

## Reviews of Books

GENESIS OF LANCASTER; OR, THE THREE REIGNS OF EDWARD II., EDWARD III., AND RICHARD II., 1307-1399. By Sir James H. Ramsay of Bamff, LL.D., Litt.D. 2 Vols. Vol. I. Pp. xxix, 495. Vol. II. Pp. xiv, 446. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 30s. net.

WITH the issue of these two volumes Sir James Ramsay reaches the end of an undertaking upon which he has been deservedly congratulated and of which he is entitled to be proud. In the preface to this last instalment of his history the author says that his work 'may lay claim to the advantage of being the product of one single pen, on a consistent and uniform plan throughout, without incongruity of theories, or overlapping of matter,' and that it is 'based throughout on a personal study of the original authorities.' Any reader who has been accustomed to deal directly, even on a small scale, with original authorities must protest that Sir James Ramsay's estimate of his own achievement betrays the modesty of a scholar, and will admire the extraordinary industry which lies behind the finished product of his pen. To learn that it has been his 'standing occupation since the outbreak of the Franco-German war' will hardly surprise the serious student; nor will the initiated readily listen to any apology for 'tardy output.' The predominant feeling will be one of admiration for the patience and perseverance which have enabled one man to digest so much material in so comparatively short a time, and to maintain his thoroughness of treatment to the end. It is a peculiarly happy circumstance that Sir James Ramsay can look back upon the conclusion of a labour which, in prospect, most men might have despaired of living to complete, and may be assured that he has laid succeeding students under that debt of gratitude which is always owing to independent and masterful work.

Turning to the two volumes at present under consideration, we find that Sir James Ramsay has every justification when he draws attention to his special researches in military affairs and domestic finance. In the latter department the historical economist will appreciate most keenly the value of the information accumulated in the text and in the elaborate tables appended at appropriate points. This department of the work, if one may judge from some incidental references to Scottish financial matters, both discovers and conceals painstaking care. Thus even a brief note to Vol. I. p. 293, on reference to the source, shows that the author, when comparing the receipts of the Chamberlain of Scotland in two separate periods, has taken the trouble to select and sum the figures which bear most strictly upon his argument. But it is in the field of war that Sir James Ramsay

gains his chief successes as a historian. He has visited, he tells us, the scenes of all the more important engagements. Had he not informed us, his battle pictures themselves would have betrayed him. The description of the battle of Poitiers—a name, by the way, which the reviewer has not found in the index—is given with remarkable verve and force, and as a piece of writing is one of the best among many good battle stories in the book. The Scot will naturally turn to see what is made of Bannockburn. He will find an independent study of a conflict regarding which the last word has by no means been said; and, if he is a close student of the battle, he will find himself compelled to reckon with our author's conception.

Sir James Ramsay's work is difficult to describe as a whole. To speak of it as a chronicle of chronicles would be to ignore the presence of many elements, critical and reflective, which are commonly supposed to be alien to that style. The wealth of detail, while invaluable for reference, puts a considerable tax upon the concentration of the reader. The number of persons who are introduced by name might conceivably leave the artist of the Thucydidean school bewildered, if not dazed. One is led to sympathise with the feelings of the distinguished guest to whom people he has never heard of, and does not wish to hear of again, are laboriously presented. Our pleasure, for example, in meeting Robert, Lord Bouchier, is impaired by the fact that he is dying of the plague, and that the historical significance of this remarkable man was to be one of the few persons of rank known to have been cut off by the malady. It is extremely doubtful if close adherence to an annalistic method—though Sir James Ramsay manages his materials with exceptional skill—is quite compatible with that mode of representation which is expected of a modern historian. The baldest narrative of events does not always submit gracefully to be confined within an annalistic scheme. The explanation of events, however, always demands retrospect and prospect. The historian sees the occasion in the light of the ultimate issue; and annalistic treatment makes it hard for him to introduce his estimates of significance with effect. Sir James Ramsay does not shun comment and criticism; but his comments, however justifiable, have the guise of *obiter dicta*. Thus he repeatedly condemns the Franco-Scottish Alliance—rightly or wrongly—without giving us a full and considered explanation of his view. The narrative, it should be admitted at once, is marvellously clear, rarely slipshod in expression, and the evident product of industrious art; but the scheme of representation forbids that accumulation of facts along various lines of development which leaves the reader with a conception of fundamental causes and their bearing upon the conduct of individuals. If this is a criticism which some will pass upon Sir James Ramsay's work, he would be justified in replying, apart altogether from discussions on the manner of historical representation, that his method has enabled him to collect a wealth of material for other students.

Sir James Ramsay is not of those who suffer fools gladly, and his criticisms are occasionally almost conversational in their vivacity. Thus in 1324 Edward II. 'in his feeble way, potted away during the autumn with his preparations': next year we find that he 'did not care a button

for Isabelle': in the face of disloyalty 'the obstinate booby was wedded to his dull headstrong way': Edward III. was 'a big, dull, unmannerly oaf, a spoilt grown-up child, of low tastes, without dignity or sense of duty, short-sighted, but obstinate and vindictive.' A fine contempt breathes in the warning announcement (Vol. I. p. 244): 'The systematic manner in which all fortifications had been destroyed by the Scots should be noted by archæologists and persons ascribing to Scottish castles dates anterior to these wars.'

The list of authorities prefixed to Vol. I. is somewhat disquieting. It certainly does not exhaust the tale of books and papers referred to by the author in his notes; and as a guide to the student it would be inadequate. Scotland comes so often into the picture that certain omissions will at once strike the Scottish reader. If Nicolas' *Chronology of History* is an authority, why not Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*? It is conceivable that the histories of Lang and Hume Brown do not appeal to Sir James Ramsay—they are certainly built upon a very different plan—but they surely deserve to be named along with Tytler and Hill Burton; and the list of authorities in question might profitably have been compared with Hume Brown's bibliography. When Wilkins' *Concilia* appears, Robertson's *Concilia Scotiæ* merits a place; and it is somewhat disturbing to look in vain for Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta* and the *Calendar of Papal Registers*. The truth may be that the heroic task which Sir James Ramsay set himself is beyond the powers of any single human being. There have been men in the sphere of government who have distrusted their subordinates, and who have come to grief in a vain attempt to cope with an impossible mass of affairs. Under modern conditions a like danger besets the general historian, and, unfortunately, just in proportion to his desire to deal with authorities at first hand. The store of accepted fact grows slowly: there are many labourers, and yet too few: the work of years in a special department may often be summed up in a single paragraph: portions of the labour are imperfectly executed or undone. If Sir James Ramsay does not completely satisfy—and he aimed at producing a *general* as distinguished from a *constitutional* history—it is mainly because he has, in his effort to master the detail of events, contributed generously to our knowledge of certain special aspects of his theme, and left a mass of information available to all sorts and conditions of inquirers.

R. K. HANNAY.

REGESTA REGUM ANGLONORMANNORUM, 1066-1154. Vol. I.—REGESTA WILLELMI CONQUESTORIS ET WILLELMI RUFII, 1066-1100. Edited, with Introductions, Notes and Indexes, by H. W. C. Davis, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, with the assistance of R. J. Whitwell, B.Litt. Pp. xliii, 159. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 15s. net.

THIS completion by an eminent charter scholar of a digest of the charters relating to England granted by William the Conqueror and William Rufus between 1066 and 1100 discloses to the historian and archæologist material of great value.

Though many of these documents were published long ago, they have hitherto been comparatively inaccessible, scattered in cartularies and in the transactions of societies in France and England.

Here we have an abstract of every known charter and deed, with notes on their authenticity and with full references (involving infinite labour) to the archives in which are preserved the originals or the earliest copies, and Mr. Davis adds in an appendix the text of ninety-two charters printed in full and edited by him for the first time.

The work was eminently worth doing and has been eminently well done, and still I confess the result is somewhat disappointing.

The majority of the charters are not interesting, many are renewals and confirmations of older grants, which on the payment of fees chancellors and kings' chaplains issued as a matter of course.

But still to those skilled in early charters, foreign and English, there is nearly as much pleasure to infer from omissions changes in law and custom as to find direct statements whether confirmatory or opposed to those in older deeds. Much can be learned from this collection of the charters from 1066-1100, the names of the witnesses are essential to the genealogist, the names of the manors and churches to the philologist and to local historians. Every charter is interesting in some way or other; but a collection is for a few; the general reader with no special knowledge will not find much which he can remember.

As Dr. Maitland (*Doomsday Book and Beyond*, p. 227) said 'the early charters . . . are with hardly any exceptions, ecclesiastical title deeds. Most of them are deeds whereby lands were conveyed to the churches, some are deeds whereby lands were conveyed to men who re-conveyed them to the churches.'

The Conqueror granted a great part of England in Earldoms and Manors to his relations and the great Norman magnates who accompanied him and assisted him in the Conquest, but no charter conferring land on Earls or great land owners were granted, none at least have been preserved.

Mr. Davis (Intro. p. xii) says 'we do not possess the archives of any old English family, and ecclesiastical houses only preserved those writs and charters which related to their own estates.'

The earliest lay charters are those to Geoffrey de Mandeville, about the year 1140. Mr. Round says (p. 41) King Stephen's charter to de Mandeville 'is the oldest extant charter of creation known to English antiquaries.'

Unfortunately the custodians and transcribers of Church charters were often accomplished forgers, they substituted deeds of their own composition for originals which had either been accidentally lost or which were destroyed because they omitted privileges or contained restrictions which the abbey claimed or objected to.

