorous contribution will, it is to be hoped, now definitely turn a portion of English, and especially Oxford Scholarship towards a field which has been so largely left to the Germans and the French. Byzantine studies in general have received a great loss through the death of the lamented Professor Krumbacher of Munich : but the present work shows that the interest which he did so much to arouse will not be allowed to die.

Dr. Bussell modestly describes his work as *Essays on the Constitutional History*, but in reality it consists of two stout volumes, and they are concerned as much with political philosophy, and in that perhaps lies their most important element. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that Constitutional History and Political Philosophy must always go together—that the one is meaningless without the other. And so Dr. Bussell has brilliantly combined the two. His historical narrative is illuminated by philosophical insight. He has the faculty of looking at a period as a whole. In everything, he combines minute knowledge with the ability to take a general view. Thus every page is enlivened with remarks and conclusions drawn both from the matter in hand, and from knowledge of events in other ages, drawn from widely different sources. In a vigorous introduction the conclusions and methods of the work are outlined.

Dr. Bussell's book is, then, on Byzantine history, as interpreted through political philosophy. In plan, the work falls into two parts. The first volume follows up the course of the Empire's history, chronologically from the accession of Domitian in 81 to the retirement of Nicephorus III. in 1081, or rather to the defeat of Romanus IV. at Manzikert in 1071 ; then,

and not till then, in Dr. Bussell's view, the Roman Empire passed away, and the accession of the Comneni opened a 'new dynasty and a new age.' The second volume goes over the same ground, not chronologically as a narrative, but in the form of essays. This plan ensures great fulness of treatment, and a truth once discovered is not allowed to be lost sight of.

The style throughout is dramatic, and we watch with interest the swift course of the centuries till the flood of Orientalism transforms the whole tissue of a once Western Empire. In each decade the facts are clearly marked; and for every generalisation, dates and proper names are produced; while illustrations from all sources, from the novels of Disraeli to the writings of Tsin-Hwang-Ti, are given with an equal light touch and appositeness.

With the general public, the book will be read for its graphic style, and its vigorous discussion of the ever-pressing problems of bureaucracy, caste, heredity, and representation. To the student, it will mean much more. It is a book he must work at, thoroughly to understand it. It is well equipped with introductions, chronological tables of reigns, notes, appendix, a complete index, and even an analysis of all the facts and arguments. Only maps are required to make the equipment complete, for occasionally the reader is troubled to keep the shifting outlines of frontiers in his head. As a rule references are not given at the foot of the pages, but are reserved for notes at the end of a chapter; and striking sentences are quoted in the original Greek, with great effect. On almost every occasion the page or section of the authority is given, although in the case of Psellus, Dr. Bussell hints at many important passages, but reserves a more detailed treatment for another work, which he half promises, and which we hope he will carry out.

R. B. MOWAT.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN TWELVE VOLUMES. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M.A. Volume VI. From the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth, 1547-1603. By A. F. Pollard, M.A. Pp. xxv, 524. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

THE publication of Professor Pollard's volume completes this political history of England from the earliest times till the end of Queen Victoria's reign. This volume is, like the others, in itself a separate and complete book, with its own bibliographical and genealogical appendices, maps, and index. It presents to view three reigns, those of Edward VI., Mary Tudor and Elizabeth. Its chief interests are its accounts of the settled form which the Reformation took in England, of the character and of the policy of Elizabeth, and of the entry of Scotland upon the stage of modern history.

It opens with the administration of the Protectorate which followed the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, when Edward VI. was only nine years old, while the English constitution still required, as its mainspring, an active personal ruler. It tells the story of the fresh attempt on Scotland,

in preparing for which Henry had spent the last months of his life; of the seizure of Edinburgh and the papist abbeys; and of Pinkie, the last and bloodiest of the battles between the independent kingdoms. It shows us the optimist Somerset, a unique dictator, trying to rule with a 'gentle hand,' and seeming to think he could reverse the despotic methods of the Tudors, almost dispense with axe and gallows, and ignore the heresy laws of the late king. It tells of the enduring acts of the Protectorate and the short reign of the boy king, Edward VI.; of the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, with the 'black rubric' which John Knox contrived to get interpolated in it; of the legalisation of inclosures at the discretion of lords of the manor; and of the sparing (not the founding, as their name erroneously suggests) of the so-called King Edward VI.'s Grammar Schools. We read again the pathetic tale of Lady Jane Grey, the almost perfect type of intellectual graces, of modesty, sincerity, and saint-like innocence, the blameless instrument of her father-in-law's desperate plot; and of the half-Spanish Mary, whom Mr. Pollard calls, without undue flattery, the most honest of Tudor rulers, and who yet brings a blight on national faith and confidence. He describes her as a pitiful woman by nature, freely pardoning convicted traitors, but burning Protestant widows, striving in vain to satisfy by such burnt-offerings the cravings of a mind diseased in a disordered frame, forsaken by her husband and estranged from her people. Sterility, he says, was the conclusive note of her reign. Under Mary the Church was restored. But there was no spiritual fervour. There was an intellectual paralysis. Even theology was neglected.

Mr. Pollard has drawn every character in clear, bold strokes, and he is as faithful with Elizabeth as with the rest. He shows her self-reliant, steadfast, absolute, of true English tenacity, and thanking God for giving her 'a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemy'; more than a Macchiavelli in deceit, and one of the most accomplished liars who ever practised diplomacy. When she wills the end, she wills the means. She secretly attacks while publicly professing friendship. Her servants' lives and fame are hers to spend or throw away, and she is disloyal to her agents whenever it suits her to repudiate them. These are the methods of her time, but she has an asset in diplomacy that is all her own. Her courtships played a leading part in the subtle work of her foreign policy. She dangled the bait, that cost her neither expense nor risk, before greedy Spaniard, Austrian, Scot, Swede, and Frenchman in turn, if she could thus for the moment attract an ally to, or divert an enemy from, England. Each was beguiled with hopes which she alone knew to be vain. For she had a secret which she never revealed, and which her ministers did not dare to whisper, though they suspected it. Mr. Pollard accepts the evidence that she knew that, for physical causes, she could never have a child, and marriage was as repulsive to her as imprisonment.

With unfailing skill he has set forth the devious ways, and the extraordinary success of her policy; her gradual steering of England from alliance with Spain to alliance with France and with Scotland; her manœuvring of Mary Stuart from being the representative of France to being the client of Spain; her completion of the recovery by the crown,

from the barons and the knights of the shire, of the crown's powers of initiative in legislation, a step towards the transference of these powers to ministers responsible to parliament.

Mr. Pollard's account of the relations between church and state and church and people is of the greatest interest and value. Again and again he points out and illustrates the sordid character of the English Reformation, and shows how very little religion, in the true sense, had to do with the matter, and what continuous factors were honest patriotism and dishonest greed. Only a minority cared about a moral and intellectual amendment. Northumberland's friends in 1552 desired a simpler ritual, but at least one of their motives was an appetite for church goods, plate and metal. Even in the Catholic reaction under Mary, the English would not admit Pope or legate, except on the condition that the holders of the distributed abbey lands should not be disturbed. Mr. Pollard points out that English political instincts were more strongly developed than religious feelings or moral sense, and respectable people thought it scarcely decent to indulge conscience in defiance of the law. The faith was a matter for the church to settle, and the clergy were responsible.

These chapters exhibit throughout a judgment illuminating and convincing, the ease and freedom of complete mastery of the subject, and a rhetorical perfection and happiness of expression very admirable and engaging.

The volume re-tells some of the most romantic and perennially interesting incidents in modern history, and some of the most perennially and fiercely debated. Mr. Pollard has given most of them a more accurate setting, and all of them a fresh interest.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE DAWN OF MODERN ENGLAND; BEING A HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, 1509-1525. By Carlos B. Lumsden. Pp. 303. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 9s. nett.

MR. LUMSDEN's book is of a highly polemical character, and fairly bristles with statements, of which the general trend can merely be indicated but scarcely discussed within the limits of a brief review.

The book is the first of 'many volumes' in which the author hopes to bring his history down to the death of Charles I.; but, although it is thus the first of a series and as such necessarily incomplete in some respects, still the proportions are oddly arranged; almost half of it is given up to the purely political history of the time, whereas the section on the German Reformation is strangely scant considering the part it played in influencing the course of affairs in England; also the conditions of the Church in England in the early sixteenth century are practically untouched, and popular religious opinion and feeling either in Germany or England is left severely alone.

These latter omissions may possibly be rectified in a later volume, but in regard to time one would expect them to appear in the present.

The author speaks from the standpoint, not merely of a Roman Catholic, but of a determined apologist of medieval ethics, modes of thought, and ecclesiastical standards. The philosophy of the Middle Ages is 'the greatest the world has ever seen'; the individualism which was the supreme and all-pervading tendency of the Renaissance is responsible for a few possible benefits and very many evils in succeeding centuries. Mr. Lumsden is perhaps a little obsessed by this theory; as, for instance, when he claims that the keynote of monasticism was the annihilation of the individual in the community. Might it not be suggested that it was in certain respects rather the last expression of a spiritual individualism? The Reformation accomplished no good end; it set free the evil passions and greed of mankind from all ecclesiastical restraint, with disastrous results; Luther was a histrionic genius with a shrewd capacity for playing upon the cupidity of his countrymen in the fight with Rome, which was thus dominated entirely by economic interests. The Reformers were first of all practical men and 'in good works they more particularly resented the power that this gave the Church over money.' Justification by Faith as expounded by Luther encouraged a mere expression of belief, and discouraged all 'charity, humility, and love of one's neighbour.'

These assumptions, as well as many others equally disputable, are put forward by Mr. Lumsden as self-evident statements of fact. He does not deny the degradation of the Roman Curia in the sixteenth century; and he rightly joins other modern historians in destroying the old popular view of the Bible in pre-Reformation times as a forbidden book wholly inaccessible in the vernacular tongues.

MARY LOVE.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Third Series, Vol. III. A.D. 1669-1672. Edited by P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D., Historiographer Royal. P. xlvi, 851. 8vo. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. 1910. 15s. nett.

ANOTHER massive instalment is added to the published records by this volume, which begins just a few months previous to the Earl of Lauderdale's appointment in September, 1669, as the King's Commissioner in Scotland, and the exponent of an eventful ecclesiastical policy. To suppress the religious recusants who refused to accept the re-establishment of episcopacy at the Restoration was the main concern of the Council during the three years covered by the volume, and these records tell the story of Lauderdale's effort, first by conciliation and afterwards by repressive measures of increasing stringency, to suppress conventicles, protect 'indulged' ministers, put down the unlicensed 'outed' ministry, and generally maintain the episcopal settlement in the teeth of the Scottish people.

Burnet, who in 1673 was addressing Lauderdale in warm compliment not only as a 'Master in all learning,' but for his 'judgement so well ballanced,' wrote differently after the rupture with his patron. 'Duke Lauderdale's way,' he said in his *History*, 'was to govern by fits and to pass

from hot to cold ones always in extremes.' This severe estimate is not quite borne out by the proceedings which Professor Hume Brown summarises in his introduction, and which, passing through all stages from indulgence to persecution, are characterised by a steady persistence in the attempt to quiet the country. The bait of indulgence had not the expected effect. Conventicles were insuppressible in spite of incessant prosecution.

Equally numerous were the prosecutions for cases of assault and robbery—the law's name for the 'rabbling' of unpopular conforming ministers. Endeavours to find any workable compromise were essentially unsuccessful: the indulgence of 1669, not by any means abortive, was equally condemned by the covenanters and by the episcopalian synod of Glasgow; its repetition with modifications in 1672 gave no hope of efficient result. Over all, however, there was little persuasion; force was the remedy invoked behind all the indulgences, although the more violent manifestations of persecution were reserved for a later administration. Lauderdale was to discover that his concessions were no effective bribe and that compromise was impossible. And there were other than covenanter malcontents. Roman Catholicism had its vehement votaries, and even the Quakers persisted like the Catholics in following their own creed despite the Acts of Parliament and Council.

Trade subjects were rising in importance, and, above all, trade with England and Ireland. The Scots were eager to get Scots goods into England and to keep Irish horses, cattle, and victual out of Scotland. The protection of native salt, the promoting of a Fishing Company, the regulation of printing and bookselling privileges, the improvement of roads, the suppression of disorders in Edinburgh, Rutherglen, and Linlithgow, and in the Orkney Islands, and the continuance (with considerably abated zeal) of witchcraft proceedings are among the themes singled out for treatment in the introduction. Monopolies were continually being defied. A typical instance may be given. The Company and Society of Fishing in 1670 had obtained a prohibition against any but themselves from exporting herring or white fish, but Glasgow ships named the *Peter*, the *David*, the *Henkar Voyage*, the *Mareon*, and the *Mary*, and a Saltcoats ship named the *Providence*, were all convicted at one time in 1672 of carrying cargoes of herring. The provost of Glasgow (Wm. Anderson) and other merchants on the Clyde were fined 100 merks per last of herring exported.

