Reviews of Books

THE MINORITY OF HENRY THE THIRD. By Kate Norgate. Pp. xii, 307. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1912. 8s. 6d. net.

This volume is a further continuation of Miss Norgate's history of England under the Angevin kings. Taken as a whole the history is the most important English contribution to the narrative style of writing upon our medieval politics. It is more critical than the work of Freeman, more interesting than Sir James Ramsay's, more up-to-date and accessible than Pauli's, and fuller than the valuable though neglected history of England 'during the early and middle ages,' written by C. H. Pearson. Although this style of writing is common on the continent, it has of recent years been discarded by most English scholars. Under the stress of specialism, our scholars prefer the medium of commentary and detailed criticism. Mr. Round's Geoffrey de Mandeville was, in this as in other respects, an epoch-making book. This necessary concentration has its danger, and Miss Norgate has resisted the tendency. That she is not indifferent to it her articles in the English Historical Review and the thirty

pages of notes in the present volume testify.

A new narrative of the early years of Henry III. was needed. A great deal of work has yet to be done upon this period, so important in legal and constitutional history; and students will find much preliminary help in this connected story. The memorable points in it are, first, the proof that the papal legates did not unduly interfere in the administration, and, secondly, that there was less to choose between Hubert de Burgh and his enemies than is commonly supposed. As her pages on William the Marshal show, Miss Norgate is a hero-worshipper; and, if it is difficult to follow her in her half-concealed admiration for King John and Falkes de Breauté, it is a real pleasure to have her attractive portrait of Pandulf. The depreciation of Hubert de Burgh is not so convincing, because it is conveyed in asides. What was needed was a candid examination of the charge that Hubert was working to destroy the Charter. The value of this latter part of Miss Norgate's book lies in the general impression which the reader gets from the chronological account of the king's gradual emancipation. One sees how casual the disorder was, how easily and naturally suspicion was aroused, and how gossip and backbiting made difficulties and formed parties in Rome as well as in England. It is strange, however, that Miss Norgate makes no use of the documents edited by Dr. Gasquet in his book, Henry III. and the Church.

Among many matters of more detailed interest may be mentioned the

account of Irish government (pp. 84-5, 218-9), the analysis of Poitevin politics, and the notes upon the treaty of Kingston (p. 278), the royal castles

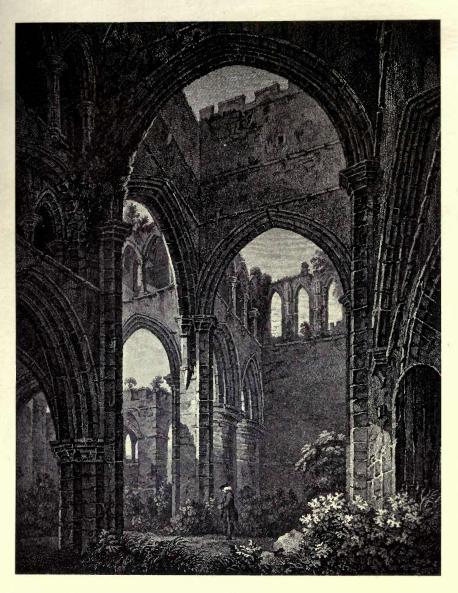
in 1223-4 (p. 290), and Bedford castle (p. 293).

It is obvious that some of Miss Norgate's criticism, covering as it does such a wide field, should provoke discussion. The sixth note (pp. 281-6) needs most exhaustive treatment before it is regarded as conclusive. In the next note (pp. 286-90), the author shows clearly that the papal letters included in the Red Book of the Exchequer are in reality the letters of Honorius III. and not of Gregory IX.; she also makes the interesting and very probable suggestion that the Archbishop of Canterbury had begun to exercise influence at Rome. But it is difficult to see why she does not connect all the papal letters of this year with the same cause. The pope, in addition to the general letters preserved in the Red Book, wrote to the prelates on his policy, and also to the four most important men in England demanding the surrender of their castles to the king. There is nothing puzzling about this procedure, especially if we accept the view that the archbishop was offering advice at Rome. Similarly, Miss Norgate's difficulty about the dates of publication seems to be due to the fact that she overlooks the distinction between a council meeting in the narrow sense and the great meeting at the Christmas feast at Northampton. True publication could only be made at the latter.

The battle at Lincoln is as thorny a subject as the battle of Hastings. Like her predecessors, Miss Norgate is more successful in attacking the views of others than in constructing her own. She seems to fail just in so far as she refuses to face the literal meaning of her authorities. If there is a 'real difficulty' (p. 275) it is of no use to construct a theory which disregards it. Either she must repudiate the account in the Marshal's life or explain all the alleged facts. As is usually the case, a bold acceptance of the harder interpretation is probably the easiest course in the end. Personally, I think that the story of the Bishop of Winchester's reconnaissance must be accepted. The bishop commanded one division, and it is not necessary to suppose that his action was dependent upon the movements of all the other divisions. But if the story be accepted, it seems necessary to believe that the blocked gateway which the bishop noticed lay to the south of the keep, and that he ordered its demolition because he wished to strengthen the position of the castle by breaking through the wall

which connected it with the city.

On minor points Miss Norgate creates unnecessary difficulties by translating the word tor (turris) in different ways. As she herself translates on p. 37 (Guill. le Marèchal, l. 16490) the tor was the keep, and there is nothing strange in sending men up the keep to look for ambushes (p. 39, note). She makes the same error a few pages earlier in identifying the keep and castle at Winchester and Farnham (pp. 26, 29). In the latter case the 'castle,' as distinguished from the outer bailey, did not mean the keep, but the castle proper or citadel. In later developments, as at Harlech, the contrast between the outer walled enclosure and the massive fabric of the inner bailey is obvious. But before this development a distinction was drawn (e.g. Rot. Scacc. Norm. i. 110, 'in . . . muro ad excludendum baillium



LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH
From Drawing by T. Hearne, F.S.A. 1780.

a Castro,' at Neufchateau-sur-Epte). In this sense the 'castle,' as opposed to turris and outer works, seems to correspond to the corpus of William the Breton (Phil. xi. 460) and to li cors dou chastel (see Viollet's note in the

Etablissements de Saint Louis, I. cc. xlii, lxx.).

It is not possible to discuss all the points of interest which I have noted; a few criticisms must suffice. On p. 64 the Marshalship of England is erroneously described as a Grand Serjeanty. On p. 130, note, though Miss Norgate rightly corrects the annalists who say that Hubert de Burgh was made justiciar in 1219 or 1220, she omits to mention that Hubert did become specially responsible for the king and government immediately after the Marshal's death. The attestations in the Close Rolls should be connected with the story told by the Marshal's biographer about Peter des Roches' attempt to claim the person of the king. With a very few exceptions the justiciar attests, with or without the bishop, from 20 April, 1219 (Rot. Claus. i. 390). I think that the annalists realised that an important change had taken place in Hubert's position. It is possible that Pandulf's letters to the treasurer and vice-chancellor also refer to the same attempt of the bishop. Between 10-20 April and very occasionally afterwards the bishop ordered the payment of money out of the treasury. The legate was very possibly attacking this practice. In p. 148, note, I doubt if Miss Norgate proves her point; the sheriff-not the castellan, was responsible for expenditure upon repairs. The 'confusing note' in the Patent Rolls mentioned on p. 184, note, probably gives the sense, not the words, of the addition to the letters; after the letters had been written, another copy with a slight change was made and sent, in view of the fact that the Earl of Gloucester's preparations had developed into action. On pp. 233, 288, Miss Norgate is much too positive upon the question of treason and private warfare. The fall of Falkes de Breauté is in reality an important case in the development of English ideas, not a mere illustration of them. difference between proditio and diffidatio is well seen on p. 165. precisely this kind of point which is missed by the narrative writer. Similarly it was impossible for Miss Norgate, without overloading her book, to go into the very important questions of the interpretation of the Charter in the law courts (pp. 186, 198 note), and of the equitable jurisdiction of the king's council (p. 96). Yet these were the years of Patteshull and of many of those cases which, in Bracton's view, made the law of England.

It is to be hoped that Miss Norgate will carry on her history until the Barons' War. She would add greatly to the many obligations under which

she has already placed historical students.

F. M. Powicke.

THE CHRONICLE OF LANERCOST, 1272-1396. Translated with Notes by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Baronet. Pp. xxxi, 357. With nine Illustrations. 4to. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1913. 21s. net.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL has added, in this volume, another item to the debt of gratitude which students of Scottish history owe him for his labours on the early chroniclers of the affairs of the country. The translation does not cover the whole of the MS. styled The Chronicle of Lanercost: the earlier part from 1201 to 1272 has been omitted as it does not contain

much of any matter germane to the history of Scotland.

The Chronicle has for long been, if not a perfect mine of information for historians, at least a useful granary from which to cull many interesting facts: these, however, require to be correlated with other accounts of the same incidents, as the chronicler can hardly be depended on as a perfectly sane or impartial historian. Indeed it is very much otherwise: his anti-Scottish bias proclaims itself in almost every sentence in which he has to do with that, to his mind, most detestable of people. And we can perhaps hardly wonder at his attitude: the north of England suffered severely from the many incursions from across the border. And an inhabitant of the former district would require to be more than human if he did not resent, and resent keenly, the devastation wrought by the enemy, the laying waste of the country, the destruction of the crops, and the carrying off both of women and cattle. He has, however, his consolations, and he is able to record some shrewd knocks which the invaders received at the hands of his countrymen, notably at the battles of Halidon Hill and Durham.

The question of the identity of the author of the Chronicle has always been a matter of dispute. Father Stevenson, who edited the Latin version of the Chronicle for the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs in 1839, was of opinion that it was the work of a Minorite Friar of Carlisle. But prefixed to the present edition there is a long and scholarly chapter by the Rev. Dr. James Wilson of Dalston, in which he favours the idea which has generally been held that this book was written in the Augustinian Priory of Laner-

cost, by one of the canons or a succession of them.

The editor evidently considers the question as still a more or less open one, but whatever may be the truth the *Chronicle* will probably always be

known under the name of that of Lanercost.

The author or authors did not, it must be confessed, possess any great literary style: there are many repetitions, the same incident being told twice over, generally with more detail in the second telling, a circumstance which leads Dr. Wilson to think that the work was not a continuous one but that events were jotted down as they occurred, and if a fuller account of them came to hand afterwards it was inserted without the first notice being deleted. Whoever wrote the book he must have been, as Bishop Dowden somewhere observes, 'a credulous gossip.' We should no doubt be grateful to him for certain historical information, some of which is accurate, and some at all events useful as showing the impression the events of the time made on a North of England ecclesiastic from the information he could collect. But it must be confessed that a great deal of what we are told is rubbish, and rubbish of a sort that makes us wonder how any educated man, even in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, could possibly believe it. Many of the preposterous stories which he tells have not even the merit of making virtue triumphant over vice, and as often as not the good man gets the punishment while the bad one escapes free. The author does not spare his own cloth, and though perhaps his strong national bias may have led him to believe the unlikely and horrible story about the parish

priest of Inverkeithing, given on p. 29, he does not in other instances spare even English ecclesiastics who had transgressed the laws of the Church and of common morality. But of most of the stories told in the Chronicle it may be said that they are gross and unscrupulous falsehoods, and as the translator remarks in a note, 'it is not easy to understand how,' when its doctrines were enforced by such fictions, 'Christianity retained its ascen-

dancy among reasonable beings.'

Notwithstanding all this we read the Chronicle with interest not unmingled with amusement. The author was a quaint creature by no means destitute of humour. His work is full of puns, no better than puns generally are, and, of course, untranslatable from the Latin. He, or a friend whom he generally calls H., bursts into song from time to time in rhymed Latin verses, of which the spirit and humour has been wonderfully well caught by the translator. There is little doubt that the poet of the Chronicle was Henry de Burgo, who was elected prior of Lanercost about 1310 and died in 1315. But it was when he was a young canon that he wrote most of his verses, and his muse appears at its best between 1280 and 1290. He seems to have considered it as not quite befitting the dignity of a prior to write humorous verse, and at all events none assigned to him appear after his elevation to the priorate, and the Chronicle is devoid of all poetical contributions after the date of his death.

