

Reviews of Books

THE SCOTS PEERAGE. Vols. VII and VIII. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms. Vol. VII, vi, 592; Vol. VIII, viii, 606. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1910 and 1911. 25s. net per volume.

It is our pleasant duty to record the production of the seventh and eighth volumes of this important work, which practically brings to an end the labours of Lyon King and his coadjutors, though it is true that there is a supplementary volume containing an index still to appear—a most needful and indeed, owing to the fact that there are no cross-references, an essential addition. As it stands a man who was not intimate with the Scottish peerage might in the course of his reading find references to a Lord Glamis or a Lord Kinghorn and not know that he must turn to Vol. VIII to find an account of them under 'Strathmore.' The first volume was published in 1904, and, considering the magnitude of the field of operations, it is really wonderful that the last volume should be before us for notice only seven years later; of course such rapidity of production would have been impossible if the work had not been as it were sublet, and, in spite of the unevenness inevitably produced by the touch of so many different hands, the amount of new and valuable information collected is so great that this must remain for centuries the standard work of reference on the peerage of Scotland.

To turn to one or two of the individual articles, we observe under 'Ruthven of Freeland' that Mr. A. Francis Steuart deals more gently than some that have gone before him with the assumption of this Barony after the death of the second lord, and he does not emphasize the 'strange and anomalous order' in which the title was assumed, nor does he point out that the assumption ceased for six months after the death in 1722 of the lady who styled herself sometimes Baroness Ruthven, and sometimes more modestly Mrs. Jean Ruthven. But Mr. J. H. Stevenson and Mr. J. H. Round have so fully stated in the pages of this *Review* their conflicting views as to this Barony that we leave the thorny subject without further remark.

From misprints the book is commendably free, and any one who has had to do with work of the kind will know how difficult it is to avoid them. We have detected one in the chapter on 'Rutherford,' p. 376, five lines from the bottom of the text, '1659' should be '1569.' By the way, Rothesay Herald tells us that the first Lord Rutherford was so created 19th



STAIR

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

January, 1661, and G. E. C. in *Complete Peerage* says that the event took place on the 10th, neither give any authority. The difference is not important, but we have merely the contradictory *ipse dixit* of these two pundits. Many, who care not either for peerages or genealogies, will be interested to learn from Rothesay that the original of 'The Bride of Lammermoor' was compelled to break her engagement to the third Lord Rutherford, with the disastrous consequences which Sir Walter Scott so graphically describes.

The interesting and valuable article on 'Rothes' is from 'the vanished hand' of John Anderson, and Vol. VIII opens with a warm tribute from Lyon to the help which this kindly man and able genealogist has rendered in the production; Scotland has not ceased to mourn his loss before England finds itself the poorer for that of G. E. C. What this latter did even for Scottish genealogy, of which he claimed no special knowledge, is shown by the frequent references to *Complete Peerage* in the notes to the pages under review.

In our opinion Mr. Anderson will be found to have successfully disposed of the story to which wide currency has been given by Riddell, G. E. C. and others that George, fourth Earl of Rothes, sandwiched in remarriage with his first and divorced wife between his third and his last marriages. The only real evidence for such remarriage is that Margaret, the first wife is (? politely) called *Comitissa de Rothes* in a Royal Charter to her personally, in which the earl has no place; for the statement that Robert, youngest son of the earl by the said Margaret, was born about 1541, which, if true, would prove either the earl's remarriage, or Robert's illegitimacy, is demonstrably false. Though the precise date of death of the earl's third wife, and of his marriage with the last wife are unknown, yet the fact that the former event took place after August, 1541, and the latter before April, 1543, makes the remarriage with Margaret Crichton exceedingly improbable.

In Vol. VIII the short article by Keith W. Murray deserves honourable mention; like the pill in the American advertisement, 'it does not go fooling about but attends strictly to business,' and gives several new and precise details as to marriage, death and burial of the (Murray) Earls of Tullibardine.

Turning to the article on 'Tweeddale' by the Marquess of Ruvigny, as we are informed in *Complete Peerage* that the first wife 'd. at Bothaws 21, and was bur. there 29 Aug. 1625,' it seems a pity not to have consulted that well-known work, when the comparatively vague statement that 'she died before 19 January, 1627,' could have been improved. Why also, on p. 449, does the Marquess call the second wife of the first Viscount of Kingston, *Margaret Douglas*? when the writer of the article 'Kingston' in Vol. V and, as far as we know, all other authorities call her *Elizabeth*. Why too, on the same page, does he say that Elizabeth, wife of William Hay of Drummelzier, was *da.* and *heir* of the first Viscount of Kingston, when that viscount left two sons, both of whom succeeded in turn to the viscountcy? These errors, however, if errors they be, are few and unimportant amid so much that is both new and true (a rare com-

bination), and, knowing the vitreous character of our own residence, we are not disposed to start stone-throwing.

'Wemyss' is an excellent article for which J. A. at the foot is alone sufficient guarantee. Alas! that these initials will be seen no more. 'Wigtown' by Rothesay Herald, and 'Winton' by Col. the Hon. Robert Boyle both mark a decided advance on all previous accounts, and the standard of the last volume is, we really think, higher than that of the earlier ones.

In conclusion we heartily congratulate Sir James Balfour Paul on the successful accomplishment of his arduous task.

VICARY GIBBS.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CLAIMS OF ENGLAND TO THE DOMINION OF THE BRITISH SEAS, AND OF THE EVOLUTION OF TERRITORIAL WATERS; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RIGHTS OF FISHING AND THE NAVAL SALUTE. By Thomas Wemyss Fulton, Lecturer on the Scientific Study of Fishery Problems, the University of Aberdeen. Pp. xxvi, 799. With many Illustrations. 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1911. 25s. net.

THE two parts of unequal length into which this important book is divided have a closer connection than at first sight appears, though neither of them perhaps justifies its picturesque title. The claims of this country to dominion in the high seas, which are traced in the first part, were connected with the question of fisheries, and, though they are now quite obsolete, it is fishery rights that give an increasing international importance to those claims of territorial property in maritime belts of strictly limited extent which are their modern survivals. In the course of his duties as lecturer at Aberdeen University on the Scientific Study of Fishery Problems, Mr. Fulton naturally turned his attention to the historical claims in relation to exclusive rights of fishery, but soon found that fishery rights by no means exhausted the claims to dominion in the British seas. The first part of his book is the result of his prolonged research into those periods of our history when these claims were made and developed, and under the Stuarts led to war with the Dutch. If it is purely a historical investigation, the second, while dealing also with the detailed history of a more recent period, has an immediate and practical interest, for it gives an account of the claims made by modern maritime states to territorial property in the adjacent seas. Of this part it may be said at once that it contains by far the best account in English of the development of territorial waters and of the rights claimed in them by modern maritime states in regard to fisheries. It cannot fail to be indispensable to the Government officials who have to concern themselves with the frequent international controversies on this topic.

From the time of John until the battle of Trafalgar demonstrated her supremacy at sea, England claimed the homage of the flag in seas which varied always in the direction of increased extent. But though not peculiar to England (for it was made at certain times by France and even Holland) it was tenaciously enforced by the English Government, and at most periods



SUTHERLAND

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was acquiesced in by foreign powers. Any foreign vessel, public or private, was held bound on encountering a king's ship to strike her flag and furl her topsail and come under the lee. Under the Stuarts it was asserted in vindication of England's territorial property in the English seas, but Mr. Fulton plausibly suggests that originally it had no such basis. Rather it was a measure of policy in relation to piracy, a measure of great effectiveness when vessels carried but one mast and furling their single sail laid them at the mercy of the visiting cruiser.

But the English common law knew no such claim to territorial property in the sea as the Stuarts made. Unlike Venice, Genoa, or the Scandinavian powers, England had never exacted tribute from foreign vessels for the use of her seas, partly no doubt from their geographical configuration, which differs so markedly from those of Continental powers. The claim to territorial property came with James I., and disappeared with his dynasty. And it was borrowed from Scotland, where from early times the Crown had claimed exclusive fishery rights not merely in the lochs, but in the open seas 'within a land-kenning,' viz. the distance within which the land could be discerned at sea (on a clear day ?) from a mast-head.

The change of policy, too, was made piecemeal. The famous delineation of the King's Chambers, which James I. instructed a jury of Trinity House to make in 1604, was ordered for the single purpose of preserving the neutrality of England in the war then raging between the United Provinces and Spain, from which James had withdrawn himself. Moreover, as it related solely to the coasts of England, it was a moderate claim, for it comprised only the waters within an imaginary line drawn from headland to headland round a coast which is not remarkable for deep indentations. The proclamation was aimed at the Dutch, who drew immense wealth from the fisheries in British waters, and the licence referred to in the end of it seems to have been suggested by the 'assize-herring' of Scots law, since it was in the Hebrides that the Dutch had one of their most successful fisheries. But on 6 May, 1609, James took the further step of issuing a proclamation claiming exclusive fishing rights along the whole of the British and Irish coasts, and prohibiting foreigners from fishing on such coast without yearly licence first had and paid for. In the hands of James' successors the claims to sovereignty implied in the proclamation led to extravagant developments as to the extent of the British seas, and finally to three wars with Holland. But the proclamation itself was the first move in the new struggle with that country for maritime and commercial supremacy, for the fisheries, since they were the main cause of the wealth of the United Provinces, were a natural object of attack to a rival like England.

Of the great extent of these fisheries, and of the English schemes for establishing national enterprises on the same model, Mr. Fulton gives a wealth of interesting information from contemporary Dutch and English sources. Some of the latter go minutely into ways and means, and calculate precisely the assured profit to individuals and the indirect gains to the nation. But no success attended such enterprises as were eventually established, and, as Mr. Fulton shrewdly remarks, it was the gradual

development of the Scots herring-boat which in the end wrested this fishing from the Dutch.

But if James has the credit of initiating a new policy, it bore little fruit in his reign. The Dutch Government naturally protested, contending that liberty of fishing had been secured by the *Intercursus magnus* made with the Duke of Burgundy in 1496; their ambassadors temporised, and the fishermen did not pay. For James was forcible-feeble in collecting the licence duty, 'sending a scarcely armed and half-dismantled pinnace among the busses, with a lawyer on board, to ask the tribute in fair and gentle terms, and, if refused, "to take out instruments on the said refusal."' Under Charles I. the policy changed. The exaction of tribute from Dutch fishermen, though it was the purpose to which he devoted his three ship-money fleets, was but an incident in the extravagant claims which he made to territorial property in the British seas. The Dutch, in the negotiations which followed, succeeded by evasion, fair speaking, and delay in avoiding an explicit acknowledgment of the king's new claim to dominion, and the tax itself was hardly a greater source of revenue than under James. For Mr. Fulton, by production of an original document, destroys a fable which has long been current among historical writers, and has found its way into English text-books on international law. He shows conclusively that the amount collected in 1632 by Northampton as 'acknowledgment money' from the Dutch fishermen for licence to fish in British waters amounted not to the £30,000 of the historians, but to the beggarly sum of £501 15s. 2d., for which the original return, with its curious variety of coinage, is reproduced in facsimile at p. 310.

Much space is devoted to a minute account of the negotiations with the Dutch, into the details of which it is impossible to follow the author, but the reader will find for every statement, chapter and verse given in the contemporary authorities, both English and Dutch, a storehouse of accurate information on a topic not hitherto treated on the same scale.

From the diplomatists, the dispute drifted to the lawyers, and the famous controversy as to the freedom of the sea, in which Grotius and Selden were the protagonists, occupied public attention during the seventeenth century. Of this controversy Mr. Fulton gives an uncommonly good account, and draws attention to the part played in it by William Welwood, professor of Civil Law in St. Andrews, who was the first to reply to Grotius in his *Abridgment of all Sea-Laws* (1613), and who had the honour of being the only advocate of the English claims to whom Grotius himself made a rejoinder. Welwood's book is excessively rare, and it is interesting to learn from Mr. Fulton that he was the first author to insist on the principle now universally accepted, 'that the inhabitants of a country had a primary and exclusive right to the fisheries along their coasts—that the usufruct of the adjacent sea belonged to them, and that one of the main reasons why that portion of the sea should pertain to the neighbouring state was the risk of the exhaustion of its fisheries from promiscuous use.'

Under the Commonwealth the claim to the homage of the flag was made with all the old vigour and in a specified area wider than ever before. In James' time it had been exacted in the Channel only, but it was now

extended to all seas subject to the jurisdiction of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Refusal to accord it was the reason for the successful attack made by Blake on Tromp on 19th May, 1652, which led to the first Dutch war.

For the extent of water claimed at this and earlier times the reader must be referred to Mr. Fulton's interesting paper, and he will be surprised at the vague meaning attached to the seas of England, which in the course of centuries were gradually extended from the English Channel to the whole waters washing our eastern and southern coasts between Finisterre and van Stadland in Norway, with an entirely undefined extent on the western side of the islands.

In modern times these extravagant claims to territorial property in the high seas have disappeared. The last of their kind was the claim to ownership of the Behring Sea which the United States, founding on a Russian ukase of 1823, put forward and abandoned in the Behring Sea Arbitration of 1893. Modern claims are much more modest. They are confined to a maritime belt of limited extent claimed as a necessary adjunct to a coast for the protection of a maritime state. They appear to be a survival of the ancient claims, and yet they have an independent origin. Commonly known as the three-mile-limit, which is universally adopted for the purposes of neutrality, it is neither in law a rule binding on all states for all purposes, nor is it adequate either for the purposes of neutrality or fishery preservation. It is at best a working rule consciously made towards the end of the eighteenth century as applying a principle which would now permit of extension to at least three times that limit. The principle is that stated by Bynkershoek in *De Dominio Maris* (1703): '*potestatem terrae finire, ubi finitur armorum vis,*' but, as Mr. Fulton points out, it had been advanced nearly a century earlier, and probably at the suggestion of Grotius, by the Dutch Embassy, when combating James' claim to the assize herring.

It was the United States Government in 1793—that famous year in the development of the law of neutrality—that first tentatively turned into a working rule the principle of making the maritime belt depend on the range of cannon, for three miles was then the utmost range of gun-shot. Into English jurisprudence it was introduced from the Continent by Lord Stowell in the prize cases of 'The Twee Gebroeders' and 'The Anna' at the beginning of the next century. Since then it has been universally adopted as a minimum limit both by international common law and convention—at least for the purposes of neutrality. But even for that purpose the immense increase in cannon range has made it entirely inadequate, though the adoption of an extended limit might impose onerous duties on neutral states in defending their neutrality. For the preservation of sea fisheries, with which it originally had nothing to do, the modern perfection of steam trawling has shown it to have notable defects. By the Paris Resolutions of the Institut de Droit International of 1894 and by those of the International Law Association of the following year, scientific opinion has on two occasions formally expressed itself in favour of an extension to six miles.

Mr. Fulton has given an admirable account of the Fishery Conventions in which the three-mile limit has been adopted with an arbitrary extension

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to ten miles in the case of bays. The judicial decisions relating to bays not covered by convention, notably the important Moray Firth Case of 1906, are given in detail, and the debates in Parliament on the abandonment of that decision by the executive Government are admirably summarised. As already mentioned, his complete account of the fishery limits claimed by modern states is, we believe, unique in an English work. His views on the over-fishing of the North Sea are important, and he strongly advocates international measures for the preservation of the spawning beds. In this he reminds us that the trawlers themselves in 1890 were so impressed by the need for protecting the North Sea from depletion that the larger companies agreed by a self-denying ordinance to refrain from fishing in a defined area off the coast of Germany and Denmark extending to no less than fifteen hundred miles. The competition of 'single boaters' who were not parties to the agreement led to general infringement. Since then the heads of the trawling industry have changed their minds on the subject. Driven by the depletion of the North Sea to send their boats to distant waters—*e.g.* to Agadir in the south and the White Sea in the north—they are now more concerned to insist on the three-mile limit as binding on all nations and on their right to trawl everywhere up to that limit. That their contention is vain Mr. Fulton shows, we think, conclusively. A rule cannot be held to be binding where European states such as Spain, Portugal, Norway and Sweden, with a coast-line of over 4000 miles, have always claimed exclusive fishery rights within a greater limit than three miles.

We have given but an indication of the wealth of valuable information contained in this excellent book, on which many years' work has been expended, and which does honour alike to the author and his University.

A special word of praise is due to the illustrations to both sections; the charts in the second, showing foreign reserved areas are particularly valuable.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

THE CONSTITUTION AND FINANCE OF ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, AND IRISH JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES TO 1720. Volume III. By William Robert Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D. Pp. xii, 563. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1911. 18s. net.

In this volume Dr. Scott completes Part II. of his history of joint-stock companies to 1720. Volume II. dealt with companies for trading, colonising, fishing, etc., while Volume III. is concerned with those formed for promoting commerce at home. Scotland is represented principally by manufacturing companies, of which a number were formed after the passing of the Acts of 1641, 1661, 1681, which gradually established a system of industrial protection. The greater number were founded after the Act of 1681 had been passed, and were for diverse purposes—for the manufacture of cloth, wool-cards, glass, soap, sugar, linen, paper, gunpowder, etc. One of the best known is the New Mills Cloth Manufactory, whose Minutes have already been edited by Dr. Scott. The Union brought a removal of protection, and many of the companies collapsed. It is interesting to note

that, though the Glasgow Sugar Houses were the most important survivors, the sugar trade had had fewer privileges than most of the companies which failed. Scotland's greatest undertaking, the Darien Company, was described in the earlier volume, but we have here the history of the Bank of Scotland, constituted by Act of Parliament in 1695, a few weeks later than the Darien Company, to the disgust of Paterson, who said that the bank act 'would not be of any matter of good to us, nor to those who have it.' The competition of the trading company, which began to circulate notes, was at first a drawback to the bank, and it was also affected by the financial chaos at the time of the Darien collapse. Fortunately none of the wild schemes for relieving the financial stringency—large issues of paper, land credit project, etc.—were adopted, and the bank, though forced to suspend payment in 1704, did not fall. It also survived a suspension of payments in 1715.

The Bank of England, founded in 1694, was of greater political importance than the Scottish institution. Dr. Scott shows the necessity of some independent financial institution to finance the Government, instead of the State having to borrow from trading companies, greatly to the detriment of commerce. This need became more obvious and pressing after the Revolution, when money had to be raised for William's wars. Various proposals were made to the Government, by Paterson and Chamberlain amongst others. Chamberlain wanted to issue inconvertible paper currency based on landed security, but Paterson's scheme appealed more to the monied Whigs and was accepted. Although the pressure of the Government for money tried the Bank severely in its early years it survived several crises, and stood firm in the great collapse of 1720, when its stock did not fall below 130.

Dr. Scott's chapters on the South Sea Company are detailed and interesting. Like the Bank it had an intimate connection with State finance. The Government was always in need of money, and in 1711 attempted to raise funds, not by borrowing from the companies, as it did from the Bank and East India Company, but by incorporating the owners of existing loans as a company for trading to the South Seas with certain privileges, receiving stock in exchange for the Government securities which they held. Thus the company acquired a capital of over ten millions, which was not and could not all be employed in trade. Therefore, following the example of Law in France, the directors offered to convert Government liabilities amounting to about thirty millions into its stock. The working out of the scheme is very involved, the more so as there are two histories, that of the facts as they appeared to the public at the time, and the secret history known to a very few then, but since brought to light by investigation. As Dr. Scott points out, it is unjust for us to judge the investors by what we know now, as many of these facts were concealed at the time. He is careful to give separate accounts, first of the public, then of the secret history. He shows how the market was manipulated until the stock rose at one time to 1050.

But the inflation of the South Sea stock roused a spirit of speculation, many companies were formed, a hundred and ninety between September,

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1719, and September, 1720, for every conceivable object. This, and the fact that the South Sea directors had lent more money than they had, affected the market unfavourably. The South Sea stock fell 300 in three weeks; their banking company, the Sword Blade Company, suspended payment. A Parliamentary inquiry was ordered, and the conduct of the directors and of certain prominent politicians was investigated and condemned. Dr. Scott thinks that although there were great losses the nation was to be congratulated on escaping the greater evils which came upon France, and which would have overtaken England had the company been able, as was once intended, to control the entire financial operations of the country. Dr. Scott gives a diagram showing the comparative prices of South Sea, Bank of England and East India stock from May to September, 1720. He adds a useful account of the finances of the Crown and nation, particularly detailed for the Elizabethan period, with tabular statements for her reign and for several years in the seventeenth century.