Mr. Davis's collection is full of deeds which he is obliged to reject as spurious. The earliest deed (No. 5) to St. Paul's, London, which purports to have been granted on Christmas, 1066, the day on which King William was crowned, is marked 'spurious.' Another (No. 8), the earliest to Peterborough, Mr. Davis says 'though irregular in form (perhaps translated) may be accepted as correct in substance.'

The monks of Westminster were especially unscrupulous. It is said of No. 144 that it is 'a typical Westminster forgery.' Mr. Davis remarks that 'the Westminster forgers usually worked with some knowledge of historical fact; they are not in the habit of introducing imaginary personages in their witness lists.'

The charters of Battle Abbey are a series of spurious deeds. The earliest (No. 62), which professes to be a solemn record of the foundation of the abbey by the Conqueror in commemoration of his victory, a charter which bears the 'signa' of the King and of many of his magnates, which still has a part of the strip of parchment to which the seal might have been attached, of which there is an old copy in the Record Office, and which is enrolled in the Charter Roll of Edward II., is condemned by Mr. Round and by Mr. Davis as spurious 'by the test of style.'

Perhaps the most genuine charters in this collection are the deeds and notifications in the English language. They are terse and short, usually without a list of witnesses. The best known and the most notable is that short writ to London (No. 15) addressed to the Bishop and to Gosfrith, the port-reeve, and to all the burghers, French and English. (I take the translation in Stubbs' Select Charter in preference to Mr. Davis' abstract.) 'And I do you to wit that I will that ye two be worthy of all the laws which ye were worthy of in King Edward's day. And I will that every child be his father's heir after his father's day. And I will not that any men offer any wrong to you. God keep you.'

In one of the charters to a foreign monastery (No. 73) there is an interesting notice of trial by combat. It is said that in a dispute between the Abbey of St. Wandrille and William, Count of Evreux, 'the parties being unable to agree were on the point of settling the dispute by trial of battle. But the Duke stepped in to prevent an ecclesiastical cause from being settled by the shedding of human blood.'

The records of the same Abbey of St. Wandrille contain a curious illustration of the share of the Church in applying the ordeal of hot iron.

The Abbot stated that his house had from of old the right of ordeal, but a monk had blundered and in his ignorance converted the ordeal iron (*ferrum iudicii*) of the monastery to other uses. The Abbot asked the Archbishop to consecrate another iron. The Archbishop, doubting whether the monastery was entitled to possess an ordeal iron, refused the request. The matter long remained in dispute until it was brought before the King. Then the Abbot proved that his house had from of old the right of the ordeal in poor churches.

In notification (No. 251), marked 'spurious,' the King granted to Westminster, *inter alia*, a 'church in which the examination of the judgment of fire and water was held by ancient custom, and another church in which the examination of the ordeal takes place.'

The charters to the Bishop and Priory of Durham are most interesting to a Scottish antiquary, but, alas! many are noted by Mr. Davis as 'spurious.' Of No. 148 he says 'the witnesses alone are sufficient to prove that this is spurious;' several of them were dead by the time that Bishop

William received the See. Nos. 174, 195, 196, 197, 205, 281, 286, 363 are all condemned.

Mr. Davis does not, I think, throw any new light on the confirmation (in duplicate) by King William II. of the grants by Edgar, King of Scotland (Nos. 3644 and 3645), which it is equally difficult to accept as genuine or to reject as a forgery.

I have not said sufficiently how much I admire the scholarship, the extraordinary labour and discriminating criticism shown on every page of this volume. It is a great addition to the charter history of England.

A. C. LAWRIE.

THE LIFE OF JAMES IV. By I. A. Taylor, with an introduction by Sir George Douglas, Bart. Pp. xviii, 308. With 17 Plates and Map. Demy 8vo. London : Hutchinson & Co. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

MISS TAYLOR has written a pleasant and popular account of the best of the Stewart Kings, and Sir George Douglas has an appreciative and scholarly introduction. If the author has not added much to the sum of our knowledge about the King, it is very much because there was little to add. James remains the same mysterious, puzzling character that he ever was. A typical specimen of a somewhat neurotic family, he showed himself on the one hand possessed of high ideals, lofty aspirations, and a capacity to govern better than any of his ancestors had shown, and a real religious sense; while on the other hand he was visionary, unpractical, very much the slave of his passions, and while the darling of his people the despair of his advisers. Of a charming personality like most of his high race, he had moods at times which testified to a certain want of mental equilibrium. He had a difficult part to play and it was not altogether his fault that circumstances proved too many for him. But there is no doubt that he was an immensely popular king. Miss Taylor has given some instances of this culled from the treasurer's accounts, and, had space permitted her, she might have given many more. The 'poor bairn,' however, who 'took the King by the hand,' did not probably do so in the way of affectionate greeting, but more likely as a sufferer from 'kings' evil,' who desired to test the traditional cure.

The author has read her authorities well and has in consequence compiled an honest and straightforward tale, which will no doubt be widely read and appreciated. It is only occasionally that we find ourselves somewhat in disagreement with the author's statements. But when she says that James III. created his favourite Cochrane Earl of Mar, in his dead brother's place, her accuracy is doubtful. Cochrane was certainly called colloquially Earl of Mar by the historians who have written about him, but no proof of his actual creation as such has ever been adduced. That he had the revenues of the Earldom assigned him is no doubt true. But that even James, in his most infatuated moments, would have dared to dignify him with a title which had so recently been borne by one of the Royal house is not to be believed.

It is a pity that more care has not been taken with the spelling of some of the names. 'Montgrenau' and 'Tarburt' may be mere misprints but

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the same cannot be said for Huntley which is throughout spelt with an *e*. Of course spelling was very much an arbitrary matter long ago, but in the days of James IV. the usual form of the name was Huntlie or Hunte. In later times the form Huntley occasionally occurs, but it would have been better to have adopted the ordinary form of the name. There are seventeen plates of portraits and views and a moderately good index.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Planned by J. B. Bury. Edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney. Vol. II.: The Rise of the Saracens and the Foundation of the Western Empire. Pp. xxiv, 889. With a separate Portfolio of Maps. Med. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1913. 20s. net.

THE second volume of the Cambridge Medieval History comprehends the period between the empire of Justinian and the empire of Charles the Great. As the title indicates, the significance of the period lies in the reorganisation of Western Asia by the Saracens and the transference of European imperial interest from Constantinople to Rome and Aachen. The merits which we noted in the first volume of this history are still more remarkable in the second. There is a good deal more annotation; the bibliographies are very full and bring together a mass of information which is not to be found elsewhere; the sketch maps in the accompanying portfolio are useful. Most of the maps, it is true, are commonplace, but that entitled, 'the Eastern Frontier of the Empire,' fills a gap, while Mr. Corbett's map of England under the Mercian supremacy and Professor Peisker's three maps to illustrate Slavdom, are real contributions to knowledge.

The former volume, dealing as it did with the transition from the ordered empire to a Europe overrun by barbarian societies, was somewhat weak in arrangement and casual in treatment. We noted particularly the absence of any discussion of Keltic civilisation and the disproportionate amount of space given to Teutonic society. The balance is not redressed in this volume by the ten pages which M. Camille Jullian devotes to Keltic heathendom (pp. 460-471). These pages are not even an introduction to anything else, but were included apparently to supplement Sir Edward Anwyl's brief section upon Keltic heathendom in the British Isles. We should have thought that the writings of Maine and Seebohm, the devoted labours of Keltic scholars all over Europe, the chapter on 'Celtic Origins' in Professor Vinogradoff's *Origin of the Manor*, and above all the work of M. Jullian himself would have compelled more exhaustive treatment. Apart from this omission, however, the second volume of the history is remarkably well balanced. It is largely written by leading experts, who have been encouraged to deal with constitutional and social problems no less than with political history. The chapters upon the Slavs and the Saracens will be especially illuminating to teachers and students, the great majority of whom have to take their ideas about Mahomet or the origin of the Russian state at second or third hand. The Papacy comes off worst, mainly because its history is not brought out firmly and clearly in its various aspects, but is scattered about. The reader will not

realise at first that the most suggestive discussion of Papal development will be found, not in Archdeacon Hutton's account of Gregory the Great or in Dr. Foakes-Jackson's chapter at the end of the book, but in Dr. Hartmann's pages upon imperial administration in Italy (pp. 229 seqq.) and in Professor Burr's chapter on the Carolingian revolution (pp. 577 seqq.).

Several of the narrative chapters are very stiff, and will be consulted rather than read. These will none the less be as valuable as any in the book, notably those on the Eastern Empire by Mr. Baynes and Mr. Brooks, and Professor Becker's account of the expansion of the Saracens. Of the other narrative chapters the most noteworthy are Professor Hartmann's on the Lombards, Dr. Rafael Altamira's on the Visigoths in Spain, and Professor Burr's, already mentioned, on King Pepin. With a little trouble the reader can put together from these and other chapters a good comparative account of the social arrangements and administration of the Franks, Goths, Lombards, and English. The career and empire of Charles the Great are described by the well-known German scholar, Dr. Gerhard Seeliger, whose chapters are supplemented by Professor Vinogradoff's on the 'Foundations of Society.' Many of us have found the *Origin of the Manor*, with its pages of notes sandwiched into chapters of text, a somewhat tiresome work to read; we may now find much of it summarised in good straightforward prose in this chapter of the Cambridge History. It is to be regretted that neither Dr. Seeliger nor Professor Vinogradoff seems to have brought the bibliography quite up to date. There are several obvious omissions, e.g. M. Paul Allard's *Les Origines du Servage en France* (1912).

