

Reviews of Books

SCOTLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Henry W. Meikle, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh. Pp. xix, 317. Demy 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1912. 10s. net.

THIS is a most excellent piece of work and a valuable contribution to national history. Dr. Meikle writes from a wide knowledge of both sides of his subject; his judgment is sound and trustworthy; his sense of proportion is just; and his style is straightforward and clear and pleasant to read. He is familiar with the printed sources, he has read a large amount of MS. material both in Great Britain and in France, and he has worked industriously through an enormous quantity of the pamphlet and periodical literature of the period.

Dr. Meikle deals in ten chapters with the years 1782-1802, and adds a rapid sketch of the thirty years which had still to elapse before the passing of the first Reform Act. After tracing the 'signs of political awakening' from the years when the spirit of liberty began to 'take a northward turn,' he proceeds to deal with burgh and ecclesiastical reform. The constitution of Scottish burghs had long required the most careful investigation. A Committee of the House of Commons reported in 1793 that in thirteen burghs 'the majority of the Council either may or must be continued without change or re-election'; that in thirty-four burghs 'the Council, or a part of the Council, elect the majority of the new Council without there being any restrictions against their re-electing themselves'; that in one burgh one-half, and in other two burghs one less than one-half, of the Council is continued, and may re-elect a majority of the old Council. Only in four burghs (Aberdeen, Kirkcaldy, Cupar, and Dunfermline) was it necessary that 'a majority of the Councillors for the ensuing year must be different persons.' Since the attacks on municipal corporations by Cromwell, Charles II. and James II., there had been great disinclination to interfere with the sanctity of charters, but the existing situation in Scotland was indefensible, even by Dundas. Yet, as Dr. Meikle remarks, Pitt 'could hardly be expected to inquire into a system which enabled his friend and colleague to place at his disposal, with unfailing regularity, thirty-nine out of the forty-five votes of the Scottish members.' Thus the golden opportunity was missed, and the ideals of the French Revolution found willing sympathisers in Scotsmen, who knew that in Scotland everything was not for the best in the best of all possible constitutions. Some of these sympathisers were afterwards driven to take the view that 'any change, at

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any time, for any purpose is much to be deprecated,' and this sentence certainly represents the attitude of the Government.

Dr. Meikle has printed, in a valuable Appendix, the Minutes of the first Convention of the Friends of the People in Scotland in Dec. 1792. They are from the report of a spy, who was not likely to soften any dangerous expression, and yet it is impossible to find in them anything to justify the panic which seized the authorities or the shameful treatment of Thomas Muir. From these unhappy memories Dr. Meikle turns to the French projects of invasion and the Scottish Militia Act of 1797, which led to further troubles and to the prosecution of the United Scotsmen for a conspiracy 'on so small a scale that it might well have been treated as venial.' His chapter on the Church and the French Revolution is interesting and suggestive. We look forward to more work in Scottish History from Dr. Meikle's pen.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

GREATER ROME AND GREATER BRITAIN. By Sir C. P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Pp. viii, 184. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 3s. 6d. net.

THERE has been a tendency in these islands, both on the part of public opinion and on that of its intellectual leaders, to treat imperial problems with apathy or studied neglect. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is that a revival of interest in imperial questions is being accompanied by the growth of an influential school of political thinkers inspired by the conscious mission of directing attention to the problems involved in our imperial future. Above all, it realises that the future of the Empire depends on the intelligent interest displayed in imperial problems by the individual citizens of its constituent parts. 'It is, therefore, a very great and real mistake,' says Sir C. P. Lucas, 'to regard the future of the Empire as depending in the main upon Ministers and Government offices. It depends in an increasing degree, as distance diminishes and knowledge grows, upon the individual citizens.' In assisting these individual citizens to think imperially and in directing their attention to the problems at issue his book will prove of inestimable value.

Sir Charles Lucas is in a position to speak with authority on Greater Britain, and his great knowledge is reinforced by clear thinking and its complement, a clear and attractive style. By means of a comparison with the greatest imperial achievement of antiquity he is able to bring into relief the conditions and structure of the British Empire and to direct attention to some of the problems which its citizens must inevitably face. Greater Rome is used as a foil to Greater Britain, and it would be hardly fair to criticise omissions in an account which aims at analysing the New Empire rather than at describing the Old. Perhaps some mention might have been made of the control exercised by the armies of Rome over the occupancy of the imperial throne. It is in part responsible for the association of the word imperialism with militarism in its worst form.

Roughly, the first half of the book consists of a survey of the factors conditioning the growth of the two empires. The British Empire is the result largely of individual initiative; its growth has not been conditioned by a

centralisation of authority or by geographical continuity. The Roman Empire, on the other hand, was the creation of the State in a sense in which the British was not; there is nothing, for instance, in the history of the ancient empire to correspond with the part played by the great chartered companies. Very interesting are the observations made on the effect of environment on the character of the settlers and consequently on that of the empire. The Romans were not adventurous settlers in spacious backwoods; they advanced in compact bodies, carried Rome with them into the provinces, and Romanised the natives of the country occupied. But in the case of the Dominions, British settlers scattered themselves in wide spaces. Their environment, combined with their remoteness from the mother country, profoundly modified their individual and national characters. In the one case native subjects were stamped with Roman characteristics, in the other the racial characteristics of British-born settlers were changed by their new environment.

The advance of science too has changed the conditions which mould imperial policy. In part it has enabled us to do the same kind of work as the Romans, but on a vastly different scale, e.g. the Assouan dam or the irrigation works in India. In another department it has set itself a task entirely new in kind, and medical research hopes to reclaim for settlement lands at present uninhabitable by white men. The facility of communication, always a first consideration for imperial states, is yet another sphere in which science is profoundly modifying the conditions, and a very good point is the reminder that the British Empire assumed its present form at a time when the possibilities of communication were less developed. The result has been that the members of the great family, now brought into daily contact with each other, possess independent individualities developed during the period of their remoteness from the Mother Country and each other. Class, colour, and race represent problems with which Rome, except in a very minor degree, was unfamiliar. The very complicated nature of the questions which these cross divisions raise for modern imperialism is clearly explained, and the possible dangers arising from lines of cleavage, which run counter to the other lines of division in the Empire, are illustrated with salutary frankness.

The second half of the book examines the structure of the two empires, and rightly emphasises the unique character of the British Empire. The Roman Empire was a unit with a centralised authority; the British Empire is not merely two, but many empires in one. The first fundamental division comes, of course, between the Dominions and the Dependencies, but the Dependencies are themselves a group of nations differing in individuality, in national character, and in their private interests. Again Rome stood alone, she possessed an imperial monopoly. *Mole ruit sua*; the causes of her decay were internal. The British Empire has no military frontier, but many rivals. Finally, the two great exponents of a constructive policy adopted very different methods. The Roman's maxim was a corollary to his centralisation of authority, *divide et impera*. The British constructive policy, on the other hand, has shown a tendency to build up a series of large independent units.

For the future Sir Charles Lucas is hopeful. He realises that a policy inspired by a sound conservatism is the only road to success. Panaceas produce little but harm; there can be no solution of all imperial difficulties by cut and dried schemes of statecraft. The fate of the Empire depends ultimately on the commonsense, patriotism, and intelligence of its citizens.