Enough has been said to show that in this volume there is a rich feast for the delver in forgotten byeways of history. The editor has supplied many notes of such assistance to the elucidation of the text that we could have

wished even more of them.

The volume has several excellent illustrations in the shape of views of Lanercost Priory, Hexham Abbey, and the Cathedrals of Durham and Carlisle. A page also of the original MS. has been reproduced in facsimile, and shows it to be a singularly well written and legible manuscript.

The Chronicle in its present shape makes a large and handsome volume, printed in the most legible of type and with generous margins. Such a get-up adds much to the comfort of the reader.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By G. P. Gooch. Pp. 600. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Gooch's book is an expansion of his article on Historical Research in the closing volume of the 'Cambridge Modern History.' Its object, according to the preface, is 'to summarise and assess the manifold achievements of historical research and production during the last hundred years, to portray the masters of the craft, to trace the development of scientific method, to measure the political, religious, and racial influences that have contributed to the making of celebrated books, and to analyse their effect on the life and thought of their time.' The courage and ambition of this ideal are enhanced by the fact that no such survey has been attempted in any language.

A rather brief introduction takes stock of the progress of historical

research previous to the nineteenth century. The true starting-point of modern history is the Renaissance, which produced a secularisation of thought. 'Petrarch and Boccaccio were the fathers of modern historiography.' But secular studies were soon engulfed in the whirlpool of confessional strife. From such religious preoccupations historians were not free until the eighteenth century. 'The task of collecting material was rapidly pursued, a more critical attitude towards authorities and tradition was adopted, the first literary narratives were composed, and the first serious attempts were made to interpret the phenomena of civilisation.' But the spirit of the Aufklärung, the want of critical faculty in dealing with the value of authorities, the absence of teaching, the difficulties, both physical and political, attending access to documents, and the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church still hampered the historian. 'For the liberty of thought and expression, the insight into different ages, and the judicial temper on which historical science depends, the world had to wait till the nineteenth century, the age of the Second Renaissance.'

The historical activities of this age are traced in twenty-eight chapters. The first eight are devoted to German scholarship from Niebuhr to Ranke and his contemporaries, the impelling motive of their work being the romantic movement, the wars of liberation, and the rise of the German Empire. 'In the making of the German Empire no small part fell to the group of Professors who by tongue and pen preached the gospel of nationality, glorified the achievements of the Hohenzollerns, and led their countrymen from idealism to realism.' The six chapters assigned to France deal with the rise of historical studies, the 'romantic' school of Thierry and Michelet, the 'political' school of Guizot, Mignet and Thiers, the Middle Ages and the Ancien Régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon. English historians to whom six chapters are also allotted begin with Hallam and end with Maitland. The United States, Minor Countries, Mommsen and Roman Studies, Greece and Byzantium, the Ancient East, the Jews and the Christian Church, Catholicism, and the History of Civilisation (Kulturgeschichte) are each discussed in separate chapters.

As the book is primarily addressed to what Mr. Gooch would call the 'Anglo-Saxon' world, the proportion assigned to England is not excessive. The contribution of Scotland to historical studies is summed up in one sentence: 'Detailed narratives of Scottish history have been compiled by Burton, Andrew Lang, and Hume Brown.' Apart from the unhappy phraseology, the enumeration of Scottish historians is singularly inadequate. Omitting living writers, Mr. Gooch might have found room for at least Thomas Thomson, Joseph Robertson, E. W. Robertson, M'Crie, Skene, Cosmo Innes, and Tytler. The last is merely mentioned in connection with the Records Commission, and his name does not appear in the index. Yet Tytler's constant references to unpublished material at a time when access to the public archives was still difficult renders his History of Scotland even to-day, in spite of its cumbrous style, an important authority. Mr. Gooch tells how Ranke's 'discovery of the difference in the portraits of Louis XI. and Charles the Bold in Quentin Durward and in Commines

constituted an epoch in his life.' Yet Scott's influence was not limited to Ranke, and in his own country, by founding the Bannatyne Club, he gave a great impetus to research. Further, one would like to know something of those fifty writers on Mary Queen of Scots who, according to Lord Acton, 'have considered the original evidences sufficiently to form something like an independent conclusion.' Comment on this aspect of Mr. Gooch's book would have been superfluous were it not somewhat typical of the attitude of English writers to Scottish history and Scottish historians.

No one can peruse this volume without being impressed by the vast range of the author's knowledge of historical literature. This knowledge he carries lightly: the book is the product of enthusiasm. Excellent character sketches are given of eminent historians, and each important work is critically analysed and its value assessed. Mr. Gooch writes with sound judgment and strict impartiality, and only an occasional reference to 'the people' shows his own predilections. The verdicts he passes are, in general, those which have commended themselves to students in the past; and if they are therefore less suggestive, they invite the reader's confidence when he is introduced to less familiar parts of the subject. The style is clear and straightforward; but in the latter half of the book, which tends to become a mere catalogue raisonné, it suffers from an excessive use of stock adjectives and phrases. This was hardly avoidable in a comparatively small book of six hundred pages. Nevertheless, had Mr. Gooch expanded the paragraph dealing with general features which usually begins a chapter he might have got over this difficulty, and more adequately fulfilled Lord Acton's idea of connecting the historical scholarship of the century 'with the political, religious, and economic thought throughout Europe.' As it is, Mr. Gooch may be congratulated on having provided the student with a unique guide to the historical literature of the world.

HENRY W. MEIKLE.

A HISTORY OF WITCHCRAFT IN ENGLAND FROM 1558 TO 1718. By Wallace Notestein. Pp. xiv, 442. Cr. 8vo. Washington: American Historical Association; and London: Henry Frowde. 1911. 6s. 6d. net.

An assistant professor in Minnesota University, Mr. Notestein wrote his essay as a thesis for a doctorate in philosophy, and found in course of it the necessity of a chronological survey of witch trials. Accordingly it is on a list of cases (the abbreviated bibliography of the reports, etc., of which fills an appendix of 70 pages) that the work was based, gaining in its final form the H. B. Adams Prize of the American Historical Association for 1909, and now appearing in a compact volume closely referenced and well indexed. It reflects great credit on the author by its extent of research, careful narration, sound judgment and moderate standpoint and tone. The opinions are for the most part no echo of other men's thought, but are independent inductions from a wide range of English witchcraft literature and record, not inclusive, however, of MSS. sources.

Completely in contrast with M. De Cauzon's La Magie et la Sorcellerie en France recently reviewed (S.H.R. x. 309), the book trusts little to broad theories of credulous occultism, but seeking always the solid ground,

and restricting its scope by bounds both of area and time, draws its matter from first-hand published records, and builds up its inferences with due regard to the canons of historical criticism. M. De Cauzon shirked almost entirely the certain and pervasive presence of deliberate deception; throughout he gave rein to faith. Mr. Notestein, making full allowance for the psychology of disease, is alert to discover the manifold signs (very frequently seen by contemporaries) of interested imposture, and too often of active malice. The result is that as against the haze of credulity, which in the French study obscures and deprecates examination of phenomena, the concrete certainties of the American monograph stand out firm in a close foreground of hard clear light. The Frenchman had compensations from his broader canvas, but while the American suffers a little from insularity (one might sometimes think he had forgotten the continent of Europe, and shut his eyes to the Middle Ages), we gain much more from his ultra-fidelity to English boundaries. His chronological system is excellent, mapping the course with landmarks, prominent in which are Elizabeth's statute of 1563, the bold scepticism of Reginald Scot in 1584, followed by Harsnett in 1599, the beacon fires piled higher when the demonologist James VI. came to the united throne, and the fluctuations of the public mind under the later Stuarts, until the last gleam of the ancient faith flashed in Glanvill's Sadducismus Triumphatus in 1681. The latest execution in England is said to have been in 1682.

A sorry record of ignorance and cruelty, to be sure, the collection of trials makes, but the monotony is broken by the humanity and acumen of pioneer rationalists, who broke the keys of superstition, and sometimes brightened literature with their wit. The survey is comprehensive and searching, yet its exclusion of the Continent from view seems at times to distort the perspective. For instance, on the question of the relative tendencies of Presbytery and Prelacy, and of Scotland and England, towards witchcraft prosecutions, it is right to remember that the Demonologie of James VI., was, with all its sequel, a feeble reflection of the far grosser manifestation of bigotry and persecution in France. The theory of the Covenant with Satan should have been explained, and the fact brought out that it superseded the feudal conception of Homage, of which the mark used to be reckoned the sign. Sexual elements in the creed should not have been virtually ignored, and the witch Sabbath should have been at least described. Indications of awakening scientific opinion on the subjective nature of the phenomena might have been correlated with the views of continental thinkers. We should gladly have heard more of the discussion on the revival of the water-ordeal. We should also have been glad to learn what specialty there was in English witchcraft not common to the cult in Europe. Such specialties must have been few: was thatch-burning one?

The few desiderata hinted at above are far more than balanced by the amplitude of details and inferences actually given, notable among which are the proofs of fabricated charges, of the contagion of craze, of the pressure and torture of victims to make them confess, and of the fact that most of the witches came from the degraded and criminal ranks, although the established instances of prosecution of better-class people from sheer malice were not few. The essay, a capital short story of England's share in the great illusion of the witch, is excellently suited for precise reference as well as for general information. It adds Mr. Notestein's name to the honour list among the capable, diligent, and cultured students who are steadily establishing the reputation of American research in English history.

GEO. NEILSON.

EPHEMERIS EPIGRAPHICA, CORPORIS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM SUPPLE-MENTUM. Edita jussu Instituti Archaeologici Romani, cura Th. Mommseni (†), O. Hirschfeldi, H. Dessavi. Vol. ix. Fasciculus quartus. Insunt F. Haverfield, Additamenta quinta ad Corporis vol. vii. (pp. 509-690); H. Dessau, Miscell. Epigraph. (pp. 691-706); Indices (pp. 707-763). Berolini: Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri. 1913.

This issue of the Ephemeris Epigraphica is of the highest interest and importance to all students of Roman Britain. Exactly forty years have elapsed since the seventh volume of the Corpus, containing the British inscriptions, was published under the editorship of Huebner. Supplements appeared in 1876, 1877, 1879, and 1889—the first three by the original editor, the last by Professor Haverfield. Since 1889 much has happened. The number of inscriptions has been largely added to. Excavation at home and abroad, coupled with comparative study, has not only supplied fresh problems, but has substantially increased the resources available for solving them. Lastly, the breathing-space of twenty-four years has enabled Professor Haverfield to undertake a systematic survey of the whole of the

original body of material.

The present supplement, therefore, edited with a competence and a sureness of touch which there is no gainsaying, is much more than a repertory of recently discovered inscriptions. These we have in abundance -from Caerwent, Chester, Housesteads, Corbridge, Birrens, and other sites in England and in Scotland—and in some cases the information they convey is very illuminating. But, alongside of these and of the masterly commentary that accompanies them, we get the results of Professor Haverfield's searching revision of Huebner's work. Readings have been verified or corrected, questions of provenance have been more thoroughly investigated, and manuscript sources of information have been re-examined at first hand, the huge mass of facts being arranged and set out with the succinctness and orderly care that characterises the Corpus generally. Another feature, which is more of a novelty, is particularly welcome. The editor has taken the opportunity of summarizing, at appropriate points, the state of present-day knowledge regarding the Roman occupation of various parts of Britain. His treatment of Wales and of the Antonine Vallum are cases in point. As full references are given, such authoritative summaries are very valuable.

The only other contribution to the present fasciculus consists of a brief discussion by Professor Dessau of two questions relating to Thracian royalties. In view of its special character, this hardly calls for notice here. But it should not be forgotten that Dessau has also acted as general editor. We

gather from the prefatory note that the fasciculus has been two years in passing through the press. This has had its advantages, as it has rendered possible the inclusion, in an Appendix, of discoveries so recent as some of those made in the autumn of 1912 by the Glasgow Archaeological Society at Balmuildy. That it has also had its drawbacks, Professor Haverfield himself would probably be the first to admit.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

LORD DURHAM'S REPORT ON THE AFFAIRS OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA. Edited with an introduction by Sir C. P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Three volumes. Vol. 1, vi. 335; Vol. 2, 339; Vol. 3, 380. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 28s. 6d. net.

