Reviews of Books

HERALDRY IN SCOTLAND, including a recension of *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* by the late George Seton, Advocate. By J. H. Stevenson, Advocate, Unicorn Pursuivant. Two vols. Vol. I. xxxi, 200, Vol. II. xiv, 314, with upwards of 300 Illustrations. Crown 4to. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1914. £4 4s. net; Edition de Luxe, £10 10s. net.

THE subject of Scottish Heraldry is not one which has attracted the attention of many writers. Apart from mere collections of arms the earliest heraldic author in Scotland was Sir James Balfour, Lyon, who has left us some interesting 'tracts,' which do not however deal so much with abstract heraldic law as with the proper conducting of funerals, coronations, and other solemn functions. Sir George Mackenzie published his *Science of Heraldry*, together with his *Observations on Precedency* in 1680, nearly a century after the appearance of the *Boke of St. Albans*, which may be considered the first English work on the subject. Sir George's work, though undoubtedly able, is more that of an accomplished amateur than of a professional and practical herald.

It was left for Alexander Nisbet, whose essay on cadency appeared in 1702 and his great *System of Heraldry* in 1722, to do for Scotland what Gwillim had done for the sister country a hundred years previous. But Nisbet wrote at the very end of the great period of heraldry. The science for the succeeding hundred and fifty years sank to a comparatively low ebb, both in public estimation and in the ability of its exponents. No author in Scotland during the remainder of the eighteenth century and more than the first half of the nineteenth approached the subject, though editions of Nisbet, more or less garbled, appeared from time to time.

But in 1863 Mr. George Seton published his *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*—an admirable work with an admirable title which we are sorry, Mr. Stevenson has, from motives of convenience which he explains, thought it necessary to alter. The work, interestingly and attractively written as it was, at once caught on with the public and was soon out of print. Mr. Seton was in one respect unfortunate in the time at which his book appeared. Within four years of its publication the Act of 1867, which made sweeping changes in the administration of the Lyon Office, was passed, and he had not therefore the opportunity of commenting on the alterations in the constitution and practice of the office then introduced.

But Heraldry, thanks no doubt to some extent to Mr. Seton's book, was coming into its own in Scotland again, and the Lyon Office,

under the able administration of Dr. George Burnett and his Lyon Clerk-Depute, Mr. Stodart, regained the confidence of the public. Neither of those gentlemen, however, published in his lifetime any work on Scottish Heraldry, unless we except Mr. Stodart's large collection of Scottish Arms with its valuable, though somewhat desultory, notes. The silence of authors on the subject remained unbroken till 1900, when the present writer, who had been appointed Rhind Lecturer in Archæology, published his lectures under the title of *Heraldry in relation to Scottish History and Art*. This was, however, only a humble attempt to give a popular exposition of the subject on very simple lines, and there was still much room for a work which would deal with Scottish Heraldry in a fuller and more scientific way than had previously been done.

This desideratum Mr. Stevenson has supplied in the two handsome volumes now before us. It is specially gratifying that such a work should proceed from the pen of a member of the Lyon Court, and it is the largest and most important armorial work for which any person holding an official heraldic appointment in Scotland has been responsible: for it must be remembered that neither Mackenzie, Nisbet, or Seton were officers of arms. It may be said at once that Mr. Stevenson has performed the somewhat difficult task of pouring the old wine of Seton into the new bottles of the present treatise with ability and discretion. If he has not Mr. Seton's 'facile pen,' he at all events expounds his subject with commendable clearness, if not always with brevity, and his pages are from time to time illumined with a mordant humour of the *très sec* brand. He does not often fall into mistakes in style, but the double possessive on p. 27 might with advantage have been eliminated in proof.

But away with such niggling criticism, and let us examine the contents of the work itself, which will be found quite invaluable to students of Scottish heraldry, and will no doubt take its place as the standard book on the subject from its own point of view. After a preliminary discussion on the rise of armorial bearings and their ultimate recognition in law, the author proceeds to a description of the officers of arms in Scotland and their respective duties, though there is a rather meagre notice of one part of the Lyon Court, the messengers-at-arms, formerly a large, though now, owing to recent legislation, a very attenuated body of men, the regulation of whom once kept the Lyon Office very busy. The jurisdiction of the Lord Lyon in the matter of arms is next dealt with, and this chapter concludes with an account of how the laws of arms may be enforced—a particularly useful piece of work, considering that these are thought by too many people to be a mere dead letter—and there are also some specially trenchant remarks on the flying by private individuals of the Royal Arms of Scotland, a practice which unfortunately was more or less homologated by a recent order issued from the Scottish Office.

There is an interesting chapter on what may be termed Heraldry as an applied art, and under this heading armorial seals, coins, carvings, and the like are dealt with, including armorial MSS. and the official Register of Arms itself. With regard to armorials it may be noted that with the exception of Sir David Lindsay's MS. (now in the Advocates' Library,

though it should be in the custody of the Lyon as it was an official document belonging to the Lyon Court), the oldest Scottish armorial is that of Sir Robert Forman who was Lyon from 1561 to 1567, though he had been made a Pursuivant in 1540. Mr. Stevenson gives the date of this MS. as 1566 and he is probably right, though he tells us on another page that the late Dr. Burnett puts it down as having been compiled between 1508 and 1530; but parts of the book may have been compiled at different dates. There is a reference in this chapter to the traditionary fire which is said to have destroyed many of the records of the Lyon Office. It is more probable however that, if they were at all lost, as Mr. Stevenson also chronicles, they were destroyed by water, together with many other Scottish Records, in a shipwreck when being brought back from England after the Restoration.

The chapter on the procedure in the Lyon Office in the matter of Arms is specially well done and exceedingly useful to an intending petitioner, though the statement on page 128 of what happens when an entailer entails arms which are non-existent seems rather contradictory. In one case we are told that the Court of Session found that the heir, in order to inherit, must apply to Lyon for a grant of arms 'of the description' provided in the entail, even though the arms entailed were non-existent. But in the next sentence, it is said, that no provision in an entail can impose on Lyon the function of confirming to the heir what was not in existence : two statements hard to reconcile.

These matters over, the Unicorn begins to amble briskly through the variegated parterre of Heraldry proper, and the achievement as a whole, consisting of the shield itself together with what Nisbet calls the 'exterior ornaments,' crest, helmet, mantling, supporters and motto, is fully and learnedly discussed. Scottish Heraldry has always been proud of its eminent simplicity and sanity, seldom if ever do we find the shield encumbered with a multitude of small charges, or the crest surcharged with meaningless figures as is too often the case in modern heraldry elsewhere. Lovers of heraldic conundrums may ponder the various blasons given of the arms of John Stewart, Lord of Lorne (A.D. 1448), and see if they can suggest any better. It is impossible to go into detail regarding Mr. Stevenson's treatment of the achievement, but his remarks are suggestive and pertinent and worthy of the most respectful attention. Following these the author has devoted a short chapter to the Classification of Coats of Arms. This is a thing which has appeared in all heraldry books, but the divisions of arms into those of alliance, vassalage, dominion, etc., are more academic than practical, and we should have liked to see the author cut himself adrift from these fetters and embody the information in other parts of his work.

The great and interesting question of the differencing the arms of cadets is here considered. Mr. Stevenson gives seven methods of differencing to Mr. Seton's four, but as a matter of fact both authors arrive very much at the same conclusions. They both include the quartering of the paternal coat with other arms : Mr. Stevenson puts this under the head of 'addition of new charges,' though perhaps the quartering of an entirely new coat beside the paternal arms can hardly be described as the addition of a new *charge*. It is, however, rather surprising that he does not enter into greater

detail with respect to that method of differencing which is perhaps the most common of all in Scottish Heraldry, the surrounding the shield of the parent house with a bordure. Mr. Stodart's ingenious elaboration of this method of differencing which can be carried through a number of generations of a widely ramified family, if not with scientific accuracy (for Heraldry is not an exact science) at least with good general results, is only mentioned in a short footnote, and might with advantage have been discussed more at length. Indeed the word 'bordure' does not occur in the Index at all.

Space will not permit of more than a mere mention of the learned chapters on the right to supporters and the succession to arms. The latter subject involves the thorny question of the right of the heir male to the heraldic honours of the family as against the heir female, and we gather that Mr. Stevenson agrees with Mr. Seton in rather preferring the claims of the latter, though a definite decision applicable to all cases is hard to come by.

It is a pleasing feature of these volumes that the latter part of them is even more interesting than the first. Passing over many points on which it is tempting to expand we may direct particular attention to the chapter on the Royal Arms in Scotland, a subject which exercises a singular fascination over a large section of the public, if one may judge by the frequent letters to the newspapers, and which indeed is a hardy perennial, as few months pass without it cropping up in some form or another. The author's remarks are sound and well balanced, and though he admits that the question is one on which a good deal may be said on both sides, and that the terms of the Treaty (or rather the Act) of Union are not so explicit as they might have been, he comes to the conclusion, rather contrary to the view expressed in the former edition, that the Scottish method of marshalling the Royal Arms on this side of the Tweed has substantial justification. At all events it is approved by the King in Council in every reign when sanctioning the design of Great Seal of Scotland, and this may be held as governing the practice.

Not the least important part of this work is that containing the appendices. They contain information which was not in the previous edition, and which can be got nowhere else. We would specially mention the list of Scottish cases dealing with armorial rights, beginning with the action raised by certain barons against the Lord Lyon in 1673 regarding their right to supporters, and ending with the case respecting the chiefship of the clan Macrae, which was heard in the Lyon Court, with a formidable array of witnesses and counsel, so recently as 1909. There is also a trenchant and illuminating paper on the subject of the Proclamations of the Accessions of Kings at Edinburgh. It contains much that is not generally known about proclamations, and contains statements about that of 1910, which the Lord Provost insisted on reading himself, which may not be to the liking of the municipal authorities of the capital, but which are none the less true. It is an admirable exposition of the points involved in making a proclamation.

Not the least attractive part of these two volumes will be, to many people, the number and beauty of the illustrations. Mr. Seton's book was published before the refined art of wood engraving had been swept out of existence by the greater adaptability and cheapness of modern process work,

and the illustrations which appeared in the first edition of the book are now included. In addition to these, there are many illustrations of seals and an interesting photogravure of the various insignia of the officers of arms; another excellent plate, perhaps the best in the book, is that of the ivory chessmen in what is stated to be the 'Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh,' but of which the proper title is 'the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh,' and the British Museum. These quaint figures all carry shields with armorial bearings, and as they are said to belong to the eleventh or twelfth century, they are very early specimens of arms.