In the long run, by the intelligence of our public opinion our Empire stands or falls, and in placing the fruits of his special knowledge and profound reflection in the hands of the private citizen Sir Charles Lucas has earned the gratitude of all imperialists. No summary can adequately convey the educational value of a book whose every page stimulates the reader to profitable trains of thought.

There is, however, one deficiency in his presentment of imperial problems. On the questions arising out of the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions the book is wholly admirable, but the Dependencies are less faithfully dealt with. There is no mention, for instance, of the possibility that political changes in the Oriental world outside the Empire may produce some effect, prejudicial or otherwise, on the relations between ourselves and the inhabitants of our Oriental Dependencies. In India Sir Charles Lucas anticipates no radical change of our policy of government. While most imperialists would agree that any advance must be cautious and conservative, at the same time changes are actually taking place with great rapidity, and few deny that the ultimate goal is towards the creation of self-governing nationalities. Here, in fact, we have attacked a bigger task than the Romans ever attempted, and that with an alien race. The Romans created an administrative machine at a sacrifice recognised by few except idealists like Cicero. Even in the rule of an alien conquest we can make the proud boast that while creating the benefits of efficient government our policy has not been one of exercising a purely selfish control over an administrative machine. But big stakes involve big risks. The aspirations of races as yet immature in ability for self-government have combined with the too hasty idealism of generous inexperience in certain quarters at home to aggravate our difficulties. Here, too, an educated public opinion is the only safeguard. Unfortunately, however, while the ignorance of public opinion increases the difficulties abroad, the ingenuity of the Oriental agitator and the gullible ignorance of his dupes render the information of public opinion a matter fraught with dangerous possibilities.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

LA MAGIE ET LA SORCELLERIE EN FRANCE. Par Th. de Cauzons. Vol. I. Origine de la Sorcellerie. Ce qu'on racontait des sorcières. Opinions diverses à leur sujet. Pp. xv, 426. 5 francs. Vol. II. Poursuite et châtement de la Magie jusqu'à la Reforme Protestante. Le Procès des Templiers. Mission et procès de Jeanne d'Arc. Pp. xxii, 521. 5 francs. Vol. III. La Sorcellerie de la Reforme à la Révolution. Les couvents possédés. La Franc-Maçonnerie. Le Magnétisme animal. Pp. viii, 550. 5 francs. Vol. IV. La Magie Contemporaine. Les Transformations du Magnétisme Psychoses et Névrose. Les Esprits des Vivants.

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Les Esprits des Morts. Le Diable de nos jours. Le Merveilleux populaire. Pp. viii, 724. 7 francs. Paris: Libraire Dorbon-Ainé. [1911].

OCCULT study derives material aid from this effort of a French scholar, whose volumes claim to be a full survey of the story of and the belief in Magic and Sorcery, with all their ramifications of witchcraft and demonology—from their semi-religious origins in the East down to the latest phases of European semi-scientific theory, pathological explanation, and widespread survival of credulity. A truly great survey in many ways it is, although the contrast which it necessarily challenges with the works of earlier scholars may leave room for a critical opinion on the relative standards of research, and the absolute balance of advantage between the older and newer methods. The former method lay in an agnostic or materialist handling; the latter is the more receptive, less scornfully incredulous, scrutiny of an enquirer, who seeks in modern psychology, as exhibited in many forms of mental alienation, as well as in the constant attitude of ignorant popular wonder, the clues to phenomena which have left so vast a labyrinth of perplexing memories running unbroken through the entire known history of mankind. The enquiry was worthy of a profound historical spirit, the better fitted for the task by previous study of medical science directed to phenomena of insanity and its borderland.

M. de Cauzons' elaborate treatise offers a comprehensive and systematic historical review of the whole of the vast theme. The first volume skims lightly over the origins and antiquity of magic, and sets to its real task in a description of the medieval beliefs in sorcery, the powers of demons and sorcerers, the witch-Sabbath, and the attitude of the Church towards the belief in the various phenomena, including the modes by which the powers of evil could be defeated. The fluctuation of ecclesiastical opinion is illustrated by the early Christian view that the pagan gods were demons, by the later phase under which the trend of authority was towards condemning credulity in sorcery, by the growth of the faith in it during the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, and by the sustained outburst of persecution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to which there have succeeded two centuries of humanitarian and rationalistic revulsion and reaction. The Devil of the middle ages was the sum of the powers noxious to man. Rome to-day holds that the Devil can intervene, but that it is grave sin to invoke him, and that most of the alleged forms of his manifestation are either fables or pathogenic illusions.

The second volume attempts to follow magic through its strange course among the Romans, the Jews, and the Gauls, and thereafter throughout France from about the year 1000 down to 1431, when Joan of Arc, as a misbelieving idolater, an invoker of devils, an apostate, schismatic, and heretic, was burnt and her ashes cast into the Seine. The large body of instances from Roman history and the numerous chapters of Roman law against sorcerers as public enemies are enough to demonstrate that the Empire was the transmitting medium of oriental magic and imagination. Features of this book are the painful revival of faith in the devil and his iniquities in the age of the pious King Louis, leading up to the terrible

process of the Templars, whose alleged 'Baphometric' baptism was a type destined to be dominating in later centuries of the sordid and cruel story of witch prosecution. Even thus early the horrible kiss of homage appears in the series of malpractices laid to the charge of the maligned Order. Baptism and homage are, like the distorted confession and mass to the Devil, essentially parodies of the orthodox Christian observances. They are simple perversions, the supplanting of God by the Devil: it is equally the essence of the theory in the latest witch prosecutions. Regarding the Maid, M. de Cauzons' attitude is that of one who tells the story; his task as historian, he elusively declares, does not require him to decide between theories of inspiration of her 'voices,' as to whether she was a spiritualist medium, and whether the voices were objective or subjective.

Volume III. describes the process against the Dominicans of Berne in 1507, and generally the great prosecutions of witches in the sixteenth century, especially those before *trois juges terribles*: (1) Nicolas Remy, 1576-1591, a high authority on Demonolatry and author of a classic work on that theme; (2) Henri Boquet, contemporary of Remy, and, like him, author of a *Discours exécration des sorciers*; and (3) De Lancre, like the other two, not only judge but author. The work of De Lancre, *l'Inconstance des demons*, is drawn upon for a great collection of the evidence disclosed by prosecutions in the region round Bayonne and Bordeaux. That Protestantism favoured the beliefs which culminated in persecution of wizards and witches is well known, in spite of some noted examples of scepticism in that age. M. de Cauzons has found the chief sceptic, Montaigne, among the Catholics, though others, such as Jean Bodin and Martin Del Rio, are still associated with essential credulity. Among the Protestants, Luther was, of course, notorious for his adherence to the old tenets on demonology, while Melancthon, Jean de Munster, Witekind, and Calvin equally failed to see the higher light and to recognise 'demonopathy' in its true character. What is called the 'grand siècle' unfortunately achieved a sad eminence as the age of witchcraft persecutions. The age of philosophy, which followed, bringing humanity and reason into line, slowly extinguished the fires. In this epoch the clerical antagonism to Freemasonry was a phase—a little difficult to appreciate to-day—of the persistent attribution of its mysteries to satanic auspices. The eighteenth century welcomed ideas of magnetism and somnambulism, the precursors of modern spiritualism, as offering some countenance of scientific system to explanations of phenomena previously regarded as due to diabolic possession.

