

Reviews of Books

1. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER AND PSALM BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1556-1644. By William Cowan. Forty copies reprinted for sale from the publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. 4to. 1913. 21s.
2. LISTS OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS IN EDINBURGH LIBRARIES. By members of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. Fifty copies reprinted for sale. 4to. 1913. 12s. 6d.

IN occasionally reprinting for sale contributions to its transactions the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society does well. It appears to be matter for consideration whether it ought not to do better, by reprinting—for sale or otherwise—more frequently. The two latest of its reprints are welcome; we trust they may shortly be followed by others.

Mr. William Cowan is well known as book collector and as bibliographer, and his contributions to the meetings of the Society of which he is a distinguished member are both informative and authoritative. In the introductory notes to his latest contribution Mr. Cowan tells briefly the history of the origin and the growth of the *Book of Common Order*, the authorised manual for public worship in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation until 1645. Information concerning the *Book* is to be found in many works dealing with the history of the Church in Scotland; Mr. Cowan set out to give, for the first time, bibliographical particulars of all the editions of the work that were printed before it was superseded by the *Westminster Directory*. That, as it turned out, was impossible. Certain editions have not been found to exist in even one example, while others are known to survive in only one copy, and that copy imperfect—illustrating how difficult is the preparation of a bibliography of books printed even so late as the seventeenth century. Now that these facts are stated in print, copies of some of the editions referred to may come to light: that, at least, has happened before and will doubtless occur again.

Popularly known as *Knox's Liturgy* and as the *Psalm Book*, the *Book of Common Order* was first printed by John Crespin at Geneva in 1556. The earliest edition printed in our country was that of 1562, from the press of Lekprevik; and editions came subsequently from the presses of Bassandyne, Charteris, Hart, Raban and others. The last edition printed before the *Liturgy* was superseded by the *Directory* was that of Evan Tyler (1644). Mr. Cowan enumerates seventy editions of the *Book*, and to his collations adds a wealth of notes that makes his bibliography of an important and interesting Scottish volume one of the most scholarly and valuable contributions to scientific Scottish bibliography.

298 Salmon: Borrowstounness and District

In view of the fact that there are no Scottish incunabula, and that other branches of our bibliography wait attention, it is surprising that so much consideration should be given in Scotland to fifteenth-century-printed books. The late Mr. J. P. Edmond, when President of Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, advocated the desirability of registering all the incunabula in the 'great libraries' of Scotland; and the Society has made a beginning with the lists for Edinburgh, though it has not limited itself to the 'great' libraries of the capital.

The arrangement of the work is not the ideal one, for the lists are printed separately, instead of being incorporated in one, with references to the location of copies. An eleven-page index of names of towns, of printers, of authors, and of titles of books makes reference easy, however. Each list is arranged topographically—by countries, beginning of course with Germany; and by towns, under each country—the specimens of the handiwork of each printer being grouped under his name. References to Proctor, Hain, Copinger, and the others are given throughout the volume.

A summary of the several lists shows that in the eleven Edinburgh public or semi-public libraries there are some 792 works that were printed before 1500. The University Library leads the way with 266 items; the Advocates' Library is close behind with 241; the Signet Library has half that number. The capital city boasts of a 'Mazarin' Bible—it might well have been indexed at M., by the way—and of fourteen 'fifteeners' printed in England: only one of them—Higden's *Polychronicon*—is from the press of Caxton, and even that is a very imperfect copy. The Hunterian Museum alone contains half as many 'fifteeners' as these eleven libraries in Edinburgh together can show, and no fewer than thirteen of these are Caxtons. It is on an occasion such as this that we are best able to appreciate William Hunter's great work and Glasgow's great good fortune. J. C. EWING.

BORROWSTOUNNESS AND DISTRICT, BEING HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF KINNEIL, CARRIDEN, AND BO'NESS, c. 1550-1850. By Thomas James Salmon: with illustrations and maps. 8vo. Pp. xi, 476. Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co. 1913. 6s. net.

THE local historian is a person to be encouraged. He may often be deficient in a sense of proportion and more often be a chronicler of very small beer, but his efforts are not on that account to be despised: on the contrary it is just this small beer which escapes the notice of the more general writer, but which often throws a vivid light on the manners and customs of bygone times.

Mr. Salmon, it may at once be said, is a favourable specimen of his class, and has written a book which deals with his subject in a most careful and painstaking way. He professes to begin his story about 1550, but in reality he gives us a glimpse of the district from early Roman times, though the town of Bo'ness itself did not exist before the middle of the sixteenth century. Mr. Salmon says that we begin to get traces of it about the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth, but there is mention of it long before that time. It was a coal port at least as early as 1547, as in the Lord Treasurer's accounts there is an entry of a payment

to 'Maister Johnne Forsytht' to provide boats to bring coals from Borrowstounness to Leith for the Castle of Edinburgh, and the ferrymen of the place were frequently employed during the regency of Arran to convey soldiers and munitions of war across the Forth for public purposes.

The village of Kinneil was the predecessor of the present town, and the mansion house of Kinneil belonged to the Hamiltons. Arran himself inhabited it, and there are various entries in the Lord Treasurer's accounts relating to it. The governor's children were carried there in a boat in August 1546, and in December his wife went from St. Andrews to the house. The governor, too, spent considerable sums of the public money in repairing and furnishing the place. Kinneil was not the only place in the district which belonged to a Hamilton family. The Grange, originally a possession of the Abbey of Culross, was also a Hamilton domicile: they inhabited it till 1750, when it passed into other hands, being ultimately acquired in 1788 by William Caddell, the first manager of the Carron Company, a man of much activity and enterprise, who developed the coal and salt industries to a large extent. The manufacture of salt, however, is now a thing of the past at Borrowstounness.

Carriden, one of the most important places in the locality, was also originally in part the property of the Church, but these and other lands which have from time to time been added to them have gone through the hands of many proprietors, no less than thirteen families having at one period or another been in possession of the lands. There is a long and interesting account of the parish from the pen of the minister in an appendix. There was a church built at Borrowstounness in 1638, but it did not attain to the dignity of a parish till 1649, when Parliament separated it from Kinneil, and at the same time created a body which came to be called in a few years the 'Representatives,' with power to tax the parishioners for providing a yearly stipend of 800 merks for the minister. In 1669 the church and parish of Kinneil were suppressed, and the two parishes were united. This probably gave the Representatives more to do, but they proved themselves equal to the task, and they governed the ecclesiastical finance of the parish for many years without any disturbance. It was inevitable, however, that a body of this kind could not carry on indefinitely without getting into trouble at some period of its career, and in 1761 they were plunged into a litigation, the details of which are minutely given by Mr. Salmon, which lasted eight years, and it was not the only one. But the Representatives still continue as an active body, and the ministers' ordinary stipend is apparently considerably augmented from the revenue of property in their lands, which has increased in value from the time at which they first acquired it.

There is another curious body in Bo'ness of a municipal, not ecclesiastical type. They are not nearly so old as the Representatives, but they are important enough to have a considerable proportion of the volume devoted to them. In 1744 the municipal government of the town commenced by the establishment of a body of Trustees, with power to levy a duty of two pennies Scots on every pint of ale or beer which should be brewed or sold in the town, for the purpose of repairing and improving the harbour.

Originally styled the Trustees for the two pennies, they exist now under a much more commonplace appellation, and they no longer tax the beer of the inhabitants of the Burgh, that duty being reserved for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Like most similar bodies they had not their troubles to seek, and their history is punctuated by 'excursions and alarms' of various kinds. They seem, however, to have performed their duty creditably enough and in a straightforward manner which might be imitated with advantage. This, for instance, is how they reported on the sanitary conditions of the town in 1844:—'Gardner's Land, horrid: Slidry Stane, a noxious drain: Marshall's property, horrid: Robertson's Dughill, disgusting,' and so on.

Bo'ness has produced both witches and 'martyrs,' the latter in the form of Covenanters, who suffered for their belief, and they were the progenitors of a small and obscure sect of fanatics called Gibbites, who condemned everything as wrong both in Church and State. It is pleasanter to turn from these to the chapter devoted to more distinguished and eminently saner persons who have been connected with the district. Of these the best known are perhaps Col. James Gardiner, the hero of Prestonpans, who was born at Burnfoot, Carriden, and James Watt, who, though not a native of the place, constructed his first engine, not to his own satisfaction, at the Carron works. Professor Dugald Stewart also is included in the list on the ground of having lived at Kinneil House for the last twenty years of his life.

There are many other interesting facts in the history of Bo'ness which are chronicled in this volume. The author has performed his task with praiseworthy accuracy and in great detail, and his work is sure of being appreciated by all who take an interest in what is now a thriving and prosperous burgh. The volume has many interesting illustrations, not the least curious of which is a very quaint portrait of Captain Donald Potter, a retired naval officer who came to live at Bo'ness in 1814, and who had a relic of Admiral Howe's great victory over the French fleet in 1794 in the shape of a cannon ball, which, according to his instructions, was to be built into his tombstone after his death.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1650-1654. By Ethel Brine Sainsbury. With an Introduction and Notes by W. Foster, C.I.E. Pp. xxxii, 404. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 12s. 6d. net.

IT is satisfactory that the valuable series of the Court Minutes of the East India Company is making progress, since each additional volume adds to the usefulness of those which have already appeared. Thus, in the present issue, further information is obtainable concerning the means adopted by the Company to secure some payment on account of the forced loan on pepper which had been demanded from it by Charles I. in 1640. The settlement of the claims against the Dutch Company go back to disputes dating from the reign of James I. While there is much that links this period with the past there are also indications of future developments, perhaps the most important of which was the idea of territorial acquisition in India in the

form of 'a nationall interest in some towns in India'—a scheme which Cromwell was said to favour. However, both in the state of the English money market at the time and in the internal condition of the Company, an idea of this kind could be little more than a dream. The union with Courteen's Association, as well as the change in the proprietary through politics, involved many cross currents of opinion amongst the stockholders, the most important of which was the proposal to abandon the joint-stock form of organisation and to adopt the regulated one. Thus there was a dispute within the Company which anticipated that between it and the Levant Company thirty years later. Moreover, the attitude of the State to the Company was not defined. All through the period covered by this volume there was considerable doubt as to whether the monopoly would be recognised. Added to all this, there were the uncertainties of the Dutch and Spanish Wars, in the first of which the Company lost a number of ships, so that, altogether, the position of the governor and committees were beset by many anxieties. All these difficulties and the measures adopted in dealing with them are recorded in the minutes and memoranda of the Company, which present a vivid picture of the internal history of the adventurers during a time of great stress and financial difficulty.

W. R. SCOTT.

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. By Sir C. P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Vol. III. WEST AFRICA. Third Edition, revised to the end of 1912 by A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L. Pp. 427. With five Maps. Vol. IV. SOUTH AFRICA. New Edition. Parts I. and III. History to 1895. Pp. viii, 331. With fifteen Maps. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. Vol. III., 8s. 6d.; Vol. IV., 6s. 6d.

THE third edition of Sir Charles Lucas' standard work, now in course of publication, has been revised and enlarged to include the history of our West and South African possessions to the end of 1912. The main interest of the new volume on West Africa lies therefore in the additional chapters in Volume III., which deal with the progress of the various colonies and protectorates during the opening years of the twentieth century.

Nigeria, as the largest dependency, naturally claims the fullest treatment, and the story of the annexation and pacification of the vast region between the Niger and Lake Chad is well and clearly told. The difficulties of the young administration are carefully recounted, and the efforts which have been made to preserve to the natives the forms at least of pre-British government are sympathetically detailed. The success which of recent years has attended the new policy of working through the natives in judicial matters as well as in administration and taxation, is justly claimed as new and positive proof of that conspicuous ability of the British as a ruling race which has hitherto been exemplified mainly in our Indian possessions.

The triumphs of the British administration in Northern Nigeria in settling equitably the land question and the problem of domestic slavery are curiously in contrast, however, with the inefficient steps taken by the

local government to curtail the liquor traffic in Southern Nigeria. The author quotes the conclusions of the Liquor Committee (1909) as 'hardly open to any serious criticism.' The findings of that Committee, however, were obviously dictated by considerations of revenue, and are contrary not only to humanitarian principles and to the expressed desire of the more enlightened native chiefs, but also to the whole tendency of legislation in South Africa, where the natives are in a similar, if not a higher stage of culture. Some reference to the South African liquor laws (*v.* Vol. IV., part iii., p. 39) might at least have been made in stating the case for the continuance of the liquor traffic in West Africa.

Of Volume IV., part i., now issued, is a reprint with corrections of the second edition, and brings the history of South Africa down to 1895. The second part of the new edition now in course of preparation will carry on the history of South Africa to the present day. The third part, now issued, deals with the historical geography, economics, and government of British South Africa, and includes for the first time a separate account of Swaziland and Northern Rhodesia. The chapters on the various territories have in each case been brought up to date, with trade statistics for 1911. The main interest of the new edition, however, centres in the four chapters which are devoted to a summary of the affairs of the Union of South Africa. An interesting historical account is given of the native land question and of the various attempts that have been made by the various states to find a solution. One notes with satisfaction that the Union Government has recently (1913) introduced important changes into the law of land tenure, has scheduled large areas of land for native occupation, and will in due course assign the rest of the land either as native or non-native areas. The native will enjoy his fullest rights within the native areas, and will be discouraged from settling in non-native areas. It has been found impossible to revive in a satisfactory form the ancient native communal system of land tenure, and the individual native may now become permanent owner of his land on terms which vary somewhat in the different reserves.

But while the native land question thus appears to be within sight of at least temporary settlement, there remain the two important problems of the native labour supply and the position of Asiatics. The author does not disguise the ominous aspect of these questions in a land where Europeans are much in a minority and to which emigration cannot at present be encouraged. It can only be hoped that the Union Government may in time achieve as satisfactory a settlement of these problems as it appears to have done in the case of native and European lands.

J. D. FALCONER.

ANCIENT TOWN-PLANNING. By F. Haverfield. Pp. 152. With Frontispiece and thirty-six Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 6s. net.

MODERN social reformers may be a little surprised to have it suggested that they can learn anything from students of ancient history. But the town-planning enthusiasts who are wise enough to possess themselves of this

volume will find that Professor Haverfield has a great deal that is interesting to teach them. Written in a direct and incisive style, the book brings together all the relevant evidence from Babylonian down to late Roman times. The facts are scattered and fragmentary in the extreme, but under skilful handling they are so arranged as to produce a picture that is well worth studying carefully.

Professor Haverfield does wisely in laying stress on the enormous difference between the problems that the ancient town-planners had to deal with and those which confront their twentieth-century successors. With it all, however, the analogies are sufficiently close to render this compact body of information profitable for doctrine and for instruction, if not sometimes also for reproof.

The illustrations, like the facts, have been collected from many sources, and the whole volume has obviously involved an amount of scholarly research that bears no sort of relation to its size. The type and general 'get-up' are excellent, except that the index treads on the heels of the text with a haste that is positively indecent.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE NORTHERN HIGHLANDS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Newspaper Index and Annals (from the *Inverness Courier*). Vol. III.—1842 to 1856. By James Barron. Pp. li, 420. 4to. Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons. 1913.