Among miscellaneous papers forming an appendix there is an interesting letter in 1669 to the 'old proveist' of Glasgow, George Porterfield, then resident with his wife in Amsterdam. He held office in 1652. The letter from John Martin makes interesting reference to the current troubles, and declares—'O if the olde proveist might ere he dy be invited home to rule in that poor citie . . . that wolde be a day of refreshing.' Another letter to 'Mistresse Porterfield' in 1672 is from John Brown, who dates from Middleburgh, and is evidently Brown of Wamphray, then minister of the Scots church at Rotterdam.

In previous notices of these registers the remark has been repeated that the romantic and adventurous spirit of the older chroniclers survives unimpaired in these later records.

As an instance there may be taken the narrative of the riot at the St.

James's fair in the burgh of Forfar in 1671 contained in cross-charges by and against William Gray of Hayston, claiming the office of constabulary. He and the magistrates both claimed the right to proclaim the fair. The latter proclaimed it 'both at the mercat crose of the said burgh and upon the know called the Horseman's Know in the Muir of Forfar.' An attempt to disperse the assembly led to an armed conflict of bodies of horse and foot, with halberds, swords, muskets, guns, and pistols, after which Gray went from the 'muir in a most hostill triumphing and insulting manner' to proclaim the fair over again in his own name. Interesting points of law and history were involved. On the one hand, the Gray family had held the hereditary offices of sheriff and constable with the castle hill attached as a pertinent of the constabulary, and, on the other, the burgh had had its whole burghal privileges confirmed by charter in 1669, including the 'weekly mercat and yeerly fairs.' Gray prevailed; Provost, bailies, councillors, and others of the burgh party were fined; and on the counter-charge Gray and his company, including the sheriff-clerk of Forfar, were assolizied. Among the commissions of fire and sword granted in 1672 against outlawed Highlandmen is one against M'Leod of Assynt, and a host of allied M'Leods, M'Neills, and other clansmen, whose offences included that of 'intercomoning with the Neilsones alias the Slichten Abrach.'

Shipping incidents are many, such as the adventure of the *Golden Salmond* of Glasgow, partly owned by Provost Anderson, setting out on a maiden voyage to Cadiz and captured 'by a Turkish man of warr near Salzie'—which recalls the Sallee rover of *Robinson Crusoe*. Other Glasgow ships mentioned are the *Merchant*, the *Glasgow*, the *Rainbow*, the *David*, and the *Dolphin*. A staple export carried consisted of vagabonds and 'egyptians' under the then prevalent sentences of transportation to the American plantations. Specific destinations of such cargoes are the Barbados, the 'Caribbie Islands,' and Virginia.

But enough has been said to illustrate the wealth of interest there is in these varied annals. Too little has been said in thanks to the editor for his introductory analysis, which lucidly and with well-chosen illustrations points out the prominent features of that time of ecclesiastical coercion, of expanding commerce, and of steady decrease in domestic violence.

GEO. NEILSON.

VISITATION ARTICLES AND INJUNCTIONS OF THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION. 3 vols. Edited by Walter Howard Frere, D.D. Alcuin Club Collections XIV., XV., XVI. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910.

It is probable that this work will be read only by those who already are acquainted with the story of the religious changes that marked the sixteenth century in England. Yet to such persons it will come as a revelation of a great deal that is new and unexpected, and which could not be obtained from ordinary historical treatises. It sets forth, with the clearness peculiar to original documents, the constant and manifold upheavals of the period.

The shifting of theological positions, the blank denials of past traditions, the fierceness of the Marian reaction, the attempts to reconcile opposing elements, as well as the domestic evils and abuses of the Church, are all vividly portrayed in these volumes.

Limitations of space make it necessary for us to confine ourselves here to the introduction, which opens with a general treatment of the growth and development of Episcopal visitations and their relations to those of archdeacons. Mr. Frere then proceeds to a consideration of the practice as it prevailed in England from the seventh century down to the time of Archbishop Parker.

Of special interest to the student of medieval life will be the sections which are concerned with the difficulties of bishops with regard to the monastic houses and cathedrals in their dioceses. In some respects the problem that faced the sovereigns of the Middle Age—viz. that of overcoming the forces of decentralisation—found a parallel in the task of contemporary bishops in enforcing their right to visit abbeys and cathedral chapters, and in resisting claims to exemption that were often based on forgeries or documents deliberately tampered with. Much valuable information as to the struggles involved by the clashing of the various interests concerned, together with an account of Grossetete's achievement in re-establishing the Episcopal right, will be found in §§ 15-23.

But the most important feature of the introduction is contained in § 25, which treats of the Royal Visitation of 1535. We are reminded that this was a necessary outcome of a new condition of affairs; but stress is laid upon its revolutionary character. Although royal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs was as common before as after the Reformation, it was reserved for the sixteenth century to substitute, in England, the jurisdiction of royal visitors for that of the Ordinary. This change marks the beginning of that lack of spiritual independence in spite of which (and this is the marvel of English Church history) the Church of England has maintained and manifested a vigorous and progressive life.

Those who are still accustomed to think of Edward VI. as a patron and promoter of popular education will find reason to change their opinion after reading § 27. The truth is that his reign was marked by a rapacity for Church revenues and treasures that was far greater than any desire for educational progress. It is always easy to win a good name by spending public money rather than one's own, and what Dr. Frere has written bears out some words of Professor Pollard which are worth quoting: 'The greatest damage was done to the cause of education. Edward VI.'s grammar schools have gained him a reputation as a founder beyond that of any other sovereign and far beyond his own or his advisers' merits.' §§ 29-32 furnish a striking picture of the difficulties of the bishops in the chaotic years that followed the accession of Elizabeth, and there is a sympathetic reference to the conservative wisdom of Archbishop Parker.

It is to be hoped that these volumes will meet with a careful and wide study, for it would be difficult to speak too highly of their worth, or to over-estimate their usefulness to students.

E. M. BLACKIE.

Exchequer Rolls of the Jews 301

CALENDAR OF THE PLEA ROLLS OF THE EXCHEQUER OF THE JEWS, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vol. II. EDWARD I, 1273-1275. Edited by J. M. Rigg, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Jewish Historical Society of England. 4to. Pp. xxiv, 363. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Ballantyne, Hansen & Co. 1910. To Non-members, 16s.

It is very appropriate, amid all the attention that has been given in recent years to the editing of documents illustrative of our medieval history, that the obscure condition of the Jews in the thirteenth century should have been taken in hand by a body of experts like the Jewish Historical Society of England. Since Henry Cole produced his folio volume for the Record Commission in 1844, little had been done to throw much-needed light on the vicissitudes of this long-suffering race till Mr. Rigg and his fellow-members took the matter up in earnest a dozen years or so ago. Scholars are familiar with his volume of selections from the Plea Rolls of the Jewish Exchequer 1244-1272, issued in conjunction with the Selden Society, which has done so much to illustrate a department of the history of English Law hitherto unexplored. From this volume a great deal was learned of the proceedings of the *Justiciarii Judaeorum* who held the rank of Barons of the Exchequer, and had cognizance of Jewish affairs in the matter of revenue, contracts between Jews and Christians, and in all causes touching their goods, fines, and forfeitures.

As a preface to this volume the editor has reproduced a revised reprint of a paper read before the Jewish Historical Society and published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 1902, and he has been well advised in doing so. The survey of the peculiar position held by the Jews in England in the thirteenth century and of their relation to the social, industrial, and commercial fabric makes a fitting introduction to what must be, except to a few enthusiasts, a somewhat dry and uninviting record. Students of special departments of English antiquities will wade through the numerous pleas, most of them very short, which make up the record for the years 1273-1275, in search of the information in which they are interested, but perhaps a larger number will read the preface alone in their desire to get an intelligible idea of the place that the Jews filled in English life, and how matters fared with them from time to time. It needs no argument to prove that Mr. Rigg's preface will meet every legitimate claim of this kind. His treatment of the subject is at once full and impartial without going into unnecessary details. It is easy to understand, after perusing these few pages, how the ill-favoured tradition embodied in Shylock arose, and how the cast-iron laws of early feudalism were in a large measure responsible for its creation. The Jew developed his idiosyncrasy for usury under the remorseless pressure of necessity.

There is one notable feature in the pleas recorded in this volume worthy of mention. The Jews seem to have been scattered everywhere in England, or rather pushed their financial operations far and wide, except in the counties adjoining the Scottish Border. One knight in Northumberland and another in Cumberland seem to sum up the dealings of the four

northern counties with the community during the period under review. The nearest station was at York where they had an important lodgment. Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, a famous banker, had plied his craft in the previous century with disastrous results to many magnates in these counties, the proceeds of which afterwards found their way into the royal exchequer. No doubt northern merchants resented their intrusion, for we find the good men of Newcastle-upon-Tyne paying the king a fine of 100 marks in 1234 that no Jew henceforth shall remain or make residence in their town.

The editor gives the satisfactory assurance that the rolls have been gone through twice, a laborious undertaking, so that there is little likelihood that any pleas of importance have been omitted. It is a matter of taste whether it would not have been better to have left the pleas untranslated. Anyhow we have them in English, and a good index of persons and places, compiled by the Rev. S. A. P. Kermode, is a welcome addition to the volume.

JAMES WILSON.

THE ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS. No. X.—FIFTY PICTURES OF GOTHIC ALTARS. Selected and described by Percy Dearmer, M.A. Pp. 211. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 21s. No. XIII.—A HISTORY OF THE USE OF INCENSE IN DIVINE WORSHIP. By E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley. Pp. xxix, 404. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1909. £3. No. XVII.—TRADITIONAL CEREMONIAL AND CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE SCOTTISH LITURGY. By F. C. Eeles. Pp. xi, 175. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. £1.

THESE three handsome volumes are replete with interesting and accurate information on subjects where a little real knowledge would have spared the world a great deal of unnecessary and disturbing controversy.

The first, though dealing primarily with the Gothic altar, throws a great deal of light on the 'ornaments of the church and of the minister' as these might have been seen throughout all western lands in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries.

To the selected plates are added brief Notes explanatory of each; but it scarcely needs these to enforce the lesson taught by the entire series of pictures that in the great periods of ecclesiastical architecture, when the altar was the focus of the church, to which all the lines of the building converged, the altar itself, while richly vested, was neither dwarfed by ungainly erections behind it, nor overloaded with ornaments placed upon it; and as a consequence stood out with all the greater dignity. Now that in Scotland the desire is rising in all our churches to beautify the interior of our sanctuaries, it is very desirable that the well-meant mistakes which led astray so many of the pioneers of this movement in England should be avoided; and we know nothing better fitted to guide both architects and clergymen to good taste and genuine 'correctness' in these matters than the study of Mr. Dearmer's volume.

In the second of the above-mentioned books, Mr. E. G. Cuthbert

Atchley discusses with ample learning the whole history of the use of Incense in Divine Worship, first in pre-Christian times among Jews and pagans, and afterwards in the Christian Church.

The results of his investigations are in many ways surprising. It is, to the present writer, a painful surprise to find a member of the Alcuin Club speaking as he does of many incidents in the Old Testament, in regard to which one would have expected to find in such a quarter a fuller belief in its inspiration and a far more reverent use of it. But if Mr. Atchley here outdoes the most extreme apostles of the Higher Criticism, he surprises us again, and much more pleasantly, when he comes to deal with the use of incense in the Christian Church. He admits at once that the earlier Fathers would have none of it. To them, as to the Puritan, it was either a Mosaic ceremony which was done away in Christ, or a pagan rite associated with the worship of devils. The prophecy of Malachi, the texts in the Apocalypse, which have been quoted in support of its Christian use, the early Fathers interpreted symbolically. And then comes the great surprise of all—the introduction of incense in the Church. When, after the triumph of Christianity, incense *did* begin to be used by Christians, in what shape did it come in? It was borrowed, not from any religious rite, but from a *social custom*! Triumphant generals, returning from some victory over Goth or Persian, were received with palm branches and garlands, with pipe and song, with torches and incense. Even such were the accompaniments deliberately adopted by the Church for her funerals. She copied in the obsequies of her departed a triumphal procession. She would celebrate a victory, not a defeat, and it was at funerals that the ecclesiastical use of incense first came in.