Volume IV. rounds off the prolonged survey with an examination of contemporary magic, tracing the transformations of opinion from magnetism to neurotic telepathy as the causes of phenomena, and finally summing up the modern standpoint in the doctrine that the friends of the Devil have lost a little ground in our day in consequence of the study of nervous and mental maladies. But how grimly the old positions are still held is evinced in every circle of civilization by thousandfold survivals of the marvellous in the folk-creed and in the vagaries of faith-healing and its analogues.

Standpoint and temperament necessarily affect the judgment to be passed on M. de Cauzons' tendencies of thought. He did not start, as one would

have expected, from Professor Frazer's *Golden Bough*, of which he has made virtually no use. The present reviewer cannot conceal his view that M. de Cauzons' opinions are too indefinite, that they lack firmness and boldness, and leave the author open to the imputation of admitting possible credibility at continually recurring points when the day for indefiniteness has long gone past. His zeal to preserve the open mind at any hazard concedes far more than the most moderate rationalism could patiently tolerate. It is difficult, however, to fathom his individual conclusion, and perhaps the rationalist would too hastily foreclose some forms of the question. But as regards the workmanship of these volumes, it is not difficult to determine that in at least one vital respect they fall short not only of the range of scholarship displayed by Professor Frazer or by the late Professor Lecky, but also of the wonderful variety and profundity of the late Henry Charles Lea's studies of witchcraft in his various works on the Inquisition. Mr. Lea's contributions were based on direct first-hand documentary authority, and on rare contemporary texts in print. M. de Cauzons' citations are chiefly from the works of generalization, and are rarely primary: his survey, valuable as it is, fails in a certain vital want of familiarity with the crude material. He is no master of the minor *curiosa* of his literature. From this it comes that he seldom shows that actuality in the touch which is distinctive both of Lecky and Lea. The many cases of exposure, the discoveries of fraud, are seldom dwelt on, probably because often there is some controversial dubiety about the detections themselves; yet it is disconcerting to note that on the famous Berne episode the scandal of direct imposition alleged by contemporaries is left in the background.

Yet, after all deduction has been made for deficiencies of method and equipment for a stupendous task of human history, M. de Cauzons' work must be assured a place of a respectable order of service for reference upon numerous types of magic—necromancy, oculomancy, hippomancy, arithmancy, geomancy, and chiromancy; and upon the far prehistoric story of charm and talisman; the practice of *envoûtement* or bewitching by wax effigy; the toad as a familiar demon; the forms of exorcism; and the barbarities of torture and the stake—all presented by the author in great profusion, but, alas, unprovided with any index. One feature, not the least noteworthy of the laborious and deeply interesting book, is the fact that a Scottish reader can scarcely fail to observe how relatively little in the entire volume there is which might not have been written of Scottish witchcraft. In our continent magic, in its phases of wizardry and witchcraft, was only in very slight degree local in its characteristics; it was a European creed. Hence M. de Cauzons, who does not mention Burns, has nevertheless in his exposition written what some Burns scholar may some day discover to be the best *apparatus criticus* yet forthcoming for the needed commentary on *Tam o' Shanter*.

GEO. NEILSON.

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THE EXCHEQUER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. The Ford Lectures for 1911. By Reginald L. Poole, M.A., LL.D. Pp. xi, 195. Demy 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1912. 6s. 6d. net.

THE Exchequer, with its methods and machinery and its wonderful wealth of records, lies at the centre of every problem of English life and institutions in the Middle Ages. A full understanding of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* is perhaps the most essential factor in the equipment of the researcher among medieval sources. A treatise of convenient size, embodying the results of recent discussions into the origin and arrangements of the English Exchequer, has been much needed; and Mr. Lane Poole's business-like volume of less than 200 pages may be accepted, almost without reservation, as adequately filling the gap. The author writes with scholarly reserve and severely excludes all embroideries or matters that are of even doubtful relevancy. Many of his grateful readers will wish that he had allowed himself a somewhat freer hand, for the vigorous compression of his carefully collected material makes it harder to appreciate the full bearings of some of his conclusions. A little more atmosphere surrounding the clearly outlined objects described would help the reader's historic imagination. Mr. Lane Poole, however, keeps to the solid ground of facts, and attempts no flights into the regions of misty speculation.

On the perpetually recurring question as to whether the Exchequer over which Roger of Salisbury presided was of Anglo-Saxon or Norman origin, Mr. Lane Poole has something definite to say. The answer must obviously depend on what is meant by the Exchequer, and the definition is perhaps not so free from doubt as is here assumed. The word Exchequer is used not incorrectly to describe a system of reckoning or audit, an apparatus, a staff of auditors, a room where the audit is conducted, and (in later days) an administrative department, a court of law, and a repository for writs. Then, again, difference of opinion is possible as to the essential features of the apparatus, or of the method of calculating as the case may be. To earlier commentators it has thus seemed possible to maintain that the problem was a complicated one, and that 'the Exchequer' contained both Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements. Mr. Lane Poole brushes aside these complications: for him the Exchequer is primarily a mere apparatus, a table on which calculations are made with counters, and that table is simply a modified *abacus*. It follows that when the *abacus* is shown to have been introduced from Normandy, the origin of the Exchequer is wholly Norman.

There are one or two obscure problems on which, in spite of the admirable thoroughness of his method, Mr. Lane Poole does not appear to have said the last word. He does not give an exhaustive account, for example, of the items that made up the *firma comitatus*; nor does his analysis of the different methods of reckoning payments at the Exchequer of Receipt seem to probe to the root of the matter. No reference is made in discussing the origin of the phrase 'Pipe Rolls' (p. 150) to a rival theory suggested by Mr. Pike, nor in the commentary on the judicial reforms of 1178 (p. 180) to an opinion of the same authority with which Mr. Lane Poole seems to be substantially in accord. These, however, are trivial matters.

Mr. Lane Poole has put a new and valuable tool into the hands of students of medieval England.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

ROMAN LAWS AND CHARTERS TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES. By E. G. Hardy, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. Pp. v, 159. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

LITTLE more than a year ago we noticed favourably Dr. Hardy's *Six Roman Laws*, and expressed the hope that he would soon be able to carry out his expressed intention of presenting a further series of similar documents in an equally attractive and workmanlike dress. He has fulfilled his promise with commendable speed and with characteristic care and thoroughness. The Clarendon Press now publish both sets of selections, paged separately but bound as a single volume. From the fact that the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is not included, we draw the welcome inference that the series is to be still further extended.

Three of the five documents comprised in the new group are municipal charters from Spain. The first of these is a copy, made apparently in Flavian times, of the original charter granted to the *Colonia Genetiva Julia* on its establishment by the dictator, Julius Caesar. Fragmentary as it is, it throws a clear light on some important details of administrative and judicial procedure. The next two documents, the *Lex Salpensana* and the *Lex Malacitana*, are unfortunately also very incomplete. They contain regulations for the municipal government and constitution of the two towns concerned, and they evidently represent what was a stereotyped form of *lex data* in the beginning of Domitian's reign, the period to which they both belong. The two fragments thus supplement one another, and, taken together, they form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the municipal organisation of the Empire. The young student could hardly have more instructive texts set before him to work upon. The two remaining documents take us back to Claudius, and both are full of interesting points, the last particularly so. It is the famous oration delivered to the Senate by the Emperor on the question of admitting certain Gaulish chiefs to senatorial privileges. A comparison of the actual text of the speech with the account of it given by Tacitus, is illuminating; and here, as elsewhere, Dr. Hardy proves himself a cautious and trustworthy guide. We wish him all success in his further efforts to make a little smoother the road that leads to learning.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE FIRST TWELVE CENTURIES OF BRITISH HISTORY. By J. W. Jeudwine, LL.B. Pp. lix, 436. With Maps. Medium 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. 12s. 6d. net.