The work of three writers calls for special notice. Professor Bevan of Cambridge has written an exceedingly interesting chapter upon Mahomet and Islam. It is critical and occasionally sceptical, yet constructive and illuminating, original, yet intelligible to the uninformed reader. Professor Bevan seems to take up a more independent attitude towards the great researches of Leone Caetani than Dr. Becker does. He naturally lays more stress upon the religious element in Islam, and upon Mahomet's relations with Jewish and the other kindreds in Medina; while Dr. Becker is impressed by the political influences which played upon the successors of the Prophet. Then Professor Peisker's chapter upon the expansion of the Slavs should be noticed; like the work of the same scholar in the first volume, it is full of ingenious, suggestive analyses of geographical influence and anthropological detail, collected from all kinds of authorities. Lastly, a special interest invests Mr. Corbett's treatment of the Mercian Kings in England. The story of Penda and Edwin, of Theobald, Wilfrid, and Offa has often been told, but after reading Mr. Corbett's chapter, one feels that it has never before been intelligible. The writer never loses sight of two facts—first, that the key to the seventh and eighth centuries must be found in the growth and organization of Mercia, in the development of an Anglo-Saxon state from a kind of tribal federation; secondly, that the process was mainly due to the Church. Archbishop Theobald is given his place in the political, as well as the religious history of England.

F. M. POWICKE.





POPE NICHOLAS V.

*From a painting, said to be by Rubens, in the Plantin Museum, Antwerp.*

*See Mediaeval Glasgow, page 211.*

## Huyshe: Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway 211

DERVORGILLA, LADY OF GALLOWAY, AND HER ABBEY OF THE SWEET HEART. By Wentworth Huyshe. Pp. xii, 157. With Illustrations by F. Fissi and the author. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

A NOBLE lady 'plesand off bewté' as foundress, an abbey church of which the ruins merit the same compliment, and a romantic interest continued in the 'pet' name of the latter, make together a subject of unusually attractive character in this department. Mr. Huyshe has used his opportunities to the full, and produced a volume at once readable and informative; though part of the information is a strain upon relevance, and the occasional 'imaginings' and ready rhetoric may for some impair its literary quality. With evidence of so much industry it is, however, astonishing that Mr. Huyshe has failed to hit the foundation charter of the New Abbey, as embodied in a confirmation by King David II. in 1359, made in the Abbey itself, and so accessible in the *Laing Charters*. There we have a list of the persons whose souls were to be prayed for, an account of the lands donated, and the detail that the monks were to have the power of recovering thieves within Dervorgilla's lands. Further, the date of the foundation, as there given, is 1273, and not 1275 as Mr. Huyshe has it (pp. 106, 135). If the emphasis upon 'contemporary authority' on p. 72 indicates scepticism, something should have been said on the matter. This, however, is not likely, as the author has no hesitation about accepting the attribution to Dervorgilla of the Franciscan Friary and the old Bridge at Dumfries without any tangible evidence whatever. There are several other things, too, at which Mr. Huyshe would have done well to hesitate, such as the references to a 'Druidical Grove' and a 'Druidical Circle' on p. 54, and the assumption that in the early fourteenth century 'pounds Scottish' (*sic*) were 'equivalent to English shillings' (p. 77). The allusion to 'John Knox's idea' of banishing the rooks by pulling down their nests (p. 130) is scarcely in place; Knox, as Spottiswoode, who reports the remark, says, was referring 'to the cloisters of monks and friars only.' The beautiful drawings have suffered somewhat in reproduction.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

MEDIAEVAL GLASGOW. By the Rev. James Primrose, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. Pp. xii, 277. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THE unquestioned benefits accruing from the Reformation in Scotland, like those following upon the Revolution in France, were paid for by a painful breach or 'fault' in apparent historical continuity. In France the hiatus was political and to some considerable extent racial. In Scotland it was neither. From the turmoil of the Knoxian period the power of the monarchy and of the nobles emerged not only unimpaired but, if anything, increased. The Reformation was carried out by the same classes, in many instances by the same families and individuals, that had been most active in the concerns of the 'auld religion.' But for this very reason, and in view of the tenets of Calvinistic Presbyterianism, the Scottish Reformation was something more serious than a mere revolution in political and economic

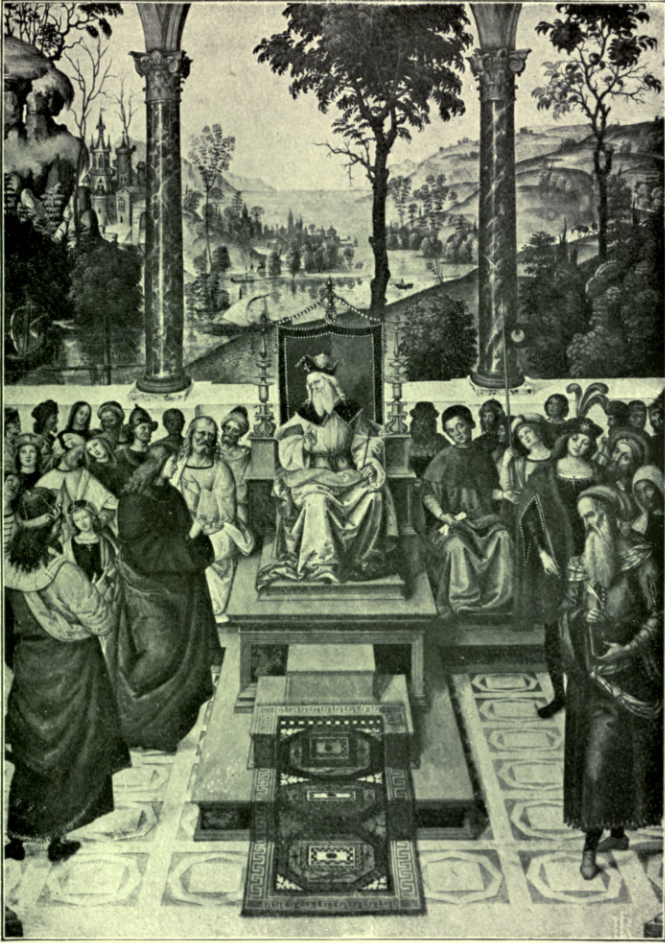
structure. It was moral, intellectual, individual. The Church is the great mainstream of tradition ; family histories are but the easily dried-up rills. The Church emerged almost unscathed from the French Revolution : in breaking with it so decisively at the Reformation, Scotland broke with her former self, with the more civilised half of Europe, and with the aesthetic side of the Renaissance movement, and condemned herself to a wearily long deprivation of most of the amenities of national and private existence.

At last Hume and Robertson threw a bridge over to Europe. Scott strengthened that bridge, and, with Burns, won Scotland representation in the world-council of universal genius ; and he also awoke Scotland to a romantic consciousness of her pre-Reformation self. For the average Presbyterian, however, a dreary sea still flowed between the Scotland of James VI. and the Scotland of James IV. To bridge that sea—to vindicate the essential underlying continuity of Catholic with Protestant history—has been the more or less conscious aim of modern ‘documentary’ historians in Scotland. And the publication of such a book as this, by a clergyman of the United Free Church, might be almost regarded as the running of an excursion train over the bridge in the building of which the author himself has borne no mean part. Its function in this respect is the more notable since it deals with the city in which, despite the preservation of the Cathedral, the breach with the past had been deepest and widest. The Cathedral itself one is too apt to regard as something that merely ‘grew.’ Mr. Primrose makes readably clear what the structure owes to each of its successive guardians.

The key-note of his whole book, indeed, is given out in his adoption of the etymology which affectionately associates the place-name Glasgow with the shrine and fane of St. Mungo. And in the excellent biographies which make up the volume he has lent dignity and unity and a wider significance to Glasgow’s history by emphasising the threefold aspect of its prelates as makers of Glasgow, factors in Scottish history, and links with European Christendom. In 1240 we find Bondington paying off a debt to the merchants of Florence incurred half-a-century before by Jocelyn in the building of the Cathedral. Wishart comes before us as the builder of the nave, the confessor of Bruce, and the prisoner of Edward I. ; Cameron, the ‘Magnificent,’ as a frequent litigant at Rome and a remarkable example of ‘rising from the ranks.’ Through Bishop Turnbull, Glasgow is gloriously linked with the Universal Jubilee proclaimed by the learned ‘ranker’ Pope Nicholas V., whose Bull for the establishment of Glasgow University was an ‘overflowing of Humanistic enthusiasm.’

That Glasgow had little real claim either to a University or to an Archbishopric increases our indebtedness to Turnbull and Blackadder ; for the University and the Archbishopric helped largely to make Glasgow. And to Blackadder Glasgow owes not only her superb crypt, but also her association with William Dunbar, with the English marriage of James IV., with the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and with the romantic tragedy of the Bishop’s mysterious disappearance on his way to Jerusalem. In his study of the first James Beaton, too, Mr. Primrose has not only vindicated the patriotism of that Archbishop, but has reminded us of Glasgow’s curiously

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AENEAS SYLVIUS PRESENTS PETITION TO JAMES I.

*From Pinturicchio's Frescoes at Siena.*

*See Mediaeval Glasgow, page 211.*

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forgotten share in Flodden. And in his review of the troublous times of Archbishops Dunbar and James Beaton II. he has not forgotten to do justice to the spirit of Scottish patriotism that inspired their actions perhaps more clearly than it did those of their opponents.

A sympathetic discrimination, indeed, is what chiefly marks those admirable studies of the ecclesiastical makers of Glasgow; and the threefold aspect in which he presents them covers also, appropriately, his supplementary chapters on St. Roche, the Bishop's Palace, and Glasgow Market Cross. The book is handsomely illustrated with contemporary portraits of contemporary monarchs and prelates and with engravings of the Bishops' seals, and has a good index.