INVERNESS is specially fortunate in its chroniclers. Mr. Evan M. Barron's *Inverness in the Fifteenth Century*, published in 1906, gave an excellent although necessarily succinct account of the chief events and the social conditions of the capital of the North during the period indicated. Thereafter there appeared, in 1911, Mr. William Mackay's *Life in Inverness in the Sixteenth Century*, a work which displays careful research, scholarship, and literary skill. The book now under review is the third of a series compiled by Mr. James Barron, largely from the columns of the *Inverness Courier*, wherein is presented 'something like a continuous history of the Northern Highlands' during the period 1800-1856.

The great bulk of the present volume consists of an Index to the *Inverness Courier*, in which all the noteworthy events of the period are summarised. In addition, however, three very interesting contributions form an Appendix. The first is 'The Letter-Book of an Inverness Merchant, 1745-46,' which Dr. Carruthers printed in the *Courier* of August, 1846. 'The plodding, money-getting style of the letters,' observes the editor, 'in the midst of all the excitement of the Forty-five, makes Duncan Grant seem like a Bailie Nicol Jarvie in the Highlands,' as indeed he was, but without the charm of the Bailie. Not less interesting is the next item, the journal of an English man-servant, who accompanied his mistress, the widow of a Major Macleod, and her children, on a visit to the Major's brother, who lived at the farm of Arnisdale, on Loch Hourn, in the spring of 1782. Note may be taken of the fact that he explained Loch Hourn to mean 'Hell's Loch,' which is the generally accepted translation. An eminent authority on Gaelic place-names, however, in reviewing Mr. Scott Moncrieff Penney's *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland* (*Scottish*

Geographical Magazine, Feb. 1914), takes a different view, asserting that 'only an editor of ultra-Calvinistic principles would translate Loch Hourne as the loch of hell, because the word really means a kiln or furnace.' The third item in the Appendix is a report of the condition of the Highlands in 1791, issued by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

The very informative Introduction by Mr. Barron, of some forty pages, adds much to the value of the book.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. By John Howard Whitehouse, M.P. Pp. 92. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1913. 2s. 6d. net.

As most people are aware, another attempt is to be made to put the English educational system on a better footing. Unfortunately all such attempts get entangled in the maze of party politics, which find their way into schools of all kinds, training colleges, and elsewhere. Hence it is that rival manifestoes have made their appearance, and that innocent seekers after truth have to be on their guard when reading very recent books and pamphlets on education. At the same time, Mr. Whitehouse has given, in moderate compass and with conspicuous fairness of tone, an excellent summary of the leading educational issues in England: his book cannot be ignored by whoever wishes to be an intelligent onlooker at the impending conflict. There is a useful Index.

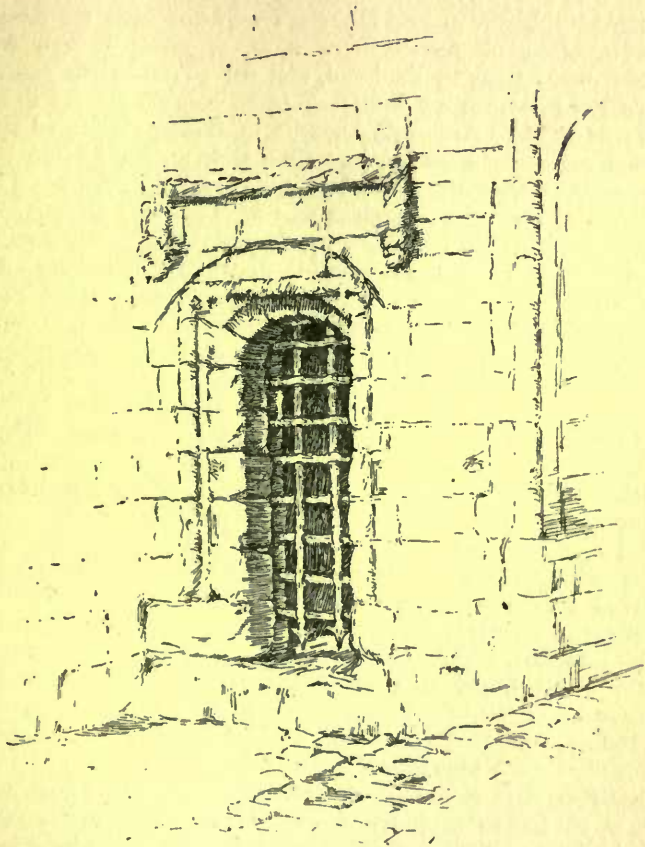
A. M. WILLIAMS.

STIRLING CASTLE: ITS PLACE IN SCOTTISH HISTORY. By Eric Stair-Kerr, M.A. Edin. and Oxon., F.S.A. Scot. Pp. viii, 219. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1913. 5s. net.

In this volume Mr. Stair-Kerr sets forth in a clear and attractive manner the events which went to make Stirling Castle one of the great historic places of Scotland. The story of Stirling Castle is in a great measure the history of Scotland, and the author has been careful to avoid expanding his volume into a national treatise, and has adhered closely to the narrative of events that concern directly the ancient stronghold on the rock.

In the opening chapter the author takes passing but adequate notice of the various associations, more or less mythical, which are attached to Stirling by the early chroniclers. The castle definitely comes into authentic history in the reign of Alexander I. (1107-1124), who dedicated a chapel within its walls. Alexander died in Stirling Castle, leaving the crown and a prosperous realm to his brother, David I., who made the fortress one of his chief residences, many of his charters being dated 'Striuelin.' During the period of national prosperity that ensued Stirling did not take an important place, but in the reign of William the Lion it emerged into prominence in sad and humiliating circumstances. William, captured at Alnwick in 1174, was confined by Henry II. of England in the Castle of Falaise, in Normandy. After several months conditions of peace were arranged, and William was set free upon signing the Treaty of Falaise, by which he swore to be the vassal of the English King, and agreed that the Castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh and Stirling were to be garrisoned by

English soldiers. This document was in its effects one of the most far-reaching that ever was penned. It gave substantial grounds for the subsequent claims of the English Edwards to the overlordship of Scotland, and was thus a prime cause of those disastrous wars between Scotland and England which for four centuries curbed the prosperity of England, and caused Scotland to be a backward, poverty-stricken land, a prey to the attacks of foreign enemies from without and to the spoliation of contending



JAMES IV. GATEWAY

factions within. Not until the eighteenth century was nearing its close did the last embers die out of the fire which the unfortunate Treaty of Falaise helped to kindle.

Mr. Stair-Kerr's chapter on the War of Independence shows the importance which was attached to Stirling as a stronghold in those stirring times: it was the prize for which Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn were fought. During the days of the Stewarts, from Robert II. to Queen Mary, Stirling

Castle was at its zenith. Here the Court remained for long periods, the Palace, the Parliament House and other buildings were erected as we know them now, the Royal Gardens were laid out in great splendour by the old Tabyll Round, below the Castle to the south, and the King's Park was the scene of many a merry hunt. Tournaments and games, pageantries and morality plays, dancing and music occupied the days and nights. Nor was the tragic note wanting, as when the blood-stained Heading Hill witnessed the execution of Duke Murdoch and his sons, or when James of the Fiery Face plunged his dagger in Earl Douglas's body and flung the corpse out of the window. Pathetic scenes there were, as when Queen Margaret, holding the infant King by the hand, met the nobles at the gateway, and rung down the portcullis ere from behind its bars she refused to surrender the castle; or as when Archibald Douglas of Kilsplindie panted up the hill beside the King as he rode to the castle, seeking, but finding not, some kindly recognition from the set face of his sovereign. Amusing incidents happened too, as when the French Abbot of Tunland attempted, with a pair of wings of his own making, to fly from the battlements, and fell among the refuse heaps of the Castlehill; or when the Gudeman o' Ballengeich sallied out on some of his unkinglike adventures among his subjects.

With the departure of James VI. for England, in 1603, Stirling ceased to be a royal residence. It was still a place of importance, however, so long as there was fighting to be done. It figured largely in Cromwell's campaign, and although Oliver got no nearer than Torwood, his next in command, General Monk, besieged the castle and forced its surrender. During the Jacobite troubles of 1715 and 1745 Stirling Castle again came into prominence, and with the imprisonment and execution of Baird and Hardie, the Radical martyrs of 1820, the castle passes out of history.

There is a very interesting chapter containing a comparison of the castle of Stirling with those of Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Dumbarton was prominent as a dwelling place of princes before the other castles emerged from the haze of tradition, but the War of Independence brought the three strongholds into line. All three were the scene of romantic exploits and heroic feats of arms, and each was at one time or another the refuge of sovereigns in distress. Dumbarton dropped earliest out of the stream of national history, and Stirling and Edinburgh both became places of less importance after the Union of the Crowns.

Mr. Stair-Kerr devotes to the subject of Stirling Castle in poetry a chapter which we would like to have seen expanded. It is a suggestive and fruitful theme, and if prose writers had been included, more might have been made of it. The author tells of the visits of Burns, Wordsworth, Scott; and it is to be noted that it is chiefly as a haunt of visitors that Stirling figures in literary history, at least after we have named the ballads, such as *Young Watters*, and the references to the castle in Blind Harry, Barbour, Dunbar, and Davie Lindsay.

We have nothing but praise for the manner in which Mr. Stair-Kerr has executed his task. The illustrations, consisting of drawings of the old buildings of the castle by Mr. Hugh Armstrong Cameron, are excellent, and include several taken from original points of view. DAVID B. MORRIS.

The Early Persecutions of the Christians 307

FORNÄNNEN, MEDDELANDEN FRÅN K. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN. 1912. Under redaktion of Emil Ekhoft. Stockholm : Wahlström & Widstrand.

THIS Review, No. 40, for July last, contained a notice of the archaeological communications addressed to the Royal Academy of Science, History, and Antiquities of Sweden, for the year 1911. The corresponding issue for 1912 is now before us, not less interesting to students.

The opening communication deals with agriculture in Sweden in primeval times, and the recent discovery of a pre-historic loaf of bread in Easter Gotland, and of another at Liunga (några förhistoriska Brödfynd). Other papers describe Runic inscriptions; discoveries of Viking swords and brooches of the usual types, and personal ornaments and other remains, in a mound in Södermanland; a study of archaic cave paintings and rock-inscriptions in Sweden and other countries, with samples of elementary art, in human and animal forms, by children, in the way of comparison; Russo-Byzantine paintings in a church in Gotland; the oldest dated Church Bells in Sweden (from the year 1091); a variety of investigations of stone and bronze-age howes (högar) and burial grounds; besides other communications on details of antiquarian research, carefully described and illustrated. The book concludes, as usual, with an account of the additions to the National Museum during the year, and the report of the year's proceedings; the whole exhibiting an aggregate of scientific research and exposition that does credit to the energy, the learning, and the assiduity of Swedish antiquaries.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

THE EARLY PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS. By Leon Hardy Canfield, Ph.D., Tutor in History in the College of the City of New York. (Vol. lv. pt. 2 of the Studies in History, Economics and Public Law Series of Columbia University). 8vo. Pp. 215. New York, Columbia University. 1913. 6s.

THIS monograph follows the plan not only of giving an account of the early persecutions of the Christians in the light of all the available documentary evidence, but also of marshalling the sources in chronological order that the reader may have before him the documents on which the narrative is based. The plan has been carried out with pleasing success. In the first part of the book we have an interesting narration of the trials of Christianity during the first century of its active existence, to which are added abundant footnotes and references, and in corresponding chapters of the second part the authorities are arranged with explanatory comment to assist the student in forming opinions of his own on the author's conclusions. In many instances, when the document has special importance, the text is given in the original as well as in translation. Dr. Canfield deserves the congratulation of scholars on the excellence of his work. His book is a learned and impartial review of the voluminous literature of a very puzzling period on the subject of which it treats. The introductory chapter on the legal basis of persecution, as it obtained in the Empire from Nero to Hadrian, is a dignified examination of the various theories which have been put forward to account for the intermittent and localised outbursts against the new sect. Appended to the book is a useful bibliography.

JAMES WILSON.

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THE BATTLEFIELDS AROUND STIRLING. By John L. Shearer, F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. viii, 96. With several Illustrations and Plans. Crown 8vo. Stirling: R. S. Shearer & Son. 1913. 3s. net.

IT is four years since Mr. Shearer issued an ill-informed monograph upon *Bannockburn*, and he here handles that subject on a smaller scale, but in the same spirit, while extending his unfortunate methods to three other battles in the vicinity. His idea is to shift the sites of each of these to spots favoured by himself on notions of 'conclusive evidence' and 'abundant proof' that are excessively optimistic. In the case of Wallace's victory, he actually argues against those who might think it impossible 'for the two large armies to meet and engage in battle around Stirling rock and by Stirling Bridge' (p. 11). Nobody is likely to bother him with argument on an elementary blunder. Bannockburn 'raged around Bannockburn village' (p. 21), and 'If there was no land or village named Bannockburn, it is very unlikely the English would have taken this stream for the name of the battle, and would much more likely have called the battle the Battle of St. Ninians, or the Battle of Stirling' (p. 34). Mr. Shearer might have learned that the English historians, contemporary and other, do persistently call it the 'Battle of Stirling.' The dissertations on 'Sauchieburn' or 'the Field of Stirling' and 'Sheriffmuir' are of like quality with the rest. The cardinal fact of the frozen morass on the moor is eliminated like the English advance across the Stirling Bridge against Wallace. What if 'Sheriffmuir' was also called of Dunblane? That the village of Waterloo was a mile and a half behind the position on Mont St. Jean is not going to shift the locus of that affair. Mr. Shearer's confidence exceeds his grasp of the material. W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH PATRIOTISM. By Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Vol I. pp. xl, 614; Vol. II. pp. xii, 672. With Frontispiece in each volume. Demy 8vo. London: John Lane. 1913. 25s. net.

To these attractive volumes, containing genuine contributions to literature and to philosophic speculation, it is not possible, in a periodical devoted mainly to historical science, to give more than a brief notice; and a brief notice is inadequate for even an enumeration of the topics on which the reader will here find matter for thought. As our author finely says (I. 542), 'Patriotism is as various as the sea,' and our only serious criticism is that, setting no limits to his theme, he has allowed it to expand until it has embraced not only the sea and all that is therein, but earth and heaven as well. Under Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's stimulating and sympathetic guidance, we explore the mysteries not only of English diplomacy and statecraft, but of the English Church and the English theatre, of English commerce and English art and literature, and we hear of movements and their leaders to which neither England nor patriotism dare make any exclusive claim. These volumes have much to say, always well worth listening to, on the Counter-Reformation, the French Revolution and the system of Metternich, on Machiavelli and Calvin, on the Duke of Alva and Napoleon, on Erasmus and Rousseau. The author has invariably his own angle of

observation, and is not unduly influenced either by conventional estimates or by anxiety to upset them; but passes judgment on books, men and institutions with engaging boldness and enthusiasm and with all the easy confidence of youth. The whole treatise is full of good things and is written in admirable tone and temper that cannot be too highly commended; no intelligent reader is likely to peruse it without having his own convictions both strengthened and modified, though it is doubtful whether his conception of what constitutes the essence of 'patriotism' may not remain as elusory as before.