Of the illustrations in colour, all of which are excellently reproduced, mention may be made of the shields on the Armorial de Gelre as showing the archaic treatment of the early heraldic artists: and these may be compared with the illustration of the Swinton arms taken from a recent volume of the Lyon Register. The latter, together with the photo engraving of the Great Seal of Edward VII., which was designed and engraved in Scotland, show that in later years Scottish heraldic art has risen to a high level, and has made a great advance on what was usually done even a few years ago. If further proof were needed, it is supplied by the admirably clear and vigorous drawings of various shields in black and white which are to be found in several of the plates. We must not omit to note, too, the interesting illustration of the seventeenth century 'Hearn' tabard in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the beautiful fourteenth century enamelled centre plate of the Bannatyne Mazer in the possession of Sir Malcolm Macgregor of Macgregor. Mr. D. Y. Cameron has contributed a fine etching, reproduced in photogravure, of the Royal Arms of Scotland carved on a buttress in Melrose Abbey, which forms a worthy frontispiece to the work.

A few misprints and one mistake in fact, have been corrected in an errata slip. We have noted some more, but they are not of much importance. Joseph Pont, on p. 113, should be James Pont.

We heartily congratulate the Unicorn Pursuivant on the successful completion of what must have been a laborious task, and high praise is also due to the publishers for the way in which the books have been produced.

J. Balfour Paul.

The Reign of Henry the Fifth. By James Hamilton Wylie, M.A., D.Litt. Vol. I. (1413-1415). Pp. 589. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1914. 25s. net.

This first instalment of Dr. Wylie's history of Henry V. is invested with a melancholy interest, by reason of the sudden death of the learned author within a few weeks of its publication. All historians will regret the loss to their science, and the regret will be embittered in the case of those who, like myself, have also to mourn a faithful friend.

It is now some forty years since Mr. Wylie began to find profitable use for the strenuous leisure of a busy school inspector's life by studying the reign of Henry IV. amidst the congenial fifteenth-century environment of the Chetham Library at Manchester. It is sixteen years

since the publication of the fourth and last volume of his remarkable history of that reign completed on adequate lines Mr. Wylie's first great contribution to our scholarly studies of a medieval period. Since then he has been known to be engaged upon a continuation of that work, and after his release from official tasks, and permanent settlement in London, he was making such good progress, that there was every reason to hope that a few years more would have seen the publication of a study of the whole reign of Henry V. as minute, elaborate, and careful as that which the author had devoted to the previous reign. It is sad to think that this volume is likely to remain a fragment, so far as the greater part of the reign is concerned. But, possessing some knowledge of Mr. Wylie's methods of work, I cannot forbear expressing a hope that there may still remain among his papers enough shaped material to enable a subsequent volume to be issued, which, among other things, will give us his account of the Agincourt campaign, on which he had lavished an immense amount of care and research. If this proves impossible the loss to scholarship will be doubly severe.

The present volume carries on the story from the accession of Henry V. in March, 1413, to the moment when, with conspiracy detected, traitors punished, his large and efficient army duly mustered, and his testament carefully drawn up, the young king took ship at Southampton in July, 1415, filled with the hope of making effective his claim on the French throne. The methods of the book are precisely those of Mr. Wylie's *Henry IV.* There is the same elaboration of carefully worked-out detail; the same abundant, perhaps over-abundant, citation of authorities; the same love of telling the story in contemporary phrase that reflects the author's ever-increasing grasp on the literature of his period; the same anxiety to leave nothing out that, if sometimes carrying him away from the main thread of his narrative, enriches his chapters with a multitude of carefully culled illustrations of habits, manners, modes of thought, and other historical byeways. Altogether, it is an eminently personal and individual way of writing history, but it is the method that Dr. Wylie found best suited to his gifts, and in which he persevered for the whole of his literary career. It gives us such a mass of historical information that no one who has any aspect of fifteenth-century history to investigate can afford to neglect the great variety of material so lavishly heaped up in these pages. To take three instances only: the account of Henry V.'s foundation for the Brigittines at Sion might well give new light to a specialist in monastic history; the topographical details of the Lollard rising in the fields between Holborn and St. Giles' would be helpful to the most minute of London historians; and the menu of the coronation feast deepens our knowledge of mediaeval gastronomy. But graver matters, though interrupted by such things, are never neglected. Whatever can be said against Dr. Wylie's method, it would be a most excellent thing if every reign of English history had been subjected to the thorough and accurate examination which he has devoted to the period between 1399 and 1415. And from the point of view of his own fame, the rigid self-suppression of this fashion of writing history sets in the background the

vigorous style, the shrewd judgment, and eye to the picturesque which Dr. Wylie undoubtedly possessed.

The present volume is set forth on an ample page with excellent type, and makes accordingly a much more direct appeal to the lover of good book production than do the corresponding volumes on Henry VIII.

T. F. Tout.

The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages. By James Fosdick Baldwin. Pp. xv, 558, with 10 facsimiles of typical documents. Demy 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1913. 18s. net.

A distinguished scholar has expressed the opinion that a detailed study of the feudal *curia regis* is the chief need of early English history. From the *curia* grew the House of Lords, the Courts of Law, Chancery and Court of Star Chamber. The Privy Council was definitely organised last of all, although in a very real sense it is the oldest institution of all, the *curia regis* itself, the expression of the fundamental idea of counsel. The Privy Council as a clearly defined institution, and its later developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have lately received much attention. Professor Cheyney in his recent volume has described the Council in the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. E. I. Carlyle has analysed various aspects of the seventeenth century Council, Mr. Temperley and Mr. E. R. Turner have studied the origin of the Cabinet, and Sir W. Anson has recently discussed the working of the Cabinet in the eighteenth century.

In the book under review Professor Baldwin has filled the gap between the reigns of King John and King Henry VIII. He has revised the tentative inquiries of the distinguished scholars who, from Sir Francis Palgrave onwards, have worked at the nature and jurisdiction of the King's Council ; and, if the results of his great labour are sometimes rather meagre, he has for the first time opened to students the way to an almost unexplored region. He has fully illustrated, for the first time, the wealth of information in the filed records, as distinct from the Chancery enrolments. His familiarity with the ancient petitions, the Chancery warrants, the filed documents known as Council and Privy Seal, and other collections in the Public Record Office, is the most striking feature of the book. Quite apart from its considerable achievement as a piece of historical writing, Dr. Baldwin's work carries us a long step forward in the understanding of medieval procedure.

Of the sixteen chapters of the book, six are chronological surveys, and the rest deal with the relations between the Council and its offshoots, with terminology, records, procedure and other antiquities. There are eighty pages of unedited documents, including a valuable journal of proceedings in the King's Council, kept by the clerk, Master John Prophet, between January, 1392, and February, 1393 (pp. 489-504). Another important document contains the articles of inquiry sent by Edward III. from Flanders in 1339 and the answers made by the Council (p. 476).

Professor Baldwin insists again and again upon the absence of sharp distinctions in the history of medieval institutions, and especially of the

King's Council. Occasionally he seems to lay too much stress upon this point. For example, it is quite true that the Great Council was simply the King's Council in its enlarged form, but it does not follow that the distinction in fact between the one and the other was not clearly understood, and that those writers who have dwelt upon the importance of the Great Council as such in later medieval history have been betrayed into a confusion. The description of Wykeham in the Rolls of Parliament as 'capitalis secreti consilii ac gubernator magni consilii' (quoted p. 108, note) is surely more than a 'curious reference.' As the author shows, practical conditions were sufficient to prevent the logical straightforward development which periods of crisis frequently made possible. On the one hand the reluctance to assume responsibility, the difficulty of distance, the influence of class distinctions, etc., caused the failure of the various parliamentary plans for the maintenance of an official Council. On the other hand, the right of the greater tenants of the King to attend his Council, the objection to foreigners, bureaucrats, and men of low degree, the development of Parliament and its support of the common law, prevented the establishment of a Privy Council, armed with definite judicial powers, exercising legislative as well as administrative functions, such as we find in the sixteenth century. If we take for granted the permanence of an undifferentiated King's Council from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, the most striking impression made by Professor Baldwin's studies is the far-reaching effects both of revolutionary crises and of technical changes. The King's Bench was definitely separated during the barons' war in the reign of Henry III. (p. 63). During the reign of Richard II. the official element in the Council, the clerks and foreigners, disappeared or ceased to predominate (pp. 75, 83, 87). The Great Council ceased to be regarded as 'an extra-parliamentary session of the House of Lords,' in the later years of Edward III., because the writs of summons were transferred, with the whole clerical work of the Council, from the Chancery to the office and clerks of the Privy Seal (p. 107). The same change marks the separation of the Chancery, so far as it was separated from the Council.

Professor Baldwin's book will be an essential work of reference for all students of English history. In the chronological chapters alone, although they are perhaps the least important, several well-known episodes are treated with surprising freshness. The Ordainers were at first parliamentarians, and only reluctantly tried to control the Council; the Good Parliament is the real starting-point of the attempt to control the Council by Parliament; Richard II.'s declaration that he was of age made little difference to the Council; Henry IV. was at first an autocrat, and disregarded Council and Parliament alike; Henry V., as Prince of Wales and as King, believed in a strong aristocratic Council, working in harmony with Parliament; the decay of the Council in Henry VI.'s reign did not begin until 1445; the Duke of York tried to revive the Council; Edward IV. practically disregarded it, so that the records of its work fail under the Yorkist Kings, and Chancery recovered a great deal of lost ground; economic and social circumstances enabled Henry VIII. to form a real Privy Council for the first time; the Court in Star Chamber was the

historical development of the medieval King's Council : these are some of the points brought out by Professor Baldwin. His book suffers somewhat from a monotony of emphasis, and, it may be added, from repetition and excessive detail. But these are very small matters.

F. M. Powicke.

The History of England from the Accession of James the Second. By Lord Macaulay, edited by Charles Harding Firth. In six Volumes. Vols. I. and II. Vol. I. xxxvi, 516. Vol. II. xx, 522, with many Illustrations. Royal 8vo. London : Macmillan and Co. 1913 and 1914. 10s. 6d. net per volume.

'During the last fifty years,' says Professor Firth in his prefatory note, 'so much new material on the history of the period has been published, and so many new sources have become accessible, that there is room for a critical study of Macaulay's History, and some need for one. But an illustrated edition of a British classic is not the proper place for a critical commentary, and it has seemed best to reserve any critical observations for a separate publication.'

The wisdom of Professor Firth's decision is scarcely open to question. The task of reading Macaulay's History amid the distraction of footnotes exposing errors, indicating the existence of additional information, and suggesting re-considerations of the author's conclusions, would be a useful and instructive exercise for the student of history, but can scarcely be recommended to the general reader as a method of approaching a great book which was written to be enjoyed. There can be equally little doubt that, in a critical commentary, Professor Firth's knowledge and judgment will find greater scope and more worthy form than in the disconnected footnotes and appendices of an annotated edition, and it will be a great misfortune if the pressure of other work should prevent him from redeeming what we are perhaps justified in regarding as a promise. Meanwhile, his editing has been confined to the choice of a text and to the more serious problem of selecting the nine hundred illustrations with which the six volumes are to be equipped.