The whole book is most interesting, and the author's conclusion is moderate and sane. A ceremony long and widely adopted in the Church, he pleads, is not condemned by the fact that Jews or heathens have used it, so long as it is innocent in itself, and connotes no heretical doctrine. On the other hand, its disuse need not be construed into the abandonment of any fundamental truth.

To Scotsmen, however, by far the most interesting of the three volumes is that which we owe to the research of Mr. Eeles. Most of the customs with which he deals are connected with the 'Scottish Communion Service' of the Scottish Episcopal Church, which he describes, not unjustly, as 'the best liturgy in the English language, and the product of a time when Scottish Episcopalians were groaning under the severity of the penal laws.' The bishop, with whose name it is pre-eminently associated, though he did not live to see it in its final form, Thomas Rattray (1684-1743), though as a Perthshire laird he lived in comparative comfort, could not venture to dress as a clergyman (!); and when, after his death, his celebrated work, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, was published, it was not deemed safe to give the bishops who subscribed for it any designation implying what they were. Their names are indicated simply by an asterisk. Rattray himself, in his portrait at Craighall, wears a blue coat with gold lace and gilt buttons. Yet these men, hampered (most of them) by extreme poverty and all by political perse-

cution, built up a rite, simple at once and reverent, enshrining much of value that elsewhere throughout the Anglican communion disappeared under the 'slovenliness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which was itself,' as Mr. Eeles says, 'of the nature of an innovation.'

It is in Aberdeenshire, among the native Episcopalians of that region—a humble but sturdy folk—that most of the usages described by Mr. Eeles survived. He might have added, had the scope of his book permitted, that several of those usages were observed also by the Presbyterians of the same district, at least in the more orthodox and conservative churches. The late Rev. Mr. Jankins, minister of Aboyne, explained to me in my student days his use of 'the credence-table'; and I remember well the late Very Rev. Dr. Hutchison, of Banchory-Ternan, telling me how, when he went to be minister of that parish—I think about 1845—he used to find, on going to assist at Holy Communion in some of the neighbouring parishes, a bowl of water and a towel placed on the holy table, that he might wash his hands ere 'taking' and distributing the elements; and the late Dr. Sprott found that the custom of mixing a little pure and clean water with the sacramental wine—not indeed at the table, but in the preparation of the elements before had by no means disappeared from the Established Church.

Mr. Eeles's book is more than the mere record of the peculiarities of a 'remnant' however learned or devout. It is a study in the principles of Christian worship. It is a contribution to the Church history of Scotland, calculated to fill us with respect for a section of our countrymen who were really learned, and who stood nobly by their principles amid sore discouragement. It deserves the attention in particular of all who long for such a healing of our ecclesiastical divisions as shall do justice to all that is sound and earnest in the religion of Scotland.

JAMES COOPER.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1630-1633: A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, BOMBAY RECORD OFFICE, ETC.
 Edited by William Foster. Pp. xxxix, 354. With Frontispiece.
 Med. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a further instalment of the valuable and admirably edited documents relating to the English Factories in India, from 1630 to 1633. The materials available have been supplemented by the 'Surat Factory Letter Book,' which is preserved in the Bombay Record Office. The period covered by the documents is one marked by some recovery from the depression, which had weighed on the East India Company's affairs at home; but, unfortunately, these improved prospects were spoiled by a most severe famine in India, which is described with great detail by eye-witnesses in several of the documents in this volume. Sad as these particulars are, they are worthy of mention as showing the terrible devastation during a time of scarcity in India under native rulers, and with measures of relief but little organized. At Swally, out of 260 families, only 10 or 11

survived ; at Surat, it is said that 'we could hardly see anie livinge persons, . . . and at the corners of the streets the dead laye 20 together,' while the total mortality in this place was estimated at 30,000. After the famine there came great floods, and 'the faire fields are all drowned, and the fruits of the earth cleane washed away with these waters.'

Friction with the Portuguese continued, and there is a vivid picture of a fight at Swally in 1630, which is of interest, since previous English victories had been at sea. On this occasion the Portuguese landed and demonstrated against the English encampment, covered by the fire from their ships. The English, 'being stirred up to a high measure of furie by the howlerly vexations and braveing of the enemye,' attacked ; and, 'such was the obstinate rage of our people,' that the Portuguese gave ground, while the victors pursued them to within pistol shot of their frigates.

The Company still found it difficult to maintain order amongst its servants in India and to check private trade. Complaints were made against John Willoughby that he had caused the Company great expense 'for want of discreete compleing with the king's gunner about saltpeter,' also for 'his breaking open the tarras aloft, where below in a roome the two padres luggage was housed and his ransacking all these, to the Company and our nacion's great dishonour.'

The factors were in the habit of writing to the office at London with considerable force and freedom. They mention, on one occasion, that it was common report that the officials at Surat could not trade as they wished, 'for feare of giving discontent to that rogue, their governor.' Again there are frequent references to the advantage gained by the Dutch and Portuguese in having forts for the protection of their servants ; if the English were similarly protected 'we should make all these parts stand in awe of us and bring them almost to what condicions of trade we would, and not suffer ourselves to be thus grosly abused and insulted over by these villaines.'

W. R. SCOTT.

THE KINGIS QUAIR AND THE QUARE OF JELUSY. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendix, and Glossary, by Alexander Lawson, Berry Professor of English Literature in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. xcv, 169. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London : A. & C. Black. 1910. 6s. nett.

PROFESSOR LAWSON'S book is a new and welcome proof of the revived interest in earlier Scottish literature which is evincing itself at present in various movements. The book contains the texts of the 'Kingis Quair' and the 'Quare of Jelusy,' a critical introduction dealing with controversial questions, full and scholarly notes, and a glossary.

The text of the 'Kingis Quair' has been the subject of careful investigation, and the editor presents it in two versions, a method invaluable to scholars. One of these is as in the MS., the other with the emendations suggested by himself, or adopted from other scholars. As good examples of the former, we might note the reading 'scele' (skill) for 'scole' in stanza 7, and 'byndand' for 'bynd and' in stanza 107.

The chief interest of the book lies in the Introduction, in Professor Lawson's attitude to the controversy as to the authorship of the 'Kingis Quair.' In the earlier part we have good hope that the writer is to be the champion of the poet-king. He gives a detailed life of James the First, and appears to accept in a general way the tradition of James's literary propensities. When, however, he goes on to review the work of previous controversialists, and to add his own contribution, the case is different. He points out that in the title in the MS., the chief evidence in favour of James, there are statements which can be controverted. The book 'was callit the kingis quair,' but it is on this scribe alone we depend for the title; the book 'was maid quhen his Majestie was in England,' but internal evidence contradicts this. Further, Professor Lawson appears to think that the poem is not coloured by the king's rank and environment, that its didactic tone is inappropriate, that, in fact, 'there is little or nothing to suggest that the writer is a young king who has moved among royal personages and who has kingly instincts,' and he comes to the conclusion that 'the verdict must be given, hesitatingly perhaps, yet given against tradition.' We have therefore one more opinion on a problem which, with the scanty evidence we possess, seems to defy solution.

Professor Lawson proceeds to compare the 'Kingis Quair' with two poems, in the same mixed language, generally accounted somewhat later in date, viz. the 'Quare of Jelusy,' which is printed in the volume, and 'Lancelot of the Laik,' a Scottish translation of a portion of the French 'Lancelot du Lac.' He somewhat tentatively puts forward the suggestion that all three poems are the work of the same author, that we have a poet 'who partly translated a French romance in his youth, who was much indebted to Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," and was fired by the spirit of it in his higher moods, who extended his knowledge of English poetry and wrote the "Kingis Quair," and who finally, in old age, with failing power and no inspiration, wrote the "Quare of Jelusy." This ascription is the new and important contribution to the discussion, and is supported by the production of parallels found in the other poems in content, form, and language, e.g. the dialogue with the bird in Lancelot is equated with the address to the nightingale in the 'Kingis Quair,' and Lancelot's lament beginning 'What have I gilt allace, or what deservit,' with the poet's outpourings in the 'Quair.'

Comparing it with the 'Quare of Jelusy,' Professor Lawson notes the dream form of introduction, and the seeing of the beautiful woman in the garden, and the didactic tone of the whole. He gives many instances of this kind, but it is a difficult type of evidence, for there was so much common to all Chaucerian imitators that a great deal of similarity in thought and phrase must be discounted. Professor Lawson admits the immense superiority of the 'Kingis Quair.' But it tells against his argument that in neither of the other poems, and the Lancelot is over 3000 lines in length, is there anything to compare with the finer parts of the 'Quair.' And the exquisite and detailed beauty of the description of the lady, with its love of jewels and colour, finds no parallel

in the other poems, although both offer opportunities for similar descriptions.

The argument based on peculiarities of language in common has weak points, *e.g.* such arguments as that based on the appearance in 'Lancelot of the Laik' and 'Kingis Quair' of 'dedeyne,' 'hufing,' and 'cowardye' ('elsewhere uncommon words'), is barely convincing when we find that 'dedeyne' is used by Barbour, Henryson, and Douglas, and 'hufing' and 'cowardye' by Barbour and Douglas. In fact this argument can be used for the opposite purpose, that of widening the gulf between the 'Kingis Quair' and the other poems. Thus, two favourite and characteristic words of the middle Scotch writers, *viz.* 'amene,' pleasant, and 'feill' in its peculiar sense of knowledge or apprehension, are found in 'Lancelot of the Laik' and in the 'Quare of Jelusy,' but not in the 'Kingis Quair'; of these the first seems to have been popularised by Dunbar and Douglas, while 'feill' is found in Henry's 'Wallace,' Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndesay. Again, Professor Lawson places 'Lancelot of the Laik' first in chronological order, but the vocabulary seems to support Professor Skeat's arrangement, which places it after the 'Quare of Jelusy,' although by the same author, and both of course after the 'Kingis Quair,' for the 'Lancelot' contains more words of a later type peculiar to the Dunbar-Douglas group of poets; such are 'pens,' to think, which is found in Henryson, Dunbar, Rolland, and Lyndesay, and 'crownel' and 'upwarpath,' the use of which it shares only with Douglas.

Such controversial suggestions, as that which Professor Lawson offers, are welcome, for if they do not convince they stimulate interest, and in the field of Scottish literature that is much to be desired. On the non-controversial side we owe him gratitude for his careful investigation of the MSS., and his scholarly annotations; and for the valuable summaries of evidence, the interesting historical detail, and the fruitful literary comparisons, of the Introduction.

MURIEL GRAY.

ENGLISH POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS : An Introductory Study. By J. A. R. Marriott. Pp. viii, 347. Crown 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1910. 4s. 6d.

MR. MARRIOTT, wisely appreciative of the public's need of guidance in the elementary facts of the system under which they are governed, has published the substance of his college lectures in a little book that is well-arranged, interestingly written, and likely to prove useful. A text-book such as this is welcome—intermediate in size between exhaustive treatises on the one hand and condensed epitomes of obvious facts upon the other. The promise of originality of treatment suggested in the preface, however, would seem scarcely to be substantiated by results. Mr. Marriott's method of exposition cannot be said (as he seems to claim) to open up a new and more seductive avenue to the study of English institutions, or to provide a new and more scientific basis for the study of English politics. That method, indeed, of beginning with organs of government as they exist at

the present day, and afterwards tracing their connexion with the past, is as old as the days of Blackstone and De Lolme, and has never been without its exponents among publicists down to the days of Anson, Bryce, and Redlich.

Mr. Marriott, it is needless to say, is a well-informed writer; but he would appear occasionally to be unaware of some of the most recent discussions of medieval constitutional phenomena—of quite minor importance, it is true, so far as the purpose of the present work is concerned.

It would be easy to indicate numerous topics that have been omitted, yet there is hardly any part of the substance actually incorporated that could be expunged without loss to the educational value of the work. Mr. Marriott, judged by this practical test, would seem to have shown good judgment, on the whole, in the selection of material, if we accept some 350 pages as the desirable limits of a survey designed to include brevity as one of its chief merits. The book offers an admirable introduction to a subject of universal interest.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

HUNGARY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Henry Marczali. With an Introductory Essay on the Earlier History of Hungary by Harold W. V. Temperley, M.A. Pp. lxiv, 378, with Map. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is the first Hungarian work of original research to be translated into English. Its author, the distinguished professor of National History in the University of Budapest, was invited by the Hungarian Academy of Science to write a history of Hungary in the time of Joseph II., emperor of Germany and king of Hungary 1780-90.