WM. POWER.

**CHURCH AND STATE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.** The Ford Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1905. By A. L. Smith, Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. 245. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. 7s. 6d. net

**THE DOMINICAN ORDER AND CONVOCATION: A Study of the Growth of Representation in the Church during the Thirteenth Century.** By Ernest Barker, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College and formerly Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Pp. 83. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. 3s. net.

THESE two books by distinguished Oxford tutors are worthy of the great traditions of the Clarendon Press. In the Ford Lectures the author has treated his subject with a freshness and independence of judgment which carry away the reader despite any inclination he may have had to take a different view. In his delineation of Church and State in the Middle Ages Mr. Smith has put into practice what Mr. Barker has been preaching in his little monograph on the influence of the Dominicans in shaping the evolution of representative institutions. It may be accepted as an axiom, though it is not always followed, that feudal history should be taken as a whole, and that if we want to arrive at a workable conception of national institutions we must not disregard the concurrent trend of similar institutions in other countries. The studies of the Oxford tutors, each in its own department, are exemplifications of this principle, and may be accepted as models of its successful application.

Mr. Smith has laid students under such obligations by his clear and instructive lectures that it seems ungracious to sound a discordant note. But why do medievalists nearly always select the thirteenth century as characteristic of their period? No doubt the Papacy was then at the summit of its power: in England for half of the century it was supreme. But the upward movement was only temporarily retarded by the captivity of Church and State to the Papacy during the reigns of John and Henry III. It is open to doubt whether our insular position and national character are seen at their best, certainly not in their normal condition throughout the medieval period, when the inhabitants of this island were ground, to use the picturesque words of the chronicler, between the upper and nether millstones of Pope and King. The reign of Henry I. or Edward I. would

appear to illustrate the English attitude to the Papacy as characteristic of the medieval period rather than that of Henry III.

The same author's strictures on Matthew Paris as an exponent of the thirteenth century are always illuminating, but are they altogether just? The chronicler kept before his mind a distinction which is sometimes forgotten about the Pope's position among the nations of Christendom. We cannot recall a single instance where Matthew Paris depreciates the papal supremacy as a spiritual institution, though nearly on all occasions, in season and out of season, he is an unbending Protestant against the Pope's doings as an ecclesiastical ruler. It was the alliance of the Crown of England with the Papacy, or rather perhaps its vassalage, which provoked the anger of the chronicler when he saw multiplying appeals to papal authority contrary to the customs of the kingdom and its written laws. The value of Matthew Paris is that he was a natural production of his time, a mouthpiece or personification of English sentiment in revolt against papal exactions and the national surrender which made them possible.

A new feature in Mr. Barker's study of the rise of representative government is the large place he ascribes to the Dominican Order in fostering the representative idea. There is little doubt that the organisation of the Dominicans contributed a share to the growth of representative institutions, but to give the Order the whole credit or even the chief credit of discovering the principle and of persuading Europe to adopt it seems an attempt to balance the world on too fine a point. Be that as it may the essay is so scholarly and so well documented that no student of institutional origins can afford to neglect it.

JAMES WILSON.

SCOTTISH INFLUENCES IN RUSSIAN HISTORY. From the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century. An Essay. By A. Francis Steuart, Advocate. Pp. xviii, 142. Cr. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1913. 4s. 6d. net.

THE tercentenary of the Romanoff Dynasty, which was celebrated last year, has given Mr. Steuart an opportunity of opening out a new field of research which is capable of extensive development. He has sketched the careers of individual Scotsmen who during two centuries migrated to Russia, and their influence on the land of their adoption. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth English traders found their way to the White Sea, but the Scottish colony began as prisoners of war, and their sufferings were severe until Sir Jerome Horsey procured their employment against the Tsar's principal foe, the Crim Tartar. The English ambassador maintains that 1200 of them, with their 'peece and pistolls,' did better service in these wars than 12,000 Russians with their 'shortte bowe and arrowes.' There is an amusing story of how Ivan the Terrible dealt with certain foreigners who had laughed at him, which proves that, despite his cruelty, he had a vague notion of justice and was gifted with a sense of humour. It must be read in the words of Dr. Collins, the English physician to the Russian Court. The Tsar's method was milder than that of his contemporary, Philip II. of Spain, when the Netherlanders scoffed at his infamous edicts.

The influx of Scottish merchants, soldiers, and settlers into Russia during the

seventeenth century was not so great as in other less distant Baltic countries. The first Romanoff Tsar, Michael Feodorovitch, received an envoy from Charles I., Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, who became Governor of Smolensk and died in Russia; and his successor, Aleksei Michaelovitch, admitted Thomas Dalzell of Binns and William Drummond of Cromlix into his service. They both returned home, having acquired an evil reputation for ferocity, and Dalzell's training in the Russian army against Poles and Turks was doubtless responsible for his brutal treatment of the Covenanters after Rullion Green. The marriage of Aleksei in 1672 to Nathalia Narishkina, niece of a Hamilton, is a most important event, since she became the mother of Peter the Great, and imbued her son with Western ideas. Mr. Steuart supposes, as is quite probable, that these Hamiltons came to Russia *via* Sweden; but we should like more precise information as to what branch they belonged to, as the ramifications of that family in Northern Europe are very perplexing.

Much space is devoted to General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, who, after many wanderings and adventures, found himself in the Tsar's dominions in 1661, where, except for two short visits to England and to his home in Aberdeenshire, he remained until his death in 1699. He made his mark on Russian history in a way that no other Scottish soldier has ever done. As his diary shows, he had an uphill fight at first, disliking the Russian customs, and frequently petitioning in vain for his discharge, and the period of his prosperity belongs to the early years of Peter the Great, who showered honours and rewards on him. His skilful capture of Azov from the Turks and his masterly suppression of the revolt of the Streltsi in the absence of the Tsar fully justified Peter's confidence in him. If he had lived another year, it would have been interesting to see how he acquitted himself against the Swedes at Narva, and it is not unlikely that his energy and resource would have been a match for that of Charles XII.

At Poltava, where nine years later the Swedish king was defeated, about 50 Scottish officers were captured, several of whom regained their liberty. It is believed that the majority of them remained in Russia, and it seems possible to trace what became of them and their descendants, as their names and places of destination are known. Mr. Steuart has not attempted this difficult problem, which may be left to others to solve on the spot.

Counting not only by heads, but according to the value of the service rendered, the families of Gordon, Bruce, Leslie, and Keith seem to head the list. The most celebrated, James Francis Edward Keith, brother of the tenth Earl Marischal, arrived in Warsaw in 1728, when Peter II. was on the throne. He fought in the War of the Polish Succession and against the Turks, but his heart was not in these struggles, and, considering himself badly treated, he offered his sword to Frederick the Great. His meritorious services between 1747 and his death at the battle of Hochkirk belong to Prussian history.

The concluding chapter deals mainly with the Scottish physicians who flourished at the Russian Court. Dr. James Erskine accompanied Peter on his travels, and was created a Councillor of State, while Dr. John

Rogerson, Dr. Matthew Guthrie and Sir James Wylie each became in turn an Imperial Physician in the reigns of Catherine II. and Paul I. The navy supplied two distinguished Admirals, Samuel Carlovitch Greig and John Elphinstone, who organised the fleet for the Empress Catherine.

The author refers to the existing friendship between Russia and Britain, and appeals for a wider investigation of the whole subject, and this suggestion is to be commended. It is not merely a question of historical interest ; it is only when, as individuals, the members of great nations meet and discuss in a friendly way their past and present relations, that they can expect to appreciate and admire their peculiar characteristics and can hope for a sound understanding.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

MIRABEAU. From the French of Louis Barthou, Prime Minister of France. Pp. 352. With eight illustrations. Demy 8vo. London : William Heinemann. 1913. 10s. net.

Mr. HEINEMANN has been fortunate in securing for the first of his series of 'Eminent Figures in French History' the co-operation of M. Barthou, who has qualities of lucid and statesmanlike vision, a lively biographical method, and a very easy and pleasant style, which rises frequently in the latter part of his volume, in spite of the medium of translation, into something very like eloquence.

To a lawyer, a statesman, and an orator, the genius of Mirabeau should be endlessly sympathetic, and M. Barthou makes it evident that his subject is highly congenial. An additional point of contact is the fact that M. Barthou is also a musician, and he has an especial pleasure in emphasizing the peculiar interest Mirabeau had in music ; a fact which has hitherto passed almost unnoticed. We hear details of his study of music in boyhood, and during the time of his exile in Holland, also of a little-known essay of his early days, suggestively called 'Le Lecteur y Mettra le Titre,' containing his ideas on various musical questions. It is interesting to find him expounding, in 1777, the relationship between music and poetry and their interdependence. He has opinions also on melody and the development of harmony, which are not merely sane and musicianly, but bold and original.

On this point M. Barthou claims to have given back to Mirabeau, if one may put it so, a forgotten phase of his versatile genius ; otherwise he does not explicitly state whether he has any definitely new light to offer, but one gathers that his information all through is gleaned from original documentary evidence, and he quotes from unpublished letters. The remarkable series of portraits is a great feature of the book. It is an extraordinary head and face ; full of the fire of a race of fighters, with intellect, pride, kindness, a sardonic humour, and a contempt of obstacles and of 'mean men' oddly mingled in the very set of the head, in the expression of the arched eyebrows and brilliant eyes, the firm thin-lipped mouth depressed at the corners, and the indomitable chin. There is a strange contrast between this portrait (from a pastel by Boze) and the singularly fine death-mask in which the lines are smoothed away and the fierce energy of the indefatigable thinker and strenuous warrior is softened into a benignant repose : the massive strength remains.