Professor Firth knows more about the social history of the seventeenth century than any other great student has ever known, and the resources upon which he draws are inexhaustible. It would doubtless be possible both to criticise and to defend the selection of portraits ; for ourselves, we are willing to accept Professor Firth's considered judgment ; but we do not imagine that it is possible to quarrel with the choice of other illustrations—from contemporary broadsides and caricatures, from historical medals, from illustrated books of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, from the Pepysian collection, much used by Macaulay, from historical manuscripts, and from similar sources, English, Scottish, Dutch, and French. They supply the interested reader with precisely the kind of information he desires, and in our modern slang, re-create the atmosphere which Macaulay created for himself when he wrote and in which it is most easy to appreciate his writings. Some of these reproductions of MSS. and printed papers, for example, the Petition of the Seven Bishops and the King's answer, make it

possible even for the Tory reader to understand how Macaulay was, in a phrase used by Bishop Ken, 'so bigoted to the Revolution.'

Every school library should possess a copy of this edition of Macaulay, not merely because it will stimulate interest and increase knowledge, but also because it gives in tangible shape something like an initiation into the methods of history.

The illustrations have been admirably reproduced, and our only regret is that full-page plates in colour have been preferred to photogravures for the more important portraits. ROBERT S. RAIT.

SELECT CHARTERS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST. Arranged and Edited by William Stubbs. 9th ed. Revised throughout by H. W. C. Davis. Pp. xix, 528. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 8s. 6d. net.

A REVISED edition of this mainstay of all British schools of history is long overdue. The first edition, appearing in 1870, had defects inseparable from the work of a pathfinder in a peculiarly dense forest. Seven reissues have supplied the steady demand for an indispensable tool, without serious attempt to embody the results of modern research. It seems doubtful whether that formidable task could be performed to universal satisfaction even by an editorial committee of experts; but if it had to be undertaken by one man, probably no better selection could have been made than that of Mr. Davis, whose adequate equipment for the work of revision will be admitted on all hands. The reverence, caution, and conservatism with which he has approached the book as originally published by the master are admirable qualities, although some seekers after the most recent lights may think that he has carried them to excess. The alterations, always judicious and carefully weighed, are surprisingly few. A great deal of the voluminous *Dialogus de Scaccario* (the full text of which can now be readily found elsewhere, and Mr. R. L. Poole's fine commentary was recently noticed in this *Review*) has been omitted. A few documents, comparatively unimportant, have been abridged or dispensed with. The valuable space thus gained has been in part utilised for the inclusion of a few texts, such as the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, whose crucial importance could no longer be ignored; by some unobtrusive additions to Dr. Stubbs' brief introductory notes; and by references to recent authorities. Good use has been made of the epoch-making researches of Prof. Liebermann into Anglo-Saxon lore.

There are probably few medievalists who will not regret that Mr. Davis's conception of his editorial duties has not allowed him a freer hand in supplementing and correcting a book of reference they are accustomed to keep constantly at their elbow. Every reader, doubtless, will have his own list of additional texts he would have liked to see included. In light of Dr. Round's criticism of Stubbs, for example, the Charter granted by Henry II. to the citizens of London should certainly have found a place. Recent restatements of the relative values of the various steps in the formation of the Parliament of the three estates in the thirteenth century might have received

more emphasis. On p. 169 some reference seems called for to Mr. G. J. Turner's recent criticisms of Stubbs' account of the various Commissions issued to the Justices of Assize; while the suggestive commentaries of Prof. G. B. Adams of Yale, on Henry I.'s *Order for holding the Shire and Hundred Courts* and other texts, were worthy of mention.

A few corrections are unostentatiously made; but numerous mistakes have been left unnoticed. In Stephen's Second Charter, 'Roberto comite de Warwic' ought to read 'Rogero' (see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 230; Davis, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxi. 150-2). Obvious blunders, again, in chapters 13 and 18 of Henry III.'s Charter of 1217 are left uncorrected. Seldom does Mr. Davis alter Stubbs' texts for the worse; but the printer's substitution of '*vi*' for '*nisi*' on p. 129 makes sad nonsense of a well-known clause of Henry I.'s Charter to the men of London, while he gives no reason for omitting the numbers usually prefixed to the last three chapters of John's Magna Carta. Only a small-minded critic, however, would consider these elementary slips as seriously detracting from the good measure of success with which Mr. Davis has performed an exacting task.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES (University of London Historical Series, No. 1). Vol. I. Narrative Extracts; Vol. II. Constitutional History; Vol. III. Foreign Relations. Selected and arranged in three volumes, with an introduction by A. F. Pollard. Crown 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

IN these three volumes practically all the most valuable contemporary material for the study of the reign of Henry VII. is, for the first time, made easily accessible. The introduction, though confined to seventy pages, is not merely a preface to voluminous and heterogeneous texts, but an admirably written essay on the most interesting topics of the reign—a reign the importance of which has often been somewhat obscured by the more lurid contrasts of the succeeding epoch. Lacking in the flamboyancy of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the victor of Bosworth seems at times a drab and commonplace figure, but, as Prof. Pollard points out, he knew his business and prescribed for England just what she required —'a sedative toned with iron and administered with unflinching resolution.' The materials here collected from very miscellaneous sources provide a clear proof of the accuracy of this opinion, and these three volumes will take their rank among the best books on the Tudors which have yet been produced.

Volume one consists of narrative extracts from English, French, Italian, and Spanish sources. The doggerel verses of Skelton provide, on at least two occasions, a burlesque interlude to the more serious prose (pp. 57 and 75), and on page 205 there is a very interesting character-sketch of the king, from that acute observer Pedro de Ayala. Some passages may well bear quotation: 'The king is growing very devout [26th March, 1499]. He has heard a sermon every day during Lent and has continued his devotions during the rest of the day. His riches augment every day. If gold coin once enters his strong boxes it never comes out again. He always

pays in depreciated coin. All his servants are like him, they possess quite a wonderful dexterity in getting other people's money. He is so clever in all things . . . that it is a miracle.'

In a letter re-printed in volume two, p. 4 (the two letters, by the way, need not have been separated), Ayala is even more explicit on the same subject: 'The king looks old for his years but young for the sorrowful life he has led. One of the reasons why he lives a good life is that he has been brought up abroad. He would like to govern England in the French fashion, but he cannot. . . . Although he possesses many virtues, his love of money is too great.'

The reports of the Spanish Ambassador figure largely in these volumes, and it is curious, in view of Elizabethan opinion on the 'Inglese italianato,' to note in the above letter that Ayala associates virtue with a foreign upbringing.

For the student who has some interest in the social life of the period, Prof. Pollard's second volume is the most important. There are copious extracts from the Plumpton and the Paston correspondence, while several of the Star chamber cases reveal, as nothing else could, the general insecurity of life and property at a time when 'over-mighty subjects' had not yet been completely curbed by executive control. The plaint, for instance, of the Abbot of Eynsham against Sir Robert Harcourt (vol. ii. pp. 90-108) is a tale of misdeeds which in uncouth phraseology, quaint detail, and vivid narrative suggests a parallel with some of the most graphic accounts of outrage to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. . . . 'And so incontinent came [they] to the yates of the said monasterye and shott in arrows puttyng the Prior and sub-Prior in ieopardie of their lives, and hewed at the said yates with their billes and lyfted them out of the hookes with their hawberkes. Then thei within the yates as the porter with oder sett tymbre ayenst the gate and did under sett it ageyn. And then thei made an out Cry and called for Strawe and Firzes for to sett fire on the yates and the said monasterie' (pp. 93-94). Such a passage, which might well have come from the pen of a pious Saxon scribe of the ninth century, reminds us that the Tudors had for inheritance all the accumulated lawlessness of the fifteenth century. Contemporaries, especially foreigners, were impressed with this fact. The *Italian Relation* records (p. 47) that 'it is the easiest thing in the world to get a person thrown into prison in this country, for every officer of justice, both civil and criminal, has the power of arresting anyone, at the request of a private individual . . . nor is there any punishment awarded for making a slanderous accusation. Such severe measures ought to keep the English in check, but, for all this, there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England.' The same writer criticises the English system of trial by jury in suits to which an Italian was party on the ground that the verdict generally went in the foreigner's favour because, of the composite jury chosen to try the case, the Italians could starve out the Englishmen !

Careful accounts of daily expenditure form one of the best sources of information for the historian who does not confine his attention to Acts of Parliament and diplomatic Treaties. In this connection the extracts

from Henry's Privy Purse Expenses (vol. ii. pp. 227-233) have some significance, though their brevity is tantalising. Thus one would like to know more about the 'fello with a berde, a spye,' who on December 24, 1491, was paid £1 for his services, and why a person named Carter was paid (Jan. 2, 1492), only 7s. 4d. for 'writing of a boke,' while no less than £2 was paid on June 4th of the same year 'to a Spaynarde that pleyed the fole.' An unexplained donation of £5 on two occasions to Ringely, 'abbot of mysreule,' is in contrast with, on the one hand, the payment of 2s. 'to a woman that singeth with a fidell'; and, on the other hand, of £30 'to the young damoysell that daunceth.' Judged by his household expenses, Henry was capricious as well as parsimonious. The most extravagant items seem to be 4s. for a shave on June 22nd, 1496, and £30 to a merchant 'for a par of organnes.' He appears to have lost occasionally at cards, though never very heavily, and we are not told the amount of his winnings. He was superstitious enough to pay 13s. 4d. for a prophecy, but only half that sum to a conjuror who ate live coals, while his patronage of letters is represented by payments to 'Hampton of Wourecestre for making of balades' (£1), to 'a Walshe rymer' (13s. 4d.), to 'the pleyers with marvels' (£4), and to the 'Blynde Poete' (£3 6s. 8d.). He even contributed to a dowry (Jan. 24, 1496, 'to the Juewes, towards hir marriage, £2).

The third volume deals mainly with foreign policy, and among its most important documents are the actual texts of the 'Intercursus Magnus' and the 'Intercursus Malus.' If there were no other evidence, these would prove that Henry did much for the economic expansion of England, and that the foundations of modern English diplomacy were laid in these years.

Prof. Pollard is to be congratulated on his scholarly achievement. More and more is it being realised that English History can be intelligently understood only in relation to the sources, and these three volumes fulfil that function for the reign of Henry VII. But the reader may sometimes feel a little regret that Prof. Pollard has undertaken this work primarily as a compiler, and that his volumes are so distinctly a 'source book' and little more. Might not the introduction, especially the section dealing with the constitution, have been expanded even if at the expense of omitting some less important documents? After all Brewer has already shown how the publication of documents can be combined with an exhaustive commentary. But if this be true, Prof. Pollard's fault is one of omission rather than commission, and may be owing to undue modesty.

DAVID OGG.

THE CONFEDERATION OF EUROPE : A STUDY OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE, 1813-1823, AS AN EXPERIMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF PEACE. By Walter Alison Phillips, M.A. Pp. xv, 315. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 7s. 6d. net.

A SERIES of six lectures delivered in the University Schools at Oxford last year has been amplified into a book the meaning of which is well expressed in its sub-title, 'A Study of the European Alliance, 1813-1823, as an Experiment in the International Organization of Peace.' The author

is no lover of war, but he feels that the cause of peace suffers from the extreme statements of its advocates, and he believes that the attempts made a century ago to produce a united Europe are not without their moral, both for extremists and for the 'numerous and eminent people whose object is to restrict as far as possible the cases of war.'