Maria Teresa had been prudent, conservative, and tactful. Her son was a reformer, conscientious, indefatigable, eager for progress, filled with the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century, and determined to make all his subjects enlightened and happy without delay, and even against their will. But in Hungary he did not succeed. Hungary was, as she still is, a nation—the one whole nation in the Hapsburg dominions. For eight hundred years, in spite of the incursions and conquests of Turks, Russians, Germans, and other neighbours, she had preserved her individuality and her language with extraordinary tenacity. In the eighteenth century her social order, her institutions, her ways of life, were still her own, and, alone in Europe, still largely of the Middle Ages. With a prejudiced and ignorant patriotism she stubbornly and successfully resisted change.

Joseph wished to centralise her institutions generally, to organise the courts of justice, to introduce the German language, to abolish serfdom, to extend education, even to regulate dress—worst of all, to revise the register of property, to equalise taxes, and to reform the Church. Hungary's resistance was passive, but inflexible. Her political system was full of abuses, but it was her own. Her officials were robbers and kept the people miserable; but she said, if they had been guilty of the seven deadly sins, she elected them herself, and preferred them to angels from heaven nominated by the Emperor. The local governors did not refuse to obey His Majesty's orders; they put his letters away unopened.

To carry out his reforms, Joseph caused investigations to be made into the condition of the country, its laws and customs, its social, economic, religious, educational, and agricultural affairs. The Hungarian Walter Scott, Maurus Jókai, has vividly presented the experiences of one of Joseph's agents in his novel *Rab Ráby*, recently translated into English. The information was registered in a great collection of original documents now in the royal archives, not recording statistical information alone, but also responsible comment and analysis of the facts of this medieval and almost oriental state, made *in loco* and contemporaneously by modern Western officials. Before writing his history Professor Marczali devoted ten years to the study of this wealth of material, and, in addition, to the examination of county and family archives, and the MSS. in the national collections. The work now translated, a picture of the strange, old-world society which the Emperor encountered, is the fruit of that labour and the preliminary to Professor Marczali's *History of Hungary in the Reign of Joseph II.* Not that medieval society in Hungary had been in all respects unchanged for 500 years. On the contrary, the Renaissance and the Reformation had deeply affected the two principal elements of national life, the nobility and the Church. Nevertheless, like the United States for the study of primitive ethnology, Hungary has for the student of the Middle Ages, as it had for Joseph's bureaucrats, the inestimable advantage that much of the material for examination survived in action, if not to living view, almost to within living memory. Professor Marczali's work is a study, from original sources, of European medieval institutions and society in Hungary observed and recorded as still existing. The record at his disposal was not a palimpsest. The phenomena had not yet been, as elsewhere, overwritten and effaced by modern civilization.

In his introduction the author briefly sketches the political position, when the Turks, after 145 years' possession of the great Hungarian plain, had been expelled by German armies, while Hungarians stood sullenly aloof, or aided the Infidel, whom they feared less than the Austrian; and when the struggle with Austria began which lasted till Hungary's independence was regained. He devotes a chapter to the social system, with its conceptions of status, of right, and of property, resting, not on abstract justice or public economy, but on conquest. He describes the nobles, the descendants of the Magyar conquerors of the country, whose estates composed the whole of it, who were the nation (freeman and noble being identical), and who made and administered its laws; the town-dwellers, chiefly alien both in nationality and language; and the serfs, the descendants of the conquered, better off, Professor Marczali thinks, than their contemporary serfs in France, supporting the whole social edifice, but having no share in its government. Another chapter is devoted to economic conditions. The system of taxation is described, under which, except in so far as they might be slightly affected by the price of salt, the temporal and spiritual nobility paid no taxes at all, direct or indirect. These burdens were borne by the *misera contribuens plebs*. The system of cultivation and pasturage, the domestic industries, the fairs, the roads, the river navigation, Austria's tariff restrictions, and the effects of her general commercial

oppression of Hungary, are presented to view. There is a chapter on Nationality, describing the various races in the land and their inter-relations. There is another on the Church. The yoke of the Turks, indifferent to Christian sects, allowed more religious liberty than that of the Austrian. Hungary was, and still is, largely Protestant, and the Protestant chiefly Calvinistic, the Lutheran doctrine being associated with the hated German; while, as in Scotland, the stubborn spirit of Calvinism fortified the hereditary passion for liberty; and the Calvinist was sometimes found allied with the Moslem to resist the Roman Catholic Austrian.

Mr. Temperley's masterly Introductory Essay is an appropriate and most needful adjunct to the book. With its help the English reader can in this work study the popular meeting in the Rakos (the Hungarian *ágyorá*), its echoes scarcely yet silent; a free people conservatively perpetuating government by a single chamber in which the Magnates could be outvoted; and those most characteristic institutions of Hungary, the county system and the county assembly. Mr. Temperley, like Professor Marczali, finds more than one suggestive parallel to English history in that of Hungary, where, for example, Absolutism, successful in all other countries, was resisted, as it was here.

Those who know the subject best will best understand the immense difficulties of giving English readers a clear notion of Hungarian history and an adequate translation from the Hungarian language, both difficulties so happily overcome in Mr. Temperley's Essay and Professor Yolland's translation.

This volume will inspire its readers with a keen desire that it may be followed by Professor Yolland's translation of the History to which it is the illuminative introduction.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1603-1707.

By Theodora Keith. 8vo. Pp. xxiii, 210. Cambridge University Press. 1910. 2s. nett.

THIS little work by a young Scottish student is the first number of a series of Girton College Studies, and has a preface by the Rev. Wm. Cunningham, D.D., who congratulates Miss Keith on her success in so dealing with a mass of material as to bring out the importance of much careful detail. The congratulations seem to us to be well-earned, for the essay presents the story of Anglo-Scottish commercial relations, oppositions, diplomacies, and hostilities in such a manner as to prove not only that economic history has as much adventure in it as political history, but that the seventeenth century, with its awakening of Scots industrialism, offers many attractions from its inherent interest, while at the same time it reveals the Scot in his new character as a world-trader. Slow to essay that rôle, he was quick to develop its possibilities once he had discovered them, and Miss Keith has, to a considerable degree, the honour of leading the way in a branch of history which must grow in importance the more it is realised that industrialism meant a vital change of the political and social nexus both of men and

peoples. For it altered equally the domestic and external relationships of Scotland.

The effects of the Union of 1603 were peculiar. They went through various phases, and the final state of the matter left no alternative between some such Union as that of 1707 (whether to be the result of treaty or of conquest) on the one hand, and on the other hand the disjunction of the kingdoms.

It was not merely the question of free trade between them; still more it was the right of trade with the American Plantations and with the Continent that made the incompleteness of the Union of the Crowns a grave menace to British peace. That England was ungenerous and shortsighted to the last degree can hardly be disputed, but Scotland was as persistent, unscrupulous, and resourceful in nullifying English attempts to shut her out of profitable markets. In the first half of the seventeenth century Scottish development was slow, and the rather grasping policy of England was not so keenly felt and resented as it was after the Restoration, when Scotland had begun to make rapid progress. The Cromwellian incorporating Union proved to England that Scotland was not self-supporting, and when the Restoration came both countries hastened to undo the knot that Cromwell had too harshly tied. Then England built up a protective system especially designed to maintain a monopoly in the Colonies, which the Scots, by countervailing duties and otherwise, unweariedly strove to subvert. Smuggling became a principle. The Scottish 'interlopers' achieved no small success in evading the English Navigation Acts, but the growing stringency of the English company privileges was a leading motive for the Darien enterprise, the failure of which, not a little induced by English hostility, was indirectly a powerful influence in that nearer and completer Union which King William advocated and Queen Anne's ministers achieved.

The long struggle of half a century made by the Scots to secure equality of trading rights is well illustrated by concrete examples, of which Glasgow furnishes not a few. The 'interloping' trade found convenient ports on the Clyde, and the rum and tobacco traffic, to which the essential mercantile origins of Glasgow are often referred, fell largely into Scottish hands, in spite of incessant efforts to put it down. Holland and France had been Scotland's chief customers; now there was war long drawn out with both. Scotland complained that too big a share of the cost and loss fell on her, and that when peace was being made there was no concern for Scottish interests. England tried in vain to bottle up her wool; there was always some new way whereby the Scots defeated the prohibition to export. Scotland was advancing rapidly. Prior to 1668 imports from England far exceeded the exports, but in the last decade of the century the export exceeded the import by £10,000.

A final indication of the keenness of the Scots traders appeared in their adroit speculation at the Union. They laid in large stocks of French wines, paying the low duties current in Scotland: they saw that the Union treaty would enable them to carry them over the border, at greatly enhanced prices, into England, where direct imports from France were shut out.

Miss Keith is a welcome addition to the ranks of those who regard the economic aspect of history as the most important side of Scottish annals. The school almost threatens to claim a monopoly—which the true Scot will as heretofore resist. But its view of the relative values of history can be maintained for periods previous to 1600: before 1700 it has become indisputable. It is no dismal science with Miss Keith, who herself sees and lets others see life and entertainment in the subject. We trust she will be encouraged to prosecute lines of study so full of promise. Her booklet is an admirable beginning. Of course, its brevity explains and excuses much foreshortening of internal facts, such as those showing that the Scotsmen's defiance of English excise and custom laws elsewhere was no greater than their evasion of their own laws at home. Whether the Scottish administration forbade exportation of salt, or fish, or coal, whether it prohibited importation of horses or victual from Ireland, whether it interdicted the incoming or outgoing of wool or copper coins, or whether it conceded monopolies in more or less common manufactures, the air was hostile; the Scots were never willing to 'prejudge their owne inhabitants' when it was 'for the particular of a stranger and his monopolie'; so that, almost uniformly, effect was frustrated by inability to enforce. The fiscal establishment was inadequate, and the merchant spirit intolerant of restraint. Export of food-stuffs in time of dearth sometimes underwent 'the country people's malison,' realised, as some thought, by shipwreck. In 1644 a new table of duties was denounced as an 'ungodly, unlawful, and unusual act of excise.' Remonstrance some years later against salt taxes put on by Cromwell reaches a fine height of political invective against 'the late Usurper.'

Miss Keith closes with a useful bibliography of the chief sources used. A fuller bibliographical note would have marked, as characteristic of the last two decades of the century, the great increase in publications on those economic subjects and commercial enterprises towards which Scotland had now definitely turned. Her essay gives us some excellent outlines for future historical adjustment. It also leaves us pondering with Archdeacon Cunningham how far trade rivalry contributed to throwing Scots and English into opposite camps in the civil war, and making them so radically unsympathetic even in peace and with a common cause.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D. Edited by F. Elrington Ball, with an Introduction by the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's. Vol. I. Pp. lvi, 392. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1910. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE mantle of the late Caesar Litton Falkiner, who was to have edited Swift's letters when his valuable literary career was cut short by sudden death, has fallen on a worthy successor. It is quite safe to say that few recent books, if any, have been so well edited as this one, or with so much wisdom and loving care. The edition is designed to be as complete and

reliable as possible, and no pains have been spared to make it so. Many sources have supplied letters first printed in this edition. The Forster MSS., Archbishop King's papers, the Cork MSS., and the Orrery papers have all been laid under contribution, with the result that for the first time we are able to see almost the whole range of Swift's correspondence now extant, to gauge the variety of his humour, and to see as well the full beauty of his style no matter on what he wrote. Even the dubious Montagu letters have a place in this exhaustive work. The present Dean of St. Patrick's contributes an excellent introduction to the collected correspondence of his illustrious predecessor. He says everything he can in defence of Swift's character, indicates his belief in the reality of the secret marriage to Stella, and does not too much blame the Dean in the Vanessa episode. He points out the excellence of Swift's clerical rule, and insists on his real (if meagre) belief. He tries to show that Swift was not much more preferment-seeking than most ecclesiastics of his time and Church, glosses over his great coarseness, and, finally, emphasises his great capacity for individual friendship. It is an introduction which should be read by all admirers of the great Dean, and it is the finest and most reasonable apology for his manifest defects that has yet appeared.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS. A Notable Group of Scottish Theologians of the First Episcopal Period (1610-1638) and the bearing of their Teaching on some questions of the present time. By D. Macmillan, M.A., D.D., Minister of Kelvinhaugh Parish, Glasgow. Pp. x, 320. Post 8vo. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1910. 6s.

DR. MACMILLAN has done well to unearth the 'Aberdeen Doctors.' They were a very remarkable set of men, and have been long forgotten—are, indeed, unknown to many Scots people, who suppose that they are well acquaint with the main incidents and most notable personalities of their national history. The oblivion into which they have passed is, of course, the penalty of their practical ineffectiveness—their failure to mould the religious thought and control the ecclesiastical movements of their day. They were not strong enough to do that. Their culture was so wide that they saw all round the burning questions that arose in their time, and could not give themselves to the hasty and violent solutions of those questions proposed by men, whose understanding of things was much narrower than theirs. They committed the unpardonable sin of refusing to sign the National Covenant of 1638, and for this they were driven from place and power, and became futile and pathetic wanderers on the earth. The learned and eloquent protests that they made against the tactics of the men of the Covenant fell upon deaf ears, and things had to take the course that stronger and less intelligent men were bent upon giving them. The Scots Church was not to be the tolerant, comprehensive, pious, and peaceable institution that they desired it to be. It must assume the form that ruder and less cultured men, who could control the helm of State, saw to be necessary for the time.