STUDENTS of colonial history will welcome the appearance of Sir Charles Lucas's work on Durham's Report. The new edition consists of three distinct parts: An historical introduction to the Report, which provides perhaps the best summary we have of Canadian history about 1837; the Report itself, with foot-notes of great value to the student of Canadian history; and a selection from the appendixes to the Report. By the courtesy of the Dominion Archivist, Sir Charles Lucas also has been able to give us, as new and hitherto unpublished matter, a most interesting account of the Durham mission, written by Durham's right-hand man, Captious criticism may ask why all the matter contained Charles Buller. in the original appendixes was not printed; but the bulk of the rejected secondary material, great in proportion to its real value, seems to justify the plan of selection, and it was certainly a matter of the very first importance to all students of social conditions in Canada to have, in some form more accessible than the original Parliamentary Paper, such fundamental documents of colonial history as Charles Buller's Report on Public Lands and Emigration, or that of the Assistant Commissioners on Municipal Institutions.

The editor wisely spends little time on discussing the authority of the Report, but, in speaking of the influence exerted by Charles Buller on Durham, he makes a suggestion of some interest: 'It may well be that Buller had a large share in forming his (Durham's) views, and in enunciating them in such clear and forcible terms; and Buller, it will be borne in mind, was a pupil of Carlyle. There is a strong savour of Carlyle in the attitude which the Report adopts towards the French-Canadian nationality. There is no Whiggism whatever in it, no trace of laissez-faire. Lord Durham was a democrat after the type of Cromwell, and few State documents ever embodied so strong a policy as is contained in his Report' (i. 132). But Durham's native impetuosity and vehemence of spirit required no assistance

in such matters, even from Chelsea.

The edition has a certain timeliness in view of recent events in Canada, and Sir Charles Lucas has given piquancy to his introduction by connecting the question of Canadian autonomy with that of Irish Home Rule. Indeed, throughout the introduction, one feels how fresh and living are the matters discussed so boldly in the great *Report*. Between 1837 and 1867, Canada passed from administration by what the editor aptly calls 'a Crown colony office' to something perilously near independence. It was a time of hesita-

tion, imperfect foresight, and dangerous error, and nothing but the good fortune which gave Britain in quick succession Durham, Sydenham, and Elgin, as governors in Canada, could have saved England from a second Declaration of Independence in America. Sir Charles Lucas has brought out with admirable lucidity, not merely Durham's foresight and audacity in imperial matters, but—a point seldom noticed—the limitations he dreamed of imposing on Canadian self-government: 'The contention of Lord Durham's Report was that a clear line could be drawn between matters of imperial and matters of purely colonial concern, and that in regard to the second class of questions, those of colonial concern, the colony should no longer be a dependency.' In contrast with this very provincial independence, which Durham planned, Sir Charles Lucas makes it very clear that the autonomy which was the key-note of the Report has gradually expanded until the only supremacy acknowledged by Canada is that of tradition, culture, and sentiment. 'The broad fact remains that the Canadian self-government of to-day is not what Lord Durham recommended, and the Canada of to-day is more nearly an allied than a subordinate nation.' It is well to have the problem of the limits of autonomy proposed in connection with the Report, for modern Canadian history, which began with Durham's Report, has never moved far from this central question. Among his other criticisms of Durham, Sir Charles Lucas seems hardly fair in blaming Durham for being blind to a possible dominion 'from sea to sea.' 'The territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-West, the Pacific Coast were not within the scope of his mission, but yet they need not have lain beyond his horizon.' But politics, unlike speculation in general, deal with facts and possible facts. Durham dealt with matters urgently calling for settlement; other things even in British North America were irrelevant; and even as it was, he was almost too far ahead of his contemporaries in Imperial ideas.

The introduction, however, is a most admirable piece of work, and one may say of the work as a whole that it is well to have, from one who combines, as the editor does, the knowledge and responsibility of a high official in the Colonial Office with the candour of the historical student, this definitive edition of the greatest blue-book of the Victorian era. Apart from the possible objection, alluded to above, that Sir Charles Lucas should have withheld none of the original appendixes, the only criticisms which the student of Canadian history will pass are, that the third volume is too important to be left unindexed; and that maps of Lower and Upper Canada, at the time of the Durham mission, would have assisted those who

possess only maps of the modern Dominion.

J. L. Morison.

THE MODERATORS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1690 TO 1740. By the Rev. John Warrick, M.A. Pp. 388. With six Portraits. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

WHILE the author of this volume has not altogether escaped the tendency of the ecclesiastical historian to overestimate the political importance of his subject, still the biographies of the twenty-seven moderators of the Church

of Scotland of which it consists furnish varied, if not in all cases very inspiring reading. The lives of the men here treated of go back in most instances to the period of storm and stress before the Revolution, but the fifty years with which the book specially deals are the early part of what has been well called 'the age of secular interests.' The Church was no longer supreme. Economic forces were coming to the front, and Scotland was awakening to take an active part in the development of her material resources, and was claiming and obtaining a growing share in the commerce of the world. Ecclesiastical history, while with us always important, no longer covered the field. The age of persecution being past, the trend in the direction of 'ease in Zion' became more visible. Grim and uncompromising determination gave place to less denunciatory and more tolerant views. Sermons are preached, but few are published. The age of moderatism draws on.

The first twelve lives are those of ministers who had all suffered in the struggle on behalf of Presbyterian church government, and it is not until the year 1709 that a moderator who had not taken part in the conflict is met with. The Church was wont, then as now, to put into the chair of the Assembly men of years and discretion, and thus to give her highest honour to those who had served her well through good report and ill.

Opening the volume at the biography of John Law, whose portrait, reproduced by permission of the authorities of the Church of Scotland, forms one of the six contained in the book, the reader is introduced to a moderator who had been a prisoner for conscience' sake in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and also on the Bass Rock. The grandson of Archbishop Law of Glasgow, and the son of the pro-Episcopalian minister of Inchinnan, Law might have been expected to follow the family in his ecclesiastical outlook. It was not so, however; he became a stalwart of the stalwarts on the Presbyterian side, and on the deposition in 1656 by the Protesters of Mr. Archibald Dennistoun, minister of Campsie, he was ordained to that parish. After his release from prison, he spent some time in Holland along with his friend Erskine of Carnock, who often refers to him in his Diary. He became moderator in 1694. The present reviewer has seen recently in the possession of a direct descendant a series of family portraits said to be of the Law family, comprising the Archbishop, John Law, the moderator, and Mrs. Law, and their son, Professor William Law of Edinburgh, and also John Law of Lauriston, known as 'Mississippi Law.' The moderator's portrait is the same as the one reproduced in Mr. Warrick's volume.

The author has gathered his materials from many sources, and has succeeded in giving bright and interesting sketches of the lives of the twenty-seven ministers whom he brings before the reader. Mr. Warrick passes lenient—at times too lenient—judgment upon the subjects of his biographies in cases where they did not rise above the ignorant prejudices of their age.

The work, however, has, as a whole, been carried through with care and accuracy, and it was well worth doing. The book would be more pleasant to read were the references to authorities relegated to the foot of each page instead of being incorporated in the text.

JOHN EDWARDS.

WILLIAM PITT AND NATIONAL REVIVAL. By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. Pp. xii, 655. With four illustrations. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1911. 16s. net.

WILLIAM PITT AND THE GREAT WAR. By the same. Pp. xvi, 596. With five illustrations. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1911. 16s. net.

THE importance of Mr. Rose's life of Pitt has been generally recognised. The author's discrimination and sense of justice, his industry, his great knowledge of the diplomatic history of Europe during Pitt's career, his easy and gently effervescent style, have given him a prominent place among our contemporary historians, and made his lengthy work agreeable to all classes of his readers. It is one of his merits as a writer that his defects are on the surface. We are sure of his honesty and accuracy, and have no difficulty in recognising his faults. They are the faults from which historians, engaged upon a great and complicated theme, can rarely escape, unless they are either possessed by a powerful imagination or actively engaged in public affairs. Mr. Rose is sometimes over-subtle, and sometimes unduly credulous. As our military and naval writers have pointed out, he is weak and untrustworthy when he attempts to gauge a strategic situation, and the same absence of insight and vigour mars the general arrangement of his book. His knowledge is not sufficiently under his command and does not always lie behind his judgment, so that his most considered statements have often no more influence upon the reader than has a casual remark. His undistinguished writing is due to the same quality of industry under imperfect control. As George Meredith said of the earlier book on Napoleon, the style flows with its much matter. Hence Mr. Rose makes his readers more ambitious for him than he is for himself. Judged by our usual standards, the work is excellent; but it is impossible not to wish that a book so solidly based and concerned with such a magnificent subject had been great history.

The first volume deals with Pitt in the period of enlightenment. significance of the eighteenth century as an age of reason has of recent years become much more real to us. It is in some ways a tragic story, for the friends of enlightenment frequently struck the most effective blows in the cause of darkness. In the history of Ireland during a quarter of a century, between 1770 and 1795, we have the struggle reflected as in a mirror. The failure of Fitzwilliam's vice-royalty meant far more than the failure of Grattan's Parliament: it marked the close of a contest for religious liberty, parliamentary reform, and imperial sentiments in Ireland. And just as Fox, by his opposition to Pitt's commercial proposals in 1785, helped to bring about the failure in Ireland which he feared, so he hurried on the political catastrophe which forced Pitt to become the leader of the new Toryism. The studies of Mr. Winstanley upon Chatham and of Lord Fitzmaurice upon Shelburne have shown clearly that Burke and Fox and the more liberal Whigs helped to create rather than to hinder the divisions which obscured the real cleavage of parties in England until 1834. From the date of the Tamworth manifesto Englishmen may be said to

have fallen into intelligible groups, but these groups might have formed themselves fifty years earlier, if the Rockingham Whigs had realised the greatness of Chatham, and if Fox had withstood the temptation to unite with North. The King would have been put in his proper place, Parliament would have been reformed, religious and colonial liberties defined, and party divisions gradually created on the all-important questions of local and central government, and the future commercial and agricultural policy of the British Isles. A study of Mr. Rose's pages makes one feel very doubtful whether even the French Revolution need seriously have ruffled the surface

of political life in England.

It is regrettable that, since Mr. Rose set himself to write the history of England as well as the life of Pitt, he did not penetrate further into the cause of Pitt's failure to resume his father's task. He reminds us that the union of North and Fox had, in Place's opinion, killed the London Society for Promoting Constitutional Information, and that growing discontent was easily allayed by the satisfaction which the country felt with the new Minister (pp. 205, 206). He shows us the personal weakness of Pitt, his indifference to inquiry, his ignorance and exclusiveness, his preference for the administrative side of politics. A nimble-minded doctrinaire, Pitt was easily persuaded to drop a legislative policy which impressed him by its truth rather than by its urgency. But Mr. Rose never really answers the question, why, in an age when the truth was so easily perceived, and so persistently expressed by writers and county meetings, was it so hard for a powerful and sympathetic statesman to form a party? The temperament of Pitt was only partly the cause. Mr. Rose hints at another when he speaks of the unimportance of the legislative sovereignty of Parliament. Sir Leslie Stephen went deeper when he pointed out the contrast between Arthur Young's criticism of the French nobility, and his eulogy of the English aristocracy. In England the intermediate powers were visible and active, in France they were, in spite of some enlightenment, opposed to the new spirit of efficiency. Most of those English reformers who desired a firmer handling of the new social problems found themselves disinclined to interfere with the distribution of sovereignty. Why this prejudice was permitted, in an age of reason, to harden into the belief that any institution or interest already established was a bulwark of British liberty, must be deduced from such works as Stephen's Utilitarians, Mr. and Mrs. Webb's Local Government, and M. Halévy's recent volume.

Mr. Rose's second volume is, like the first, remarkable for the discussion of international relations. English readers will especially welcome the careful analysis in both volumes of Anglo-Prussian relations. The author does for Ewart what Dr. Gardiner did for Digby, in rehabilitating a shrewd

diplomatist. Throughout, the chapters on Ireland are excellent.