ACCORDING to the author, many partial judgments and one-sided views have resulted from the failure to perceive the essential unity of British history. The stories of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales have many points in common, and the similarities are great enough not only to justify,

but to demand, their treatment as a connected whole. Mr. Jeudwine is of opinion that many historians have continued to view their subject 'through the spectacles of the twelfth-century English Benedictines' (Intro. xlvi), and he proposes to correct this limited outlook by the citation of other authorities, notably the Irish Annals and the Norse Sagas.

The idea is daring, but the author has not succeeded in developing it successfully. He does not produce arguments of sufficient weight to justify his main thesis. Even according to himself the principal points overlooked by the monastic chroniclers are the magnitude and reality of the Norse attack and the prevalence of 'tribal' organisation; surely a common subjection to the assaults of the Vikings, and a common 'tribal' system, can hardly be made the groundwork of a connected treatment of the British Isles. On such a basis, one might set out to write a history of the greater part of Europe, with portions of America and Asia. And in any case the 'tribe' on which Mr. Jeudwine lays such stress is (as he notices himself, p. 250) a quantity which varies with time and place. The author usually speaks of the 'tribe' as expressing personal relationship mainly; he says little of the process by which territorial proximity supplanted the tie of the kin, and accepts without comment the idea of joint ownership and frequent redivision of land (p. 226). His tendency is to treat as 'tribal' in a primitive sense a society which had passed beyond that stage, and to ignore the differences in development which soon presented themselves.

The case for a connected treatment, then, is hardly made out, and the author makes no attempt to meet the obvious objection of racial distinction. Indeed, he dismisses out of hand all ethnological questions prior to the ninth century (p. 34 n.), but he hazards the conjecture (p. 23) that the Scots were Scandinavian in origin. Such a thesis as that of Mr. Jeudwine is very difficult to handle. It requires an expert knowledge of the histories of at least six different countries, and this the author does not possess. He has studied the original authorities, but his introductory chapter does not inspire confidence. He has used the 'Rolls Series' and 'Bohn's Antiquarian Library'; but, except as regards the Sagas, little attempt has been made to bring the authorities up to date. There is no mention of Plummer's edition of 'The Chronicle,' for example, and Saxo Grammaticus and Adam of Bremen are quoted at second-hand. But it is not only in his choice of sources that the author is at fault; such as they are he has treated them honestly, but his critical apparatus is defective. He is apparently unaware of all the work already done upon the very authorities which he uses, and one seeks in vain for any reference to Zimmer, Liebermann, Maitland, or Professor Vinogradoff.

The result is inevitable; a few old stories have been successfully exploded, but many others have been accepted as sober history. The author repeatedly recounts as actual events incidents which belong to recognised 'Saga-formulae.' Apart from such errors of judgment, there are numerous mistakes in fact, especially as regards Scottish history. The appendices are not fortunate. One contains an inaccurate version of Alfred's treaty with Guthrum. This is still dated 878, though more than fifty years ago Dr. Reinhold Schmid proved it to be an arrangement made

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in 885 or thereabouts, and not the famous Peace of Wedmore. Another appendix is devoted to proving (by the author's experience in N. Carolina) the possibility of St. Olaf's feat at London Bridge; no attempt is made to prove that St. Olaf was there at all, the story from the 'Heimskringla' being accepted, despite all its inconsistencies.

The book contains some very interesting reproductions of mediaeval maps, and a few good points are made—the importance of the 'Dane' as a trader is well explained. But, on the whole, a very great deal of honest labour has been expended to comparatively little purpose.

J. D. MACKIE.

IN BYWAYS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. By Louis A. Barbé, B.A., Officier d'Academie. Pp. vii, 371. 8vo. Glasgow: Blackie & Son. 10s. 6d. net.

WE learn from the preface that several of the twenty essays in this volume have appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Evening Times*. M. Barbé might have avoided some misconception had he stated the time and place of their original appearance. Some of what is now published has been long ago anticipated, and some long ago superseded. The author is quite aware of this, but he does not make it clear. Statements in the paper on *Master Randolph's Fantasia* have been out of date since that poem was printed with Dr. Cranstoun's notes by The Scottish Text Society twenty years ago. M. Barbé should have expressly stated this with particulars. He only makes an obscure allusion to it in a footnote. He plainly owes the bulk of his most important essay to Dr. George Neilson's *Anglicus Caudatus*, published in the *Transactions* of the Glasgow Archaeological Society for 1895, and as a book in 1896. But he makes no mention of that treatise, and he is probably unconscious that the vague statement in his preface that he is indebted to Dr. Neilson 'for several illustrative passages' is inadequate and misleading. Such inadvertencies are apt to shake the interested reader's confidence in M. Barbé's bibliographical methods, notwithstanding the fact that he conscientiously verifies his quotations, and is even sometimes at the superfluous pains to re-translate them.

Passing from such ungrateful regards, it must be said that M. Barbé is an enthusiastic student of Scottish history. He has brought together a good deal of interesting information, some of it valuable, whether or not it be the fruit of original research or the most recent scholarship. The period with which he is chiefly concerned is in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and for its study he has the advantage that many of the records of its most interesting events and personages are in his native language. Half his papers deal with Queen Mary (the Morton portrait of whom is a frontispiece to the book), with her son, and with her four Maids of Honour of romantic tradition. He points out the mythical character of the Mary Carmichael and Mary Hamilton of the popular ballad. He sometimes accepts the authority of, and again attributes falsehood to, John Knox's *History of the Reformation*. He records two bold resolutions of James VI., to set himself to the 'sorely needed task' of controlling the Scottish clergy, and to employ only such ministers of State as he could

hang. He recalls that in 'The Old Scottish Army' shooting was ordered to be practised every Sunday, golf and football 'cried down' so that every man from twelve to fifty years of age might be trained to arms, and defaulters from drill fined not less than twopence for drink to the punctual attenders.

The 'Long-Tail' Myth is a study of the widespread belief among their French and Scottish enemies that Englishmen had tails. It had its origin in the legend that after S. Augustine's landing in England the people of a certain village mocked the holy man and his followers, fastening to their clothes the tails of ray-fish, or skate; and that, for this sacrilegious outrage, the posterity of these wretches were condemned to be born with tails. In the local dialect these tails were called 'mughel,' their wearers 'mugglings,' and their town 'Mugglington.' This curious tale is traced through many ages, and many variants of locality, personage and circumstance. We are told that the modern map of England knows no Mugglington, and our author cannot indicate its situation. A celebrated chronicler has, however, placed Mugglington, or Muggleton, near Rochester, in Kent, on whose shore S. Augustine landed, and has recorded another event in its history later than the episode of the tails, and perhaps destined to a fame as enduring.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By R. H. Tawney. Pp. xii, 464. With six Maps in colour. Medium 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. 9s. net.