WM. S. M'KECHNIE.

THE LIVING PAST: A SKETCH OF WESTERN PROGRESS. By F. S. Marvin, M.A., sometime Senior Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford. Pp. xvi, 288. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1913. 3s. 6d. net.

IN the preface to this unpretentious and fascinating volume the author explains its purpose. The constant accumulation of fresh historical material, and the enlargement of our conception of history, tend to hinder its effective study. He seeks to supply a clue which will aid both student and teacher. He does not profess to have made a new discovery. To Kant's theory of a world-community, in which individual freedom and a common end for mankind are reconciled, he adds the rising power of science as a collective and binding force. The clue he offers is thus the growth of a common humanity, and, within that, the growth of organised knowledge applied to social ends. Here, he believes, may be found such guidance in history as Newtonian gravitation gave in celestial mechanics. History, once little more than a record of kings and battles, is made the record of a general life, of which the student himself is part.

The book consists of twelve chapters or essays, forming, in chronological order, a connected enquiry and exposition. In the introductory one, which he calls 'Looking Backward,' he chooses three chief lines, on which to follow the advance from primitive to civilised man. These are: the growth of knowledge, of power over nature, and of social organisation—the last including law and government. The second essay is on 'The Childhood of the Race,' under which title is described by far the longest stretch of human existence. Here progress can be noted even before history begins. The improvement in tools and weapons and in social organisation is evident in the neolithic age. The slowness of progress is also evident, as well as its growing acceleration with every advance. He next considers the millenniums during which great communities were formed and the records of history begin; the early world of thought revealed by the interpretation of hieroglyphics; the beginning of writing, and of the measurement of the land and of the heavens in Egypt and Chaldea. He finds the life and thought of these, to us, as Herodotus, pre-eminently theocratic ages, to be 'built up of earlier elements of immense antiquity, the spontaneous beliefs in fetishes and spirits which mark the earlier stages of culture.' The task of organising and holding together large societies was passed on to the Persians and the Romans. For the Greeks, to whom the author devotes an admirable chapter, turned from traditional authority to freedom and enquiry. To them the last millennium B.C. belongs. Then philosophy and science,

between which their early thinkers knew no distinction, were born, and humane feeling and the kindred conception of ideal beauty in art appeared. At the threshold of scientific progress, says Mr. Marvin, stands the enquiring Greek. He next deals with the Romans, in an equally fine essay. The Roman millennium begins later than the Greek, and extends into the fifth century A.D. Transformed, it lasts for another millennium in the East. Its legacy is Roman Laws. Another millennium covers the Middle Ages, to which the sixth essay is devoted, when a spiritual power overcomes the temporal, and Dante is the chief of the thinkers who express a new ideal. But the Middle Ages show no progress in knowledge of the laws of nature, or in intellectual advancement, though much in social force and unity, a development less essential for the coming conquests.

The seventh essay is on 'The Renaissance and The New World.' As Dante at the close of the Middle Ages, so Shakspeare at the close of the Renaissance sets forth the spirit of the period. The next essay is on 'The Rise of Modern Science.' Italy became to the world of the fifteenth century what Greece had been to the world two thousand years before. The ninth, tenth and eleventh essays are on the later Revolutions, industrial, social and political, and the progress which has followed them. Science organises industry, both in machinery and men. A new spirit of humanity and progress has appeared. Governments consciously adopt an aim never before conceived, the well-being of every individual. Social organisation, specialised knowledge, the utilisation of natural forces, intercommunication, rapidly advance.

The final essay is entitled 'Looking Forward.' Mr. Marvin finds our own the age in which man's collective force and knowledge have reached their highest point; and, side by side with the advance in knowledge and prosperity, and the growing unification of the world, he sees 'a steady deepening of human sympathy, and the extension of it to all weak and suffering things.' And, after a fine summation of what has gone before, showing how the study of growth, from the Past, having carried the mind backwards towards the childhood of the race, our interest, in the Future, is in the child of to-day, 'the Living embodiment of human origins.'

Mr. Marvin's arrangement of his subject is a natural one, and he uses it with a success that gives his work peculiar value and distinction. His writing is of the quickly recognised sort that inspires confidence in his knowledge and judgment, and content in his guidance. It abounds in proofs of erudition and reflection. His incidental sketches of the growth and influence of language; of the origin and development of Roman Law, and its influence on historical study; of the Feudal System; of the policy of land inclosure; of the effects of the French Revolution; of the New World as a link between advancing Western Europe and the older civilisations of the East; his instructive measurements of advance by the comparison of an earlier with a later figure in the same line of progress; his classifications; for example, that of the Revival of Learning, the 'scientific movement developed by distinguished persons and patronised by princes,' as aristocratic, that of the union of science and industry, as popular; all are effective and luminous.

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Each of the chief essays is a masterly and brilliant treatise on its subject, and the book as a whole excellently and attractively fulfils its purpose. It offers a useful clue to the study of history, by exhibiting the movement of the collective forces of mankind in its task of subduing the powers of nature and turning them ultimately to the common good. It is itself a compact philosophy of history, wide in view, happy in expression, fertile in suggestion.

There is a useful Appendix on Books, and an Index, chiefly of proper names.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

ENGLISH MERCHANTS AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION IN THE CANARIES :
Extracts from the Archives in possession of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by L. de Alberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc. (Econ.). Pp. xviii, 174. 4to. London : Offices of the Society, 6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn. 1912.

THIS work, one of the Camden series of the Royal Historical Society, presents extracts from original documents detailing the judicial procedure of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands towards the end of the sixteenth century. The first part consists of an English translation of the records of examinations of suspects and witnesses selected for publication, and this is followed by the Spanish text. The Introduction is in two parts, the first dealing with the ecclesiastical aspects of the subject, and the second mainly with its economic and commercial bearing. The evil reputation of the Holy Office arose, so far as these islands are concerned, not so much from excess of cruelty, as from secrecy and slowness of procedure, so that the accused person never knew for how many years his trial might drag on. England was at war with Spain, and yet English ships and traders did not cease to visit the Canaries. As Dr. Chapman tells us, their object was three-fold, 'first food and water, secondly piracy, and thirdly trade.'

In these records of evidence of English heretics, or suspected heretics, the ubiquitous Scot comes repeatedly into view. For example, Bartholomew Cole, who had been put to the torture, confesses that the 'Englishmen hold commerce and trade with Spain by means of the Scotch, the merchandise and ships being dispatched in the name of Scotchmen.' He mentions two Scottish traders, George Fausset and Archibald Dawson, and 'knows that the said Scotch carry passports from the King of Scotland and cannot say whether these are forged or not, but thinks that they may be.' According to Cole, 'no importance need be attached to the said passports because, even though they may really have been given by the King of Scotland, they are so easily obtained that they would be given for any bribe.' It took this interesting heretic six years, although reconciled to the Church, to get out of the clutches of the Holy Office.

These records are important from the light they shed upon trade activity under difficulties during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century.

JOHN EDWARDS.

CLIO, A MUSE AND OTHER ESSAYS LITERARY AND PEDESTRIAN. By G. M. Trevelyan. Pp. 200. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 4s. 6d. net.

THE essay from which this volume takes its name is a strong and eloquent plea for the writing of history as an art and the reading of history as a pleasure. Mr. Trevelyan regrets the results which have followed from the precepts of teachers of a quarter of a century ago, who spoke slightly of historians like Macaulay or Carlyle as merely literary. These teachers maintained that history was a science and that its value lay not in producing pleasant reading, but in the laborious investigation and accurate record of what actually took place in the period of time under record. But, and this is the drift of Mr. Trevelyan's argument, it is simply impossible for any historian to reproduce *all* the facts of any period in the past. Some selection is necessary, and the true historian is the one who selects or discovers and describes the facts which are significant, and sets them out in clear order and true connection, so that the reader may vividly apprehend both the actual course of events and the feelings and passions of the people concerned. But that history should be accurate it is not necessary that it should be dull. That it should omit no essential fact it is not necessary that it should present the facts in a confused or disorderly form. The historian must be an artist in narrative.

The attempt to treat history as a 'science' was perhaps natural at a time when great quantities of evidence were being discovered or made available, and it was obvious that views formerly held by even great historians required to be corrected or cancelled. But Mr. Trevelyan makes clear his point that there is a great difference between 'History' and 'Science.' The history of men cannot be handled like science—like physical science at all events—in respect that no man is exactly like another, and that the exact circumstances of society at any given time never exactly recur. Hence it is impossible to draw from the records of the past any gain of a merely utilitarian sort or deduce 'laws of cause and effect which are certain to repeat themselves in the institutions and affairs of men.'

The value of history is educational, it is true, but not in the sense of providing us with a series of examples of conduct, political or personal, which shall be safe guides to-day. We want to know what happened in the past, and therefore narrative is the essence of history. The neglect of narrative has too often permitted the publication of treatises which are little better than the pointed note-books of historical students, laborious and conscientious, no doubt, but more laborious to read than to write. The dreary treatises so produced weary, and in the end revolt the reader. Hence, a result which Mr. Trevelyan deplures, the neglect of history by the ordinary reader to the narrowing of his mind and the cramping of his sympathies. After he has mustered and winnowed his facts, the historian must have the art of telling us his story. He must bring up out of the past the figures and the deeds of men, and hold us by that sympathy with their hopes and fears which it is his art to make us feel. 'To recover some of our ancestors' real thoughts and feelings is the hardest, subtlest, and most educative function that the historian can perform.' 'To give a true picture

of any country, or man or group of men in the past, requires industry and knowledge, for only the documents can tell us the truth, but it requires also insight, sympathy, and imagination of the finest, and last, but not least, the art of making our ancestors live again in modern narrative.' It is when it achieves this aim that history is educational, and may become a school of political wisdom. For, though it cannot provide examples from the past which we may mechanically copy, and thereby hope to solve the problems of to-day, it can 'broaden the outlook' and breed enthusiasm and suggest ideals. 'It can mould the mind itself into the capability of understanding great affairs and sympathising with other men.'

Mr. Trevelyan says that good historical reading is often the result of hard writing, but whatever pains may have gone to the preparation of this plea for history as literature, they are not inflicted on the reader. The essay as it stands displays the zest with which it has been written. There is no lack of method or illustration by example in the statement of the writer's case. But this is no dry *précis* of a technical argument. It is a piece of flowing prose charged with literary feeling, inspired by the love of noble and well-ordered expression, the art of telling of great things in a great way. Readers will find at p. 26 a fine example of Mr. Trevelyan's own way, if not of writing history, at least of giving expression to the reflections that history suggests. Speaking of 'History and local associations,' he refers to the gardens and quadrangles of St. John's College, Oxford, with their reminiscences of the fugitive court of Charles I. In a few sentences of moving eloquence suffused with a passion of sympathy for men as men, he indicates the tragic passions and no less tragic destinies of both sides in the great quarrel of the seventeenth century.

The other essays in the volume call for less notice here. But the essay on 'Walking' is like a summons to take the road and be off over the hills and far away. It will set many a reader on getting out his big boots and his maps and planning tramps, for the long days that will soon come round.

'The Middle Marches' sketches lightly, but clearly and firmly, the outlines of 'Border' life as seen from the English side. But the distinction of English from Scottish is merely geographical, so far as border life is concerned. It was one life that was led on either side of the Cheviots. It is due to the genius of Scott that that life is best known as it was seen from north of Cheviot and north of Tweed. But the 'riding' and other Ballads are a common heritage to men of the race that dwell on either side of the border line. Mr. Trevelyan proves himself 'seized' of his share in that heritage when he writes of the men and women among whom the Ballads arose; and he has caught the very feeling of the landscape and the figures that moved across it.

The perusal of the volume has given unmixed pleasure.

ANDREW RUTHERFORD.

THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB. Fifth volume. Pp. x, 198, 25. With numerous illustrations. 4to. Edinburgh: printed by T. & A. Constable for the members of the Club. 1912 (issued 1913).

THE energy of the Old Edinburgh Club is an encouragement to all collectors of local records. It may have been a matter of surprise that more has not been done in the past to secure both in pictorial and narrative form a record of some of the older Edinburgh buildings, and undoubtedly the materials which were available a generation ago were very much greater than they are now; but the Old Edinburgh Club is doing its share vigorously to repair the omissions of previous citizens.

The volume of its papers recently issued is full of interesting matter. Mr. Moir Bryce has a long and learned paper on Saint Margaret of Scotland and her Chapel in the Castle of Edinburgh, for which he has generously given numerous engravings. The other papers in this volume are the Site of the Black Friars' Monastery from the Reformation to the present day, by Mr. William Cowan; Extracts from the Original Records of the Old Tolbooth, by Mr. John A. Fairley; a short paper on Moubray House, by Mr. Andrew E. Murray, and some letters from John Bonar to William Creuch concerning the formation of the Speculative Society, with Notes by the Rev. Henry Paton.

Each of these papers has its own value for the historian and the antiquary, and no one who is interested in the literary life of Edinburgh can fail to be attracted by Mr. Paton's paper and the letters which mark the beginning of a society which has for 150 years (not 160 as stated in the volume) been associated with the literary life of Scotland. For Mr. Paton does not exaggerate when he says that the Society has included 'some of the most eminent literary and judicial talent in Edinburgh, and men of the highest standing and most distinguished careers in all the professions.'

We hope that the success of the Old Edinburgh Club may induce other towns in Scotland to pay more attention to their local history. A great deal has already been accomplished, but much more remains to be done.

INSULAE BRITANNICAE—THE BRITISH ISLES, THEIR EARLY GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE ROMAN PERIOD. By A. W. Whatmore. Pp. xvi, 375. With four maps. Demy 8vo. London: Elliot Stock. 1913. 20s. net.

THIS book purports to be an attempt to review the geography, history, and antiquities of the British Isles, from the earliest times to the withdrawal of the Romans, but as a matter of fact antiquities other than those to which the author assigns a Roman attribution come in for scant notice. It reveals in its compilation no small amount of research in the works of classical authors, and in a no less degree ingenuity in identifying places mentioned, or believed to be mentioned, by them. To the extent to which the author has confined himself to an epitome of statements relating to Britain, arranged in numbered paragraphs and in chronological sequence, he has produced a useful work of reference, but when he allows himself to speculate in etymology and topography he is not a safe guide to follow.

Such statements as that 'the round towers of Ireland were probably connected with pillar worship,' or that 'St. Columba was apparently a circle-god, whose church of Iona was a place of circle worship,' are as little likely to receive credence as that the 'Deil's Dyke' in Galloway was the turf vallum of Lollius Urbicus. To fit a theory that the Catrail was the wall of Hadrian, 80 miles in length, Mr. Whatmore does not hesitate to add 58 miles to the present length of that construction, and to state that it extended from Wetherall in Cumberland probably to the vicinity of Leith.