Mr. Rose has made much use of the Dropmore Papers, and has increased available knowledge of the sources for the period. Unfortunately his work will, in bibliographical as in other respects, be of less service to the general student or inquirer than one might reasonably have expected. A critical discussion of the various classes of authority, on the lines of Mr. Robertson's appendix to his *England Under the Hanoverians*, would have been of value

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to more serious readers, and would also have enabled Mr. Rose to define with more precision the extent to which his biography of Pitt may be regarded as a general contribution to British history.

F. M. Powicke.

A CALENDAR OF THE FEET OF FINES RELATING TO THE COUNTY OF HUNTINGDON, 1194-1603. Edited by G. J. Turner. Pp. clxiv, 300. 8vo. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. and Bowes & Bowes. 1913. 10s.

In this important publication the Cambridge Antiquarian Society sets an example of a first-class task executed in such a manner as to make the examination of one county's records a distinct contribution to the study of national institutions relative to land measures, the agricultural system and the use and method of fines by which lands were assured from one person to another, and the transfer recorded in the books of court. The society has been fortunate in the services of an editor so capable as Mr. Turner, not only to set forth the principle of the legal formalities, but also to make the introduction serve as an opportunity to rediscuss several central questions relative to the evolution of the English manor. If the Nietzschean doctrine of eternal recurrence has any true basis in historical philosophy, we may well suspect its existence in the determined manner in which such subjects as the definition of the bovate, the carucate and the hide persist in returning. Mr. Turner has succeeded Professor Maitland as the chief editor for the Selden Society; Professor Maitland was a thorough-going opponent of Mr. Seebohm's interpretation of the village community as descended from the Roman villa; Mr. Turner's preface expresses the hesitation and regret with which he finds himself unable to follow Maitland and preferring Seebohm on the origins of villainage and the manorial institution. His own observations on the data furnished by the fines are numerous and pointed. 'Yeoman,' he notes, means not a small freeholder but a tenant at will; 'husbandman' was a bondman or copyholder; 'terra' in early fines meant arable land; 'manor,' originally the lord's mansion only, and synonymous with 'hall,' was slow to acquire the general sense of the associated estate, and not till the fifteenth century came to denote seignory. Seebohm's position relative to the manorial system seems to Mr. Turner 'to afford the surest basis of any for the early history of our institutions'—a dictum which sends us back again to the meridian of Hitchin some forty years ago. The ghost of the Roman question defies the exorcist, charm he never so wisely!

Mr. Turner's re-presentment of the case will command respect for its variety of intimate points of novelty in the argument. It modifies somewhat the position of Seebohm, especially as regards the virgate and the hide, endeavouring 'to display the hide as the share of demesne allotted to a single Teutonic settler' who received, he considers, four hides in villainage and one in demesne, the hide being four virgates, measuring in some places 30, in others 24 acres each. Revised definitions of carucate and of boyate or oxgang reject the old opinion that the carucate was what eight oxen could plough, and indicate the boyate as the customary holding of a peasant

who furnished one ox to the common plough, and the carucate as composed of eight such holdings. Besides, it is now maintained that the bovate normally contained, not 15 acres as now accepted in England, but 121 acres or 25 half-acre strips, and the carucate eight times that extent. All this goes towards the contention that the hide derives from the virgate and the carucate from the bovate. Virgate and bovate, representative of two archaic measures, never merged and of unknown origin, were units of the early British system: hide and carucate, superinduced on virgate and boyate, were allotments to Teutonic settlers and held by them as demesnes So Mr. Turner reads the riddle. A curious part of the problem lies in the undoubted local variances in the length of the rod (pertica, roda, rarely virga) in different districts, as a chief element in explaining the divergences in actual size of the holdings. The facts, calculations, and inferences thus marshalled require careful adjustment to reconcile and fit them with the anomalies of land holdings transmitted during four centuries by the medium of fines in the king's court. The entries from 5 Richard I. to 45 Elizabeth number 518, each given in translated abstract, and all fully indexed both for places and persons. Such an editor as Mr. Turner, shirking no labour and facing a palimpsest of custom with manifest fairness, has well earned the right to debate vexed questions anew. We shall watch with interest the fortune of his new and readjusted solutions.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE MAKING OF THE NATIONS: FRANCE. By Cecil Headlam, M.A. Pp. viii, 408. With thirty-two full-page Illustrations, also Maps and Plans in the text. Demy 8vo. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

This second volume of 'The Making of the Nations' series creditably sustains its share in the venture. In days when a specialist calendars one hundred thousand documents to illustrate a single reign, it is a refreshing reversion to older fashions to turn to a book which, in four hundred clearly and agreeably written pages, tells the story, from the neolithic period to the peace of 1871, of the nation which for the last two hundred years has played the leading part in European affairs. The author does not profess strictly original investigation. But he states in his preface that he has spared no pains to ensure accuracy of statement and to take into account the results of recent historical research, and no one who reads his book will doubt that statement. He is a skilful and practised narrator. His descriptions are picturesque, his generalisations luminous, and, in the relation of events, he does not fail to supply such philosophic study of the rise and growth of institutions as the space at his command will permit.

He gives interesting sketches of Roman Gaul and of the Frankish invasion, and accounts, condensed but comprehensive, of the English occupation of the western parts and of the vicissitudes of the often-shifted eastern frontier; of the conspicuous rulers—the Merovingian Clovis, the Rois Fainéants, the Mayors of the Palace, Charlemagne, the Capets, the Valois kings, the Bourbons, the great Cardinal ministers, 'the epileptic

megalomaniac' Napoleon, and the obstinate, crafty, impulsive dreamer, his nephew, with whose fall the book closes. The gradual growth of the power of the monarchy, and its conflicts with the feudal aristocracy, the clergy and the bourgeoisie; the perennial struggle with a greedy Church; the long course of misrule leading inevitably to the Revolution; and the transformation of the old feudal estates into the first modern national representative Assembly on the continent of Europe are successfully presented.

The great Wars of Religion of the twelfth-thirteenth and of the sixteenth centuries are described; in the earlier, the secret prosecutions of the criminal law founded, the Albigenses so utterly exterminated that even what their heresy was can only be known from the evidence of their persecutors, the troubadours banished, a whole characteristic civilisation wiped out; in the later, the flower of 'the most intelligent, moral and energetic of France's

citizens' driven to other lands.

To political students the book will be of value for the light it throws on many problems pressing for solution. It shows, for example, the failure of the famous 'Right to Work' scheme of 1848. It exhibits the economic ruin of the Revolution, the waste of the Napoleonic wars, and the financial penalty of the Débacle of '71, retrieved by the immense resources of a people of small landholders. It makes abundantly clear the deep disaster which has followed the ever specious conjunction of moral and material power in the same hands.

The illustrations are excellent and the maps and plans useful.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

FORNVÄNNEN. MEDDELANDEN FRÅN K. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADAMIEN. Under redaktion af Emil Ekhoff. Stockholm. 1911.

This is a collection of archæological communications from the Royal Academy of Science, History and Antiquity in Sweden for the year 1911. These communications comprise a variety of studies in Swedish antiquities and art, among which may be noticed one on the connection between Sweden and the East in the Viking age, illustrated with numerous examples of personal ornaments, weapons, and objects of art and industry, which found their way to Sweden from as far as Asia Minor and Persia, partly through warlike expeditions and partly through intercourse of trade between Scandinavia and eastern nationalities.

Another article is on the paintings in the ancient wooden church of Björsäter, which dates from about 1401, an instructive account of ecclesiastical art, some of which is believed to be of very early date. Runic inscriptions also come in for notice, as also do grave structures and primitive rock-carvings in Gotland, besides other scarcely less important articles.

The whole form another instance of the energy with which their native antiquities are exploited and recorded by Swedish antiquaries.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

Antiquarian Notes: A Series of Papers regarding Families and Places in the Highlands, by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond, F.S.A. Scot. Second edition, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and an Appendix on the Church in Inverness, by Kenneth Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot., Town Clerk of Inverness. Pp. xxxi, 462, with Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1913. 21s.

THIS is a reprint of a well-known book by the late Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, a man of mark in his day. The author was so eager to accumulate and communicate material that apparently he was unable to present it in a convenient form. Many of the documents printed were supplied by Captain Dunbar Dunbar, who was at the same time publishing his Social Life in Former Days. Its plan is much better, and makes a more attractive and useful work. The editor of Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh's book has endeavoured to improve it by the addition of fresh notes, but it still remains to a considerable extent a mass of undigested information. The question of burgh organization is an important one, and arises in several of the papers, but it is not brought to a definite point. The 'Connection of distant ages by the lives of individuals' is a valuable contribution to an interesting subject. 'The Church in Inverness' is also an excellent article, and has been supplemented by the editor in an admirable chapter in Appendix IX. It is to be regretted, however, that so good and conscientious a piece of work should be printed in small type, without break of any kind, without head notes, side notes, or any other clue to its contents. There might at least have been a summary of it in the bulky index, but there it is not noticed. Nos. 67-70, 'Ancient names and places in and about Inverness,' are good in their way, but are too much of the nature of jottings. No. 71, 'Game Preservation in the North,' just touches upon what might have been a most interesting inquiry, the condition of ground and winged game in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and then branches off into the consideration of the exhaustion of grazings in the Highlands, doubtless an important matter, but out of place in a volume of Antiquarian Notes.

The subject of the book is genealogy rather than history or antiquities, and from this point of view it brings together a large amount of miscellaneous information regarding a crowd of people, most of whom, however,

are only of local importance.

A pleasant memoir of the author is prefixed, and only does justice to his activity and his strenuous efforts for the good of the Highlands. One is, however, suprised to learn that he, a patriotic Scot, applied for a royal licence to assume the surname Mackintosh. As a lawyer he must have known that he was entitled to change his name if and when he chose to do so, and that such a licence to a Scotsman is merely waste paper.

DAVID MURRAY.

England under the Old Religion, and other Essays. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., Abbot-President of the English Benedictines. Crown 8vo. Pp. viii, 358. London: G. Bell & Sons.

A COLLECTION of formal lectures and essays by Dr. Gasquet, the learned abbot-president of the English Benedictines, is always welcome, though one may not look at the subjects treated by him exactly from the same viewpoint. This volume comprises a miscellaneous assortment of studies, from a weighty discussion on the condition of 'England under the Old Religion' to a trivial but piquant satire on the slipshod methods of modern 'Editing and Reviewing.' Some of the essays, like that on 'The Question of Anglican Ordinations,' are highly controversial: indeed most of them betray an ecclesiastical bias unsuitable for discussion here. Scottish readers, however, will turn with sympathy to a brief but interesting historical survey of 'Scotland in Penal Days,' the reprint of an address given at Fort Augustus in 1911 on the occasion of the Bishop Hay centenary celebrations. In our view one of the most valuable and instructive essays in the volume is the chapter on 'France and the Vatican,' a lecture delivered in America and afterwards in Liverpool.

JAMES WILSON.

THE POLITICAL PROPHECY IN ENGLAND. By Rupert Taylor. Pp. xx. 165. [London: H. Frowde for] The Columbia University Press. 1911. 5s. 6d. net.

WHILE it may be true that no study of political prophecy as a literary form has preceded this volume 'approved by the Department of English in Columbia University as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication,' the subject has a bibliography profounder even than Dr. Taylor has discovered. The modest excuses he offers, in the scattered nature of the material and the difficulty of the theme, command acceptance at once, and

the essay will pro tanto fill a gap.

Exposition starts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and chief illustrations, as well as chief services to study, come from the examination of twelfth to fifteenth century literature of this designedly mysterious class. Professor Alois Brandl of Berlin often comes into the line of critical fire in respect of his readings of certain alliterative prophecies in particular, and his interpretation of the prophetic type in general. But there is reason to believe that Professor Brandl's later studies of medieval political prediction led him far further into the manuscript recesses of the subject than Dr. Taylor's researches have yet taken him. The German was chiefly searching for explanations of particular prophecies: the American is tracing the type and its successes and failures in political purpose. Dr. Taylor has read widely in this peculiar literature, and if he has seldom discovered interpretations for himself, and has sometimes missed the studies of others in quest of interpretation, he has laid down a good general plan of the course of development, and traced the dominant 'Galfridian' type with its animal symbolism not only in Britain but also in its successful invasion of the Continent. The result is a sort of bibliographic survey, which, although not exhaustive, and

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therefore not definitive in particular sections, must considerably help the investigator of any of the national sub-cycles dealt with. He omits the vow-cycle, which properly has a place in the theme. A good many bibliographic shortcomings occur, and the apparatus of elucidation for individual

predictions is defective also.