THE sixteenth century saw those great changes in English agrarian life which converted a land where the soil was principally worked by small holders, who at the end of the fifteenth century were consolidating and increasing their holdings and sharing the profits of their enterprise, into a country of great landlords, pocketing the proceeds of improvements. Mr. Tawney gives a most interesting account of the state of English rural life at the beginning of this period, of the causes, process, and results of the change, of the attitude of the government towards it, and of its effects on the life of the English peasantry. The enclosures of the sixteenth century were denounced by divines, pamphleteers, and members of Parliament as the cause of agrarian discontent and disturbance and of rural depopulation, while the peasants themselves suffered severely. For, whether they were made to convert land that had been tilled into pasture, or to make small farms into large arable holdings, enclosures very often meant the eviction of those customary tenants who could not show excellent legal reasons for remaining, and they also often involved appropriation of the commons.

The principal causes of the change were the breakdown of the feudal spirit, which had made the number of dependants important; and the introduction of commercialisation into agrarian life by the profit to be found in sheep farming and by the depreciation in the value of money, due to the influx of silver.

The new system may have brought a greater pecuniary return from the soil, but, as Mr. Tawney's imaginary peasant says, 'our wasteful husbandry

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feeds many households where your economical methods would feed few. In our unenclosed village there are few rich, but there are few destitute.'

Mr. Tawney's patient research, and the insight and sympathy with which he treats his subject, make this a memorable and a valuable book.

THEODORA KEITH.

EUSEBIANA: ESSAYS ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS BISHOP OF CAESAREA. By Hugh Jackson Lawlor, D.D. Pp. viii, 303. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 12s. 6d. net.

DR. LAWLOR has done a good service to students in bringing together in this volume a series of Essays, dealing with various questions raised by the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. We can only note here one or two points in these Essays as illustrating their rich contents, and the light which, both directly and indirectly, they throw upon the early history of the Church. Thus in his opening Essay, which is devoted to 'The Hypomnemata of Hegesippus,' Dr. Lawlor by showing that, with the exception of certain passages in the fifth *Memoir*, these *Memoirs* were primarily designed as an apology for the Faith against unbelievers, rather than as a systematic history, is able to vindicate for Eusebius the proud title of being the 'Father of Church History.' On the other hand, the assigning to Hegesippus of certain statements regarding the Apostle John, cited by Eusebius without direct mention of their author, supplies us with our earliest evidence on such burning questions as the Domitianic date and the Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse. A needed warning against identifying Montanism wholly with the teaching enforced in Tertullian's tracts is effected by recalling the beginnings of the movement in Phrygia, where "the sect which was commonly known as 'the heresy of the Phrygians' must have included among its members a large number—perhaps the majority—of the Christians of Phrygia" (p. 134). The elaborate examination of the literary genesis and development of Eusebius' great work in the closing Essay leads Dr. Lawlor to the interesting conclusion that it must have been issued in no fewer than four editions, differing in various particulars. These, as has already been stated, are merely indications of what the student may look for in Dr. Lawlor's Essays, but they will have served their purpose if they lead him to make acquaintance for himself with this erudite and scholarly volume.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION. By George Burton Adams, Professor of History in Yale College. Pp. xiv, 378. 8vo. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1912. 10s. net.

PROFESSOR G. B. ADAMS, whose contributions to history are widely appreciated on both sides of the Atlantic, has written a stimulating monograph on the genesis of what he estimates to be the essence of the British Constitution. This essence, in his view, lies in the principle of a limited Monarchy, which is the outcome of an absolute Monarchy established by the Normans in England, and afterwards modified by the action of feudalism, the vital principle of which he finds in 'the feudal contract' between lord

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and vassal. It is to Magna Carta (on the feudal and contractual basis of which he equally insists) that he traces the first effectual application of this contractual conception to the work of limiting the feudal Monarchy. When John granted the Great Charter he recognized the existence of a body of laws to which the Crown must bow, and agreed to accept machinery for enforcing these laws upon a recalcitrant King. This body of laws formed a restraining medium which gradually changed its character in succeeding reigns, as the original feudal nature of the rights in question gave way to a truly national conception of laws, protecting all classes of citizens. One of the most valuable chapters of the book takes the form of a commentary on Magna Carta, which calls for the consideration of future writers on that much-discussed document.

Prof. Adams' argument necessitates a more restricted estimate of the essentials of the Constitution and of the directions of its development than many historians will be ready to concede. In support of the position consistently maintained against Prof. Maitland, Mr. Adams not only refuses to admit the presence of genuine feudal phenomena in England prior to 1066, but is led to reduce to vanishing point the influence of the entire Anglo-Saxon contribution to the later Constitution.

Mr. Adams' important monograph, which can hardly be read without profit either by those who agree or by those who dissent, has a twofold value. In the first place, it is a contribution to Political Science. The author, writing for a generation which, too often, cannot see the wood for the trees, does not shrink from formulating broad philosophical theories of constitutional development, which compel his readers to re-examine accepted estimates, and, if they do not always convince, are likely to strengthen convictions they are unable to shake. His generalizations indeed raise deep problems which cannot here be entered on, as they would require many pages to discuss. The work is valuable in the second place for its searching analysis of a number of documents of crucial importance, and for a penetrating discussion of numerous technical details of medieval procedure. The treatment of Henry I.'s writ regarding the local courts, and of Henry II.'s prohibition of pleas as to land being tried without a royal writ are particularly admirable; a clear exposition, although making no claim to originality, is given of the relations between writs of right and writs *praecipe*; and fresh light is thrown in the course of a courteous refutation of Prof. Maitland's theories, upon the restriction of private war and other limitations of the rights of feudal vassals in England (pp. 186-193). Portions of the text and various appendixes have already appeared in the pages of the *American Historical Review* and elsewhere, but it is matter for congratulation that they have now been brought together and placed at the service of students in their present convenient form.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

FOUQUIER-TINVILLE, ACCUSATEUR PUBLIC DU TRIBUNAL RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. Par Alphonse Dunoyer. Pp. 470. Paris : Perrin et C^{ie}. 1913. 5 fr.

BLEUS, BLANCS ET ROUGES. RÉCITS D'HISTOIRE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE. Par G. Lenotre. Pp. xxiv, 389. Paris : Perrin et C^{ie}. 1912. 5 fr.

BOOKS on the French Revolution and its Napoleonic sequel continue to multiply in unprecedented fashion. M. Dunoyer indicates that the 'Accusateur Public' has already been sufficiently studied in his official capacity, and it is Fouquier's 'procès' which is now specially given in condensed detail with a minimum of comment and argument. The question of Fouquier's guilt is of course raised, but it seems none too decidedly that the Accusateur's plea that he was but the servant of the Committees is set aside, though it is pointed out he overstepped his authority. In other aspects Fouquier remains as incorrupt and passionately consistent as Robespierre himself.

M. Lenotre is well known for his revolutionary studies. In point of style and management of the subject, his volume outshines the other, though he deals with the Revolution in obscurer aspects, as manifested on the rim of the recalcitrant provinces. But it is once more the case of the abuse of a little brief authority, but studied as much from the sufferers' point of view as that of the oppressors'. The section entitled 'Mademoiselle de la Chauvinière' seems something of a misnomer, since the father is more in the 'récit' than the daughter, whose domestic crime, committed in the Imperial period, cannot be organically connected with the father's earlier political divagations. M. Lenotre's narratives (which are highly but commendably 'documented') are all steeped in gloom, saving the last relating to a revolutionary changeling round whom gathered a litigation involving probably more documents than in the Tichborne case.