M. Barthou has not written, nor intended to write, an absolutely complete biography of Mirabeau, but rather a brilliant exposition of the essential personality of the man and the force of his individuality, with such detail as leads inevitably to their elucidation. Thus there is a somewhat full account of his immediate ancestry, whose qualities and defects appear vividly reproduced in its most famous representative. Heredity counts for much in the volcanic energy that characterises the whole life of Gabriel Honoré Riqueti de Mirabeau: the wit, the charm, the love of adventure, the fierce passions, the eloquence, the high temper, the sensitiveness and impatience of control were all instinct in his race for generations, and culminated in him.

His earlier years are a chronicle of violent quarrels with his father, the old 'Ami des Hommes,' of 'lettres de cachet' and imprisonment, of debt and extravagance, of wild and for the most part fleeting amours, and of unhappy married life. In spite of all this he was vigorously engaged with controversial writings, chiefly on financial subjects—and sojourns in Holland and Germany were preparing him for his later energies. Then came the States-General and the days of his fame.

M. Barthou obviously enjoyed writing the latter half of his book infinitely, and his chapters develop in absorbing interest up to the tragic close. They are occupied with the public activities of Mirabeau, and one might wish, psychologically speaking, for a less complete break between the record of the devastating passions of youth, and the political preoccupations of middle age. Is the picture quite complete without an occasional glimpse of his later private life? However, that can be gained from other sources, and, as has been said, the author, within the limits of one volume, has without doubt extracted for us the essential Mirabeau, and we are well content.

His later days were utterly given to the Revolution, and in his passionate desire for its successful issue he expended all the tremendous forces of his genius, oratory, statesmanship, far-seeing wisdom, moderation, genuine patriotism. In work for his country he wore out his life prematurely, bitterly regretting the earlier years that by their turbulent violence had marred his mature possibilities for national service.

M. Barthou discusses the perennially interesting question of the possible direction of events in France had Mirabeau's life been prolonged. Historians have sometimes surmised that he would have over-ridden circumstances, would have prevented the excesses that were to come, and generally have been able to give a different impulse to the course of the Revolution. Carlyle took this view more or less. M. Barthou suspects that, had Mirabeau been made a member of the Government in 1789, then, indeed, the destinies of France would have been changed: as a responsible Minister he could have done what as a secret adviser to the Court he failed to accomplish. As it was by 1791 it was too late; had he lived another year his connection with the Court would have become public, and even his ascendancy over the people could not have freed him from the accusation of venality and trickery. There would have been a total disbelief in his sincerity. 'His huge voice would have been powerless to rise above the consequent uproar, and his stormy life would have ended as a pitiful and lamentable adventure, in the jealousy of one party, the hatred of the other, and the contempt of all.'

MARY LOVE.

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS IN THE BORDER. By Andrew Lang and John Lang. Pp. xvi, 439. With many Illustrations by Hugh Thomson. Post 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1913. 5s. net.

THE title of this book, *Highways and Byways in the Border*, is misleading, for though the main thoroughfares of the Border Country receive due notice, it takes little account of bridle-roads, drove-roads, or foot-paths. The Border Country is singularly rich in paths of this kind—many of them known only to those who have long frequented the districts where they occur. Such, for example, is the track which leads from Kirknewton in Northumberland, by Hethpool and Elsdonburn, to Kirk Yetholm in Roxburghshire, skilfully availing itself as far as possible of ‘slack’ where crossing hills. This track, according to tradition, was much used in bygone days for purposes of cross-Border smuggling—an industry in which the Yetholm Faas are known to have borne large part. Such, also, is the long-disused pack-horse road—a ‘blind road’ throughout part of its course—which leads from Cocklawfoot into Coquet Water, by way of Uswayford and the Guide Post, the latter now an empty name. Lastly, further south and west, such is the Roman Road, as it survives to-day, at Maken-don, *Ad Fines Campi*. But, of roads approximating to this type, the Messrs. Lang mention only two: the old Pilgrims’ Way near Melrose, called the Girthgate, and the ‘Thieves’ Road’ in Manor Vale. For the road leading into Liddesdale by the Note o’ the Gate, though grass-grown, remains practicable for motor cars. And here, in a word, is the characterisation of the book. It is a book compiled for the use of motorists and those who overestimate the value of their own time. Briefly, there is too much of macadam in these pages. And the Border Country cannot be explored from its highways alone. Towards the end of his task, the author appears to arrive at a like conclusion, for he betakes himself for a page or two to the hillside in Gameshope and the wild moss-hags about Loch Skene. Again, the book is considerably too bookish in character to be an ideal guide to the Borderland. The author—for it appears from the preface that most of the book is the work of Mr. John Lang, written after his brother’s death—writes as one who has had access to a well-chosen collection of Border books, and has made good use of his opportunity. His account of Maitland of Lethington, for example, or his defence of Mary Stuart from the aspersions of Buchanan, could scarcely be improved. And his information is conveyed in a style which is generally easy and seductive, and occasionally full of charm—which makes it difficult, indeed, to distinguish the work of one brother from that of the other. This is high praise. But, to anyone who knows the Borders not from literature only, this book must seem out of touch with the present-day life of the district, racy and characteristic as that life still is. Mr. Lang should have carried his readers, say, to the Upper Kalewater Sports, to the Border Shepherds’ Show, to the September ram-sales, or to one of the local Fasten’s Een football matches, and bidden them watch the sheep-dog trials, or the auctions, or the light-weight wrestling. He would then have had full assurance that both Dandie Dinmont and Cuddie Headrig still walk the earth, and might have observed in what respects they differ from their Cumbrian and Yorkshire fellows.

He might also have run up against descendants of the Black Olivers of Jed Forest, from whom sprang his own Auld Ringan (p. 136), and have gained more real knowledge of the true inwardness of the Borders than can be learnt from a dozen motor-trips or twice as many hours spent in a library. For, from Dinmont and Headrig to Hobby Noble and the Laird's Jock, the step is astonishingly short.

But even allowing Mr. Lang's preference for print over actual life as a source of inspiration, his book is hardly satisfying on its own lines. No longer ago than the year 1900 there passed away, in extreme old age, in Berwickshire, a lady who, in her own way, was as much entitled to rank as a Border worthy as was either the Grisell Baillie who figures in these pages, or the Grisell Cochrane who ought to figure there. Lady John Scott's Songs and Life have now been given to the world; but neither of these, nor of her cult of the past, and many quaint characteristics is there any mention. Her verses on Etrick, on Lammermuir, on the Bounds of Cheviot, breathe the very soul and spirit of Border landscape, and should scarcely have been omitted. But just as Mr. Lang prefers the hard high-road to travel on, so he would seem to prefer the beaten track in literary matters. At least his pages contain little or nothing heretofore *inédit*. Hence, for those who know the Borders, his book is disappointing. But for those who do not it will undoubtedly be serviceable. A few points may, however, be mentioned where the author's information, though generally good, seems to fall short. Why does he fail to notice the gauntlets embroidered with seed-pearls which are preserved at Cavers House, and are in all probability an authentic trophy from Hotspur? Why ignore the tradition of the Wallace thorn at Hawick? Why, in writing of the bard of Rule, does he omit to connect him by name with Rattling Roaring Willie, his fellow gleeman of Ousenam? The story of their quarrel is one of the most familiar of Border traditions, giving rise as it did to the local ballad:

'The lasses o' Ousenam Water  
Are ruggin' an' riving their hair,  
And a' for the sake o' Willie,  
His beauty was sae rare—  
His beauty was sae rare,  
An' comely for to see,  
And drink will be dear to Willie  
When 'Sweet Milk' gars him dee.'

Neither should the blasted trees by Caerlanrig, said to have been whereon Johnie Armstrong and his comrades were hanged, have been left out. Deer-hair (p. 382) is not a 'coarse kind of grass,' but a grass noticeable for fineness amid moorland vegetation. And one regrets that Mr. Lang leaves Flodden Field without allusion to the *Carduus nutans*—a local variety, which is fabled to have assumed its drooping habit out of sympathy with the misfortune of a country which had chosen the thistle as its emblem. Then, though he discourses at length of the False Alarm of 1804, he has not a word to say of 'Symon and Jennie,' the racy local poem which it inspired. Nor does he appear to be aware that the epitaph of Will o' Phaup, from which he quotes, was composed by Will's kinsman, the Etrick Shepherd. He visits

Southdean Churchyard without thought of the modern Cout of Keilder, and misquotes the Bemersyde prophecy.

The book, then, is not one which will wholly please any out-and-out Border man, but to those who seek a first introduction to the Border Country it may well be exceedingly useful. And it is for these that it is primarily intended. For a wallet-book it is somewhat heavy, not in the literary sense—it is never that—but in the purely material one. And, should it run into a second edition, a larger and clearer map would be an improvement. Even to a Borderer the illustrations are an unmixed delight. Varying from a mere pencilled 'note' to such a finished picture as that of the Eildons from Bemersyde, they not only serve their purpose admirably, but exhibit an extraordinary power, first, of rendering foliage, and secondly, of representing wide spaces within small compass. Were it only for Mr. Hugh Thomson's work the book is worth acquiring.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

OXFORD HISTORICAL AND LITERARY STUDIES issued under the direction of C. H. FIRTH and WALTER RALEIGH, Professors of Modern History and English Literature in the University of Oxford.