Both the volumes which Dr. Scott has published will be most useful as books of reference, and the student as well as the general reader will welcome the remaining volume, which is to deal with the general development of the joint-stock system.

THEODORA KEITH.

THE GREAT DAYS OF NORTHUMBRIA. By J. Travis Mills, M.A. Pp. vi, 214. With one map. Crown 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. 4s. 6d. net.

THIS book is an expansion of two lectures delivered at the Cambridge University extension meeting held at York in August of last year. A third lecture has been added to give a more general survey of the subject.

During the period chosen for illustration the Celt was vainly struggling against the growing power and domination of a superior race; the Roman mission under Paulinus, had come, had prospered for a time, and Northumbria, the most northerly of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, after accepting Christianity with enthusiasm, had sunk back into heathenism. Again a great revival was to take place, but this time the missionary effort was to come from Ireland instead of Rome, its religious issues were to be complicated and obscured by personal interests and fierce racial animosities, and more than half of the seventh century was to pass before the final triumph of the banner of the Cross over that of Woden was completed.

The vicissitudes of the Northumbrian kingdom in this time of stress and battle are recounted in a graphic and picturesque fashion, and the book is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject already in existence. The headings of the three lectures are respectively 'Politics, Religion and Learning,' but their subject matter is better indicated by their sub-titles, 'Three great Northumbrian Kings, two great Northumbrian Churchmen and two great Northumbrian Scholars.' Edwin, Oswald and Oswy are the three great kings whose varying fortunes are described in the first lecture, but the interest is chiefly centred in the fight at Winwidfield, where the deaths of Edwin and Oswald were avenged by the defeat and death of their

destroyer, Penda of Mercia, the fierce old heathen king who was the last champion of the gods of the Valhalla. The author, while 'claiming little credit for originality,' ventures to put forth a fresh theory as to the oft-disputed site of the battle. It is based upon a suggestion made by Dr. Whitaker that the river Went or Wynt, a tributary of the Don, is the Winwaed instead of the Aire, and the point where the Ermine street crosses it is chosen as being the 'Winwidfield' of the old chronicles. A recent writer on the subject, the late Cadwallader J. Bates, in his history of Northumberland, and more fully in an interesting paper in *Archæologia Aeliana*, Vol. xix, suggests a tributary of the Tweed as being the Winwaed, and gives Florence of Worcester and the Mailross Chronicle as authorities for calling Lothian 'provincia Loidis,' citing also confirmatory evidence from Symeon of Durham. Freeman pronounces Wingfield to be Winwidfield, and Winmore near Leeds is the spot indicated by the Northumbrian traditions and generally accepted as the scene of the great battle. 'Who shall decide when doctors disagree?'

The two great churchmen of the second lecture are Wilfrid and Cuthbert, and the latter receives the kinder and more sympathetic treatment, Wilfrid being alluded to as 'the very superior young man who was now the spokesman of Rome at Whitby.' 'Tactlessness, conceit, personal ambition and love of display' are among the eighteen reasons for Wilfrid's misfortunes that the author has discovered but has not enumerated.

A personal experience from the second lecture may be quoted. 'Some years ago in the Abbey Church at Hexham, I descended the steps which lead down into the crypt and gazed at its carved stones. In the dimmest and remotest corner my companion held up his candle,—“Here is something, I think, that will interest you,” and sure enough it was the same partially erased inscription to the Emperors Caracalla and Geta which I had read on the arch of Severus! Perhaps nothing has ever brought more closely home to myself the vast extent of that dominion which from the Forum and the Palatine stretched forth its arms across continent and sea to dictate what should or should not be inscribed on the stones of a Northumbrian moor.' During recent alterations in Hexham Abbey another portion of the inscribed stone alluded to has been discovered in the old foundations at the west end of the nave, and with the subsequent finding of the eastern apse, has enabled a measurement of the exact length of Wilfrid's great church to be obtained.

The third lecture commences with a generous and charmingly written appreciation of Bede, and its last fifty-seven pages consist chiefly of a glorification of the schoolmaster in the person of Alcuin, who left his own country to become the 'Minister of Education' of Charlemagne.

For the use of students an index would have been a valuable addition to the book, and it may be noted that the author accepts without question Mr. Green's 'Aidan caught the Northumbrian burr,' although recent research seems to show the burr to have been a comparatively modern acquisition.

An allusion to 'Lindisfarne' as 'girt with basaltic rock' probably refers rather to the Inner Farne which was St. Cuthbert's lonely home for so

many years, as it cannot be taken to correctly describe the long, low-lying sand dunes of Holy Island.

J. P. GIBSON.

IRELAND UNDER THE NORMANS (1169-1216). By Goddard Henry Orpen. Vol. I. 400 pp.; Vol. II. 344 pp. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 21s. net.

It is not too much to say of these two important volumes that they lay for the first time the foundations of Irish History on a sound scientific basis. Mr. Orpen, it is true, does not attempt more than the briefest sketch of the purely Celtic Ireland that preceded the advent of the Anglo-Norman adventurers, and has left unexplained much that we should like to learn about tanistry, early conceptions of land-ownership, and many other topics. It was only with the coming of the Normans, however, that the unification of Ireland, and with it the beginnings of a consecutive national history, became possible. The Norman genius for concentration gradually transformed into a semblance of order the atomism and anarchy inherent in the older Celtic tribal customs. In twelfth-century Ireland, even more than in eleventh-century England, unity was achieved at the cost of foreign conquest.

Mr. Orpen's purpose is to lay bare the causes of the Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland, to set in chronological sequence the incidents of their settlement there, to explain the introduction of feudal tenure, the original distribution and subsequent transmissions of fiefs, and the effects of Norman predominance on the original inhabitants and on the economic prosperity of the Island as a whole.

His enterprise has involved protracted and profound research; but there can be no doubt that the importance of the task justified the labour, while the manner of its accomplishment proves that it could not have fallen into better hands. Records, chronicles and other original sources have been ransacked with exhaustive thoroughness, and Mr. Orpen also shows a mastery of recent discussions on most of the topics treated even incidentally. His results, which place the beginnings of Irish history in a new and clearer light, are given to the public with a lucidity, sense of perspective, literary ability and human interest which do not always characterize works of original research.

Mr. Orpen writes as a seeker after truth, never as a partisan; but he does not hesitate to draw the inferences clearly implied in the evidence he has impartially collected. His main conclusion is that hitherto the evil effects of the Anglo-Norman occupation have been exaggerated, the good effects minimized. Celtic Ireland, in spite of the persistent belief in a golden age, was in reality a constant prey to tribal jealousy; and the resultant internecine warfare was only suppressed by the vigorous Norman rule. Even in the half-century covered by these studies the country had come to enjoy a measure of peace and commercial prosperity unknown before.

Upon some controversial topics, such as the Bull *Laudabiliter* and the precise meaning of John's feudal title of *Dominus Hiberniae*, Mr. Orpen has

emphatic opinions which carry conviction even when he attacks the arguments of authorities of the first rank. Mr. Round, for example, will require to reconsider his position on the *Laudabiliter* controversy; while M. Meyer, the learned editor of the *History of William the Marshal*, Miss Norgate and Sir James Ramsay will find their conclusions supplemented or corrected on many important points. The subject of 'motes' and early fortifications forms ground that Mr. Orpen is admitted to have made peculiarly his own; and the large portions of his two volumes devoted to this subject are of peculiar value to experts.

Many minute points of interest to scholars will be found to reward a close perusal: a graphic light is thrown, for example, on the activity of the medieval Chancery by the recorded fact that Henry II., on his expedition to Ireland in October, 1171, took with him 1,000 lbs. of wax for the sealing of his charters. It is curious to note that Mr. Orpen, with such items of information before him, still speaks of King John 'signing' the Great Charter—an illustration of the power of persistence inherent in familiar phrases. Some reference might have been made to the researches of Miss Bateson in connexion with the confusion between the laws of Bristol and the laws of Breteuil as models for the privileges of Norman boroughs.

The value of Mr. Orpen's researches is by no means confined to students of Irish history—to whom they are indispensable. By throwing light on the conduct and character of men like King John and William Marshall, who have profoundly affected the history of both Islands, he has indirectly made a valuable contribution to English history as well; while the detailed study of the action of the Normans in a field hitherto unexplored increases our admiration for the organizing genius of that wonderful race of born administrators.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

ROMANO-BRITISH BUILDINGS AND EARTHWORKS. By John Ward, F.S.A.
Pp. xii, 319. With numerous Illustrations by the Author. 8vo.
London: Methuen & Co. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

THE ROMAN ERA IN BRITAIN. By John Ward, F.S.A. Pp. xii, 289.
With seventy-six Illustrations by the Author. 8vo. London:
Methuen & Co. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. JOHN WARD is favourably known to students of Roman Britain for the well-directed activity he displayed some years ago in promoting and recording the excavation of the Roman fort at Gellygaer.

The first of the two volumes now before us is worthy of the reputation he then earned. It is not always happily proportioned; the chapters on 'Temples, Shrines, and Churches,' for instance, and on 'Decorated Mosaic Pavements,' each occupy more space than is devoted to the Wall of Hadrian. Further, lucidity and definiteness of outline are sometimes sacrificed to the mere accumulation of detail. Still, when regard is had to the difficulty of the task, the performance may fairly be described as creditable, in spite of a certain narrowness of archaeological outlook. The numerous plans of forts and houses are a particularly useful feature. When

the book reaches a second edition, which it may very well do, opportunity will doubtless be taken to bring it more up to date so far as Scotland is concerned, and to remove inaccuracies of statement. It is not true, for example, that the rampart of the Antonine Wall is still visible for 'most of the distance' from sea to sea (p. 113), nor was it at Castlecary that *lilia* were discovered (p. 31). And the expression 'basilical house' might with advantage be reconsidered. There are also a few misprints to be corrected. We may note 'Cannelkirk' for 'Channelkirk' on p. 10, and again on p. 14, 'Camelodunum' for 'Camulodunum' on p. 45, 'Corriden' for 'Carriden' on p. 113, and 'Kinneil' for 'Kinneil' on p. 118. On the whole, however, the proofs have been carefully seen to, although 'Basilica of Ulpia' (p. 216 and p. 219) has an ugly look. The map of Roman Britain at the end does not include the Forth and Clyde isthmus.

We wish we were able to commend the author's other venture as warmly. As it is, we can only say that *The Roman Era in Britain* seems to us bad in design and faulty in execution. There is no attempt at a historical sketch; and the plea of want of space, which is put forward in the Preface, cannot be accepted as a valid excuse for the omission, seeing that the companion volume is thirty pages longer. The chapters on 'Religions' and on 'Coins and Roman Britain' are rapid and pointless. That on 'Locks and Keys,' on the other hand, is good, being probably the best thing Mr. Ward has to offer us here. At the same time its very fulness tends to throw into stronger relief the inexplicable absence of any allusion to the soldiery or their equipment. Pottery and fibulae are treated at considerable length, though without the firmness and sureness of grasp that only comparative knowledge can give. For the rest, the least unsatisfactory sections are those which are abridged from *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*.

Everywhere footnotes citing the authorities used should have been much more frequent. Readers familiar with the literature of the subject will recognize Mr. Ward's sources readily enough. Others—and it is, of course, mainly they whom he must be presumed to be addressing—will fail to find the bibliography a very helpful guide. It is characteristic that it should mention Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, the connection of which with Roman-Britain is of the slenderest, and should yet ignore the existence of *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Incidentally it attributes the whole of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* to 'Hubner' (*sic*). In the body of the book mistakes on matters of detail abound beyond belief. Inscriptions are sometimes sadly mutilated (p. 37, p. 103, p. 106, and p. 132). Misprints like 'an arabesques,' 'guillochs' (both on p. 130), 'centurian' (p. 134), 'essuary' (p. 150), and 'moenad' (p. 188) are inexcusable. Proper names fare specially badly. 'Cautopites' for 'Cautopates,' 'Seltocenia' for 'Setlocenia,' and 'Veradechthis' for 'Viradechthis' (pp. 108 and 109) are comparatively venial, albeit they tell their own tale. But what are we to say of 'Verolamium' (p. 8 and p. 32), 'Clevum' (p. 8 and p. 33), 'Osirus' (p. 13), 'Saalberg' (p. 61), and 'Carrawberg' (p. 106)? Or of such Latin as '*Fortuna Conservatorix*' (p. 102), '*Legio Sex*' for 'the Sixth Legion' (p. 132), '*regulus*' for 'foot-

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rule' (p. 218), and 'poculi' for 'cups' (p. 160)? On p. 168 'BIBE VINAS' actually appears as a typical convivial inscription! The drawings, not a few of which figure also in *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, are again good, and the index is competently done. GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE AWAKENING OF SCOTLAND: A HISTORY FROM 1747 TO 1797. By William Law Mathieson. Pp. xiv, 303. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

OUR single adverse criticism on Mr. Mathieson's book may be stated in a sentence. It is so good that we want more of it. The scale on which he has written (about three hundred pages to fifty years) is liberal as modern books go, but the subject is so largely unknown, and the author's powers of exposition are so great, that a more detailed treatment would be welcome. It is, as he says, necessary in dealing with the political history of the last half of the eighteenth century 'to pursue its ramifications into British, or even into English, history'; but this very necessity is an additional argument for extended treatment, for English historians have not bestowed their space upon the pursuit of 'ramifications' into Scottish history, and there is still a large quantity of hitherto unused material. We are not convinced that Mr. Mathieson could have added 'little of importance' to the 'vivid, humorous, and picturesque account' of the daily life of the people by the late Mr. Henry Grey Graham; for that book (good as it is) has the defects of its qualities, and the picture it draws requires some serious modifications. We must be content for the present with what Mr. Mathieson has given us, but we hope that, as he pursues his task, he will allow himself greater scope.

The book, as it stands, does not suffer, as in less capable hands it might have suffered, from compression, for Mr. Mathieson's appreciation of the historical perspective does not fail him, and his book is well planned and well written. His account of the attitude of Scottish representatives at Westminster from the fall of Walpole to the fall of Bute is interesting and suggestive, as is also his study of Scottish opinion on the American War and on the No-Popery agitation. The real subject of the book is reached in the third chapter, 'The Political Awakening,' beginning with the reform movement of the early years of Pitt's ministry, and developing into the trials for sedition, which were the most important features of domestic history from 1793 to 1797.

Mr. Mathieson is always more at home in dealing with ecclesiastical questions than with political movements, and his best chapters are those entitled 'Ecclesiastical Politics' and 'The Noontide of Moderatism.' Sentences like 'The latitudinarianism of Leighton and Scougal, of Nairn and Charteris, was a passion rather than an opinion,' recall the suggestiveness of Mr. Mathieson's earlier books, and his brief summary of the decline of Moderatism is admirable. 'The old Moderates,' he says, 'looked with repugnance on patronage as an intrusion of secular, if not of political, influence into the spiritual domain, and they shrank from the harshness and oppression which its exercise involved. The new Moderates, themselves a product of this system, were humanists rather than divines, citizens

rather than Churchmen; and, anxious as they were to eliminate the theocratic element, they had no scruple in enforcing a statute which at the worst could but swell the ranks of tolerated dissent.' It was an error which has many parallels in ecclesiastical history, and not even the literary glory of the later period of Moderatism could secure its predominance. 'The sun of righteousness,' says Mr. Mathieson in an amusing passage, 'had, it seems, set; but that luminary in Scotland has always emitted more heat than light; and during those hours of darkness, whose coolness was welcome to a sleepless industry, it must have been consoling to see the literary firmament illumined with so many brilliant stars.' The glory remains, and the twentieth century will probably appreciate, more justly than did the nineteenth, the greatness of the noontide of Moderatism. Its humanism was overpowered, 'not from any inherent defect, but because it sought to do for the people what the people claimed the right to do for themselves,' concludes Mr. Mathieson, deftly connecting the coming revolutions in politics and in religion.

The closing chapter of his book deals with Material Progress, and it is an excellent, if somewhat rapid, sketch of a topic which will bulk more largely in the later volumes of this useful and valuable book.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE FAIRY-FAITH IN CELTIC COUNTRIES. By W. Y. Evans Wentz. Pp. xxviii, 324. 8vo. London: Henry Frowde. 1911. 12s. 6d. net.

THE literary history of this interesting book is decidedly curious. In 1909 Mr. Wentz presented the fruit of his researches in the four chief Celtic countries to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Rennes, Brittany, for the Degree of Docteur-ès-Lettres. He then widened his studies to include all Celtic countries, and submitted the amended treatise to the Board of the Faculty of Natural Science of Oxford University for the Research Degree of Bachelor of Science, which was duly granted. He has now, as we understand it, recast the whole work, and in particular added to the philosophical side of the inquiry a statement of views which readers of Mr. M'Dougall's remarkable work on *Body and Mind* would recognize at once as probably due to Mr. M'Dougall's influence, even had not the author's obligations been explicitly acknowledged in the Preface.

What a long way we have travelled in Folk-lore! Beginning with scraps and curious odds and ends, we have passed on to treatises on the history of the development of culture and religion, and at last in Mr. Wentz's book we have a study of religion as it now is or may be, and of our hopes of a future life, based on folk-lore. For the fairies, as Mr. Wentz knows them, are the inhabitants of the actual but unseen world, 'those whom the ancients called gods, genii, daemons, and shades; Christianity—angels, saints, demons, and souls of the dead; and uncivilized tribes—gods, demons, and spirits of ancestors.'

'To the gods, man is a being in a lower kingdom of evolution. According to the complete Celtic belief, the gods can and do enter the human world for the specific purposes of teaching men how to advance most rapidly toward the higher kingdom. In other words, all the great

teachers, *e.g.* Jesus, Buddha, Zoroaster, and many others, in different ages and among various races, whose teachings are extant, are, according to a belief yet held by educated and mystical Celts, divine beings who in inconceivably past ages were men, but who are now gods, able at will to incarnate into our world. . . . The stating of this mystical corollary makes the exposition of the Fairy Faith complete, at least in outline.'

A great deal depends on what the author means by 'the complete Celtic belief,' and we take it that his own work is certainly the most comprehensive book on the subject. He has not only read very widely, he has lived among the Celtic peoples of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, the Isle of Man, and Cornwall. His book is the result of first-hand investigation for years, and there is force in his contention that 'books are too often written out of other books and too seldom from the life of man.' His contributions to Celtic folk-lore are original, numerous, and valuable, although what he considers 'evidence' is not always what others would think entirely deserving of that term, and in Mr. Wentz's case, as in the case of other enthusiasts, what he starts out to find he has no difficulty in finding. One fancies Mr. David MacRitchie might have some pertinent remarks to make on the wholesale destruction of his Pygmy Theory. Mr. Wentz's book is steeped in mysticism, and sometimes one's head whirls with his explanations of very shadowy and elusive folk-beliefs; but the work of a new, a capable, and an enthusiastic student always deserves and will always receive the welcome which is its right. Mr. Wentz can desire nothing more heartily than the searching criticism which his treatment of a difficult theme invites and requires.

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK.

OLD ENGLISH LIBRARIES: THE MAKING, COLLECTION, AND USE OF BOOKS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By Ernest A. Savage. Pp. xvi, 298. With fifty-two Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. SAVAGE is already well known in the field of bibliography, and a new book by him is welcome, as certain to contain much that is interesting to all, and new to most, of his readers. In spite of his modest estimate of his own success, he is to be congratulated on having attained his aim 'to throw a useful sidelight on literary history, and to introduce some human interest into the study of bibliography.' One demurs, perhaps, to the implied suggestion that hitherto such interest has been entirely lacking. On the contrary, few can take up this study without becoming aware, sooner or later, of the eager life and interest that is represented by the musty old catalogues—one of the earliest known in England is in the form of a panegyric poem on his books by Alcuin of York; and the fierce prejudice and passion evidenced in the destruction of certain valuable collections is only too sadly full of human interest. Even in the matter of mere bookbinding the picturesque or terrible is not wanting; whether one looks at the monks of St. Bertin, hunting the deer for material wherewith to cover their books; or at the tanners of Meudon, dressing the skins of murdered aristocrats for that same purpose.

Anyhow, this story of the early English libraries is most fascinating both in subject and in treatment, and Mr. Savage has given in clear and attractive form a sketch of their gradual growth, from the little parcel of nine volumes brought to Canterbury by St. Augustine to the comparatively extensive collection of Syon Monastery, Isleworth, which contained over 1400 volumes at the beginning of the sixteenth century. His period restricts him to libraries of manuscripts, and not the least interesting part of his account is that which describes the method adapted in the transcribing of those most in demand. One is accustomed to think of work in those early days as being much more individual than that of the present time—as indeed it mostly was—but the business of copying popular manuscripts seems to have been as mechanical, and as subdivided, as factory labour.

Libraries in the middle ages were generally treated with great reverence, and the rules, at least, for their preservation and use, were precise and definite. The Scots House at Nürnberg had by 1418 reduced its library to two volumes; but carelessness like this was very exceptional, and books were rather regarded as sacred treasures not to be handled carelessly. Lanfranc's Rule included a provision that no new book should be issued to a reader unless he could show a satisfactory knowledge of the one he returned; and this might be commended to the notice of all Library Committees, as likely to reduce greatly the work of a modern library.

It is curious to note how librarians of all ages have been faced with the same difficulties, for neither chains nor vigorous anathemas seem to have been any more effective in those days than fines or black lists in our own. So long as the books were chained, regulations for readers were simple enough—no wet clothing, or ink, or knife, or dagger allowed—and free access presented no difficulties. But when it came to volumes being lent out of the building (a practice supposed to have been first introduced by the Carthusians), then troubles began, and lawsuits which were frequently fruitless.

The facts concerning medieval libraries ought to be known by all book-lovers, showing as they do the gradual growth of that appreciation of books, which in our days has risen to such heights that they have become practically necessities of life; and Mr. Savage has told the story so well that there is no labour involved in acquiring the information presented in such attractive form. His volume contains many and varied sidelights on the subject, all valuable, but too many to be touched on here. One word, however, must be said in commendation of the excellent appendices; more especially of A, which contains prices given for books and materials for bookbinding during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries; and C, with a chronological list of the early libraries.

P. J. ANDERSON.

NEW HISTORICAL ATLAS FOR STUDENTS. By Ramsay Muir, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Liverpool. Pp. xiv, 62. With 65 Plates containing 154 Coloured Maps and Diagrams, and an Introduction illustrated by 43 Maps. Demy 8vo. London: George Philip & Son. 1911. 9s. net.

To the student of history, whatever special period or branch he may be interested in, a good historical atlas is of course an absolutely essential

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requisite ; but most teachers must have often found themselves at a loss to recommend an atlas which both fulfils the requirements of the student and is at the same time of moderate price. The cost of the *Clarendon Press Atlas* puts it out of the question, and even Schrader's *Atlas de Géographie Historique* is beyond reach of the majority of students, while Gardiner's *Student's Historical Atlas* hardly gives one enough even for English history.

The happy medium seems, however, to be reached in Messrs. Philip's *New Historical Atlas for Students*, which has been put together by Professor Ramsay Muir of Liverpool. After trying this atlas with one's pupils one can say unhesitatingly that it gives just what is wanted at a quite moderate price. Indeed it gives full measure and overflowing, for there is a most admirable Introduction, illustrated by over 40 maps and plans, which really gives as good an outline of the history of the world as one could want. The plates, of which there are over 60, are divided into four groups: General Maps of Europe; the Growth of the Principal States of Europe; the British Isles; the Europeanisation of the World. They are full and clear, not overloaded with detail, and not using colours between which only a colour specialist can distinguish. There are quite a number which one has not met elsewhere. For example, No. 58 gives South America in the nineteenth century to illustrate the establishment of the independent states; No. 64*b* shows Cape Colony before and after the Great Trek; No. 44*a* gives an industrial map of England in 1701, contrasted with 44*b*, Industrial England in 1901, a contrast of which everyone is of course aware, but which is made extraordinarily vivid by the way in which the two plates are set opposite each other. Considerable stress is laid upon physical geography as the basis of the study of historical geography, and the maps designed to illustrate this aspect are excellently adapted to their purpose. Professor Muir asks for criticisms or suggestions, but there are very few things to criticize, and the only suggestion we should feel disposed to make is that, before the next edition, the plan of Trafalgar (p. 49) should be altered. There is a great controversy raging now about the formation in which Nelson attacked, and one hesitates before pronouncing a definite view; but one would unhesitatingly declare that Collingwood's attack at any rate was not delivered as the plan indicates.

C. T. ATKINSON.

MARY TUDOR, QUEEN OF FRANCE. By Mary Croom Brown. With twelve Illustrations. Pp. x, 280. 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 10s. 6d. net.

WE can imagine a reader even of the *Scottish Historical Review* pausing to ask himself the question, Who was Mary Tudor, Queen of France? For the subject of this excellent biography did not, during her life, really occupy a prominent place, and her reign as queen lasted for little more than two months. She was the youngest daughter of Henry VII., consequently the sister of Margaret Tudor of Scotland, and grand-aunt of that other Mary, also a widowed queen of France, of whom somewhat more is known.

There seems to have been a little dubiety as to the date of her birth, which, however, the authoress is satisfied was 18th March, 1495. Although a Tudor, and sister of Henry VIII., she was not quite so

frequently married as the index to this volume would imply. She was only betrothed, never married, to Charles of Castile, although the marriage very nearly came off; and the appendix contains some interesting papers relating to the preparations for it. There were merely suggestions of nuptials with the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine. Her actual husbands were two, Louis XII. of France and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the latter alone the object of her affections.

It was state policy which brought about an engagement with the Prince of Castile, and subsequently, this being broken off, sent her over to France to act practically as nurse to a dying king. The prospect held out to her of being soon in a position to carry out her own desires was speedily realized, and she married Suffolk, first after a private fashion, and later openly. The Duke had also been married before, nor was he exactly a widower, so that Mary's subsequent career was not free from troubles.

But she ceased to be a mere pawn in the political game, and that was always something. She died while still under forty, in 1533.

We feel pretty sure that everything that is known about this long-forgotten princess, except perhaps the year in which she died, is to be found in this present volume. It is well written, and exhibits considerable evidence of research. The portraits which it contains of the principal actors in this drama are all excellent. W. G. SCOTT MONCREIFF.

THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN AND THE RAIDS OF 1513. By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Fitzwilliam Elliot. Pp. xi, 228. With four maps. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. 1911. 5s. net.

THIS is the third of Colonel Elliot's well-informed and carefully reasoned contributions to Border history. Dismissing for the time from his mind the views of later historians, he has based his history of the battle upon these of Halle, Holinshed, and other contemporaries, and turning to account his local and military knowledge, has arrived at conclusions which, if not exactly startling, are at least novel and well worthy of consideration.

These may be enumerated as follows. First, on the evening, or in the early morning preceding the battle, the Scots army abandoned Flodden Hill, and had for their front the Till from, say, the eastern foot of Flodden Hill to Sandyford,—hence it was from this position, and not from the hill, that the Scots advanced to the battlefield. Secondly, that the whole English army, detachments alone excepted, crossed the river Till at Twizel. Thirdly, Colonel Elliot completely exonerates Lord Home from blame in the Scottish disaster, claiming to prove that in the circumstances the Borderers under him could not have accomplished more than they did. Fourthly, he denies that the Highlanders on the east flank were surprised by Stanley, whose attack, he maintains, being directed upon *their* flank, rendered necessary a charge of front—in the course of which difficult operation they lost their formation and became disordered. He adds that, even so, they were not defeated until after the Scottish centre had fallen back.

These then are some—I believe the chief—of Colonel Elliot's 'new lights' on Flodden, based, as I have said, upon the narratives of the

authorities cited above and upon those of the Scottish historians, Pitscottie, Leslie and Buchanan, supplemented by the curious French report of the battle, signed by Thomas Howard, the Lord Admiral, and a further account of the battle, written shortly after it, and almost identical with that of Halle. The author's views on the English raids following the battle are based solely and sufficiently on the English official correspondence, which shows that the Scottish Borderers still remained able to hold their own, whilst reasons are also given for believing that no English raid of importance occurred after that led by Dacre on November 10th, 1513, in which the English suffered a severe defeat.

Such is a very brief summary of the conclusions arrived at in this interesting monograph, in so far as they differ from those of previous historians. To say off-hand that we accept them would as yet be premature. It may be that Colonel Elliot, so faithful and laborious in his collation of authorities, has yet to learn something of the relative or comparative value of their testimony. But, be this as it may, he has written a book which no enquirer interested in the battle of Flodden—or, for that matter, in the history of Scotland—can afford to neglect. I am glad to observe that he announces the forthcoming publication of a further volume, which will deal with military events on the Borders in 1522 and 1523.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

FEDERATIONS AND UNIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By Hugh Edward Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Pp. 302. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 8s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR EGERTON has here collected together various documents and statutes dealing with federations and unions established at various times within the British Dominions. The first attempt was made by the New England Colonies in 1643, but the success of this confederation was not great, and other plans which were formed by Penn and Franklin were never put into execution. The later American Union is outside the scope of the book, which is, moreover, strictly Colonial, and does not attempt to deal with the unions within the British Isles.

The Acts for the government of Canada, Australia, and South Africa are given, as well as the Privy Council Report of 1849 on the constitution then proposed for Australia. There are full notes on all these documents, and in an introduction Professor Egerton has given an historical summary of the events which led up to the various attempts at union. In this he has shown the causes which promoted or militated against the different movements, such as external pressure or trade necessities on the one hand, and mutual jealousies and dread of the Mother Country's interference upon the other. In every case there were special local considerations which influenced events, and the author explains the reasons for the slowness or rapidity with which consolidation took place in different colonies, and for the predominance of the idea of union or of federation in each. An interesting comparison of the three great Colonial constitutions concludes this section of the book.

Professor Egerton has put together in handy form information which is

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not only of importance to the student, but should prove attractive, particularly at a time of constitutional change, to all who are interested in public affairs.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

NOTES ON PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS. Collected and Edited by Lionel Cust, M.V.O., Keeper and Surveyor of the King's Works of Art. Pp. 93. Small folio, with 42 illustrations. London : Chatto & Windus. 1911. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book contains a number of articles which have appeared from time to time in that scholarly journal of painting and the graphic arts in general, *The Burlington Magazine*. The majority are from the pen of Mr. Lionel Cust himself, but several other authors are represented, notably Mr. Langton Douglas, Miss Charlotte Stopes, and Mr. Roger E. Fry. In some instances these essays deal with fairly well-worn themes, yet many are concerned with recondite matter, and a good example is an article by Miss Stopes, 'Daniel Mytens in England.' With the aid of numerous documents in the Audit Office, the authoress furnishes a detailed account of the work done by this portrait-painter for James VI., Prince Henry, and Charles I.; and considering the worth of Mytens' pictures, and the fact that comparatively little has been written about him, these particulars are necessarily of considerable value to scholars of Stuart history.

Mr. Cust's own contributions to the volume are all excellent, particularly those which treat of Vandyke. A certain amount of mystery encircles this artist, for some of his canvases went through strange vicissitudes after the execution of Charles I., while others have been repeatedly copied; and, accordingly, the definite information here given on the subject is of moment. In one paper the author relates the history of the triple portrait of Charles, which was originally painted to assist the Italian sculptor Bernini in doing a bust of the king—a work ultimately destroyed in the fire at Whitehall in 1697; while in another article he treats of Vandyke's different equestrian portraits of Charles, and therein he shows that, though the picture at Windsor is certainly the work purely and only of the great Flemish painter, that in the Prado is in all probability merely a copy, while the various editions in private collections have little claim to authenticity, and were mostly done long after Vandyke's death. In a further article Mr. Cust writes of the Vandyke commonly known as 'The Great Piece,' that is to say, the huge portrait of King Charles and Henrietta, with their two eldest children, which now hangs at Windsor. By the aid of internal and external evidence, the writer evinces that this work, also, may be accepted as really from Vandyke's brush; but he opines that, in all probability, the canvas was enlarged by stitching during the eighteenth century; while, as regards the various copies or replicas of the picture, he shows that none of these are genuine Vandykes, unless possibly that belonging to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

Other interesting articles by Mr. Cust are on an altarpiece by Fabriano, on certain portraits by Antonio Moro, and on a picture variously attributed to Titian and Giorgione. In all he writes the author uses a style which is lucid, distinguished, and sometimes eloquent.

W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH.

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GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE. By Michael Barrington. Pp. xv, 448. With Portraits and Maps. Large 4to. London: Martin Secker. 1911. 30s. net.

SURELY, after all, the fates of history have been kind to Dundee. The heated and unsparing denunciations of his enemies with the equally heated and unsparing laudations of his friends, have contrived to throw into strong relief a personality without any great positive claims to distinction.

In the histories 'the Whig dogs' have generally had the best of it; the biographers have thus been thrown into an attitude of defence. Of late the balance has been getting more rightly adjusted, so that Mr. Barrington's heightened pleading sounds a bit old-fashioned. But, as the estimates approximate on the central facts, Claverhouse curiously dwindles, until we seem to see what he really was—a capable, honest, rather narrow man, strangely limited in political foresight and understanding, successful in a brief military campaign on lines set for him by his circumstances, and utterly loyal to the principles he could grasp, involving a cause with which, as Mr. Barrington admits, 'few now feel much sympathy' (p. 319). There is no attempt to deny the fact that the triumph of James and his gallant champion would have been contrary to the best interests of the country. We 'may be satisfied that for our ultimate prosperity the wiping out of the Stuart kings was an inevitable act in the great national drama' (p. 375). At the best then he was a good man in a bad cause; but loyalty to a person, and that person James II., cannot be held to transcend loyalty to the commonweal, and, if in this case it did, the fact is of some bearing upon the character in question.

The truth seems to be that Dundee was unable to see either deeply enough or widely enough to realise the great issues at stake, just as he was unable to realise the heaviness of the odds against any chance of success. This comes out very clearly in the letters he wrote from Lochaber to bring out men like Cluny, before he started on the final stage of his campaign. The tone and contents of these disconcert even the sympathetic biographer. Professor Terry has said of that to Strathnaver (July 15), which is typical, 'Dundee's assurance was incorrigible or consummately feigned.' Mr. Barrington writes, 'That Dundee was at heart as serene as he outwardly appeared is improbable' (p. 317). The hypothesis that he was deliberately seeking to deceive his correspondents is not consistent with Dundee's habit of mind, and I leave it to others. I prefer the more obvious conclusion that when he wrote to Cluny, in (perhaps) his last letter, 'All the world will be with us, blessed be God,' he really believed what he said. The supposed 'irony' of Dundee's letters (p. 320) is usually read into them. If Dundee was 'a worldly and ambitious man' (p. 203), as Mr. Barrington says, there is no need to appeal to any more subtle quality to explain what he says to Macleod, 'He (James) promises, not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favour as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is in being loyal' (p. 307). I do not think 'worldly' a proper epithet; something more generous would be preferable.

But the 'romantic leaning' (p. vi.) is the most dangerous sort of bias in history, whether it leans towards the hero or the villain. It is this that

makes Mr. Barrington speak of Dundee's early duties as 'often uncongenial' (p. vi.). In what sense? His dealings with the Whigs may have meant 'toil,' of course, but it would be to wrong Claverhouse to suppose that he was acting against his convictions, or that, with his political principles, he did not believe the measures he undertook to be thoroughly necessary. He was not a cruel man, not cruel in the sense in which Dalziel and Johnstone of Westerhall were, but he was callous, as a soldier might be, and as a man of his temperament, and a firm Episcopalian, would be in rooting out the 'plague of Presbytery.' And the John Brown incident, upon which something still remains to be said, is not settled by a reference to the Abjuration Oath, or Mr. Lang would not have written that it 'seems beyond palliation' (*History*, III., p. 386). The treatment of the anti-Covenanter phase is, indeed, the least satisfactory part of the book, not because it does not seek to be fair, but because it is superficial. Thus it was not an 'Act of Parliament' which enjoined the Abjuration Oath (p. 147), but an Act of the Privy Council, followed by a series of Instructions and Proclamations which must be read therewith. So, too, Mr. Barrington does not wish to linger over the position of Dundee during the years of James's rule (p. 180), but surely they have an important light on his guiding star of 'loyalty.' The king's ambition was too much even for the Lord-Advocate, with whom Claverhouse has been coupled in Covenanted nomenclature, but Claverhouse gave no sign of dissent. Would his 'loyalty' have stood the test of a full-blooded Catholic reaction? From his letters one would judge not; but then has 'loyalty' its limits? And was he only pretending to be 'serene' when he expressed his conviction that James intended no wrong to the national religion, or that the alleged danger to Protestantism was merely a 'pretext of rebellion' (p. 306).

It is on the military portion of Dundee's career that Mr. Barrington lays chief emphasis, but here again one catches the note of exaggeration. Dundee played the guerilla game quite well, as anyone with soldierly instincts would do. But he cannot be said to have 'beguiled Mackay and his forces to Inverness' (p. 256); they were chasing him. His raid on Perth with seventy horsemen and his retreat from the town of Dundee was a good sporting move; but how is it comparable with the two raids of the American War of Secession, involving the use of men and artillery, the cutting of railways and other lines of communication, and the destruction of vast quantities of stores, besides the moral result? He 'swiftly and relentlessly hunted' Mackay down Strathspey (p. 297), but it is a 'retreat' when Mackay turns the hunting the other way. Killiecrankie is an over-estimated affair. But to Mr. Barrington, Claverhouse, 'like Montrose, was spiritual ancestor to some of our best present types of military leaders' (p. 378). Finally, James's downfall is traced to English dislike of the Stuart and Scottish devotion to a French alliance (pp. 375-6). On this ground Dundee is credited with upholding a 'provincial cause' (p. 178). But James I. had leanings wholly towards Spain, while his son fought against France, and the English Cromwell preferred a French alliance. Charles II. and James took to France for personal and religious reasons.

But for those who prefer a Dundee in the heroic vein Mr. Barrington's handsome volume is admirably suited. It is well put together, and is equipped with full references and some excellent appendices. Mr. Barrington accepts the disputed letter after Killiecrankie, as against Professor Terry, whose new setting of the battle also he refuses. The chronologies are most useful, and, though the last word on Dundee has not yet been said, the work is a capable contribution to 'the other side,' if sides are still to be taken.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE PAGEANT OF THE BRUCE. By Sir George Douglas, Bart. Pp. 87. 16mo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1911. 1s. net.

THOMAS THE RHYMER. By W. Macneile Dixon, Professor of English Literature in the University, Glasgow. Pp. 37. 16mo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1911. 1s. net.

ONE of the most interesting of the enterprises of the recent Scottish National Exhibition was the production of a series of stage representations of notable episodes in Scottish annals. The original intention was to present these as spectacular displays, but this was modified by the circumstance of their production upon an indoor stage, and the pageants developed into something more nearly resembling dramas; hence the name that was given them, of 'pageant plays.' The historical motive, however, remained unchanged. As performed in the theatre, the two pageant plays under review had the disadvantage of depending rather upon their words than their action. In both cases the speeches were apt to be somewhat longer than is desirable when the movement of the characters on an actual stage has to be considered. But these characteristics, which were drawbacks on the stage, render the respective productions all the more interesting in printed form.

The *Bruce*, in blank verse, is as stately and well-conceived as might be expected of its subject and its author. Its five scenes deal respectively with the death of Comyn, the enthronement of Bruce at Scone, the Shaveldores, or the king and his little court as wanderers among the hills, the king as a vagrant in Arran, and the vigil of St. John on the eve of Bannockburn. Of these the Shaveldores is the finest scene; some charming songs are introduced, and the parting of Bruce and his queen touches a very real and tender note of pathos. Among the many deft and apt devices throughout the play the author must be complimented on a telling use of rhyme where that use becomes serviceable to heighten the effect of the dialogue; and humour here and there acts as a relief to the import of the more momentous passages. The little book is full of fine things, and Sir George Douglas must be congratulated on having given a picture of the hero-king, his character and the outstanding episodes of his life, as admirable as it is true and inspiring.

In *Thomas the Rhymer* Professor Dixon has departed altogether from a Scottish motive for his play. It is indeed rather Greek than Scottish. The author has not availed himself of any of the many legends of True Thomas which might have been turned to dramatic account, and his

central figure is a poet who might have had his haunt on the slopes of Parnassus even more appropriately than on the side of the Eildon Hills. But the production is an exquisite piece of work, full of the finest poetic imagery and charm. There are scores of lines, such as—

‘Summer’s winged flower, the painted butterfly,’

or Thomas’s description of the fields of home as

‘More beautiful by custom made than vales
Of asphodel beneath a cloudless noon’—

which must linger long with haunting charm in the memory. The story counts for little—indeed there is little story in the piece; but the reader is drawn on, from passage to passage and scene to scene, by the sheer magic of the imagery and the verse. Professor Dixon’s *Thomas the Rhymer* is, in short, among the finest examples of a poetic idyll.

GEORGE EYRE-TODD.

SIX TOWN CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND. Now printed for the first time, with an introduction and notes. By Ralph Flenley. 8vo. Pp. 208. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

THE value of what may be called the city type of chronological register of public events, savouring more of diary than history, is abundantly illustrated in the six examples edited by Mr. Flenley, and is critically and formally proved by his very able introductory dissertation.

Five of the chronicles are of London production, and the sixth is from King’s Lynn. All are of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, and, while differing greatly in tone and in quality of record, alike incorporate a multitude of facts grouped under the years of office of sheriffs or mayors. These facts having often only the slenderest relation to each other, the variety is so much the more.

One of the London chronicles, that of Robert Bale, stands distinguished above the others by its systematic narrative and generally accurate dates, but the whole six make a miscellany of interest and importance. The combined literary and historical grasp of the editor gives us welcome promise of accomplished work in the medieval province. He contrasts the continental local annalists with their much tardier English successors. He puts the developing chronicle into relation with the early translations, the newer inspirations of patriotism, and the impetus to criticism and literature that accompanied the triumphs of English seamanship. Not in vain does he bespeak acknowledgment for the virtue of these town chroniclers, were it only for their putting men (to use Holinshed’s phrase) ‘in mind not to forget their native country’s praise.’ No such shrewd estimate of the quality of Fabyan, Polydore Vergil, and Edward Hall has ever been written before: it is refreshing to find them getting their due at last, not as crude phenomena, but as successive reflections of the growing aspirations of their age towards English history. The works here edited follow the type of Fabyan: they have as little of Vergil’s aping of philosophical scope, as of the rhetoric—sometimes gorgeous—of Hall. As contemporary annals they

Flenley: Six Town Chronicles of England 197

are of great subsidiary worth, even for affairs of Scotland and the Scots. Indeed, there is one vexed question of Scottish chronology on which the present writer now almost inclines to accept Bale's word (*viz.*, on the year in which the battle of Sark was fought), though it negatives some inferences and a contention for 1449 which have received weighty countenance, and are supported by direct citations of other chronicles. Under the year 1448 Bale writes :

Item the moneth of septembre the king rode to York at which tyme the Scottes had issued into the English marches and brent and dyd moch harme and afterward as cowardes knowyng of the kynges comyng stale home ageyn and fled into Scotland and after them issued a greet power into the land of Englysshemen of the marches and brent and slewe in Scotland and wolde have distroied that land but they wer reconntred and comaunded by the king to ceas and soo cam ageyn. And than the Scots of sotell ymaginacion rosen ageyn. And than Sir Henre percy and many other Gentiles pursued upon theym and sodenly they wer betrayed and taken in a mire ground, which was a greet hevynes to the king and a grevous hurt to this land. And a noon after, the Erle of Salesbury brent greet part of the marches of Scotland and toke many prisoners and greet store of their catell.

At any rate the confused chronology of Anglo-Scottish relations of the period centring in the battle of Sark, and the Lincluden conference on Border law and regulation, gains data appreciably by this chronicle of Robert Bale, described as a notary, judge and citizen of London, flourishing in 1461, although Mr. Flenley has been unable to verify the notice of him given by John Bale in his *Scriptorum Catalogus*.

Another of the records edited has a description of Flodden, with a list of the slain, virtually identical with that given in Hall's *Chronicle*, but it differs from other authorities in saying that King James's body was carried to the Carthusian house (probably Easby), near Richmond, 'where it still lies unburied.' The latest allusion to Scotland is in a Lynn chronicle which under the year 1542, records—

on saynt mychelmes day the scots was over throwen, also harowld of yngland was slayne by rebels.

The disaster of Solway Moss really occurred, however, on 24th November ; Somerset Herald was murdered at Dunbar while returning to England.

Even these few extracts will show that Scotland shares in the benefits of these minor chronicles, and in the advantages of Mr. Flenley's editorial enterprise. One may hope that there are still other annalists for him to edit. With John Stow, last and greatest of London chroniclers, the type of such annals in civic form practically came to an end ; but that before it passed away it had rendered signal service to national, equally with city, history, Mr. Flenley's specimens alone would handsomely prove.

GEO. NEILSON.

ANTIQUARISK TIDSKRIFT FÖR SVERIGE. Vol. XVIII.

THE volume before us is largely the work of Dr. Knut Stjerna, whose death in 1909 is a loss to Swedish archaeology. His *Contribution to the History of the Colonization of Bornholm in the Iron Age*, is of more than local

interest; it is an excellent example of those comparative methods of archaeological study which have nowhere produced more interesting results than in Scandinavia. Bornholm possesses an extraordinary wealth of pre-historic material; its numerous cemeteries of the Iron Age extend from the Hallstatt period to the end of the heathen times. These have been carefully investigated and grouped chronologically, and from their sites the movements of population within the island can be traced, while a comparison of ornaments and other finds affords evidence of the relations of the inhabitants with Southern lands. In Bornholm, as in the other Baltic islands of Gotland and Oland, we can trace the influence of the wars and migrations which agitated Europe during the early centuries of our era on the traffic and the arts of the people. In the *La Tène* period the island stood in close relation with Eastern Pomerania and the country between the Vistula and Oder, but in the third century provincial Roman products came to it through the Elbe region and Holstein. A couple of centuries later the southern traffic shifted further east, and with it came the stream of Byzantine gold which brought such extraordinary treasures to the Scandinavian north. During the period of the great migrations there are evidences of connections with Hungary along the line of the Vistula until the middle of the sixth century, when these relations broke off, and the stream of Byzantine *solidi* ceased.

The cemeteries begin to indicate a displacement of population about the year A.D. 300; the graves are fewer in number, the contents less rich. A great and general emigration seems to have taken place during the fourth century, in which the people, probably of Burgundian race, joined with their racial kin on the Continent in a movement southward. This movement, which was probably accelerated by pressure from the Slav races further east, appears to have continued till about the year 550. At that period entirely new conditions arose in Bornholm. It forms a distinct dividing line in the character of its antiquities. The old burial traditions were lost, and the knowledge of the presence of the older graves. Everything indicates the coming of a new race of inhabitants, a people whose Scandinavian origin is clearly shown by the similarity of their ornaments with those in vogue in Gotland, Oland, and Southern Sweden. The evolution of these ornaments, which is fully illustrated, forms an interesting feature of the paper.

A second contribution by Dr. Stjerna examines the burial customs described in the poem of *Beowulf* in their bearing upon the chronology and the scene of the poem. The description of the burial of *Beowulf* is obviously reminiscent of that of a real king. The dead hero was laid on a funeral pyre of logs, upon a promontory high above the sea; beside him were placed his weapons. When the fire was extinguished, the people built above the pyre a mighty *howe*—high, so that the seafarers should know it as *Beowulf's* grave *howe*, as from far they passed in their ships across the mists of the billows. In this they cast treasures from the dragon's hoard and covered it with an earthen mound. Such a mound is the *Odin's* *howe* at old Upsala, opened in 1876. This great tumulus had been placed upon a natural elevation of the ground; in the middle lay a circular mass

of stones, covering in part the site of the funeral pyre. On the level of the pyre had been placed an urn covered with a thin slab of stone which contained human bones, as also bones of domestic animals. In the urn and around it lay remains of many ornaments which had been more or less destroyed by the flames. The Odin's howe must have formed the last resting place of some King of the Svea. The character of the ornaments which had been laid with the body on the pyre indicate that its date can be fixed at the end of the fifth century. It was precisely in that century that the stream of gold from the south carried its richest treasure towards Southern Sweden. Beowulf's grave mound and his golden treasure combine to indicate that he belonged to this period. The home of his people must have lain in Southern Sweden; perhaps upon some high ness in Oland was raised the howe of this Gothic King.

Antiqvarisk Tidskrift, Vol. XIX, is devoted to Stone Age studies. Herr Schnittger writes on prehistoric flint workings and deposits in Skåne, while in his last paper Dr. Stjerna takes a wide survey of the earlier Stone Age antiquities in Scandinavia prior to the epoch of stone cists (hållkisttiden).

Fornvännern, 1910. In addition to a number of papers chiefly of local interest, this publication contains the usual catalogue of additions to the National Historical Museum, Stockholm, for the year. Numerous finds are described and illustrated; one of the most interesting of these is a polished flint celt from a moss at Dagstorpe in Skåne, which is still fixed in its bone shaft formed by the tibia of an elk.

JAMES CURLE.

NORTH UIST: ITS ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY. With Notes upon the Early History of the Outer Hebrides. By Erskine Beveridge, LL.D. Pp. xxvi, 348. 4to. With many Illustrations. Edinburgh: William Brown. 1911. 30s. net.

DURING a visit of some weeks' duration last year to the Island of South Uist it often occurred to me what a pity it was that no competent authority had so far recorded the numerous and varied antiquities that met one on every side. Whilst these thoughts were passing through my mind in South Uist, North Uist was fortunate in engaging the attention of one of its proprietors, whose work, now issued to the public, shows the firm hold which that most interesting district had acquired on his affections. Some idea may be gained of the great number of archaeological remains from the following list: three earth-houses of a variety of which but one single example has hitherto been known, and six or seven others, eighty-six duns or prehistoric forts of which seventy are island forts, each provided with a causeway from the neighbouring shore, five brochs, four or five stone circles and eighteen or twenty chambered cairns, including the interesting structures known locally as 'barps'—and all this within an area of little more than eleven miles. Each of these sites has been described in considerable detail, and all the information regarding them has been recorded with such accuracy by the author that little can be added by way of comment.

In his scholarly chapter on place-names, Mr. Beveridge has the following quotation: 'About seventy years ago the islands (Heisker) were well

covered with good pasturage, with machirs or sandhills of considerable height. At half-tide all the islands except Shillay and Stockay, were connected as at present, by a sandy beach, and they were inhabited by eighteen families, besides cottars, who were enabled to feed 1000 head of cattle, sheep, etc. About ten years after, without any apparent cause, the whole of the surface of the islands was denuded of soil and grass, except two very small portions at each end. The inhabitants were consequently obliged to leave, and for nearly fifteen years the islands were uninhabitable, except by one family, and a channel of six or eight feet was scoured out on each side of Shevenish island.' Similar results have been known in South Uist, and in some cases admit of easy explanation. The machir or sand-hill is covered with a coating of rough grass or 'bent,' edible by horses and cattle, and invaluable as binding the sand together and withholding it from being blown on to the better arable land. The greedy crofter, however, wishing to improve nature, ploughs up the machir and plants potatoes, of which it will yield a moderate crop the first year. But when the storms of winter come, there is nothing on the newly ploughed land to bind the sand, with the result that it is carried away, not only leaving patches, bare of all vegetation, but covering up land that before was of the best.

The detailed account of the excavation of a fourteen-chambered earth-house proves the care which Mr. Beveridge spent upon such work. His description, with plans and photographs, is deserving of all praise. He justly remarks that these sites are subject to so many contingencies that 'it becomes necessary to examine and record every detail at the time.' The remains of human habitation must indeed be disappearing at a great rate, for an old residenter in South Uist, when presenting me with seven pins of bone and three of copper—all prettily worked—apologised that he had not more to give at the time, he was getting old and could not find them upon the machir as easily as in his youth.

The same idea is suggested in many places in the chapter on Pre-Reformation Chapels and other Ecclesiastical Remains—a chapter which contains all the information that earlier writers had been able to collect, along with much personal research. In no other portion of the book is it more manifest how fast the relics of bygone times are disappearing from the land. To take one example, which refers to Martin's description of Vallay : 'It hath three Chappels, One Dedicated to St. Ulton and another to the Virgin Mary. There are Two Crosses of Stone, each of them about 7 foot long, and a foot and a half broad. There is a little Font on an Altar, being a big Stone, round in like of a Cannon Ball, and having in the upper end a little Vacuity capable of two Spoonfuls of water; below the Chappels there is a flat thin Stone, called Brownie's Stone,' etc. Concerning this Mr. Beveridge remarks : 'Of the Altar and Font, as also the two crosses described by Martin, no trace could be found, although we are informed that one of the crosses was taken to Argyllshire within recent times.'

The chapter of ninety pages on the Duns or Pre-Historic Forts is in reality a complete treatise on the subject, whilst the sixty-four illustrations

bring home to the lazily disposed all the characteristics of a class of structure often very difficult of access. In this volume, as in other of Mr. Beveridge's works, the views are perfect as photographs, whilst they are given in such profusion that one wonders how the weather of Uist, traditionally so bad, permitted such results to be obtained.

The last chapter might more appropriately have been entitled, 'Manners and Customs,' being exclusively devoted to this subject, and dealing with practices, all of them survivals of a very early period. This, however, is but a small matter. The general impression on reading the book through is that North Uist has found an able historian, and has itself provided him with a vast field of most interesting matter. The work has been so ably and so thoroughly carried out that one cannot fail to wish, however great the labour of bringing out such a work may be, that Mr. Beveridge will not fear to undertake a corresponding volume for South Uist and its smaller neighbours.

FRED. ODO BLUNDELL.

GARIBALDI AND THE MAKING OF ITALY. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. Pp. xi, 374. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1911.

In this volume Mr. Trevelyan devotes himself to the activities of Garibaldi during the period from May, 1860, to the following November, when, after witnessing the investiture of Victor Emmanuel in Naples, he retired quietly to Caprera, from a stage which was crowded with strange figures with whom he had nothing in common, and whose points of view he could not grasp.

In his first volume Mr. Trevelyan dealt with a tragic episode, and in his second with an isolated struggle and triumph; but when Garibaldi crossed the Straits of Messina after his capture of Palermo, the field of his activities was enormously enlarged, and ceased to be suited to the somewhat arbitrary and abstract treatment which Mr. Trevelyan adopted in his narratives of the Defence of the Roman Republic and the Sicilian expedition. The result is that in the last five chapters of this volume in particular, the reader is conscious of a certain loosening of grip on the part of the author, whose strong political sympathies and antipathies thrust themselves forward. But up to this point the narrative has all the rapid movement and emotional simplicity which characterised the previous volumes.

The elaborate lists of authorities in the three volumes will be of permanent value to students, and one would be tempted to urge Mr. Trevelyan to publish a supplementary volume containing the texts of recollections and notes of conversations which his industry has collected, were it not that he has so fully extracted their substance that the field is probably exhausted. No reader can place the third red volume beside its two predecessors on his shelves without asking himself what position they will ultimately take in the historical literature of their subject and period. Their qualities and their limitations recall the work of Prescott in a very different field.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

202 Holmes : Caesar's Conquest of Gaul

CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. Second Edition, revised throughout and largely rewritten. Pp. xl, 872. With twelve Illustrations. 8vo. With Maps and Plans. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 24s. net.

DR. RICE HOLMES is to be congratulated on the fact that a second edition of his masterly work has already been called for. It is but seldom that the merits of a learned book are so promptly and so universally recognized. He is doubly to be congratulated on the thorough and successful manner in which he has carried through the task of revision, for to the zeal and energy that can add, he has joined the courage that can subtract.

We have tested the new edition at various points, and have everywhere found substantial improvement. The narrative, for instance, though it has been lengthened by nearly forty pages, has gained materially in vividness and interest. Formerly it suffered here and there from the effect of compression. Now it can be read from beginning to end with unalloyed pleasure. A corresponding advance is to be noted in the second and more important portion of the volume. Since 1889 a certain amount of fresh information has come to light, and a certain number of new theories have been advanced. The fresh information has been duly taken account of; the new theories have been critically examined. But this is not by any means all. Each separate article has been most carefully scrutinized in the light of a decade of reflection. Where it seemed to lack lucidity or completeness, it has been clarified and expanded. Where it proved to be more elaborate than circumstances now require, it has been remorselessly abbreviated, if it has not been altogether excised.

The general result is, as we have already indicated, extremely satisfactory. As an exhaustive commentary on the subject-matter of one of the great books of the world, the *Conquest of Gaul* should have a place on the shelves of every scholar and man of letters. To all serious students of Roman history it is simply indispensable.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

SAINT CECILIA'S HALL IN THE NIDDRY WYND: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh. By David Fraser Harris, M.D., C.M., B.Sc. (Lond.), F.R.S.E. Second edition. Pp. xv, 303. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 1911. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS book is written with more enthusiasm than discrimination. The first fifty pages are devoted to the description of an old Hall in Edinburgh: the remainder consists of notices of musicians who performed there, of musicians whose music was performed there, and of members of society in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century who *probably* attended the concerts.

The description of the Hall is confused and confusing: it is not possible to obtain a clear idea of what the author means without a personal visit to the locality. The second portion is built on 'must have been,' 'almost certainly' was, and similar phrases. This is not history.

Dr. Harris has been at great pains to collect and record much valuable information. The book is well printed, and has numerous clear and uncommon illustrations. But it is a book to dip into: not one to digest.

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It is to be regretted that a subject so interesting in itself, which has inspired so much enthusiasm, has not been presented to the public in a more readable form.

WILLIAM GEMMELL.

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. By George Herbert West, D.D., A.R.I.B.A. Pp. xxxii, 337. With numerous Illustrations, Glossary, and Tables. Post 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1911. 6s. net.

THIS book affords an excellent example of the proper use of comparative analogy as applied to the study of Gothic architecture in the two great countries of Europe in which, from a common stock, and during successive centuries of cultivation, it flowered to greatest perfection. The Chauvinist theory that the style is essentially French in origin and development, and the work in England and elsewhere but a second-hand copy or translation (witness the proposition by Mons. Corroyer in his *L'Architecture Gothique* that for that designation a sufficient and more accurate substitute would be 'French Mediaeval Architecture') is shown to be an entirely false reading of art and history.

Not that Dr. West's book is controversial in style. More satisfactory in every respect, while not less convincing, is the method adopted, which is that of a careful and sympathetic analysis, constructional and historical, of the widely differing results produced in both countries, and in the several districts of each, during the rise, climax, and decline of church architecture from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and that under the influences of racial character, communal or monastic direction, individual requirements, and building materials available. Plan, construction, and ornament are each reviewed in detail so far as is possible in a book of modest dimensions, and abundantly illustrated with photographs and drawings to the number of over two hundred.

There is room for regret that the work contains no reference to the notable works of the period produced in Scotland, not only as regards the abbeys and cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, worthy as they are to rank with their compeers in the south, but also the particular development of Scottish Gothic during the fifteenth century. This development is of special interest in relation to the subject dealt with, in that it shows intermingled the influence of both the English and French renderings of the style on the work of a people neighbouring to both these countries, and sharing in some degree in the special characteristics of each of them.

Despite occasional slips, the literary style is clear and eminently readable, and with the assistance, where required, of the useful glossary appended, the 'lay' reader will have no difficulty in following the author's careful analysis of architectural principles and methods. The work in general shows not only a close acquaintance with the vast number of buildings described, but a wide reading on the subject.

ALEXANDER N. PATERSON.

MEDIAEVAL EUROPE: A TEXT-BOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1095-1254.
By Kenneth Bell. Pp. 269. With 5 Maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911.

THIS is a text-book of unusual spirit and style, in which there are fresh ideas and new standpoints. Europe in the making is likened to America after its discovery and under process of colonisation. Communal privilege as it grew up is treated as giving collectively to a town a sort of baronial status—a position of equality with the feudal aristocracy. Under this influence the Italian republics became practically independent and absorbed the aristocracy, while in France the feudal aristocracy considerably absorbed the towns. The influence of the Lombard League in the struggle between pope and emperor exemplifies the power of the Italian cities. Henry the Lion (of Bavaria), creation rival and opponent of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, although often reckoned the true German hero, is historically not so, for in his overthrow, the defeat of a rebellious duke, Barbarossa was mightily making for German unity. Barbarossa and the English Henry II. stand out in Mr. Bell's pages as two great kingly figures of Europe, ranking alongside the great papal figure of Innocent III. Yet the Lombard League showed a municipal federation victorious over the greatest secular prince of the twelfth century.

Mr. Bell's crisp vigour of diction informs his opinions also, and his engaging yet tempered enthusiasm for Barbarossa does not blind him to the many other great personalities and forces—military, secular, legal, and ecclesiastical—filling the crowded century and a half which are the text of his compact and purposeful treatise.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Vol. XIII. Genealogical Tables and Lists and General Index. Pp. viii, 643. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: The University Press. 1911. 16s. net.

THIS volume is very welcome. It contains, besides a very elaborate index to the twelve volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History*, a series of Genealogical Tables and lists of sovereign families, and of elected potentates of certain noble houses. It also has lists of chief ministers of great states, and governors of important dependencies in colonies within the period covered by the *Cambridge Modern History*; in addition there are various other lists dealing with British Parliaments, congresses and Imperial Diets, and conferences and leagues and alliances. The volume bears evidence of great care in compilation, and is a worthy completion of a great enterprise.

HANDBOOK TO THE CITY AND UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS. By James Maitland Anderson, University Librarian. Pp. x, 116. With Plan and 27 Plates. St. Andrews: Henderson & Son, University Press. 1911.

OUR columns attest the medieval learning and research Mr. Maitland Anderson has brought to bear on the early period of St. Andrews University. No one has a better title than he to tell the story of its foundation and development, in conjunction with the still older story of the burgh and cathedral. Why is it that so often in the biography of institutions the

youth-time, the period of origin and growth, seems more fascinating than the age of mature attainment? Certainly this is truer in institutional than personal biography, and not less true at St. Andrews than elsewhere.

The sketch is written purposely for the quincenary, and with a plain design to be understood of the people. Divested of technicalities, the narrative gains in interest and force by simplicity, and we have read again with sympathy and something of the quincenary spirit the narrative of the rise and progress of the University from the still unchartered lectureships, which started in 1410, under the impulse of a necessity of education induced by the rupture of educational relations with Oxford in consequence of the Schism. The sanctions of kings and popes soon followed, but the stages of advance were long and slow before the College of St. Mary, added in 1539 to the earlier colleges of St. John, St. Salvator, and St. Leonard, may be said to have completed the framework of the pre-Reformation University. The first two centuries outvie the last three in historical attraction, but the sketch, whether touching the ancient or the modern St. Andrews, is throughout sympathetic and concisely informing.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE : THE REARGUARD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.

By Edward Foord. Pp. xii, 432. With many Illustrations and Maps.
Demy 8vo. London : Adam & Charles Black. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

THE author avows that his book is an attempt to fill a want, 'a short popular history of the Later Roman Empire.' We are not quite sure, however, that his work entirely fills it. It is the author's style that is chiefly responsible for this doubt, for his facts are well marshalled and his reading considerable, but in the short space he has been allowed (409 pages) for the long period he covers, he would need to have weighed his words much more carefully and to have dealt with vital facts only.

On the other hand, the progress of events, the interminable *volte-face* of iconodule and iconoclast, conquest and repulse, is quite well set forth. The Byzantine Empire's place in history forms a good chapter also, and the author contrasts its composition very favourably with that of the contemporary government of the Saracen Khalifate, and this is most likely, although he does not say so, justified by the fact that many of its institutions survived under the Turkish regime. We recommend a revision of this work, and then we shall have a really useful book.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D. Vol. II. Edited by

F. Elrington Bell, Litt.D. Pp. xvii, 424. With four illustrations.
Demy 8vo. London : G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

WE are glad to see the second volume of this important work to which we have already called the attention of all admirers of Swift (*S.H.R.* viii, 312). It need only be said that this second volume is edited with the same care as the first, and contains a large number of hitherto-unprinted letters from the Dartmouth MSS., the British Museum, the Portland MSS., and other sources.

206 Rhys : The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul

THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAUL: ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.
By Sir John H. Rhys. Pp. 100. With eight Plates. Royal 8vo.
From the Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford: The
Clarendon Press. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

THE present paper supplements, and in some points corrects, Sir John Rhys's previous communications on this subject to the British Academy. The few Celtic inscriptions that have survived are so fragmentary that the task of interpretation is one of enormous difficulty. For the most part they are in the Greek alphabet, and the majority of them appear to be merely brief sequences of more or less enigmatic proper names.

Sir John attacks the various problems with characteristic courage, learning, and ingenuity, and also—what is no less admirable—with a frank recognition that the odds in favour of his being wrong in any given case are by no means inconsiderable. That way progress lies, and we are sure that no one will give a heartier welcome than Sir John himself to any solutions that are likely to prove more permanently acceptable than his own.

Among the notes here collected the chief human interest attaches to those that deal with the ancient calendar, known as the Coligny Calendar, from the place where the bronze fragments in which it is inscribed were dug up.

JOACHIM MURAT, MARSHAL OF FRANCE AND KING OF NAPLES. By
A. Hilliard Atteridge. Pp. ix, 304. With Illustrations and Maps.
8vo. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS biography, although somewhat too full of unnecessary words, is interesting as a new study of one of Napoleon's 'creations.' The whole work shows how difficult it is to credit that Joachim Murat, brilliant soldier that he was, would have risen to anything like the position he afterwards held, had it not been for the favour and influence of his Imperial brother-in-law. We trace in this book Murat's rise from the people, first by the stepping stone of the seminary, then by the ladder of the army; and it is interesting to note that in the days of The Terror he sheltered himself from the charge of 'Aristocracy' by pointing out that his father, the old inn-keeper, was a '*travailleur*.'

In this account of his early life we get many instances of his real affection for his family, and it is pleasing to think that his mother saw him in full glory when, in 1803, he revisited La Bastide. The author does not excuse Murat from his share in the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, and wishes that he had withstood Napoleon, but Murat's facile southern nature, vain, greedy, generous, and emotional, soon got over the shock, and perhaps the most interesting part of the book—for the military campaigns can be read as well elsewhere—is Murat's extraordinary behaviour when he became Grand-Duke of Berg, and imagined himself a sovereign beyond the power of Napoleon.

The Neapolitan portion of his life is well told also, although more might have been said about his relations with his wife, and the connection between her acts and the tragedy of Pizzo. There is some information in this book about Murat's nephews and nieces (one of whom became Princess Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and ancestress of many Royal houses)

Kimball : Public Life of Joseph Dudley 207

difficult to get elsewhere, and the work is on the whole well done. We must, however, take exception to the forms of French names the author uses at times, and condemn 'De Polignac' and 'De Rivière'; and we wish that the book had been illustrated by better pictures.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JOSEPH DUDLEY. A STUDY OF THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE STUARTS IN NEW ENGLAND, 1660-1715. By Everett Kimball, Ph.D. Pp. viii, 239. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. 9s.

THIS is a careful study of the career of one of the later Governors of Massachusetts. The writer has viewed Dudley chiefly as an English official charged with the execution of the English policy who, though very savagely attacked by his enemies, has not hitherto had his defence very seriously attempted. He does not palliate his subject's self-seeking and tortuous ways, but he shows the difficulties Dudley laboured under, the intrigues of his enemies, his success in England (1693-1702), his strong hand as Governor of the Colony, and finally how he triumphed over his enemies. Dudley is hardly a heroic or a sympathetic hero, but he was no doubt 'a strong man' of considerable use to the mother country, and so worthy to be the central subject of this studious work on the colonial policy of the Stuarts in New England.

LYRA HISTORICA. POEMS OF BRITISH HISTORY, A.D. 61-1910. Selected by M. E. Windsor and J. Turrall, with preface by J. C. Smith. Part I. A.D. 61-1381, pp. 64; Part II. 1388-1641, pp. 63; Part III. 1644-1910, pp. 96. Sm. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. Price (the three parts together), 2s.

DESIGNED for school use and to develop the historic sense among the rising generation this grouping of short poems embodies a wise and attractive conception. An anthology, showing in song the record of British achievement; it gives prominence to the more modern pieces available as a poetic register rather than to the contemporary or ancient testimonies. Shakespeare is largely quoted; there is one passage from Marlow; but the glories of the antique lyre are left out in the cold with the single exception of the Scottish octette preserved by Wyntoun on the death of Alexander III.

Perhaps it is an old fashioned impression that a work named *Lyra Historica* should have found room for at least fragments of writers like Robert of Brunne, Minot, Barbour, Chaucer, Dunbar, Skelton and Spenser. We hope also that the next historical anthologist will present us with some better memory of Elizabethan exploits on the Spanish main than a bloodless and blameless ballad of Longfellow's composing. And shall we pardon him if he forgets a snatch of *Hudibras*? But the entire brigade can never be at the muster, and—antiquary grumblings apart—the present little collection is capitably representative. Even youth will find it full of old friends from battle-pieces of Scott and Macaulay to Newbolt's 'Drake's Drum' and Kipling's 'Recessional.' The use of schools is not ill provided for: would that we had the like, on a greater scale, for historical scholars.

ABERDEENSHIRE. By Alex. Mackie. With Maps, Diagrams and Illustrations. Pp. x, 198. Sm. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1911. 1s. 6d.

THIS latest volume in the Cambridge County Geographies, by its intelligent, historical topography and sensible presentment of salient facts on the ethnology industries and antiquities of a great county, as well as by its lavish interpretative maps and pictures, does at least approximate justice to the scenic attractions and characteristic achievements of Aberdeenshire. Sketching the natural history, agricultural, fishing and industrial development, antiquities and architecture, and glancing at the biographical 'roll of honour,' it concludes with a few pages of compact alphabetical gazetteer.

The account of the origin of the shire scarcely appreciates the true position of sheriffdoms in Scotland, which have never been shown to be districts 'ruled by a Count'; but it supports the view that Aberdeenshire was a combination of two 'counties,' Buchan and Mar, representing the territories of these two earldoms.

In the chapter entitled 'History of the County' there is told the story of Bruce's overthrow of the Comyn interest by the battle near Inverury in 1308, while Harlaw in 1411 is interpreted in the orthodox sense as the extinction of certain recrudescient Highland ambitions. Although perhaps the force of ecclesiastical influence is insufficiently traced in its persistence, the episcopal and royalist sympathy of the district in the seventeenth century is noted alongside of the complete decline of this feeling as an active political motive by 1745. Both the individuality and the dialect of the inhabitants are described very well, although exception may be taken to recognising 'Scots wha hae' as a characteristic dialect phrase anywhere. Mr. Mackie writes with spirit, judgment and care.

Mr. John C. Gibson has revised, extended, and reprinted a newspaper article by him on *Henry Wardlaw, Founder of Saint Andrews University* (4to, pp. 19), in which are usefully assembled such biographical particulars as can be gleaned from record and chronicle. The bishop came of a good border stock: he was *vir clari sanguinis*, and nephew of Cardinal Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow. His career, decorated with pluralities, indicates powerful social and political influences at the back of his tact and learning as aids to advancement.

His preferment to the bishopric of St. Andrews by Pope Benedict XIII. appears to have been an unpopular surprise, but his fine character and his public capacity quickly won him welcome and reputation, lifted to a unique height in 1410 by his securing the foundation of the first university in Scotland. (A century later John Major, wise after the event, as usual, wondered in his querulous way that the thing had never occurred to any prelate before!)

The bishop once made a remarkable speech, which Mr. Gibson prints in Bellenden's translation, on the mischief and venom that accrue to young men from superfluity of meats and drinks. The date given is 1430, which must be a mistake, for in Boece's original Latin of the discourse it is assigned to the parliament held at Perth about the time of the crowning of Henry

VI. at Paris. As that ceremony took place in December, 1431, the Perth parliament at which the bishop fulminated against luxury must have been that of 15-16 October, 1431, the enactments of which received the royal sanction in May following.

Unusual controversial interest attaches to the little article *The Builder of the Roman Wall*, of which Mr. J. P. Gibson and Mr. F. Gerald Simpson have sent us an off-print from the Proceedings of the Newcastle Antiquaries. Giving the results of excavation of High House Milecastle and Three Turrets near Birdoswald, it presents a dilemma to Professor Haverfield by its crucial fact or proposition that the pottery found in the milecastle and turrets immediately west of Birdoswald (north of and away from the fragment of turf-wall) closely corresponds in its early second century type with that found in other places along the Wall where, according to the hypothesis, the *muris* had replaced an original turf wall on the same site. 'To accept the turf wall theory now,' says this incisive argument, 'would imply that this pottery, so definitely assigned to the earlier part of the second century by results obtained from widely scattered British and Continental sites, was in common use in and later than 208 A.D. In view of such evidence, so strongly confirmed by that of the coins, we can only conclude that this portion of the Wall of Stone was the work of Hadrian.'

Corstopitum: Report on the Excavations in 1910 (4to, pp. 125), is an off-print from the *Archaeologia Aeliana* of an excellent group of articles by Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. W. H. Knowles, Professor Haverfield, Mr. H. H. E. Craster, Professor A. Meek and Mr. R. A. H. Gray. It is a very systematic and wholly satisfactory account of the digging done in 1910, and is handsomely equipped with a large plan and a great many illustrations. These include the fine altar to Jupiter Dolichenus and to Brigantia, various views of buildings, etc., pieces of wood (one of them a tent-peg), bronze buttons, studs, and ornaments, about a score of fibulae, scabbard tips, pieces of scale armour, pins, fine bits of Samian and grey barbotine ware (the last including a companion figure to the 'Harry Lauder' found in 1909), and a selection of bones.

Mr. Craster, dealing with the coins, compares them with those recovered at Newstead. He remarks on the indications that Newstead was unoccupied *circa* 100-140 A.D., and points out that the coins found at Corbridge raised no such suggestion for Corstopitum. While the year's operations gave no such windfall as the gold coins which have equally gratified and tantalized the explorers in 1911, and while the reporters are chary of general historical inferences from their work, the yield of 1910, now handsomely recorded, has well repaid the steady archaeological effort which produced it.

The volume from which the report is an off-print is the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, edited by R. Blair. Third series. Volume VII. (4to. Pp. xl, 392. With many Plates and Illustrations. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Reid & Co. 1911.) Besides the report it contains articles (1) on Thomas Wandles and Patrick Wait, two stirring seventeenth century parsons of county Durham, by Dr. H. E. Savage, Dean of Lichfield; (2) on north country deeds

from Burton Agnes, by Mr. William Brown; (3) on the hearth and chimney tax at Newcastle in 1665, by Mr. Richard Welford; (4) on the struggle between merchant and craft guilds there in 1515, by Dr. F. W. Dendy; (5) concerning Ilderton and the three Middletons, by Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson; and (6) on Durham seals, by that venerable and veteran archaeologist, Canon Greenwell, being a first section, consisting of no fewer than 828 items, exactly described, and in 142 instances photographically reproduced.

Needless to say, all this means that Mr. Blair has had the editing of a mass of good work. The first article makes reference to the Scots in the Bishop's war, and their 'ridiculously easy victory at Newburn in August 1640,' after which they held Newcastle for a year. Mr. Brown's documents include a letter from Aymer de Valence to the *triours* (choosers) of two wapentakes in the East Riding of Yorkshire, warning them of news 'that the Scots, enemies of our lord the King are mustering to come in all the force they can to burn and destroy the land of Northumberland,' and requiring them to have their men-at-arms and foot at Morpeth on 9th September, so as to 'check the malice of the aforesaid enemies.' The date is 26 August [1315]. Probably the rumour of invasion was a false alarm.

Mr. Welford's story of the agitation against the tax on 'fire-hearths' is a reminder that the interest of eminently domestic politics is no discovery of the twentieth century. Dr. Denby parallels the antagonism of merchant and craftsman in Newcastle by the example of Scottish burghs. At Newcastle, in 1515, the craft fellowship banded themselves against the mayor and aldermen, using the ominous words, 'We have as good men now as they were that slew and killed their mayor before.' Overtures of arbitration failed. A petition went to the king alleging the right of the mercers to buy and sell all wares. The artificers replied that they also had that liberty. A Star Chamber commission decided in favour of the merchants. Pleadings and depositions printed show interesting testimonies as to trading practices.

Mr. Hodgson, though chiefly concerned with pedigree and property descent, is in the thick of border history with the Ildertons, Middletons, and Rutherfords, notorious among whom was Gilbert de Middleton, who robbed the cardinals and was executed for rebellion in 1316. As for the catalogue of Durham seals, with its precision and science (for which, no doubt, some little of the merit is due to the collation by Mr. C. H. Blair), it is a mine of north country armorial sigillary record. The list embraces a series of Balliol, Brus, and Cumyn seals. The reproductions are well done. But what interests most in the paper is its proof that the motto prefixed about time antiquating antiquity suffers glorious exception in Canon Greenwell, still modern in spite of time.

Two Voices: Verses in Scots and English; by Stewart A. Robertson (8vo. Pp. viii, 123. MacLehose: 1911. Price 4s. net), will afford gratification to lovers of minor verse by its various reflection of the earnest Scottish spirit in moods both grave and gay. 'A Sermon in Yarrow' happily blends the two. Lines dedicated to Stratford, Dryburgh, and Kirk

Alloway are pleasant homage to the immortals. Drummond too has his sonnet :

‘And thus thy fame shall Time’s strong sieges brave
While Esk runs on, in hearing of thy grave.’

Stirling is with Mr. Robertson an abiding inspiration, yet his love of Scotland moves him still more, and touches his verse with an emotion which the Scottish reader cannot fail to share.

Shearer’s Illustrated Historical Handbook to Stirling, Stirling Castle and Neighbourhood (8vo. Pp. viii, 148. Stirling: Shearer & Son. 1s. net) may be heartily commended for useful and relevant sketches of buildings, monuments and relics, and for plans of the town, the castle, the field of Bannockburn, etc. It contains a great deal of general information about a deeply interesting district. The chronological list of notable events is a capital idea capable of very great improvement in execution.

The King’s Knot is accounted for by elaborate theories in which no room is found for the one historical fact—that Knot meant a garden laid out with ornamental paths.

The account of Bannockburn appears to be that of Sir Evelyn Wood, written in 1872; it does not seem to have been revised under the more modern lights.

Mr. John E. Shearer has issued a second edition of his *Fact and Fiction in the Story of Bannockburn* (Pp. xix, 128. Stirling: R. S. Shearer & Son. 1911. 1s.). The same author’s *The Battle of Dunblane Revised* (Pp. 28. Same publishers. Price, 6d.) is first an unpersuasive appeal to change the name of Sheriffmuir (the title the battle received in 1715 and has maintained ever since); second, an argument about its precise site, and, third, a plea that Rob Roy, despite observations of some historians and ballad makers of the time upon his presence and masterly inactivity, did not really arrive on the field until the battle was over. As to the site the dispute is a dispute of nothing: according to the Earl of Mar’s despatches, the engagement took place ‘on the end of the Sheriffmuir,’ which is surely distinct enough. As to Rob Roy we may well try with Mr. Shearer to give him the benefit of the doubt, leaving the contrary position to be maintained by those whom it may concern.

The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution, by Friedrich Edler (8vo, pp. 252. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1911), is a fully informed study of the policy of the Dutch towards Great Britain during the war with the revolted colonies. Professedly neutral, Holland nevertheless for a time supplied the Americans with gunpowder and arms, and her sympathies throughout were anti-British. Her refusal to lend the Scots’ Brigade to Britain was significant of her attitude, and at last war was declared by Britain upon her in 1780. In 1783 she followed in the wake of France in making a treaty of commerce recognising American independence, but, after the peace of 1784 with Britain, it became evident that Dutch interests had suffered severely through the countenance shown to America. Indeed, Dr. Edler has ample ground for his final proposition

that the United Provinces of Holland must 'be considered the real and only victims of the American Revolution.'

Morven, an anonymous novel (Cr. 8vo. Pp. 177. Gleaner Bookroom, Huntingdon, Quebec), is a realistic romance of the settlement hardships and adventures of Hebridean emigrants to Canada in 1770.

Political Unions, by Herbert A. L. Fisher (8vo. Pp. 31. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 1s. net) was the Creighton lecture delivered in the University of London in November. Surveying the historical unions, e.g. of Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, Spain and Portugal, England and Scotland, England and Ireland, and comparing them with the cases of the United States, of Canada, of Australia, and lastly and chiefly, of South Africa, Mr. Fisher, out of the conflict of conditions which make or mar successful union, deduces the necessity of a foundation not upon conquest but upon consent. He describes very graphically the making of the South African constitution, and declares that the minutes of the Convention which framed it are more instructive and important than any other body of political literature, with the exception of the Acts of the first assembly of revolutionary France. He points out that, as compared with other colonial and federative constitutions, the grant of national as opposed to provincial authority to the parliament and government reaches its climax in South Africa.

The second Warton lecture on English Poetry is by Professor Couthorpe on *The Connexion between Ancient and Modern Romance*. It has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the British Academy (Pp. 16. London: Frowde. 1s.). Its chief propositions are that Greek literary models must have influenced the *trouvères*, and that there was certainly virtue in Madame de Staël's popularizing of 'classic' as ancient Greek and Roman, and 'romantic' as connected with the traditions of chivalry. The one essential link of his first argument is a passage of parallel from the *Roman de Cliget*, stated to have been imitated from the Greek, and that passage is unfortunately not quoted.

The Clarendon Press *Kenilworth*, edited by A. D. Innes, with 47 illustrations (Pp. xii, 568. Price, 2s.), is provided with an introduction explaining the liberties of chronology which Sir Walter took in the romance, and is elucidated by 27 pp. of sound glossarial and historical notes. A loose sentence in the preface makes Mary Stuart the instigator of 'Protestant' plots against the throne of Elizabeth, but otherwise Mr. Innes duly places the novel in its time, and distinguishes between the fact and fancy of its incidents in relation to the meridian of 1575. The notes do not extend the references of Scott himself for the *Kenilworth* entertainments of that year made use of as setting for the tale. A paragraph, too, might have been well bestowed on the alchemist, as doubtless a transfer or at least an 'influence' from Ben Jonson.

To the same series, price 2s. each, Mr. Henry Frowde adds Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth* (cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 522, with 34 illustrations) and *Peveril of the Peak* (pp. xlvi, 658, with 30 illustrations). They are well-executed

reprints with text and apparatus complete. Scott wins his own welcome always, and loses nothing of attraction in this latest form.

We have received David Jayne Hill's *World Organization as affected by the nature of the Modern State*, one of the Columbia University Lectures (Columbia University Press, New York. Pp. ix, 214. Demy 8vo. 1911. 6s. 6d. net). *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, consisting of very interesting communications on racial topics made to the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London in July, 1911. These, which range from 'The Problem of Race Equality' to 'The Press as an Instrument of Peace,' are edited by the Hon. Organizer, G. Spiller (P. S. King & Son, London. Pp. xlvi, 485. 8vo. 1911. 7s. 6d. net).

Aberdeen University Library Bulletin. No. I. October, 1911 (pp. 111), initiates an enterprise of the Library Committee, who propose to issue a Bulletin each October, January, and April of the academic term, giving classified lists of books acquired, with occasional reports and bibliographic notes. The new publication is handsome, systematic and clear, and will be a guiding light to many a book-committee.

Its merits reflect the bibliographical knowledge and experience of the editor, Dr. P. J. Anderson, whose learning, both as antiquary and as University librarian, is honoured wherever Aberdeen sends her records or her sons.

Vol. II, No. 6, of the *Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society*, Edinburgh, 1911, edited for the Board of Management by John Lindsay, M.D., has a considerable paper on the Lindsays of Fairgirth, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, by the editor. It begins with an unfortunate error in stating that the Lordship of Galloway was granted to the Douglasses by Robert II., instead of David II. The paper however collects much valuable material both about Fairgirth, in Southwick parish, and about Auchenskeoch, an adjacent property. The fragmentary ruin of Auchenskeoch tower is shewn in a sketch by Dr. Lindsay, who, in a second paper, deals shortly with the office of royal falconer, held by one of the Lindsays of Auchenskeoch from 1529. These publications give signs of promise for Scots history from the Clan Lindsay Society.

Mr. George Turner has reprinted from the *Stirling Journal* his paper, read last year to the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, on *The Ancient Iron Industry of Stirlingshire and Neighbourhood* (pp. 20). It gives an intelligent account of iron-working on the Forth, beginning with the dubious evidences from prehistoric or unrecorded slag-heaps and the like, and tracing from the fourteenth century the definite story of the industry down to present times. The Carron Works naturally fill the chief place in the record, which we trust Mr. Turner will supplement by continued studies on this neglected and rather difficult subject.

Bibliotheca Celtica (8vo. Pp. viii, 123. Aberystwyth. 1910), the first of an annual series projected by the National Library of Wales, is a register of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages for the

year 1909. Authors, publishers and printers are invited to contribute information for these useful bibliographical lists in future years.

The Queen Margaret College Reading Union's *Year Book* 1911 consists chiefly of a lecture by Professor J. L. Morison, entitled 'The Scottish Highlander.' It is a noteworthy and eloquent estimate of the Highlander, a fine tribute, not without a certain wistful emotion, to the Highland virtues, and a reluctant acknowledgment of a central lack of practical efficiencies needed to keep the Highlands abreast of the age. Hence the conclusion—'the days of the proud old Highland realm in Scotland are almost over, and Britain is the poorer for it.' A working bibliography is appended, which is itself a succinct appreciation of the general literature of and about the Scottish Gael.

Most important of the articles in the *English Historical Review* for October is that of Professor Tout on 'Firearms in England in the Fourteenth Century,' including an appendix of extracts about gunpowder and artillery of various kinds from 1334 to 1399. It should go far to dispel the lingering doubt there was about the use of guns at Crecy, vouched for by Giovanni Villani, who died in 1348, as well as by French chroniclers of the time. The evidence of their employment just after Crecy, at the siege of Calais in 1346, is amply confirmed by the extracts.

Professor Haskins completes his striking comparisons and examination of relationships between England and Sicily in the twelfth century, establishing many obvious and many more subtle links of connection in the administrations. Dr. J. H. Round skilfully unearths not only the personal pedigree but the hidden story of the sergeantry of the Weigher of the Exchequer, tracking both back to the Conqueror's time.

Other papers deal with the 'Great Fear,' the panic of 1789, in Touraine; with a piece of an Abingdon Chronicle, till now inedited; with fresh texts of the thirty-seven conclusions of the Lollards, and with a legend of the Emperor Sigismund's visit to England in 1416. Professor Firth prints documents about Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, which strongly tend to negative charges made in Ludlow's *Memoirs* against the Protector of personal oppression of Vane.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (June and September) contains in its never-failing store of manuscript matter part of an index to the *Secretum* of Abbot Walter de Monington of Glastonbury (1341-74). In it, under the heading 'De Servicio Regis,' there are these entries:

'Quietclamancia domini Iohannis de Bellocampo de l. marcis pro servicio domini regis in Socie.

'Litera comitis marescalli de servicio Scocie.

'Item litera vicecomitis Dorset' de recepcione Scotorum et condicione eorum usque Abbotisburi de precepto regis facta abbati.'

We may hazard the comment that the last entry must refer to Thomas son of William de la Rynde and Henry son of Thomas of Eton, Scots hostages for Berwick-on-Tweed, ordered to be transferred from Glastonbury to Abbotsbury on 20 April, 1339 (*Foedera*, ii, 1079: Bain's *Calendar*, iii, No. 1308). For *condicione* ought one not to read *conductione*? Perhaps one

of the learned editors, Rev. F. W. Weaver or Rev. C. H. Mayo, could throw further light on these entries in the *Secretum*, or oblige with a supplementary transcript. Of course there had been very active military operations by the English in Scotland between 1336 and 1339, which the *servicium Scocie* no doubt denotes.

The Rutland Magazine (July) has a lecture on Oakham Castle by Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, who incidentally discusses the famous horse-shoe custom of Oakham, and illustrates the subject with recent examples, including the shoe contributed by 'Baron Kelhead Viscount Drumlanrig 1894.' On the origin of the custom Mr. Hamilton falls back on the opinion given long ago by Mr. Hartshorne. 'He, looking at various documents of Edward I.'s reign, found there was a money payment charged by the bailiff of Oakham for the passage of vehicles through the town. The giving of the horse-shoe may have arisen from the commutation of the money paid for carriages, or even more probably it may have been simply a custom paid by noblemen riding on horseback through the town.' This does not go far to solve the problem of this curious differential tax, charged only on noble visitors riding into Oakham.

Old Lore Miscellany (July) has a brisk account by Mr. A. Francis Steuart of the adventurous career of Gilbert Balfour, of Westray, companion of John Knox in the galleys in 1547, a plotter and man without God (as Knox styled him) all his life, and at last executed by King John of Sweden in 1576.

The number for October shews an increasing tendency, not to be encouraged, towards place-name etymology, a quest apt to lead to small enduring result. The Rev. D. Beaton gives some account of the church records of Canisbay in Caithness, but his extracts are meagre. The ministers of Caithness in 1650 took the royalist side and were 'deposed by the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk for their compliance with James Grahame excommunicate in his rebellion and shedding the blood of the countrie.'

In the *Modern Language Review* (October) Dr. L. E. Kastner proves that much of Drummond of Hawthornden's poetry is felicitous translation from Tasso, varied by minor adaptations from Luigi Groto, Lodovico Paterno, and Valerio Belli.

The Anglo-Russian Literary Society's Proceedings (February, March, April, 1911) contain a paper on Scots in Russia by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, who collects the names and records the acts of a good many Scottish military and medical sub-celebrities who made their careers in Russia, including General Carmichael and General Patrick Gordon, Admiral John Elphinstone, and Doctors James Mounsey and John Rogerson.

In the *Juridical Review* for October Mr. Arthur Betts has a not very perspicuous paper on 'Co-heiresses,' in the matter of carrying the Great Gold Spur at the coronation. The writer might have found Scottish material of relevant collateral interest and pungency in John Riddell's

Scottish Peerages, Appx. No. viii., wherein our acrid but profound peerage lawyer pointed out the iniquities of Alexander Sinclair, Esq., 'in compiling and concocting his *Dissertation*' (*upon Heirs-Male*).

The October number of the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon. Archaeological Journal* has the usual store of epitaphs and records, among the latter an interesting manorial survey of Windsor in 1387.

The Home Counties Magazine (September), in its profusion of matters archaeological concerning the south-eastern shires, deals with some general themes of interest, such as the Northmen in the Thames, and extracts from church records of Kent, Surrey, and the capital. An autobiography of one Michael Lane describes his mother as a daughter of Michael Impey, brother of Macaulay's Sir Elijah Impey, and as 'descended from the clan of Fraser in Scotland, and Lord Lovat (who was beheaded for rebellion . . . before I was born) was her first cousin.'

Scotia for Lammas has a note on the numbers who fought at Harlaw by Mr. Evan M. Barron, on Hamilton of Bangor by Mr. J. G. Hamilton-Grierson, and on the Otterburn memorial at Southdean. It has plates of the new chapel of the Order of the Thistle in St. Giles, one shewing the beautiful carved woodwork of the stalls.

Scotia for Martinmas expresses its great self-satisfaction in bringing to a close its first series of 'five handsome volumes.' Legitimately priding itself on its pictorial enrichments, it continues to justify the tribute thus paid to the artistic contributions by reproducing H. C. P. Macgoun's expressive 'Little Naturalist,' a charming Scottish interior. A historical paper by Mr. C. F. M. Maclachlan, is half-commentary on, half-extract from, the Privy Council Register, and of course throws lively and striking vernacular side-lights on the sixteenth century.

The Gallovidian (published quarterly by Maxwell & Son, Dumfries, illustrated, price 6d.), in its autumn number, presents its customary variety of biography, poetry, and picturesque topography.

The American Historical Review (Oct.) opens with a paper on the underlying imperial purpose of Augustus in the composition of the *Res Gestae* and the inscription of the monument at Ancyra. British institutions furnish two themes, one the significance of the concentration of juries under John in July, 1213, and the other the constitution and functional operations of the Board of Trade, with especial reference to the American plantations. The latter essay, by Mary P. Clarke, will be welcomed equally for the detailed sketch of the institution and its working, from its beginning in the spring of 1696 down to 1730, and for the notice of its multifarious tasks of colonial administration. The judgment in the well-known Dred Scott slavery case, in 1857, which so greatly disappointed the hopes of emancipation and helped to precipitate the ultimate crisis, is subjected to a searching and hostile scrutiny by Mr. E. S. Corwin, who points out its political motives, and declares it 'a gross abuse of trust' which shattered the reputation of the court pronouncing it. Probably, however, the most striking

article in the number is one in which Mr. Richard Krauel prints, for the first time, a letter of Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Frederick the Great, in 1787, placing finally beyond doubt the fact that when the American Constitution was a-making he was approached through General Steuben and an ex-president of Congress on behalf of a considerable party in America, with a view to his becoming head of a monarchical state. His preliminary answer, now published, is purely tentative, and there were evidently possibilities until the 'Prussian scheme' received its quietus a month or two later, when the Convention of Philadelphia adopted a federal constitution for the republic.

A communication by Mr. David W. Parker is particularly full of information of all kinds about the equipment and internal condition of the still youthful States in 1808. It gives the text of an important series of secret reports made to British Government authorities by John Howe, a very able journalist and king's printer of Nova Scotia, after extended journeys and enquiries into the attitude and preparation of the States towards Great Britain when the countries were at acute variance, though still at peace.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a translation of a very singular Dutch pamphlet of 1848, *Eene Stem uit Pella* (A voice from Pella), by the preacher H. P. Scholte, being a narrative of the settlement of Hollander emigrants in Iowa at Pella. Reading like an emigration agent's advertisement with a sermon running through it, the paper has the further interest of reflecting contemporary conditions on religious freedom in Holland.

Maryland Historical Magazine (September), published at Baltimore by the Maryland Historical Society, contains excellent material, much of it original. Letters of a Maryland merchant in 1750 are edited by Mr. L. C. Wroth. Land Notes, 1634-55, shew very many transactions, settlements, and transmissions. Documents printed include correspondence about the Key-Evans duel with pistols in 1671, when the two 'met and fired at each other, but without Damage or hurt to either party.'

Included also are letters of October-November, 1859, regarding designs 'by certain misguided and fanatical persons' to make an excursion into Virginia 'for the purpose of attempting to rescue from the custody of the law the parties concerned in the late treasonable outrage at Harper's Ferry,' i.e. the famous John Brown raid. The Governor calls for help to keep order, especially 'on the day appointed for the execution of the Criminal Brown.'

Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, No. 3, published by the Society at St. Louis, begins with the Hon. G. A. Finkelnburg's sketch of St. Louis under France, 1764-70, Spain, 1770-1804, and the United States, since their acquisition of it, along with a vast territory in the west, under the treaty of 1803 with Napoleon. Mr. Walter B. Douglas traces the adventurous career, between 1798 and 1811, of Manuel Lisa, a pioneer fur-trader and voyageur on the Mississippi and Missouri.

We welcome No. 1 Bulletin of the Department of History and of Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. It is *The Colonial Policy of Chatham*, by Professor W. L. Grant of Queen's University (Pp. 16. Kingston: The Jackson Press), who is a little rude to Professor Von Ruville, Chatham's biographer (in calling him 'a German plantigrade'!), as well as to George III. (the 'half-insane ploughman'!), and who thinks that through the 'mist' of Chatham's rhetoric in 1775-78 there loomed ideas of a federal union with the American Colonies. There is sturdy Scoto-Canadian stuff in this energetic inaugural essay.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (April last) contained an article on the literary sources for the history of Christian origins in Sweden, and another on the 'transformation' of worship in England under Edward VI., including a special study of the Zwinglian and Calvinistic influences. A critique, dealing with the work of M. Joseph Faurey on the marriage law of the French Calvinists, shows interesting lines of parallel to the positions in Scotland after the Reformation, as shown recently in our pages (*S.H.R.* ix. 10).

In the *Revue Historique* (Sept.-Oct.) M. Marion presents numerous illustrations of oppressive and essentially wrongful administration of the laws against emigration during the Terror. He shows good reason for denouncing as arbitrary, dangerous, and terrible these laws, which lent themselves so readily to abuse through motives of cupidity, feud, and partisan feeling. M. Hauser begins editing a translation from the very rare text of the *Acta Tumultuum Gallicanorum*, a Roman Catholic narrative of the three first wars of religion, covering the years 1559-69. Such records from the orthodox side in France were few. Mary Queen of Scots comes in for mention in the first instalment as the honour of her sex, who, on her return to Scotland, had undergone a thousand adversities, even to the extent of being imprisoned by her subjects. 'But,' concludes the passage, 'woman though she was, she knew to show all the zeal of the house of Guise for religion and constancy.'

The Nov.-Dec. issue begins an important paper on the Gallican crisis of 1551, discussing the policy of Henry II. of France, following on the election of Pope Julius III., as affecting the designs of Charles V. Another incomplete contribution concerns the constitutional movement in Prussia, 1840-47. A further instalment of the *Acta Tumultuum* contains grave charges of ferocity against the Huguenots. New documentary matter is brought to light on the career of Dominique de Gourgues, famous for his exploit in 1567-68, when, *gentilhomme catholique* though he was, he avenged the massacre by the Spaniards of French Protestant colonists in Florida by a counter-massacre in the Spanish settlement. His will, made in 1582, is now printed.

In the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* for October there is reprinted Mr. Frank Miller's paper, read to the antiquaries of Dumfries, on 'Kinmont Willie.' Mr. Miller is on the side of the angels in siding with Mr. Lang, and against Col. Elliot, on the question of Scott's share in this brave and stirring ballad.

Communications and Replies

BISHOP WARDLAW AND THE GREY FRIARS. The rise of the two great Mendicant Orders of the Grey and the Black Friars in the early years of the thirteenth century may be said to have saved the Church from complete disaster, and naturally there existed between the two organisations, for a period of at least two centuries, a strong bond of sympathy and friendship. The *Acta* of the Chapters General of the Grey Friars are not extant, but in those of the Black Friars instructions are repeatedly issued for the due exercise of the rites of hospitality to those of their Franciscan brethren¹ who chanced to be in the neighbourhood of their priories. On the other hand, the Grey Friars, after the death of St. Francis, recognised from the practice of their rivals the advantage, if not actual necessity, of learning as an effective weapon in their fight against ignorance and vice; and although little is known regarding the details of their educational system, it was from among their ranks that many of the most distinguished scholars in pre-Reformation times arose. The functions allotted to each of the Orders were separate and distinct; but both maintained an equally close connection with all the leading Universities in Europe.

The Black Friars crossed the Tweed in 1230, and entered the town of Berwick, in the outskirts of which they founded their first priory. Thence they seem, without loss of time, to have pushed northward to Edinburgh, and gradually from that centre established priories in all the leading burghs. A mission of the Grey Friars reached Berwick in 1231, and erected a friary among their friends the poor in the slums of that burgh, which, in these days, was the most prosperous and probably the largest town in the country. Their subsequent movements, however, were slow, owing to the desire, from their friendship towards their rivals, not to establish themselves in any place where Dominican priories were to be found. While, therefore, they founded a priory at Haddington, they passed over both Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and in this way Dundee became their most northerly limit. It is on record that the Bishop of Moray,² c. 1284, strongly urged their acceptance of a friary in his city of Elgin, but the gift, from a sense of loyalty to their Dominican brethren, was refused. The same reason prevented the latter from imposing their presence in Dumfries, where, c.

¹ Of course cases of friction and quarrelling did occur; but these were dis-
countenanced by the respective Chapters General.

² *Reg. Episc. Moraviensis*, p. 281; *Scottish Grey Friars*, i. 361.

1262, the Grey Friars had erected a house; and they accordingly transferred their services to the burgh of Wigtown.

Now, when Bishop Henry Wardlaw, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, founded the University at his episcopal city of St. Andrews, there existed within that royal burgh a priory of Black Friars, with its schools and coterie of men of learning; and, with the object of further increasing the classical atmosphere round his new University, he resolved to call in the aid of the Grey Friars. The fact is briefly noted under the year 1466 in Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum*,¹ and referred to in my work on the Scottish Grey Friars.² In the *Annales* there is a reference to a page of the *Regesta* in which all Bulls are recorded, and there can be no question that a 'Bull of Erection' must have been issued. My learned friend, Dr. Maitland Thomson, whose researches in the Papal Records at the Vatican as well as among our native muniments are well known, has discovered the original entry in the MS. Register of Petitions³ to the Pope on which the Bull was founded, and a copy is herewith appended. It will be seen that the deed proceeds on the narrative that Bishop Henry, from his singular regard to the Conventual branch of the Grey Friars, had granted them a certain place called Betleon in the city of St. Andrews, on which a friary had been erected, and duly occupied for a period of 'forty years and more, as they presently possess the same.' The Provincial Vicar and his friars, thereupon, petitioned his Holiness to confirm the grant and absolve the friars from any breach of the apostolic statutes. The Petition was confirmed by Pope Paul II. on 14th March, 1465-6; but owing to some errors in transcription, the document was re-recorded and re-confirmed seven days later, when the name Betleon was altered to Bethlehem. That Bishop Wardlaw, for the reason already mentioned, desired the presence in St. Andrews of the Conventual Grey Friars, and that he offered them a site for a friary, there is every reason to believe; but of the further allegation that a Conventual friary had actually been erected and in occupation for a period of forty years and more, there exists considerable doubt. It is to be remembered that, so far as is known, not a scrap of evidence in support of such a contention is to be found either in our native or even in the extant Franciscan records; while an extensive and close examination of all the *Bullaria* has failed to discover a single reference to such a friary. Then, when we turn to the Petition itself, we find that the signature of the Conventual Vicar is wanting, and that the deed is undated. From internal evidence, it must have been written shortly before its confirmation in 1466; whereas, under the *Cum ex eo*⁴ of Boniface VIII., the friars were strictly forbidden to accept any site for a friary, unless the consent of the *Curia* had been previously obtained. Penalties, no

¹ xiii. 390.

² i. 57.

³ Dr. Maitland Thomson explains in a letter that this is a voluminous record of about twenty volumes *per annum*; that it is 'extended' in different handwritings from the finest copper-plate to the verge of illegibility; and that the grammar is often puzzling.

⁴ *Bull. Franc.* iv. 424, No. 105.

doubt, were often remitted in cases where the Petition had been lodged before the completion of the buildings. The Petition now printed cannot, therefore, be that originally sent by the Conventual Vicar; and it is possible to identify it as simply an office document drawn up by the officials of the Papal Chancery for the purposes of confirmation under the following circumstances.

As will be readily understood, the amount of work annually transacted in the office of the Chancery was enormous, with the result that it remained at all times in a state of arrear, extending, with the exception of specially favoured cases, to a period of several years. Consequently, on receipt of the original Petition by the Vicar, the document was, like other office business, pigeon-holed until the fitting opportunity for attention should arrive, and there it must have lain unnoticed until the year 1466. Immediately on discovery, an office copy embodying the contents of the original was drawn up for confirmation. But by this time a new body of Grey Friars—the Observants—had been introduced into St. Andrews by Bishop Kennedy, and it was their presence that misled the officials into the statement that a Conventual friary had been erected and occupied for ‘forty years and more, as they presently possess the same.’ Of course the Bull depended entirely on the petition for the details, and, in this respect, both documents form one transaction. Unfortunately, as I learn from Dr. Maitland Thomson, the volume of the *Regesta* has disappeared—probably carried off by the French in the time of Napoleon—and this fact may account for the non-appearance of the Bull in any of the printed *Bullaria*. There still remains the disturbing factor that no reference, native or foreign, to the friary in question, has yet been published. It is possible that, in these days of keen historical research, some reference may turn up; but on the whole I am inclined to the opinion that the place known as Bethlehem in the city of St. Andrews still remained, in the year 1466, untenanted by the Conventual Grey Friars, and that the generous intentions of Bishop Wardlaw had, through the delay—nearly fifty years—in the issue of the ‘Bull of Erection’ been frustrated.

W. MOIR BRYCE.

APPENDIX.

Beatissime Pater, Olim bone memorie Henricus Episcopus Sanctiandree propter singularem devotionem quam ad ordinem fratrum minorum gerebat tunc vicario Scotie ejusdem ordinis concessit quandam locum de Betleon nuncupatum in civitate Sanctiandree pro usu et habitatione fratrum ejusdem ordinis, per ipsum et pro tempore existentem vicarium deputandorum et eligendorum construi et edificari facere posse concessit facultatem, cujus concessionis pretextu dictus locus per fratres religiosos conventuales dicti ordinis constructus et edificatus ac per quadraginta annos et ultra possessus extitit pacifice et quiete prout adhuc possidetur de presenti. Supplicatur igitur humiliter sanctitati vestre pro parte vicarii et fratrum dicti ordinis regni Scotie quatenus concessionem hujusmodi ac inde secuta quecunque rata et grata habentes illa cum suppletione defectuum quorumcunque in illis forsan intervenientium auctoritate apostolica confirmare et approbare et nichilominus locum predictum cujus fructus etc. solum in elemosinis consistunt eidem ordini de novo concedere et pro perpetua habitatione fratrum dicti ordinis

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donare dignemini de gratia speciali, constitutis et ordine apostolicis necnon ordinis predicti statutis etc. ac aliis in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque, cum clausulis oportunitis.

Concessum ut petitur in presentia domini nostri Pape, *Tirason*.

Et cum nova donatione etc. Concessum, *Tirason*.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Marcum pridie Idus Martii anno secundo (1465-6).
[*Register of Petitions to the Pope*, vol. 585, fol. 11 verso (Paul II.).]

Another petition with only slight verbal differences from the above. For *Betleem* it reads *Bethelem*.

The conclusion is as follows:—Fiat ut petitur. P. Et cum nova donatione, fiat cum consensu presentis ordinarii. P. Et quod litere gratis ubique de mandato sanctitatis vestre expediantur non obstante quacunque prohibitione, etc. Fiat ubique. P.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Marcum duodecimo Kalendas Aprilis anno secundo.
[*Idem*, fol. 100.]

In reading Mr. Bryce's book on the *Scottish Grey Friars*, I was struck by his mention of a Papal Bull cited in the *Annales Minorum*, which seemed to refer to a Franciscan House in Scotland not alluded to elsewhere. Failing to find the Bull, I searched for and found the Petition on which the Bull proceeded, and which Mr. Bryce now publishes. For that, and especially for his commentary, he deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the subject. His account of the relations between Black Friars and Grey Friars is most interesting, and serves to correct hasty inferences from what we have heard of strenuous controversy between Thomist and Scotist. Dante was right when he put the praises of St. Francis into the mouth of a Dominican, and those of St. Dominic into the mouth of a Franciscan. Moreover, Mr. Bryce's suggestion that Bishop Wardlaw's object in founding (or wishing to found) a Greyfriars' House at St. Andrews was to strengthen his new University, is not only plausible but luminous, and to my mind carries conviction.

But how comes it that we have no further information about this house? For it cannot be identified with the House of Observantine Franciscans founded at a later date; indeed the Petition expressly calls it a House of *Conventual* Friars. Mr. Bryce's view is that the Bishop's project did not take effect. Now what he tells us of the understanding between Dominicans and Franciscans, that they should abstain from occupying the same ground, is not conclusive on the point; for he himself points to one exception to the rule—both Orders had Houses at Berwick-on-Tweed. And at St. Andrews I conceive that the presence of a colony of Franciscans would have meant not rivalry with the Dominicans but desire to cooperate in the good work of fostering learning in the new University. And, while by no means denying that the Papal chancery, like other chanceries, was capable of wearisome delay, I have difficulty in admitting Mr. Bryce's postulated delay of a whole generation between the framing of a Petition and its being dealt with—analogy ought to be cited for this. As for the silence of record, that is conclusive against the continuance of the House of Conventuals up to the Reformation; but is it conclusive against its having come into being, and existed for some years? That depends on the wealth or poverty of

extant records likely to refer to the House. On that Mr. Bryce's experience is valuable, but I should like to see what other competent scholars think; specially what Mr. Maitland Anderson thinks.

Supposing that the silence of record between Bishop Wardlaw's gift and the date of the Petition is not proof positive that the House never came into existence, there is another theory which seems capable of accounting for the known facts. The Observantine Franciscans settled in St. Andrews on ground granted to them (so we learn from the Great Seal Register) by Bishop Kennedy and his successor, Bishop Grahame. As to the date, we have no trustworthy evidence—Aberdeen is the only early Observantine settlement which can be dated by record. But Bishop Kennedy died probably in May 1465, and Bishop Grahame's Provision was in November of that year. The Petition, and (according to the *Annales*) the subsequently issued Bull, are dated in March next following. Suppose, then, that the Observantines were desirous to found a House, while the Conventuals possessed one, built in Bishop Wardlaw's time, but not prospering, perhaps indeed not occupied. It might naturally be arranged that the Conventuals should resign their House into the hands of the Bishop, who thereupon granted it to the Observantines. Bishop Kennedy dying immediately afterwards, the arrangements would be left for his successor to complete. No Franciscans could by their rules accept a House without Papal license. The Observantines had such license, by the Bull of 1463 which Mr. Bryce reprints in his book. But the Conventuals had not obtained any license, so there was, so to speak, a flaw in the title, which could only be put right by Papal absolution such as the Petition asks for, and the lost Bull granted. This conjecture is given for what it is worth. Can the locality of 'Bethlehem' be fixed by any St. Andrews topographer?

As to the loss of the Bull, a word of explanation may be useful. The Registers of the Dataria (now officially styled the Lateran Regesta) were carried off to Paris by Napoleon. On his fall, a great part (the greater part as I am informed) had disappeared. What remained was sent back to Rome by the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.) at his own expense; whereby (as I am informed) he greatly improved his prospects for the other world. And in this world, I suppose we have here the explanation of the fact that George IV.'s portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence is the (sole) representative of British art in the Vatican Picture Gallery.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

THE FINN-MEN (*S.H.R.* viii. 32, 442-444). Since the appearance of my note on this subject, I have obtained additional information of a very interesting nature, which, it can hardly be doubted, relates to the Finn-Men and their kayaks.

In the Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, Aberdeen, there is a well-preserved specimen of a kayak, which was acquired two centuries ago under peculiar circumstances. Its history is given by Francis Douglas in his *General Description of the East Coast of Scotland, from Edinburgh to Cullen* (Paisley, 1782). At the time of Douglas's visit to Aberdeen the kayak was preserved in the Library of Marischal College, along with other

curiosities, and he thus refers to it in giving a summary of the objects that specially attracted his attention :

'A Canoe taken at sea, with an Indian man in it, about the beginning of this century. He was brought alive to Aberdeen, but died soon after his arrival, and could give no account of himself. He is supposed to have come from the Labradore coast, and to have lost his way at sea. The canoe is covered with fish skins, curiously stretched upon slight timbers very securely joined together. The upper part of it is about twenty inches broad at the centre, and runs off gradually to a point at both ends. Where broadest there is a circular hole, just large enough for the man to sit in, round which there is a kind of girth, about a foot high, to which he fixed himself, probably, when he did not use his oar, or paddle; which, when he chose it, he stuck into some lists of skin, tied round the canoe, but slack enough to let in the paddle and some other aukward utensils which were found stuck there. The canoe is about eighteen feet long, and slopes on both sides, but the bottom is flat for three or four inches in the middle and gradually sharpens as it approaches the extremities till it ends in a point.'

It will be noticed that the scene of the capture of the kayak and its occupant is not clearly indicated by Douglas. 'Taken at sea' is vague enough. The general impression conveyed, however, is that the locality was somewhere off the British coasts. The unwritten belief which has been handed down with the canoe in Aberdeen is that the capture took place in the North Sea, not far from Aberdeen. This is very likely, in view of the fact that at the period in question the Orkney Islands were frequently visited by kayak-using 'Finn-men.' That the captive taken to Aberdeen was one of these people seems obvious. Douglas calls him 'an Indian man,' but the term 'Indian' was applied in a very general way in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It did not necessarily denote a person of very dark complexion. Thus, the Eskimos were at one time spoken of as 'Esquimaux Indians.' The Orkney kayak-man, whose canoe was preserved in the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1696,¹ is referred to as a 'barbarous man' in the minute-book of the Physicians. The two terms were almost interchangeable.

Admitting that the Aberdeen kayak was found in British waters, as seems probable, we have to consider the pregnant fact that, about the end of the seventeenth century, no less than three kayaks, used in the seas around our islands, were preserved in Scotland. Two of these were taken in Orkney waters, one being preserved in the church of Burray and the other in the Physicians' Hall in Edinburgh. The third was preserved in Marischal College, Aberdeen, where it now is.

There is one other detail in the Aberdeen account to which some reference must be made, even in a brief notice. This is the statement that the captive 'could give no account of himself.' The reason is not specified. He may have been too ill to speak coherently, or his language may have been uncomprehended by his captors. As the Finn-Men were known as 'Finns' in Shetland, and as 'Finn' connotes 'Lapp' among Norse people (as the true Shetlanders are), it will be readily seen that a man who could

¹ S.H.R. *loc. cit.*

only speak Lapp would be unintelligible to the ordinary Aberdonian. On the other hand, Shetland tradition speaks of the Finns as quite conversant with Shetlandic speech; while Orkney tradition asserts that the Finn women travelled about Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, associating with the people of these districts.

These are not the only matters deserving of consideration. Something might be said, for example, of the 'aukward utensils' found in the straps of the canoe, and still to be seen in Marischal College. But such questions can be discussed on another occasion. It may be added that Professor Reid of Aberdeen, who confirms the general correctness of the measurements given by Douglas, reports the weight of the kayak to be thirty-four pounds.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

THE SCOTTISH EXHIBITION¹ OF 1911, though far too large a subject for adequate notice in these columns, was too significant an expression of the national feeling for national history to admit of its being allowed to go without at least a passing review. We have taken advantage of the co-operation of several exhibitors and participators in the historical side of the enterprise to draw up a short composite article on various aspects of the Exhibition considered not only as a means to an end, in the institution of a chair of Scots History in Glasgow University, but also as a unique contribution to Scots History itself. No one who glances at the Catalogue can doubt the value of the collection temporarily housed in the Palace of History, or its testimony to the abiding spirit of the Scottish people. That the response thus made to the appeal for an endowed chair has to all appearance been handsomely answered, we must attribute to the continuance unimpaired, if not on the contrary strengthened by the passage of time, of the attribute of old asserted by Bartholomew Anglicus to belong to the Scottish race, that they 'delight in their own.' The popularity of the Exhibition may be taken as the latest demonstration of the characteristic.

Whether, on the other hand, the historical value of the Exhibition in its display of objects, paintings, and writings was of the highest possible quality, need not be regarded as an ungracious question. The loan collection was an experiment: the sectional committees were not all alike experienced masters of their subject; much of the material was volunteered for exhibition: still choicer exhibits, it can hardly be doubted, might have been procured. In short, to conclude that there might have been less overlapping and a more perfect representation is not a querulous criticism uttered too late; it is a word of advice in season for the organizers of the next analogous display, in that better Scotland which a chair of history is to help to rear.

Professor Glaister and the various conveners and sub-committees of sections may look back with gratification upon their work. In view of its magnitude, they will not object to any strictures of its imperfections as a

¹ *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow (1911), Palace of History Catalogue of Exhibits*. Two volumes. 8vo. Pp. xiii, 1162. With illustrations. Glasgow: Dalross, Limited. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

national expression or of the inevitable percentage of error in the Catalogue which, with official permanence, registers the impression left by so many things seen in so peculiarly interesting a conjunction. Some of these errors are disquieting, such as the assignment to James I. of a letter (Netherlands Section, Case 7, Number 1, facsimile facing page 212) obviously signed by James IV. and dated 1489. But the critic, remembering the pressure against time under which the Catalogue was produced, will not wonder that some mistakes escaped the eye of the general editor of a work of 1100 pages by over a score of contributors.

The Prehistoric room compelled attention by its number of typical exhibits and the originality of its chronological classification, as did the select Roman remains by their superb illustration of Roman life on the Wall of Antoninus Pius. The Medieval and Burghal documents, the Portraits, the Ecclesiastical relics and literature, the Domestic and old-town antiquities, the Military accoutrements, the implements of Sport, the Burns section, and the French, Swedish, Dutch, and Norse representation of the Scot abroad, each by their wealth of expressive exhibits, had their votaries with preferences and exclusions. It would be invidious to pretend to determine the order of historic priority: it will be possible here only to glance at a very few aspects of the great collection.

Of all existing institutions none has such a past as the Church, and there was the double advantage of a great collection to be its reliquary, and a large bibliography to be its record. On this subject Mr. F. C. Eeles writes:

THE ECCLESIASTICAL EXHIBITS at Kelvingrove fell naturally into two sections—objects and books. Of what was actually there, it will be enough to allude very briefly to the really wonderful collection of bells, plate, tokens, alms dishes, collecting ladles, and pieces of church woodwork. In the bells the Celtic period was more than worthily represented. Seldom if ever have so many Celtic quadrate bells been seen together. Of actual church bells of mediaeval and later date there was a really admirable show. Even in England with its thousands upon thousands of bells there has never been the like. There was the beautiful little fourteenth century bell from Anwoth, which the *profanum vulgus* pointed out as a relic of Samuel Rutherford, oblivious of Rutherford's own books in a neighbouring case. There was the splendid mediaeval bell from Bo'ness, and the fragments of the famous 'Auld Lowrie' from Aberdeen, cast at Middelburg in 1634. Beside a series of 'deid-bells' from all over Scotland there were token punches and moulds, hour glasses and their brackets, and brackets for baptismal basins. A curious iron candlestick found at Rothesay, perhaps mediaeval, and two fragments of altar slabs with incised consecration crosses, deserve special mention.

The books would almost demand separate treatment. In former exhibitions a few mediaeval church MSS. and much Covenanting literature have been shown more than once. Here, however, the whole of Scottish ecclesiastical literature down to 1800 has been fully and worthily exhibited. Not the works of the Covenanters only, but those of their descendants, the Cameronians and Seceders, were displayed with great fulness. And we

believe that the literature of the anti-Covenanting party, especially of Episcopalian Aberdeen, was exhibited for the first time. Certainly the literature of their descendants, the eighteenth century non-juring Episcopalians, has never been shown before, and for the first time the whole liturgical history of Scotland has been unfolded in detail from a facsimile of the Book of Deer downwards. Several hitherto undiscovered mediaeval fragments turned up, one of a thirteenth century Glasgow book. The excessively rare Latin translation of the First Prayer Book made by Alexander Ales of St. Andrews was there, and an edition of 'Knox's Liturgy,' of which experts did not seem able to trace the existence. The 1637 Prayer Book, inaccurately called 'Laud's,' was there, with other service books, to show its real liturgical affinities, the 1620 Ordinal (one of two known copies), and the finest series that has ever been shown of the numerous editions of the Scottish Communion Office, which was gradually moulded into its present shape at the time when the Penal Laws had reduced Scottish Episcopalians to Sir Walter Scott's 'shadow of a shade.' Among kindred books were several liturgical MSS. by learned eighteenth century Episcopalians that were unknown even to liturgical experts.

The hymn books and the catechisms left something to be desired, and the small group of pamphlets relating to the controversies of the Relief Church were absent. Otherwise the ecclesiastical literature could scarcely have been more complete.

It is true enough to say that such an exhibition of ecclesiastical exhibits was never seen in Scotland before. But it is equally true to say that there were serious deficiencies. Scotland shares with perhaps Norway the unenviable distinction of being the part of Europe poorest in ecclesiastical remains of the past. This at least is the common opinion, and it is not without foundation. Care ought to have been taken not to exaggerate the nakedness of the land in this respect, and a great mistake was made in not keeping all the ecclesiastical things together. The plate and the pewter ought to have been beside the bells and the woodwork, and all liturgical MSS. might have been shown together. The Covenants and the Covenanting flags ought to have been near the long series of Covenanting printed books, and Tullochgorum's gown and prayer book need not have been so far from the other relics of northern Episcopacy.

But most serious was the lack of proper representation of the remains of Celtic Christianity. The student of early Scotland, after passing through the extraordinarily full series of exhibits representing the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages, came to an abrupt stop when he left the Prehistoric Gallery. All the early structures like brochs and lake dwellings were represented in model and in plan, and by objects found in connexion with them. The Viking period too was explained, and that not only by Scottish remains, but by kindred relics from Norway. But the student looked in vain for models and plans of the early West Highland churches: Teampull Rona, Teampull Sula-sgeir, Egilshay, Eilean Naomh, were not there; there were no plans of the buildings in Iona, no models or photographs of the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy.

If Scotland be poor in ecclesiastical remains of mediaeval art she has a

rich and unique possession in the extraordinary series of symbol-bearing stones found throughout the Pictish district, fascinating because of the mystery which still surrounds them, and forming a strange link between Paganism and Christianity in the north-east. Yet these were not illustrated. There was just one rubbing of a stone at Dyce, hung in the Prehistoric Section, to show the symbols side by side with the cross, with one or two pictures in another part of the building. There was a remarkable cross-sculptured gravestone boulder from an island in the Aberdeenshire Dee, like St. Columba's Pillow at Iona, but that was all.

The Celtic Christianity of Scotland came from Ireland, and outside Pictland it could have been admirably illustrated from Irish sources. If the Viking period needed a Norwegian section to illustrate it, surely the Celtic church needed an Irish section. The usefulness and also the possible richness of such a section are obvious.

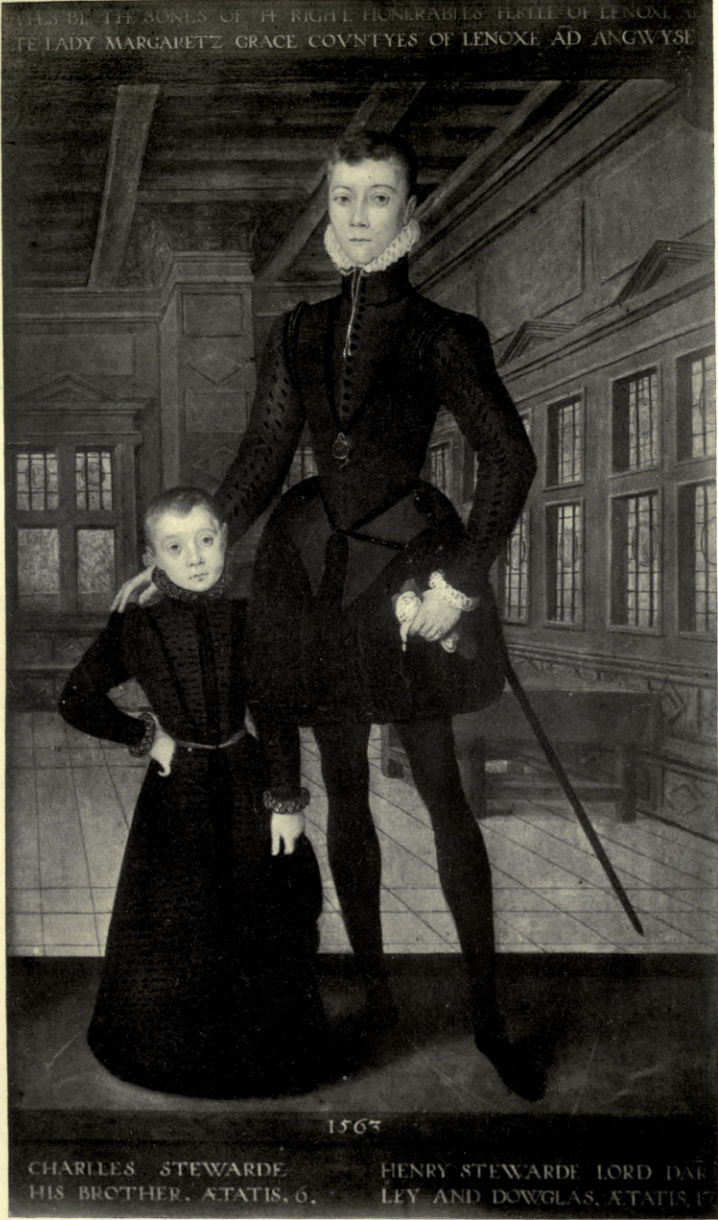
The art of Celtic times lingered on in the West Highlands not only in such things as targes, but also upon a fine series of monumental slabs. These again were unrepresented except by a few pictures of Islay stones. In the east of Scotland later ages produced monumental slabs of another kind, sometimes brought from Holland, sometimes manufactured locally. Again, with one exception there were neither photographs nor rubbings. Scottish brasses can be counted on the fingers of one hand, yet none were represented.

The writer has been perfectly candid, even if at his own expense as con- vener of the section. In his defence he would say this much: (1) Space was far too limited, and the Exhibition ought to have been in 1912; (2) the Celtic remains and the Celtic mediaeval monuments fell between two stools; the work of the architectural section and of the ecclesiastical section was not sufficiently clearly defined. Want of space was responsible for another omission. To make up for the destruction of all mediaeval church vestments and nearly all church ornaments, it was at one time intended to provide a series of figures vested in reproductions of the dress of each grade of the ministry at all times of their ministration, and a model Gothic altar, showing its furniture and arrangement.

The writer has laid perhaps too much stress on the omissions. Looking at it all round, it must be said that notwithstanding the faults that have been freely admitted, the ecclesiastical part of the Exhibition was far in advance of anything of the kind that has hitherto been attempted in Scotland.

With reference to *THE SCOTTISH PORTRAITS* Mr. James L. Caw contributes these observations:—

While it cannot be said that the collection of portraits of notable Scotsmen and women prior to 1830-40 was in any real sense complete, or that it added quality to the knowledge of those who have devoted special attention to Scottish Historical Portraiture, it can be claimed at least that the series of portraits brought together in the Historical Section of the Exhibition recently held in Glasgow presented an exceedingly interesting résumé of the field dealt with, and Grangerised the 'Palace of History' in an exceptionally handsome way.



DARNLEY AND HIS BROTHER

Although the Scottish National Portrait Gallery contains a highly important general collection, and the colleges and learned societies possess many portraits of people distinguished in special walks of life, a large proportion of the most interesting portraits of Scottish celebrities remain in private hands. And as these are widely scattered, the task of locating them, which is preliminary of course to any scheme of selection, is great. Moreover, even when that has been done, it is frequently impossible to obtain on loan the particular portrait desired. If certain owners are willing and some anxious to lend, others are reluctant or excuse themselves upon pretexts that no committee can overcome. In such circumstances one ought not perhaps to expect too much from a loan collection, and, everything considered, the Glasgow portraits formed a series which it would be difficult to excel. The refusal of certain individuals and societies to lend the most important, or perhaps the only portrait extant of some notable Scot, no doubt deprived the collection of considerable interest and much educational value, but conspicuous blanks were comparatively few, for the committee seem to have tried to remedy such deficiencies by obtaining, when they could, inferior originals, or, in some cases, copies.

On the other hand there was evident, here and there, a slackness in accepting portraits of people of very minor importance, except in the estimation of the families to which they belonged, and in exhibiting others with little or no claim to be reliable likenesses of the distinguished personages whose names they bore. To indicate which the latter were would be invidious, and, as they were few in number and somewhat obvious, perhaps unnecessary; but careful comparison with authentic portraits would have sufficed to discredit some, while others were at once out of court from discrepancies in costume which made them impossible. As regards artistic authenticity there was also considerable dubiety, and there were, but one need not say where, a few instances of glaringly improbable attribution. But while approximate accuracy in this direction is desirable, it is not only difficult to obtain but inadvisable in a general loan collection which owes its existence to the liberality of collectors.

In view of the difficulties involved and the genuine success attained, these criticisms may seem unnecessary, but the possibility of their being remedied on future occasions, even if a counsel of perfection, may at least be hinted at.

Excellent though it was in intention and in execution, there is a relevant and practical objection that might be made to the section of the catalogue devoted to the portraits. Primarily intended to interest the general visitor in the personages represented, and, through them, to stimulate an interest in Scottish history, its declared object was accomplished admirably, and the biographical notices were at once excellent in style and packed with information of an interesting, instructive, and frequently racy character. With this, however, there could easily have been combined much information of lasting value to students and collectors. Occasionally a note draws attention to some feature in a portrait or in its costume, and in so doing suggests that an extension of that treatment would have been useful both during the exhibition and afterwards. Finally, the absence of an index to the per-

sonages and artists represented, and the omission of any description of the portraits and of their dimensions, render the elaborate volume much less valuable for reference than it might have been.

When one remembers the crowded state of the 'Palace of History,' and the clamantly competing claims of its many sections, there is little but praise to bestow upon the way in which the Portrait collection was displayed. The arrangement adopted was chronological. This in itself was excellent, but the group system adopted within the general disposition added greatly not only to the interest of the gradual unfolding of Scottish history thus obtained, but to the vital significance of each historical epoch. The contrast of type given in the portraits of the leaders of parties in any particular crisis, or the variety of appearance so succinctly brought out by hanging together the portraits of the chief workers in some special department of intellectual activity, added enormously to the interest of a large and mixed collection of a kind of picture which, from its very character, is apt to be a little monotonous to most people.

The *HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS*, etc., formed a truly catholic representation of the written sources for the national annals. Probably its most distinguishing feature was the extent to which the burghal muniments of the country were for the first time gathered to a focus for inspection under lucid arrangement by Mr. Robert Renwick. Doubtless never before was there occasion to assemble so many crown charters to burghs, some of which, such as the Ayr and Perth charters of William the Lion, those of Alexander II. to Stirling, and Alexander III. to Elgin, the Rutherglen, Dundee and Edinburgh charters of Robert I., and the numerous grants of Stewart Kings to Montrose, Rothesay, Banff, Kirkcudbright, Lauder and Inverkeithing, as well as Glasgow, are in themselves, with radical differences underlying superficial sameness, an outline of the fortunes, not only of the burghs but of the kingdom. In piquancy, the flamboyant claim made by an inquest at Tain in 1439 to have had their privileges conceded by Malcolm Canmore may gratify the pride of the modern townsmen, and kindle the envy of burghs of less antique pretension.

And the charters were accompanied by other records, in the fullest sense autobiographical, such as the fragment of a Montrose council minute-book of 1455, the magnificent folio from Dunfermline in 1487, and the protocol books of Inverkeithing, North Berwick and Kirkcaldy, close packed memorials of local property and pedigree. Burgess tickets formed another burghal type very fully represented, among them being some containing, as Mr. Renwick pointed out, 'the controversial burghess oath' given for example in extenso in the burghess ticket of that celebrated citizen of Edinburgh, 'Allan Ramsay, periwigmaker.'

An exhibit honoured with a central position of popular cynosure was the Wallace letter addressed to the Hanse Communes of Lubeck and Hamburg. Its exhibition gave opportunities for recovery of new facts, and certain criticisms upon the document evoked conclusions of new precision on the occasion when it was granted. An objection was stated to the letter that it bore to be granted on 11 October, 1297, whereas—



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

according to the verdict of a jury in 1300—Andrew of Moray had been killed at the Battle of Stirling Bridge a month before. The phrase used by Fordun, however, that Moray 'fell, wounded' (*cecidit vulneratus*) in the battle is so specific and precise, when considered alongside of the continuance of his name as associate leader, that it leaves no reasonable doubt that though mortally wounded at the battle on 11 September, 1297, he was still alive on 11 October when the letter was granted at Haddington in his and Wallace's joint names. On 11 October, Wallace and the Scots army were on the march for the invasion of England; Haddington of course lay directly on the route they took, for on the 18th they crossed the Tweed in the Berwick region; and on 7 November the protection granted at Hexham to the canons there still ran in the conjunct names. The seals attached to the Lubeck letter add interest to the episode of its granting. While the seal proper is a reduced form of that of the Scottish guardians, the counterseal shews the unexpected feature of a drawn bow with an arrow. The legend is somewhat defaced, but we may expect its decipherment to increase our knowledge of the official organization of the Scots army under Wallace.

Temptations to linger and digress are innumerable, but must be resisted save to mention the gratification many derived from seeing the deathbed letter of Bruce on 11 May, 1329, relative to the burial of his heart at Melrose, a few inches apart from the charter to Edinburgh seventeen days later in date, to which James of Douglas was a witness.

A parliament roll of 1344 was a fresh document for the history of the earldom of Strathearn. We are glad to announce that Dr. Maitland Thomson is to edit it for this *Review*.

The exhibited documents were better calculated to shew monastic and burghal origins than to trace the course of Scottish feudalism. No one could fail to be struck by the foundation charters of Melrose and Inchaffray, the great charter of Holyrood, and the grants of Monkland to Newbattle Abbey and of Eskdale to Melrose. There were no deeds of equal importance either for constitutional history or for great secular fiefs, and few, if any, to disclose the old basis of military service, the mysteries of the 'old extent,' or the varieties of tenure in western seaboard shires or in the Isles. There was not a single Chartulary. Except for Barbour's *Bruce* and Wyntoun's *Cronykil* there was little representation of the Scottish chronicles. Grateful for much the historical student yet cannot help grumbling for more.

In the *DOMESTIC SECTION*, as elsewhere in the 'Palace of History,' says Dr. William Gemmell, an assiduous worker in the field of household activities, 'the gratifying feature was an interest in the exhibits which amounted almost to enthusiasm. The simple and homely nature of many of these appealed to the crowds of country visitors; the ploughs and early agricultural implements, the cruises and the stone cruise-moulds seldom failed to stir enquiry and comment. The primitive methods and means of spinning and weaving, the making of cloth and tartans in particular, the devisement of lace by bobbin and pillow, the fringe-loom, and the machine for goffering ruffs, are examples of less conspicuous

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industries of the home that seldom passed unnoticed. The cases which illustrated Baking and Brewing, arts once practised in every Scottish household, and the whole great display of domestic table utensils, presented ideas new to many. On every hand, from the first moment the "Palace" was opened, the desire was to see and to learn and to profit by the learning.

'It was originally intended to have a series of interiors, each correctly furnished, which would show in picturesque form the chamber of the noble, the hall of the laird, and the cot of the peasant, but space could not be found for these.

'There can be no doubt that the Domestic Section, no less than others, played its part in creating a desire for a better understanding of what the national life was in the earlier days of Scottish history.'

The *PREHISTORIC SECTION*, writes Professor T. H. Bryce, presented some notable features. In the first place, it greatly exceeded in variety and interest any similar temporary collection hitherto brought together. It was no mere miscellaneous assortment of objects, but a carefully consorted museum with a definite scientific purpose. The space was too limited for an adequate presentation of the large number of exhibits, or for the full development of the ideas underlying the show, but in a general way the visitor was conducted through the different phases of the progress of human culture in prehistoric Scotland, while in each special department the objects were so arranged as to demonstrate the gradual advances made in their manufacture.

The section thus had considerable educative value, and furnished, so far as space and means permitted, an example of what such a collection should be. Mr. Ludovic M'Lennan Mann, as convener of the section, himself furnished by far the greater number of the exhibits from his extraordinarily varied and comprehensive private collection, and archaeologists owed to him a unique opportunity for viewing these, as well as many valuable and interesting articles gathered out of the smaller local museums and private hoards from all parts of the country. It is especially from this point of view that such a temporary exhibition is of value, in respect that occasion is given for the bringing together of treasures hidden away in small public or private collections. It is seldom that the science of archaeology is furthered by the spirit of private collecting, which frequently results in irreparable loss, and always lays a heavy load of responsibility on the collector, but here the knowledge and enthusiasm of Mr. Mann put the material placed at his disposal to an excellent use. The archaeologist left the section with feelings of regret that the exhibit was of a temporary nature, and with the desire strong in him that it could be kept together until all was put on permanent record in proper scientific form.

The hall was hung round with large charts which formed the key of the general arrangement. The charts represented sixteen periods into which Mr. Mann, apparently from unpublished data, divides prehistoric times. The wisdom of expressing these periods in terms of years may be doubted, and the scientific mind desiderated *chapter and verse* for some of the statements, but, this apart, the charts served their purpose of showing in a simple way to the uninitiated the sequence of the prehistoric epochs and

the character of each. It is not possible to enter, in a brief statement such as this, on the details of the various cases of exhibits. Among the stone age relics the collection of recharged flints formed an interesting feature, about which the archaeologist would desire to hear more. The chambered cairn period is represented by a model of a chambered cairn by Mr. J. A. Balfour, and by some vessels of pottery from the Campbeltown Museum which were described in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland of the year 1902, and an interesting comparison was instituted between them and the remnants of some vessels from a domestic site in Wigtownshire.

The evolution of the axe-head from the flat stone axe of the stone period through all the phases up to the socketed celt of the late bronze period was demonstrated by an interesting and carefully selected series. Not only were the bronze age weapons and implements fully illustrated, but various moulds were exhibited by means of which they were cast. The very fine collection of stone balls must also be noticed, and also a very fine lot of jet beads, as well as others of coloured glass and amber.

In addition to the very large collections of weapons, tools, and ornaments of all kinds belonging to the different epochs, a popular and valuable feature of the exhibition was the restoration of various interments. An ingeniously contrived case showed a section of the Stevenson cairn, and the cinerary urns filled with burnt bones were seen exposed in their original positions. Restorations of inhumed burials were also successfully exhibited, showing exactly how the remains were found in each. The design of these latter exhibits was the demonstration of the different forms of interment in the prehistoric period. It is to be remembered that the sequence of cultural phases can only be established by data provided by the grave goods deposited with the dead, and that a peculiar form of disposing of their dead characterised the people of the different epochs. The restored interments formed, therefore, the complement of the rest of the collection.

It may confidently be asserted that an hour spent in the Gallery revealed more of the unwritten story of the remote past of Scotland to the visitor than many volumes. It was with this object that the exhibition was projected and arranged, and if it has stimulated interest in the science of archaeology it has fulfilled a worthy and valuable purpose.

Unfortunately, there is no space for even the most perfunctory notice of other departments. Professor Glaister's 'Foreword' to the Catalogue will itself prove the extensive range of the Historical Committee's labours and the measure of their achievement in seeking 'to bring together within one Exhibition building as complete an exposition of Scottish historical objects as possible.' We have had to leave untouched whole subjects like Literature and Printing, Heraldry and Seals, Swords, Firearms and Dirks, Old Scots Economics, Norse relics and sagas, and the miscellany of contributions French Swedish and Dutch, Celtic MSS. and the contribution of the Clachan to Highland history, old burghal relics and remains of incorporated crafts and trades, Early Medicine, Book-plates, Scots banknotes, sport, silver, pewter, coins and beggars' badges, and memorials of Scottish travellers. We regret particularly to have to neglect Burns and Scott, the

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documents of the Covenant time, and the extraordinary series of Jacobite pictures and pamphlets, including many prints that gloated over Culloden, and caricatures that mocked the doom of Fraser of Lovat.

A concluding word must congratulate the organizers of the Exhibition on the marked popular and patriotic success which it deservedly won, and on the comprehensive remembrance of it which their bulky and profusely illustrated Catalogue enshrines. Scotland is the better for thus really seeing herself in archaic miniature. The Scottish Exhibition of 1911 is now a happy memory. Three things, more or less from it, there are to be earnestly hoped and wrought for: (1) that ere long we may see a like collection (even a better) again, (2) that we shall see it in that permanent Scottish Museum of the West which Glasgow has hitherto forgotten to provide, and (3) that the coming professor in Glasgow University will find the Museum an invaluable adjunct for his tasks in Scots History and Literature.