The oddity of exposition of prophecy lies in the fact that the historical part, not the prophetic, is the part which counts, and it is by the historical elucidation alone, that is by the unprophetic past, that criticism of the prophetical is clarified. Dr. Taylor has few or no original interpretations to offer. He is not fully master of the subject of the Ampulla prophecies: he has missed the corrected historical interpretation of the Becket prophecy (Antiquary, February, 1905), and has not suspected the motive offered to 'prophecy' by the diplomatic negotiations for the release of King John of France and David II. of Scotland. In discussing the earlier Davy's Dreams he has failed to note the fact, central to the discussion, that Edward III. was actually elected Emperor in 1348, but declined the perilous glory of the imperial throne.

Considerable hesitation must be felt about his statement that the British use of animal symbolism in prophecy is unique (p. 5). As a phase of the bestiaries and the beast-epic is it not common to Christendom? In dealing with the Merlin prophetic pieces he does not gather up the historical allusions, and certainly brings nothing material to explain Geoffrey beyond what Sebastian Evans advanced. Generally he is rather a confused contributor to the discussion, although he puts a great deal of excellent but

unindexed material into the field.

No adequate notice is taken of various indications that the war of Scottish independence was influenced by flying predictions. William Bannister's prophecies escape mention. Wolfius in his extraordinary Lectiones Memorabiles illustrates along the whole line the prevalence of prophecy in relation to the history of the Church. As regards the bestiary type of prophecy reference might with profit be made to an important passage in Scalacronica (ed. Bannatyne Club, p. 317). And there are predictions in the Reliquiae Antiquae which would have helped out the bibliography. Much stress, however, should never be laid on the shortcomings of an inevitably imperfect list of consulted sources: the work done is faithful and of great service, and Dr. Taylor has excellently opened up the study of a complex and hardly fathomable theme.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Edited by P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D., Historiographer Royal. Third series. Vol. V. A.D. 1676-1678. Pp. xlii, 799. 8vo. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. 1912. 15s. net.

A MORE complete picture of tyranny than this volume presents it would be hard to find. It shows, compared with the preceding volume (noticed S.H.R. ix. 415), systematic general and growing severity of government action to compel conformity. So many are the ordinances of repression that the ordinary life and business of the community (usually the fullest and most interesting part of a Privy Council volume) are a reduced fraction.

Lauderdale is busy with the putting down of conventicles and of recusancy by the exaction of obligations by the people to abstain from preachings, obligations by heritors to exact sub-bonds from their tenantry, proclamations breathing forth threatenings and slaughter against the opposers and the dilatory, injunctions upon sheriffs to enforce the acts in the teeth of notorious public rejection of them, and, finally, elaborate preparations and directions for the Highland host quartered upon the bond-refusing West, especially

Ayrshire.

Nowhere in history (outside of the Netherlands under Alva) is there to be had so crass an example of an attempt to cram down the throat of a reluctant country an unpalatable system of worship. Nowhere can be seen evidence of failure more complete. Professor Hume Brown's preface, shorter than usual, expresses its substance in the statement: 'Of the entries in the present volume of the Register fully three-fourths refer to the measures taken by the Council to suppress religious discontent.' Fifeshire stood next to Ayr in the persistency of its defiance. East Lothian followed hard, and Glasgow was in evil grace with the Council for the 'great multitudes' who profaned the Sabbath day by going to conventicles and deserting 'the publick worship within the city.' Glasgow appears in several special connections, including a fine on the magistrates for the escape of prisoners, a scheme for a stage coach service to Edinburgh, the dispute between the printers Anderson and Saunders, and principally, the great 'casuall fyre' in 1677, 'whereby the best richest and greatest pairt of the toune is now turned to ashes,' to the complete ruin of between 600 and 700 families. In 1678 the town council gave its bond for the good behaviour of its Provand tenants, and in respect thereof 'beat a bank' through the town for

the whole burgesship to sign a bond of relief.

Miscellaneous public events include the retirement of Nisbet of Dirlton from the office of lord advocate and the succession of McKenzie—of sinister epithet—to the position, involving the unpopular function of public prosecutor. A few witchcraft cases emerge. Gipsies and vagabonds are transported to the American plantations; charter chests are searched; letters of fire and sword are issued against Farquharsons and others. Algerian pirates capture the 'Issobell' of Montrose. A post service to Ireland (2s. Scots per letter for 40 miles, 4s. for 80 miles or upwards) is ordained to be established. The servile state of coalhewers and salters causes complications (or, is it, offers pretexts?) about the lawburrows bond for them. The laird of Skelmorlie has as heirlooms 'antick arms,' including 'ane old fashoned Hieland durk' excepted from a disarming order (p. 546). Supplies to the Highland host embrace a stock of 'sixtie timber dishes sixtie timber cuppes fourty timber stoupes' (p. 555). A Covenanter's declaration at the scaffold (p. 608) addressed to 'Good people and spectators' is a dignified utterance, not even now to be read without emotion. Lauderdale's day of reckoning was not to be long deferred; his apologists have now a better chance to understand his policy than they ever had before. Professor Hume Brown's exposition of it is a model of restraint, but the citations themselves speak. Miscellaneous original papers, forming an appendix, contain material more racily phrased than the more formal minutes, but the picturesque capacities of the vernacular are sometimes carried into even the latter. An alleged witch indignantly declares that lying accusers 'may and ordinarlie doe blunder the best of God's servants' (p. 232). A euphemism worth remembering is that the design of the host (p. 272) was 'falne upon for preventing any supprysall that might happen.'

For his well-indexed text the editor has had the valued aid of the Rev. Henry Paton, and text and introduction alike reflect the scrupulous care

and thoroughness of the historiographer royal.

THE STORY OF THE FORTH. By H. M. Cadell of Grange, D.L., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., M.Inst.M.E. Pp. xvii, 299. With 75 Illustrations and 8 Maps. 4to. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1913. 16s. net.

THE earlier portion of this handsome and well-illustrated book deals chiefly with matters of importance to geologists and mineralogists, although it is interesting from the point of view of the history of the making of Scotland; and in this connection we would draw special attention to the account of the old boring operations in the vicinity of the Forth. The second portion of the volume is of vital historical interest. It is largely occupied with the narrative of the iron industry and the growth of the Carron Company, which was formed in 1759 by Dr. Roebuck, Samuel Garbett and William Cadell, to make iron in Scotland. One of the partners, Sir Charles Gascoigne, after encountering various difficulties in connection with the Company, eventually received an offer from the Empress Catherine II. of Russia to cast her ordnance, and he left Scotland for Russia with some of the firm's workmen. Although he had not been fortunate in Scotland, he became famous in Russia.

Interesting accounts are given of the early iron works and the oil industry, the reclamation of the Forth valley, and the clearing of Blair Drummond Moss, which was begun by Lord Kames in 1766. While these subjects are treated in the light of their past history, Mr. Cadell's volume is also full of suggestions as to future revival and expansion. The author's close intimacy with the neighbourhood and its industries, and his practical knowledge of geological science, entitle his views to very careful consideration. We welcome this valuable contribution to the history and geography of Scotland.

STOLEN WATERS: A PAGE IN THE CONQUEST OF ULSTER. By T. M. Healy, M.P. Pp. x, 492. With Map. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

This 'Page in the Conquest of Ulster' (which makes a volume of almost five hundred closely printed pages) deals wholly with the right to the rich fishings of the river Bann, which drains Loch Neagh. It was part of the bait held out by James I. to the citizens of London to induce them to 'plant' Ulster; but they never got it, despite the most solemn engagement, being robbed of it by the astuteness of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, in the possession of whose representatives the greater portion still remains. The author recounts how this embezzlement from



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the Crown took place mainly by 'Letters Patent, framed in Dublin, sealed by the Deputy in his own favour, with the connivance of his Law Officers,' the King being ignorant. Strafford made the Chichesters surrender the Bann, but they again secured it on his fall; they lost it in Cromwell's time, but in Charles II.'s reign regained it by trickery, and this was upheld by a divided House of Lords as late as 1911. The intrigues of past times, which are full of incident and romance, written in such a way, make it a book to read carefully, especially if one wants to understand the difficulties of Irish history.

TRECENTALE BODLEIANUM. A Memorial Volume for the three hundredth anniversary of the public funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley, March 29, 1613. Pp. ix, 175. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 5s. net. Our Scotichronicon concludes with the riming distich:

Non Scotus est, Christe, Cui liber non placet iste.

Similarly, he can be no book-lover whom this memorial of Bodley does not charm. It reprints beautifully and in old-style type and arrangement the autobiographic sketch written A.D. 1609, various documents regarding the library, two contemporary funeral orations, and a fine letter of criticism and friendship by Bodley to Sir Francis Bacon, A.D. 1608. An appendix reproduces the Form of Commemoration Service used at the tercentenary celebrations.

A Scottish contemporary wrote of Bodley's noble service to literature, 'Nec tacebit Posteritas.' This delightful little book itself proves the truth of the prophecy.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1910. Pp. 725. 8vo. Washington, 1912.

COMMENCING with a Report of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association this portly volume reproduces many of the valuable studies then submitted, several of which have subsequently appeared in the American Historical Review. About one half of the contents consists of these historical essays, the other half deals with material, partly on the teaching of history, but chiefly concerning State archives and archive systems, concluding with Miss Grace Griffin's elaborate bibliography (230 pp.) of writings on American history during 1910, and a double columned 65 page The second half reports the discussions of various conferences of archivists, at one of which (p. 248) a careful plan was suggested for restoration and treatment of damaged and defective manuscripts. In the historical half there are five contributions on European subjects. Mr. Laurence M. Larson writes on the efforts of Danish kings to secure the English crown after Harthacnut's death. Professor Baldwin examines the records of the English privy seal and briefly traces the various uses to which that seal was applied. Mr. Chalfant Robinson's paper on the Royal Purveyance and Speculum Regis describes Archbishop Islip's remonstrances with Edward III., especially as regards the grievance occasioned by wholesale seizures made for the king's larder and barns. Professor Catterall on Anglo-Dutch relations, 1654-1660, charts the diplomatic zig-zag course of negotiations in

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which the primary Dutch object was to get the English Navigation Act revoked and the secondary object a restriction of search of Dutch vessels and of the interpretation of contraband. Mr. Roland G. Usher's critical notes on the works of S. R. Gardiner maintain that extensive and vital divergences of standpoint in Gardiner's writings at different times make the value of his opinions a difficult calculation.

The whole volume displays the catholicity of historical study in America, the systematic research it fosters, and the promise of enduring achievement sometimes (as we have repeatedly noted in these columns) already brilliantly

accomplished.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN ITS ECONOMIC ASPECT. Vol. I. Louis Blanc's Organisation du Travail. Vol. II. Émile Thomas's Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux. With an Introduction, Critical and Historical. By J. A. R. Marriott. Vol. I. pp. xcix, 284; Vol. II. pp. 395. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 5s. net each.

The aims of the revolution of 1789 were political rather than economic, the abolition of privilege not of property, but the demand of the Parisian workmen for the State organisation of industry was a great factor in the movement which drove out the bourgeois monarchy in 1848. The chief prophet of this wave of economic unrest was Louis Blanc, whose Organisation du Travail was published in 1839. This has more affinity with modern socialism than with the schemes of earlier French socialistic writers, and it has much in common with theories of co-operative production and

of syndicalism.