Mr. Phillips begins by refuting the view that it has been left to the 'New World' to become the nursing-ground of peace and human brotherhood. This is easily done by reference to the Holy Roman Empire, and to the later schemes which modelled themselves upon the 'Grand Design.' One may be pardoned for doubting whether, in the intensely practical mind of Henry IV., the 'Grand Design' had ever the complete form given to it in Sully's *Memoirs*, but the conception was undoubtedly a reality, and undoubtedly the parent of many subsequent devices for the organization of Europe. Having thus cleared the ground, the author discusses his main theme—the European Alliance of 1813-1823. In tracing the genesis of Alexander's idea of Union to the Instructions given to Novosiltsov (1804), he differs from all previous writers, and by declining to believe that a selfish ambition was the main motive of the Czar's action, he crosses swords with several eminent historians. In both cases, however, he ably justifies his conclusions.

The history of the ten years of joint action makes abundantly clear the difficulties which must stand in the way of every European confederation. Granted that it exists to guarantee peace, is it to guarantee abstract principles of justice, or the principle of nationality, the rights of peoples or the rights of governments, progress or the *status quo*? Granted that it may interfere with national independence only in the interest of universal peace, how can it define an internal occurrence with an external effect? Are the Powers to be equal at the central Congress, or is the influence of the various governments to be made proportional to their actual strength? These and many other questions were very real to the confederated Powers of a hundred years ago, and in their settlement each of the allies, while striving to be 'European,' followed a policy in accordance with her own genius. Austria was conservative—rather opportunist, Russia varied from ideal Jacobinism to reactionary absolutism, Prussia followed the lead of the Czar, and Great Britain opposed to all a '*real-politik*' based upon national rights and ancient treaties.

The end of all was failure, and the author concludes that until the growth of similar institutions within each State has supplied a common basis for a system of guarantees (and, perhaps, we might add, a common 'ethos' for conducting European affairs) European unity must remain an unattainable ideal. The ideal, however, is not without its value. The increased respect for treaties, the development of joint action, the added authority of international law—these are practical results of the labours both of the old Confederation and the modern Peace Organizations.

J. D. Mackie.

THE LOSS OF NORMANDY (1189-1204). Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire. By F. M. Powicke, M.A. Pp. xix, 603. With Five Maps. Demy 8vo. Manchester: Sherrott & Hughes. 1913. 15s net.

THE researches of Professor Powicke in the early medieval period have been crowned with distinction by the concurrent approbation of the most exacting historical scholars in England. He is accepted as a historian of grasp, insight, originality, and force who has messages of his own, patiently communicated to him from early records, to be communicated by him in turn to ourselves. His chief contribution to history so far is this comprehensive survey of the manner in which the luckless King John lost the province of Normandy, a disaster which required a good deal of maladroitness and unpopularity on both sides of the Channel to incur. It was an emphatic counterstroke to the conquest of England by Duke William of Normandy that his great-great-grandson and successor John, sometimes nicknamed 'Soft-Sword,' should by his laxity forfeit the ancestral territory of the dynasty. How this came to pass is Professor Powicke's theme.

Yet the object is less the story itself than it is to describe characteristic Norman institutions and feudal administration, the political conditions which enabled Philip Augustus to condemn his vassals and the military organisation which failed to defend Normandy from the aggression of its suzerain, with the result that it ceased to be an appanage of England and became irretrievably a province of France. Old authorities said that it was because of his nephew Arthur's alleged murder that John 'perdist sa seygnurye.' Professor Powicke, although not eager to convict the uncle, evidently is constrained to accept tradition and lay the murder at his door, and although the feudal confiscation of Normandy because of John's contumacity had been pronounced in 1202, there can be no doubt that Arthur's death in 1203, whether followed or not by a second condemnation for murder, materially weakened John's power to resist the invasion of the duchy by the French king. In fact, John, whose English baronage refused to follow him, made surprisingly poor show of fight, and the French king's conquest of Normandy was complete. Contributory factors were John's fits of lethargy and suspicion and his persistent uxoriousness. Indeed, his 'mad' marriage with Isabella of Angoulême, affianced to Hugh le Brun of Lusignan, if it made him heir to Angoulême, had ensured him the enmity of the Lusignans, whose defection 'was the proximate cause of John's downfall on the Continent.'

But Professor Powicke's design is far deeper than that of narrating the story of that debacle. He has studied the institutions of Anjou and Aquitaine and the administrative features of Normandy, especially in its military organisation, and with an eye to the correlative influence upon England, so thoroughly that every chapter of his book illuminates the constitutional history of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. For instance, the present critic would select the many interspersed references to the Duel and the Trève de Dieu as peculiarly valuable material for the correction of misconceptions about the degree of prevalence of private war whether in England or on the Continent. Even nearer the centre of

feudal study is his recurrent and instructive examination of the Castle, which, perhaps with more insight and at any rate with more penetrative research than any of his predecessors, scarcely excepting Maitland and Round themselves, he has shown to be the legal and administrative heart of that military age. It is in these chapters of his critically analytic yet constructive interpretation of Anglo-Norman chronicle and economic government and diplomacy, all combined, that he has found his task—a task which reaches forward and backward with the promise and assurance that the whole is wisely in hand. Incidentally it is to be noted how minutely the poem *Guillaume le Maréchal* is used to annotate and establish the annals.

Five admirable maps show clearly the orographical, political and military features of the terrain. A primary qualification for such work is a double familiarity with French and English records and with the localities. In both respects the equipment of Professor Powicke appears to be excellent, and there is no question about the firm hold he has taken of the problem of feudal evolution. A subtle but far-reaching distinction he draws is that the dukes of Normandy, although they only secured by degrees the control of the jurisdiction exercised by their vassals, established for themselves rights rather of sovereignty than of merely feudal lordship within their 'regnum.' The reaction of this upon the policy of the early Norman kings in England must be apparent: English rule was mindful of a tradition which knew the aspirations of the fief as well as the concept of sovereignty, especially as regards the institutions of justice. We in Scotland remember, on the other hand, that with us the great fief got far too much of its own way, and *regalia* were conferred with prodigal sacrifice by the Crown. It is not on such lines alone that the Scottish student will be forced to comparisons of Scottish with Norman administration. The great offices of Seneschal Constable and Marshal, under both, develop or decline differently from what they did in England. They were in the personnel of government not altogether unlike what the castle was in territorial administration. Perhaps no subject broached prompts more to thought than the hint educed from the reign of John, intimating the great influence which the military organisation exerted on future experiments in political representation. In more senses than one, and in promise as well as in fact, history gains much by *The Loss of Normandy*.

GEO. NEILSON.

ENGLAND SINCE WATERLOO. By J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History and Economics at Worcester College, Oxford. Being Vol. VII. of A History of England. In seven volumes. Edited by Charles Oman, M.A. Pp. xxi, 558. Demy 8vo. With Genealogical Table and ten Maps. London: Methuen & Co. 10s. 6d. net.

FROM the Preface we learn that, should the reader be occasionally disappointed, the author is not always to blame. Cervantes is said to have whispered to a friend that, had it not been for the Inquisition, he could have made *Don Quixote* a much more interesting book. Mr. Marriott has

had a fate perhaps as hard. His book, he says, had engaged him for many years. He wrote it as he wished it to be. But the volume, being one of a series, must be made to measure. Paragraphs, as he tells us, were excised, chapters omitted, references restricted.

The title of the book is not to be taken too literally. Almost a hundred years have passed since Waterloo, but Mr. Marriott brings the formal argument of his work to its 'logical conclusion' at the end of seventy. He devotes an Epilogue to a sketch of events from 1885 till 1901. On the last twelve years he is silent.

Accepting these limitations, readers will find that the plan of the book is admirable and its execution masterly. The author justifies his claim to be 'saturated' with his subject. What is better, he holds it in orderly arrangement, and is able to set out its parts in their relations and proportions. He thinks that the characteristic differentia of English history in the period he has chosen may probably be found in the conjoined ascendancy of Science and Industry, in the advent of Democracy, and in the extension of Empire. The on-coming of Democracy and the growth of Empire will, he says, to all time distinguish the Victorian era. It is however the on-coming of Democracy which he makes most conspicuous in his work.

He divides it into three books. The first and shortest he entitles 'The Aftermath of War.' Here, after a brief account of the settlement of 1815, the chief lines of development during the next two generations (which the history proposes to describe) are summarily sketched in an introductory chapter. There follow a chapter on internal affairs in the period of 'economic recoil' after the war; a chapter on Britain's dealings with the Continental Powers from 1815 to 1830; and one describing the last years of the Tory régime.

Book II., which occupies almost half the volume, is entitled 'The Reign of the Middle Classes.' He gives this reign a generation,—thirty-five years. It begins with Parliamentary Reform, which Mr. Marriott calls 'the cleansing of the Augean stable.' He describes the unreformed House of Commons as it was, its anomalies in distribution and vagaries in franchise, the enormous power these gave to the Government and to the great landowners. Yet, if he does not liken them to that Mexican President of whom it was justly said that he had an ardent desire for his country's prosperity, *not forgetting his own*, he admits that he cannot defend their methods. But he holds that neither reformers nor reformed realised what was being done. It was not understood for two generations that the point of transition from Aristocracy to Democracy had been passed in 1832.

In Book III. the reign of the Middle Classes is succeeded by the visible advent of Democracy, and its usher is Mr. Disraeli. The Acts of 1867 and 1884 added more than three million voters to the roll. In partnership with Democracy he places Empire, a curious, but not an unprecedented conjunction. For half a century Great Britain has been pre-eminently a great European power. Now the diplomatic centre of gravity changes. We are concerned less with Europe, and more with Asia, America and Australia. We become absorbed in *Weltpolitik*.

The author's gift of orderly arrangement is happily exhibited in his

agreeable plan of sometimes abandoning strict chronological sequence in his book and telling separate stories separately where he can. Accounts of Ireland, Canada, South Africa and, more especially, India are instances of the convenience of this method.

Despite its enforced limitations this is a good history. Its author has method. He masses his material in battalions and marches them in order. He has the gift for classification and arrangement which clarifies study. This is style in its best exhibition. ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE OLD SCOTS NAVY, from 1689 to 1710. Edited by James Grant, LL.B., County Clerk of Banffshire. Pp. lix, 448. With Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. London: Printed for the Navy Records Society. 1914.

THIS is a welcome contribution to Scottish history. The Scottish Navy has had little attention from historians, and Mr. Grant's work shows that research into its records makes available a wealth of material.

The Scots Navy of this period was small; this adds interest to its record, as the reader follows in an intimate and personal way the story of the men and the ships.