A. R. COWAN.

PART OF THE OPUS TERTIUM OF ROGER BACON INCLUDING A FRAGMENT NOW PRINTED FOR THE FIRST TIME. Edited by A. G. Little. Pp. xlvi, 92. 8vo. Aberdeen : University Press. 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS book forms Volume IV. of the publications of the British Society of Franciscan Studies, and continues the unpublished texts of Roger Bacon's works contained in Volume III. of the same series. In Volume III. Canon H. Rashdall edited the hitherto unprinted *Compendium Studii Theologiae*, and here Mr. A. G. Little rescues from oblivion a previously unknown portion of the *Opus Tertium*. The Introduction contains a critical discussion of the question whether the newly discovered fragment fits on immediately to the end of the fragment printed by Professor Brewer. This is followed by a Summary of the contents of the book. The manuscript containing the fragment now printed is preserved among the MSS. of Winchester College Library (Winchester College MS. 39), and dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. In view of the celebration next year of the seventh centenary of Roger Bacon's birth, Mr. Little has per-

formed an opportune service by his erudite editing of this portion of the *Opus Tertium*.

On page xviii of his Introduction the editor represents Roger Bacon as saying, with reference to the works of geometry, arithmetic and music, that 'in them is nothing magical in reality but only in appearance.' On turning to the text we find that the actual words are—'et ibi nichil secundum veritatem est magicum, nec secundum apparentiam.'

The publication is proof in itself that interest in the work 'of the greatest champion of experimental science in the Middle Ages' is increasing, as it is bound to do, when the modernity of many of his researches and views becomes known.

JOHN EDWARDS.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STEVENS, CONTAINING A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE WAR IN IRELAND, 1689-1691. Edited by the Rev. Robert H. Murray, Litt.D. Pp. lxiii, 241. With two maps. Med. 8vo. Clarendon Press. 1912.

DR. MURRAY has produced a very careful edition of John Stevens' *Journal*, which is a useful authority for the War in Ireland during the troublous times of the Revolution. The narrative, which begins with King James' escape from Rochester, concludes very abruptly in the middle of an account of the battle of Aughrim; for the intervening two and a half years it is, though it was evidently written up at a later period, the diary of a faithful eyewitness. The present editor has furnished an excellent introduction, which, besides emphasising the salient points brought out by the *Journal*, contains a biography of the author, and a section upon the main authorities for the period. Copious notes form a valuable commentary upon the text, and a full bibliography completes a scholarly piece of work.

The *Journal* itself, with its egotistical accounts of campaigns and battles, its list of places visited and miles marched, its moralising over victory and defeat, at once invites comparison with the many other records compiled by seventeenth-century soldiers. From these, however, it differs in one obvious particular—Stevens, despite previous experience in Portugal, seems to have remained in military matters somewhat of an amateur. Courage in action he did not lack (p. 209), but he is constantly complaining of hunger, sore feet, and bad quarters. One of his grumbles (p. 116) reveals the curious fact that a marching army was usually brought into line even when halted for a brief rest. It was exceptional to allow troops to halt in column on the road.

The *Journal* then is not the work of a professional soldier, but of an amateur who naturally did not know the exact plans of the generals at the time, and who does not seem to have examined them very carefully afterwards. The narrative is, in consequence, at times surprisingly vague in its accounts of campaigns, the more that Stevens prided himself on describing only that which he had himself seen.

On the other hand it is, in its general effect, very instructive, revealing, as it does, the hopelessness of the Jacobite cause. Some of the pessimism is doubtless due to the fact that Stevens wrote after the event, but the

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evidence for dissension and bad organisation seems complete, while the frequent mention of false alarms proves that the whole army was in a state of 'nerves' all along. But the editor might perhaps have pointed out that many of the 'Williamites' were by no means confident of the result. The mortality in the English camp during the campaign of 1689 was appalling (p. 96 n.), and the French victory off Beachy Head rendered William's position in Ireland most precarious. Scotsmen will find rather odd the reference to 'Lord' Dundee (p. 207 n.), and it is perhaps worth while remarking that 'Dumbarton's Regiment' (p. 118 and n.) was the famous corps which, under the title of the Royal Scots, became the first regiment of the Line.

J. D. MACKIE.

PAUL THE FIRST OF RUSSIA, THE SON OF CATHERINE THE GREAT. By K. Waliszewski. Pp. v, 494. With Portrait. 8vo. London: William Heinemann. 1912. 15s. net.

IN this book the Polish historian traces in his usual narrative manner the five brief years in which the Emperor Paul tried to undo the work of his mother, the great Catherine II., years which were regarded as years of terror by the higher classes of his subjects. His despotism, which aimed at being benevolent, became unbearable, owing to the feeling of uncertainty it caused among the nobles living under fear of immediate and sudden banishment, and led to the murder of the Emperor by a court *camarilla*. The changing foreign policy of the Tsar and his vacillations in regard to Napoleon are well considered, and his relations with his wife, Mlle. Nelidoff, and Princess Gagarine, accurately narrated. A considerable portion of the book is taken up with the question whether Paul was mad or not. Kept within due bounds during his mother's life, few suspected his madness till he came to the throne, but it would seem that his Absolutism and extraordinary conflicting orders prove him to have become mad before the end of his reign.

The author is interesting on the subject of the position of the heir-apparent (Alexander I.). He is cleared of the murder, but not of the conspiracy which led to it, and some letters from his young wife show the terror the Tsar inspired. The account of the murder and the 'one mad moment' in which the Empress-widow thought of following the example of Catherine II. is full of vivid writing.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CALVIN. By L. Penning. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. B. S. Bermington, B.A. Pp. vi, 392. With Twelve Full Page Plates. Demy 8vo. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is not so much a life of Calvin from a historical point of view as a popular sketch of his career from a rabidly Protestant standpoint. The strict despotism the great Reformer established at Geneva is called at one place a 'Protestant Sparta,' yet later this tyranny is styled 'the genial direction' of Calvin. The book admits that Calvin 'desired Servet's death,' but excuses it as being (as it was) 'the error of the age in which Calvin

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lived,' and adds 'that the bearers of the most venerable names in the Protestant world rejoiced' with the comment, and we think this further quotation sufficient : 'It was the Roman Catholic leaven in the Protestant dough.' We cannot commend the English of the translator ; he has no system about names, some being in the English, some in the German form. Nor do we think he should have passed the phrase that John Knox was 'sent to the gallows and sighed in slavery for two years.'

A SERVICE BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. Vol. I., 597-1603. Edited by Arthur D. Innes, M.A. Pp. viii, 383. With numerous Illustrations. Post 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1912. 4s. 6d.

THIS is an excellent illustrated collection of extracts (rendered into English when necessary) illustrating the history of England from Saxon to the last year of Tudor times. The selection is made with great discretion. Bede, the Old English Chronicle, Chaucer, Ordericus Vitalis, Giraldus Cambrensis, the Rolls Series, Hall's Chronicle, *et hoc genus omne*, all figure, and in exactly the right extracts. Scotland is not neglected. The Lanercost Chronicle is drawn on for Wallace's Insurrection ; John Knox supplies many passages, and, as the Editor points out, records two Scottish disasters as victories of the Reformation ; Pitscottie gives the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and from Sir James Melville's Memoirs is his wonderful interview with Queen Elizabeth.

LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Newly abridged and brought down to the Accession of King George V. by Dom Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B. Pp. x, 651. With seven Maps. Post 8vo. London : G. Bell & Sons. 1912. 3s. 6d.

ABBOT GASQUET's preface to this excellent little book shows the scope of the abridged history before us. It is intended for the use of schools, and (in a way) to supersede the epitome made in 1854 by Mr. James Burke. The work of the Catholic historian has been re-edited and brought up to date. We have read the chapter on Henry VIII. with especial care, and it is striking to see how wonderfully fair the historian was to all parties in that difficult reign.

THE PERSONALITY OF NAPOLEON. The Lowell Lectures delivered at Boston in February-March, 1912. By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. Pp. 307. With three Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. London : G. Bell & Sons. 1912. 5s. net.

THE Lowell lectures have now appeared in book form, and, save for certain irregularities in the French names, make a very pleasing volume. Dr. Holland Rose considers Napoleon's constant reiteration that he was 'the man of Destiny' was more a pose than anything else, for no man was so deliberately calculating. His Italian temperament, however, sometimes made his impetuosity defeat his calculations. The writer fully shows his greatness as a soldier, a law-giver, and as (what he aspired to be) the world-ruler. He condones his divorce from Josephine and excuses his harshness

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to Elizabeth Paterson. He points out that no parvenu has ever advanced his own family more, and that Napoleon did this to his own harm.

It is a valuable study of one of the world's most extraordinary men.

ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST: HOW WE WON THE LAND BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI. By Katharine Coman. 2 vols. Vol. I., xix, 418, Vol. II., ix, 450, with many Illustrations. Post 8vo. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1912. 17s. net.

THESE volumes are a well written and excellently illustrated account of how the Far West was settled. The first volume deals with explorers and colonizers, and the second with American settlers. Both are equally interesting, and a work which includes the beginnings of California, with the 'diggings,' and the beginnings of Utah, with the Mormons, as well as Oregon and the North-West, cannot be without incident; and this book tells what it sets out to tell.

Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution. By Wm. S. McClellan. (Pp. xx, 105. 8vo. New York: Printed for Department of Political Science of Williams College by Moffat, Yard, & Co. 1912. \$1.00 net.) Is an able essay referring specially to the West Indian trade.

We have received the fourth volume of *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, 1727-1733*. (Pp. xvi, 487. With seven Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.) Dr. Elrington Ball edits this volume with the same care as all its predecessors, and gives in an appendix all the really known facts of the relations between Swift and Stella.

The Maryland Historical Magazine, in its issues for June and September, devotes many pages to a record of Maryland's part in 'the last inter-colonial war,' the French and Indian war of 1753-55, when the American British colonial force was under the command of Governor—and General—Horatio Sharpe, prior to the arrival of General Braddock with a force from Great Britain, which marched to disaster in the valley of the Ohio. Other contents include effusive correspondence of a noted divine, Jonathan Boucher, during his residence in Virginia, 1762-64. There are also land-notes, 1634-55; vestry proceedings, 1722-62; and memoranda on a Maryland troop, the Home Guard of Frederick at the outbreak of the civil war in 1861. In the vestry proceedings there are given forms of oaths of abjuration, allegiance, and abhorrence. The last declares detestation of 'that damnable Doctrine and Position that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be Deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever.'

Analecta Bollandiana (tom. XXXI., fasc. IV.) has an article trying to clarify the date and circumstances of the journey of St. Francis of Assisi to Syria circa 1219. There is edited an interesting fragment of a late thirteenth century MS. on the translation of St. Hugh of Lincoln. It has the story more fully told elsewhere of Henry I. in a storm and of his prayer, successful through the merits of Hugh.

Communications and Notes

THE EARLY HISTORY OF GALLOWAY. In reviewing the Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient, etc., Monuments of Scotland dealing with Wigtownshire, my esteemed friend, Sir Archibald Lawrie, pays a just tribute to the devotion and acumen with which our secretary, Mr. A. O. Curle, has discharged his task of survey; but Sir Archibald also takes him to task for accepting 'the old, oft-repeated and only half accurate stories of tribes and missionaries, and kings ancient and modern.'

Let Sir Archibald put the saddle on the right horse. It was I, and not Mr. Curle, who wrote the historical sketch forming Part I. of the Introduction to the Report, and in doing so endeavoured to condense into a plausible sketch the *breccia* of legend and chronicle wherein the early history of Galloway is entombed.

Sir Archibald probably is too lenient in pronouncing my sketch to be 'only half accurate.' Relying, as one must in this matter, upon statements chiefly of the *ut dicitur* class, I should be quite content if 50 per cent. of my conclusions could be accepted as trustworthy; but why does my critic charge me with repeating half accurate stories of 'kings ancient and modern'? In dealing with modern kings nothing short of historical accuracy should be condoned; but the latest king referred to in my sketch is Alexander II. (1214-1249).

One gross blunder, at least, I own to. By a schoolboy's *lapsus calami* I have made Tacitus responsible for the tribes Selgovae and Novantae, whom that historian never mentions. It was Ptolemy, of course, writing 70 years after Tacitus, who located them in the south-west of northern Britain, or rather in the north-west, owing to the distortion of his survey, which placed the Mull of Galloway in the position of Cape Wrath.

Another palpable blunder occurs on page xx of my introduction, whereby Alan Lord of Galloway, who is rightly stated at the top of the page to have succeeded Roland in 1199, is made at the bottom of the page to die in the same year. He died in 1234. My attention has been called to a third blunder. William the Lion was taken prisoner in 1174, not 1173 as stated in the text.

As Sir Archibald Lawrie has not mentioned in his review the statements to which he takes specific objection, I have no wish to enter upon speculative controversy; only this I would submit, that nearly all my statements are expressed tentatively. The right of the Galloway Picts to form the advanced guard of the Scottish army in 1138 'appears to have been conferred on them by Kenneth MacAlpin': the Selgovae are referred to as 'probably inhabiting the shores of Solway': it is 'uncertain how and in what

degree' the Galwegian Picts became subject to Northumbria, and so on. It is difficult to see how terms less dogmatic could have been employed. Almost the only point whereon I ventured to write positively was in differing from Dr. Skene, who founded certain conclusions upon 'the remains of numerous Roman camps and stations which are still to be seen in Galloway' (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 44), and I so ventured because, as may be ascertained from Mr. Curle's survey, such remains existed entirely in the imagination of Dr. Skene's informants.

Monreith.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

A SCOTS DICTIONARY. The time seems to be near when it will be possible to undertake the preparation of a Scots Dictionary on scientific lines. Dr. Macbain's *Gaelic Dictionary* offers the model that might be followed, a book where origins are investigated with the resources of philology. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* was a fine performance for its day; but its historical account of the Anglian dialect and its handling of etymologies left something to be desired even in 1808, the date of the first issue, and must now give way to a fresh statement in harmony with the work that has been done during the last hundred years. The Anglian, or North-English, dialect was spoken over an area stretching from the Humber to Aberdeen, so that one finds, as in Mr. Malham-Dembleby's recent volume of Yorkshire tales and ballads, a remarkable similarity between the vocabulary used in the dales watered by the Ouse and its tributaries and that employed in Burns and in Mr. Murray's *Hamewith*.