To a student of Roman Britain sufficiently versed in his subject to discriminate between fact and conjecture the book may prove of use and interest.

ALEX. O. CURLE.

LES ORIGINES POLITIQUES DES GUERRES DE RELIGION: II. La fin de la magnificence extérieure; Le roi contre les Protestants (1555-1559). By Lucien Romier. Pp. v. 464. With two illustrations and map. Royal 8vo. Paris: Persin et Cie, 1914. 15 fr.

IN our notice of the first instalment of M. Romier's history reference was made to the pleasure with which many readers would anticipate the appearance of succeeding volumes (*S.H.R.* xi. 105), and it is with unfeigned regret that we have observed that in this second volume the author has accomplished the task which he set before him. The first volume dealt with the eight years between the accession of Henri II. and the Truce of Vaucelles and the second and concluding volume brings the narrative down to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and the premature death of the King. To the modern mind the history of one reign is apt to appear an arbitrary and abstract subject, and at first sight this point of view is justified in the case of Henri II., whose negative and baffling character lay at the mercy of distracting and hostile influences up to the eve of his disappearance from the European stage. But in a peculiar sense Henri II. by the spasmodic exercise of his will, which flared up like the flame of a dying torch at the very hour of his death, set his seal on an epoch and closed the page of the Italian wars. The talent of M. Romier is seen at its best in the field of diplomacy, in the history of the hot personal struggle between the Constable de Montmorency and the Guise family which ushered in the wider and impersonal conflict of the Religious Wars, and in this respect he is justified in bringing his work to what may appear a premature close. For a generation Italy was the cock-pit of Europe, and M. Romier portrays with remarkable skill the heated atmosphere of the peninsula, distracted by the intrigues of the Tuscan and Neapolitan *fuorusciti* before it sank under the weight of the Spanish domination. The Republic of Montalcino was 'the end of an auld sang,' the romantic side to the French *retraite d'outre monts*. One of the sub-titles of M. Romier's second volume is *Le roi contre les Protestants*, but this serves more as a forecast of the future than a description of the field with which he deals. It was only in the last months of his life that Henri II. turned his attention to the domestic concerns of his kingdom. He was fated to disappear just when he was beginning to realise that France held within her forces which had significance deeper and wider than the fascinating possibilities of his Italian adventures.

The volume opens with the French King's rupture of the Truce of Vaucelles, in which he made himself the blind instrument of the ambitions of the Guise family, of the equally blind hatred of the Pope for the Spanish oppressors of his native country, and of the sympathies of his Italian wife for the fuorusciti, Tuscan and Neapolitan, who thronged his court. The futile campaign of the Duke de Guise was interrupted by the overwhelming defeat of St. Quentin. The subsequent capture of Calais only served to salve the wounded *amour-propre* of Henri, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis marked an unlimited recognition of the Spanish claims. In his over-mastering desire to recover Montmorency, his guide, philosopher and friend, from his captivity, Henri withdrew from Savoy, which was prospering as a French province, and left his Italian allies at the mercy of Spain and the Medici. For France the Treaty was *La fin de la magnificence extérieure*, and for Italy it marked the failure of the last attempt of the Papacy to influence the course of secular politics by the direct use of secular weapons. Readers of Baron Hübner's masterly study of Sixtus V. will recognise that in the next generation the Papacy maintained an unflinching opposition to Spanish claims, but the forces which it wielded were indirect, financial and diplomatic.

The key to M. Romier's work is found in the seventy pages which he devotes to 'l'avènement politique de la Reforme Française.' While the long dynastic struggle between the Hapsburgs and the Valois was terminated at the instance of the latter by a treaty which reflected the conflicting ambitions of secondary actors such as the Duke of Savoy, Montmorency and the Guise family, a new force was stirring in France. In its earlier stages the French Reformed movement was economic, intellectual and moral, and had it been directed by a leader of genius, would have offered no grounds for governmental repression. But the forces of the new spirit fell into the incompetent hands of disaffected Princes of the Blood, and seemed to justify the view which the government adopted, that the disorders of Germany were about to be repeated in France.

M. Romier's luminous sketch of the opening phase of the Religious Wars will encourage his readers in the hope that he will continue his adventures in the archives of Europe and provide them with a diplomatic history of the period from the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis to the death of Henri IV.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

THE RISE OF SOUTH AFRICA. A History of the Origin of South African Colonisation and of its Development towards the East from the earliest times to 1857. By G. E. Cory, M.A. Vol. II. from 1820 to 1834. Pp. xvi. 489. With 38 illustrations and 2 maps. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 18s.

WE welcome the second instalment of this valuable addition to history. It is the more interesting as it succeeds the first volume, which dealt with a population almost wholly Dutch or 'Africander' in origin, although under British rule after 1806. This one, on the other hand, traces the newer phase when colonists of British race went out to South Africa and settled there, though by no means forgetting the country of their birth. The

romance of the settlements of these emigrants is well told. Many were driven to emigrate by poverty, many by the end of the Napoleonic wars. Colonel Graham was the first 'Africander' to embody the principles of Lord Selkirk in 1813, and to recommend the Zuurveld (which he had subdued) as suitable for exigent Highlanders, and Mr. Benjamin Moodie (an Orkneyman) followed with an emigration movement or labour agency four years later. Scottish expeditions continued, until finally Lord Bathurst obtained the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset's, welcome of settlements in South Africa, instead of turning all the emigrants towards America as had been the trend before. We have here a good account of the early settlers, their origin and their hardships, the Kaffir wars and their jealousies—for English and Dutch factions soon evolved. The fourteen years of work of all kinds is recounted in a way that is fascinating to read. We learn how schoolmasters came out in 1820 from Scotland,—though many were later tempted away by hopes of wealth from their schools,—and how the clergy came, and sometimes made trouble. The trials of the early governors are not forgotten, and a good account is given of general progress, in spite of Africa being 'the grave of great men's reputations.' It would take too long to deal with the book in detail, but it should be read by anyone interested in the history of colonial enterprise.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

IRISH SEAL MATRICES AND SEALS. By E. C. R. Armstrong. With eighty illustrations. Pp. 135. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1913.

THERE has been, it is interesting to note, a great revival of interest in sigillography in recent years. Few works appeared on the subject from the time when, in 1639, Oliver Uredius published at Bruges his great work on the seals of the Counts of Flanders. Nothing of its kind is finer than this magnificent collection of highly artistic seals or the manner in which they were engraved. The volume appeared just as the custom of appending seals to documents was getting into desuetude, and for the next two hundred years little interest was taken in the art of the seal engraver. But in 1850 Henry Laing published his first volume of Scottish seals, followed some years after by another. It was an exceedingly well-compiled catalogue, considering it was the work of a pioneer in the subject, and it has been of the utmost use to students of Scottish history. Since then, not only in Great Britain but abroad, numerous works on seals have appeared. Dr. de Gray Birch's long and elaborate catalogue of the seals in the British Museum is a monumental work, while Mr. W. R. Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals* has put him in the front rank of experts on the subject.

The present volume is chiefly a collection of seal matrices. So far as one can gather, there seem to be remarkably few impressions of seals in Ireland. But matrices are in some respects more satisfactory than impressions, as details are always seen in the former which bad sealing and rough usage often render indistinct in the latter. Though it cannot be said that Mr. Armstrong has had very first-class material on which to work, he has presented the two hundred or so specimens which he has managed to get together with the skill of an accomplished archaeologist. He admits that

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the technique of the Irish matrices is hardly so elaborate or fine as that of English or foreign examples, and indeed there is nothing in the armorial family seals in the volume which can for a moment compare with those given by Mr. Barrington de Fonblanque in his *Annals of the House of Percy*, or by Sir William Fraser in his *Douglas Book*.

As might be expected, a large part of Mr. Armstrong's examples are drawn from ecclesiastical sources, and some of these, such as the seal of Barrett, Bishop of Elphin, show a quite adequate amount of artistic feeling and expression.

The illustrations give a very satisfactory rendering of the various seals mentioned : first the matrix is given, then a side view, including the handle (a useful and interesting feature of the work), and then the impression of the seal itself. It is curious, as the author observes in his introduction, that better work was not produced in the way of Irish seals, considering the wonderful skill displayed by the early Irish metal workers, as exemplified in several splendid examples of that art which have come down to us, such as the Tara Brooch and the Ardagh Chalice. It does not even appear to be certain whether the matrices here described were made in Ireland at all, but it is unlikely that there were not some exponents of the art left in a country which had such a fine artistic tradition. The seals are well and carefully described, and the volume does credit to the author's ability and knowledge of the subject.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. By Basil Williams. In two volumes. Vol. I. pp. xii, 408 ; Vol. II. viii, 421. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 25s. net.

THIS is one of those good books which it is unnecessary and almost impertinent to praise. It will take its place among our best political biographies, beside Miss Foxcroft's Halifax, Fitzmaurice's Shelburne, Morley's Gladstone. The book is even more than this : it is a fine piece of historical writing. The middle of the eighteenth century is perhaps the only age when history can best be read in political biography. The lives of Cecil, Bacon, Eliot or Cromwell are most profitably studied in the great histories of Ranke and Gardiner. The biographies of the men most intimate with affairs in recent times tend towards an independence of their own. But a balance can be struck between biography and history when we turn to the eighteenth century. The difference in form and spirit between biographical and ordinary historical writing is of course very great. Mr. Williams' work is consistently biographical. From the first page to the last we see the political game and the problems of war and empire as Chatham saw them. The book contains nothing that is irrelevant or redundant. It is fine history because the author never strains after effect, never shows himself, never forces a judgment upon his readers. The duty of a contemporary biographer is to interpret. This biography is so perfect in art and plan that Chatham interprets himself, and we really seem to be in the eighteenth century.

Mr. Williams is not what is called a brilliant writer. The reader who

feels impelled to read his book through will find that an interest in the subject, and no mere inducement of style, has driven him on. When an accurate writer achieves this, he combines literary with scientific history. The only valid point which a literary critic can make against a piece of 'scientific history' is that an interested, or a possibly interested reader, who is prepared to think for himself, will be discouraged by its prolixity or confusion of thought or absence of insight; in other words, by its dulness or stupidity. The only valid point that a 'scientific historian' could ever wish to make against a 'literary history' is that it makes an essentially interesting piece of reality an excuse for casual emotion and artifices of style. In his preface Mr. Williams acknowledges the inspiring encouragement of Mr. George Trevelyan. If Mr. Trevelyan had realised that he was encouraging an effort of sound scientific history, we venture to think that he would have greatly modified the perversities in a recent essay.

In the course of a very careful reading of Mr. Williams' book I marked many passages for comment, and two or three, including the treatment of Carteret's foreign policy, for discussion. But detailed criticism is unnecessary. Like several recent writers, including Dr. Rose, Mr. Winstanley, and Mr. Harris, he has used freely the Bridport, Carteret, Egerton and other papers among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum. His familiarity with the literature, architecture and topography of eighteenth century England is part of his familiarity with Pitt himself. The study of Governor Pitt, his hero's grandfather, and of Madras in the late seventeenth century, is a valuable essay in the influences of heredity and environment. I should like also to note the page upon Pitt's study of and views on history (i. 215, cf. ii. 259), and the sentence in the second volume (p. 125) which is the keynote of the book: 'Not George III.'s birth in Great Britain but Pitt's continual success in the conduct of our public affairs united those who were real lovers of their country and dealt the final blow to Jacobinism as a political creed.'

The careful and elaborate Appendix (ii, 335-351) upon Pitt's speeches makes one wish that Mr. Williams would prepare an authoritative edition of these invaluable but badly reported orations.

F. M. POWICKE.

THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH VIEW OF NAPOLEON. By F. J. MacCunn, B.A., Lecturer in History at Glasgow University. Pp. viii, 308, crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 5s. net.

FEW subjects are more interesting to the student of the Napoleonic era than the ideas of Napoleon concerning England and the English. Probably the least reliable authority on the question is the Emperor himself. Peculiarly sensitive to the opinions of himself expressed by English statesmen and English journals, he lavished on the race admiration and execration with equal freedom. His views of our nation sprang from the emotion of the moment rather than from any settled judgment. For it may be truly said that he never understood the English temperament, as he never solved the enigma of English political institutions. To appreciate his attitude towards England one must have a wide knowledge of the attitude of England

towards him. To supply this knowledge is the purpose of Mr. MacCunn's book. He has made a worthy contribution to Napoleonic literature. As a result of careful research, he has not only given us contemporary views of striking interest, but has woven them into a narrative which is characterised by a wide learning. There was no one contemporary view of Napoleon in England. While Tories consistently despised and ridiculed him, Whigs admired him and sorrowed much for him. The journals of that day made no attempt to voice public opinion, but expressed only the view of the writer of the article. Hence, while pamphleteers and newspaper writers were holding the First Consul up to contempt and hatred, the people of England regarded him as a great emancipator. And individual statesmen, poets and travellers who were loudest in their condemnation of him before they saw him, became as ardent in praise of him and his work after having been in his presence. If any emotions can be called national at that day, they were at first admiration, then contempt, then fear, and fear predominated. The 'governing classes' feared him as the personification of the Revolution. The masses, under their tuition, feared him as a modern Attila, to whose ambition the only limit was universal dominion. The varied and ever-varying ideas of his personality, his rule and his ultimate goal, the changing attitude of political parties and leaders, are drawn with great skill by Mr. MacCunn. The chapter on Napoleon's personal character and place in history is the most striking chapter in the book, precise, discriminating and complete. But throughout the narrative is clear and, as far as any Napoleonic study can be, unbiassed, while the copious extracts with which the text abounds are of extreme value.

Mr. MacCunn had a choice to make in his treatment of his subject. He might have made a popular narrative, or a book to be treasured for reference. Without sacrificing too much to his purpose, he chose the latter course. Unfortunately he has not added an index. To few books could an index be of more value.

E. ROSSLYN MITCHELL.

THE BRIDGE OF DEE: ITS HISTORY, ITS STRUCTURAL FEATURES AND ITS SCULPTURES. By G. M. Fraser, Librarian, Public Library, Aberdeen. Pp. 144, with ten Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Aberdeen: The Bon-Accord Press. 1913. 3s. 6d. net.