Throughout the book one matter is always prominent—the difficulty of governing the country in the years preceding the Union. English ships were frequently lent to assist the Scots ships in protecting the coasts, and the question of their control while in Scottish waters gave constant trouble. English ships tried to compel Scots ships to strike to them, and also claimed the right of searching Scots merchant ships, both claims being resented by the Scots. Finally, the seizure by England of the Scots East Indiaman *Annandale* and by Scotland of the English ship *Worcester* raised national feeling to a dangerous extent on both sides of the Border.

Further complications arose over the question of the exchange of French prisoners taken by Scots ships, and the fact that many Scotsmen served in the English Navy had to be borne in mind by both Governments.

The chapter devoted to the siege of the Bass is particularly good, and throws much new light on this curious episode. The lists of the names, rates of pay, and discharges of the crews of the *Royal William* and *Royal Mary* are also valuable.

The historical novelist might here find material for many portraits, such as Captain Thomas Gordon, whose Jacobite sympathies did not prevent him from doing brilliant service against French ships, and who ultimately entered the Russian service and became an admiral and Governor of Cronstadt; or the sturdy merchant skipper, John Spence of Leith, who refused to salute the Royal Navy because his crew had been empressed.

Mr. Grant has had some difficulty in deciphering the place-names in some of the documents he transcribes. Is not the Point of Cornwall (page 9) the Point of Corsewall? Geiga and Lara (page 22) Mr. Grant presumes to be Gigha and Jura, but it is more probable that Gigha and the adjacent isle of Cara are meant. On page 72 the 'Collihoe' Stone looks like the Caillich Stone, still well known to yachtsmen, and duly saluted by them.

J. J. SPENCER.

THE PASSING OF THE GREAT REFORM BILL. By J. M. Butler. Pp. ix, 454. With eight Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is a specially good account of the 'Revolution by Law' of 1832, when the old aristocratic system ended and the 'feet of the nation' set 'in the path that leads to democracy.' Mr. Butler, in this erudite book, a very fine piece of work, has presented a wonderfully interesting narrative of this extraordinary political change. He shows how the idea of political liberty, to which many were friendly at first, received an awful check from the excesses of the French Revolution, and though the Sacred Fire was kept alive by Fox and his followers, it had no chance until the end of the Napoleonic wars. The poverty at the end of this period and the unpopularity of George IV. allowed it again to blaze forth, and it was encouraged by the exertions of men like Francis Place, Attwood, and perhaps Cobbet, who got the ear of the unrepresented People and made 'liberty' a popular cry in spite of the unwavering hostility of the King, the Duke of Wellington, and the Church. Encouraged by the Revolution of 1830 in France, which sent Charles X. to Holyrood, the movement grew and the Tories fell.

Then came the struggle of the Whigs for Reform under Grey. His policy was, says the author, hated by 'Society' as the Fiscal policy of Mr. Lloyd George has been hated by the same section yesterday and equally vituperated. Barely carried in the Commons (a curious account is given of the turbulency of the last Unreformed Parliament), the Bill was thrown out by the unchanging Lords. Then came strange scenes, Riots, and the Guards and other regiments refusing to fire on mobs. Immense feeling on both sides, Revolution and mob law foreseen by the Tories and the Millenium in sight of the Reformers. The forcing of the unwilling King to threaten to create Peers made the Bill pass, and the quiet result showed that most fears had been unnecessary or premature. The book is well illustrated with portraits of the leaders. It gives much food for thought, and should be read by all who wish to know how 'the Atlantic beat Mrs. Partington.'

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

MAGNA CARTA. A Commentary on the Great Charter of King John. With an Historical Introduction. Second Edition, revised and in part re-written. By William Sharp M'Kechnie, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. Pp. xvii, 530. Demy 8vo. Glasgow : James MacLehose & Sons. 1914. 14s. net.

DR. M'KECHNIE'S commentary on Magna Carta was published in 1905, and was greeted by all scholars as a substantial and solid addition to the material available for the minute study of the most famous document in English history. It is a matter for some congratulation that the first edition of it should now have become exhausted, and still more a subject for satisfaction that Dr. M'Kechnie has fully availed himself of the opportunity which reprinting the book has given him.

The second edition is a real second edition, and the statement on the title-page, 'revised and in part re-written,' if anything, understates the facts. The somewhat careful comparison of parallel passages in the two issues

shows in what important respects the new edition has improved upon the old. To begin with, it is seventy pages shorter, and this space has been gained, not by ruthless excisions, but by the deliberate removal of a good many doubtful points, and by the careful compression of paragraphs which originally, perhaps, rather tended towards over elaboration. If Dr. M'Kechnie has a weakness, it is for presenting every possible view which has ever been held by scholars on the subject which he is treating. Sometimes, perhaps, he seems more anxious to set out these various points of view than to give us a clear-cut opinion of his own. We might, therefore, have expected that, after a careful and exhaustive study of all that has been written on this subject during the last ten years, our author would have enlarged his commentary. On the contrary, he has shown so strong a sense of proportion and self-restraint that, without omitting anything of importance, he has put more matter and more judgments of his own into a volume of much more manageable size. All through the new edition there is a stronger suggestion of mastery and authority.

Although it cannot be said even now that Dr. M'Kechnie has solved all the riddles involved in the interpretation of the Great Charter, he has undoubtedly approached much nearer in that direction than he did in 1905.

Let us take a few concrete instances. In 1905 Dr. M'Kechnie's commentary on the thirty-fourth clause of the Charter failed somewhat owing to the imperfect distinction made in it between the writ *praecipe* and the writ of right. In the present edition the fundamental difference between the two writs in origin and antecedents is made absolutely clear. The only complaint that can be made with regard to this section now is that the form of the writ of right is not given in a note, just as the form of the writ *praecipe* is. It is not every student who uses Dr. M'Kechnie's book who would be able, or willing, to turn up the relevant passage in Glanvill to which our authority refers. Again, the comparison of Chapter L. in the two editions shows an even more marked improvement. Thanks to Mr. G. J. Turner, Dr. M'Kechnie now knows all about the provenance of Gerard of Athée and his kinsfolk, whose military gifts made the Tourangeon villages of Athée, Cigogne, and Chanceaux names of terror to the English of King John. Topography is, however, still not Dr. M'Kechnie's strongest point, or he would not have spoken of the 'city' of Loches, nor called Bytham 'Biham,' or Benson 'Benzinton.' It is impossible to leave the comparison without testifying to the minute acquaintance which Dr. M'Kechnie shows of the relevant literature of the last ten years, and of the judicious use which he has made of it. It will be going too far to say that the second edition has made the first obsolete, but it is such a substantial improvement on it that the wise will always have recourse to it in future.

To conclude with a somewhat broader criticism, the book as it stands is of a very high character. It would, perhaps, have been still better had Dr. M'Kechnie aimed at working out the results of Magna Carta in later history with the same completeness that he has shown in examining its antecedents and immediate consequences. Here there is still room for additional work. A wider acquaintance with the administrative history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would have enabled Dr. M'Kechnie

to work up points as to which he is either silent or content with repeating shortly the traditional point of view. This is notably the case when he treats of the history of the two Benches, and still more when he deals with the Exchequer as a court of law. It is somewhat disconcerting to read of his treatment of the Exchequer 'as a third Bench or court of justice,' at a time when it only held pleas incidentally and remained strictly and primarily the office of revenue. The whole treatment of the later history of the Exchequer is somewhat perfunctory. It is a mistake to say that the 'formal sessions of the Exchequer for auditing the sheriffs' accounts could only be held at Westminster.' They were held wherever the Exchequer happened to be. When Edward I. removed the Exchequer to Shrewsbury by reason of the Welsh war, and when both that king and his son kept the Exchequer for long periods at York on account of the troubles with Scotland, it was not simply the Exchequer in its legal aspect or the Exchequer in any special or limited sense, but the whole Exchequer that was moved. Perhaps it is not fair to reproach Dr. M'Kechnie for not emphasising these points, which he might reasonably regard as outside his theme. Nevertheless, all subsequent history, as Stubbs once suggested, is a commentary on the Great Charter, and, as it seems likely this excellent book will reach a third edition, it is perhaps worth while suggesting the sides on which it could be still further strengthened.

T. F. Tout.

A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth. With an Account of English Institutions During the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. In two volumes. Vol. I. By Edward P. Cheyney. Pp. x, 560. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 16s. net.

Until a few years ago no satisfactory account of the last years of Elizabeth's reign existed. Lingard's *History* was written, of course, before the State papers in British and foreign archives had been properly examined. Then came two or three chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History* and, in 1910, Professor Pollard's excellent summary in the sixth volume of the *Political History of England*. These called attention to, rather than discussed, the material. Professor Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, has in the meanwhile been at work upon a full and adequate survey of the whole period.

The first volume of Mr. Cheyney's very important book is divided into four parts. Part I. deals with royal administration, especially in the later years of Elizabeth. Part II. is a history of military affairs between 1588 and 1595. In Part III. the author deals with exploration and commerce in Elizabeth's reign as a whole. Part IV. is entitled 'Violence on the Sea,' and contains sections upon reprisals, contraband and piracy, and an account of the naval war with Spain from the year 1589 to Drake's last expedition in 1596.

The first part opens with a study of Queen Elizabeth in 1588. These few pages are the least satisfactory section of the work. Professor Cheyney has very little admiration for Elizabeth, and is puzzled by her inscrutability;

hence his analysis is laboured, and his clear straightforward style becomes heavy. It will always be difficult to understand the paradox of Elizabeth's position. She was thoroughly incompetent and greedy in small things, yet as a queen could stir all that was intelligent and generous in her subjects. How incompetent she could be is shown in several places of this narrative. She is rightly blamed for the comparative failure of the Portugal Expedition (p. 188); throughout the period of her co-operation with Henry IV. she showed little understanding of the political and none at all of the military requirements of the situation, 'judging the whole operation from a personal point of view, in which the absence of her favourite from Court was the principal feature' (p. 265). Similarly in naval policy she seemed 'devoted to a defensive, dilatory and self-supporting war, where every opportunity and indication of the time was in favour of a vigorous offensive that would soon have compelled peace' (p. 550). Professor Cheyney notes that the Queen never crossed the Channel, 'never saw Scotland, Ireland or Wales, and during her seventy years of life was never more than one hundred and twenty-five miles from her birthplace' (p. 12, cf. p. 54). Perhaps the secret of the strength no less than of the irresolution and credulity of this parochial-minded mistress of Drake and Cavendish is to be found in the fact that the Court was her parish.