VOLUME I.—ELIZABETHAN ROGUES AND VAGABONDS. By Frank Aydelotte, B.Litt. Pp. xii, 187. With six plates and fifteen illustrations in the text. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THE attention of the literary and bookreading world having been directed at the end of the fifteenth century to this picturesque but seamy side of human life, the next century discovered that there was a popular demand for books upon the subject, and in England a considerable rogue-literature sprang into existence.

Mr. Aydelotte bases his study principally upon eight rogue-pamphlets all published in the second half of the sixteenth century, and upon nine later ones called forth by the public interest in the earlier, especially in those by Robert Greene the dramatist. These later pamphlets are treated in detail in the last chapter of the work, where the author discusses in the first place the influence on the rogue-literature of the period of Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenschiff* as translated in 1508 by Alexander Barclay. Origins, the art of begging, laws against vagabonds, the art of conny-catching, and laws against conny-catching form the different aspects of the subject considered in the earlier chapters. The illustrations add much to the interest of a book, displaying wide knowledge of the rogue history and literature in their varied ramifications, but which still leaves something to be desired in compactness and absence of repetition.

During the period in question, Scotland, although outside the author's purview, had its troubles with these ubiquitous pests 'the vagabundis.' Thus in Peebles in 1572 'the inqueist fyndis Makkyn in the wrang in trubling of the toun and makkyn bargane with Johne Makke, and findis the said Makkyn ane vagabund and ordanis him to be banist the toun.' The Scottish Burgh Records abound with similar entries, though not in all cases

so quaintly alliterative. From these is self-evident the truth of R. L. Stevenson's statement that 'though man is at least as intelligent as the ant, generations of advisers have in vain recommended him the ant's example.'

VOLUME II.—ANGLO-ROMAN RELATIONS, 1558-1565. By C. G. Bayne, C.S.I. Pp. 335. 8s. 6d. net.

ENGLAND'S relations with Rome during the early years of Queen Elizabeth's rule furnish the subject of the second volume of the same series. This comparatively unexplored topic from its complexity and kaleidoscopic changes is difficult to elucidate thoroughly. In view of the European situation and the grouping of Powers both Paul IV. and Pius IV. were compelled to walk warily, and King Philip II. placing politics before religion, or at all events squaring his conscience with his worldly interest, acted as a drag upon the action of the Holy See when it seemed about to resort to extreme measures against Elizabeth.

The abortive mission of Parpaglia and the equally unsuccessful attempt of the Abbot Martinengo a year later to obtain entrance into England occupy three chapters, the doings of the resumed Council of Trent, the negotiations of the Cardinal of Ferrara, of Thomas Sackville, and of Gurone Bertano and Antonio and Sebastian Bruschetto all receive adequate and clear treatment with references to the appendix containing in many cases hitherto unpublished documents.

Mary, Queen of Scots, whose birth and religious faith were in the view of the Roman ecclesiastical authorities both unimpeachable, was a valuable asset, and the hopes and fears based upon varied projects for the finding of a suitable Catholic husband for her are well brought out.

The author refers in the footnotes to the studies originally contributed, under the title of *Elizabethan Gleanings*, to the *English Historical Review*, by the late Professor F. W. Maitland. But we have not found any mention in the text of Maitland's interesting discovery that the 'etceteration' of the Queen's style in solemn writs was the outcome of a deliberate plan on the part of Elizabeth's advisers, notably Cecil, to avoid committing her to a definite rupture with Rome at the beginning of her reign, as the use of the words *supremum caput* might have done.

Mr. Bayne's work, with its valuable appendix, marshals in an orderly fashion the facts of what is after all a series of somewhat baffling and obscure negotiations.

VOLUME III.—THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. By A. S. Turberville. Pp. viii, 264. 8s. 6d. net.

This interesting study, suggested to the author by Professor Firth, deals with the House of Lords during a time of which our knowledge is much more complete since the recent publication of the manuscripts of the Upper House for the whole period treated of.

By means of a careful analysis of the composition of the House at the beginning of William and Mary's reign the author shows the preponderance of Stuart creations, and points out its Tory character in 1688.

In a subsequent chapter light is thrown upon the great change in the political outlook of the spiritual lords effected during the reign.

The social position of the peerage, with details drawn from varied sources, including *The Travels of Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England*, is the subject of a chapter documented by reference to first-hand authorities.

Mr. Turberville deals in detail (Chapter VIII.) with the constitutional aspect of the Act of Settlement and the Lords' attitude to the measure. It is noteworthy that during William's reign the House of Lords favoured the scheme for a union with Scotland, which was rejected by the Commons.

The work is furnished with a useful bibliography and an adequate index.

The three volumes under review are proof that through Professors C. H. Firth and Sir Walter Raleigh, the great obligation to Oxford historians under which students of English history and literature have lain in the past is likely to grow larger.

JOHN EDWARDS.

IRELAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH. Being a Selection of Documents Relating to the Government of Ireland from 1651 to 1659. 2 vols. Edited, with Historical Introduction and Notes, by Robert Dunlop, M.A. Vol. I. pp. clxxvi, 282; Vol. II. pp. lxxviii, 471. Demy 8vo. Manchester: University Press. 1913. 25s. net.

'THESE Irish are a scurvy nation and are scurvily used.' The latter part of the quotation sums up Irish history since the sixteenth century. Mr. Dunlop has collected into two large volumes the most important State documents dealing with the Cromwellian settlement in Ireland, consisting of extracts from the Commonwealth Records in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and a perusal of the thousand or so pages of these volumes gives one some insight into the methods adopted by the English Executive in temporarily suppressing the difficulties which the rule of Ireland has so often presented and which have once again acquired an overwhelming importance.

A study of the plantation policy is necessary to any understanding of the economic conditions of seventeenth century Ireland. As introduced by Mary and Elizabeth, this policy had been encouraged largely for revenue purposes, while the English in the Pale were expressly protected from confiscation. With the Commonwealth, Plantation was regarded as the best solution of the religious problem. It was the interest of the English Government to secure a Protestant majority in Ireland and spoliation would be the best means of weaning the 'unfortunate' Irish from the bondage of Rome. Nowhere else than in this struggle between Puritan England and Catholic Ireland can one realise how so much of the good intention of Cromwellian legislation was vitiated by an intolerance that was always on the point of becoming active persecution and a hypocrisy which invoked divine sanction for the most flagrant abuse of elementary human rights. The religious, not the economic, difficulty is the most important one in the modern Irish problem, and it traces its rise not so much to Elizabeth as to Cromwell.

Although these are State papers and generally even more dull than the average of their class, they yet contain some interesting sidelights on contemporary Ireland, as, for instance, the entry in Vol. II. page 350, where

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the Commissioners of Revenue in every district are instructed to take all means possible for destroying wolves. 'A reward is to be paid for every bitch-wolf of £6, dog-wolf, £5, every cub which preyeth for himself, forty shillings, every suckling cub, ten shillings.' The solution of the unemployed question was, at all events, a radical one (p. 354)—'Ordered that the overseers of precincts be authorised to treat with merchants for transporting vagrants into some English plantation in America where the said persons may find livelihood and maintenance by their labour.' On 30th January, 1654, Oliver writes to Fleetwood that some merchants of Bristol have petitioned him for leave to transport four hundred of the Irish Tories, 'and such other idle and vagrant persons as may be thought fittest to be spared out of Ireland, for planting on the Caribbee Islands' (Vol. II. pp. 400-1). Later in the year it is proposed to transplant three thousand Irish into Flanders (p. 412). Almost in the same breath are unctuous animadversions such as the following, written after the sudden termination of Barebones' Parliament on 11th Dec., 1654—'The sudden dissolution of the Parliament, whereof we believe you have heard, from which (as from instruments heretofore) we were too subject to expect above what was meet, seems still to reprove that sin of looking for salvation from the hills, and the too little sense we have of the work of those in authority (as it makes us neglect them in our prayers, whereof they have great need), so justly (in their miscarriage) we miss the good expected from them, which, if we should slightly obtain, would but render us still ready to sacrifice to them and to be insensible of the mercy of the Lord, who therefore disappointeth us and staineth every instrument that he might be sought unto by all and have the praise of and from all, which are due unto him only . . .' (p. 385).

There are several passages of interest in the documents here reprinted, though on the whole it must be said that they make very monotonous reading, and the papers of real importance could very well have been confined to a single volume. But after all Mr. Dunlop, though prefacing the volumes with an able introduction, has aimed more at producing a Calendar of Irish State Papers rather than a readable book, and it is for the Irish historian to give animation to these very dry bones.

DAVID OGG.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1642-1645. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By William Foster, C.I.E. Pp. xxxvii, 339. With Map. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 12s. 6d. net.

THE present volume of this series covers the transactions of the East India Company abroad during the first stage of the Civil War. Necessarily the upheaval in England re-acted on the position of the Company, and its agents in the East were often destitute of credit. Thus one of them wrote in 1643 that want of money has 'rendered us miserable in ourselves, despicable to others, useless to you.' In the following year the Company suffered by the handing over of the *John* to the Royalists at Bristol by her commander. In addition to these difficulties, the competition of Courteen's association still continued, and this body decided, in 1644, to erect a new commonwealth

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in Madagascar—a scheme which was the beginning of the Assada project. These divisions among the English were advantageous to the Dutch, whose trade was reported ‘to be flourishing abundantly.’ Indeed, considering the circumstances, the marvel is that the Company was able to keep any hold on its trade. Much was due to the determination of its agents, though the service suffered from the want of control which was inevitable under the conditions of the period. As a side-light on the state of foreign commerce during a time of Civil War, this volume and the one to follow it in this series are of exceptional value and interest.

W. R. SCOTT.

THE OFFICIAL DIARY OF LT.-GENL. ADAM WILLIAMSON, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1747. Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXII. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by John Charles Fox, F.R.Hist.S. Pp. 283. With Plan of the Tower. 4to. London: Offices of the Society, 6 and 7 South Square, Gray’s Inn. 1912.

THE most striking thing in General Williamson’s Diary lies in his account of the imprisonment and execution of the Jacobite peers, Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat; but this is far from exhausting the interest of the Diary, which is full of sidelights on the period, and gives an excellent picture of the routine of the Tower and of the way in which the duties were carried out. The orders to the troops on duty (p. 67) are worth noting. Among other things, ‘no Soldier is to Sing or to make a noise on his Post nor is he to sit doune.’ There is an interesting account of the visit of Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards the Emperor Francis I., to the Tower in 1731. A plan of the Tower is given, being a reproduction of a drawing made about 1688, and the volume is copiously annotated and furnished with over 100 pages of appendices, in which topics touched on in the notes are discussed at greater length. One of these (pp. 187-190) is the incident of the Highland Deserters from Lord Sempill’s regiment, the 1st Black Watch, who were induced to desert by Jacobite agents who led them to believe the regiment was to be sent to the West Indies, contrary to its terms of service. Mr. Fox narrates the incident well enough, but it is curious that he omits to refer his readers to the very full and authoritative account of it published a few years ago by Mr. Macwilliam.

C. T. ATKINSON.

RUSTIC SPEECH AND FOLK-LORE. By Elizabeth Mary Wright. Pp. xx, 341. Demy 8vo. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1913. 6s. net.

WHAT is a dialect? Miss Wright’s book suggests the question without, however, supplying a direct answer to it. She warns us, it is true, against accepting the theory that ‘a dialect is an arbitrary distortion of the mother tongue, a wilful mispronunciation of the sounds, and disregard of the syntax of a standard language.’ But, elsewhere, she is equally insistent on the danger of allowing ourselves ‘to be beguiled by the smooth-running course of true sound-laws, or the rural charm of quaint words, into the



opposite error of supposing that irregularities and distortions do not exist.' Being thus thrown back upon our own resources for such a definition of the term as will suit the case, we assume that what is here understood by 'dialect' is, a form of speech peculiar to a certain district, where it is used colloquially and mainly by the less cultured classes, and consisting partly of forms that have survived from what was once the standard and literary language, and partly of illiterate and ignorant corruptions.

Nor is this view inconsistent with the system which Miss Wright has followed in dealing with what she also calls 'rustic speech.' Thus, as regards the former of the two elements which we have indicated, she points out that many words that are to be found in Chaucer and the early Middle English poets, or in Shakespeare and the Bible, 'still live, move, and have their being among our rural population to-day,' although, for the rest of us, they have become archaisms to be explained in foot-notes and appendices to the text. She notes and illustrates the further interesting fact that the words which have been preserved in this way, far from being exclusively commonplace and familiar, have not infrequently been helpful to scholars, and supplied them with a clue to the meaning of a term that had previously defied their learning. And she shows that, by harbouring forms and phrases that have been banished from the cultured language of the educated classes, the various dialects have enriched themselves with many an apt and picturesque expression, or avoided the substitution of an awkward paraphrase for a terse and vigorous word.

The results of Miss Wright's wide reading and careful study are equally instructive and certainly not less interesting when they bear, not on survivals, but on the corruptions and distortions that supply the second element of rustic speech as it now exists. Some of those that she instances are, it must be admitted, sheer malapropisms, and, we strongly suspect, peculiar to individuals rather than characteristic of localities. But, when every allowance has been made for these, there remain a great many which, though also due to ignorance, are by no means lacking in ingenuity, and which sometimes bear evidence to a certain amount of method in their aberrations. Of these, however, it must suffice to indicate such verbal vagaries as those that are due to what is called popular etymology, that is to say, the transformation of an unfamiliar word or syllable into a commonplace one, as in *curly-flower* for *cauliflower* and *Polly Andrews* for *polyanthus*; and those that consist in the blending together of two distinct words into a single one—a process of practical word-formation which accounts for the quaint but expressive verb to *smothercate*, a combination of to *smother* and to *suffocate*, and for the vigorous epithet *boldacious*, into which all the daring of *bold* and all the impudence of *audacious* are compressed.

But, as Miss Wright points out, the field of English dialects offers other allurements besides those which attract the philologist and the grammarian. In her study of them she has dealt with such subjects as charms and superstitions, supernatural beings and divination, customs connected with birth, marriage and death, and with certain days and seasons of the year. Miss Wright's erudite and interesting volume appeals to the folk-lorist no less directly than it does to the word-specialist.

LOUIS A. BARBÉ.

## 226 Lollardy and the Reformation in England

LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt. Vol. IV. Edited by William Hunt, M.A., D.Litt. Pp. xii, 422. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS book makes melancholy reading. In the first place, it marks the close of the work of one who for fifty years held an honourable place among English historians. Moreover, the abrupt end of the volume reminds us that Dr. Gairdner, despite his brave struggle against old age and ever-multiplying infirmities, was yet forced to lay down his pen before completing the task on which he had set his heart. And the very matter of the book is sad: for it treats of the reign of Mary Tudor, in some ways the most pathetic figure in English history.

When Dr. Gairdner died, in Nov., 1912, he left behind him a great mass of material for the fourth volume of his *Lollardy and the Reformation*. Very little, however, was ready for the press; much was in the form of rough notes. In fulfilment of a promise given when the work was begun, Dr. Hunt undertook to edit and publish his friend's manuscript. In an admirable preface, he has inserted a brief memoir of Dr. Gairdner and a list of his numerous writings. In preparing the book for publication, the editor has, whenever possible, retained the author's own words. He has perhaps been over-scrupulous, for here and there one comes upon obscure sentences and infelicitous phrases which Dr. Gairdner would have altered. But Dr. Hunt's fault, if fault it be, is on the right side. When, as is often the case towards the end of the volume, he has entirely to recast the original manuscript, he writes with great clearness and force. The index is excellent.

While Dr. Gairdner's bias against the Reformers is obvious, it is generally clear where his narrative of facts ends and his comments begin. And we can apply to this volume the author's own remark about a passage from Foxe: 'The facts themselves . . . are presented here, even if through a coloured medium, pretty nearly as they were.'

The book covers only the first year of Mary's reign, for the author's labours had barely brought him to the Queen's marriage. Many stories are begun, but none really finished. The most interesting chapters are those describing the negotiations for the Spanish match. On this subject, Dr. Gairdner goes into very great detail, and he sheds much new light on the means by which that unlucky alliance was brought about. His view is that Mary was 'entrapped' into the marriage by Charles V. and his ambassador Renard (p. 61). The expression is just, though Mary was a not unwilling dupe. Dr. Gairdner gives a vivid account of the intrigues that were on foot during the first months of the reign, of Renard's remarkable ascendancy over the Queen, of the great skill with which he used his advantage, of the clever but abortive efforts of his French rival, Noailles, to foil him, and of the perplexity and vacillation of Mary's English counsellors, who on the whole cut an extremely poor figure.

But it is as a defence of Mary by a very learned advocate that this book is most valuable. To Dr. Gairdner, she is the heroine of Tudor history; her good qualities and deeds are all emphasised, her defects and blunders

excused. It is well to have this view presented by one with a thorough command of the evidence. We do not think, however, that Dr. Gairdner's apology is successful. With all his zeal, he confirms our previous opinion that, though Mary might be a good woman, she was an uncommonly bad queen. And the book left the impression that Mary was not so good a woman as we had thought. In trying to effect a reunion with Rome, she was no doubt actuated by admirable motives; but the means used were sometimes far from scrupulous. To secure quiet, she promised toleration until Parliament should make a new religious settlement; and she immediately broke her word. She wilfully deceived her counsellors over the Spanish match. Her treatment of Elizabeth, whose loyalty could never be disproved, was malicious and unnecessarily insulting. Mary cannot indeed be blamed much. She was neurotic, hysterical, probably touched by religious mania. Considering her treatment in the twenty years before her accession, it is a wonder that she did not actually become the 'bloody' queen of tradition. Dr. Gairdner has killed that libel once and for all, even if he has not proved Mary to have been a saint. W. T. WAUGH.

**THE SCOTTISH MONASTERIES OF OLD :** A brief account of the Houses which existed in Scotland before the Protestant Reformation for monks following the rule of St. Benedict. By Michael Barrett, O.S.B., Monk of St. Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus. Edinburgh : Otto Schulze & Co. 1913.

THIS labour of love is written by a monk of the Monastery at Fort Augustus, to recall the history of Scottish Houses of his own order of St. Benedict and of the daughter houses of Tiron, Cluny, and Citeaux.

It does not profess to contain notices of all the Scottish Monasteries. It omits the Abbeys and Priories of Canons regular, such as St. Andrews, Holyrood, Scone, Jedworth, Dryburgh, &c.

Father Barrett adds little to material already published. He finds his narrative on the printed chartularies. He is old fashioned and behind the time, and unacquainted with the research and work of later ecclesiastical antiquaries; for instance, he rarely quotes Theiner, he does not allude to Dr. Raine's *North Durham*, which contains the great collection of the Coldingham Charters at Durham, he knows nothing of Bishop Dowden and Mr. Maitland Thomson's Charter of Inchaffray, and though he has some interesting notes on the Benedictine Abbey of Lindores, he has not availed himself of the valuable work on that abbey contributed by Bishop Dowden to the Scottish History Society.

The monasteries founded in this country in the twelfth century were intended to be homes of prayer and duty to which men retired from the cares and evils of a comparatively uncivilized world, to separate themselves from war, business, pleasure, from their kindred and families, with the purpose of continual devotion.

Father Barrett and many other writers praise the monks for their care for education, but as a rule such praise is undeserved. It was contrary to the strict rule of most orders to admit laymen to any share in the benefits of the convent life.

Some boys must have been trained as choristers, others were admitted as novices who intended to take the monastic habit, a few of the monasteries had charge of schools in some of the burghs; ordinary monks had little learning, probably most of them could neither read nor write; the divine office, prayer, praise, and manual labour occupied every day. There is little evidence that the monks professed to teach or to preach, or in other ways to educate and convert their ignorant neighbours. The aim of their lives was quietness, devotion, and separation from the world.

One great harm which the monasteries did to religion and to the Church was the diversion of tithes from the support of the incumbent and the poor of each parish from which the tithes were due and collected.

At first the endowments of a monastery were mainly lands and fishings, grants from the rents of burghs or mills, charges on land; but afterwards King William and his magnates divested themselves of the patronage of parish churches and assumed the right to put abbots and convents in the place of the rectors of parishes, giving them power to divert the tithes from parochial purposes, to the profit and support of the members of the convent. The chartularies show how often the Bishops had to interfere to secure even a bare pittance for the secular clergy who were reduced to a subordinate position.

The introduction into Scotland in the thirteenth century of friars was not an unnatural reaction from the separation of the monastic orders from the mass of the people.

Father Barrett's book displays genuine sympathy with the old monastic life; he credits it with the goodness, charity, and learning which the founders of religious houses desired to preserve and maintain. That these virtues were not prominent in the monasteries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was greatly due to the avarice of kings and governments, by which the revenues of all the great religious houses were given to royal bastards and unscrupulous laymen, and under these lay abbots 'in commendam' discipline decayed and disorder prevailed.

Of course a book which deals with the history of nearly thirty monasteries contains many assertions with which it is not easy to agree, but they are sincere and pleasant assertions which should be met with appreciation and not with carping criticism.

It contains a great deal of interesting information; it is full of sympathy with a state of religion and society now extinct, but which in its earlier days was a powerful instrument for good.

A. C. LAWRIE.

## Communications

**CABINET COUNCILLORS.** It is a common opinion that the earliest mention of a 'cabinet council' occurs in Bacon's essay *Of Counsel*, and that the first use of the phrase with reference to English politics is found in Yonge's *Diary*, 1625.<sup>1</sup> Bacon regarded this use of an inner ring of councillors as an evil invention of 'the doctrine of Italy and the practize of France,' but even in his own country 'the distinction between the effective and honorary members was as old as the council itself.'<sup>2</sup> This has been universally admitted, but it is interesting to note that the word 'cabinet' was in use, at all events in Scotland, as early as 1581, and that the term 'cabinet councillor' meant one who was really in the confidence of the King, as opposed to an ordinary member of the council.

In January 1581, after the dramatic arrest of the Earl of Morton, Thomas Randolph was sent to Scotland by the English government, with instructions to procure the release of the ex-Regent, and, if necessary, to get rid of his rival the Earl of Lennox (Esmé Stewart, Seigneur d' Aubigny). For long there had been two well-marked factions among the Scottish nobility, but on this occasion Randolph found himself unable to arrange any effective counterpoise to the 'French' party,<sup>3</sup> who had completely gained the ear of the King.<sup>4</sup> These opponents, against whom he could not prevail, he designates 'cabinet councillors.'

On February 10th, in reporting his efforts to secure a proper trial for Morton,<sup>5</sup> the envoy explained that some 'suspended their voices in so hard a matter and desired the assembly of the States. The difference hereof was great betwixt the cabinet councillors, and the wiser sort won in the end.' Here 'the wiser sort' (Randolph's own party) are not necessarily distinguished from the 'cabinet councillors,' but the next reference is more

<sup>1</sup> Murray's *Oxford English Dictionary*, vide 'Cabinet,' and Marriott's *English Political Institutions*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Medley's *English Constitutional History*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Partly because Morton's tyranny had alienated many of the 'English' lords, partly on account of the domestic relations of Angus and Montrose (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 646).

<sup>4</sup> James, though young, was not a nonentity. Randolph was inclined to attribute his failure to the personal opposition of the King (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 647, 693, 695, and vi. 179).

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 632.

illuminating. On the 23rd of the month,<sup>1</sup> Randolph announces that he has demanded the right of addressing the Convention summoned as the result of the previous debates, but the 'cabinet councillors' 'travail for life' to prevent his design. It is plain that these 'cabinet councillors' are his adversaries.

A third use of the phrase is found in Randolph's complete statement of his 'Negociation,' which was compiled after his return to Berwick. Here he states, with regard to the question of assembling the Estates,<sup>2</sup> 'it seemed that some difference arose between the councillors themselves, the cabinet men impugning and persuading the contrary; whose authority, notwithstanding, failed them in this point, and the King, by the advice of the rest . . . ' summoned his nobility, barons and burghs.

The antithesis between the 'cabinet men' and the 'rest,' who are also councillors, seems complete. It is true that in this very document Randolph refers to his foes as 'the council,' but as he tells us that Mar and Glencairn—certainly councillors—were on his side, it is plain that there was a division in the council itself.

The word 'cabinet' seems to refer to the King's own chamber. Several times Randolph distinguishes between business transacted publicly in the council, and matters dealt with by 'privy access' to the King.<sup>3</sup> On February 28th occurred an interview in the King's 'chamber,' which appears to be distinct from the 'council chamber,'<sup>4</sup> and with regard to this room and its uses the story of the mission of George Douglas to France in 1581<sup>5</sup> is very instructive. This busy plotter was sent to Paris by Lennox to negotiate the 'Association' of James and Mary, or at all events to make some arrangement whereby James obtained ratification of the royal title. According to his own account, 'he had a general commission from the King of Scots, given in his cabinet in presence of a good number of the council,'<sup>6</sup> but subsequent correspondence<sup>7</sup> reveals the fact that the real purport of Douglas' errand was known only to a small clique. On September 7th the King sent his envoy a vague letter with a peculiar post-script,<sup>8</sup> bidding him take his instructions from Lennox, and on the following day the favourite penned a missive which fully explains the situation. 'The letters which you receive from the King your master,' he said, 'are communicated to the whole Council. Because there is good espial taken

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 641.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 692.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 641, 692.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* v. 646. For another example of the use of the Cabinet see *Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 221. It was there James reconciled Lennox and Arran.

<sup>5</sup> Geo. Douglas departed with Montbirneau (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 35), and Montbirneau set off about June 13th (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 30).

<sup>6</sup> Depositions of George Douglas (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 166).

<sup>7</sup> This correspondence was betrayed to England (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 47) by Archibald Douglas (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 646).

<sup>8</sup> 'Mon petit singe, croyes ce que le rousseau t'escrira de ma part' (*Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 48).

what he does, he could write no further but some little word of postscript with his own hand, whereby you may understand that you should receive the remnant of his mind from me.' It is plain that the business was in the hands, not of the council, but of an inner ring, which possibly met in the King's cabinet, and this view of the affair is corroborated by the recorded 'sederunts' of the Privy Council,<sup>1</sup> which show no official meeting attended purely by Lennox's partisans. The King and his favourite were thus compelled to act behind the backs of some of the councillors, and the 'cabinet men' were simply those fully trusted with the royal secret.

Even as a faction these 'cabinet councillors' had little fixity, since Arran, who must have been included at first, was ultimately left out.<sup>2</sup> A 'ministry' they were not, but they do seem to have had a policy—in this case a policy of distrust of England and reliance on various Roman Catholic powers. It is perhaps not without significance that at a later date the courtiers are called 'cubiculars,'<sup>3</sup> though it must be acknowledged that as enemies of the Octavians, they were in actual hostility to something very like a ministry.

.Andrews.

J. D. MACKIE.

BURBAGE AND SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE (*S.H.R.* x. 102). In reviewing this volume we said, 'Mrs. Stopes' main argument here, it may be noted, was the special contention in the letters published in the *Athenæum* in 1911, over the signature 'Audi alteram partem.'

The editor is interested in hearing from Mrs. Stopes: 'I did not borrow from the letters in the *Athenæum* on 'Cunningham's Extracts.' I wrote them after long and careful study. Reasons which no longer exist made me think it wise then to write over the suggestive motto, 'Audi alteram partem.' With reference to this, our reviewer writes, 'That Mrs. Stopes should have repeated in her own name what had appeared anonymously in the *Athenæum*, was sufficient to suggest to all who respect her learning and her independence that she was borrowing from none but herself. It is therefore satisfactory to have now the definite admission that, as we believed, *Audi alteram partem* was none other than Mrs. Stopes.'

THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN (*S.H.R.* xi. 99). In my review of this work I inadvertently stated that the editor had based his text, as regards certain of the poems, on the 'advance issue' of 1614 or 1615, 'relegating the authentic readings of the 1616 edition to the footnotes as variants.' That is a mistake which in fairness to Professor Kastner I desire to correct. The text followed is that of the 1616 edition, the variants of the 'advance issue' appearing invariably as footnotes. As a consequence of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Reg. Privy Council, Scotland*, iii. At every meeting here recorded there was present at least one member (usually several) whom Lennox could not trust, either as being 'English' or as leaning upon Arran.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Scot. Pap.* vi. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, ii. 224.

this correction I should now say, without any qualification, that in my opinion Professor Kastner has fully discharged his task of 'furnishing a trustworthy text according to the original editions.'

J. T. T. BROWN.