MR. FRASER continues his excellent work on the antiquities of Aberdeen. His account of the Bridge of Dee is altogether good. Not only has he thrown into a readable form all that patient enquiry and examination could reveal about the Bridge and the roads connected with it, but he has solved the various puzzles of the structure. He is right in thinking that the story he has to tell should be familiar in the schools of Aberdeen. The record of such a bridge is a fine lesson in the development of a community, and also provides many points of contact with the national history. These two lines are now followed in schools with modern methods: admirably, for example, in the Village Hall School, Weybridge.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

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IMPERIAL ARCHITECTS. Being an Account of Proposals in the Direction of A Closer Imperial Union, made previous to the Opening of the First Colonial Conference of 1887. By Alfred Leroy Burt, B.A., Toronto University and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. With an Introduction by H. E. Egerton, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College and Beit Professor of Colonial History, Oxford University. Pp. vii, 228. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1913. 3s. 6d. net

THE author, as we learn from Professor Egerton's Introduction, is a Canadian Rhodes Scholar. His subject has therefore a peculiar interest for him, as his treatment of it will have for others. His essay is creditable to his industry and erudition. He writes with ability and earnestness. He begins with a brief review of the development of Imperialism. It is a record of change of fashion of ideas. The impossibility of Imperial Disunion was a fixed idea till the American War of Independence brought about the fixed idea of the impossibility of Imperial Union. This latter fixed idea is now being discarded for an approach to the former. Mr. Burt arranges the Proposals chronologically in two periods, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Those in the former were made before the Independence of the American Colonies. Adam Smith advocated Colonial representation in the British parliament. Burke opposed it. Adam Smith suggested that, as America grew in wealth and population, the Seat of Empire might naturally remove itself to the other side of the Atlantic. This, in the author's opinion, 'is the utterance of a great prophet.'

The 'Imperial Architects' (the title seems rather hyperbolic) of the nineteenth century bear less illustrious names, from John Beverley Robinson to 'Ignotus' and 'A Constant Reader.' Their 'paper plans,' as the author calls them, characterised as 'amateurish' by Professor Egerton, are impartially culled from Report, Pamphlet, Magazine and Evening Newspaper. These plans were all futile. They failed to measure geographical and financial as well as other difficulties. They did not tackle the problem of India. With the exception of Mr. W. E. Forster, no British statesman of the first rank could be persuaded to interest himself in them. But they helped to lead to the First Colonial Conference.

Their futility has no doubt aided in the recognition of the magnitude of the problem. Mr. Burt holds that through them all runs the fundamental idea that the consolidation of the British Empire would make the Colonies feel themselves to be parts of it rather than dependencies. He also holds that the opening of the first Colonial Conference closed the door on ideal Imperialism and ushered in practical Imperialism. But, to realise that, he believes there must be united the wisdom of many minds.

The volume is furnished with a small Bibliography, but lacks an Index.

ENGLISH HISTORY IN CONTEMPORARY POETRY. No. II.—LANCASTER AND YORK, 1399 to 1485. By C. L. Kingsford. Pp. 48. Demy 8vo. No. IV.—COURT AND PARLIAMENT, 1588 to 1688. By Professor F. I. C. Hearnshaw. Pp. 47. Demy 8vo. London: Published for the Historical Association by G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1913. 1s. net each.

EACH of these attractive surveys of political song is half anthology, half historical essay, and realises the continuation of a fine enterprise, which it

can scarcely be amiss to ascribe to the inspiration of Professor Firth. The muse of politics, it is true, often lacks finish, but where she fails in grace she often compensates in force and purpose. Mr. Kingsford has deserved so well in the editorship of chronicle that his success with politics in verse was assured beforehand. Professor Hearnshaw has as full a pocketful of satirical song as Mr. Kingsford, and presents it equally well. We quote one of Cleveland's thrusts at our country in 1647 :—

‘Had Cain been Scot God would have changed his doom ;
Not forced him wander, but confined him home.’

A HISTORY OF EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO NORTH AMERICA. 1763-1912. By Stanley C. Johnson, M.A. Pp. xvi, 387. Demy 8vo. London : George Routledge & Sons. 1913. 6s. net.

A THESIS for the D.Sc. Degree in Economics in the University of London, this work is instructive and worth reading. The most interesting parts to us are Chapters I. and II., the Preliminary Survey 1763-1815 and the Historical Survey 1815-1912, and it is astonishing to find how much of America after 1763 was peopled by immigrants from Ireland and Scotland. In Canada emigrants from the latter country, mainly Celts, prevailed ; the Frasers and Montgomeries were the first, these were increased by loyalist migrations from America after the war broke out. Many of the second band were Catholics, who fused with the French Canadians, leaving as sole traces of their Highland descent ‘their names and red hair.’ Lord Selkirk's colonies to Prince Edward Island in 1803, and (less successful) to Hudson's Bay in 1811 followed. All these are recounted in this book, and the more modern system of colonisation, the causes, growth and extent, may also be traced in its well-written pages.

LES CORSAIRES DUNKERQUOIS ET JEAN BART. II. 1662 à 1702. Par Henri Malo. Pp. 518. With several Illustrations. Paris : *Mercur de France*. 1914. 3.50 fr.

M. MALO has been prompt to follow up his first volume (*S.H.R.* x. 430) with its concluding and second volume, which centres upon the Bart family, and specially on Jean Bart, who was at sea in 1667, made his name a terror to the English and the Dutch for nearly fifty years, and died in 1702, leaving a romantic legend of his exploits to brighten the annals of the French marine. His was a name to which the Revolution added fresh tribute, and Napoleon knew to do it homage too. His statue stands in Dunkirk, and his biographer reckons him a typical hero, ‘*sans peur et sans reproche*.’ An appendix gives letters of reprisal and of marque, etc., and there is a moderately good index to the volumes, in which, as Britain is largely the enemy, we hear much that is not so much to our advantage as to ‘la gloire de Jean Bart.’

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ARTHUR CAPEL, EARL OF ESSEX, 1675-1677. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Clement Edwards Pike. Camden Third Series, vol. xxiv. Pp. xv, 162. 4to. London : Offices of the Society, 1913.

THESE Essex Papers from the Stowe MSS. in the British Museum probably derive almost their whole interest from the continuous notices they

contain of affairs in Ireland, where Essex was Lord Lieutenant. In June, 1676, he wrote from Dublin Castle regarding news 'of some seditious Councils that are now agitating in Scotland'—doubtless against the repressive policy of Lauderdale. In 1677 a report is given of a parliamentary discussion at Westminster on that perennial grievance 'ye acts agnst Irish Cattle trade.' Mr. Pike's preface though brief is clear and pointed.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA. Third series, vol. x. (Centenary Volume, 1813-1913). Pp. viii, 380. With thirty-four Portraits. 4to. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1913.

It was a pious thought to commemorate the centenary of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries by a volume of biographical and historical survey including short accounts of the Society's history, its museum and library, and a select series of personal notices of the men whose names and antiquarian work are the memories of which the present membership at the opening of a second century do well to show themselves proud.

Mr. R. O. Heslop tells the story of the fine Museum which is the glory of the Society. Mr. C. H. Blair describes with a touch of almost equal affection the library. To Mr. Richard Welford and Mr. J. C. Hodgson however has fallen the weightiest task—that which fills 225 pages with 170 condensed biographies enriched with 34 excellent portraits. Among these pictured celebrities we salute John Clayton, Collingwood Bruce and J. P. Gibson, John Hodgson, W. H. D. Longstaffe, Cadwallader Bates and Canon James Raine. May the earth lie light upon them all, and may the second century produce as many archaeological giants as the first!

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY: A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION. By Frank Rede Fouke (Bohn's Antiquarian Library). Pp. ix, 139. With 79 Plates. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Limited. 1913. 5s.

WE are glad to see a history of the Bayeux Tapestry in this new form, as the original book is difficult to procure. The plates are exceedingly good, and help very materially to visualise 'The Conquest.'

SOUTH AMERICA. By W. A. Koebel (The Making of the Nations). Pp. x, 298. With 32 full-page Illustrations and Maps and Plans. Post 8vo. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THE writer commences his book on this wide subject with a short sketch of the Indian peoples, made more difficult by the destruction of their pagan civilisation and the 'obliterative enthusiasm' of their Christian conquerors. His real historical starting-place begins with the appearance of Columbus and the Conquistadores. We are given a good account of all the Spanish settlements. The contrast of the Spanish cruelties to their Indian subjects, with the more peaceful settlement of the Portuguese in their colonisation of the great country of Brazil, is well marked. The independence struggle is well described also, and again the difference is shown between the fierce destruction of the Spanish monarchical yoke and the milder establish-

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ment in Brazil of the Republic by the exile of Dom Pedro II. The author has vast ground to cover, and has done his work well, and given some interesting illustrations also.

VOYAGE AUX ÉTATS UNIS DE L'AMÉRIQUE, 1793-1798. By Moreau de Saint-Méry. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Stewart L. Muns, Assistant Professor of History in Yale College. Pp. xxxvi, 440, with Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. New Haven : Yale University Press. London : Humphrey Wilford, Oxford University Press. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS handsome book is one of the useful series of Yale historical publications, and is of real value. It is interesting to see what the creole historian Moreau had to say about America, where 'the king of Paris during three days' found a refuge until he was enabled to return to France in 1798. A man of culture and a good observer, Moreau was able to see the best and the worst of the country of his exile. It is pleasant to find the criticism 'Les habitans de New York sont en général polis et affables, et le séjour de leur ville est sans contredit le plus agréable de tous les lieux des Etats Unis.' He gives due recognition to the omniscience of Franklin, tells much of interest about Washington and Alexander Hamilton, and of the band of illustrious *émigrés* and strangers, which included his crony Talleyrand and Kosciusko. There is a well-informed account of the state of the Negroes and the attitude of the Churches towards them, and, among other curious observations, one is astonished to find a charge of immorality made against (of all people !) the young Quakers of Philadelphia.

INTERPRETATIONS AND FORECASTS : A STUDY OF SURVIVALS AND TENDENCIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By Victor Branford, M.A. Pp. 424. Demy 8vo. London : Duckworth & Co. 1914. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS book is a glorification of sociology. It is sufficient to take some random headings of its contents to prove this : 'The Citizen as Sociologist,' 'The Citizen as Psychologist,' 'The Sociologist at the Theatre,' 'The Present as a Transition,' and 'The Mediaeval Citizen.' The last essay is both interesting and instructive. It lauds the guilds and the protection they gave to medieval work ; the mutual relation of the guilds and the Cathedral, and *vice versa*. It cites the example of Burgos, when that Spanish cathedral was begun by a French master mason, finished under a German architect, and dedicated to an English bishop. What the author deduces from this is that the medieval man was 'a citizen, a European, and a Christian,' whereas his modern successor is 'a politician, a nationalist, and an idolater,' and he works out his thesis wonderfully well. In this book we read a great deal about the 'outlook tower' of Edinburgh, and of its founder, who, the prefatory note states, is a parent of the work contained in this volume.

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ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES (1272-1485). By Kenneth H. Vickers, M.A. Pp. xiii, 542. With four Maps. Demy 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1913. 10s. 6d. net.

HAMPERED as he is by lack of space (he tells us that a hundred pages of his original MS. had to be ruthlessly excised) Mr. Vickers has produced a very desirable chronicle of a long and difficult age. He has recorded not only the Court and military history of his chosen period, but also has put before us the economic and social life, and illustrated it by the quotation from many songs, narratives, and verses of contemporary writers. To the Scottish student the chief interests in this book are his views on Edward I.'s conquest of Scotland, the victory of Bannockburn, and the succeeding reign. In regard to the former he insists upon the English Kings having acted always under the colour of law, but he does not dogmatise actually upon how the law—for Richard I. had 'renounced' the supremacy of Scotland in 1189—stood in regard to his alleged English overlordship.

The invasion of Scotland by Edward III. is well described, and the author quotes Laurence Minot's verse of glee. In the reign of Henry IV. the writer is inclined to palliate the seizure of Prince James of Scotland. Before this we feel that the account given of the reign of Richard II. makes but confused reading, and it might have been simplified. It is not fair, however, to throw stones at a book for a slightly faulty chapter, and this whole work reflects great credit on the author's care, reading (he quotes his authorities generally in footnotes), and skill in writing history. The pedigrees at the end are very meagre and inadequate, and the statement that David II. of Scotland married 'Joan, daughter of Edward III.,' ought to be corrected.

THE MAKING OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH (1889-1900). A Stage in the Growth of the Empire. By Bernard Ringrose Wise. Pp. xiii, 365. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS account of the unification of Australia is very welcome. It dates the inception of the movement from the speech at Tenterfield on October 24, 1889, by the veteran Sir Harry Parkes. The book gives a good account of the failure and progress of the project of unification to its happy conclusion, and pays a measure of justice to Sir Harry, its originator, who failed to live to see his darling project a reality. It is well written and more racy than constitutional history usually is.

SELECT PASSAGES ON DUTY TO THE STATE AND KINDRED SUBJECTS. For Reading, Analysis, and Translation in Schools and Colleges. Arranged by J. G. Jennings. Pp. xvi, 214. Crown 8vo. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1913. 2s. 6d.

THIS work designed for reading, analysis and translations from educative passages contains well-chosen extracts from writers ranging from Aristotle, Plato, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, to Ruskin, J. S. Mill, and H. Fielding Hall.

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THE STORY OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE. By R. A. Mackie, M.A. Pp. 255. With Sixteen Illustrations and One Map. Square 8vo. London: George G. Harrap & Co. 1913. 5s. net.

THIS is an attempt to bring the life of Robert I. before us from the pages of Barbour's *The Bruce* and the *Scalacronica*, and from Froissart and the other chroniclers. It is not always easy to unite the contradictory accounts of the rival English and Scottish writers, and the author is compelled to point out that two days before the murder of Comyn, Edward I. still regarded him as a faithful subject. He indicates also in his preface that he has been forced to abandon a few picturesque tales (e.g. 'The Spider') to weave his historical account the better. The book is well illustrated by M. Meredith Williams.

SHALLOWS. By Frederick Watson. Pp. 311. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1913. 6s.

A JACOBITE romance of 1752. We meet several well-known figures, Prince Charlie, Robin Oig the Spy, Lochgarry, and Dr. Archibald Cameron. The sketch of Lochiel's brother is perhaps the best in the book. The author has contrived to give a curious haunting sense of melancholy throughout, well befitting the story of a cause doomed to failure.

SICILIANA: SKETCHES OF NAPLES AND SICILY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Ferdinand Gregorovius. Translated from the German by Mrs. Gustavus W. Hamilton. Pp. vii, 346. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Son, Ltd. 1914. 5s. net.

WE welcome this excellent translation of a work by a great historian. To have the view of Gregorovius of what was happening under his own eyes in Naples and Sicily in 1852 and 1853 is invaluable, as also is his account of the 'reforms' and 'counter-reforms' which eventually—after a wonderfully long interval—forced the Two Sicilies to become a part of the kingdom of Italy. The book contains an excellent description of Naples, and shows wonderfully well how the plastic people have always in the long run willingly accepted their foreign rulers. The chapters on Sicily very nearly take the place of the much desired history of that island.

DEMOCRACY IN NEW ZEALAND. Translated from the French of André Siegfried by E. V. Burns. With an Introduction by W. Downie Stewart. Pp. xxiii, 398. With one Map. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1914. 6s. net.