The sections upon the Royal Household and Court, the Ministers, the Privy Council, and the courts depending upon it, are the best and most original part of the volume. Among the excellent descriptions of Hunsdon, Burleigh, Walsingham and the rest, the character sketch of Ralegh is particularly impressive (p. 26). The description of the frivolity and waste of time at Court (p. 38), of the endogamy and nepotism among the courtiers (pp. 48-9), of the Queen's essential absolutism (pp. 63-4), help greatly to a clearer understanding of the political difficulties and advantages of the Ministers. A very attractive study of Lord Howard reminds us that for a time he held a semi-royal position unique in English history (p. 42). The importance of the Privy Council, its relation to the Star Chamber, and the composition and functions of both, are discussed with great clearness. It is noted that in Elizabeth's day there were no committees of the Privy Council (p. 69). The Council alone had the power of investigating by means of torture (pp. 70-1). The presence of the judges in the Council in Star Chamber, and its method of procedure, were important in differentiating this court and in the employment of its wide powers. The ordinary charges against the court that its proceedings were secret and arbitrary, and its punishments vindictive, are shown to be based upon misunderstanding (pp. 100-1). Throughout these chapters the patriarchal character of the government is insisted upon. The Queen at times directed the judgment of the Lord Chancellor in Chancery (p. 130). Lord Burghley once proposed the establishment of a court for the general reformation of all abuses (p. 139). There was a good deal of friction between the common law courts and the other courts, especially the Courts of Admiralty and Requests, but there is little trace of the common law theory of the State. Yet the rule of Queen and Council was sometimes called in question. So early as 1598 some critics wished England

to be governed after the Queen's death 'as one of the popular Italian states' (p. 64).

The most interesting and important pages of Part II. deal with the nature of the English intervention in the Netherlands, the details of the co-operation between Henry IV. and Elizabeth, and the quality, enlistment and payment of the Elizabethan armies. The English Government ceased after a time to insist upon a share in the civil administration of the United Provinces; the powers of Sir Francis Vere in 1589 were not so political as those of Willoughby (p. 235). The chief advantage of the Dutch alliance to the English was the training of a body of seasoned troops, who became more effective than even the 'denationalised' veterans under Parma. At the beginning of the period treated by Professor Cheyney 'there were probably not a thousand men who had actually seen foreign military service' (p. 160). Hence veterans in the Netherlands were frequently drafted off to join other expeditions. In August, 1591, ten or twelve thousand English troops were scattered in the service of the 'common cause' between Brittany and the Netherlands. This was distinctly a war period for England. 'The coming and going of soldiers, the creation of a group of "men of the sword," as a contemporary chronicler called the officers, the appearance of the soldier as a stock character on the stage, and a new element of disorder in the country, the growth of martial law, and the pamphlets that were published recounting military adventures and experiences gave one additional phase to the many-sided interests of these last decades of the reign of Elizabeth' (p. 260). Mr. Cheyney returns several times to the organisation of these rather unsatisfactory forces (see especially pp. 184, 220, 229, 285-6). Among the various expedients for recruiting he notes the literal interpretation of feudal leases (p. 256). In spite of inexperience, desertion, disease, Elizabeth's troops played an almost decisive part in the struggle against Spain and the League (see pp. 304-6). A general survey of this kind is the more welcome because local historians and isolated narratives naturally convey an impression of the weakness and secondary importance of the English allies.[1]

In Parts III. and IV. Professor Cheyney covers familiar ground, and shows the same mastery of his complicated theme. The history of the Russian company and the early travellers to the East Indies is particularly good. The different types of enterprise, the question of contraband, the legal nature of letters of reprisal are fully dealt with. Readers will notice the beginning of the appeal to Magna Carta against monopolists (p. 328), the experiment of a special coinage for the trade in the East (pp. 448-9), the importance of the Baltic trade to Spain (p. 477), and the curious fact that the rebellion of the Dutch was largely financed by the trade between Spain and the Netherlands (pp. 479, 484).

Professor Cheyney's book, when it is completed, will fill the gap between the famous works of Froude and Gardiner. But it does not suggest comparison with them. Its arrangement is different. It lacks the vigour and

[1] Compare, for example, the full narrative of the Breton war between the Loyalists and the League in M. Barthélemy Pocquet's continuation of De la Borderie's *Histoire de Bretagne* (vol. v. (1913), pp. 166 *seqq.*).

charm of Froude's style, and the leisurely wisdom of Gardiner's; yet the quiet force of its learning makes it an impressive as well as a useful study. The writing is rather dry, but it is never dull; its note of competence is slightly professional, but not academic. In its detachment, control of fact, concreteness and clearness, the book stands beside the best work of American and British scholarship.

It will be easier to illustrate Professor Cheyney's mastery of the unpublished and published authorities when he has issued his second volume.

F. M. Powicke.

A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Medieval Economic History. Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A. Pp. xiii, 350. Demy 8vo. London: P. S. King & Son. 1914. 6s. net.

This bibliography will be extremely useful to students of English medieval economic history. A large section describes the published and unpublished sources, both public and local, and the lists, indexes, calendars, etc. which are available are also given. The description of the character and classification of unpublished sources is particularly valuable. There are also sections giving bibliographies of bibliographies and of various branches of historical study, palaeography, archaeology, etc., and of histories of other European nations. Inventories of state archives of other countries are also given, and descriptions of their character and arrangement and selections from some printed sources. Part III. is a bibliography of modern works on economic history, including a number relating to continental countries.

Some of the Scottish sources which might be useful for English history are described, but neither the list of unofficial original sources nor of modern works is exhaustive. Some collections of burgh charters are not mentioned, nor are Cochran-Patrick's *Records* relating to Coinage and to Mining, and Jamieson's *Dictionary* is omitted. No books published after 1910 are included, and so Dr. Maitland Thomson's valuable edition of the first volume of the *Register of the Great Seal* is not given.

Theodora Keith.

The Cathedral Church of Glasgow: A Description of its Fabric and a Brief History of its Archi-Episcopal See. By P. M'Gregor Chalmers. Pp. xii, 95, with many illustrations. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1914. 1s. 6d. net.

For this number of their excellent Cathedral Series the publishers have been happy in their selection as author of Mr. M'Gregor Chalmers. Alike as archæologist and church architect, he is thoroughly equipped for dealing with such a subject, while his extensive knowledge of the building described is borne witness to in the careful analysis and lucid description of the many details of special interest. From the conjectural visit of S. Ninian in the fourth century, and the first settlement by S. Kentigern in the sixth, when by the 'Mellindenor' he founded his early Church, down to the present day, the history of the See is graphically sketched in the first chapter; the second and third are devoted to a detailed descrip-

tion of the exterior and interior features of the Cathedral as it now stands, while the fourth and concluding chapter gives a chronological list of the Bishops, Archbishops, and Protestant ministers who in turn have ruled its destinies, with special reference to those to whose pious labours the fabric owes its being.

In his analysis of the work, Mr. Chalmers, in some instances, describes as facts what at best should be regarded as but reasonable surmises, and where contrary theories to his own have been advanced they are quietly ignored. There is room for surprise also at his approval, or at least acceptance without demur of the painted glass in the windows. While executed before the revival of the glass-designer's art in this country, and when nothing better could be obtained elsewhere, and while commendable as the outcome of a whole-hearted and generous zeal on the part of the donors, it yet remains that they are glaring examples of what such glass should *not* be, and, alike in scale and character, extremely hurtful to the internal effect of the Cathedral. It is also remarkable that, while the book has only been published within the present year, and the finely achieved reconstruction or restoration of the roofs of nave and choir was completed in 1912, and had been in progress for several years before then, nothing beyond the barest reference to this important work is included. An appreciation of the fine craftmanship displayed, and a description of the salient features, particularly of the interesting series of bosses of the choir roof might have been looked for, and would have made the book more complete as a record and work of reference.

As a whole, however, it is one to be warmly commended, alike to the student of medieval architecture, the dwellers in the city so fortunate as to possess such a magnificent and interesting example of the art, and the many visitors from other parts who will find in it a guide-book interesting, succinct, and, in the main, trustworthy.

The illustrations, which are numerous, and comprise plans, elevational drawings (the latter unfortunately without scales), and photographs, are excellent, and add much to the interest and usefulness of the work.

ALEXANDER N. PATERSON.

CHURCHES IN THE MODERN STATE. By John Neville Figgis, Litt.D., D.D. Pp. xi, 265. Crown 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1913. 4s. 6d. net.

IN this treatise Dr. Figgis, whose earlier writings have gained for him a recognised position as a learned student of the history of political philosophy, applies to the present ecclesiastical situation in England certain considerations on the nature of corporate personality. To readers of Gierke and F. W. Maitland his thesis presents no novelty, and he makes no claim to do more than clear the atmosphere by directing the attention of the general reader to a point of view from which he can form theoretical opinions on contemporary tendencies. Though Dr. Figgis disclaims the intention to apply his observations to a concrete situation, his treatise is *tendancieux* in the most worthy sense of the term, and no reader can fail to note its application to the present position of the Church of England. To

Scottish readers the conclusions which Dr. Figgis draws from the decision of the House of Lords in the Free Church case may appear somewhat sweeping in view of the abstract and doctrinaire grounds upon which the appeal was argued, and the failure of the appellants to lead evidence in the Court below. But this is a secondary matter, and the course of recent events will lead readers to doubt whether the semi-political semi-juristic *panacea* of Dr. Figgis is sufficiently far-reaching to meet the situation summed up in the charge of the Bishop of Oxford and the reply of Professor Sanday. DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

THE COLONISING ACTIVITIES OF THE ENGLISH PURITANS, THE LAST PHASE OF THE ELIZABETHAN STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN. Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany I. By Arthur P. Newton, Lecturer in Colonial History, University of London. Pp. x, 344. With three Maps. Demy 8vo. New Haven : Yale University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. NEWTON'S valuable contribution to a phase of British colonial history hitherto insufficiently studied will gain a cordial reception. Taking as his starting-point the treaty with Spain of 1604 and concluding with the Peace of the Pyrenees of 1659, he deals in a masterly fashion (omitting no detail interesting in itself or illuminating the general subject in hand) with the early Puritan attempts to colonise, which resulted in the establishment of a definite British foreign policy. The express intention of the treatise is to demonstrate the continuance of the Elizabethan tradition of adventure and hatred for Spain in the colonising spirit of the Puritans who endeavoured to combine an ideal community with commercial success. The story of the Providence Company, its foundation in 1631, at the instigation mainly of the Earl of Warwick and John Pym, its varied fortunes, the difficulties encountered in Spanish attacks and internal discords, coupled with lack of men and money, its gradual degeneration into a mere organised scheme of piracy and its final failure, either as a sanctuary for the godly from Laud's persecutions or as a financial undertaking, is a subject of exceptional interest, especially in view of Mr. Newton's chapter on the abiding influence of the Company's enterprise on the Protectorate's foreign policy in prosecuting Cromwell's 'Western Design' of crushing Spanish supremacy. With the Restoration in 1660, the place of Spain, as Britain's rival in the West, was taken by Holland, and a new era of commercial strife inaugurated.

The maps and index are somewhat inadequate, but for the volume, as a whole, we have nothing but praise. J. G. HAMILTON GRIERSON.

ELIZABETH AND MARY STUART : THE BEGINNING OF THE FEUD. By Frank Arthur Mumby. Pp. xiv, 407. With eight Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London : Constable & Co. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

IT was a brilliant idea of the author of this excellent book to collect from various sources the contemporary letters on the subject of the early relations between the two Queens, Elizabeth and Mary. One gets delightful translations of the despatches from the Spanish Ambassadors, Feria,

Quadra, and the courtly Guzman de Silva deploring Elizabeth's continual double dealing, falseness, and dissimulation on both religion and her marriage overtures. (Quadra said she 'must have a hundred thousand devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling us she yearns to be a nun.')