Dr. Macmillan's story of the doings and sufferings of the 'Doctors' is told in a lucid and interesting manner. He knows the period well, and has cheerfully faced the irksome task of digging into documents, where are entombed the dry bones of extinct theological controversy. He has brooked this task in the hope of fetching from the writings of the 'Doctors' some light that may illuminate the dark ways of present-day ecclesiastical dispute. This hope is a worthy one, and should not be disappointed; but there is a grave peril attached to the writing of history that sets before it a polemical purpose. Dr. Macmillan has put into a number of compact appendices the main facts of the 'Doctors' careers, and it is to these perhaps that the student of history will resort rather than to the chapters that set forth the significance and drift of these facts. The 'Doctors' were, without doubt, as noble a set of men as this country ever produced, and their learning gave them a front place among the foremost savants of Europe in their day. Dr. Macmillan clearly establishes this, but the picture that he gives of them leaves them in the position of very thin shades. This may arise from lack of biographical material. But may it not be, that it is the doom of men who have to give their life to theological conflict, to part with the fairer and more interesting parts of their humanity.

A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE FALL OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE. By Charles Sanford Terry. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv, 288. London: Routledge & Sons. 3s. 6d.

No more difficult task of compression can well be conceived than that of telling the story of medieval Europe in 300 pages without squeezing all juice out of it. Professor Terry has succeeded: his is a brisk and vigorous short history, in which such episodes as the Norse and Norman conquests, the Crusades, and the Conciliar movement, receive their due place of emphasis in the close-packed record of a thousand years. Most readable and well indexed, it is a capital précis of the Middle Ages.

SHAKESPEARE AS A GROOM OF THE CHAMBER. By Ernest Law, B.A., F.S.A., Barrister at Law. Pp. vii, 64. With Illustrations. 4to. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1910. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS slim tract deals with two events in Shakespeare's life. The author believes that the negative evidence, which he marshals, is (as Dr. Furnivall thought) against the view that Shakespeare and the other 'players' took part in the Triumphal Progress of King James I. from the Tower to Westminster Abbey even though they each received a grant of royal red cloth for a suit. It was not so, however, at the funeral of King James. Then the 'Actors and Comedians' walked in it clad in black, immediately behind 'Baston le Peer the Dauncer' and in front of the 'Messengers of the Chamber.'

The other and more important point is the verification of Mr. Halliwell-Phillips's statement (accepted by Mr. Sidney Lee) that Shakespeare with the other Kings' players took some part in the festivities in honour of the Spanish Ambassador-extraordinary at Somerset House in August, 1604.

Mr. Law is convinced that he has established this by an entry, in the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, of a payment 'to Augustine Phillips and John Hemynges for y^e allowance of themselves and tenne of their fellowes His Ma^{ties} Groomes of the Chamber and Players' for their attendance on the Spanish ambassador for eighteen days. Phillips died in the next May leaving to his 'fellowe William Shakespeare a Thirty Shillinges peece of goold,' probably part of his pay. There are many interesting facts and conjectures about the lives of the Court Players when in Waiting added, all of which, deduced from contemporary accounts, are worth reading and considering.

THE KILTARTAN MOLIERE. Translated by Lady Gregory. Pp. 231. Crown 8vo. Dublin: Maunsel & Co., Ltd. 1910. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a sincere attempt to translate *L'Avare*, *Le médecin malgré lui*, and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* into the colloquial form of English that is spoken at present in Ireland. The result is surprisingly vivid, and the wit by no means detracted from. One reads it with pleasure in spite of the unusual forms 'Oh, you have me killed!' 'If this thief gets off, it is the churches themselves will be in danger'; 'Let you not come pushing yourself there,' etc., and an occasionally unknown or rare word. One of the chief interests of the experiment is the preservation of many forms of a dialect which has only been fully reduced to written form in this century by a devoted band of clever Irish-born enthusiasts.

A Good Fight, by Charles Reade (The original version of *The Cloister and the Hearth*, with an introduction by Andrew Lang. 8vo. Pp. xii, 208. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. Price, 2s. 6d. nett), is trebly welcome, first, as a good story as well as a good fight; second, as the early form of Reade's classic novel, much developed subsequently; and third, for Mr. Lang's breezy essay on the difficulty Erasmus, wise child though he was, must have had about the detail of his parentage, which furnished Reade with his plot.

The Sources of The British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene. By Carrie Anna Harper (8vo. Pp. viii, 190. John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. 1910. Price, one dollar). This is not the first of the Bryn Mawr College Monographs which has been welcomed (*S.H.R.* v. 476) for its contribution to the source-search side of English criticism. It is a dissertation presented for the doctorate in philosophy, and it deals with the whole of Spenser's incorporation of early British chronicle, as Mr. Wilfrid Perrett dealt with that incorporation (see *S.H.R.* ii. 461), so far as necessary for tracking the story of King Lear. The method of the present essay is not unlike that of Mr. Perrett. Its aim is to account for the rimed chronicle—almost complete—of British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader found in the *Faerie Queene*, bk. II. canto 10 and bk. III. canto 3.

Eumnestes sitting amid rolls, records, parchment scrolls,
And antique Registers for to avize,

had amongst them

An auncient booke, hight *Briton monuments*,
That of this lands first conquest did devise.

This primary chronicle was plainly enough Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, but Miss Harper's industry enables us for the first time both to detect the precise passages followed and to recognise to what a degree Spenser used other forms of the narrative than Geoffrey's. He made his story of mythical kings not simply a transcript of Geoffrey, but a rendering of Geoffrey *cum* Holinshed, Hardyng, and Fabyan, sometimes *cum* Stow and Camden too, besides others. Indeed, Miss Harper amply succeeds in letting us (especially in Canto 10, 'A Chronicle of Briton Kings') see, as she herself sees, 'Spenser not solely as a poet but also as a historian and chronicler and as an antiquarian.' Surprisingly complete is the process of the demonstration that Spenser handled Geoffrey's 'matter of Britain' with an antiquary's way of weaving in the collateral data, albeit he can scarcely have been critical enough to perceive that those side touches from other authors all sprang from Geoffrey's own rib.

The essay is an instructive example of close textual collation, showing with logical and convincing clearness how faithful even in his romance the poet was to what then passed for historical authority. A clever sentence at the close of this patient and well-sustained thesis likens the poet to his own Eumnestes, among his worm-eaten books and documents:

'Amidst them all he in a chaire was sett
Tossing and turning them withouten end.'

'Even so it would seem,' concludes Miss Harper, 'Spenser himself must have worked.' It is perhaps hardly what might have been looked for in a poet's poet, but the citations, in long and exhaustive array, marshal themselves into a case which will brook no gainsaying.

The Clarendon Press has issued the *Oxford Book of Ballads*, chosen and edited by Mr. Quiller Couch (pp. xxiii, 871. 7s. 6d. nett). The volume is beautifully produced, and brings into very convenient compass nearly two hundred ballads.

Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston have sent us a small Historical Atlas, containing 32 maps printed in colours, with Notes, Chronological Tables, and Index. The maps are carefully selected, and the work should prove useful for schools.

The Year Book of the Viking Club (vol. ii. 1909-10, pp. 80) consists mainly of reviews, but has some district reports, one recording and illustrating a ring-knot-work cross from Urswick, near Ulverston. *Old Lore Miscellany* (January) justifies its name by its gathering of Orcadiana of all sorts—sheep-marks, place-names, charter-notes, topography, and biography. A first instalment appears of an account of the Sutherland bard, Rob Donn, written in 1826 but still unpublished. In *Orkney and Shetland Records* (vol. i. part ix.), containing several early deeds, there may

be specially noted a will made in 1506 by Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh. For the protection of his soul he says: 'I incal the blyssit Virgen Mare and the Sanctis in hevin.' Legacies include a 'carvell,' an 'Inglis schipe,' and a 'litill schipe,' silver stoups of various sizes (e.g. 'my best silver stope with sex stoppis inclusit in the samen'), sundry bits of jewellery, and articles of apparel. One legatee receives 'twa nobillis and *The Buk of Gud Maneris*.' The last item is editorially identified as the work printed by Caxton in 1487. The kindest touch of all is this: 'Item, I leife the fruitis of my landis of this yeiris crope to the puir folkis.' The will was made in Latin, and is preserved in a notarial translation made in 1525.

Not behind it in interest is a verdict of 1509, 'ane ogane and a dome dempt at Saba and Toop,' in Orkney concerning pasture rights, etc., on Saba. It embraces the prohibition 'that na persone nor peirsonis sall intromytt nor tayk away nodyr erd nor stane gerss nor waitt, nodyr wark wattill wair noist wring nor ne wdyr manyr of thing of the grownd of Saba.' Except for earth, stone, grass, and 'wair' (seaweed), the terms are editorially owned to be a puzzle.

The Carnegie Trust *Ninth Annual Report* for 1909-10, so far as dealing with the endowment of research in history, shows very creditable patronage of sound study—the assisted themes including church history, Norse influence, and the Scottish Staple.

M. Etienne Dupont returns to one of his many themes in *La Participation de la Bretagne à la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (cr. 8vo. Pp. 50. Paris: Robert Duval. 1911). In spite of the hostilities between Normans and Bretons just before, Duke William was accompanied in his great expedition by a considerable Breton contingent. He received, however, no support from Breton religious houses, and made no post-conquest gifts to such houses. Nor apparently did the Bretons send ships in aid; at any rate, none figure in the ancient catalogue. The Bretons are, so to speak, mentioned in despatches from the field of Hastings, that is to say, the chroniclers tell much about them there. Their annals on this side have waxed dim, and M. Dupont has done piously by his countrymen in following their careers and piecing together the misty and meagre record of their names, their deeds, and their fates.

The English Historical Review numbers in its contents for October last an outline of the controversial passages between Henry VIII. and Luther, with pithy extracts, the text of a fine dating from 1163, and some fresh data on castle-guard, chiefly from Northumberland. Much odd matter from an old transcript of a journal in cipher by Thomas Venner, a leading conspirator, is assembled in an account of the Fifth Monarchy Insurrection in 1653-61. Letters sent to the British government from the continent are printed, giving the alarm of the intended rising in the Irish rebellion of 1798.

In the January number the student of Viking times will find much sound fact grouped by Sir H. Howorth in his study of Ragnall Ivarson and

Jarl Otir, whose piracies from A.D. 912 until at least A.D. 919 wrought fierce havoc in Britain, Ireland, and France. Mr. R. G. Marsden, discussing early prize jurisdiction, touches on the admiralty rights of Scotland from 1603 until 1666. Sir E. Maunde Thompson sketches with high appreciation the great career of the archivist Léopold Delisle, who died in July last. Mr. G. G. Coulton prints an elaborate and business-like visitation of the archdeaconry of Totnes in 1342, containing many censures of the equipments of the churches. Mr. G. B. Hertz's article on Samuel Seabury, famous as a loyalist bishop in America during the Revolution, derives incidental interest from its tribute to the force and influence of Thomas Paine, whose reputation has risen of late years. But of course the central interest is in Seabury himself, who, finding the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, reluctant or dilatory to consecrate him, went to Aberdeen, where in 1784 he was ordained Bishop of Connecticut by John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen. Thus curiously by a Scottish consecration episcopacy was grafted upon North American soil. In a review Mr. H. W. C. Davis sets forth in a couple of pages the ordinances made for judicial combat by the charter-statute (*fuero*) of Cuenca in Castile at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Modern Language Review, now in its sixth year, gains momentum as it goes. The value of its contents for critical literary study is well seen in the January number, which opens with a paper by Mr. Allan F. Westcott (of New York) on the poet Montgomerie. Coming out simultaneously with Mr. George Stevenson's very able preface to the new Scottish Text Society volume of Montgomerie's poems, the study by Mr. Westcott runs so parallel with Mr. Stevenson's that it would be difficult to resist the impression of contact between the two writers were it not for the silence of both. Each of them contributes excellent new matter for the life-history of King James's favourite, who was also probably his metrical tutor. In any case, such double study of the Scottish poet is an inspiring fact: the old literature comes surely to its own. Messrs. Chambers and Sidgwick print thirteen more of the carols of blind John Audelay, *circa* 1426. One of them treats priest, friar, old man, and knight as 'al the foure astatys' of holy church. It defines the duty of the last order thus:

A knyzt schuld fezt azayns falsnes
 And schew his monhod and his myzt
 And mayntene trouth and ryztwysnes
 And hole cherche and wedowes ryzt.

An Italian version of the legend of St. Margaret the Virgin, and a very full criticism of M. Feuillerat's *John Lyly* may also be particularised among the excellent contributions. Mr. John W. Cunliffe, of Madison, Wisconsin, gives, in facsimile signatures of George Gascoigne, the decisive proof that the government agent of that name was one with the author of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* (1576).

Apart from its melancholy proofs that these forlorn Ten Tribes have recognised themselves in hard-headed Scotland, the *Northern British-*

Israel Review (vol. i. No. 3, January, 1911) has many pictures useful for archaeology. A lecture by Mr. F. R. Coles touches on the Bronze Age civilisation of Scotland. It is followed by a rhapsody on Ardoch. Another Scottish paper extracts Robert Chambers's account of the Coronation Stone, with some wandering legends and theories about it. Mr. James Watson's methods of clearing early Scots history from its obscurity beggar description in their latitude of impossible explanations and freedom of textual emendation. For example, his fancy for a whole series of kings in Scotland named 'Frederic' is deliciously absurd.

The American Historical Review has a notable paper on Roman Law and the German peasant, in which Mr. Sidney B. Fay seems to give a heavy blow to the long prevalent view that the 'reception' tended to lower the status of the German peasant to that of the Roman *servus*. It combats effectively also the allegation that the 'reception' either met with 'popular opposition' or was a grievance conducive to the peasants' revolt of 1525. Valuable points are made in papers on social forces in American history, such as the land interest, the moneyed aristocracy, the democratic idea, and the Scandinavian element in the population. Inter-relations with the home country under George III. are discussed in a criticism of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*. The story of the long unsettled and threatening Oregon boundary question from 1815 until 1846 is also traced in its interesting British diplomatic connections.

The *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Fev.) contains a study of the remarkable institutional reforms effected in Piedmont under the French dominance between 1536 and 1556. Another article, a critique of Lord Cromer, tells 'cette lamentable histoire,' how France lost Egypt. M. Adolphe Reinach subjects to very searching examination M. de Morgan's elaborate work on *Les Premières Civilisations*, finding much occasion to contradict, to doubt, and to correct in the latter's survey of the vast body of history and prehistory which accomplished itself in the ages reaching from the first appearance of mankind down to the fall of the Macedonian empire.

In the three preceding issues of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* there has been appearing a series of hitherto unedited documents relating to the *Fraticelli*. In the number for January the editor of these, Father L. Oligier, discusses the *Dialogus contra Fraticellos* of St. James de Marchia which caused grave difficulties regarding the project of canonisation of St. James, postponing it for more than twenty-six years.

Father H. Golubovich edits from a MS. in the British Museum the *Statuta liturgica* of St. Bonaventura of 1263, General Chapter at Pisa. Mr. Moir Bryce's *Scottish Grey Friars* receives a critical and at the same time appreciative review, in which various important and minute corrections, all evincing expert knowledge, are made. But we fear there is no authority whatever for the italicised words in following statement: 'Auctor, *ecclesiae presbyterianae pastor*, aequitate integerrima Fratrum minorum opera etc. expandit.' Mr. Bryce's many friends will be amused to see him referred to under such a misconception.

In connection with the centenary of the birth of the distinguished musician and Friar minor, Peter Singer, born at Unter-Häselgehr, Tyrol, July, 1810, an interesting biography by Father Hartmann von an der Lan-Hochbrunn is reviewed. It was of Singer that his friend the Abbé Liszt said: 'If I am the Paganini of the piano, Father Singer is the Liszt of the organ.' We are told that Singer in 1838 invented and constructed the first modern harmonium. He was visited at his convent at Salzburg by numerous artistes and high personages anxious to see and hear so eminent a musician.

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (January, 1911) contains as its first article a critical review of a recent work on eastern patrology by Dr. G. Bayan, *Le synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel*. In the next paper Dom François Van Ortoy treats of Peter Ferrand (a Spanish Dominican who died before 1260), and the first biographers of St. Dominic. The appendix to this article consists of Ferrand's Life of the Saint, the text being collated with four others. His redaction of the legend was probably composed in 1238 or 1239. He was also the author of a Chronicle of his Order from its beginning until the year 1254, which hitherto has been wrongly attributed to Humbert de Romans. The writer of the article adduces grounds for believing it to be, up to the date named, the work of Peter Ferrand.

Communications and Replies

VIDAS ACHINLEK, CHEVALIER. In the last issue of this Review (*S.H.R.* VIII. i.) Professor Skeat proved to the satisfaction of those who have studied the poems that the Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Quair of Jelousy* are by the same author. As to that author's identity, however, he accepted the suggestion made by David Laing in 1836, viz. that the *Quair of Jelousy* was the work of a certain James Auchenleck whose name appears in the list of graduates of Glasgow University in 1471 as 'Ja. Auchlek, pauper,' who, according to Laing, can be subsequently identified as the 'Maister James Achlik, Secretar to the Earl of Rosse,'¹ and as the holder of a Chantry in Dornoch which is vacant by his death in 1497.² This ascription is based solely on the name James Auchenleck; the Auchenleck being derived from the colophon of the manuscript of the *Quair of Jelousy*, which is 'Quod Auchē—,' the Christian name being supplied from Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*.

That Scorpion fell has done infek
Maister Johne Clerk and James Afflek
Frae Ballatmaking and tragedé.

But the name Auchenleck occurs not infrequently in the *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, the *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, the *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, and *The Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*—especially in the two first, while even the combination James Auchenleck is not uncommon. It appears as landowner, as witness to deeds, even as accomplice in a murder, but in no case in a capacity which suggests likelihood of literary activities.

When verifying the various citations of the name given by Laing I have been unable to find the name in the lists of graduates and licentiates printed in the *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, although this work covers the period referred to, and is presumably compiled from all extant documents. Laing may have had access to some document now lost, but he possibly wrote Glasgow University in place of St. Andrews University. The matter, however, does not seriously affect the point under discussion.

Although convinced by Prof. Skeat's arguments, and by a comparison of the poems, of the identity of authorship of the two poems, I would ascribe them to an entirely different Auchenleck.

¹ *Acta Dominorum Concilii*.

² *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*; *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 161.

Lancelot of the Laik is a fragment of nearly 3500 lines of a poem which originally, as Prof. Skeat says, probably extended to 10,000 lines, and is a translation into Scottish verse of a portion of the great French prose romance of *Lancelot du Lac*. The poet in his prologue gives a summary of the early portion of the romance up to the point at which his translation begins, thus showing familiarity with the whole. His work is a correct and fairly close but uninteresting translation of his original. It is expanded in parts, chiefly in realistic touches in the description of actual fighting,

The ded hors lyith virlslyng with the men ;¹

in warlike speches as Gawaine's speech ending

Deth or defens, none other thing we wot ;²

and in the parts devoted to advising the king as to the ruling of his household and his land. In the body of the poem there is but one personal reference. The poet breaks off in his account of Arthur's confession, thus :

The maner wich quho lykith for to here
He may it find into the holl romans
Of confessioun o passing circumstans ;
I can it not, I am no confessour,
My wyt haith ewill consat of that labour
Quharof I wot I aucht repent me sore.³

Taking these facts into consideration, I would suggest as the author a certain Vidas or Vidastus Achinlek or Affect, whose name appears in the *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*⁴ as having taken part at Edinburgh on 30th April, 1499, in negotiations between Louis XII. of France and James IV. of Scotland, with a view to securing the assistance of James in arranging a treaty between Louis and the king of Denmark. This Achinlek, the envoy of Louis, is described by James as 'nobilis et strenuus miles dominus Vedastus Achinlek, commissarius et consiliarius ac magister hospitii excellentissimi et invictissimi principis Ludovici, Francorum regis.'⁵ Louis on his side writes of 'la bonne confiance que avons de la personne de notre ame et feale conseiller et maitre dostell Vidas Achinlek, Chevalier, et de ses sens, loyaute bonne prudomme et experien,' and gives him 'plain pouvoir' along with 'notre tres cher et tresame frere cousin et alye le roy d'Ecosse' to arrange and conclude the treaty, which is signed and sealed by James of Scotland and the said Vidastus Achinlek.⁶

The only further reference to this knight which I have been able to find occurs in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*,⁷ where in September, 1503, there is an entry of a gift of bridlesilver to 'Schir Vedast Auchlekkis man quhilck presented the hors to the king.' There is an

¹ *Lancelot of the Laik*, l. 3384.

² *Ibid.* l. 805.

³ *Lancelot of the Laik*, ll. 1436-41.

⁴ *Reg. Secr. Sig.* vol. i. p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁷ *Acc. of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 392.

entry in 1505 of a sum of money paid to the 'wedo of Auchlek,'¹ but of this latter there is no means of identification. There is unfortunately no reference to this distinguished servant of Louis in *Les Ecossais en France*, by Francisque-Michel, where one would have hoped to get some information as to his career.

Let us now consider the claims of James Auchenleck and of Vedastus Achinlek. On the one hand an insignificant holder of a Chantry in Dornoch, a man of humble origin (if the 'Ja. Auchlek, pauper,' be genuine), of whom nothing is known, whose sole claim is the possession of the name James (which does not occur in the manuscript), and of whom we cannot even postulate that he knew French. On the other, a man of good birth, 'Vidas Achinlek, Chevalier,' holding an important office at the French Court, Steward of the King's Household, which required a perfect knowledge of French; a man of education sufficient to be entrusted with the delicate matter of making treaties; a man having full access to the stores of French literature. We may find a parallel to his case in that of Sir Gilbert Hay, a Scottish knight, resident at the French Court, describing himself as 'Chaumerlain umquhile to the maist worth King Charles of Fraunce,' who translated *Le Livre de L'Ordre de Chevalerie* and also the Romance of Alexander. Of the latter translation *The Buke of the Conqueror Alexander the Great*, there is but one manuscript as there is of *Lancelot of the Laik*. Further, the great poets of the time, Dunbar and Douglas, were employed on Embassies.

As to the translation itself, the points on which the writer expands fit in with this theory as to authorship; as a 'chevalier' his stress on the fighting is natural, as 'conseilleur et maitre d'ostell' his wearisome dilating on the duties of a king towards his people and his household is comprehensible, and his gift of a horse to the king reads like an object-lesson; as a layman his little jibe at confession is explained; while the theme of the poem and its avowed object, to ingratiate him with his ladylove, is more befitting a courtier than a cleric.

Finally, as this Auchenleck was alive in 1503, we can date his poems a few years later than 1495 which Prof. Skeat names as a probable date. The later date, 1503, gets rid of a difficulty which lies in the extraordinary similarity of certain lines in Dunbar's *Golden Targe* and *Thrissil and the Rose*, and lines in Auchenleck's poems; a similarity which makes Dunbar the plagiarist, if the other died in 1497, e.g.:

- 'Her cristall teris I saw hyng on the flouris.'—Dunbar.²
- 'As cristoll teris withhong upon the flouris.'—Auchenleck.³
- 'Quhill loud resownit the firmament serene.'—Dunbar.²
- 'Quhill al the wood resonite of ther song.'—Auchenleck.³
- 'This ile before was bare and desolate
Of rettorick or lusty fresch endite.'—Dunbar.²

¹ *Acc. of Lord High Treas.* vol. iii. p. 151.

² *Golden Targe*, ll. 17, 108, 269-70.

³ *Lancelot of the Laik*, ll. 62, 66.

'Bare of eloquens
Of discressioun and ek of retoryk ;'

'Ye fresh enditing of his laiting toung.'—Auchenleck.¹

'In weid depaynt of mony divers hue.'—Dunbar.²

'Quhich all depaynt with divers hewis bene.'—Auchenleck.³

'And lusty May that mudder is of flouris.'—Dunbar.²

'This lusty May the quhich all tendir flouris.'—Auchenleck.³

'The birdis did with oppin vocis cry
O luvaris fo, away thou dully nycht.'—Dunbar.²

'Throw birdis songs with opine vox one hy
That sessit not on luvaris to cry.'—Auchenleck.¹

'The air attemptit, sobir, and amene.'—Dunbar.⁴

'Tho was the ayr sobir and amene.'—Auchenleck.³

These lines practically all occur in the introductory part of *Lancelot of the Laik* or of the *Quair of Jelousy*. In the body of the longer poem such resemblances do not occur, save where the writer inserts a few lines descriptive of nature, which have no equivalent in the French. Does it not seem more probable that the decidedly uninspired translator when left to himself, should have absorbed lines and phrases from his great contemporary, than that the reverse should have occurred ?

There still remains the difficulty of Dunbar's version of the Christian name of the poet ; is there any way of overcoming it ?

The University, Glasgow.

MURIEL GRAY.

It is necessary to point out that, whilst the supposition of so late a date as 1503 (or later still, for the *Thrissill and Rose* is as late as May in that year) may indeed get rid of *one* difficulty, it occasions two more. For it requires that both the MSS., viz. that containing the *Quair of Jelousy* and that containing *Lancelot*, must belong to the sixteenth century and not to the fifteenth at all ; which it will be difficult to prove. I see no reason why Dunbar may not have copied from Auchenleck ; for ideas as to 'plagiarism' in those days were surely very different from those which are held now. And why should Dunbar be wrong as to the name James ?

Cambridge.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

Miss Gray's contention is interesting. But, as Dunbar names a James Afflek among the Scottish poets, and as no one during four centuries alludes to Vidastus Achinlek as a writer of verse, it is not probable. Laing's conjecture that the author of *The Quare of Jelousy* is the James Afflek of *The Lament for the Makaris* has this to commend it—it founds upon an actual poet. The identification of this poet with the St. Andrews graduate,

¹ *Lancelot of the Laik*, ll. 180, 327, 13-14.

² *Thrissill and the Rose*, ll. 17, 4, 59-60.

³ *Quair of Jelousy*, ll. 4, 1, 18.

⁴ *Golden Targe*, l. 249.

entered in the Roll under the year 1471 as Jas. Auchlek—pauper, is pure conjecture. (I have pointed out Laing's erroneous substitution of Glasgow for St. Andrews in my edition of *The Kingis Quair and the Quare of Jelusy* published in October.) The theory that he is the Chantor of Dornoch, who died in 1497, is also purely conjectural. This ecclesiastic, at any rate, bore the name of Dunbar's poet. That a churchman wrote *The Quare of Jelusy*—a tedious didactic poem—is much more probable than that it came from the pen of an accomplished courtier, soldier, and man of the world. That this churchman, or other poet of his name, was too poor to pay his graduation fees has nothing improbable about it. Robert Fergusson, who is by some excellent critics placed very high among the many poets on the St. Andrews Roll, was also very poor.

Laing read the MS. of *The Quare of Jelusy* (Arch. Selden B. 24) when the close of the colophon must have been easier to read. Yet even in Laing's day it was mutilated. Only the letters *au* are now clear, and what follows is blurred. Mr. Maitland Anderson thinks that the letters following are not *ch* or *chin* at all but possibly *tor*, and that the word may be *autor*.

The date assigned by Professor Skeat and Miss Gray to *Lancelot of the Laik* and to *The Quare of Jelusy* I believe to be later than the language and the content demand. But discussion of this would open a wide field, too extensive for this note.

ALEXANDER LAWSON.

The University, St. Andrews.

The closing sentence of Miss Gray's interesting note on Vedast Auchinlek leaves the problem of authorship where it was. Dunbar, as the text of the *Lament for the Makaris* shews, knew a poet called James Afflek, and for that reason 'the secretar of the Earl of Rosse,' whose Christian name was James, has *prima facie* a better claim to consideration than Vedast. Besides, Dunbar's line will not scan if we substitute Vedast for James. The colophon '*quod Auch*' certainly lends a degree of support to the attribution to James Afflek.

More profitable, however, than any conjectures concerning Vedast, or other member of the gens Afflek, would be an attempt to date the poem by internal evidence. At line 380 the author, declaiming against jealousy, says:

Qhare of I coud ane hundreth samplis tell
Of storeis olde, the quhich I lat oure go,
And als that in this tyme present befell;
Amongis quhilk we fynd how one of tho
His lady sleuch and syne himselfe also,
In this ilk lond, withoutyn ony quhy,
But only for his wickit gelousy.

which indicates a domestic tragedy, then of recent date, where a lady had been murdered by her jealous husband, who committed suicide. 'In this ilk lond' means most probably 'in Scotland,' and with that clue one should expect to be able to fix a *terminus a quo* at any rate.

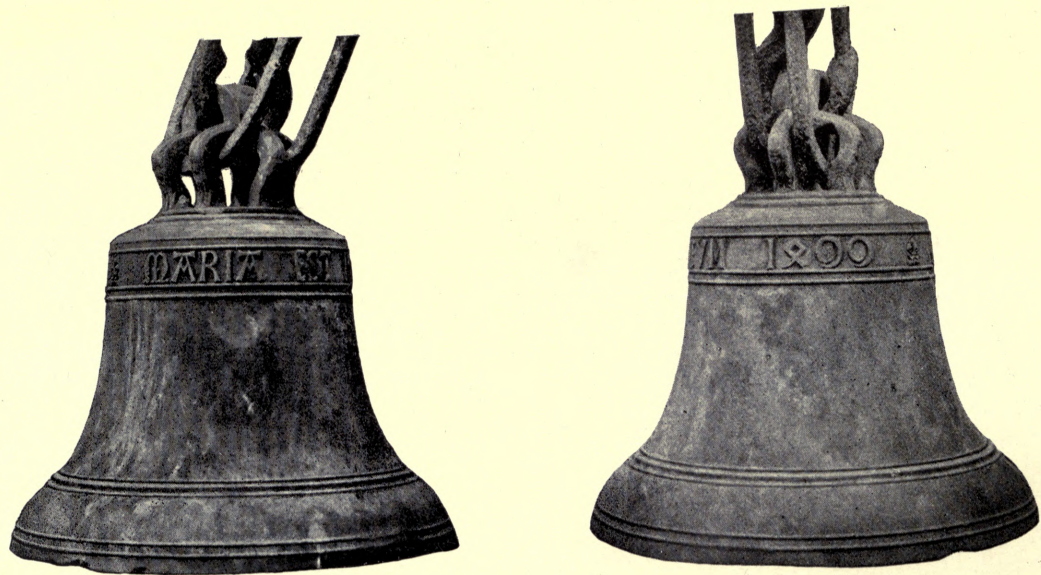
Professor Skeat's parallel passages, most of which I had noted fifteen years ago, certainly do not *prove* the common authorship of the *Quare of Jelousy* and *Lancelot of the Lak*. They establish relationship and nothing more. Miss Gray's parallels from Dunbar, the *Quare of Jelousy* and *Lancelot*, are all worth noting: some of them, indeed, are striking. But what would we say if, on the strength of these parallels, she were to maintain that the *Quare of Jelousy* and *Lancelot* may conceivably be early works of Dunbar? If possible, we must find other and safer criteria than parallel readings and general resemblances of style for solving problems of origin and authorship. Some of Professor Lawson's criteria, e.g. the frequent use of 'quhy' as a noun in the *Quare of Jelousy*, *Lancelot*, and the *Kingis Quair*, are in my opinion of more value than parallel passages, and may yield some day, if carefully followed up, valuable results. It seems to me that what is most needed now is a careful study of certain fifteenth century poems, namely, Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, the *Court of Love*, the *Kingis Quair*, the *Quare of Jelousy*, and *Lancelot of the Lak*, not as separate works, but as a group of poems, closely related, all of which exhibit, more or less, a 'purely artificial language such as was probably never spoken.' In such a study the relationship of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* to four of these poems will need to be considered. It was edited by Dr. Schick years before any question of authorship arose as to the *Kingis Quair*, and some of the editorial premises undoubtedly need to be re-examined, particularly as regards the relation of the *Kingis Quair* and the *Court of Love* to the *Temple of Glas*, and to each other. It is to be hoped that ere long someone will undertake the considerable labour involved.

J. T. T. BROWN.

COUPAR AND CITEAUX. The muniments of Coupar Abbey passed from Lord Coupar to the Lords Balmerino, and from them to the Earl of Moray, by whose liberality I have lately been allowed to peruse them. The majority have, I fear, been lost or destroyed, but the residue is still numerous and valuable. There are five documents extant which relate to the pension due to the mother Abbey of Citeaux, which formed the subject of Dr. James Wilson's interesting article (*S.H.R.* viii. 172). Readers of the *Review* may be glad to have a short summary of the contents of the five documents aforesaid.

The first is Alexander II.'s grant to the monks of Coupar of the church of Erolin (Airlie). It is No. 18 of the *Breviarium antiqui Registri* printed by the Grampian Club. The *Reddendo* clause, not there printed, runs thus: 'Reddendo inde annuatim ex parte nostra capitulo Cistercii ad procuracionem capituli generalis quarto die viginti libras sterlingorum.' The date is Edinburgh, 3rd October. On the evidence of the Obligation, printed by Dr. Wilson, the year may be filled in as 1219, though a difficulty arises (not necessary to be discussed here) from the use of the first person plural, which the Scottish Chancery did not adopt till 1222.

Some years later it appears that the Abbot of Citeaux claimed that King Alexander's grant to his Abbey covered the whole revenues of the church of Airlie. The decision of the consequent lawsuit was delegated by the



BELL AT SWINTON CHURCH, BERWICKSHIRE.

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Pope to the Cistercian Abbots of Rievaulx, Fountains and Beaulieu. To them Geoffrey, Bishop of Dunkeld, addressed a curious letter, narrating the circumstances in which the church of Airlie had been granted to Coupar, he having been at the time (as clerk of liverance) a member of the King's council, and intimating to them plainly that a decision against Coupar would be disgraceful to themselves and their order.

The result appears in a notification by the Abbot of Melrose, dated at the chapter general of 1246, and sealed by him and the Abbot of Citeaux, bearing that it had been agreed that Coupar was to pay 20 marks sterling for damages and expenses at Troyes fair or at the next chapter general, and to continue to pay the £20 pension as before, for which consideration Citeaux renounced all further claims.

The fourth document is a notification by the Abbot of Citeaux, dated at Dijon, 17th July, 1408, bearing that he had been informed by the Abbot of Balmerino of the lamentable condition of the Abbey of Coupar; that he has remitted all the arrears of the pension, which were large, in consideration of the payment of 40 francs of gold from the mint of the King of France; and has also remitted one-half of the pension for the twenty years next following.

Last comes another notification by the Abbot of Citeaux, dated in chapter general at Citeaux, 14th September, 1448, embodying a *diffinitio* of the chapter whereby, considering the risks by sea and land to which the Abbey of Coupar (meaning presumably its money in transit) is exposed, they remit henceforth all payment of the pension; the Abbot and Convent of Coupar having bound themselves to pay to the house of Citeaux 400 crowns of gold and weight in the town of Bruges betwixt and the feast of Christmas next to come.

As to (1) the ground on which the Abbot of Citeaux claimed to be entitled to the church of Airlie rather than the pension, and (2) the degree of regularity or the reverse with which the pension was paid,—we may still hope for further light from Citeaux. I have communicated full copies of the five documents (all originals) to Dr. Wilson, who, when Mr. Brown's researches are complete, will, I hope, give us the last word on the subject.

Meanwhile our thanks are due to Sir Archibald Lawrie for his clear explanation of the historical circumstances. Whether the deed disinterred by Mr. Brown is an original or not, he is the only person who has the means of judging—with all respect, I fail to see that there is any internal evidence to the contrary. It may be mentioned that the style of the Abbot of Melrose in 1246 is identical with that of the Abbot of Coupar in 1219-20. It is 'frater M. dictus abbas de Melros.' In another Coupar deed, a lease granted between 1207 and 1209, the style is 'frater Ricardus dictus abbas de Cupro,' and to this the Abbot's seal remains attached.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BELL AT SWINTON, BERWICKSHIRE. Through the kindness of Mr. J. A. Brown of Glasgow and of the Rev. D. D. F. Macdonald, the parish minister, I am enabled to reproduce a most interesting medieval bell which is

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still in use at the church of Swinton in Berwickshire. Owing to the position in which church bells generally hang, it is seldom possible to obtain satisfactory photographs of them, unless upon the rare occasions when they have to be lowered for re-hanging. The Swinton bell is of unusual interest, as it is an early example of a bell which bears a date in Arabic numerals. English medieval bells were seldom dated, but a date seems to be of common occurrence upon foreign medievales, although it is more usually in Roman numerals.

The inscription runs:



MARIA EST NOMEN MEVM 1499.

There is no initial cross, but its place is taken by a small fleur-de-lys resting upon a kind of short fillet. The lettering is large and bold, and it takes up nearly the whole space between the 'lines' or 'rims' which encircle the bell just below the shoulder. The lettering is of the transition period between gothic and renaissance. The first M and the A's are of gothic character of the type known as Lombardic, but all the rest, including two other M's, are Roman. The figures are bold examples of the kind of Arabic lettering usual at the period. There are two rims above the inscription, two below it, two above the lip, and one on each side of a simple raised moulding just above the sound-bow in the usual place.