THIS is an interesting account of the views of an observant Frenchman who visited New Zealand in 1909, when Mr. Seddon's power, 'secure in the solid and double basis of his majority of small holders and working men,' was at its height, and which legislated in a manner which, in the writer's opinion, was democratic rather than socialistic, with 'a perfect débâcle of laws, measures, and experiments.' It is a valuable monograph of a particular epoch by a watcher of politics, and the introduction shows how much the writer's opinions have been borne out by subsequent events.

SONGS OF A BURIED CITY. WITH A NOTE ON MATTERS ROMANO-BRITISH. By H. Lang Jones. Pp. 46. With two Illustrations. Foolscap 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Son, Ltd. 1913. 1s. net.

In this little book we find keen interest displayed for the obscured part of Caerwent, the *Venta Silurum* of the Romans. The writer has tried to make his readers equally enthusiastic in the by-gone life and in the 'foundations laid by once all-mighty Rome.'

THOMAS OSBORNE, EARL OF DANBY AND DUKE OF LEEDS. By Andrew Browning, M.A. Pp. vii, 107. Crown 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1913. 2s. 6d. net.

THE Stanhope Essay of 1913 is very welcome published in this form. The first Duke of Leeds, still best known as 'Danby,' was a figure of great prominence, if not of the first magnitude, in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William and Mary. Playing always for his own hand, Danby was not, however, without patriotism, and he honestly detested the French subsidy received by Charles II. In this brochure we have an admirable account of the rise and decline of his power, and the writer sums up his character as 'neither one of England's heroes, nor one of England's villains.'

In his *Studies in British History and Politics* (Pp. xv, 219. Post 8vo. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1913. 6s. net) Mr. D. P. Heatley, Lecturer in History in the University of Edinburgh, shows his accurate scholarship, power of suggestion, and wide range of sympathies, by collecting into one convenient volume five studies on *Bacon, Milton, Laud; An American Independence Group; Some Marks of English History; Politics as a Practical Study; and Frederick William Maitland*. While his conclusions are daintily expressed and tentative rather than strenuous or dogmatic, his command of the apt differentiating word and the skill with which he moves in an atmosphere of philosophic speculation give distinction to his writing. To many readers, the discriminating appreciation of Maitland will make the strongest appeal.

All students of the Napoleonic period doubtless possess the large edition of Mr. Rose's *Life of Napoleon I.*; but the appearance of a cheap edition in one volume (pp. xiv, 512; with frontispiece and plans; cr. 8vo.; London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1913; 6s. net) will be welcome to teachers and many others. Mr. Rose has revised the work and inserted a few notes. The original paging seems to have been retained, and the print is excellent; but the publishers, by using a thin light paper have succeeded in producing a very convenient and handy volume.

In the Romanes Lecture of 1913 on *The Imperial Peace: An Ideal in European History*, by Sir Wm. M. Ramsay (8vo, pp. 28, Clarendon Press, 1913, 2s. net), the contrasts are drawn between Dante's ideal of the Empire with peace as its heart and the devout imagination we call the concert of Europe which has to face the inscrutable factors of nationalism. Sir William incidentally recants some former opinions and now

maintains that the prime direct cause of the ruin of the Roman Empire lay in the failure to solve the problem of inter-communication. Remarkably enough a parallel observation made in *The Early Life of Moltke*: a lecture delivered before the University of Oxford, May 10, 1913, by Mr. Spenser Wilkinson (8vo, pp. 28, Clarendon Press, 1913, 1s. net), is that Moltke's experience as a railway director gave him a unique mastery of the railway system as a weapon of war. The lecturer's conclusion is that military studies are not all a great soldier requires: he must be statesman too.

The Teaching of Indian History (pp. 29; Oxford, Clarendon Press; price 1s. net); by W. H. Hutton, B.D., is his inaugural lecture as Reader in Indian History at Oxford. Its tribute to his predecessor, the late Sydney Owen, is hearty, and of course it deplores the insufficient study of ancient and medieval Indian history and archaeology in the University.

In the Twelfth Annual Report of the Carnegie Trust we are glad to note, from the contributions to history at the credit of beneficiaries, in how varied a degree and with what success the Trust has assisted research. Professor Hume Brown is justified in finding the work thus done 'full of encouragement for the future.' He concludes his report by repeating his suggestion of an annual prize to evoke special talent in various fields.

The *British Review* (January) has an indignant note on the writing of Irish history, provoked by a challenge to the authority of the 'Annals of the Four Masters.' Certainly a seventeenth century redaction is vastly different from a 'fabrication,' but it is open to criticisms, which again may be open to misapprehension.

In the *English Historical Review* (October) Miss Theodora Keith completes a combined enumeration, collation and discussion of the trading privileges of Scottish royal burghs. Professor Haskins produces, from a treatise on canon law, unexpected confirmation of William Cade's position as a money lender, enriched by business *per omnia mundi climata*, including (as we have seen, *S.H.R.* x, 435) Scotland. Professor Liebermann edits an important old text of the *Leges Anglorum Londoniis collectae*, a happy discovery of Professor Tout in the John Rylands library at Manchester. Other themes of the number embrace Archbishop Peckham, the Treaty of Hanover, and a French commentary on Pitt's naval operations in 1757-58 against the French fortified ports on the English Channel.

In the *English Historical Review* (January) Miss M. T. Stead emphasises the note of Manegold of Lautenbach's premonition, circa 1085, of the eighteenth century Social Compact in the doctrine of kingcraft. Mr. G. G. Coulton puts in a strong word for the interpretation of thirteenth century monastic visitation records as meaning exactly what they say on morals, etc., and not as mere echoes of words of style. Sir William Anson deals with the evolution of the Cabinet, and Dr. Holland Rose with Frederick the Great's relations with Britain. Miss M. Deanesly brings fresh light to bear on Rolle of Hampole, and Miss E. J. B. Reid edits an apposite inquisition of 1414 concerning lollardy at Colchester.

The Viking Club maintains its high pitch of vigour and accomplishment. *Old Lore Miscellany* (October) records and illustrates the Orphir cross-slab, bearing alongside the shaft of the cross a sword of a type assigned to the fourteenth century. Thurso kirk session extracts of 1740 are quoted for a local depravity—‘that it is a common practice of filling bridegrooms drunk to that degree that it has proved fatal to severalls.’ Hence the session gave ‘a publick testimony against it.’

Orkney and Shetland Records—vol. i. part xi. pp. lxxv. This special introductory part most usefully rounds off the first volume with an explanatory and historical essay by the editor, Mr. Alfred W. Johnston, briefly expounding the many Norse terms and allusions in the documents. These memories of old history chiefly concern law, taxation, ships, weights and measures, and the classifications of society. On all these heads Mr. Johnston offers well-informed guidance. Perhaps at a future stage it may be well to ask him for a fuller statement of the transition from the udal (*bðal*) law into and through the phase of feudal contact. Also, there is badly needed a historical key chart to the territorial divisions of Orkney and Shetland. Such an equipment would intensify the gratitude of students for the multiplicities of learned energy which, with advantage to the reader, Mr. Johnston constantly manifests.

The *American Historical Review* (October) contains a suggestive essay by Mr. A. J. Carlyle on the sources of medieval political theory, in which fresh grounds are presented for the view that behind the visible structure of medieval society lay the vital sense that political authority was the authority of the whole community. This leads to the further conclusion that the contractual theory of political authority was then no abstract speculation, but was the embodiment of the principle of political liberty, the community being the source of authority. Mr. E. R. Turner continues (see *S.H.R.* xi, 115) his account of the development of the Cabinet, which he finally shows in 1760 as a highly specialised organism evolved from a most indefinite original. Mr. G. S. Callender states the position of American economic history as a study under the changes effected by modern conditions. His most curious point is the anomaly that while interest in economic history has steadily declined among economists, among historians it has as steadily increased. On this side of the ocean there are traces of the same feeling. Some economists are impatient of the tests of history. As usual there is a happy mean. Familiarity with economic science has come to be reckoned a prime quality of the historian’s equipment. Mr. Callender pleads for a closer organisation of historical collaboration with greater definiteness of plan, so as to secure a higher standard of combined political and economic interpretations of history.

The *Iowa Journal* (October) reprints a ‘Personal Narrative’ dating from 1812 relative to transactions with the Indians at old Fort Madison in the war of that time. Some of the writer’s experiences were thrilling enough. One ceremony he witnessed was the plucking of the hair of a Sac Indian,

leaving only a tuft on the top, which was then trimmed up and painted red. The performance, terminating with a dram of whisky, was in honour of a deceased wife, but gave the victim liberty to marry a second.

In the *Revue Historique* (Mars-Avril) M. Flach traces the early relationships of Flanders with the French crown. M. du Dezert writes on the Jesuits of Arragon in the eighteenth century, and M. Lot dissects with great nicety the Chronicle of the pseudo-Fredegarius, the tangled data of which are a complicated puzzle. Three bulletins assemble notices of new works on Latin antiquities, on sixteenth and seventeenth century France, and on Netherlands history. M. Prentout (Nov.-Dec.) studies the Reformation in Normandy, focussing many indications of the prevalence of the new doctrine of the opening sixteenth century, especially among the clergy around Caen, where the university staff itself was a centre point of Erasmians. Bucer called Normandy a little Germany, so Protestant was it. Some historians give the honour of the first Protestant book to a book of Lefèvre d'Étaples, written at St. Germain-des-Prés and published in 1512. Charges of heresy were repeatedly brought against the university from 1531 onward for thirty years. M. Prentout defines 'la Réforme' as a movement not merely political, social and religious, but also, and especially, intellectual. He applauds M. Buisson's dictum, 'La Renaissance et la Réforme au debut ne font qu'un.' (Jan.-Feb.) M. Flach examines the relations of France with the Comté of Flanders, saec. ix.-xv. M. H. Malot shows the corsair ancestry of Jean Bart remarkably oriented towards the evolution of that dashing naval hero of France, while M. Foucin finds the pedigree of the Turgots much less uniform in promise of crowning glory in the economist and administrator. A brisk battle of correspondence is waged between M. Reynaud and M. Grillet over the charge by the latter that the former has systematically belittled and underestimated Germany and its early medieval culture.

We rarely review maps, but we should like to make an exception in order to give a few words of warm welcome to the *Wall Atlas of Modern History*, edited by Professor Ramsay Muir and Mr. George Philip, and recently published by Messrs. George Philip & Son (London, 35s. net). The maps are peculiarly clear, and the editors have avoided the error of trying to include too much. The series includes four maps of Europe about 800 A.D.; at the time of the Crusades; at the time of the Reformation; and under Napoleon. There are maps of England under the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, and in the Middle Ages. In addition to other more detailed maps, there are two which show the effect of the so-called industrial revolution in regard to the growth of the population and the localisation of industries, with the corresponding growth of cities in these districts.

Presumably the series is meant for school use, but many students of History who have almost forgotten their school days may be glad to have this very interesting and carefully prepared series in their libraries.

Notes and Communications

IRISH PRAISES OF KING JAMES VI. AND I. Among the Trinity College Manuscripts F. 4. 20. (652) there is a small collection of early seventeenth-century verses, some of which are interesting on various accounts. Sir John Davies is the chief contributor. He is represented by some of his Epigrams, and an 'Elegy on the Duke of Richmond who died on Parliament day.'

Some anonymous writers mock Tom Coryat, and Dr. Corbett follows with a certain amount of appreciation of him. Then follow 'Doctor Corbett's encounter with the guards at Windsor,' 'Dr. Corbett against Dr. Price's anniversaries of Prince Henry,' 'Dr. Price's answer,' 'Dr. Corbett's reply,' 'Dr. Corbett's 'Elegy on the death of Lady Haddington.'

To these are added verses by a new writer, indicated here by his initials, J. B. He dedicates his contribution 'To the reverend and learned Dr. Donne, Deane of Paules.

Sir,—It is not out of an oppinion of my worth in this poore trifle, that I presume to make choyce of you for my patron : It is because I assure myselfe that anything that lookes like perfume or spice bestowed upon the memory of your gracious Mr. cannot but be most welcome and acceptable to you. It might have been enough that my owne private devocons could beare witness with mee of myne owne true sorrowe for the losse of his Sacred Majestie, but the example of God himself is more than a commandment and hee when a good Kinge of Judea dyed, vovchsafed to discend soe lowe as to be the author of his Epitaph, for if wee may believe St. Jerome the Lamentations of Jeremy were a funerall Elegy upon the death of King Josias ; haueing such a coppie to wryte after, I could not hold my handes until I had finished this whiche (as it is) I lay at your feet with his handes and his hart who honours and admires you. J. B.¹

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

A FUNERAL ELEGY ON KINGE JAMES.

Whoe cannot write an elegy or not singe
A funeral Anthem, when so good a King
Removes his Court, shall every common hearse
Be honored onely by heroicke verse

¹There is an unfinished copy of this same poem in Sloane MS. 1394, p. 176, in which the name is signed in full, 'James Barry'; probably he who was born in Dublin in 1603, and afterwards became Baron Barry.

Irish Praises of

While even the best made for our sovereign looke
 Like some longe Ballade, swolne into a Booke.
 Shall it be his, as 'twas greate Henery's fate
 That none but Poet Skelton should relate
 His worth, whose worke may well deserve that doome
 Th' epitaph is more brazen than the tombe.
 Rather awake dead Muse, thy master's prayse
 May grace thy accents and enriche thy layes ;
 A thought of him had made that Skelton wryte
 More wittily than Chaucer, but a sight
 Of him had forct an obstinate Sadducee
 To sware that there were Angells, and yet hee,
 Hee our blest Angell's dead, why should we then
 Expect eternity, who are but men ?

Let his death teach us what a sea of glasse
 This whole world is, since he our ioye, whoe was
 The soul of it is fled, and could not be
 Freed from that common fate Mortality.
 Could knowledge, vertue, greatnesse or the rest
 Of those poor things which we do count the best
 Had beene preservatives 'gainst death, he then
 Whom we lament had overlived all men.
 For we do celebrat his funerall
 Whoe was more learned, great, and good than all.
 His very name was learninge, and his breast
 As a well-furnished Libery was possesst
 With Artes and Langages, for as whoe lookes
 Into these ragges in print, which we call bookes,
 Shall see that he was the originall
 And they but coppys, he informed them all
 And us, being abler to improve a man
 Then Bodley's Booke Case, or the Vatican.
 What Volumes did he write to Vindicate
 From imputations both the Church and State ?
 What Volumes did he Speake, when every line
 He uttered was so stronge and soe divine
 That had he heard him speake who went to heare
 Divine St. Paule, he would at once inferre
 He were the Paule and so conclude that all
 His writings should be held canonicall.
 Yet he that was all this is deade, his artes
 Nor all the tongues he spake, with those good partes
 Which did adorn him, all these could not adde
 A minute to those blessed days he had :
 Nor could his greatness priviledge him, his descent
 From a most royall line could not prevent
 His unexpected fate, such casuall things
 Are even the best of men, whome we call Kings,

Then let us learn from thence, not to bestowe
Our confidence upon those things belowe,
All of them ioyned together cannot blesse
Their master with a real happinesse.
No man need doubt of that, when he may reade
The truth of it in this, King James is deade,
He of whom Xenophon seemed to prophesy
In his good Cyrus, whom integrity,
Justice, religion, vallor, temperance
Joyned with a constant purpose to advance
The common profit made one miracle
For all heroicke vertues which did dwell
Singly in general worthies, were combined
In him who was the Phoenix of his kinde.
Yet is this Phoenix dead ; is this the end
For which thy hand, my God, did still defend
My Soueraigne, what was it but to showe
Thy providence, that thou preservedst him soe !
But I doe not expostulate, I give
Thy name all prayse, whose goodness made him live
In spite of all his enemies who did thinke
His shipwrecke would have made thy true Church sinke.
Had a man searcht all the recordes of Hell
He would not finde an act to parallell
That powder tragedy, yet I will pause
A while and see, if I can finde the cause
Was it to put Ignatius by that throne
For which he now may pleade prescription,
Perhaps as Germans to advance the arte
Of printinge, which they challenge as a parte
Of their discoveries, make the greatest noyse
In Frankfort Mart, although they write but toyes
So these inhumane powder-traitors thought
Because they first that strange artillery brought
Into the world, they by such plotts alone
Might propagate their owne invention,
Or may it not be, as he whoe sometime fired
Diana's Temple, but to be admired
In after ages ; soe these men in hope
To be commended for it by the Pope
As was that French Assassin, or to be
Be-sainted too, and gaine a deitie
Having a proiect to obscure his fame
Would burne the Church that had Appollo's name :
But they did loose theyr endes, and all the glory
Of that defeate, is due unto thy story
Renowned Prince, whose art and care did free
This Kingdom from that strange conspiracy,

Irish Praises of

For this forever shall our Nephewes sing
 Great James was both our Saviour and our Kinge.
 Nor was that all he did, his royall hand
 Hath beene victorious in a foreigne land
 For though his predecessor did possesse
 Some parte of Ireland, 'twas his happynesse
 To gaine it all, for that it may be sayd
 He was the first all Ireland conquered,
 And when he did doe that, had he but knowne
 What a riche country he had made his owne
 If not to settle there, yet well he might
 At least have been persuaded to a sight
 But sure my country, 'twas thy master's happe
 To see thee in a most deceiving mappe
 Yet he improved thee, well, for what encrease
 Of all good things hath his established peace
 Produced in twenty years, I may say more
 Then many hundred years had done before.
 What new schooles raised wherein thy sonnes may strive
 Those many famous titles to revive
 Which whilome thou enjoyedst, when men did come
 Unto thee, from all parts of Christedome
 To learne Divinitye, when every Knolledge
 Had proper to itself a severall Colledge
 What churches have been built, what townes, if I
 Should but remember halfe his piety
 And Zeale to justice, the least action well
 Would merit an eternal Chronicle.
 But I can better weepe, then write, myne eyes
 By this have learned to shed true elegies
 And let them do soe still, they cannot have
 A nobler obiect than King James his grave
 Whom had those Greeke or Latine poets seene
 As they dreamt of him, infinite had been
 Æneas and Ulysses stories, since
 They were but tipes to represent our Prince,
 Who as executor to Christ did see
 The true performance of that Legacy
 Which he bequeathed unto the world, upon
 His sadd and final transmigration
 And that was peace which he pursued so farre
 That he had banished even the name of warre
 And settled a longe Saboath till the pride
 Of that ambitious monarche did divide
 The Christian world, whose labors for a throne
 As Catholique as his religion.
 Is thought in Rome, this made our Lyon roare
 And our blest peacemaker, who before

Becalmed all Europe, then began to trye
 What fier and sworde could doe ; if I might pry
 Into the arke of state, I should divine
 That my dear Sovereigne had some high designe
 On foraign partes, did not our sinnes prevent
 Our Moses in the full accomplishment
 Of his desiars, God brought him to the hill
 And then he dyed ; it is Joshua must fullfill
 Our prophesies of him, his gracious Sonne
 Must do that which the father might have done :
 May he doe that and more and ever bee
 Blest in his counsell, may felicity
 Crowne all his actions, and religion
 Establishe him in a perpetuall throne.
 And now thou blessed Saint, ore whose sad urne
 I, thy poore prophet have presumed to burne
 This little incense of a loyall hart
 Pardon my weakness, and let this be part
 Of his iust tribute, whoe could wishe to bee
 A Chapman, or a Silvester to thee.
 While others penne the Annalls of the time
 To sett the Comon peoples hartes to rime
 And whoe can do that here, where every face
 Doth labor by a strange and severall grace
 T'expresse it master's sorowe, where all eyes
 Are drowned in teares, where the disconsolate cryes
 Of orphane subiects doe proclaime thy fall
 To be an universall funerall :
 Yet, since it was decreed, we could not choose
 A more convenient time wherein to loose
 So rare a Jewell then in Marche, 't was then
 Great Caesar dyed, that miracle of men :
 In Marche the worlde was borne, and now it dyes
 In Marche againe in thy sad obsequies :
 In Marche was Adam made, and mankinde than
 In Marche Christe dyed, so it demolished man
 Thus wee are all Marche dust, why may not wee
 Be turned to dust againe to ransome thee ¹
 For as in naturall bodyes when the heade
 Receives a mortall wounde, all partes are deade.
 The hand hath lost its feelings and the eye
 Can hardly give intelligence to discrye

¹ The Sloane MS. 1394, f. 179, has interpolated here :

But Heaven forbid that wish since thou art gone
 To an immediate possession
 Of everlasting happinesse and wee
 Have but Life lent us to remember thee.

King James VI.

Approaching dangers, soe in states the death
 Of Princes steales the subiectes breath
 Out of theyr nostrills, hence that generall rott
 Which overrunnes us, we even then had gott
 When we lost thee, when thou our sunne didst sett
 Thy absence from our hemisphere did begett
 A night of sickness, and that night hath slayne
 As many as have made a noble trayne
 Of followers, whoe are gone from hence the faster
 Because they might attend so just a master.
 For as the provident Tartar would not send
 Theyre dead Kinge to his tombe without a frende
 To beare him company, soe are they gone
 Onely as courtiers to waite upon
 Their Prince in his last Progresse, and to see
 Thee reinvested in thy Majesty
 Death hath but changed thy crown, and this translation
 Doth leade thee to a second coronation
 While in thy passage thither thou shalt bee
 Still intertayned with riche Varietie
 Of reall Pageants till thy Chariot shall
 Be drawne by Angells, into Heaven's Whitehalle
 The Ayre shalle welcome thee with a sweet quier
 Of winged queristers, when thou mountst higher
 The Planets to this greate Solemnity
 Shall adde for state their starre-wroughte Canopie¹
 Then some Pythagoras shall time the sphaeres
 To rarer music and to blesse thyne eares
 The saynts themselves shall singe, whilst thou above
 Them all are placed, to be inthroned by Jove
 Where God, thy Lord of Canterbury shall bestowe
 A crowne on thee, and end thy triumph soe,
 Heaven shall with ioyfull acclamations ringe
 Not of *God save*, but *God hath saved our Kinge*
 And least by our neglect the memory
 Of soe admired a Prince might chance to dye
 In future times, fame shall inscribe this on
 His Statuary representation

Wolsey could not devise a monument
 Worthy thy greatness, had the Cardinall spent
 More than all Ægypt's glory upon one
 It woulde not finishe thy Sepulchrall stone :
 The world is thy Tombe, all Poetry shall bee
 Thine epitaph, all Prose thy History.

¹ Here the Sloane MS. ends.

GENESIS OF LANCASTER (*S.H.R.* xi. 205). In the notice of Sir James Ramsay's *Genesis of Lancaster* there is on the second line of page 205 an error which the reviewer regrets that he overlooked. The characterisation quoted is that of Edward II., not Edward III.

THE GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM THE LION. In a recent newspaper correspondence over the national flag, when the writer pointed out that the Great Seals proved that Alexander III. was the first King of Scots to bear the complete royal arms, a lion rampant within a double tressure flowered contrariwise, his father, Alexander II., bearing a lion rampant alone, and his grandfather, William I., displayed a shield devoid of armorial bearings,¹ it was replied that 'a writer on seals states that he recollects having seen a wax impression of the 'Lion' on a seal used during the reign of William I.; and many historians say that this called into being the title 'William the Lion.''²

I have traced this story back to its origin, and found it to be fallacious. In Hailes' *Annals of Scotland* it is stated that, before the days of William, none of the Scottish kings assumed a coat armorial, the Lion Rampant first appearing on his seal, from which circumstance it is probable he received the appellation of the Lion,³ and the reference given is to Anderson's *Dipl. Scot. Pr.* 54. Investigation revealed a reference in Ruddiman's preface to Sir Robert Sibbald's *Answer to Rymer's Second Letter*.⁴ And here I found my prey.

One of the points in the controversy then, 1704, raging over the independence of the Scottish Crown, was whether the French League was really as old as the time of King Achaius and the Emperor Charlemagne, and one of Sibbald's proofs was a statement made by Alexander Nisbet, the well-known herald. Nisbet deponed that he had seen in the Winton Charter Chest a charter by William the Lion to Philip de Seton: 'The seal thereto appended in white wax is a King Inthronised, and on the Reverse he's on Horseback, holding a Sword in his Right hand, and on his left arm a Shield, charged with a Lyon Rampant within a double tressure, counter flourie with Flower de Liss, which is distinctly cut as in our

¹ Letters to the *Stirling Observer*, August-October, 1913.

² Letter by Mr. John Bell, *Stirling Observer*, 4th Oct., 1913. In a brochure, *The Lion Rampant*, etc., by Mr. Bell and Mr. Thomson, this statement is correctly attributed to Nisbet (who repeated it more briefly in his *System of Heraldry*, ii. 99) with the remark that it 'is not now generally accepted, pp. 9-10.

³ Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 168 of 1819 edition. Also Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i., p. 761; Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, i., p. 33 of 1892 ed.; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, iii., p. 643. Hill Burton in his *History*, i., pp. 444-5, says this story was invented by the writers of chronicles 'in the days when heraldry flourished.' This period, presumably, is in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries; but the origin of the arms is not attributed to William by Fordun, Wyntoun, and Boece; nor Leslie, Buchanan, Balfour, and Nisbet, who all, if they mention the arms, attribute them to Fergus.

⁴ Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, 1739, Ruddiman's preface, note to p. 54.

modern seals.'¹ Could anything be more explicit? Yet his statement is untrue; for there are no armorial bearings on the seal. In Seton's *Family of Seton* the charter is reproduced.² Only a fragment of the seal remains; but there is enough to show that it is the well-known seal of William, who is depicted bearing a shield perfectly devoid of any armorial bearings.³ But why was William called the Lion? Boece explains that the king was 'callit, for his singular justice, The Lioun';⁴ and Fordun gives him several titles, one being Lion of Justice.⁵ C. CLELAND HARVEY.

THE WILL OF MARY STUART. Under the date February, 1577, Labanoff⁶ printed (from MSS. Cott. Vespas., C. xvi. fol. 145) a 'Projet de Testament fait par Marie Stuart.' This document, which had been published previously by William Robertson,⁷ appears to be of indubitable authenticity; the original draft is in the hand of Claude Nau, but many corrections and additions have been made by Mary herself. According to the terms here laid down, James is made heir of Mary, provided he can be brought back to the Catholic faith, but if he continue in his heresy the title is to pass, with the Pope's consent, to the King of Spain or others of his family.

Any legacy to Spain, therefore, was purely conditional, and Mary, who was planning to have her son kidnapped and sent to a Catholic country,

¹ Sibbald's *Answer to the Second Letter*, 1704, pp. 110-112. Nisbet believed the story which assigns the arms, a red lion on a gold shield, to King Fergus 330 B.C., and the addition of the double tressure and lilies to King Achaius in commemoration of the French League: and maintained that, although arms do not appear on early seals, that was simply because the inside of the shield is shown (*Essay on the Ancient and Modern Use of Armories*, 1718, pp. 10 and 17-19). He mentions a boundary stone put up by Malcolm III., bearing his arms, the lion rampant and double tressure, and those of William I. of England, two leopards (*System of Heraldry*, ii., p. 98). This is impossible, as the science of heraldry arose about 1200; although Nisbet places its origin about 410 A.D. (*Essay on Armories*, p. 7).

² Seton's *Family of Seton*, p. 68.

³ This Great Seal of William with the plain shield, the only one known apparently to writers on seals, is figured in Anderson's *Diplomatum*, plates 26 and 28; Raine's *North Durham*, pl. ii., f. 1; *National MSS. of Scotland*, i., No. 29; *Acts of Parl.*, i., p. 88; Facsimile of 2nd Charter to Aberdeen; *British Museum Cat. of Seals*, iv., pl. 1; and Birch's *Scottish Seals*, i., pl. 6 and 7. There are casts of both sides at the Heraldic Exhibition, Provand's Lordship, Glasgow; and I have two examples of it appended to two charters, dating 1166-1171 and 1202-1207. It is described in his *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, i., No. 9, by Laing, who says it is often met with; Wyon's 'Great Seals of Scotland,' *Journal Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. 45, p. 107; and the *British Museum Catalogue*, iv., Nos. 14773-5 from 3 Cottonian Charters. It would be interesting to locate and date, as far as possible, the existing examples of this King's seals.

⁴ Hector Boece's *History of Scotland*, translated by Bellenden, Buke xiii., c. 4.

⁵ Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (Skene's ed.) *Gesta-Annal.*, c. vii.

⁶ Lab., vol. iv. p. 352.

⁷ William Robertson, *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI.*, vol. iii., App. xxxiii.

did not seriously suppose that his title would be defeated on the ground of heresy. James, it must be remembered, was very young, and probably the scheme was outlined with a view to a Spanish marriage. In any case it was, as its provisions show, a 'project' only.

In the first place, while Philip was made heir in reversion, Henry III. was named Protector of the little Prince; considering the relations of France and Spain, such an arrangement could never have been carried into effect. Again, the settlement made in contemplation of James' death before his mother, though of importance, was never properly worked out. The original intention was to find James' successor either in the Earl of Lennox (Charles Stuart, Darnley's brother), or in Lord Claude Hamilton; but the former was dead before the Will was made,¹ and when Mary discovered this the draft was revised. In one place the name of Arabella Stuart was substituted for that of her father, but in another that of the deceased earl was left standing—proof positive that this document was a rough copy only, and there is no evidence to show that it was ever put into a formal shape.

During the years between 1577 and 1586, the relations between James and his mother varied from time to time, but at the beginning of 1586, Mary, as appears from her correspondence with Mendoza, was plainly very angry with her son. In accordance, apparently, with an old promise² Mendoza had procured from Philip some money for the captive Queen, and had proposed to send to James a part of the grant; Mary, who had previously regretted Spain's parsimony towards him,³ now stated that she would have no money sent to him until he had learnt better his duty towards her.⁴

Such was the state of Mary's mind when she wrote the famous letter to Mendoza (May 20, 1586),⁵ in which she promised, under certain conditions, to make Philip her heir. In a letter of the same date to Charles Paget,⁶ she shows herself much more solicitous about her son's title, but as Paget was notoriously hostile to the Spanish claim, it is best not to rely too much on the version of the affair given to him. If the argument be confined to the letter to Mendoza, it will still appear that the bequest to Spain was only conditional—'*j'ay pris délibération en cas que mon dict fils ne se réduise avant ma mort à la religion catholique (comme, il fauet que je vous die,*

¹ Labanoff states, iv. 355, that he died in December, 1576. But he was dead in April, 1576 (*S.P. Scotland, Elizabeth, xxvii. 5*).

² Thorpe's *Calendar of Papers of Mary Queen of Scots and of Scotland: Elizabeth* (Henceforth Thorpe), vol. ii. 988. May 9th, Mendoza mentions a grant of 24,000 crowns; *Cal. Span. Pap.* iii. 574, shows that only 12,000 were destined for Mary; and Lab. vi. 320, shows that 12,000 were meant for James. As the grant was an old one (*Cal. Span. Pap.* iii. 574) it may be identical with that obtained by Parsons (Knox (Card. Allen), 253, n. 2 and 382); 4000 crowns were ordered to be sent in April, 1586 (*Cal. Span. Pap.* iii. 574), and other 8000 were handed to Beaton (*Ibid.* 629).

³ Knox, *op cit.* 244, Oct. 30, 1584.

⁴ Thorpe, ii. 991, May 28, 1886, and Lab. vi. 320.

⁵ Lab. vi. 309.

⁶ Lab. vi. 313.

que j'en ay peu d'espérance tant qu'il restera en Escosse), de céder et donner mon droict, par testament, en la dicte succession de ceste couronne, audict sieur Roy.'

Mary certainly seems to put a term to the period allowed for James' repentance, but she does not state that she has made a Will disinheriting him, and there is no probability that such a Will was ever made, for on November 23rd¹ the Queen wrote to Mendoza reiterating her desire that Philip should succeed her—'*mon fils ne retournant au giron de l'Eglise*'—and promising to write to the Pope in this sense, but expressing the belief that she would not be able to make a testament (*je ne sais si j'aurais congé de faire testament*). On the night before her death, however, she did make some kind of a Will,² but this dealt with personal matters, and here it suffices to notice that she named as executors Guise, Glasgow, Ross, and her Chancellor Du Ruisseau. Perhaps she considered that with her death James' chance was gone, but it seems more likely that the mother in her triumphed, and that she decided to give her son a longer hour of grace. The last messages she sent to Philip, by Gorion, her apothecary, and by Mistress Curle,³ contained an urgent prayer that the King of Spain would do his utmost to convert her son. It is noticeable that at the supreme moment Mary still clogged the bequest to Spain by the condition 'that her son should be a heretic,' and that she does not seem to have considered that his opportunity for conversion was already past.

Mary's own papers then do not prove, or even imply, that she made a Will disinheriting her son. To the Spaniards, however, such a Will was necessary, and they set about making good the deficiency in every possible way. Apart from the restitution of the bishops, James' actions after his mother's death seemed consonant with the adoption of a Catholic policy. It was reported that he had sent Beaton instructions to seek the aid of France in avenging his mother's death⁴; he refused to receive Cary⁵; he wrote the Duke of Guise.⁶ The Pope was convinced that James would soon be converted⁷; there was even a desire for marrying him to a niece of Sixtus.⁸ Spain, therefore, found it necessary to counteract the efforts of James' supporters in Paris and at the Vatican, and in both places the 'Will' of Mary was a useful card. Philip was rather averse from talking too much about his title lest he should forewarn

¹ Lab. vi. 456.

² Lab. vi. 485.

³ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 152, 154. Miss Curle was one of those entrusted with the secret of Spain's reversionary interest; hence the message entrusted to her is the more striking. It was Curle who dealt with the Spanish negotiation (Hardwicke, *S.P.* i. 247). Nau as a Frenchman was not trusted (*Bardon Papers*, Cam. Soc. 77). The editor of the *Bardon Papers* supposes this statement to be untrue, on the ground that the Will of 1577 was in Nau's hand. But that Will, as shown, implied co-operation between France and Spain (cf. Knox, *op. cit.* p. 386. Parsons gives the same account of Nau).

⁴ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 81, 90. James did in fact instruct Beaton to feel the opinion of Henry III. on the point (*Courcelle's Negotiations in Scotland*, Bann. Club, 53).

⁵ *Courcelle's Negotiations*, 41, 42, etc.; *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, 46.

⁶ *Ibid.* 54.

⁷ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 107.

⁸ *Ibid.* 92.

his enemies,¹ but the story of Mary's testament was current in Paris in November, 1586.² Mendoza reported that Mary's papers had been seized, that the Will had been found in her *escritoire*, and that Wotton, Ambassador to France, was bringing with him copies of this Will, and of Mary's correspondence, duly attested by the signatures of Nau and Curle. Elizabeth, he added, had already sent to the King of Scotland telling him that his mother had disinherited him.³ The Nuncio in France, the Archbishop of Nazareth, was quickly put *au fait* with the situation,⁴ but Philip was inclined not to press his claim till later.⁵ None the less the story of the Will had been bruited abroad in the French capital, and had doubtless produced its effect.⁶

At Rome, too, Olivares had found it of value; he had heard it as early as December, 1586,⁷ and used it to convince Cardinal Caraffa that James' succession was out of the question. In June, 1587, the alleged Will was made the basis of a set of propositions to be presented by Olivares to Sixtus.⁸ The Pope was to be told that though the document itself had been concealed by Elizabeth, Philip had proof of his title in the autograph letter of May 20th, 1586.⁹

Spanish policy, then, had been shaped by the supposition that the Will had been made, and when Mary's servants arrived at Paris in October, 1587,¹⁰ with her last messages and her letter of 23rd November, Spain was put in a quandary. For the long-desired testament was not forthcoming; all the servants brought was the list of bequests made by the Queen on the night before her death.¹¹ Philip was quick to see that, as Spain was already committed, the story of the Will must be maintained; he replied to Mendoza¹² bidding him keep the autograph letter in which Mary referred to the Will *she had made*,¹³ and instructing him to keep the servants within reach—especially Curle—as they would be good witnesses. He also made inquiries about the letter which Mary had

¹ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 107.

² *Ibid.* iii. 660 and 644-6.

³ A list of Wotton's papers is to be found in *S.P. Dom. Eliza. Addenda*, 1580-1625, 188. They carried copies of some of Mary's letters, but not of the Will. One seeks in vain in Thorpe's *Calendar*, the *Salisbury MSS. Report*, *Courcelle's Negotiations*, etc., for any letter which accuses Mary of having disinherited her son.

⁴ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* 60, 83.

⁶ *Ibid.* 71. By April Katherine de Medicis was making inquiries of Mendoza as regards the succession.

⁷ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iii. 660.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 117.

⁹ It is hard to see how the Spaniards had an autograph letter. Curle said he put it into cipher, though Mary wrote the copy herself (*Hardwicke, S.P.* i. 247).

¹⁰ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 152.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 158. As Mendoza names as the executors of this will Glasgow, Ross, and Guise, it is plainly the document already referred to (*Lab.* vi. 484).

¹² *Ibid.* 169.

¹³ 'Con aviso del testamento que *tenia hecho*' (*Teulet*, v. 508). Mary, of course, never said she *had made* a Will.

promised to write to the Pope. Mendoza understood what was required and bent all his efforts to collecting evidence that the Will had existed, and to discovering the contents of the letter to Sixtus V.,¹ which he managed to detain in Paris until he got a copy of it from Beaton.² Philip evidently judged, from his ambassador's account, that this letter was in his own favour, and he ordered it to be duly forwarded to the Vatican,³ but to an unbiased reader the document is far from being a proof that the Will was made. It states,⁴ that Mary would prefer '*le salut public*' to the '*particulier intérêt de la chayr et du sang*, begs the Pope to do his utmost to convert her '*paovre enfant*. It is to the Pope that Mary hands her authority over James, and though she suggests his asking Philip's assistance to constrain her son, if he remain obstinate, she still inclines to the scheme of a Spanish marriage; only in the event of the failure of all these measures is Philip, with the Pope's consent, to become her heir.

Clearly, the case of Spain was none too strong; hence the feverish efforts made by Mendoza to establish the fact that the Will had really been executed. Mary had abandoned hope of James' conversion⁵; Wotton's instructions to the French court bore witness that such a Will had been found, and duly attested by the two secretaries⁶; Elizabeth had shown the Will to Belière, and had afterwards burnt it; Gorion had been present when the council had reproached Mary with disinheriting her son; Nau could testify that Walsingham assured him about the Will, and that the matter had been published in Scotland and France for the purpose of discrediting Mary⁷; Curle had seen in Phelippes' house the autograph Will itself.⁸ All this was evidence that the document had existed, and as late as January, 1590,⁹ Mendoza wrote to Philip proposing that Curle and his sister, Gorion and Beaton, should make a formal deposition of what they knew before the Legate (Caietano) who had just come to France. The King at once agreed,¹⁰ pointing out that all could be done under colour of vindicating Mary's Catholicism, and by August the idea had been carried out,¹¹ but by that time Philip's opportunity was virtually gone.

¹ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 178.

² Mendoza was able to report the gist of the letter on Dec. 27, 1587 (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 182). He sent a copy of the letter on Feb. 25, 1588, to Philip (*Ibid.* 216-7).

³ Philip told Mendoza to forward it to Rome on Jan. 25, 1588 (*Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 195), and by April it had arrived (*Ibid.* 253-4).

⁴ *Lab.* vi. 453.

⁵ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 156.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 644-6, and iv. 178. The secretaries attested (Hardwicke, *Pap.* i. 249) papers, letters, and writings. But there is no specific mention of a Will. Nor does the Will occur among the papers given to Wotton.

⁷ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 178-9.

⁸ *Ibid.* 182.

⁹ *Ibid.* 665.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 577.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 585. De Thou (*Historia Sui Temporis*, Lib. lxxvi, Sectio xv.) quotes from the '*Life of Cardinal Laureo*,' a statement that a last autograph letter from Mary was ratified at Rome by the signatures of the Cardinal himself and Owen Lewis. The dates, however, are not very trustworthy, and De Thou himself discredits the story of the Will, though he believes Mendoza had been given hopes in letters.

It is patent that if Mary did make a Will, Spain never obtained it; but if, as was stated, Elizabeth had burnt the document, this would be comprehensible enough. On the other hand, is it not possible to argue that the Will was never made at all, and that the story of its being burnt was a fable to account for its non-appearance?

Spain, as has been shown, was anxious to believe in its reality, and Elizabeth was not averse from discrediting Mary in the eyes of Scotland and France. Hence the story of the will obtained an easy currency,¹ but it is significant that Elizabeth does not seem to have sent a copy of the document either to Henry III. or James VI. This fact is in itself suspicious, and if the evidence for the existence of the 'testament' be carefully examined, it will be found to be very slender. The stories gathered by Mendoza might be discounted on the ground that Mary's servants, knowing what was wanted, and hoping for pensions, would say whatever the Spaniards wished. But it is better to take their testimony for what it is worth, and when all suppositions and presumptions are laid aside, it will be found that Curle alone claimed to have seen the document in Phelippes' house. Unsupported this statement might be doubted, but attached to a 'list of papers concerning the Babington conspiracy,'² occurs the mention of a paper entitled 'Her Will.' The fact that this document is grouped with 'the Scots Queen's acceptance of the Association' may lead us to conclude that it was of an old date, and if we admit, as we may, that among the papers taken at Mary's arrest there *was* a Will, it is precisely the date which proves that it was not the Will in question. For, assuming that this document was found, as Mendoza asserts, in Mary's *escritoire*³ in August, it cannot have been regarded by the Queen herself as being of any importance or validity, since she stated on November 23rd, that in all probability she would not be able to make a Will at all. On the whole, it seems likely that the testament seen by Curle in Phelippes' house was none other than the famous 'projet' of 1577; this must have survived somewhere, and it is possible that Cotton bought it along with other papers from Phelippes. Certainly some of the Cottonian MSS. were acquired in this way.⁴

The solution of the whole affair seems to be as follows: The secret correspondence, reopened by Morgan at the beginning of 1586,⁵ was known to the English Government, and any letters not actually intercepted *en route*, must have been found after Mary's arrest. At all events the English Government certainly had several papers in which occurred the threat to disinherit James.⁶ Possibly it had also in its hands the 'projet' of

¹ Thorpe i. 534. D'Esnaval, writing to Courcelles, Sep. 27—Oct. 7, mentions the Queen's Will; but he would have no special information.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm. Salisbury Papers*, iii. 208.

³ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iii. 644.

⁴ *Claude Nau's Narrative*, edited by Fa. Stevenson, Intro. xliiii. n.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Salisbury Papers*, iii. 129 *et seq.*

⁶ The evidence of *Thorpe's Calendar*, the *Salisbury Papers*, the *Hardwicke Papers*, and the *Bardon Papers*, is conclusive on that point; but in none of these collections is there a document purporting to be the Will itself.

1577, which was evidently unfinished and out of date, and not altogether unfriendly to France. Anxious to justify severe measures against Mary, Elizabeth circulated, on the strength of the recent letters and the old document, a version of the affair which represented the Will as already made. But the actual instrument whereby the Queen had disinherited her son was not produced at the time, and has never appeared since—because it never existed. It suited Spain, and to a certain extent England too, to assume that Mary disinherited James, but she did not in fact do so, though she obviously could, had she chosen, have transmitted the testament to Philip in the same way as she sent her letter of November 23rd—namely, by means of Gorion.¹ She seems never quite to have abandoned hope of her son; possibly she wrote to him in January, 1587.² To Paget,³ to the Pope, to Philip himself, she sent messages urging his conversion, and even if force became necessary, she still hoped for a Spanish marriage for her son. In her last letters she named no term within which James was to repent, so that any grant to Spain was still clogged by a vague condition; beyond this she did not go, and the story of the completed Will was an invention of Spanish state-craft.

J. D. MACKIE.

THE EUROPEAN REVIEW. Under the editorship of Dr. Seton-Watson, a new and ambitious quarterly is projected by Messrs. Constable & Coy. It is to be styled *The European Review*, a Survey of Nationality, and devoted to the interests of the smaller nations and nationalities of Europe. Besides politics, its field will include literature, art and music.

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¹ *Cal. Span. Pap. Eliza.* iv. 153. Froude, *Elizabeth* v. 316-7, represents her interview with Gorion as taking place on the night before her death; his own statement shows that it was much earlier.

² Thorpe, i. 542.

³ Lab. vi. 313. The fact that Mary in this letter proposed to make Lord Claude Hamilton her heir, 'my sonne failing without children,' might be used as a proof that Mary did not contemplate the defeat of James' title, even in the event of his falling into the hands of Spain. But too much stress cannot be laid on this as Paget was given no hint of the possibility of Philip's inheriting.