We are given also admirable English letters like those of John Jewell, the Protestant, rejoicing in the change of religion which gave him, though 'the least of the Apostles,' the Bishopric of Salisbury. We find here the stinging apologies of Knox, which probably the Queen never received, the oft-quoted account of Elizabeth's Court by Sir James Melville, much scandal about Queen Elizabeth and Dudley (the favour shown to Pickering soon faded), and the shameful offer of the latter as husband to Queen Mary.

Three things in this book strike the reader. One is that perhaps Elizabeth favoured sub-consciously the Darnley marriage more than she avowed even to herself. The second is her extraordinary success in temporising with religion and her suitors. The third is how strangely she kept the Howards of Norfolk, near relations to herself, as they were through her grandmother, at a respectful distance. The letters are all interesting to read, and in them we see both courts live. We have scenes both grave, like the pathetic death of Queen Mary's mother, the lonely Regent of Scotland, and the sad history of Lady Catherine Grey; and gay, such as the progresses to the Court of Elizabeth, at which she danced 'high and disposedly.' We have also an account of Queen Mary's life as a 'bourgeois wife' at St. Andrews as told by Randolph. The rivalry between the two Queens with Elizabeth meddling in the affairs of Scotland is also well illustrated, and it is easily seen that a tragic conclusion could follow.

The author must be congratulated on his choice of the letters. We only notice two small slips in his editing. On page 301 'Lord Grey' should surely be 'Lord John Grey,' and we think that on page 344 the 'worthy Beaton' was the Archbishop and not, as he supposes, the beautiful 'Queen's Marie.' The book is illustrated with portraits which have been well selected.

A. Francis Steuart.

Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity. Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter and Trinity Terms, 1913. By Charles Francis Adams. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 184. 1913. 6s. net.

For the student of political science these truly original studies on various aspects of the American War of Secession possess a value altogether out of proportion to the size of the slender volume that contains them. But the unusual and varied nature of their charm is of too subtle a kind to be easily summarized in a short review; while the style has a peculiar and attractive flavour of its own.

The tie that binds the various threads together, as the title of the book clearly suggests, is the manner in which the Old World and the New act and react on each other. This is best brought out in the pages devoted to the supremely interesting story of how bitterly the blockade of the cotton-growing southern States affected the operatives of Lancashire, and how the sympathy of middle and lower-class English public opinion with the

suppression of slave-ownership prevented the British Government from interfering in favour of the Confederate States at a critical moment when intervention might have turned the scale. Mr. Adams' account of how the situation was saved for the north by the personal antipathies and mutual jealousies of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone (then sharing with Lord John Russell the chief power in the British cabinet), is of quite extraordinary interest. Two points, however, might perhaps have received more emphasis; the facts that Abraham Lincoln, in gaining sympathy for the north by emancipating the slaves of southern owners, was securing support by the expedient (more popular to-day than it was in 1862) of being generous with his opponents' property rather than with his own; and that if the fears of retaliatory outrages by the enfranchised negroes were falsified, this was only because their slavery was not so unmitigated an abomination as Lincoln's friends declared it to be.

Among the other matters of general interest are the subtle discussions of the conception of sovereignty, allegiance, nationality and state-rights that lay at the heart of the struggle between north and south, and the penetrating and generous tribute paid to the Confederate General Lee, whom Mr. Adams, an old opponent in actual war, ranks with the select band of the greatest commanders the world has ever seen. Altogether this is a book of an interest that is quite unique. WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND. Vol. X. 1551-1559. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul. Pp. lxxxv, 572. 8vo. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office. 10s.

ARRAN had been Regent for over eleven years (see *S.H.R.* ix. 319) when the Dowager Queen Mary of Lorraine on 12th April, 1554, acquired the reins of government. The Hamilton interest had had a long ascendency in preferments and perquisites. Extravagance and nepotism, 'the gredie proceidings of the Governour and his broder,' now quickened the change. An outstanding note of the accounts in this well-glossed and well-indexed volume is the difference between Arran's profusion of costly private charges on the treasury compared with Mary's much restricted personal claims. Besides, the energy of the new Regent is obvious, whether in enterprises against the north, in justice-ayres in the south, or in fortifications of the coast, which ran counter to Scottish treaty obligations and precipitated warfare anew. Civil war, however, does not yet even appear to threaten. A naval expedition was undertaken in 1554, and the accounts contain the charges for equipment of the ship 'callit the Lioune in hir voyage to Strathnaver for assegeing of the hous of Burro.' This was Borve Castle, which was taken and its captain hanged.

Next year the queen herself went to circuit courts on the Border. In 1558 bonfires were set ablaze everywhere on July 3 in celebration of the marriage of the young Queen Mary and the Dauphin on April 29. The rejoicings in Edinburgh included the shooting of Mons Meg, and there is an entry for 'the monting of Mons furtht of hir lair to be schote.' Arran had made a great step to permanent adjustment with England when he completed the work of an international commission dividing the Debatable

Land. But Mary's regency, conditioned by its French auspices, auxiliaries, and entourage, soon declared itself for a policy of war with the 'auld enemy.' Her proposed invasion of England was abortive through the refusal of the Scots nobles, but there were hostilities on the Border. In January, 1559, money gifts are registered to 'William Hoppringle for the wynnyng of ane Inglis standart,' and to David Young for winning another. To a considerable degree the Border is the centre of interest in this volume. In Arran's time, in 1552, masons were paid 'to pas and wirk at the tour of Annand,' from which it may be inferred that, in place of the church steeple blown up by Wharton in 1547 for being 'noisome unto the English,' there was being built that squat circular castle which appears on a well-known military sketch, circa 1563. Musters ordered at Jedburgh in 1553 and Dumfries in 1554 led to heavy amercements of absentees. While it is true, as the Lyon King says in his preface, that the interest of the present volume is less in general events than in special details (inclusive of wardrobe and household entries of unusual variety), he has found material for an introductory essay very successful indeed in its outline of the course of events to which the arrival of John Knox was about to open an entirely new departure and development.

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE offerts à M. Charles Bémont par ses amis et ses élèves. Cr. 8vo. Pp. vi, 668. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 15 frs.

THIS is truly a noteworthy 'festschrift' of historical studies presented to a most distinguished, energetic, and successful scholar and master by friends and students, who thus congratulate him and themselves on his completed quarter of a century of teaching at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. We in Britain know his work too, and participate in the dedication 'en hommage et en souvenir' which no fewer than 190 professors, archivists, and notables in historical work, especially on its educational side, have united to render. The group, while mainly French, includes English, American, German, and Russian names.

The spirit of the tribute is delightful, and its weight and value in detailed historical contribution is fully equal to the quality of the men who offer it and to an occasion which required that the co-operative bundle of essays should be a solid miscellany of researches of which even M. Bémont might well be proud. And so it is: for the forty-eight pieces comprise first-class propositions and demonstrations, some of them from English archives and a preponderance of them touching subjects either wholly English or relative to interconnected matters in France. Many of these are of great interest and several of high importance, so that the 'Bémont Mélanges' will take a place somewhat like Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, the *Reliquiae Antiquae* of Wright and Halliwell, or the Furnivall *English Miscellany*, which last was a festschrift also.

Only a few of the contents can be indicated here. The order is chronological, and the book opens with F. Lot's cross-examination of Hengist and Horsa, concluding that English history A.D. 441-596 is 'une page blanche.' F. Liebermann, a veteran on his own territory, discusses anew the laws of Ina. Next comes a paper sure to be much canvassed: it is P. Lauer's

re-editing of the poem by Bauderi of Bourgueil or Dol, written not later than 1107, in which he describes what is now maintained to have been the Bayeux tapestry itself. The case presented is persuasive, and, in any view, the poem is well worth while being made more accessible were it only for the line

Hostis equo abjecto cuneum densatur in unum,

which some years ago was a sound document for Harold's shieldwall at Hastings. After this Ch. Petit-Dutaillis claims that the forest law of England was mainly of Norman origin, C. H. Haskins edits customs of Portswood manor, Hampshire, under Henry I., and Jean Marx tracks an anecdote in Wace's *Roman de Rou*. Other papers edit annals of Tewkesbury, a suspected bull of 1183 regarding Burwell Priory, Lincolnshire, a late and unskilful redaction of the story of the battle of Poitiers, and fifteenth century liturgical pieces on the cult of St. John of Bridlington, who died in 1379, and the connection of whose name with a very curious collection of political prophecies remains—as becomes a prophet—obscure.

H. F. Delaborde writes a most interesting essayette on 'touching for the evil.' These 'bons francais' are very good indeed; but really it is hard to have them claim that the English king's cure of the evil was, like the English forest laws, an adaptation from the other side of the Channel. Sorcery trials of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries are described. Documents edited in whole or in part include material covering 'Jones Hameton' (John Hamilton) and one 'Marcolet,' Scotsmen in France in 1482 (the former dirked a fellow-archer): a letter of Scottish Cistercian abbots in 1498 about their provincial chapters: the narrative of an unrecorded English expedition to America in 1527: inquisition proceedings for the burning of William Tindale, the reformer, in 1536: new state papers of Queen Elizabeth: negotiations of the Marquis of Huntly in the Catholic interest with the French in 1629: and a journal of the siege of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, in 1758. Even this bald and partial enumeration will be enough to call attention to the *Mélanges* as a repertory of texts and studies which cannot be overlooked, and which entitles those who organised it to a grateful recognition, enhancing the honour it confers on M. Bémont, to whom we tender sincere congratulations.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND. By W. R. Kermack. Pp. viii, 134. With six Maps. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh and London: W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited. 1913. 2s. 6d. net.

WITH a coloured map and with charts showing Scotland in 1300, the clans of the sixteenth century, and the route of Prince Charles Edward's raid into England in 1745, this little volume pleasantly joins geography to history. It develops the topographical causations. Features such as fords, and roads, equally with mountains and rivers, castles, churches, and burghs, receive attention. But it is time we had a map of the shiring of Scotland, to be followed some day by a more elaborate chart of the chief baronial jurisdictions. Mr. Kermack writes so shrewdly in general that his derivation of Cunningham in Ayrshire from 'cuinneag,' Gaelic for milk-pail, may perhaps be forgiven. We are not sure about some doctrine laid down

about the borders on the authority of Mr. Howard Pease ; for instance, the styling Otterburn a Warden Raid. But we cheerfully own Mr. Kermack's endeavour to be abreast of modern inferences.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE STUARTS, 1607-1688. By Thomas T. Wertenbaker, Ph.D. Pp. xi, 271, with Map. Med. 8vo. Princeton: University Press. London : Humphrey Milford. Oxford : University Press. 1914. 6s. 6d. net.