Within this large area of Northern Britain influences have been at work tending to separate it into districts, distinguished from each other partly by words endemic in particular regions, these words being enclosed in a vocabulary epidemic in the whole area, partly by peculiarities of pronunciation. Barbour's 'Inglis' in his *Bruce* represents the classical or literary Anglian speech, but not the Aberdeenshire dialect, with its local stigmata.

As regards the first stage in the compilation of a dictionary, the collection of words, an extensive verbarium already exists. Not to mention formal glossaries, like Dr. Metcalfe's recension of Jamieson and Mr. Warrack's *Scots Dialect Dictionary*, there are the invaluable series of word-lists appended to the various volumes issued by the Scottish Text Society—the glossaries to such writers as Allan Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns, Miss Ferrier, Galt, Scott, Wilson, Hogg, Thom, Mr. Charles Murray, etc.—that have been or might easily be compiled, and the splendid collections of words in actual use, but nowhere listed, that are being made by the Scottish Branch of the English Association. Manifestly the first step in the formation of a worthy Scots Dictionary would be the reduction of this wealth of material to order. The alphabetical arrangement of the words and the determination of the authority for them would provide occupation for one group of scholars.

The questions of orthography and pronunciation would prove more troublesome, and here a different type of worker would be necessary. The trained phoneticians would have to be called on, and fortunately Scotland already possesses a small group of these. A good specimen of the kind of help to be got from them is supplied in Mr. William Grant's *Pronunciation of English in Scotland*, published by the Cambridge University Press. Mr.

Grant is lecturer on phonetics in Aberdeen, and as Convener of the Scottish Dialects Committee has done splendid service in guiding the sweeping up of the detritus of the old vernacular, once the classic tongue of Scotland. In his book he treats what he calls Standard Scottish, the speech of the educated middle classes in Scotland, in its three varieties—the oratorical, the careful conversational or reading, and the familiar everyday style. Mr. Grant is aware that in different parts of Scotland this standard speech will reveal local peculiarities, but there is a common stratum underneath the variations. The method he uses with so much skill would have to be pursued with regard to the dialectal variations in, say, Ayrshire, Forfarshire, Aberdeenshire, in order to represent the subject fully for dictionary purposes. On the phoneticians, indeed, there would fall a very heavy burden, but the quality of Mr. Grant's book shows that in Scotland we should have help.

The grammar would offer comparatively few difficulties. Grigor's examination of the Buchan dialect, Murray's investigation of the South-Western speech of Scotland, Gregory Smith's work on Middle Scots, Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* and *Dialect Grammar*, the whole body of grammatical research carried on at home and on the Continent into Old and Middle English and the allied tongues form a broad, firm foundation for the preparation of a grammar of Scots.

One department of the grammatical work—phonology—would give scope for fresh research. In his *Memories of Two Cities* the late Professor Masson doubts whether it is possible to explain the change in the North-Eastern dialect in such words as *spoon*—*speen*, *what*—*fat*, but the first change is undoubtedly Teutonic in its history, and the second is probably Gaelic. English *moon* is Anglo-Saxon *mona*, Gothic *mena*, and the *e*-sound corresponding to the English *oo*-sound is very common in Danish. As regards the *wh*-*f* change, English *whisk* is Gaelic *fusgan*, *Whithorn* is in Gaelic *Futerna*, and the same change may be noted within Gaelic itself. So the close vowels of Buchan, as contrasted with the open vowels of Ayrshire, answer to the distinction between the two main dialects of Gaelic, the North and the South, the former being marked by close, the latter by open vowels. Again, the strong *r*-sound in Scotland is partly due to Gaelic, and the North-Eastern habit of forming diminutives by adding *ie*, as in 'a peerie wee bit o' a mannikinie,' has been at least helped by Gaelic. When Gaelic words ending in *an* pass into English, the ending becomes *ie*, so that 'Corbie Wallie' need not mean 'the Raven's Well,' but rather 'the well by the cattle-fold' (Gaelic *corban*); so 'Kettybrewster' is 'the broken fold' (Gaelic *brise* and *cuitan*). On the other hand, the cutting off of an initial *w*, as in 'ood for *wood*, 'ouk for *week*, etc., is Scandinavian, and the breaking in such words as *gya* (gave), *gyaun* (going), is a well-known phenomenon in the Teutonic tongues. These examples will show that the investigation of the origins of our vernacular peculiarities is quite a hopeful task.

There remains the matter of etymology—a very ticklish business. Place-names have been examined with capital results by such investigators as Cameron, Henderson, Kennedy, Macbain, Watson, and it is likely that the explanation of Celtic mythology will show more light on this fascinating subject. In his *Celtic Dragon Myth*, the late Dr. Henderson refers to Dr.

Macbain's explanation of Ben Nevis as the hill of the nymph Nebestis, and to the Gaelic name of Aberdeen, *Obair-dhea'oin*, as meaning the estuary of the nymph Devona, which would explain the Aberdeen name Devanha.

In tracing the origin of the main vocabulary of Scots, great help would be got from recent works on Gaelic, Old French, Norse, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon. In some districts the Gaelic influence is very strong; thus *ablach*, *bourach*, *clossach*, *connach*, *chlyack*, all common in Aberdeenshire, are pure Gaelic. *Chlyack*, the last sheaf cut in harvest, suggests Gaelic *caileag*, girl, for it is also called 'the maiden,' but the true derivation seems to be Gaelic *gleac*, a fight, since the first harvesters to have *chlyack* raised a shout of triumph; Mr. Charles Murray, it is noteworthy, spells the word as *glyack*.

The time is ripe for the patriotic task of making a scientific examination of the vernacular of Scotland. It is a hopeful undertaking, but obviously a large one, and would require the services of a group of workers under competent editors.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

THE WORD 'WHIG.' Having had recently to investigate the early history of the term *Tory*, for the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I have also looked at our material for the word *Whig*. The two words occur often together in quotations after 1679. But I find that for the original Scottish sense of *Whig*, before that date, our materials are very meagre. I know, of course, the quotation from Bishop Burnet, in which *Whig* is stated to be shortened from *Whigamore* or *Whiggamer*, and that from Wodrow, in which it is conjecturally identified with *whig* in the sense of whey or sour milk, both given by Dr. Jamieson—and both needing strict investigation.

But of contemporary uses, I have only one from the *London Gazette*, No. 121, of 1667, stating that 'yesterday we were informed that the Whigs had privately in the night stollen down the heads of 4 of the Rebels that were set up in Glasgow'—I suppose after the Pentland Rising. Then there is the letter printed in the *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii., p. 163, dated 1 April, 1679, giving an account of the fight at Lesmahago, in which 'the Whiggs' appear six times.

There must be more references to the Whigs before 1700, and some even before 1667; and I shall be glad if readers of the *Scottish Historical Review* will send us quotations, with exact reference to book or manuscript, for any seventeenth century passages in which *whig*, *whigs*, or *whiggamores* are mentioned. Contemporary passages drawing attention to the name or giving its supposed origin, if any such can be found, will be specially valuable.

For *Tory* in its original sense of an Irish outlaw, living as a brigand or freebooter, there is abundant material, clearly showing the origin of the term; it is much to be desired that the origin and early history of *Whig* could be made equally clear and certain. I hope that every one who can contribute to such a result will kindly communicate with me.

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ROBERTSON OF CULTS (Aberdeenshire). In the pedigree of Major Thomas Robertson of Cults about 1690, it is stated that he was the seventh in descent from Struan. Can this be confirmed?

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