Louis Blanc looked on the results of the industrial revolution both in England and in France and found them evil. He denounced competition and laissez faire, declared that France had adopted England's principles and that the inevitable result was war between them. The only remedy was the establishment of factories by the State with borrowed money. Part of the profits was to be employed in extending the business, and part was to be distributed amongst the workers. These State-aided workshops would gradually extinguish private enterprise, and so all industry would be Stateorganised. But Blanc's cry of the right to work had more influence with the people, and this was guaranteed to all citizens, as a result of their clamour, in 1848. The establishment of national workshops was decreed at the same time. Their management was not entrusted to Louis Blanc, who indeed disclaimed all connection with those which were set up, but he was made president of a commission installed at the Luxemburg to examine into the condition of the working classes. He succeeded in starting, though not with State capital, several societies for co-operative production much on the lines of those described in his Organisation du Travail, and these had

Émile Thomas came forward to extract the Government from the difficulties caused by the promise of national workshops, and the *Ateliers Nationaux* gives his account of his labours. He succeeded in substituting for a dangerous mass of idle men a highly organised body, but hardly any

Marriott: The French Revolution of 1848 427

work was forthcoming, and the men remained for the greater part unemployed. There was apparently some idea that this organisation should be used to counteract the socialistic influence of Blanc's party at the Luxemburg. But by the end of May 120,000 men were enrolled, and the Government saw that it was necessary to deal decisively with this question. Emile Thomas was removed, and the efforts to reduce the number of workmen led to the members of the ateliers joining the more socialistic members of the Luxemburg and to the insurrection in Paris of June 23rd to 26th. The Commission appointed to inquire into its causes found that 'a most poisonous influence' was exercised by the speeches and principles of Louis Blanc. These two books therefore are most interesting as showing the influences which led to the revolution of 1848 and the difficulties which followed the decree of the right to work.

Mr. Marriott's introduction, which not only gives a sketch of the lives of the authors and an account of the end of the experiment of the Ateliers Nationaux, but also briefly summarises the political and constitutional history which led up to the 1848 revolution and the ideas of earlier French

socialistic writers, adds very greatly to the value of the reprint.

Henry VIII. By A. F. Pollard, M.A. Pp. xii, 470. Crown 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1913. 4s. 6d. net.

IT is a pleasure to read a life of Henry VIII. like this. In spite of his undoubted popularity, Henry remains a most unlovable figure, and Mr. Pollard has done his best for his unsympathetic hero. He points out his curious (and dubious) title to the throne, which caused him (sooner or later) to put an end to all accessible competitors. He does justice to the way he always allowed Parliament to have free speech, and yet to do what he wanted. He tries to believe that the great question of the Divorce and the quarrel with the Pope had other and prior causes than the love of Anne Boleyn. He deals as gently as he can with the curious 'conscience' of the King and the matrimonial webs (twice ended by the sword and twice by dissolution) it led him into. We cannot say he has quite made us see eye to eye with him, but his book has given pleasure. One mistake must be corrected. On p. 187 he says of Anne Bullen that her mother 'was of noble blood, being daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Ormonde.' This was her grandmother. Anne's mother was Lady Elizabeth Howard, sister of the Duke of Norfolk, who helped to condemn her to death on the scaffold.

THE MATTER OF WALES. Preliminary Volume. 'Cymru as the native name for Wales.' By Arthur Owen Vaughan. Pp. viii, 192. 8vo. Cardiff: The Educational Publishing Co. Ltd. 1913.

This rather confusing book (which reads something like a Saga) is written to prove that the old name for Wales was Britain, not Cymru, and that the last is used for the first-known time by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century. The author builds up his theory with great care and genealogical research, showing that Powys was overrun by Saxons, and only recovered in 890 by the help of 'The Men of the North.' These, he holds, came

mainly from Cumbria, which was not (as Skene thought) politically identical with Strathclyde. Then he tells us fighting with the Saxons and Normans welded the Welsh together, till they called their country Cymru of their own initiative. It is a book of very considerable ingenuity, but is a little difficult to understand.

Arbella Stuart. A Biography. By B. C. Hardy. Pp. xiii, 340. With eight Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: Constable & Co. Ltd. 1913. 12s. 6d. net.

This is an excellent study of the life of one who was the victim of being too near the Throne. Lady Arbella Stuart, the niece of Henry Lord Darnley (not Henry Darnley, as the author calls him), the cousin of Mary Stuart, and the possible heir (as English-born) of her kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth, had too many great relations to make marriage an easy business. Kindly treated in the main by Elizabeth, she remained (partly perhaps by choice) unwed at her death. At first made much of by James I., she thought it safe to marry, and at the age of thirty-five got betrothed to her kinsman, William Seymour, aged twenty-five. Unluckily he too was one of the next kinsmen to the King, and the usual sickening story of imprisonment, escape, and further imprisonment began, and continued till she died, separated from her husband, in the Tower, 25th September, 1615. The biography is well written, and there is some new light on Lady Arbella's complicated relations with the Cavendish and Shrewsbury families, and a pathetic picture is made of a lonely life very near to the Tudor and Stuart roses.

Prince Charlie's Pilot: A Record of Loyalty and Devotion. By Evan Macleod Barron. Pp. 205. With Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons. 1913. 5s.

This interesting 'record of loyalty and devotion,' which first appeared in the Inverness Courier, is a well-written account of Donald Macleod of Gualtergill, who acted as the pilot of the Prince's band during the wanderings among the Western Islands. He joined the Prince just before Culloden, and his son Murdoch (of whose later career we would fain know more) ran away from school at Inverness to be present at the battle. The wonderful wanderings of the Prince's band (chiefly taken from the 'Lyon in mourning') are well told, and the author rightly lays some stress on the fact that the Prince was not succoured by Jacobites alone. We think he perhaps exaggerates the Hanoverian 'brutalities' a little, but he has made a very readable account of the life story of one whom the Jacobites dubbed the faithful Palinurus.'

TWELVE SCOTS TRIALS. By William Roughead, Writer to the Signet. Pp. 302. With thirteen Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Wm. Green & Sons. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

If all trials were written with the clear accuracy, the interest, and the humour that Mr. Roughead has managed to put into this book, one would be tempted to read little else than criminal trials. Those he has included have all elements of horror and most of them tragedy. He begins with

'The Parson of Spott,' who, red-handed from hanging his wife, preached a moving sermon. The baiting of the murderess, Lady Warriston, by the ministers, throws a curious light on the days of James VI. Major Weir the warlock's trial follows, and then the ordeal of Philip Stanfield, which deals with the bleeding of the corpse at the murderer's touch. Among those which are included we may mention the well-known trial of Katherine Nairne (the editor wants more information still about her fate), the less familiar Keiths of Northfield, and the 'wife of Denside.' The two last, the Dunecht mystery, and (specially well told) the Goatfell murder, belong to our own time.

GELDWERT IN DER GESCHICHTE: EIN METHODOLOGISCHER VERSUCH. Von Andreas Walther. Pp. 52. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. Mk. 1.20.

This is primarily a criticism of current methods of estimating money values in earlier times, showing their failure to combine the data necessary for a correct calculation. The author's own solution is a difficult but not wholly unattainable counsel to interpret medieval values by a co-ordination of elements based on comparative social conditions, and local prices, rents, and wages, as well as on numismatics and metrology. There is no royal road to the formula.

THE DEATHS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND. By James Rae. Pp. viii, 152. Crown 8vo. London: Sherratt & Hughes. 1913. 4s. 6d. net.

VIEWED from the medical side, the sad stories of the deaths of kings acquire an exceptional interest. But Dr. Rae's authorities are inadequate and sometimes uncritically selected, without sufficient regard to the dates of the chronicles cited. For instance, Baker's Chronicle (seventeenth century) is cited alongside of Gervase of Canterbury and William of Newburgh (twelfth century) for the illness of King Stephen in 1154. For Henry II. the first author cited is Higden (fourteenth century); the second is 'Matthew of Westminster' (there was no such person): for Henry III. Walsingham (fifteenth century) is cited in spite of his obvious blunder in date. For Edward I. Walsingham (fifteenth century) is misquoted. For Henry V. better authorities are cited, but Fordun was dead nearly forty years before Henry: the Scotichronicon is mistranslated, for the 'immunity' of St. Fiacre was the privilege of sanctuary. Dr. Rae's task was interesting, and would have been work worth doing well.

John Penry, the so-called Martyr of Congregationalism, as Revealed in the Original Record of his Trial and in Documents related thereto. By Champlin Burrage. Pp. 43. 8vo. Oxford University Press. London: Henry Frowde. 1913. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS edits for the first time the indictment and sentence on Penry for treasonable defamation of Queen Elizabeth in 1593, devised and written at Edinburgh. In defending himself Penry wrote that he had taken particular

note of opinion in Scotland. 'For the gentlemen,' he says, 'ministers and people of Scotland who are not acquainted with the state of this land [England] think by reason of the prelacy heere maynteyned the yoke whereof they felt overgreevous within these few yeeres by reason of the multitude of dumb ministers that are tollerated and dayly made in this land, and because they heare that preachers are suspended, silenced, emprisoned, deprived, etc. they have thought (I say) and have spoken yt unto me that little or no truth is permitted to bee taught in England. . . . Wherunto I answered that the gospell is in my conscience as much beholding unto hir majestie as unto all the princes in Europe besides.' This answer, however, came too late, and in spite of it Penry, a Welshman (whom the Anglo-Scottish historian Johnstone, no doubt with an eye to his race as well as his individual character, calls 'Camber vir natura vehementior'), was hanged for his freedom in ecclesiastical criticism. Mr. Burrage by his introduction and notes throws the clearest light on this important and painful judgment.

Les Corsaires Dunkerquois et Jean Bart. I. Des Origines à 1662. Par Henri Malo. Paris: Mercure de France. Pp. 461. 3.50 fr.

Our annals so often tell of the plague the Dunkirkers were to our shipping that this capable study is specially welcome. A 'reptile' pamphleteer of Richelieu's was very near the mark when he styled Dunkirk the Algiers of the North. M. Malo gives a solid yet lively narrative of the piratical system and exploits of these Ishmaelites of the sea and 'gueux de mer,' bringing down the narrative in volume one to the period of Louis XIV.'s acquisition of the port and his announcement that its piracies had ceased. A second volume, in which the daring Jean Bart will have his place on the deck, may be expected to show what kind of 'cessation' this was.

ATHENAE CANTABRIGIENSES. By C. H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper. Vol. III. 1609-1611. Pp. 163. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes. 1913. This supplement embodies additions and corrections by Henry Bradshaw and others; completed by Mr. G. J. Gray, who has also furnished an index to the whole work. Of the seventy-eight minor celebrities of Cambridge dealt with at large, some were Scots and some had adventures in Scotland; e.g. William Bowes, ambassador, 1597-99, associated with one of those kidnapping episodes so curiously distinctive of Scottish history. There is a great deal of subordinate biography of value beyond college bounds. All who are interested in the history of Cambridge owe much to the enterprise of Mr. Bowes, and this volume adds to their indebtedness.

In his outline History of Europe (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1913; pp. xvi, 674; 7s. 6d. net), Professor A. J. Grant of Leeds University has succeeded admirably in producing a concise, accurate and interesting introduction to European history considered as one whole. Discarding the attempt to pack his pages with as many facts as they could hold, he has shown a fine sense of proportion in selecting and arranging crucial events and tendencies. His unobtrusive little book is remarkably free from serious errors (the date of the Bull clericis laicos appears, however, on p. 313 as 1299). Its crowning merit is that it succeeds in the difficult task of preserving the sense of

unity; so that European development, from the days of ancient Greece to the present century, appears as one connected tale. It is a book fitted to attract students to a more detailed study of history, in marked contrast to many manuals that repel youthful enthusiasm by learning that outweighs judgment.

Essentials in Early European History, by Samuel Burnett Howe (Longmans, 1913, pp. xvi, 417, 7s. 6d. net.), is an American manual and picture-book of history, and will serve the purposes of secondary schools reasonably well by its rapid survey of Europe from the days of Greece and Rome down to the age of Louis XIV. Each chapter has an appendix of historical works (not the original authorities) recommended for further study, pleasantly interesting to British readers from the prominence of American books on the lists. The work is a creditable general sketch and the illustrations are very numerous.

The Romance of British History, by Josiah Turner (Methuen & Co., pp. vii, 150, 1s. 6d.), is a respectable sketch of events from the arrival of the Romans till the present time. Why people call such summaries 'romance' is a mystery.

In the Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, Statesman and Mystic, 1632-1662 (pp. xxi, 405, with fifteen Illustrations, demy 8vo. London: St. Catherine Press. 1913. 10s. net), Dr. Willcock continues his Charles II. monographs, abandoning Scotland for England in this book. It is a good (though rather heavy) life of the 'statesman and mystic' who was so wrongly treated by Charles II. Unfortunately, in the author's eyes, the cavaliers could never do right. He is correct, however, in pointing out that Vane was greatly in advance of his age, and perhaps this put him on a different pinnacle from his enemies.

The Ancient History of the near East from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis (pp. xxiii, 602, with 33 plates and 14 maps, demy 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 1913. 15s. net) is a learned book by Mr. H. R. Hall, dealing with the histories of the older civilizations of Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, the Sumerians, the Hittites, Assyria and Israel. It covers a vast tract of time, and is a work where too great scholarship is condensed into too small a space. The account of the settlement of the Jews in Palestine is exceedingly interesting.

The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, has issued *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, edited by Edward Channing and Archibald Cary Coolidge (pp. xxiii, 306, demy 8vo. 1912. 8s. 6d. net). This is mainly the correspondence of Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, with his cousin-in-law, Lord Barrington, 1759-1774. It is the more interesting as it is mostly family letters which trace his doings as governor, which did not altogether gain him much credit or success.

The Growth of Modern Britain, by B. H. Sutton (London: Methuen & Co., pp. ix, 198, 2s.), though a trifle homiletic in style, is a brisk illustrated

narrative of British progress from the days when the locomotive was a miracle till the time when the aeroplane has almost reached the common-place level.

Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., have added to their English History Source Books (cr. 8vo, 1s. net each) the following: The Angevins and the Charter, 1154-1216, editor, S. M. Toyne. War and Misrule, 1307-1399, editor, A. Audrey Locke. The Reformation and the Renaissance, 1485-1547, editor, F. W. Bewsher. Peace and Reform, 1815-1837, editor, A. C. W. Edwards. Imperialism and Mr. Gladstone, 1876-1887, editor, R. H. Gretton. They maintain a high standard of apt selection. Mr. Toyne should, however, have known that 'Geoffrey de Vinsauf' is no longer regarded as author of the Itinerarium of Richard I.

Mary Queen of Scots and the Prince Her Son, edited and published by Robt. M'Clure, Glasgow. 4to. Pp. 12. Is. net. This is a transcript from a contemporary Venetian MS. in the editor's possession—a 'Relatio brevis de statu serenissime Mariæ Reginæ Scotiæ,' dated 1578, of the well-known type of such ambassadorial 'Relazioni.' Despite several corrupt renderings, the text, naturally hostile to the 'sectaries' who had subverted the Faith, gives an interesting view of events in Scotland from 1542 until 1578.

To the Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England with the North of Europe, edited by Professor Firth, Mr. J. F. Chance contributes a List of English Diplomatic Representatives and Agents in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, and of those Countries in England, 1689-1762 (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1913. Pp. 52. 2s. 6d. net). It is a laborious compilation of particulars of diplomatic missions, of the ambassadors sent from and received in Great Britain, and of the general sources where the acts and correspondence are to be found. Though small in bulk, the pamphlet is invaluable as an aid to the political study and historical chronology of the period.

Messrs. D. Wyllie & Son, Aberdeen, have reprinted from the Annual Burns' Chronicle of 1913, a little essay, chiefly bibliographical, John Burness ('Thrummy Cap') (pp. 7), vernacular author, 1771-1826.

Aberdeen University Library Bulletin, No. 6, April 1913, will be specially valued by students and lovers of Aberdeen for its skilfully selected Concise Bibliography of the History of the City and its Institutions, drawn up by Mr. J. F. Kellas Johnstone. An appendix to the article consists of a dozen historical subjects suggested for future work. First and chief of them is a collaborative and illustrated collection of the Historic Annals of the City. Other themes prepared include work on the dialect, on Quakerism, on the clipper-ship and on journalism.

We have received a reprint from the Numismatic Chronicle of Dr. George Macdonald's article, Two Hoards of Edward Pennies recently found in Scotland (pp. 62, with three plates of coins). The hoards consisted (1) of 2067 pieces found in 1911 at Blackhills, Parton, Kirkcudbright, deposited probably circa 1320 A.D.; and (2) of 896 pieces found also in 1911, at Mellen-

dean, near Kelso, deposited probably circa 1296 A.D. The opportunity has enabled Dr. Macdonald to establish fresh grounds for chronological classification of the coins of Edward I. and II. Generally his results confirm the classification in Fox's Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I., II., and III., but as that work was not yet available, when the first hoard was under examination, the independence of the investigations offers additional guarantees for the accuracy of the joint conclusions. Forty-eight of the coins, photo-typed with great success, illustrate the astonishing uniformity of the pennies of the first two Edwards, a similarity which made classification a task of extraordinary nicety.

Among the Scottish coins, which were all single long-cross pennies (chiefly of Alexander III.) there were five varieties of John Balliol's pennies, one of Robert the Bruce's, and—a special curiosity—'the thin skin of the reverse of what had evidently been a plated coin of Alexander III.'

Such work as this shows how well bestowed was the Numismatic Society's medal, conferred recently upon Dr. Macdonald.

Bulletins of the Departments of History, etc., in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, have reached us. No. 6 (Jan., 1913), by Mr. W. B. Munro, decides strongly for the negative on the question 'Should Canadian Cities Adopt Commission Government?' This sort of elective dictatorship, resorted to in some towns of the United States as a substitute for normal municipal rule, has found foothold in rare instances in Canada, and Mr. Munro finds good reason to condemn the institution. No. 7 (April, 1913), by Mr. D. A. M'Arthur, on 'An Early Canadian Impeachment,' deals with a remarkable but abortive experiment in accusation directed against Chief-Justice Sewell in 1814 for attempting 'to introduce an arbitrary tyrannical Government' in Canada.

The Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for the year 1912 (Vol. lviii. Pp. xi, 134, 206, 85, with several Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Taunton: Barnicott & Pierce. 1913. 10s. 6d.) include Mr. Bligh Bond's fifth report on the discoveries made during the excavations at Glastonbury Abbey (in this case at the western end of the church), and a paper by Mr. Hamilton Hall, entitled 'A Third John de Courcy.' Mr. Hall seeks to justify the statement of a late annotator in a MS. of Robert of Gloucester, now in the College of Arms, that king John was the father of John of Courcy, lord of Ulster. Although, as he points out, this particular John of Courcy was born some years before the future king, he argues that the story points to a truth. The argument is based upon the slenderest foundation, and seems to us worthless. There is no other evidence that such a John of Courcy ever existed. Mr. Hall suggests that the probability of his story is confirmed by an entry in the Close Rolls (Rotuli Litt. Claus, i. 285 b) by which the king on 2nd Sept., 1216, gave the manor of Down Ampney in Gloucestershire to Alice of Courcy, wife of the well-known Warin Fitzgerold, for her maintenance. Now, between 28th May, when Warin attests a royal charter (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 222), and 12th July, when John ordered his castle of Stoke Courcy to be destroyed (Rotuli Litt. Patent. p. 190 b), Warin Fitzgerold had deserted his master and lost his lands. His wife was a lady of noble birth and a great heiress; her daughter was married to John's favourite, Falkes de Breauté; obviously she had to be provided for. The king, when he was in her neighbourhood, made a very modest provision for her by granting a manor which had belonged to John of Préaux. Such acts of mercy, though Mr. Hall seems to find them hard to explain, were by no means uncommon even in John's reign. After all, the king had seized lands belonging to Warin in more than a dozen counties (Rot. Claus. i. 295). Was a grave charge against the honour of a lady ever brought with less reason? But we confess that we have discussed the paper rather with the purpose of calling attention to a method of argument which is but too common, than with the chivalrous desire to exculpate Alice of Courcy.

Mr. George Neilson has pointed out that the phrase, 'that me seide,' in the College of Arms MS., which puzzles Mr. Hall (p. 22), is almost

certainly meant for 'that me (i.e. men) seide.'

We have received the Presidential Address by the Right Hon. James Bryce with the 'remarks' by Dr. A. W. Ward, the acting President, at the opening of the International Congress of Historical Studies, London, 1913. The address and not less the 'remarks' struck a magnificent note of welcome and prelude to their doubly historical occasion.

Remember the Days of Old (pp. 8. 6d. net) is a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey to the recent Historical Congress by the Dean, Dr. H. E. Ryle. It is an eloquent discourse for the occasion, well punctuated by references to the Abbey itself, as an illustrious historical epitome, with its 'tombs of warlike Plantagenets, wilful Tudors, vacillating Stuarts, prosaic Hanoverians.'

To the British Academy proceedings Mr. Sidney Low contributes an essay, The Organization of Imperial Studies in London (London: Frowde, is. net), which is a trenchant plea for an Imperial School of Colonial Studies.

From the Academy's Proceedings we also have Prolegomena to the Study of the Later Irish Bards, 1200-1500, by Mr. E. C. Quiggin (London: Humphrey Milford. Pp. 55. 3s. 6d. net). It is an important original contribution to the history and criticism of the bards, and in particular it illustrates the influence exerted on Irish literature by the prevalence of poetical panegyrics of families or chiefs. Many curious quotations are given from bardic authors, whose very names are known only to specialists. An interesting point is the proof that 'exempla,' legends of saints, and even the Gesta Romanorum were sources of matter used, either for independent subjects or in combination, by old Irish poets.

The Historical Association of Scotland opens up a promising course of aids to study in the Concise Bibliography of the History of the City of Aberdeen and its Institutions (pp. 40), which Mr. J. F. Kelley Johnstone has drawn up and which forms Pamphlet No. 3 of the Association's issues to its members.

In the Carnegie Trust Report for 1911-12, Professor Hume Brown gives an informing summary of historical studies, published and prospective, under the Trust's auspices. Mr. Meikle's book on Scotland and the French Revolution stands to the credit of completed work, while Mr. A. O. Anderson's Scottish Annals, from Early Scottish, Manx, Irish, Scandinavian, and Welsh Sources, promised for next year, bids fair to be a valuable companion to his volume of translated passages from English chronicles.

The Fourth Interim Report of the Excavations at Maumbury Rings, Dorchester, 1912, by Mr. H. St. George Gray (Dorchester: Dorset County Chronicle, 1913, pp. 28, 1s.), reports upon these archaeologically remunerative cuttings, describes their special features and figures, many of the finds (including a grave hewn in the chalk), shafts mined (possibly for flints) to a depth of nearly thirty feet, many antler picks, a piece of very early pottery, an uninscribed British coin, etc. A phallic carving in the chalk was found fifteen feet down. The patient labour of digging and classifying brings gradually nearer the hope of a complete account of the Rings or Amphitheatre.

Viking Society publications attest the vitality of its members. The Year Book, Vol. IV., 1911-12, pp. 113, is a compact record of versatile activities: it contains notes, reports, and reviews, and is an attractive northern miscellany of specialised research. Caithness and Sutherland Records and the Old Lore Miscellany are efficiently continued. In the latter (January-April) Mr. A. Francis Steuart is editing the correspondence of Charles Stewart, an Orcadian, who became Receiver-General of Customs in British North America, and died at Edinburgh in 1797. In the April issue there is given a view of Kirkwall in 1766, with ships in the harbour and harvesting operations in the foreground. The Rev. D. Beaton begins a revised and critical account of the early Christian monuments of Caithness.

In The English Historical Review (April) Mr. H. Jenkinson and Miss M. T. Stead edit a roll of debts owing to a certain William Cade early in the reign of Henry II. The document is interpreted as a record of the first English financier on record. His transactions included at least one bad debt in Scotland:

Alanus filius Walteri vii libras per plegium Thomæ de Lundoniæ. in scocia. mihil.

The authors' suggestion that this indicates the flight of a 'criminal' to Scotland seems rather offhand and egregious if, as may possibly be presumed, the debtor was Alan, son of the Steward of Scotland. This is one point suggesting doubt about the proposed date of 1166 for the rolls. One entry refers to a last of wool from 'Berewic in lodeneis,' a useful mention of Lothian under a much discussed form. Dr. W. H. Stevenson returns to a field of ancient battle in his article on 'Senlac and the Malfossé,' which, with weighty documents to vouch, establishes 'Sandlake' as a division of the little town of Battle. Other papers deal with Irish Cistercian documents, the accounts of a papal collector in England in 1304, and the records of Justices of Peace from 1364 until 1391.

Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal (Jan.), besides notes on churches, brasses, etc., has a good obituary notice of James Parker, 1833-1912, an industrious architectural, liturgical, and geological antiquary, son of John Henry Parker, yet more famous as an authority on Gothic architecture.

Epitaphs and brasses of sixteenth and seventeenth century Ayshcombes and Wellesbornes are well described and illustrated in the Journal for

April. Field names are discussed in a well documented article.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (Dec. 1912, April 1913) continue printing the tenures of Sherborne, anno 1377, which are full of information on agricultural services, such as that of one tenant grepiare circa boveria, another includere porcheria, another colligere prayes, another invenire unum hominem ad mollonem feni. One document printed is concerning a charge of atheism made in 1594 against Sir Walter Raleigh over a conversation about the immortality of the soul.

In The Juridical Review (April) some unfairnesses of Lord Lovat's trial are exposed; a reasonable argument is submitted that Gibson of Durie was only once kidnapped (i.e. in 1601, when he was not a Judge but only a Clerk of Session); and a coronation point is advanced, contradicting Dr. Round, that the service of carrying the great gold spurs descended through Marshal blood, not through the office of Marshal. The ceremonial of the spurs was one of the analogues of the coronation with the creation of a knight.

In the American Historical Review (Jan.), Mr. Laprade analyses the politics of Pitt, 1784-88, in the Westminster elections. Mr. N. W. Stephenson groups fresh facts on General Lee's countenance to the project of arming the slaves in the final stages of the Confederate secession. The April number, besides an eloquent disquisition on 'History as Literature,' by Mr. Roosevelt, offers several valuable studies; Mr. Thompson suggesting new lines of medieval investigation; Mr. H. Vignaud ridiculing the claim that Columbus was a Spanish Jew; Mr. C. F. Adams redescribing the famous sea-fight of the Constitution and the Guerrière in 1812; and Mr. W. E. Dodd opening fresh subjects of American history, 1815-60, specially inclusive of sectarian influences.

The Maryland Historical Magazine (March) edits an instalment of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher's letters from Carolina to a friend of his at home in Cumberland. In one of them, dated 1769, occurs a pleasingly candid criticism of national character. It is about a certain 'raw Scotchman,' of whom Boucher writes: 'He seem'd modest which is so rare a Virtue in people of his Country that I was pleas'd with ye Man.'

The Iowa Journal (January) prints the graphic and stirring report and journal of Captain James Allen's dragoon expedition or reconnaissance into Indian territory, setting out from Fort Des Moines in August, 1844. Touches of Indian lore include the 'custom of giving away horses on a ceremony of smoking.'

The Caledonian (New York, April, 1913, The Thirteenth Anniversary Number, illustrated, pp. 48) shows how the heather flourishes when transplanted.

Educational Review (New York) for April, has an éloge—rather disfigured by the obtrusion of modern politics—of Alexander Hamilton.

In the Revue Historique (Mars-Avril), a study of the life of Erasmus to 1517, by A. Renaudet, contributes not only to biography but to criticism. In the Mai-Juin issue M. Ed. Rott reveals intrigues of Richelieu for a projected annexation of Geneva in 1632, which he himself disapproved after it had failed. M. Homo commences a study of the reign of the Emperor Gallienus—an epoch of crisis and disaster.

The interaction between events and historiography is interestingly indicated by the foundation in 1912 of what we may call a Balkan Bulletin. It is the Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine (Bucarest: Charles Göbl, 1 fr.), and the contents of the first three numbers display the acuteness and width of the political, folklore, ecclesiastical, and literary interest which it represents. Contributions are admissible in Latin, French, German, Italian, and English.

Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest (troisème série, tome II., Avril 1911-Juin 1912, Poitiers: J. Lévrier, 1911, 1912), describe the prisons of Poitiers under the Terror, deal with early printing by the Bouchet family from 1491 onward to the middle of the sixteenth century, and present an inventory of objects acquired by the Society for the local museums. A very important article by M. Levillian is a well-illustrated and complete account and discussion of the 'Memoria' of Abbot Mellebaudus, dating perhaps circa 727 A.D., and consisting of an extraordinary crypt with sculptures and inscriptions to commemorate saints and martyrs, 'Acnanus, Lauritus, Varigatus, Helarius, Martinius,' and others whose bones the abbot piously gathered in his 'spelunca,' 'hypogee-martyrium,' or 'Chiron-martir.' The sculptured panels of saints and angels resemble the figures of saints graven on the coffin of St. Cuthbert. A portrait of Camille de la Croix and several eloges pronounced after his death are fitting tribute to the antiquary-priest in whose extensive bibliography of discoveries and dissertations the work he did on the 'Memoria' occupies an honourable place.

Notes and Comments

SIR R. MORAY AND THE 'LIVES OF THE HAMILTONS.' In Nov., 1669, Burnet began work as Divinity Professor at Glasgow,¹ and during the next eighteen months he was a frequent visitor at the home of the Duke of Hamilton.² He undertook to examine the documents relating to the careers of the father and uncle of the Duchess,³ and the result was the Lives of the Hamiltons. When Lauderdale heard that the work was completed, he requested the author to repair to London, which Burnet did in the year 1671.⁴ Lauderdale 'was sure he could give it a finishing.'⁵ 'All the additions he gave to my work was with relation to those passages in which he had a share. I took them all readily from him, but could not bring myself to comply with his brutal imperious humours.' 6

At the same time, Sir Robert Moray, who was no longer friendly with Lauderdale, saw Burnet's original MS. At first Burnet wrote this work historically and only drew the most material heads and passages out of the papers that lay before him: but that noble and judicious gentleman, Sir R. Moray, to whose memory I owe the most grateful acknowledgments that can be paid by a person infinitely obliged to him, and that did highly value his extraordinary parts and rare virtues, gave me such reasons to change the whole work, and to insert most of the papers at full length, that pre-

vailed on me to do it.'8

Hereupon Burnet returned to Scotland, but two years later, 'in the year 1673, I went up again to print the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.'9 According to Mr. Dewar, he carried with him to Court a second MS. which contained the improvements that Moray had recommended. 'It is this MS. part of which is preserved to-day.' 10

The work, however, was not published until 1678, and before its publication it underwent still further changes at the suggestion of Charles II.,

¹ G. Burnet, History of My Own Time, Foxcroft's Supplement, p. 477.

² Ibid. p. 479. ³ Ibid. p. 479. ⁴ Ibid. p. 479.

⁵G. Burnet, History of My Own Time, vol. i. p. 533.

⁶ Ibid., Foxcroft's Supplement, p. 479.

⁷ G. Burnet, History of My Own Time, vol. i. p. 533.

⁸ Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons, Preface, p. xviii.

⁹ Burnet's Own Time, vol. ii. p. 24; Supplement, p. 482.

Sc. Hist. Review, iv. p. 384 et seq. Article by Mr. R. Dewar.
 T. Clark and H. Foxcroft, Life of Burnet, Introd. by C. H. Firth, p. xiv.

and of 'persons of honour and worth.' There were both deletions and additions, and, in its final form, the book passed over in silence much that would have been incompatible with its purpose. That purpose was to

eulogise Charles I. and, as far as possible, Hamilton.1

'At my coming to Court' (in 1673), says Burnet, 'Duke Lauderdale took me into his closet, and asked me the state of Scotland.' Now, when Burnet was examined before the Commons in 1675, he identified the day of this interview as the first Saturday of September. Obviously, Lauderdale was anxious to hear about the condition of Scotland, and therefore Burnet would be summoned to his presence shortly after his arrival in town. It may be assumed, therefore, that he reached London late in August or early in September. Moray had died on the 4th of July, and indeed the tone of Burnet's remarks on his position at London seems to imply that Sir Robert had disappeared from the scene.

Nevertheless, the same writer, in his preface to the Lives of the Hamiltons, published five years later, makes a statement which is very difficult to reconcile with the fact of Moray's death early in July, 1673. After explaining that at Sir Robert's suggestion he had inserted the documents in full, he continues: 'and when it was written over again, as I now offer it to the world, he was so much pleased with it that, though I know the setting down his words would add a great value to it among all that knew him, yet they are so high in the commendation of it, that I cannot but conceal them.' In the History of My Own Time, however, Burnet was less modest. 'I will take the boldness to set down the character which Sir Robert Moray, who had a great share in the affairs of that time, and knew the whole secret of them, gave, after he read it in MS., that he did not think there was a truer history writ since the Apostles' days.' 7

Now, it was possible, though very unlikely, that Burnet in 1675 had forgotten the exact date of his first interview with Lauderdale in 1673, and he may have arrived in London before Sir Robert's death. But it is impossible to suppose that Moray ever saw the version which in 1678 Burnet offered to the world. It has been pointed out that the second MS. which he brought with him from Scotland in 1673 underwent very important changes. Some considerable time would elapse before these changes were made. Moreover, precisely because it is so improbable that Sir Robert and Burnet met in the summer of 1673, it can scarcely be held that Moray's eulogy was passed on the second version of the Lives. Nor does Burnet give us the least reason to suppose that a copy of the work was

¹ Sc. Hist. Review, iv. p. 384 et seq.

⁴Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson, i. No. 43, p. 85, 4th July, 1673; No. 46, p. 92, 7th July, 1673. Evelyn's Diary, v. ii. pp. 292-3, date July 6th, 1673.

⁵ G. Burnet, Own Time, v. ii. pp. 24-26.

⁶ Burnet, Lives of the Hamiltons, Preface, p. xviii.

⁷ Burnet, Own Time, i. p. 41.

sent to Sir Robert before the author himself repaired to London, and that

he obtained from Moray his opinion of it in writing.

On the other hand, it is hard to believe that Burnet deliberately put into Sir Robert's mouth words which he had never uttered. It is difficult to suppose that the writer of the glowing tribute to Moray which occurs in

the preface of the Lives could be guilty of such baseness.

It would be a much less serious offence to assert that Sir Robert had said about the final version what he really had affirmed about the first. As a matter of fact, after reading the 1671 MS., Moray suggested that the narrative should give place largely to the documents on which it was based. The truth of the work in the two cases would not differ greatly in amount; the change of method would only make the truth of it more apparent and incontestable. Therefore, Moray's words of praise may have applied to the version of 1671, or he may in 1671 have said that, with the improvement which he had suggested, it would be deserving of such a commendation. In any case, the words were more applicable to the early versions than to the latest one.

It is evident from the preceding remarks that Sir Robert had nothing to do with the deletions and additions which the second MS. underwent, and which lessened the value of the book. Indeed, it was he who suggested that insertion of documents in extenso, which, according to Mr. Dewar, gives the Lives their chief value.¹

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

¹ Sc. Hist. Review, iv. pp. 384 et seq. Cf. also C. H. Firth, Introd. to Clarke and Foxcroft, Life of Burnet. It is obvious, however, that had Burnet published the 1671 MS. its value would eventually have been found to be considerable; i.e. when it came to be compared with those MS. sources upon which it was based. As to the insertion of documents, John Cockburn, in his Specimen of some Free and Impartial Remarks (London, 1735), pp. 45 et seq., points out that those were not included which would have shown Hamilton in an unpleasant light.

IN BYWAYS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. (S.H.R. x. 316.) Mr. Barbé has written to us disclaiming direct and large indebtedness to Dr. Neilson's Caudatus Anglicus. The disclaimer, however, which our critic willingly accepts, does not clearly explain why Mr. Barbé refrained from naming Dr. Neilson's Essay, which he knew had, in 1896, covered the vital facts, discussed the whole problem, and reached substantially the same conclusions as those now advanced (certainly with valuable supplementary data) by himself.

Mr. Barbé also resents the objection taken to his allusion to the fact of publication of Randolph's *Fantasie*, on the ground that his article is a

reprint; but his footnote on page 103 is not a reprint.

We regret that we have not space to print Mr. Barbé's long letter, which would involve a reply from our reviewer. We place on record, however, that in Mr. Barbé's opinion some of the statements in the review of his work are inaccurate and not fair to him.