IT was in 1606 that the fleet of three small vessels left England to colonise the 'faire meadows' of Virginia, and the adventurers founded their first settlement Jamestown the next year. At first, as this excellently worked history shows, their hardships were great; quarrels among the executive, harsh rulers, and famine were only some of their troubles. Greater misfortune was the hostility of the Indians, which was only ended, for a time, by the romantic episode of Pokahuntas.

The writer gives a good description of the establishment of representative government (somewhat in opposition to the King's will) and the struggles that the Colonists had with the Crown, up to the end of the Stuart period, to regain it. A curious episode was the expulsion of the Governor Sir John Harvey in 1635, and his restoration was one of the dubious acts of Charles I. Still under a succeeding Governor, Sir William Berkeley, Virginia showed much loyalty to the King, partly, no doubt, from the influence of the Church of England in the settlement, but most from the royalist feelings of the Governor, who yielded to the armed forces of the Commonwealth only.

The author found a difficulty in this portion of his history on account of the paucity of official letters between the colony and the mother country, but he writes a very good narrative nevertheless. Bacon's rebellion is the next phase treated of, and the encroachments of the Crown, from 1677 to the end, are well described. We notice two slight errors in nomenclature. 'Lord John Berkeley' should be 'John, Lord Berkeley,' and 'Effingham' and 'Howard' should be 'Lord Howard of Effingham.'

THE ANCIENT ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA; THE DIFFUSION OF ROMAN AND ENGLISH LAW THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. Two Historical Studies. By James Bryce. Pp. 138. Demy 8vo. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. 6s. net.

THE sure and excellent reasoning bestowed upon these two historical essays, reprinted from other volumes, and their clear and plain style make them a pleasure to peruse. In the first, every note of likeness between the two very different, though often contrasted, Empires is emphasised, while at the same time each difference is indicated.

The second essay, dealing with the diffusion of the two types of law throughout the globe,—the only two, the author points out, except the law of Islam, which have conquered the world,—is equally fascinating to read, as it is written by a master hand.

THE LORD ADVOCATES OF SCOTLAND, SECOND SERIES, 1834-1880. By G. W. T. Omond. Pp. xxiv, 360. London: Andrew Melrose Ltd. 1914. 21s.

AFTER an interval of more than thirty years Mr. Omond has given to the public a second series of his Lord Advocates of Scotland. The idea of dealing with this aspect of Scottish history was a good one, and has been well carried out. His aim, as he now tells us, was 'not to give a series of complete 'Lives,' but to trace the history of an office, the holders of which enjoyed peculiar opportunities of influencing the development of the law in Scotland: to describe the various arrangements which, since the Union, have been made for the conduct of Scotch affairs; to record the part the Lord Advocates took in politics and legislation; and to combine with all this some account of their personal history.'

The position of a Lord Advocate, especially prior to the revival of the office of Scottish Secretary, was one so involved in the great public movements of his time, that anything like the story of his career means the political history of the period covered by it. We have here consequently a narrative of the Scottish nation subsequent to the great triumph of 1832, and brought down to comparatively recent days. The period is one of great interest. Between 1834 when John Archibald Murray became Lord Advocate and 1881 when John M'Laren resigned the office, an enormous advance in many directions had been made. If we compare it with the period similar in duration which preceded it the contrast is indeed great. Not a little of this advance is due to the work of Lord Advocates, and that upon both sides in politics. The names of M'Neill and Inglis, as well as of Rutherford and Young, deserve a place in the list of reformers. Nor was it the blame of the man in office that the reforms he aimed at had sometimes to be left to his successor to carry out. The difficulty which all of them had to contend with, and which still exists, was the neglect in Parliament of Scottish business, occasionally attributed to the absence of a Secretary, but which was never due to the fault of the Lord Advocates.

The most important national event recorded in this volume is the Ten Years' Conflict ending in the Disruption of 1843. The evil effects of the divisions, and the prejudices called into existence by that catastrophe, upon subsequent legislation is well illustrated here. If a sound system of education was so long delayed, it was mainly due to the jealousy of the Churches, while the changes which the Disruption brought about had their share in rendering a revolution in our Poor Law system necessary.

Mr. Omond's account of the great struggle for spiritual independence is excellent, not too long and so clear that even an Englishman could understand what the matter in dispute was. It is also very fair and does not throw all the blame upon the one side. It is melancholy to find how much mischief might have been avoided had our Scottish Judges been more judicial, and Parliament realized what it all really meant.

If some of the holders of office recorded in this volume were obscure individuals who owed their preferment to political or family interest, the majority were men of whom any people might be proud—learned, eloquent, accomplished, and untiring workers. Viewed solely as Lord Advocates

those on the Liberal side were probably the most distinguished, for Inglis and Watson made their fame as judges. But it is curious to note how unequally the judicial honours fell to be distributed between the two parties. All the Whig officials, with the exception of Moncreiff, had to content themselves with ordinary judgeships—whereas on the other side several afterwards sat as Presidents in Court of Session divisions, and no less than three found their way as Lords of Appeal to the House of Lords. Of course this was really due to the time at which vacancies occurred.

A number of the Lord Advocates will always be associated with the Statutes which they had the good fortune to see passed into law. The brilliant Lord Rutherford, forgotten, we fear, as a man, will be remembered by the Rutherford Act. Duncan M'Neill gave us our present Poor Law and got rid of some of the absurdities of our feudal system. Lord President Inglis, perhaps the greatest of our judges, reconstituted our Universities, and Lord Young at last succeeded in establishing provisions for a universal, compulsory and free education.

This book forms an interesting volume from beginning to end. It is characterized by great ability and much research. We only wish the author had continued his work to even a more recent date.

W. G. Scott Moncrieff.

The Berry Papers: being the Correspondence hitherto unpublished of Mary and Agnes Berry (1763-1852). By Lewis Melville. With numerous Illustrations. 448 pp. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head.

To those interested in Horace Walpole's circle the names of his 'twin wives' are ever green, and Mr. Melville's book will be welcomed as telling more about these attractive ladies of Scottish *bourgeois* descent, who became so notable for over sixty years in London Society, and whose *salon* included everyone of note who was fortunate enough to be invited to it.

Mary Berry, the eldest sister, stands out as the leader—very like 'Miss Deborah' in 'Cranford,' while the gentle Agnes was more like 'Miss Matty.' Walpole's friends became their friends, and his cousin Mrs. Damer (whose letters, rather *triste* though they are, yet yield some new lights on old 'Lord Oxford's' quips and cranks), their chief correspondent. The editor gives a valuable collection of letters to and from the Misses Berry. The letters of the young Lord Hartington (his correspondence began when he was twelve!) connect Walpole's circle with Devonshire House. They are well edited with many notes. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Melville is a bad proof reader, and one finds many misprints. It is difficult for instance to distinguish in 'Madame de Goutant' the well-known Mme. de Gontaut, nor should the bright Lady Charlotte Bury's second husband twice appear as 'Berry.' The editor would have been well advised also to have had the French in the book revised, as from it, in the way much of it is printed, one would hardly guess that Miss Berry had been, as she was, 'a perfect Frenchwoman in her language.'

It was the privilege of the writer of this review to talk lately to an aged but delightful survivor of Miss Berry's *salon*. She told him, among other

curious details, that Miss Berry was proposed to by Sir John Stanley of Alderley (probably before the O'Hara affair) but that she refused him ; that she appeared on her eightieth birthday with a gown and cap of *bouton d'or*, and had a 'very grand presence,' while her sister was 'prettier and more delicate.' Mr. Melville's book must be read by all interested in Walpoleana. He does not mention that the Lovedays of Caversham were the Misses Berry's cousins, and could have made more of their genealogy, but, after all, kinship played but a small part in the social career of the two ladies, and he gives much information that must be new to many of his readers. The book is copiously illustrated, and one or two of the portraits lent by Mr. Broadley are interesting.

A. Francis Steuart.

Histoire des Communes annexées à Paris en 1859, publiée sous les auspices du Conseil Général : Grenelle. Par M. Lucien Lambeau. Pp. iii, 485, with several Illustrations. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur. 1914.

This is the third of the series of monographs by M. Lambeau on the Communes annexed to Paris in 1859, following those on Bercy and Vaugirard, of which latter Grenelle at one time formed a part. Its history, if not so picturesque as that of Bercy, is an equally valuable contribution to the archives of the city. Grenelle, whose name derives problematically from *garenne* or from *granelle*, is a wide plain situated between Paris and Issy, or between Vaugirard and the Seine, and in 1824 was still covered by fields and grain crops.

Originally given by Clovis in the sixth century to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, it formed later the lordship of Ste. Geneviève, was afterwards possessed by the Royal Military School, and became national property at the Revolution. Grenelle (which now includes the Invalides and the Champ de Mars) has been visited like the rest of the outlying districts near the river by severe flooding : it has been used as a vegetable garden and granary for the City, as a hunting ground for the aristocracy, as a manœuvring centre for troops, as a camp for volunteers at the Revolution, and as a place of execution : at the present day it forms a fraction of the fifteenth 'arrondissement' of Paris.

It was owned and managed after the Revolution by astute men of business who saw the possibilities of its situation : hence its development has been steady and continuous, with the result that it took the standing of a city by 1829, and much against its will was incorporated with Paris itself thirty years later.

Mary Love.

Textkritische metrische und grammatische Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce, a work of which the second part has already appeared as a doctorate dissertation, is a very full study by Fr. Wilhelm Mühleisen (8vo, pp. xvi, 222; Bonn, Carl Georgi, 1913) upon the orthography, versions, metre, and rime of *The Bruce*. Dr. Mühleisen's interests are strictly philological and his mode analytic. For every purpose of grammatical criticism his painstaking dissection will be invaluable, and his avoidance of broad conclusions, especially as regards points of controversy, will make him serve both sides

in the greater number of the many questions. But this general aloofness is, perhaps, more apparent than real. He contends for many convergent reasons that the Cambridge MS. (C) of Barbour is by another scribe than the John Ramsay who wrote the Edinburgh MS. (E). He very impartially weighs the merits and demerits of C and E separately, or together, as against H (Hart's printed version of 1616), whether *per se* or as supported by either C or E. He has compiled an interesting pedigree of the texts, in which strangely he omits the printed version of 1571. A capital *facsimile* folding sheet shows on one page in parallel the handwritings of C and E, and of the *Wallace*, written by Ramsay, the scribe of E. The treatise will be very welcome for its promise of service to future critics of John Barbour.

Bell's English History Source Books (G. Bell & Sons, cr. 8vo, 1s. net each ; see *ante*, *S.H.R.* x. 432) have had added to the series : *The Welding of the Race*, 449-1066 : editor, Rev. John E. W. Wallis ; *The Growth of Parliament and the War with Scotland*, 1216-1307 : editor, W. D. Robieson ; *From Palmerston to Disraeli*, 1856-1876 : editor, Ewing Harding. The extracts continue to be selected on a judicious and interesting principle, and they tell the story well. We are further glad to note that special volumes are to be devoted to Scottish history on a similar plan. The first of these is *The Scottish Covenanters*, 1637-1688 : editor, J. