Reviews of Books

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Planned by J. B. Bury, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. Vol. I. 'The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms.' Pp. xxiv, 754. With portfolio containing 14 maps. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1911. 20s. net.

THE editors of the *Cambridge Medieval History* have been able to benefit by the experience of the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History*. That important work was a literary as well as a publishing experiment, the results of which have on the whole been satisfactory. Its chief defects, the absence of footnotes and maps, the lack of criticism in its long bibliographies and of discussion in its long stretches of narrative,—would be almost fatal to a history of the middle ages. The first volume of this new book for the most part avoids these defects: some footnotes have been allowed, a neat little portfolio of sketch maps is provided, more guidance in the use of authorities is offered in the bibliographies, and the general arrangement of the book is less annalistic than the arrangement of the *Cambridge Modern History*. There is no reason, so far as we can see, why still more development on these lines should not be encouraged in the later volumes. The curious mid-Victorian ideas about the ten centuries which succeeded the Teutonic invasions are by no means dead; indeed, efforts to destroy them have frequently produced others which, if not so erroneous, distort the truth; and the general reader who will welcome the first comprehensive history of these centuries in the English language, will gladly remain ignorant of a few thousands of facts, if he can gradually learn what the Middle Ages really were like.

This brings me to one criticism on the structure of this volume. The general chapters are separated from each other; some of them, including Professor Vinogradoff's important survey of social and economic conditions of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, are packed away at the end of the book. Consequently, the reader is not led on from a political and religious survey of the Empire, through a study of social and economic conditions, to a complete view of the west of Europe before the invasions; he is hurriedly conveyed from the world of Constantine and Athanasius into the Teutonic camp, and pursues the invaders more ignorant of Gaul and Spain, almost of Britain, than they were themselves. The volume is too Teutonic. The editors have been fortunate in securing the co-operation of such experts as Dr. Martin

Bang, Dr. Ludwig Schmidt, and Dr. J. Peisker, and, as Dr. Schmidt is the chief authority upon the chronology of the invasions, and Dr. Peisker has made a bold revolution in current ideas on the Slavs and their 'Asiatic background,' we get an admirable general idea of the Teutonic and pagan world. This is all to the good; much of it will be quite new to English readers, and none the less valuable for being controvertible; but surely these useful contributions made it all the more necessary to bring together, and apply as definitely and concretely as possible, all that is known of the western provinces in the fourth century. This could not be done simply from the Roman point of view, for the provinces were more than Roman. The single chapter on a Roman province is Professor Haverfield's résumé of his and other great labours on Roman Britain, and here, as elsewhere, Professor Haverfield maintains a clear distinction between Celtic and Roman society. 'The uplands remained comparatively unaffected. . . . Some districts [of the civilised part of Britain] probably belonged to the Imperial Domains. . . . The remainder of the country, by far its largest part, was divided up, as before the Roman Conquest, among the native cantons or tribes, now organised in more or less Roman fashion. . . . It is just the system which Rome applied also to the local government of Gaul north of the Cevennes' (p. 372).

Then again, it is by no means certain that Celtic society was so static as is usually assumed; it is probable that in those parts of Europe, especially Ireland, which were unaffected by Rome, important changes took place before Celtic civilisation was overwhelmed. This side of things, so dark to all but a few scholars, will, it is to be hoped, be worked out in later volumes. In this volume, we should, I venture to think, have had a careful geographical survey of Gaul, and a chapter on Celtic origins and development by some scholar like M. Camille Jullian, complementary to the chapters by Bang and Peisker. This should have been followed by a study of the Gallo-Roman church and Gallo-Roman civilisation on the lines adopted in the general chapters by Mr. Turner and Professor Vinogradoff. As it is, this subject is only treated in a few pages by Dr. Schmidt and M. Pfister.

There is no such complete work in English as this upon the fourth and fifth centuries. Apart from the writers mentioned, Mr. Baynes and Mr. Barker have written careful and solid chapters on the eastern empire and on Italy in the fifth century, Dom Butler has an interesting chapter on Monasticism, Miss Gardner on the theological disputes of the fifth century, Professor Gwatkin, the editor, on Arianism, and Mr. Lethaby on Early Christian Art. The important chapter entrusted to the Rev. H. F. Stewart, on 'Thoughts and Ideas of the Period,' might have been made still more useful, if it had been placed earlier in the book, and written with firmer strokes on the lines, for example, of the illuminating essay in the last volume of Molinier's *Sources de l'histoire de France*. Mr. Turner's learned essay on the organisation of the church, though rather stiff, is perhaps the most useful chapter in the volume; and English students will welcome Mr. Beck's brief paper on the Teutonic

Conquest of Britain, which, by separating the early from the later history of the Anglo-Saxons, brings the invaders and their customs into touch with the invaders of Gaul and the west. Mr. Beck should have referred to the discussions by Thurneysen and others on the date of the first landings.

F. M. Powicke.

A History of French Architecture, from the Reign of Charles VIII. till the Death of Mazarin (1494-1661). By Reginald Blomfield, A.R.A., M.A., F.S.A. 2 vols. Vol. I. Pp. xxxii, 169. Vol. II. xii, 176. 4to. With many illustrations. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1911. 50s. net.

Mr. Reginald Blomfield has followed his *History of Renaissance Architecture in England* with a similar and equally admirable work on France under a title less comprehensive. It is his opinion, repeated more than once in the volumes before us, that the development of Renaissance, or as he prefers to call it Neo-classic, architecture in France is continuous, from the first impulse received from Italy at the close of the fifteenth century to the epoch ending with the French Revolution; but the subject, when followed through and beyond the reign of Louis XIV., is so vast in extent that he has been compelled to limit his survey to 1661, the year of the death of Mazarin. This date nearly corresponds with the close of the career of François Mansart, whose work represents to the author 'the high-water mark of French Neo-classic architecture in its purest form.' He is thus able to trace the development of the style up to the point when, as he says, it reached certainty and assurance, and the interest of the development resides with him in the gradual building up of architecture as an independent art with its own special means of expression. The earliest sub-period, that marked by the dominant personality of François I., was one of tentative efforts inspired by individual fancy, that resulted in a good deal of picturesque and attractive work, much of which has now perished, but that made no real contribution to the establishment of a consistent style.

In connection with this epoch Mr. Blomfield deals fully with the often-discussed questions of the architectural work of Italians in France, and with the position and operations of native building experts. Modern French writers on the art which the author says, 'has always been one of the finest expressions of French genius,' have elevated to the position of architects of original capacity certain Frenchmen who we know were employed on the characteristic buildings of the time, such as Fontainebleau and the châteaux on the Loire. Mr. Blomfield has no difficulty in showing that these men were merely master builders, who had inherited some of the older medieval traditions of good masonry, but were certainly no founders of a new architectural style. There were Italians in France, such as Serlio, and a certain Domenico di Cortona, called Il Boccador, capable of furnishing sketches and models, and it seems likely that the latter was in fact the designer of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris, reduced to ruin under the Commune. The leading spirit however, in the characteristic work of the time, was François I. himself, whose restlessness and wayward fancy expressed itself in the numerous palaces and hunting-boxes

which he was for ever calling into being. Du Cerceau indeed states definitely that the king was so well versed in building that it was hardly possible to call anyone else the architect of his palaces. The architect proper does not make his appearance till after the death of the royal amateur, when a serious and consistent worker and theorist appears on the scene in the person of Philibert de l'Orme. From this time architecture, it is pointed out, with some sets-back owing to the troubles of the latter part of the sixteenth century, pursued an upward course till it culminated in the epoch of Louis XIV. Henri IV., whose sane and enlightened patronage of the arts is contrasted with the frivolous efforts of François, contributed notably to its development. He was, Mr. Blomfield says, 'the founder of that great tradition of civic planning which has been one of the most important contributions of French architecture to civilization,' and the Place des Vosges, formerly Place Royale, is a still perfectly preserved monument of his taste and judgment.

One of the most valuable parts of Mr. Blomfield's work is his persistent assertion of the dignity of his own art, as an art with its own laws within itself independent of any adventitious aids. He is, one need hardly say, entirely opposed to the famous heresy of John Ruskin, expressed in the words 'ornamentation is the principal part of architecture . . . the highest nobility of a building does not consist in its being well built, but in its being nobly sculptured and painted.' An assertion borne on the wings of such eloquence as that of the writer just quoted flies far and is hard to overtake. We welcome therefore the re-statement of the true principles of architectural aesthetics which Mr. Blomfield has given us on more than one page of his volumes. Of Jean Bullant, whom he ranks with Goujon as 'one of the bright particular stars of French art in the sixteenth century,' he claims that 'he was the first of the Neo-classical men in France to handle architecture as an art, complete in itself, having its own technical conditions and its own peculiar ideals,' and that he 'was feeling his way to a conception of architecture as an austere and noble art with its own technique, and its own peculiar methods of giving form and reality to the imaginations of the artist.' Again, a real architect is 'capable of leaving a wall alone, and of relying for his effect on rhythm and proportion and refinement of detail,' and objects to providing 'a frame for the anecdotes of the sculptor.' 'Fine planning, fine proportion, fine scale, simplicity in phrasing, and selection in ornament, will always be essential qualities in architecture,' though 'writers of the last century conceived of architecture mainly as an affair of ornament tacked on to building.' We are grateful to the writer for these expressions of the faith that is in him, as well as for his most lucid treatment of his interesting theme. There are expressions towards the close of his second volume which suggest that he intends in a future publication to follow the further development of French Neo-classic architecture through the rest of the reign of Louis XIV. and the eighteenth century, till the final cataclysm of the Revolution, with which, he maintains, French architecture 'went bankrupt.' It needs hardly to be said that all serious students of his subject would welcome the further aid which he would thus afford to them.

The present volumes are supplied with a full *apparatus criticus* in the form of footnotes, and are of course adequately illustrated. These illustrations are partly from his own pencil drawings and partly from photographs, but in large part they consist in reproductions of old engravings that to the general reader are hardly of the same interest. The use of these is however necessary, for, as Baron Geymüller has recently pointed out, the older buildings of the epoch we are concerned with have been to a great extent swept away, and these engravings are the only record of them which remains.

G. Baldwin Brown.

British Statesmen of the Great War, 1793–1814. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Being the Ford Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford, 1911. Pp. 279. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Fortescue has established his historical reputation by his description of battles and campaigns, and as an expounder of strategical and tactical methods and principles, but this volume makes it abundantly clear that had he devoted himself to biography he would have achieved an equally great success. It is not only in the occasional thumb-nail sketches, like the description of Francis II.'s portrait, as showing him 'sitting in an uneasy attitude upon a throne too big for him,' that Mr. Fortescue shows his gift for picking out essentials and bringing them home to his readers; he has given us finished portraits of the men of whom he is writing, which both arrest one's attention and carry conviction. He comes to his subject with the great advantage of having already written a big book on the same topic, or very much the same, and in these studies of the men who maintained the struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, he is dealing with matters with which he is exceptionally familiar.

His criticism of Pitt as a war minister is all the more severe because he writes with an intimate knowledge, not only of what Pitt tried to do and failed to do, but of other English war ministers who were no more successful, and of the causes of their failures: he has therefore a standard by which to judge fairly. He shows that Pitt's original neglect of the Army and Navy was a most important source of his inability to achieve success, and that this was accentuated by his failure to grasp the limitations of the weapons he was using. To some extent, Pitt's failures may be laid at the door of his chief confidant, Dundas, who, with all Pitt's ignorance of war and the conduct of war, had nothing of the ideals which inspired Pitt and helped him to inspire his countrymen by his example of steadfastness and continued resistance. But though misled by Dundas, Pitt cannot escape the principal burden of responsibility. His 'ignorance of human nature,' and 'the sanguine self-sufficiency which too often deterred him from seeing things aright' (p. 182) seem to have combined to prevent him from realizing that success in war is only to be achieved by careful preparation, by systematic organization, by the provision of forces, adequate in numbers and in equipment to the tasks before them, and above all, by a clear idea of what the tasks exactly are on which they are to be employed. Pitt had

no military policy, or rather his military policy consisted of a series of hastily-conceived and half-prepared ventures, many of which might have been successful had an adequate force been forthcoming, and if they had been begun in time or pursued with sufficient vigour. Presented simultaneously with three or four opportunities for effective intervention, when he had barely the means with which to utilize one effectively, Pitt tried all at once, and the result was chaos. It is not the least merit of the much undervalued statesmen who succeeded to the burden under which Pitt had collapsed, that they to a large extent shook off the legacy of Pitt's policy of 'frittering,' and concentrated their efforts on the maintenance of the war in the Peninsula, preferring one long-sustained effort to a series of spurts.

These statesmen, Perceval, Liverpool, and Castlereagh in particular, have undoubtedly been very unfairly and unjustly treated by history. Their comparative failure after 1815 to grapple with the very great difficulties which accompanied the return of peace, and which were certainly not diminished by the wild extravagances of the more advanced advocates of 'Reform,' then as always the chief check to reasonable progress, have been allowed to obscure the very great services which they rendered this country, and indeed to Europe, between 1808 and 1815. Granting for the moment that the Whig legend of 1815-1830 is in the main true, the names of these men should nevertheless be held in honour in this country, for if, as Mr. Fortescue shows, no one of them was Pitt's equal in ability and intellect, as a combination they were far more successful than Pitt had ever been. They may have been narrow-minded, but by confining their attention to one problem at a time, by attending to the war and the war only, and keeping their hands off domestic problems while there was a formidable enemy at the gates, they did achieve a real and lasting success: they ceased to rely on the efforts of paid foreigners, but saw that if England was to exercise any solid influence over the affairs of Europe, she must play an effective part in the struggle on land, and with her own troops. The elder Pitt had had to recognize this truth in the Seven Years' War, and if his son had grasped the principle and shaped his policy accordingly he would have been saved many bitter disappointments. Liverpool and his colleagues no doubt owed much to Wellington, but he in his turn owed much to them, a debt which he afterwards acknowledged in handsome terms, if at the time he was a little inclined (cf. p. 256) to underestimate their difficulties. Mr. Fortescue endeavours to hold the balance fairly between Wellington and the Government at home, and the lecture in which he does so (No. VII.) is among the best in the series. His sketch of Wellington is judicious and illuminating: he finds the Duke's character 'more complex and puzzling than is generally supposed,' and judges him to have been of a really passionate and emotional temperament, held in restraint by a mighty will power, not the cold and frigid thinking and fighting machine which most people picture. 'One has a sense of natural feelings compressed and crushed down in Wellington,' he writes, and the whole chapter makes one look forward more keenly than ever to the time when Mr. Fortescue gives us his account of Wellington's great campaigns in the Peninsula and Low Countries.

But to return to Perceval, Liverpool, and Castlereagh. Mr. Fortescue has a very good case to present, and his defence of them against the biassed criticisms of Napier and those who have followed him, can hardly fail to impress his readers with its justice. His picture of the work Castlereagh did in 1814 is most striking (p. 260). 'Thirty years ago,' he writes, 'even young Whigs were permitted to speak with subdued admiration of Castlereagh's conduct at the headquarters of the Allies in 1814'; as he shows, Canning in the same position would have been a hopeless failure from the very things in which he excelled Castlereagh, sheer cleverness and intellectual agility. Perceval, too, he does much to bring before one as a real character, and not as a mere figure on the political stage (pp. 193-196), and he points out that when there was friction between Canning and Liverpool (then Hawkesbury) in 1804, and it seemed that one of them must leave office, it was with Canning that Pitt was prepared to part. Canning, and next to him Henry Dundas, appear to the least advantage in Mr. Fortescue's pages, for with Fox he is but little concerned, since Fox was so little in office. His sketches of them are merciless, but they hit the weak points in their armour. Canning, with all his brains, was not quite a gentleman, as his behaviour to Moore and to Castlereagh himself shows, and being this was not a man to inspire confidence in colleagues or subordinates. A British general could not count on not being made a scapegoat for other people's blunders, if things went wrong when Canning was in charge. Dundas, for all his shrewdness and capacity for 'transacting business,' had the mind of an adroit political agent, he had nothing of the higher qualities needed to make a statesman. Mr. Fortescue is at his best in dissecting Dundas, his polished irony cuts deeper than any invective could, and does not leave much of a reputation to Pitt's principal colleague.

Pitt himself, as we have shown, fares somewhat badly at Mr. Fortescue's hands when the details of his work, his actual plans and their execution, are being discussed. He could not make an army; had he made one he could not have used it. But Mr. Fortescue is fully alive to Pitt's merits, and far from unsympathetic. The Pitt he draws for us with his 'inveterate prudence,' his consciousness of capacity, his burning patriotism, his ignorance of the ways of men, his resolution and tenacity, may seem somewhat of a bundle of inconsistent elements, but he was the offspring of a Pitt and a Grenville, two families with very strongly marked characteristics which Mr. Fortescue describes with great effect. One has in the picture Mr. Fortescue has drawn, a man whom it is easier to understand than any other of the many Pitts that other writers have tried to show us. The portrait may bear the stamp of the painter's strong individuality, but it is a portrait which lives, and certainly represents things which are really present in the subject.

On the events of the war, on the various expeditions and opportunities, Mr. Fortescue is full of happy suggestions. He draws attention to the curious fact that at the moment when the Revolution declared war on Monarchy, there was 'an amazing abundance of half-witted sovereigns' (p. 83). George III., the only European monarch of more than average

ability and character—for Mr. Fortescue has little difficulty in showing (p. 17 ff.) that the 'received version' as to George III. is far from good history—the only really resolute opponent of the new forces among contemporary sovereigns, was himself destined to long years of insanity. A passage of most striking character is the opening passage, in which are described the portraits in the great gallery at Windsor (pp. 1-2), and the sketches of Chatham (pp. 40-46), and of Windham (pp. 112-114), merit special mention. Of necessity, Mr. Fortescue repeats in this volume judgments and comments which will be familiar to readers of his larger work, but to some extent they gain by being compressed here, and one may hope that those to whom the details of strategy and tactics make no appeal, and who are therefore not very likely to read the volumes in which Mr. Fortescue has told the story of 1792-1802 at length, will learn the gist of the military history of England during those years from this volume. It could not be better compressed than it is in Lectures III. and IV., and one is specially grateful for the refutation (pp. 88-90) of Lord Rosebery's apparently cogent but really unsound attempt to explain away the contrast between the relative success of the Army and the Navy by declaring that the one was essentially aristocratic, the other comparatively democratic. The statement, indeed, is 'a ludicrous travesty of the truth' (p. 89), and yet it is just the kind of generalization which gets into the text-books. One can only hope that this book, which does so much to put before its readers the real facts as to a little understood but vitally important period, will be very widely read. It cannot fail to prove interesting, one would hope it will also afford instruction.

C. T. Atkinson.

The Making of the Nations: Scotland. By Robert S. Rait, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. With thirty-two full-page illustrations from original paintings and from photographs, also maps and plans. Pp. xii, 320. 8vo. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

This is the first volume of a new series of histories which promises to be exceptionally attractive. It concerns the growth and development of the Scottish nation from the Roman invasion to the Disruption of 1843. The most important events in the making of Scotland prior to the reign of Malcolm Canmore are given due prominence in Mr. Rait's introductory chapter. Like Mr. Lang, he tilts at the theory of the English overlordship, and corrects an error in Mr. Freeman's 'honest' Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of 924, which is mainly responsible for the subsequent claims to supremacy of Norman and Plantagenet sovereigns. As Sir Archibald Lawrie has recently pointed out, what is known of Scottish history before the end of the eleventh century is derived from English and Irish chronicles and annals; the writings of Scottish writers have perished. Why, therefore, should Mr. Freeman have regarded his solitary Englishman as necessarily an unbiassed witness?

Next we come to the Anglicization of the kingdom, which had its

origin in Malcolm's marriage with the sister of Edgar Atheling, afterwards canonized as St. Margaret. She set herself to reform the Church. Though several of her children bore the names of Saxon kings of England—Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, and Edgar—Norman influences were predominant. Duncan II., Alexander I., and David I. all resided at the English court in their youth; and when the last of Malcolm's sons, David, succeeded to the throne in 1124, the feudal system became established in Scotland. Mr. Rait finds him a 'sair sanct' for the north of England; and the views which Scott expressed in *The Monastery*, that this pious monarch was not solely influenced by religious motives in his acts of munificence to the Church, are probably correct.

In his third chapter, which covers the reigns of William the Lion, Alexander II., and Alexander III. (1165-1286), the author deals with the consolidation of the kingdom and the dawning of national unity, a necessary preliminary to the War of Independence. The question of the disputed claims after the death of the Maid of Norway is clearly stated. Whilst the decision of Edward I., as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was based on the modern law of hereditary succession that the more remote descendant of an elder daughter should be preferred before the nearer descendant of a younger daughter, it obviously suited his purpose. 'The English king,' writes Mr. Rait, 'was wise as well as fair, for though Bruce had always been pro-English, Balliol was, in English opinion, "a simple creature," and simplicity was a useful quality in a vassal king.' Mr. Freeman's glorification of Edward is well known, and to say, as he does, that his conduct throughout the whole business was marked by disinterestedness displays a partial mind.

The Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics swore fealty to Edward, broke their oaths, renewed them and were readmitted to favour, but Wallace made no submission to the conqueror. That is his just title to undying fame. He first kindled the flame of patriotism, and he remains the greatest of Scotsmen. Bruce was undoubtedly a turncoat, and Mr. Rait ventures the opinion that he may have been present at Wallace's trial and death. But once crowned, all the faults of King Robert's turbulent youth were atoned for.

The reign of David II., when so many men changed sides, is a record of disaster. The expenses of the war, including the ransom of the king, proved as oppressive to the Scots as the drain on the national resources of Sweden after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa. We pass on with a sense of relief to the first two kings of the House of Stewart—Robert II. and his son Robert III. (1371-1406)—a period extolled in ballad and romance. The battle of the clans on the North Inch of Perth and the tragedy of Rothesay at Falkland are treated as mere interludes. They are familiar to readers of Scott, who are likely to accept his version whatever historians may say.

It is curious to find James I. instituting a *Quo Warranto* inquiry after the English model into baronial trespasses on the Crown's prerogative, the result no doubt of his long captivity.

Mr. Rait describes the reign of James IV. as the Golden Age of medieval

Scottish history. It produced Sir Andrew Wood, the first great sea captain to defeat the English privateers in the Forth and the Tay, and William Dunbar, the most gifted of the early poets, who celebrated the king's marriage with Margaret Tudor in 'The Thistle and the Rose.' It saw the suppression of the Lordship of the Isles as a separate state claiming independent sovereignty, and it culminated in Flodden Field, more memorable than many victories for the reckless valour and splendid devotion displayed by sovereign, nobles, yeomanry, and burgesses alike. Into the maze of factions, feuds, and intrigues between the Regent Albany, the queen-mother, Angus, and Arran, in which Henry VIII. bore an ignoble part, Mr. Rait does not lead us. The minority of James V. is dreary history, and particulars can well be spared.

When this king came into his own (1528), the Reformation had begun with the burning of Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews, but it received no encouragement from him. He was forced to rely on the ancient league with France, for he distrusted his uncle Henry and his treacherous subject Angus. We should have liked a fuller account of the policy of Cardinal Beaton, who supported the national party when many of his base countrymen were in English pay. Even Protestants can sympathise with this Roman prelate fighting a losing battle with grim determination to the end. John Knox not only trod down his enemies; he trampled on them when dead. He gives a lengthy description of Beaton's murder in his *History*, dwelling with delight on the horrible details. He writes, as he himself confesses, 'merrily,' and his comments on the affair could not be surpassed for malice and vindictiveness. His violence of speech and action does not, however, detract from the value of his work in reforming a Church obviously corrupt, though little can be said for the tolerance and moderation of Presbyterianism, as witness its claim to secular jurisdiction.

Mr. Rait has dealt adequately with the subsequent events to the Union of the Crowns, but perhaps he is too lenient to Queen Elizabeth. He thinks that if Murray had been legitimate, he would probably have been one of Scotland's greatest kings; and his comparison between him and William of Orange is novel and interesting. After the assassination of the 'Good Regent' the country was divided into two rival factions, and there are, in fact, so many cross currents in Scottish history prior to the year 1603 that the task of making the story intelligible is no easy one. That the author has succeeded in steering a straight course within the narrow limits at his disposal is due to his powers of exposition and to his literary skill.

During the contest between Church and State in the matter of Episcopacy, the policy of James contrasts favourably with that of his successor. After the rough handling which the Scottish Solomon had received from Andrew Melville when his throne was insecure, his severe treatment of that strenuous divine at the conferences in London with the English bishops is not surprising. Charles could not plead such provocation, and he had all the blindness, though unhappily in this connection not the indecision, of Louis XVI. Whilst James attempted to check the excesses of Laud, who, if much misrepresented himself, imperfectly understood the Scottish temper, Charles authorised the preparation of the new liturgy, a

step far in excess of the Five Articles of Perth. He also alienated the nobility by withholding from them the offices of state; they joined hands with the Presbyterians, and the result was the National Covenant, followed by fifty years of misery and strife.

The motives which induced Montrose to forsake the Covenanters and go over to the King have been the subject of heated discussion. Mr. S. R. Gardiner reveals him as a maker of modern Scotland. Mr. Rait accepts his views that he detested Argyll and Hamilton's usurped supremacy under Parliamentary forms, and desired 'to emancipate the life and mind of Scotland from the grinding pressure of the Presbyterian clergy, of which the greater nobles were able to make use.' Writing in the *Quarterly Review* so far back as December, 1846, Lord Mahon, who was among the first to clear the Great Marquis from undeserved calumny, was of the same opinion; for he saw no reason to distrust the truth of his own dying declaration that what principally moved him was when he 'perceived some private persons under colour of religion intent to wring the authority from the King and to seize on it for themselves.' In less than a year—September, 1644, to August, 1645—Montrose triumphed at Tippermuir, at the Bridge of Dee, at the Castle of Fyvie, at Inverlochy, at Auldearn, at Alford, and at Kilsyth, a glorious record, though his actual victories were less remarkable than the extraordinary celerity of his marches. After Philiphaugh he ceased to menace the Covenanters. Devotion to duty was Montrose's watchword. To his credit be it said, he refused the tempting offer of the Generalship of the Scots in France, for he was a proud man and loved magnificence. He returned to Scotland on a forlorn hope at the bidding of his master. Many men have died manfully on the scaffold; few have had during their last hours to endure such vile insults and abuse as his foes heaped upon him; none have borne their sufferings with greater composure and dignity. They tried, as Mr. Rait says, to make his death ignominious. They failed contemptibly, and the verdict of later generations, which he doubtless anticipated, is in his favour.

Where quotation can be suitably employed, ancient chroniclers or modern diarists are permitted to speak for themselves. To illustrate the Solemn League and the history of Scotland up to the Restoration, a number of extracts are given from the Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, Principal of Glasgow University, a temperate Covenanter, whom Carlyle regarded as something of a Boswell and exceptionally veracious. Baillie's respect for Charles I. and his avowed affection for his son, whom he met at The Hague, is a strange trait in his character, and distinguishes him from the religious bigot. 'Let the King do what he will,' he wrote of Charles II. in reference to Episcopacy, 'he will ever get the blessings of us all.' For the period up to the Revolution of 1688, usually known as the 'Killing Time,' the principal authority is Bishop Gilbert Burnet. The faithful supporter of Dutch William admits that James VII., when as Duke of York he was mainly responsible for the administration of Scotland from 1679 to 1685, advised the bishops to proceed moderately and encouraged trade. Partisan though he was, he thus proves himself to be fair-minded. Archbishop Sharp is an historical enigma. We are struck by his saintly

features and benevolent aspect; and it is difficult to believe that this man could have been guilty of such atrocious cruelty to his late friends, especially the prisoners of Rullion Green. Justice is done to Claverhouse, if little is said of his campaigns. He was no butcher like Cumberland, but a most gallant soldier and an honourable opponent, who, in carrying out his instructions, always kept within the law. Such ardent spirits were not met with in the days of the early Stewart kings, who had few adherents noted for loyalty.

The last heading is Modern Scotland (1689-1843). The preliminaries to the Treaty of Union, the Fifteen, and the Forty-Five, admirably described as they are, suffice for one chapter, and he might well have added another dealing with the century from Culloden to the Disruption. The Augustan era, which, roughly speaking, covers the reign of George III., deserves more than bare mention in a couple of sentences. In the domain of literature and thought Irishmen have not been numerous, nor, with a few exceptions, of first-rate importance; and Wales cannot boast a single figure above mediocrity. But in the short space of sixty years, between 1760 and 1820, Scotland produced a brilliant collection of poets, philosophers, essayists, historians, and novelists, whose work profoundly influenced succeeding generations, and formed a substantial contribution to the making of the nation.

This handsome volume, with its excellent portraits and maps, will be much appreciated. It is scholarly, well informed, and notes the latest research; and, as Mr. Rait has an easy style of narrative, it will appeal to a wide class of readers. He has a happy faculty of seizing upon the salient features of the period with which he deals, and his comments on the course of events are always illuminative.

It would be impossible to produce a comprehensive history of England within the same compass. Not only is the subject vast, but the great figures of William I., Becket, Edward I., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Cromwell, William III., Marlborough, and Wellington are shadowy and elusive. Their characters are so complex that they fail to arouse enthusiasm, for the average man, as distinct from the historical student, cannot get on intimate terms with them. Typical as they are of their age, we regard them as hard and cold personages, without a spark of romance. But it is easy to understand St. Margaret, Wallace, Bruce, the Good Douglas, James I., James IV., Montrose, Claverhouse, and Prince Charles Edward. Their fortunes may be eagerly followed, and in the hands of a competent writer always appear to bear the impress of novelty.

Mr. Freeman once complained that English people, women especially, venerated Wallace and Bruce as heroes, and ignored Edward I. as statesman and lawgiver. Did he seriously expect the Statutes of *De Donis* and *Quia Emptores* to evoke widespread interest? Despite Carlyle's rhapsody, Cromwell the Lord Protector has no hold on the affections of posterity as has Wallace the Guardian of the Kingdom, although each maintained his country's liberties and national independence. The misfortunes of Mary Queen of Scots excite sympathy; the duplicity of Queen Elizabeth alienates

it—notwithstanding the distortions of Mr. Froude. Macaulay's estimate of Dundee is not now generally accepted. If we turn to the Wars of the Roses, we find that they were the outcome of mere selfishness and greed, a dynastic contest which can hardly stimulate the imagination to-day. They did not affect the nation at large, and were confined to the feudal lords and their retainers. Not so the War of Independence, inspired as it was by noble patriotism and lofty ideals,—qualities which, it must be admitted, were not lacking in the later struggles of the Cameronians and the Jacobites.

The range of English history covers a wider, but less picturesque, field. North of the Tweed there is scarcely a lowland glen or highland pass without its own peculiar associations. In Scotland we are not troubled with the same number of perplexing questions regarding the origin and evolution of social, industrial, and political institutions. Thus its history, which, apart from baronial feuds and clan rivalships, is to a great extent concerned with religious matters, has a warm place in the hearts of the people, who care little for abstruse constitutional problems.

G. A. Sinclair.

George the Third and Charles Fox. The Concluding Part of the American Revolution. By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart., O.M. In 2 vols. Vol. I. pp. x, 342. With one Map. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. 7s. 6d. net.

This delightful book is a continuation of two previous and separate works by the same author, *The American Revolution* and *Early History of Fox*. Of the former this and the volume still to be published form the concluding part, but we trust there is still more to follow upon Fox. The admirers of that brilliant statesman could not desire a better biographer. Sir George has made himself very familiar with the age in which Fox lived, with his haunts and companions, and is in hearty sympathy with the causes which he espoused and advocated with so much eloquence and zeal. Some may question whether the best title has been selected. There is, of course, a good deal about George III. and Fox in it, but other people and matters bulk almost as large.

It is really a social and political history of England during the period when the American War was slowly dragging along, bringing nothing but defeat and discredit to the mother country, and George was ruling according to his own perverse will, opposed at every step by the vigorous efforts of Fox.

It is at least an attractive title. These two men stood out not only in striking contrast, but they represented perhaps better than any others the two influences then fighting for the mastery in England, that which sought to preserve all the evils and corruptions of the past, and that which strove to sweep them away.

The character of George III. is certainly somewhat of a puzzle. The idea, which may perhaps linger in some minds, of a simple-minded country gentleman, pious but rather stupid, has little foundation in fact. He had an excellent head, a clear idea of what he wanted and of the best way of

getting it. His piety and domestic merits no one has questioned, but the difficulty is to see how one who was religious and possessed a conscience could carry on a consistent course of bribery and corruption, and ever be found the patron and upholder of the most dissolute and incompetent men.

The truth was that in the king's opinion Parliament was simply a nuisance which he could not get rid of, and could only mitigate by a liberal distribution of bribes and rewards. Like Charles I. he would have much preferred to reign alone, and he could only tolerate as the nominal rulers with whom he had to associate those who entirely subordinated their own wills to his. If a man showed independence he at once lost favour. Men who had minds of their own, such as Chatham and Fox, he could not away with. They were an abomination unto him. His religion probably aggravated the situation by weighing him down under a sense of kingly responsibility. But from these pages we can also learn why George, in spite of all his faults, was popular. A thorough Englishman, his public appearances were such as to call forth the enthusiasm of his people. When there was an invasion scare no one was more active than he in the inspection of dockyards and militia camps. His cool head and firm courage won him the respect of the whole nation. 'George the Third,' says our author, 'never showed to better advantage than in his character of titular chief of the fighting services. In that department of State affairs he understood his duty thoroughly, he did it gallantly, and he kept within it.'

If Fox did not come up to his sovereign's standard in private life, he at least possessed the virtue which enabled him to resist all attempts to win him over to the Court side. As the vigorous exposer of abuses and the champion of freedom, he remained the greater part of his life under the chilly shadow of opposition. Had he come over the highest pinnacle of power might have easily been reached. A king who upheld Sandwich could hardly have objected to the moral character of Fox. He was, says Sir George, 'drenched with calumny when alive, and it has been the fashion ever since, among writers of a certain class, to ignore the priceless services which he rendered to liberty and humanity, and to judge him solely by their own interpretation of his attitude with regard to the foreign policy of Great Britain. But his detractors then or now have never been able to call in question his highest title to honour. No man has denied, and no man can deny, that during all the best years of his life, Charles Fox sacrificed opportunities of power and advancement, emoluments which he sorely needed, and popularity which he keenly relished, for the sake of causes and principles incomparably dearer to him than his own interests and advantage.'

There are subjects dealt with in this volume which call for special attention, such as the country life of the aristocracy and its connection with art and literature, the story of Keppel and Palliser, with the triumphs of the former and the light which the whole incident throws upon the abuses of the age, and the sad tragedy of André.

We cannot commend the arrangement of this book. The order of time is not observed. Dates are rare. There is one, 1778, from which we never

seem to get quite away, although we are constantly being taken back to earlier periods, and again carried into the future.

The style, in many passages, recalls Macaulay.

W. G. Scott Moncrieff.

The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy. By R. W. Seton-Watson, D.Litt. (Oxon). Pp. xii, 463. With Map. Demy 8vo. London: Constable & Co., Ltd. 1911. 12s. 6d. net.

Advocating, as Mr. Seton-Watson does, a definite programme of reform, he writes with his eye on the future rather than on the past. If we leave aside the valuable appendices of more than one hundred pages of original documents, tables of statistics, and hitherto unpublished letters, this important treatise falls into three sections of unequal length. The first nine chapters sketch in bold outlines 'for the first time in English,' as the author justly claims (p. 335), the history of the Croat and Serb races under the sway of the House of Habsburg. This section of some 200 pages is the only part of the book that, strictly speaking, falls within the province of history. Though merely introductory to the main theme, these summaries are of undoubted value to English students of continental problems. The second and third sections treat not of remote centuries, but of burning problems of to-day and of their probable solutions.

In the chapters devoted to the Friedjung Trial and its sequels the author writes not as a historian weighing the testimony of others, but as a contemporary authority describing what he has seen and heard. The story is of thrilling interest, but is told at disproportionate length if we are to treat the whole work as an ordinary historical composition. In this section, however, Mr. Seton-Watson gives us not so much a rounded history as raw material for the use of future historians. His reports of the famous trial, in spite of undisguised sympathy for the Slav leaders, give an impression of moderation and of an earnest desire to preserve impartiality. The concluding portion of the book treats of the problems with which the future of the Habsburg dominions is bound up, and the author's confident solution may be summed up in one word—Trialism, or the substitution for the present dual monarchy of a three-fold state in which the peoples of Slav descent should enjoy in their own territory self-government in equal measure with the two races that now dominate Austrian and Hungarian destinies respectively.

Mr. Seton-Watson's valuable treatise, falling into three sections that treat respectively of the past, the present, and the future, would seem, from a purely literary standpoint, to be lacking in cohesion. Unity and colour, however, are given to the whole by the author's intense sympathy for the Croat and Serb races of southern Europe in their struggles for some measure of local autonomy and constitutional liberty.

There is an excellent map to illustrate the author's historical and political discussions, while an admirable bibliography of eight pages, giving (with brief comments) lists of the principal authorities in many languages, is sufficient evidence of the labour and scholarship that have gone to the making of a remarkable book.

Wm. S. McKechnie.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND TO THE PRESENT TIME. By P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A. Three volumes. Vol. I. xx, 328; Vol. II. xx, 366; Vol. III. xvi, 429. 8vo. With Maps and Illustrations. Cambridge University Press. 1911. 30s. net.

IN these handsome volumes the narrative of Professor Hume Brown's original history of Scotland is continued to the present time. The main difference, therefore, between the original story of the consolidation and development of Scotland and that now presented is to be found in the additional chapters, which, taking up the thread of events where it was dropped about 1850, pursues it throughout the last half-century in the spheres of politics, religion, and education. There are, however, minor differences, due to the author's desire to introduce such additions and amplifications as have been made necessary by recent research.

What first challenges attention is the very fine collection of illustrations, which in themselves give a peculiar value to this new edition of what has become a standard work. As is well known, recent excavations at Newstead have yielded a rich harvest of memorials of the Roman occupation, and a few specimens are shown. These are the first in a series of plates of objects that illuminate various aspects of life in Scotland. The plates are particularly rich in types of ecclesiastical and other architecture; the abbeys, castles, and churches of Scotland are well represented.

The large number of photographs of men distinguished in war and politics, in literature and science, invites the reader's scrutiny, and provokes a desire to read in the lineaments here portrayed something to justify the verdicts of history. Here, for example, is Claverhouse, whose beautiful face and cold, compelling gaze seem to protest against the traditional representation of him, and here is Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, the 'host' of Dugald Dalgetty, revealed to the life. Among the moderns are Carlyle, from Whistler's painting, and Sir Walter Scott, from Saxon's. Saxon's portrait gives a vivacity to the features that one misses in the later portraits, but Lockhart assures us that in 1802 Scott looked like this; it will be found interesting to compare the reproduction given on p. 326 of Professor Hume Brown's third volume with the Tassie medallion reproduced on p. 190 of *Scottish History and Life*.

In his additional chapters the author lays particular stress on the break with the traditional theology of Scotland, and this is no doubt a notable fact in the recent history of the country; the change of attitude since the Robertson Smith case is so marked that 'heresy-hunting' is a thing of the past. The Declaratory Act and the debates on the formula of subscription to the Confession of Faith are a revelation of a loosening of old bonds. Professor Hume Brown takes note of the new zeal for social work among the churches and the decay of doctrinal preaching; he does not mention the Institutional Church, but its appearance is a sign of how the current is flowing. He contends also that the radicalism of Scotland is part of her history (cf. vol. i. p. 147) and accounts for her democratic church and school systems. By emphasising the distinct character of the Scottish nation Professor Hume Brown may claim that he has answered by anticipation a recent charge against him that he has failed to accentuate the

imitative character of Scottish medieval institutions, and has not paid sufficient regard to their English originals. He may be left to deal with this indictment and with the other charges of not making a marked discrimination between the Conventions of Estates and Parliaments (see vol. ii. p. 92, note) and falling short of severe accuracy in handling the period of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. He still holds to the view that the Picts were mainly Goidelic Celts (vol. i. p. 9); some fuller treatment of this point would have been welcome.

In its new form this *History of Scotland* is sure to be well received. It cannot be omitted from the library of any patriotic Scot or serious student of history.

A. M. Williams.

Cambridge under Queen Anne. Illustrated by Memoir of Ambrose Bonwicke and Diaries of Francis Burman and Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach. Edited with Notes by J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College and Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge. With a Preface by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. xv, 545. Sm. 8vo. Cambridge: Published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by Deighton, Bell & Co. and Bowes & Bowes. 1911. 6s. net.

As Dr. James tells us in his interesting short preface, this book was projected and begun by the late Professor Mayor upwards of forty years ago. In 1870 he published the first part, the life of Ambrose Bonwicke, and printed a few copies of the remainder for private circulation. On Professor Mayor's death in 1910, the value of the work, as enriched by his notes, being fully recognised, arrangements were made on behalf of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society to have the printed sheets of the incomplete work transferred to them.

The book consists of three parts, each being accompanied by voluminous notes upon persons, places, incidents, and other matters mentioned in or arising out of the text. The editor's contribution, even in its unfinished form, is of great variety and interest, and is much larger than the original text.

The first part is a reprint of the memoir of Ambrose Bonwicke (born 1691, died 1714), written by his father, and first published in 1729. It discloses a young scholar of St. John's College, of weak constitution, fervently pious and morbidly sensitive. He brought his life to a premature close probably through asceticism and close study. Professor Mayor has annotated the life by 110 pages of notes upon such subjects as the Bonwicke family, Sturbridge fair, Burgersdijck, to name but three of the varied topics taken at random.

The second part consists of a translation of the short record of the visit to Cambridge of the Dutch professor, Frans Burman, who came to England in 1702 as chaplain of the Embassy sent from Holland to congratulate Queen Anne on her accession. It also forms the basis of a number of learned notes.

The third part contains the account of a visit to the University in 1710

by Z. C. von Uffenbach, a Doctor in Civil and Canon Law of Halle, and a celebrated collector of books and manuscripts. Dr. von Uffenbach (who was accompanied by his brother) fills his narrative with details, sometimes odd, at other times ill-natured, regarding the various colleges, their learned men, librarians and libraries, besides touching upon minor cognate matters. It thus affords ample scope for Professor Mayor's notes and illustrations. Uffenbach was evidently inclined to be critical of men and things in England, and seems seldom to lose an opportunity of saying something disparaging. He visited the University library, where he remarks, 'we could see nothing well because the librarian, Dr. Laughton (or as they pronounce it, *Laffton*), was absent, which vexed me not a little, as Dr. Ferrari highly extolled his great learning and courtesy. *Rara avis in his terris.*'

The morning of one of his last days in England was spent in packing up his books and goods in three bales to send them to Holland. 'At noon,' he tells us, 'we dined at the Blue Bell in Clare market. There a Scot, Cherbourn [Sherbourne?], of good family, well made with a very strong voice, singing a good bass, broke several double flint glasses by shouting.... He is upwards of forty years old, a loose liver and deep in debt; he speaks scotch, irish, english, dutch, german, italian, french and latin.'

As letting us see how our manners and customs struck a frankly critical and somewhat cross-grained visitor two hundred years ago, this latter part of the book is invaluable, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for thus placing within reach a work which reflects on every page the varied and entertaining learning of the late Professor Mayor.

JOHN EDWARDS.

L'ADMINISTRATION FINANCIÈRE DES ÉTATS DE BRETAGNE DE 1689 À 1715. Par F. Quesette. Pp. 251. 8vo. Paris: Honoré Champion. 1911. 3 fr. 50.

WITHIN recent years such *savants* as Loth and Lot have demonstrated the importance of Brittany in the spheres of philology and hagiology. M. Quesette's monograph deals with a later period and a different field, but it possesses such qualities of insight and comprehension that, taken along with the studies of M. le Moy on provincial institutions, it indicates that in the eighteenth century Brittany still deserves the attention of students of history.

Compared with the field on which M. Marcel Marion is at present working, M. Quesette's subject is a limited one, but this very limitation has enabled him to strike deeply into the general life of the province with which he is concerned. Under Richelieu, Brittany, like the other *pays d'états*, was free from much of the taxation under which the rest of France groaned, and the Breton estates acted within certain limits as an intermediary between the Crown and the inhabitants of the province, and possessed something like fiscal autonomy. M. Quesette traces, in a most illuminating manner, the development of the Estates in the sphere of financial administration from the condition of an inert and almost lifeless organism to the stage in which they became active and alive. The trans-

formation was effected under the financial pressure which marked the reign of Louis XIV., and the Estates became rejuvenated through a struggle which at first sight seemed to threaten their existence.

M. Quesette's study of a phase of the relations between the French Crown and Brittany will interest students of federal institutions, and every reader will deplore the author's untimely death. DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

SIX ROMAN LAWS. Translated with Introduction and Notes. By E. G. Hardy, M.A., D.Litt. Pp. viii, 176. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 6s. net.

THIS scholarly little book is designed to meet the needs of a very special class of students—those reading for the school of Literae Humaniores at Oxford. The sound tradition of that school requires that preparation for it shall be based, as far as possible, on a study of the original authorities. Thus Roman history is made in all cases to rest upon a first-hand knowledge of Cicero and Tacitus, Appian and Plutarch. And from the better men something more is looked for; they are expected to make themselves acquainted with at least the more important of the epigraphic texts, in so far as these have a bearing on the story of the constitution. The most convenient of handbooks for this latter purpose is the *Fontes* of Bruns. But Bruns's collection is a good deal more extensive than is strictly necessary, while it is at the same time unprovided with those 'aids to reflection' which even the ablest of undergraduates usually finds welcome.

These are precisely the defects that Mr. Hardy has set himself to remedy. He has chosen six of the better-known laws, has rendered them into intelligible English—not always an easy task—and has supplied each with a brief introduction and a set of useful notes. There are also three Appendixes dealing with special difficulties connected with the Lex Agraria and the Lex Julia Municipalis respectively. To the elucidation of what is obscure, Mr. Hardy brings a fresh mind, abundant learning, and an independent judgment. His mastery of detail is indeed astonishing, when one remembers the physical disability from which he unfortunately suffers; his manuscript was written in Braille. It is greatly to be hoped that he will carry out his intention of producing a companion volume, and that he will include in it that most impressive of Roman inscriptions, the Monumentum Ancyranum. Meanwhile there are signs that Roman History is going to come to its own in our Scottish Universities. When it does so, teachers and students will find *Six Roman Laws* a valuable instrument.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. Vol. IX. A.D. 1546-1551. Pp. lxviii, 599. Royal 8vo. H.M. General Register House. 1911. 15s. net.

THE Lyon King, whose volume of the Treasurer's Accounts for 1541-46 was reviewed last year (*S.H.R.* vii, 309) now pursues his editorial task on the accounts down to the spring of 1551, setting out the text with all the care that can be desired, and prefacing the book with a sufficiently

extended survey of the period and comment on the prominent elements of finance. A central fact of the time being the battle of Pinkie, there is episode and to spare glanced at or directly recorded in the accounts. The wealth of those is such that the preface scarcely attempts as full an outline and chronological register as some readers would have found convenient. Concerning Pinkie, it points out the effort of the Scots army to get forward the artillery, 'battards, moyanis and falconnes' (which failed so badly when the hour came), the cost of munitions and the wages of gunners and pioneers, the provision made in advance for field-surgery, and the melancholy employment of 'cairttis to helpe to erd the deid folkes be the space of twa dayes.' Apparently this sad task was slackly taken in hand, for subsequently, it would seem in October, letters had to be sent to Musselburgh and Inveresk requiring the people there 'to caus be erdit the deid persounnes restande in the feildeis of Fawside.'

Somerset's movements after the battle are not traced, though there is great need for an itinerary of his army, with a few dates to help us to follow it from Leith to Home Castle, and back to England. Indeed it is not easy to reconcile the Lyon King's statement about Home Castle, as delivered to Somerset before Pinkie, with the statement of contemporaries, as well as of all modern historians, that it was besieged and taken by him after Pinkie, or with the terms of the accounts themselves. We find no mention in the preface of the fact that simultaneously with Somerset's advance on the east coast, Thomas, Lord Wharton, was making a minor expedition into Scotland on the west, with the capture and destruction of the tower of Castlemilk and the Steeple of Annan as the object.

Interesting entries relative both to the gunners for Annan Steeple and to the close warding of Castlemilk occur as items in the accounts for September 1547. An episode of the west which is passed over in the preface is the volte-face made by the Master of Maxwell, who, after pledging himself to Wharton and the English interest, was brought back to the side of Scotland and the Governor by the timely bribe of the hand of the heiress of Herries, with the result that in arrayed battle against Drumlanrig, Wharton's allies, the Maxwell party, turned round and attacked him and his English force in the field, to the confusion and fury of the English leader. There is piquancy in the allusion made in the account in January, 1548, where the Master is reported as '*than* being at the opinioun of Inglande'; it is immediately followed by frequent letters and messages to him significant of his conversion before 23 February, the day on which he fulfilled his promise to revoke his treason and 'cross again the invasion' to which he had sworn himself to Wharton. During the English occupation of Lauder in the spring of 1549, we come upon letters sent to Sir Hew Willoughby, afterwards to earn renown as an Arctic explorer.

A student of Scots literature cannot fail to observe that the troubled time was not likely to encourage the Muses. Payments even to minstrels are scarce at this period. There is, however, one interesting literary entry in February 1549:

> 'Item to Williame Lauder for making of his play and expensis maid thairupoun. xi li. v s.'

This play was a feature of the celebrations attending the marriage of Lady Barbara Hamilton, eldest daughter of Regent Arran, to Alexander Lord Gordon. The passage was noticed by David Laing, and was printed by him in 1869 in a note to Fitzedward Hall's edition of Lauder's *Office and Dewtie of Kyngis* (*E.E.T.S.* revised edition, 1869, p. xi). 'No indication is given,' said Dr. Laing, 'of the character of the Play. It was most likely a kind of pageant.' A fuller note on the subject by Laing was printed in Furnivall's edition of Lauder's *Minor Poems* (*E.E.T.S.* 1870, pp. v-viii). The item of 1549 appears to be the oldest reference to Lauder as author. Sir David Lindsay, the Lyon King poet, appears in 1548-49 as the bearer of letters to Denmark. These were no doubt in pursuance of a request for the assistance of Danish ships to protect the Scottish coast from the English as well as in furtherance of a projected treaty of free trade between Denmark and Scotland.

Another entry that from the literary standpoint piques curiosity is the grant of an escheat in 1546 to Cristine Lindsay, which raises the question of possible identity or connection with the satirical woman of the same name who has a place in the poems both of Montgomerie and of James VI. some forty years later. What is probably an allusion to Blind Harry's poem appears in 1548:

'Item, for the buke of Wallace to my lord governoures grace. xlv s.' Arran, to judge from the accounts, was no bookman, but this single transaction at least betrays his interest in patriotic literature.

As usual the accounts are rich in domestic data, especially as regards dress, such as the 'coittis and breikis' with 'reid buttonis' and 'poynttis,' the 'holland claytht' for the necks and 'ruffis' of 'sarkis' the 'taffat' for 'belt and gartains,' and the hose and shoes of velvet for the men, and the 'bonegrace' (large bonnet), the 'Franche blak' and 'dalmez' for gowns, 'worsat' and 'champlot' for kirtles and the 'welwote to begarye the kirtill' for young ladies of the court and to furnish them with 'huddis and paitlettis and uther necessaris.' Descriptions of costume contained in Lindsay's *Squire Meldrum* receive very ample illustration and confirmation. Among some curious passages explained by the Lyon King is a proclamation in 1548 against the currency of 'bagcheik grottis,' a phrase at once descriptive, patriotic, and disrespectful, applied to the broadfaced coins of Henry VIII.

A word of praise must be reserved for the glossary and index, which are so worthy a complement to the editorial expositions.

GEO. NEILSON.

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. George Edmundson, M.A. Being the Ford Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1910. Pp. 176. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 6s. net.

THE relations of the English and the Dutch throughout the seventeenth century were complicated by the fact that while religious and political interests drew them together, rivalry in trade and in maritime power caused

considerable hostility between them. This is clearly brought out by Mr. Edmundson in these lectures.

Fishing was the fundamental industry on which Dutch prosperity had been built up, they had long been free to practice it, and bitterly resented attempts of the English and Scottish to restrict their opportunities for carrying it on near the British shores. The English were becoming jealous of their success, and the constant need for money felt by the Stuart kings, as well as their naval enthusiasm, dictated a policy of imposing a toll upon foreigners for the right to fish. The English were determined to uphold a claim to sovereignty on the seas, in virtue of which they attempted to dictate terms for fishing even in Greenland or Newfoundland.

Trade rivalry in the East was another cause of discord, and the situation was further complicated by the influence of Spain upon the policy of James and Charles I., and by the internal troubles of both countries. They were continually on the verge either of war or of alliance, and the story of the long series of protracted negotiations carried on between them is well told by Mr. Edmundson. The period treated of is one of preparation for the coming struggle, ending, as it does, with the Navigation Act and the consequent outbreak of war in 1653, and the author thoroughly fulfils his object in showing how the clashing interests of the first half of the century led inevitably to the open hostility of the Cromwellian and Restoration periods.

A. Cunningham.

National Library of Wales. Catalogue of Tracts of the Civil War and Commonwealth Period, relating to Wales and the Border. Pp. x, 85. 8vo. Aberystwith. 1911. 2s. 6d. net.

It is a matter of first-rate importance that a new library should be started on right lines, and the National Library of Wales is fortunate in being guided by one who has a due appreciation of this, and of what may be done in the way of getting full value out of a great collection. Mr. Ballinger evidently has determined that its use shall not be crippled by curtailed or slipshod work. In his *Bibliotheca Celtica* for 1909 he has already made an excellent start in the development of the resources at his hand, and he seems to have introduced into bibliography some of the enthusiasm of the Celtic revival which has penetrated other departments of literature. Now he gives us a list of the Civil War tracts relating to Wales, an equally good piece of work, which should be welcome to many students.

It has become a truism that a librarian's office is not merely to guard his treasures, but also to unlock and set them forth, so that seekers after knowledge may be guided on their road, and hindered as little as may be by difficulty in finding their material. And of all guides one of the most valuable is accurate, careful cataloguing, such as the work before us. A mass of old pamphlets—in early catalogues likely to be found under a single entry 'Tracts, so many vols.'—is here classified, arranged chronologically, titled separately; and it becomes a source of history, henceforth indispensable to any who study the period which it embraces. To the historical

student the very titles of some of these quaint productions are stimulating; and the fact of their being reproduced with such fulness enables him to judge fairly well what he will find to enlighten him on any particular point—for in those days a pamphleteer apparently was sometimes beset with doubts that his reader might never get beyond the title-page, and accordingly compressed into that as much of his subject as was possible.

We find Scottish history touching the Welsh in several instances; as Aug. 3, 1648, when divers gentlemen of Wales give their instructions how 'to carry on the work and to have intelligence with the Scots and Irish,' or Aug. 25, when we hear of the Scottish lords surrendering to the Sheriff of Chester, or Aug. 1647, when an account is published of the Scots army at Hereford. The Welsh criminal flees into Scotland for refuge (March 4, 1648) and a Representation is performed before General Monk by 'an Englishman, a Welshman, and a Scotchman' (April 11, 1660).

Among bibliographers, who will best be able to appreciate this list, there may be differences of opinion as to its methods: as to the transliteration, for instance, of a capital 'V' by a lower-case 'v,' when it is certain that the printer, had he preferred the smaller letter, would have used it in the form 'u'; or as to the advisability of printing the collation in the same type as the title itself. But of the value of the work as a whole there can be no question; and many will find it an incentive to further effort on their own part, and a most excellent model for imitation.

P. J. Anderson.

In Defence of the Regalia, 1651-2. Being selections from the family papers of the Ogilvies of Barras. Edited, with introduction, by Rev. Douglas Gordon Barron, M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.). Pp. xvi, 371. With photogravure frontispiece and nine illustrations. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1910. 16s. net.

This is one of the most important of recent contributions to the history of Scotland in the seventeenth century. The story of the brilliant defence of Dunnottar Castle against Cromwell's forces and of the preservation of the Scottish regalia is well known, but here for the first time it is presented in an accurate form, free from legendary accretions. And here for the first time are all the available documents collected together in print. Mr. Barron is well known as an antiquary and in particular as the first living authority upon all historical matters connected with the county of Kincardine in which he lives. His introduction to the documents printed in this volume is a really masterly piece of work, in which historical insight and local knowledge are combined with a good literary style.

The eighty-eight documents relating to the regalia, and thirty miscellaneous papers, which form the bulk of the book, are chiefly, though not wholly, taken from the family papers of the Ogilvies of Barras. The editor has very properly included certain documents which have already been printed, but which are essential to the elucidation of the story.

That the romantic story of the defence of Dunnottar and the rescue of the regalia should have issued in an unseemly quarrel for subsequent

recognition is unfortunately a fact. Mr. Barron has collected all the evidence regarding it, and we think he has been successful in showing that it was initiated by the Dowager Countess Marischal in her son's interest. It also appears that Mrs. Grainger, the wife of the Kinneff minister, was not really the heroine of the rescue of the 'honours,' but a somewhat sordid individual, whose husband was rather a weak man. George Ogilvy's defence of the castle with a mere handful of men was a military achievement the ability of which was recognised even by his enemies. To his valiant stand the safety of the regalia was due in the first place. In the second place, when the castle could no longer hold out the 'honours' were certainly removed to a safer hiding-place in Kinneff Church with the assistance of the Graingers, but it would seem that the actual method of the removal was not according to the received story, the unhistorical nature of which Mr. Barron has demonstrated to the full. That story—as we may read it in histories and guide-books—tells how Mrs. Grainger, in returning from a visit to Mrs. Ogilvy at the castle, carried the crown through the English lines in her lap, the sword and sceptre being borne behind her in a head of lint by her maid. The true story appears to be that Mrs. Grainger's maid came frequently to the seaward side of the castle rock to gather dulse, and when she had become sufficiently familiar to the soldiers she carried away the regalia hidden under seaweed in her creel. The editor points out that 'it is significant that on the tombstone in Kinneff Church, where the credit of preserving the regalia is effusively ascribed to Grainger, the much more dangerous and trying part his wife is popularly represented to have played, receives no word of praise, or of acknowledgment' (p. 21).

The unworthy attempts after the Restoration to deprive George Ogilvy of the honour which was his due seem to have been the result of the Countess Marischal's attempt to use the regalia incident to cover up her disloyalty to the Royalist cause. Mr. Barron says that 'by birth and upbringing, she was, and probably continued to remain, a daughter of the Covenant.' Ogilvy had a hard struggle to get such recognition as he did receive, and he even found a rival in his old friend Grainger. Later on we find that after Ogilvy's death the Earl of Kintore attempted to wrest the credit from the Ogilvy family in favour of his own. Viewed in the light of the documents it is now easy to see the petty meanness of some of the actors in the less worthy parts of this drama.

The book is one which no student of the seventeenth century in the north of Scotland can afford to be without.

F. C. Eeles.

A History of England. By C. R. L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling. With Pictures by Henry Ford. Small 4to. Pp. 250. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

In the days when history is becoming increasingly complicated and scientific it is refreshing to find a book written for young people in a simple and straightforward manner. The authors, however, have not treated their

subject in a merely superficial way. The chief merit of the work is that views are expressed clearly and fairly, which are the outcome of wide reading and of mature deliberation; so that boys and girls are given a useful digest of their country's history, racily written and on the whole accurate. The puzzling characters of Henry VIII., Elizabeth and Charles I. are admirably presented, while the sentence, 'He cared for but one thing on earth, to smash King Louis of France,' is a terse and true explanation of the actions of William III.

The few mistakes that occur in the book are not of a serious nature. One of these is that Edward III.'s claim to the French crown would have been a good one by English law. An elder branch of the family, however, the House of Navarre, would have succeeded before the English line, had the Salic Law not been observed in France. Another slight oversight is the date 1708 in place of 1707 for the Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland. Again, on one of the maps Halidon Hill is placed south instead of north of Berwick. It was not to be expected that Scottish history would bulk largely in this volume, but considering that the book is written for 'all boys and girls who are interested in the story of Great Britain and her Empire,' the affairs of the northern kingdom might perhaps have been given more room.

The verses scattered throughout the volume are calculated to arouse the patriotism of youthful readers. The finely-executed illustrations are valuable as giving as far as possible an accurate representation of the dress and armour of the different periods.

E. Stair-Kerr.

Colonel St. Paul of Ewart, Soldier and Diplomat. Edited by George G. Butler. 2 Vols. Vol. I., pp. cxciv, 320; Vol. II., pp. 483. With Portraits and Maps. Demy 8vo. London: St. Catherine Press. 1911. 21s. net.

In recording the life of his wife's ancestor, a desirable idea in the main, the editor has done it in these two handsome and well-illustrated volumes in the most bewildering way. The first portion of his work deals with the biography of Colonel Horace St. Paul, who was created in 1759 a count of the Empire. This part is very difficult to understand, owing to the chaotic manner in which it is set forth; but we learn that the subject was born in 1729 (that fact has to be searched for carefully), and that he was outlawed for fleeing the country after killing a man (a quaint account of the quarrel is given, which shows that the duel was caused by a lady and her snuff-box) in a duel in 1751.

After being kindly received in France by the Duc de Penthièvre, whose sporting tastes agreed with his own, he later went to the Low Countries, and became aide-de-camp to Prince Charles of Lorraine. In 1759-60 he followed Marshal Daun, and served with much honour in the Austrian army. His father's death in 1762 turned his eyes homeward, and he, through his friend Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, received a pardon for the fatal duel in 1765, and later became a diplomat as Secretary to the Embassy in Paris. His diplomatic career lasted until 1777. After his

retirement he lived in England, mainly in Northumberland, at Ewart, at peace, except when disturbed by the rumours of the French invasion, until his death in 1812.

We have gleaned all this with some difficulty from the tangled web the editor gives us, a web where Colonel St. Paul and his friends are interwoven in a very difficult manner. The diplomatic correspondence which follows in either volume is printed *verbatim*, and will be of value to the patient student, who will need to do his own researches. It is a pity that so much work has been bestowed with so little method, for the care taken in preparing the book (though we can scarcely pardon the curious remark, on page lviii, about the parentage of Lord Glenbervie, which is really quite well known) has been very considerable, and it might have made, being drawn from original sources, a much more readable work on French and English relations during the eighteenth century.

A. Francis Steuart.

England under the Hanoverians (1714-1815). By C. Grant Robertson, Fellow of All Souls, Tutor in History to Magdalen College, Oxford. Being Vol. VI. of A History of England. In seven volumes. Edited by Charles Oman, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Pp. xix. 555. Demy 8vo. With seven Maps. London: Methuen & Co. 10s. 6d. net.

It may be said at once that this is a disappointing book. It will scarcely enhance the reputation of editor or publishers, and the author justly anticipates the dissatisfaction of his readers. It is difficult to believe that the editor has given himself the trouble to read the work through. To cite all the errors in grammar, the faulty punctuation, the mistakes and inconsistencies in spelling, discrepancy in date between text and margin, and instances of confused and inaccurate statement, of such a sort that an exact construction of the sentence makes the author say the opposite of what he must be supposed to mean, would require more than the whole space allotted to this article. Such blemishes are so numerous as to be, not accidental but, characteristic. Over and over again the puzzled reader is compelled to 'try back.' But the time and the guesswork required for decipherment of an Oxyrhynchus papyrus are grudged to a modern English history. Parts of the book are written sometimes with laboured turgidity, sometimes with a vehemence in expletives difficult to reconcile with soberness of judgment, sometimes with an affected preciosity which omits or misuses the inferior parts of speech, sometimes with a lack of precision and even a confusion of statement not merely troublesome, but exasperating, to the reader. Sometimes the author appears to have transferred contracted memoranda from his note-book unextended to the text. To take two or three from innumerable instances of inexactness in his style: he says 'the latter' when he means 'the last'; he speaks of a hypothesis 'at variance with other well-established facts'; of three things as 'both'; he uses 'as' for 'but' and 'over' for 'of'; he says Soult 'lost 10,000 casualties' at Roncesvalles; that the disabilities of the Roman Catholics

were 'a need' of Ireland; and that Pitt's blindness to the necessity of reform was 'an omission' in the Government's programme.

These and their like, however, are not the only surprising phenomena in the book. The author uses expressions new in literature, and hardly justified as innovations by peculiar propriety or fitness. Thus, for example, he describes George III. as 'queering the cards'; and a loan as 'souped amongst' the supporters of the Ministry.

But if his lack of precision is diversified by bad taste, his slipshod grammar is matched by blunders in geography, and these by carelessness in narration. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches map of the Peninsula in the volume, diminutive and inadequate as it is, is still large enough to have kept him from an unfortunate distortion of Napier's *History*, in which he not only misapplies Napier's words, but in place of correcting Napier's blunder, transfers Ciudad Rodrigo from the interior of Spain to the interior of Portugal. His account of the burning of the *Gaspee* (p. 258) is unfair because it omits all mention of the provocation. On page 460 he says that the *Chesapeake* was cannonaded by the *Shannon* till she surrendered. That is not so. Every schoolboy knows that she was carried by boarding. Those readers who know *Holy Willie's Prayer* may be surprised to learn (on page 345) that that sanctimonious lay was a starting-point of the Industrial (or was it the French? for the text is here, as so often elsewhere, obscure) Revolution. He tells us that the family of Duncan Forbes founded the Scottish whisky distilleries, and thus not only shortens the career of these institutions by several centuries, but deprives the monasteries of part of their glory.

The story which is the subject of the book has often been told of late. Error in the main facts was hardly possible. Accuracy in details, and clear English throughout, were to be reasonably demanded. Their so frequent default destroys confidence in the whole work. Yet much of the author's narrative and much of his commentary are excellent. He exhibits wide knowledge, fertility in ideas, and access to the best sources. He can examine and compare the forces at work, and set forth their direction and effects. He can vividly realise characters and situations, he can describe with eloquence and sympathy, and he can make his story admirably clear and informing. Why then is so large a part of the book unworthy of his powers?

The editor of the series of which the volume forms a part explains that it is intended to supply something between a school manual and a minute monograph. The happy mean has been fixed at 500 pages per dynasty. Normans and Angevins, Tudors, Stuarts and Hanoverians must each be drawn out or diminished to fit this Procrustes' bed. The author confesses in his first sentence that his task is beyond him. Yet he does not wisely economise the space at his disposal. There are passages needlessly inflated, as well as others unsuccessfully contracted, passages of invective overloaded to weakness with adjectives, and scores of *obiter dicta* in the shape of abstract propositions superfluous to the tale. But he complains that he has not been permitted to embody his history as he conceived it. He describes a large part of his work as 'syncopated' (literally, 'knocked together'), a

treatment, he says, 'required by the exigencies of space.' He says 1000 pages, instead of 500, would have been too few for him. This does not explain, still less justify, the shortcomings of his curiously unequal work, but it may suggest the spirit which made them possible. Collaborative history in which writer and editor cannot arrange space and mode to their common satisfaction will not be recommended by this venture. The author complacently exonerates both editor and proof-reader from responsibility. In this discharge, however, the reader will not willingly concur. There are many omissions from the Index, but it too may have suffered syncopation.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE FIRST ENGLISH LIFE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH: written in 1513 by an Anonymous Author known commonly as the Translator of Livius. Edited by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. With Introduction, Annotations, and Glossary. Pp. lvi. 212. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. KINGSFORD has rendered valuable service to historical scholarship in following up his article on 'Early Biographies of Henry V.' (*English Historical Review*, 1910) by editing and printing for the first time the work of the Translator of Livius discussed and described in that article, and hitherto known only by references and quotations in the sixteenth century chroniclers. Harpsfield, Holinshed, and Stow all refer to and in some cases quote freely from this anonymous Translator, but the possible existence of the actual translation has been unnoticed or overlooked, as Mr. Kingsford says, until he recently discovered it in the Bodleian Library, in an excellent manuscript of the early seventeenth century, bound in a folio volume with other historical transcripts made about 1610 for Sir Peter Manwood, a Kentish antiquary; and when the text of this was already in print, he found another copy in the British Museum, differing in many details, and slightly later in date, but evidently from the same original.

This first English Life of Henry V. is extremely interesting for a variety of reasons. The original author, Titus Livius Forojuliensis (so named in Hearne's edition of his work), otherwise Tito Livio da Forli, wrote his Latin *Vita Henrici Quinti* about the middle of the fifteenth century from information supplied by his patron, Humphrey of Gloucester—but the especial interest of the Translator's *Life* is that it might almost be called an original work: the author added so much important fresh material and wove it together with a skill that is almost unexpected at a time when historical biography in English was practically an unknown quantity. He dedicates his work to Henry VIII., and internal evidence places the date of its composition in 1513, curiously, just about the time that More was engaged on his *Richard III.*

The language and style of the Translator may best be summed up in Mr. Kingsford's own words: 'What harshness of diction appears is due rather to the pains of one who had to labour with an imperfect instrument than to the clumsiness of the workman. The author's mastery seems to

have increased as his work progressed. . . . Had it been his good fortune to have his work printed, he might justly have been esteemed one of the pioneers of English prose in the sixteenth century.'

The original passages are of great interest and importance, inasmuch as they supplied the chroniclers with much of their most lively and characteristic material for the life of King Henry; which in turn gave Shakspere information, not merely through the *Famous Victories*, but direct, as Mr. Kingsford proves, from Stow and Holinshed. So that the Translator's work is as it were an ancestor (and perhaps the principal one) of the play and of all the modern concepts of Henry's character; and, moreover, carries back and substantiates an entire group of legends as far as the middle of the fifteenth century. The interpolations in the Translator's *Life* are derived from Enguerrant de Monstrelet, the *Policronicon*, a version of the *Brut*, and lastly and chiefly, the report of the fourth Earl of Ormond, who, born in 1392, was intimately acquainted with the Court of Henry V., and held many important offices during his reign. The Earl's accounts of various episodes, now fully obtained through the Translator's quotations, go to prove points that have hitherto been regarded with suspicion by modern historians as resting only on John Stow's evidence. There are nine distinct passages from Ormond, all adding materially to the interest of the narrative and the development of Henry's character; as for instance the stories of his riotous youth, the visit of St. Vincent Ferrier to his camp before Caen, and the romantic episode of the Sire de Barbasan. It may be noted that they all extend and verify the court legends as distinct from the city tales (such as the Chief Justice story) with which Ormond might naturally be less well acquainted; and also that the Translator's *Life* does nothing to deprive Shakspere of full responsibility for the creation of Falstaff.

Mr. Kingsford's scholarly Introduction is of very great interest in elucidating and amplifying the carefully edited text.

MARY LOVE.

DAT ARNAMAGNÆNSKE HAANDSKRIFT 81 a Fol. (Skálholtsbók yngsta) indeholdende Sverris saga, Böglunga sögur, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar. Udgivet af Den Norske Historiske Kildeskrift-Kommission ved A. Kjær. Kristiania (1st and 2nd parts). 1910.

AKTSTYKKER TIL DE NORSKE STÆNDERMÖDERS HISTORIE. 1548-1661. Dr. Oscar Alb. Johnsen. (1st part.) Kristiania, 1910.

THE former of these issues are two volumes from the Arnamagnæan Collection of MSS. at Copenhagen, and include the Sverri, Böglunga and Hákon Hákonar Sagas, which are of recognised value in the historical, or semi-historical literature of Iceland. The Saga stories, commemorating for most part the doings of the heroic age of the tenth and eleventh centuries, appear to have been first committed to writing in Iceland, in the then current language of the North (*Norœna tunga*) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. All the first MSS. having perished, it is to the care

of Arni Magnusson (1663-1730) that scholars are indebted for most of those which are preserved. He managed to secure all that could be found, on paper or vellum, in Iceland, and had them conveyed to Denmark; and it is from that great Collection that most of the Sagas as now known, in the original text, as here, or in translations, have been procured.

It is mostly by Danish scholars that this priceless vernacular literature of ancient Iceland has been exploited; and of this there may be quoted, as monumental evidence, the twelve volumes issued at Copenhagen, under the title of *Fornmanna Sögur*, in 1825-1837. But the origin of Saga composition may be attributed mainly to hereditary and traditional influences from Norway, the land from which the Icelanders of the ninth century voluntarily exiled themselves; and Professor P. A. Munch, of Christiania, in the earlier part of last century, followed by such other Norwegian scholars as Professors Sophus and Alexander Bugge and others, have devoted much attention to the publication and elucidation of Saga literature.

This is being vigorously followed up by the National Manuscript Commission of Norway, who have already published, and are now in the process of publishing, from this original source, and from other quarters, a variety of early matter, in Saga and general historical literature, of which the present issues, clearly printed and carefully edited by Herr A. Kjær, form part.

The second work quoted at the head of this notice is also published at Christiania, under the same auspices, under the editorship of Dr. Oscar Alb. Johnsen. Its personal memorials and records of district meetings, under royal or delegated authorities, are important contributions to the understanding of contemporary life in Norway at a much later stage than the date of the Saga stories, namely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The labours of this Norwegian Commission in these and kindred publications are of the utmost value to all who are interested in the history and literature of Iceland and Scandinavia, and deserve very hearty commendation.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

ÆLDRE NORSKE SPROGMINDER. Udgivne a Den norske historiske kildeskriftcommission. I. and II. Kristiania. 1911.

THE contents of these booklets, now printed for the first time, with Herr Torleiv Hannaas as editor, are made available under the auspices of the Manuscript Commission, by whom the preceding items have been issued. The first part consists mainly of sayings and proverbs (*maellære og ordtøke*) from the district of West Agder in Norway from the first half of the seventeenth century; the second part is a collection of old word-forms from Robyggjelag in West Telemark from the close of the sixteenth century.

Both collections are from manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and are significant illustrations of the distribution of dialect variations in Norway at the dates given, and of the gradual process of the

welding of the whole into the present-day speech, which still retains its variations in the diverse Amts into which the country is divided. They at the same time give unmistakeable indications of racial and linguistic community of origin in the Scandinavian peninsula and on this side of the North Sea. A very few instances, closely allied to our Scottish forms, may suffice in illustration of this:

Brendt baarn ræest elden (Burnt bairns dread the fire).

Dæ æ ej guld som glimrer (It is not all gold that glitters).

Gud helper den sæg siþl vil helpe (God helps them that will help themselves).

Blaand, a mixture of milk and water, a favourite beverage under the same name to this day in Shetland.

Sveine-trþini (the snout of swine), still in common use in Shetland.

Ollum mannum so thetta bref sio ell hþria qvedi Gu o sina (To all men who this letter see or hear [the subscriber sends] God's grace and his own, etc.). This is the introductory language of contemporaneous legal documents in Shetland.

These publications deserve to be welcomed as contributions to departments of comparative philology in which students in this country ought to be interested not less than in Norway. Not only the similarity to our own, in language and idiom, of these old sayings, recorded in Norway three hundred years ago, is noteworthy, but equally so is their antiquity as here disclosed. Have we coeval, or more ancient, notices of these homely sayings in our own Scottish literature?

GILBERT GOUDIE.

LIVES OF THE HANOVERIAN QUEENS OF ENGLAND. By Alice Drayton Greenwood. Volume II. Pp. xiii, 439. With Illustrations. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS volume, which concludes the work Miss Alice Greenwood has done in continuation of Agnes Strickland's *magnum opus*, contains biographies of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, queen of George III.; Caroline of Brunswick, queen of George IV.; and Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, queen of William IV. Viewed as literature, the book does not call for any enthusiastic praise; but, viewed strictly as historical writing, it is an honest piece of journeyman work. The authoress has not utilised any hitherto unknown documents, but, on the other hand, she has taken great pains in ransacking the familiar sources of information, and accordingly her lives of the three last Hanoverian queens are the fullest and most adequate which have been written up till now.

It were superfluous to write at length in reference to the studies of queens Charlotte and Caroline, for the matter the writer there sets forth is of course already fairly widely known. But, with the exception of Mr. Lewis Melville's recent production, *The Sailor King*, comparatively little has been said heretofore concerning the reign of William IV., and so we turn with interest and expectation to the concluding section of Miss Greenwood's book. And in her life of Queen Adelaide—even more notably,

perhaps, than in her other biographies—the authoress combines personal detail with political fact in a distinctly happy fashion, contriving throughout to avoid giving undue prominence to either of these elements, yet at the same time never waiving anything of vital importance. Dealing fully with the domestic side of her theme, she furnishes also numerous sidelights on the outstanding events of William's time, notably the passing of the Reform Bill; while incidentally she illuminates the king's own character and actions, paying due attention to his relations with the navy.

Like its predecessor, the volume has a trustworthy index. The three illustrations are well reproduced in photogravure, and it is a pleasure to note that an example of Allan Ramsay figures as frontispiece.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS, 1600-1700. The Lives by H. B. Butler and C. R. L. Fletcher. The Portraits chosen by Emery Walker. With an Introduction by C. F. Bell. Pp. 328. 4to. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is an excellent volume. We have already (*S.H.R.* vi. 401) called attention to the value of the first volume of the series—that from 1400 A.D. to 1600 A.D.—and students will give a hearty welcome to this second instalment. The volume contains 132 portraits (many of them full size plates), and their selection by Mr. Emery Walker is a guarantee that all that can be done, has been done, to ensure that they are authentic. Included in the number are James VI., the Duke of Lauderdale, Claverhouse, Montrose, and other Scottish portaits; while of special interest are the engravings of literary men of the seventeenth century—including Bacon, Isaac Walton, Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Pepys, Bunyan, Locke, Dryden, Addison, and Swift. The biographical sketches by Mr. Butler and Mr. Fletcher are short and to the point.

We look forward with interest to future issues of this very valuable collection.

THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB, Vol. III. Pp. x, 264, 35. With 32 illustrations. 4to. Edinburgh: printed by T. & A. Constable for the Members of the Club. Issued 1911.

THE Old Edinburgh Club has already made a name for itself by the excellence of its publications, and we have given (*S.H.R.* vii. 99, viii. 423) a cordial welcome to its two first volumes. The new issue contains very interesting material, including papers on the *Armorial Bearings of the City of Edinburgh*, by Sir J. Balfour Paul; *The Black Friars of Edinburgh*, by Mr. Moir Bryce, and a very racy paper by Mr. Cockburn on *The Friday Club and other Social Clubs in Edinburgh*. While the pictures it gives of the hours of relaxation of the leaders in law and literature are drawn with very humorous lines, no student of social life in the capital in the early years of the nineteenth century can afford to neglect this paper.

Other papers are on *Sculptured Stones*, on *Parliament Square*, and on *Lady Stair's House*, and there are many useful illustrations and plans.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1908. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. (1). Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas. Part II. Vol. II. (2). Part III. Pp. 1617. 8vo. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1911.

This is an elaborate and almost exhaustive edition of the Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas from the time of its independence, wrung by revolt from Mexico in 1836, down to 1845, when it was to cease to be a Republic and to become one of the United States. The editor was Professor George P. Garrison, whose much regretted death in 1910 left to others the task of seeing the great collection of manuscript through the press. As an independent power Texas sought recognition, not only from the United States, but from France and Great Britain. An envoy, General Pinckney Henderson, was sent in 1837 to negotiate the matter, and his letters to Lord Palmerston, then British Foreign Secretary, and to Count Molé, then the French Foreign Secretary, reviewing the course of the struggle with Mexico, are the opening documents of a long course of despatches exchanged both with France and Britain.

Hardly less interesting, though much less extensive, is the correspondence with Spain, Prussia, and the Netherlands, while a specially curious and almost archaic suggestion arises from the approaches made to, and treaty adjusted with, the Hanseatic Republics of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. Professor Garrison's labours have been faithfully carried to editorial completion by three ladies, who have credit by the care with which the text is brought to light in these two weighty tomes which are the diplomatic reliquiae of Texas as a separate Republic.

A Hundred Years of History from Record and Chronicle, 1216-1327. By Hilda Johnstone. 8vo. Pp. xv, 292. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 5s. net.

An assistant lecturer in Manchester University, Miss Johnstone has put this little book together partly for her classes and partly to acquaint a few general readers with the raw material of history, plainly translated but without other annotation or editorial process except the briefest introduction and an outline chronology. Wendover, Matthew Paris, Hemingburgh, the *Vita Edwardi II.*, and Baker of Swinbroke are the chief annalists extracted from for the reigns of three kings. There is thus little deviation from the distinctly trodden path of English chronicle, as the narratives selected are typical and often canonical versions. They have been chosen for their general interest and accuracy. Iniquities of the Scots, such as those of 'a certain robber, William Wallace by name,' at Stirling, and of Bruce at Byland, figure in the excerpts, which dovetail into each other as a vigorous, continuous, entertaining story, in which the rise of parliament is a theme not the less interesting because merely incidental, as for the most part it appeared to contemporaries. Passages checked we have found carefully rendered. While specialists might have preferred more variety of less known authors, and a slightly larger representation of charters and items from public accounts, etc., Miss Johnstone has better attained her aim by

avoiding the more recondite sources, dealing instead mainly with orthodox authorities. She has used them to good purpose, and has managed to echo the liveliest note of the time in her 'hundred years of history.'

INDEX TO THE CONTENTS OF THE COLE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By George J. Gray. 8vo. Pp. vii, 170. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes. 1912. 15s. net.

WILLIAM COLE, antiquary of Cambridge, *floruit* 1714-1782, voluminously collected, transcribed, and annotated, acquired an invaluable store of information about Cambridge and vicinity, and bequeathed his collections, about a hundred folio volumes, to the British Museum. By the aid of a small body of subscribers Mr. Gray's index is published, and of course wonderfully facilitates reference. While centring on Cambridge, the material embraces much matter remote from that meridian, *e.g.* 'Scotch Nation, epigrams upon'; 'Scotland: Verses on the tumultuous sedition in, 1639.' Cole's portrait in the frontispiece shows him sturdy, bewigged, and bright-eyed, worthy of remembrance and of Mr. Gray's index.

SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES IV. By Eric Stair-Kerr. Pp. 153. Crown 8vo. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1911. 2s. 6d. net

THIS little book gives an account of one prosperous period of the history of Scotland before the Reformation. The author's estimate of the powers of James IV. is a high one. He contends that in his reign Scotland took a high place in politics abroad, while at home the Highlands were peaceful, the power of the Galloway 'clans' broken, and something approaching a Scottish navy was established; that the king was, while he dealt somewhat despotically with the Church, prodigal in granting her lands, and though devout was yet, in the case of the Lollards of Kyle, liberal.

He, however, has to admit that the continual expenditure of the court, and the ever-increasing taxation, would have led to the loss of the devotion of the people had not this been changed by the great calamity of Flodden. The author gives a short chapter on the contemporary 'Makars' of the reign, which will be read with pleasure. In regard to the prosperity of Scotland in the time of James IV., we think he relies a little too much on the account of Ayala, which is all painted in rose colour. More might have been said about the queen and the influence of her English followers in the ten years during which she was queen-consort.

Flintshire: Its History and its Records, by Professor T. F. Tout (8vo. Pp. 38. Price 5s.), an address delivered to the newly founded Flintshire Historical Society, clearly indicates the lines on which local studies and centralised research can with the most advantage combine their efforts. It is an essay of marked interest as tracing a very curious stage in the shiring of Wales, by which, under a statute of 1284, the new county of Flint was partly carved out of Cheshire and partly made up of scattered fragments of conquest won from Llywelyn's principality. Its relationship to Chester however was so peculiar and the jurisdiction exercised in that city through the justices and chamberlain remained so long as to warrant the claim in

substance sustained so late as 1569, 'that the county of Flint pertained to the county palatine of Chester.'

The discussion of this old dependence of a county in Wales on an English shire leads Professor Tout to remark on the fact that certain Welsh records have recently been sent down from London to the Welsh National Library at Aberystwyth, and to put forward the plea that in like manner the Flintshire records should go back to Chester, and those of the duchy of Lancaster to Lancashire. He appeals to the *archives departmentales* of France as a precedent for imitation. Obviously this is a point of home rule on which Scottish historical students ought to be alert. Professor Tout refers to the origin of the palatinate as the commanding problem of Cheshire-Flintshire history and is not hopeful of its solution.

He is more adventurous regarding the 'Clwydian' type of West Flintshire churches remarkable for their double parallel naves. Finding that this type prevails in Dominican churches in Toulouse and the Garonne valley, he remembered the early Dominican dominance, radiating from Rhuddlan and St. Asaph, and has formed a hypothesis that the double naved churches of the Vale of Clwyd may be footprints of Dominican influence. The essay, though short, is packed with fact, theorem, and purpose, and well fitted to stimulate parallel study of county origins. Points in the story of Flintshire relative to Chester have analogy in that of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright towards Dumfries.

From the Camden Society there come two very variously interesting volumes. First there is the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XII. (4to. Pp. x, 296. London: Offices of the Society, Gray's Inn, 1910), containing (1) two London Chronicles from the collection of John Stow, (2) a Life of Sir John Digby, 1605-1645 (written before 1665), (3) Iter Bellicosum, being a drummer, Adam Wheeler's, account of the campaign of Sedgemoor in 1685, and (4) Common Rights at Cottenham and Stretham in Cambridgeshire, being a series of papers, articles of agreement, judgments, affidavits, and orders as to common and pasture rights, edited by Archdeacon William Cunningham from originals dated between 1596 and 1639.

Most interesting of these contents are the two London chronicles in the skilled editorial hands of Mr. C. L. Kingsford, whose knowledge of the annalists of the capital has been so well demonstrated by previous editings of the like sort. The period covered, 1523-1564, was full of incident, and although most of the facts registered were utilized by Stow for his *Summary of English Chronicles*, first published in 1565, a careful collation has brought out many significant omissions and variations on Stow's part from his source now published—suppressions probably in some measure resulting from his known anti-Protestant sympathies.

Pinkie escapes notice altogether, but an entry of the year 1547 reads:

'This yere the kynges ship named the Menyon did take a grete Spaynysh shyp in the naro sease mannyd weth Scott & halff ladyn with costly goods.'

The peace of 1550 is mentioned as 'including ye Scotes,' and in 1551 the visit of the dowager Mary of Guise is the subject of a paragraph:

'Note also yat uppon ffryday beynge ye vjth daye of November ye Quene of Scottes rode through Chepesyde with a greate companye of Englishemen waytynge on her, after she had lyen iiij dayes in ye byshope of London's palace besyde Paules churche.'

War breaking out again in 1557, we read apparently under date 1558 of an important naval exploit:

'In the begynyng of July, iii shipes of this citye comyng from Andwarp ladin with riche marchandise were takyn by Scottes and Frenchemen, whiche were estemyd to be better worth than 20,000 li.'

These meagre passages serve at least to eke out a little our Scottish annals, and in like fashion we recover something from the Digby biography, which bears the flamboyant title of *Hector Britannicus*. Digby is not likened to the Trojan hero only; a poem declares:

'I might Horatius Cocles have hym nam'd
Who gainst Porsenna's Army single stood
On Tibers Bridge for which Act hee is famed:
So almost sole our brave Sir John made good
The Horse and Foots retreat against y^{e} Scot
At Newborne fight which ne're shall bee forgot.'

The prose record tells a wonderful story of Digby's valour at Newburn fight on the Tyne, near Newcastle, (28 August, 1640). The flight of other bodies of horse had left 'Sir John with his single troop engaged against the whole Army of the Scottish horse to undergoe the unequall shock of the overpowering Ennemy advancing in a firme and united body.' Mounted on 'Sylverside'—a steed of mettle worthy to carry any hero—Sir John was unhelmeted and the horse badly wounded, and the Scots pressed furiously upon him, 'but' (says the pious and laudatory biographer) 'God vouchsafed to bee his helmet and overshadowed his head wonderfully with the heavenly shield of his holy protection in this day of battaile for neither by sword carbine nor pistol which pell-mell were brandished and discharged at his bare head and came so near that his face glowed with the heat of the fire issuing from them was hee either hurt or touched.' But his horse fell dead, and the valiant Sir John was 'environed by the enemy and became their war-like prisoner,' grateful, however, to the 'coronell' and other commanders for the 'singular respect civilitie and courtesie' with which he was treated during his imprisonment in Newcastle. (Spalding's *History of the Troubles* notices his capture.)

As he was being led into the Scottish quarters an incident happened, the record whereof has its entertaining side:

'hee saw in the way one of his footmen lying on the ground with his face downeward. *There lies* saith hee, *dead, one who living was my man.* At whose voice the servant joyfully starting up was unmeasurably glad for his maisters life whome hee conceaved also dead though sorrowfull for his captivity, wherein he was licenced by the Scots to waite upon hym as formerly.'

Flippancy must doubtless be avoided by historical critics, but can one resist asking whether that serving man's explanation was any better than Falstaff's at the battle of Shrewsbury?

The other Camden Society publication is *Despatches from Paris*, 1784-1790. Volume II. (1788-1790). Edited by Oscar Browning. (4to. Pp. 337. London. 1910). It completes the work, of which the first volume was noticed in 1910 (*S.H.R.* vii. 423). Mr. Browning was then seriously ill, and his recovery happily enables him to accompany the second half of his text with the preface to the whole. The chief interest he finds in the selection of embassy correspondence lies in its indications that Pitt (however differently interpreted by other authors) had a passionate desire for peace with France, in spite of the fate which was to identify him as above all a war minister, and to make him die a victim of Austerlitz. Deeply interesting it is to follow the course of culminating and explosive events during the crisis of 1788-90.

When, on 14 July, 1789, the Bastille fell, it was so direct a consequence of the general revolt that the circumstances attending it, although labelled 'extraordinary,' evoke less surprise than might have been looked for in the calm and elaborate descriptive despatch of 16 July, with a postscript written at 11 p.m. The Duke of Dorset, the ambassador, was, however, profoundly apprehensive. 'The regularity,' he wrote, 'and determined conduct of the populace upon the present occasion exceeds all belief and the execration of the Nobility is universal amongst the lower order of people.'

Maryland under the Commonwealth. A Chronicle of the Year 1649-1658, by Bernard C. Steiner (8vo. Pp. vii, 178. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1911). This Johns Hopkins University study in historical and political science has all the interest of a chapter of religious and political struggle across the Atlantic in the Commonwealth time. Maryland was a proprietary colony of successive Calverts, Lords Baltimore, a Roman Catholic family. The Puritan Commonwealth in England appointed a Protestant governor in 1649. The situation was difficult: the opposed religious interests and views of colonial administration especially as regards an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the proprietor were irreconcilable: a parliamentary commission was appointed in 1651: the governor was deposed and the proprietary government overthrown: in 1654 there was civil war over the oath of fidelity resulting in Puritan victory; but the Puritan ascendency was short lived, and in 1657 the proprietary government was restored. It was a triumph for Lord Baltimore due, says a Maryland historian, to 'the justice of his cause and his wisdom, constancy and patience.' When we turn to the brief notes of Carlyle on Cromwell's letters, Nos. 199, and 203, relative to this matter, and compare them with Dr. Steiner's elaborate and heavily-referenced study, we can the better appreciate the present advance of American local history and its conquest of fact from transatlantic archives. The volume is a painstaking exposition of the policy and government under Baltimore, the revolution effected by the over-zealous parliamentary commissioners, and the reaction in favour of the original administration.

Monsieur A. Mounier has had the goodness to send us the first part of his *Silhouettes des Quatre Derniers Chevaliers Dauphinois Au xvi^e Siècle*—

Bayard, Arces, Montbrun, et des Adrets. (Pp. 41. Grenoble: E. de Vallée et Cie.) Dedicated 'A l'honneur du Dauphiné,' this sketch of the 'perfect knight' Bayard and of the 'white knight,' Antoine d'Arces, best known to Scots history as De la Bastie or Bautie, has its particular interest in this country from its notice of the latter, a gallant tilter and soldier, the unfortunate wielder of regency authority in Scotland under the Duke of Albany, destined to a savage death by the blood feud of the Humes in 1517. The family chateau at Meylan was called la Bâtie, doubtless from some ancestral medieval fortlet. From this d'Arces took his familiar appellation. For his career in Scotland in 1502-08 we can from Sir David Lindsay and Hume of Godscroft, Tytler and Francisque Michel, get far fuller particulars than from M. Mounier, but we follow with advantage M. Mounier's description of his knight errantry and adventures, or misadventures rather (for he was made prisoner at both places), in the French service at Treviglio and Padua in 1509. These were unlucky preludes of his unlucky return to Scotland in 1517. But there is one continental episode recorded by Sir David Lindsay which might repay M. Mounier's examination. In *Squire Meldrum*, Sir David Lindsay tells of De la Bastie's finding the squire (William Meldrum of Cleish and Binnis) mauled by Stirling of Keir, and how the French knight expressed his keen regret that he had not arrived in time to share the fray:

'Wald God that I had bene with thee,
As thow in France was anis with me
Into the land of Picardy
Quhair Inglismen had great invy
To have me slane sa thay intendit
Bot manfullie thow me defendit
And valyeanlie did save my lyfe;
Was never man with sword nor knyfe
Nocht Hercules I dar weill say
That ever faucht better for ane day
Defendand me within ane stound
Thow dang seir Sutheroun to the ground.'

Historie of Squyer Meldrum, ll. 1395-1406.

Perhaps in the second part of his Dauphinois study, M. Mounier may be able to verify the actuality of De la Bastie's service against the English in Picardy, if not of his rescue by the stout laird of Binns, whose 'historie' by Lindsay, however embellished poetically, was certainly no fiction. To elucidate this will be a double tribute—to the French knight's biography, and to the Scottish poet who put his alleged speech into verses, which gave Squire Meldrum so hearty a lift.

The *Tenth Annual Report*, for the year 1910-11, of the Carnegie Trust contains a record of the work done by beneficiaries, including those in the departments of Literature and History. Professor Hume Brown as reporter commends the publications thus assisted as permanent contributions to history, doing credit to the Trust. New subjects of assisted study for

1911-12 include Scots naval history, a catalogue of medieval manuscripts, charters of Inverness, records of sea-fisheries, and themes of Celtic folk-lore and Scottish dialect.

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1909 (Royal 8vo. Pp. 812. Washington, 1911), is a solid, not to say ponderous, tome of matter chiefly concerning the materials of history, but containing several actual historical studies as well. Of these latter the one of most general interest is that on Bismarck by Guy S. Ford, who treats the great Chancellor's memoirs as needing scrutiny almost as jealously sceptical as that necessary for Napoleon's. The *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* are, he says, 'to be used with more caution than most memoir literature,' and he quotes with approval Busch's remark about his master that 'he was not qualified to be a historian.'

Julius Goebel, studying the German element in American history, outlines the elements required to ascertain the cultural status of the German immigrants in various generations in order to determine their contribution to American civilization.

H. T. Colenbrander, similarly examining the Dutch element, and Miss Ruth Putnam on the same subject, alike present a great deal more of definite and interesting fact to support their common conclusion that both old Dutch and new Dutch ingredients have been 'marvelously vital' in the mixture of American thought and political theory.

Reports on the historical societies of Great Britain, Holland, France, and Spain give a tolerably full survey of these organizations.

A large section is devoted to a series of papers on the 'Lessons' of British, German, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, and Swedish archives, followed by extensive reports on the archives of Illinois from 1790 by Professor Alvord and T. C. Pease, and of New Mexico from 1621 by Professor John H. Vaughan. Miss Grace G. Griffin's 'Bibliography of writings on American history published in 1909,' by its 250 pages well displays the ardour with which the American is now editing his records and exploiting his ancestry and annals.

The whole volume is a guarantee of the living force of historical research and criticism in America, and is such a year-book of these studies as compels admiration both of its spirit and its industry.

From different quarters there issue quite a series of studies of arms. Not only have we Professor Tout's paper in the *English Historical Review*, collecting the passages relative to early artillery in England, but we have a no less careful essay by Mr. R. Coltman Clephan on *The Ordnance of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Cr. 8vo. Pp. 49–138 reprint from the *Archaeological Journal*. London: Hunt Barnard & Co. 1911.), and we have also in the Tudor and Stuart Library a handsome reproduction of Gaya's *Traité des Armes*, 1678, edited by Charles Ffoulkes (8vo. Pp. xxxvi, 172. Clarendon Press. 1911. 5s. net.) in which a captain of Louis XIV. dealt with the arms and firearms, artillery and military instruments of his time, and illustrated them with excellently explanatory plates.

Elsewhere appears a short notice of Professor Tout's calendar of gunpowder entries in the public records.

Mr. Clephan's paper resumes his earlier studies of the 'handgun' (noticed in *S.H.R.* vii, 206), and has special value in that it gathers evidence from Europe, reproduces early pictures to support his citations of early documents, and presents drawings and photographs of ancient pieces of ordnance which have survived. Thus combined the proofs serve to bring out important facts in the evolution of cannon.

In 1326 an Oxford manuscript contains the earliest known picture of a cannon on a four-legged stand, with a bolt or 'garrot' as the missile, set in the mouth and neck of the bottle-like explosive engine. Next year we have Barbour's record of 'crackys of war' used by Edward III. in his campaign against the Scots. Numerous continental records mention 'vasa,' 'scolpi' or 'sclopita,' 'canons,' 'pot de fer à traire garros à feu' between 1331 and 1339, by which time the institution was fully established. 'Garrots' were at first the usual missiles. Between 1359 and 1369 the guns on record are of bronze, copper, and brass, and from 1364 stone comes to be the prevalent projectile. The 'tiller' of the early bombard was its wooden bed or stand. Before the end of the fifteenth century 'great' guns were being made, sometimes breechloaders, and there was already a considerable variety of lighter weapons. Large pieces of the Mons Meg type came into vogue in the fifteenth century, Meg herself being estimated as of about 1460. Corresponding weapons in Holland bore the corresponding names 'Dulle Griete' (Mad Meg) and 'Holle Griete' (Bonny Meg). Both Meg and Griete are contractions of Margaret.

But we have pillaged Mr. Clephan enough: his pages are tempting, enlivened as they are with jewels of early criticism such as the statement of De Commines that in spite of all the guns at the battle of Fornovo he did not believe the artillery on both sides put together had killed ten men! Mr. Clephan has amassed a really extraordinary amount of information concerning the development of ordnance, the very names of which, such as steinbüchsen, schirmbüchsen, crapaudeaux, passe-volants, espingardes, veuglaires, carbotannes, escopettes, feldschlange, and todenorgel, would make a curious glossary. Few ideas of to-day are without antique premonition, and the fact holds about guns and gun-carriages. Even the mitrailleuse had a very business-like prototype in the 'orgelgeschütz,' with no fewer than sixty-three barrels. Some references to Scottish artillery under James IV. would now admit of supplement, but we note with interest and gratitude—though not without that modest diffidence so characteristic of our country—Mr. Clephan's conclusion that 'guns were being cast in Scotland earlier than any recorded in England.'

From Mr. Clephan's most instructive and valuable critical compilation we pass to the crude treatise which Louis de Gaya, Sieur de Tréville, composed in 1678, and to which Mr. Ffoulkes has prefixed an introduction warmly and deservedly commended in a word of preface by that distinguished authority on arms, Viscount Dillon. The treatise is a sort of *catalogue raisonné* of the sword, bayonet, musket, pistol, carbine, pike, partizan, halbert, buckler, shield, bomb, grenade, ordnance tackle of all

kinds, petard, and belier (or ram), of the oriflamme and other banners, and finally of the drum, trumpet, and other instruments of military music. A hand-glossary prefixed is of assistance, and there is a summary bibliography. Gaya is often in error about historical fact, for the story of arms is always obscure. His remark on the two-hand sword or 'espadon' is odd. He says he never saw it used except in the Netherlands, where the ramparts of all the towns were stocked with them every six paces, with a like supply of maces. But he adds that in spite of their apparently fierce purpose these weapons were only put there *pour l'embellissement de leurs parapets.*

Gaya states that bombs were not used in France until 1635. Mr. Ffoulkes shows, however, that the invention, at least in embryo, goes back beyond the year 1472, when Valturius describes brazen balls filled with powder. As for red-hot shot, which Gaya calls 'boulets rouges,' Mr. Ffoulkes finds history for them as far back as 1575, while Mr. Clephan makes them a full century earlier, at the siege of Oudenarde in 1452. Gunpowder subjects are all of high general interest, and Professor Tout, Mr. Clephan, and Mr. Ffoulkes each make such meritorious additions to the growing pile of recovered fact as materially sharpen the points and heighten the attractions of the discussion.

In the January number of the *English Historical Review* Mr. W. H. Stevenson carefully edits a number of eleventh-century-English fragments—prayers, list of sureties, surveys of land. The late Mr. F. H. M. Parker sets in parallel the forest laws and the stories of the death of William Rufus, and supports Voltaire's scepticism about the New Forest tradition. Mr. J. F. Chance discusses the Charlottenburg treaty made with Frederick William I. in 1723. Professor Haskins contributes a note on the abacus in its connexion with English exchequer accounting. Dr. Holland Rose prints diplomatic letters preceding the rupture with France in 1793.

In the *Oxford and Cambridge Review* for January Mr. L. F. Salzmann, writing on 'Medieval Byways—Those in Authority,' gives telling examples of administrative oppression and the social disturbance ensuing. His objection to England of the middle ages as 'merrie,' however, is a relative question, which the instances of brutality hardly answer. They could all be paralleled by modern cases: the police court is a bad barometer for mirth.

The Modern Language Review for January deals with the text of Dante's letters, with Donne's sermons and poetry, and with Shelley's prose romances.

Old Lore Miscellany for January is strong on Shetland folk-lore, Shetland wrecks, Ewan MacDonald's *Faclair Gàidlig* or new Gaelic Dictionary, and on Orkney surnames and the old Orkney township.

In *The American Historical Review* for January Professor C. R. Beazley reviews the achievement of Prince Henry (the Navigator) of Portugal, whose greatness of conception and power of colonial organization he establishes by most telling citations from contemporary documents of political and commercial history. Mr. R. C. H. Catterall describes the proceedings

of Sir George Downing in the Netherlands in the capture of three of the regicides of Charles I. at Delft in 1662 and carrying them off—much against the grain of Dutch feeling—to England, where they were executed as traitors. The event, says the writer, 'certainly left every one engaged in the capture to suffer the contempt of that and succeeding ages.'

A second series of the secret reports of John Howe deals like the first with the attitude and suspected preparations of the United States as against Britain in 1808. Apparently there was a good deal of confident talk of a militant section. They said they could 'take the British Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.' The reporter adds: 'It is amusing to hear them talk here of the extreme facility with which they can possess themselves of the British Provinces.' Howe himself thought differently on that head. In his opinion, however, the people had no great wish for war. In fact, there was no war until 1812.

In the *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Feb.) Mademoiselle Inna Lubimenko traces, with a creditable modicum of research, the enterprises of English merchants in Russia in the sixteenth century inaugurated by the adventurous voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor in 1553. Jenkinson's mission in 1557 considerably secured the prospects of the English 'Merchant Adventurers' promoting those schemes, which were pursued with great tenacity and some triumph over difficulties. The published records of the 'Eastland Company' would have furnished important parallel sources of information. A concluding section of the *Acta tumultuum Gallicanorum* describes, with the exultation natural to the victorious faction, the battle of Moncontour in 1569. The writer rejoices with exceeding joy in the overthrow of the German contingent, whom he lectures unmercifully for their failure from their ancient virtue, and for their cruelty, and 'passion of pillage, worse than that of the Turks'! He crows over the capture of the large guns of the Huguenots, which they had dubbed *chasse-messe*, but which their captors renamed *chasse-prêche*. M. Bémont contributes a well-informed survey of recent work in British history, specially noticing for Scotland the writings of Sir Archibald Lawrie, the late Bishop Dowden, Professor Hume Brown, Professor Herkless, and Mr. Hannay, Dr. G. Henderson, Dr. W. L. Mathieson, and Miss Keith. His criticisms are praise.

In the *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* (1910, trimestres 2, 3, 4; 1911, trimestre 1) subjects include the great levy of 300,000 men in Vienne in 1793, a biography of Jean du Verger, 1581-1643, abbé of Saint-Cyran, and a notice of Jacques de Brézé, grand seneschal of Normandy, who married a daughter of Charles VII. and Agnes Sorel, and killed her for unfaithfulness.

There is also a brisk critical discussion of the site of the battle of Vouillé, A.D. 507, placed by Gregory of Tours *in campo Vogladense decimo ab urbe Pectava milliario*. Even in France the sites of early battle are still themes of combat. In the present instance Vouillé (Vouglé), fourteen kilometres north-west of Poitiers, appears to hold the field of the victory of Clovis, in which the Visigoths were finally overthrown and Alaric fell. It would never do for a battlefield like that to get adrift again.

Notes and Queries

CATHERINE, MARCHIONESS OF CARNARVON? Catherine, second daughter of Lionel (Murray), third Earl of DYSART[s.], is stated in *Complete Peerage*, *Scots Peerage*, and as far as I know by all authorities to have married, 1st September, 1724, John, styled Marquess of CARNARVON, who was heir apparent of James, first Duke of CHANDOS. This John was born in 1703, and was therefore twenty-one at the date of his marriage. Catherine was third child of her parents, who were married very shortly after 4th May, 1680, so she appears at the date of her marriage to have been aged about forty. As she was not an heiress, it seems *primâ facie* improbable that a Duke's eldest son, aged twenty-one, would have married a woman so much older than himself. If any of your readers can throw any light upon the matter, or can furnish me with any proof of the marriage, or even with the date of Catherine's birth, I should be very glad to have the information for the second edition of the *Complete Peerage*, which I am editing.

VICARY GIBBS.

12 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.

AN OLD TIREE RENTAL OF THE YEAR 1662 (now in the Argyll Charter Chest). Some years ago the Editor of the *Transactions* of the Iona Club printed an old Rental of the Bishoprick of the Isles, and drew attention to the expression a 'Teirung' as a land measurement which occurs only once in the Rental, and he asked if anyone could throw light on the matter. So far as I know no light has been shed hitherto upon it, but the following Tiree Rentall is of the highest interest, as it settles not only what a Tirung was, but also clears up the extent of the maill or malie, which by some has been supposed to be a Norse measure of land. Briefly, a Tirung is a 6 mark land, and was divided into 48 malies or 20 penny lands. Ti ee was clearly the winter resort of the MacLeans and of their chief, and he had free quarters for himself there all winter and for his retinue, who, it is herein stated, were never less than a hundred. The falconers had also free quarters and lambs for the hawks, and the whole island paid a sail and hair tackle to a galley. The weaving of some kind of coarse linen was in vogue, as a tribute of 60 elnes was levied from the island weavers. But the Rental, of which the following is a *verbatim transcript*, shall speak for itself.

Memorial Rentall of Tirie as the samen wes in use to pey when it wes fullie set.

A Tirŭng is a 6 merkland and is divydit into 48 malies or 20 pennylands.						
The extent of Tirie is 20 tirungs or 120 merkland and 5 shillings more.						
Tirie was in use to pey when it wes fullie set each tirung of money rent the soume of £160 inde for 20 tirungs of modern rent, - - - - -	£3200	0	0	£3240	0	0
The milne did pey, - - - - -	0040	0	0			
Item everie tirung did pey of victuall 40 bolls meall beares, malt equallie each boll containing 5 firluts of Linlithgow measure inde of victuall upon 20 tirungs 800 bolles, at £5 6s per boll is, - - - - - -	£4266	13	4	£4266	13	4
Item each tirŭng a mertimes cow, -	6	13	4	£2333	6	8
Item a whitsonday cow and calfe -	10	00	0			
Item 12 stone cheese at 2 merks per stone, - - - - - - -	16	00	0			
Item 12 quarts butter at 2 merks per quart, - - - - - - -	16	00	0			
Item 16 wedders, - - - - -	16	00	0			
Item 4 dussan of pultrie with eggs, -	8	00	0			
Item 6 bolls horse corne, strae and groomes meat free, - - - -	12	00	0			
Item each malzie 4 loads of peats is £102 one each tirung at 3sh 4d per load, - - - - - -	32	00	0			
West Tirie of Linning 30 elnes East Tirie of Linning 30 elnes } 60 elnes,	20	0	0	£0086	13	4
Everie weaver payed a merk and were ordnarlie four scoir set to the chamberlaine for, - - - - -	26	13	0			
Whole Tirie peyed a saill and hair taikle to a galey, - - - - -	40	0	0			
The Falconers had free quarters and Lambes' etc for the haulks.						
And Tirie wes wont to quarter all the gentlemen men that waited on McLean all winter not under a 100.						
This rentall is besyds the teinds ipsa Corpora.						

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

FROM THE BURGH CHARTER ROOM, HADDINGTON.

'January 4, 1529. ... personaliter constituti honorabilis et circumspecti viri David Lindsay nomine et ex parte Leonis Regis Armorum, Johannes Meldrum alias Marchmond heraldus. Johannes Diksoun alias Ross et Petrus Thomsoun alias Iley heraldi ex una et Dominus Robertus Bachok capellanus Altaris Bte. Virginis Marie infra ecclesiam parochialem de Falkirk ab altera partibus. quiquidem Dominus Robertus non vi aut metu ductus nec errore lapsus, sed ex sua pura libera et spontanea voluntate pro certis causis rationabilibus animum suum, ut asseruit, monens, fecit constituit creavit et solempniter ordinavit, prout tenor presentis instrumenti facit constituit creat et solempniter ordinat prefatum Leonem Armorum Regem et reliquos heraldos Regni Scotie, presentes et futures veros legitimos et indubitatos patrones Capellanie sue per ipsum Dominum Robertum infra Insulam Sancti Michaelis Archangeli in ecclesiam parochialem predictam fundatae, dans et concedens dictus Dominus constituens prefatis Leoni et heraldis patronis predictis aut tribus eorumdem conjunctim, prefato Leone uno eorum existente si infra regnum pro tempore exteterit.... &c. &c.'

The above Notarial Instrument is on a grant by Sir Robert Bachok of the patronage of the Altarage, founded by him in the Aisle of St. Michael in the parish church of Falkirk, in favour of the Lion King of Arms and the Heralds. Three of the Heralds form a quorum to present, the Lion, if one were in office, being essential.

The Heralds, with the Macers, were patrons of St. Blaseus' altar in St. Giles, Edinburgh. William Meldrum, from whose protocol book in the Burgh Charter Room, Haddington, I copied the deed was, I suspect, a brother of Marchmond Herald mentioned above.

'27 January 1556. Thomas Reid hes maid constitut and ordanit and be thir presentis makis constitutis and ordanis Johne Hoppryngill brother germane to George Hoppringill of Wranghayme his cessionar and assignay in and to ye uptakin of ye soum of iij^{c} merkis mony of yis realm or of ane steding of aucht oxin tiltht with ye haill plennissing yairof at ye modificatioun of Johne Cokburn umquhile of Ormistoun and George Browne of Colstoun promittit to him faythfullie be James Cokburn of Langtoun for ye delivering and hayme brynging of ye said James out of Ingland at ye raid of Solenmoss he beand tayne prisoner be Inglishmen yan, gevand grantand &c his full power &c to call and persue ye said James for non full fyllin of his said promise before quhatsumevir juge or jugis unto ye obtening yairof &c.'

The above Thomas Reid was parish clerk of Melrose, and on the same day he granted his parish clerkship with all its dewties, &c., to said John Hoppryngill, on condition of his renouncing it in his favour again on Reid's return 'out of utheris partis to quhilkis he is passand.' This deed throws a sidelight on the unfortunate Raid of Solway Moss in November, 1542. It is copied from Steven's *Protocol Book* (folio 164B) in the Burgh Charter Room, Haddington.

J. G. Wallace-James.

JOHN HOME'S EPIGRAM. Lockhart in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, chapter xli., says:

'Port he considered as physic: he never willingly swallowed more than one glass of it, and was sure to anathematise a second, if offered, by repeating John Home's epigram:

> '"Bold and erect the Caledonian stood,
> Old was his mutton, and his claret good;
> Let him drink port, the English statesman cried—
> He drank the poison, and his spirit died."'

Where does this quotation come from? I should be glad to have a reference to any poem of Home's in which it appeared.

GEORGE MACKAY.

JOHNE OF ARINTRACHE—A KNAPDALE QUERY. A curious and hitherto unnoticed item regarding one of the many Gillespick Campbells who were Lords of Lochow appears in two old Inventories of Lord Lorne's writs made in 1633. It runs as follows:

'Number 127. Item, auld writ on parchment grantit be one Johne of Arincrauche Lord of Knapadaill to ane Gilleaspeck Campbell Lord of Lochahaw of the Lands of Arincraw and ane number of pennylandis without a dait.'

In the other old Inventory it is entered thus:

'Item ane writt on parchment grantit be one Jon of Arintrache, Lord of Cnapadaill to ane Gilleaspock Campbell, Lord of Lochachow of ze landis of Arnetra and ane noumber of pennylandis without a dait.'

Can the granter be identical with John of Menteth, Lord of Knapdaill and Arran, who on the Vigil of S. Andrew, 1353, granted to Archibald Cambell, Lord of Lochaw, the pennyland within which Castle Suyne was situated, the lands of Apenad, the two pennylands of Danna called Barmore, the three pennylands of Ulva, the lands of Dalechalicha, Skondenze, Dreissag in Knapdaill with power of appointing and dismissing sheriffs, and if condemned to death 'with power to cause hang them upon ane gallous' (Argyll Inventory)?

I regret to say that I cannot find the original of the first mentioned item, and in the Inventory of the ninth Earl's writs made in 1680 it is not even entered, in which the Knapdaill writs begin with the 1353 Charter.

Where also is Arintrache or Arnetra (apparently formed from the Gaelic *Airidh-na-traigh*), as I can find no such place in old maps of Knapdale, within whose bounds, however, it need not necessarily be? Could it possibly be meant for Arran of the peaks (*nà-cruaich*)? The letters *t* and *c* are often confused by copyists.

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