The bell is clearly of Low Country origin. The lettering of the inscription is very like that on the bells at Kettins in Forfarshire 1519, Dunning in Perthshire 1526, Crail Town Steeple 1530, and the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th at the parish church of Perth, which were cast in 1526. All these have inscriptions in Dutch, and some have the same fleur-de-lys ornament. The bells at Dunning, Kettins, and Crail have more ornaments than the Swinton bell. All the bells in this group have doubtless come from the same foundry, though in the present state of our knowledge it would be hazardous to make guesses as to the identity of that foundry.

F. C. EELES.

THE TRUE LOYALIST OR CHEVALIER'S FAVOURITE (*S.H.R.* viii. 133). Mr. W. M. Macbean writes to me from New York (Jan. 27) saying that he possesses a copy of *The True Loyalist*, which once belonged to the late regretted Mr. Joseph Knight. With it is a cutting from *Notes and Queries* (Third Series, vol. xii. p. 164). Other references will be found in the Index to that volume. One correspondent of *N. & Q.* attributes the Collection to Charles Salmon, born in 1745, a printer, and a friend of Fergusson, the poet. One copy contains verses not found in my transcript of the British Museum volume and a drama on the betrayal of a Stirling of Keir. The known copies, three perhaps, are all dated 1779.

A. LANG.

[The Editor has also heard from Mr. C. H. Firth, Oxford, that he has a copy of this volume, dated 1779.]

SOME ABBOTS OF NEWBATTLE. In the list of the Abbots of the Cistercian Monastery of Newbattle in the *Cartulary of Neubatle* as published by Cosmo Innes for the Bannatyne Club, the names of James, John and James occur following that of Abbot Edward, who died in 1529.

The surname of James, the first of the three under discussion, appears to have been unknown. He appears as present in Parliament 18 July, 1539. The only mention of John seems to be that he was present in Parliament in December 1540.

James, the third of the three, is called Hasmall, and appears on record in 1542. A note mentions that this surname is taken from Thomas Innes' MSS. This is clearly a misreading for Haswall. Mr. Anderson, in the *Calendar of the Laing Charters*, points out that from a seal the name was probably Haswell. From information come to light since Innes's time, I think these three Abbots may be resolved into one.

Abbot Edward died in 1529, and from a writ in the *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. viii., Mr. James Haswell gets a grant of the lands of Newbattle during the vacancy caused by the death of the late Edward, late Abbot. This is followed shortly, in the same volume, by a Precept for the admission of Mr. James Haswell to the Temporalities of Newbattle.

Abbot John, who only appears in the Rolls of Parliament 1540, is, I suspect, a *lapsus calami* for James. I have not examined the original Rolls, but the error, if an error it be, is more likely to be that of the Clerk of Parliament, than that of Thomas Thomson, the editor of the folio edition of the Acts. The Act in which John is mentioned is not printed in my copy of the *Acts of Parliament* as issued by Waldegrave in 1597.

The Seal in the *Laing Charters* bears 'a boars head, on a chief endented three mullets.' It is attached to a deed of date c. July 1550.

The various preferments enjoyed by Haswell or one of the same name are as follows, from the *Privy Seal Register*: Chaplainry of St. Katherines in Castle of Edinburgh 1506. Vicarage of Cramond 1515. Pension of £10 as Chaplain to the King 1525. Prebendary in Crief Church 1526. Rectory of Kirkblane 1527. Priory of Bewley 1528. This last he resigned on admission to Newbattle, and was succeeded in Bewley by Robert Reid, afterwards the famed Bishop of Orkney. Thus we have an Abbot James Haswell, a single mention of Abbot John 1540 and an Abbot James Haswell again, and I submit there was but one Abbot James Haswell, who rules from death of Edward till Mark Ker was appointed c. 1555.

I suspect Abbot James Haswell was of the Haswell family of Murefield, East Lothian, but, as yet, I have not been able to prove it.

The following original obligation registered to 6 Nov. 1552 shows that Abbot James was inclined, in his old age, to outrun the constable and had to be pulled up by his convent.

'James Adamsonne burges of Edinburgh promittis and oblissis me nocht to intromett uptak nor mell wth na manar of gudis patrimony nor sowmes of mony nor utheris profettis pertinand to ye Abbay of Newbotle in tyme cumming wthout ye Conventis consent and assent gevin thairto and sall not furniss ane venerable fader James abbot of ye said abbay wth ony merchandis or gudis wthout thair consent except wyne Ceir Irn salmundis

and abulzementis for ye abbotis body nor ony utheris in his nayme and sall rasave thankfull payment of ye sowme of 1^m li mony aucht to me be ye saidis abbot and convent in greit and small sowmez lyk as yai pleiss offer and perfurniss and deliver to thaim my acquitans conforme to ye rasait yairof. And sall not mak assignay nor assignais of heiar degre nor my self to my letre of tak of certain akeris of Musselburgh. And gyf I perfurniss ony mony or merchandis or deliveris to ye said Abbot without ye saidis Conventis consent, I am contentit to tyne ye samyn and that ye place be not compellit to agayne pay ye samyn to me. And sall observe and suffer Johne Wache occupy his akeris quhilke he hes in tak of ye said Abbay for zeris to ryn conforme to ye samyn, the fermez teyndis and cayne foulez aucht and wont to be payit to ye abbay being thankfully payit to me during my takkis. In witness, etc. J. G. WALLACE JAMES.
Haddington.

[There can be little doubt that Dr. Wallace James is right in believing the 'Johannis abbas de Newbottill' of the parliamentary record of 10 December 1540 (*Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. 404) to be a clerical error. In fact, on the same date, and in the same record (*A.P.S.* ii. 405) he appears as 'Jacobus abbas de Newbotle.'—ED. S.H.R.]

EARTHQUAKES IN GLASGOW. The following interesting notes are taken from a communication made by David Murray, LL.D., to the *Glasgow Herald* of December 20, 1910, and since added to :

1570. July 4, 10 p.m.—'Thair was ane earth quaik in the cittie of Glasgow, and lastit bot ane schort space, but it causit the inhabitants of the said cittie to be in greit terrour and feir.'—'Diurnal of Occurrents,' p. 179.

1608.—'Upon the 8th of November there was an earthquake at nyne houres at night, sensible enough at St. Andrewes, Cowper, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundie, but more sensible at Dumbartane; for there the people were so affrayed, that they ranne to the Kirk, together with their minister, to cry to God, for they looked presentlie for destructioun. It was thought that the extraordinar dreuth in the sommer and winter before was the caus of it.'—Calderwood, 'Historie,' vi. p. 819.

The people of Aberdeen were much alarmed by this shock, and a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer was appointed by the Magistrates and clergy. The particular sin which was supposed to have brought this judgment was salmon fishing on Sunday; and the salmon fishers of Aberdeen were accordingly brought before the Session and rebuked.

1613. March 3 and 5.—There was an earthquake felt in various places in Scotland on both days, but it is not recorded whether Glasgow was amongst them.

1650 or 1651.—There was an earthquake in Glasgow on an afternoon not specified.—Robert Baillie, 'Letters and Journals,' iii. p. 319.

1656. August 17, 4 a.m.—'There was a sensible earthquake in all parts of the toune of Glasgow.'—Robert Baillie, *Ibid.*

1732. July 11.—There was a shock of earthquake at Glasgow between 2 and 3 o'clock p.m. It lasted about a second.—'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1732, p. 874.

1754. March.—There was a sudden sinking of the riverside walk at the head of the Green for several days and over long distances.—'Scots Magazine,' 1754, p. 154; 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1754, p. 141.

It does not appear whether this was owing to an earthquake, but there was an earthquake at Whitby on April 19, 1754.—'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1754, p. 399.

1755. November 1.—The great earthquake at Lisbon. It is not recorded whether it was felt at Glasgow; but between 9.30 and 10.15 a.m. the waters of Loch Lomond alternately rose 2 feet 6 inches and then fell, rising and falling occupying each about five minutes. The agitation continued until 11 o'clock a.m., but not so violently, and then ceased. At the same time Loch Long, Loch Katrine, and Loch Ness were similarly disturbed.—'Scots Magazine,' 1785, pp. 552, 593. The shock was felt at Leadhills.

On March 31, 1761, Loch Ness was similarly affected, when there was another considerable shock at Lisbon.

1755. December 31.—Between 1 and 2 a.m. a small shock of earthquake was felt at Greenock and several places in that neighbourhood, as well as at Dumbarton, Inchinnan, and Glasgow.—'Scots Magazine,' 1756, p. 42. The following graphic account of this earthquake comes from Kilmacolm:—'January 1.—Yesterday about one o'clock in the morning, being awake in bed, I felt about seven or eight shocks of an earthquake, all succeeding one another. The whole shocks were over in the space of half a minute. The second shock was the greatest, and so violent that it fairly lifted me off the bed, jolted me to the head of it, and in a moment down again to where I lay before. I believe three or four such shocks would have laid this house, though a very strong one, in ruins. The second shock jostled a large chest with such violence along the side of a wall in another room that it awakened a gentleman who was sleeping there.'

1786. August 11.—A little after 2 a.m. a slight shock of an earthquake was felt, in different parts of the town, by several persons who happened to be awake at that still hour, and who mentioned it, and described its circumstances some days previous to the arrival of corresponding accounts from the south country.

'About five minutes after the clock had struck the first quarter past two in the morning a gentleman lodging in the north side of the College Court, whilst in bed and fully awake, found his attention excited by a low rumbling noise, seemingly very distant, which lasted about three seconds, and which was repeated twice afterwards at very short intervals. This was presently followed by another very uncommon and much louder noise, which seemed to come from the wainscot of the north side of the room as if occasioned by some great, heavy soft body rubbing violently against the panels in a cross direction. A similar noise was heard at the same time by another gentleman on the first floor, though in neither case was there felt

any concussion. In a house, however, near to the head of the town and in another a little above the cross a tremulous motion accompanied the shock, which a good deal alarmed those who felt it. In the house at the College, as well as at another house at Greenhead, some tame birds in cages were thrown into great consternation, or fluttering, just at the time the other symptoms of the shock were most remarkable. The weather at this time was very still and mild, with an uniform cloudiness all around.'—'Scots Magazine,' 1786, p. 408. It is possible that the writer of this report was John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy, who had a lodging on the north side of the College Court.

This earthquake was felt at Aberdeen, Kelso, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Whitehaven, and Newcastle about the same time. A large pillar of rock at Whitehaven was thrown down.

1787. January 6.—Between 10 and 11 a.m. there was a shock of earthquake in Campsie, Strathblane, New Kilpatrick, Killearn, and Fintry, but apparently was not felt in Glasgow. At Woodhead, in the parish of Campsie, a burn became dry in places for some time. At Lettrick [? Leddrie] Green, Strathblane, the hedges were agitated as if by a sudden gust or wind. At Nethertown the houses shook so much that the people ran into the fields, locked doors flew open, the horses in a plough stood still through fear.—'Glasgow Mercury,' January 17, 1787.

1801. September 7, 6 a.m.—A smart shock of earthquake was felt in the New town of Edinburgh during two or three seconds. It was not felt in the Old town or to the south. The centre seems to have been at Comrie or Crieff, and it was felt across the island from Leith to Greenock, and from Lochearnhead to Glasgow.—'Scots Magazine,' 1801, p. 656.

1817. April 26, 6.30 a.m.—A smart shock of earthquake was felt in Glasgow and neighbourhood. Its duration must have been for a considerable number of seconds, as in more situations than one the concussion caused the windows to shake violently. It was felt in a similar manner at the same moment at Greenock and Inverness, and by one or two persons in Leith.—'Scots Magazine,' 1817, part i. p. 396.

1836. October 24, 10 a.m.—There was a shock at Blythswood.

1839. October 23, 10 p.m.—There was a severe earthquake shock at Comrie, which was felt over a large area of the surrounding country from Aberdeen to Kelso, and, amongst other places, on Loch Lomondside, at Finnart on Loch Longside, and at a house three miles to the south-west of Glasgow. Whether Glasgow itself was affected is not recorded.

1843. March 10.—Earthquake shocks in the early morning were felt throughout the North of England and the South of Scotland.

1888. February 2.—There was a slight shock all over Scotland.

1889. January 18.—There was a slight shock at Edinburgh.

1910. December 14.—There was a smart shock in Glasgow and neighbourhood, and I believe a slighter shock on the previous night.

There is a long and full list of recorded earthquake shocks in Britain, and more particularly in Scotland, by the late Mr. David Milne-Home in the 'Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal,' volumes 31 (1841) to 35 (1843).

DAVID MURRAY.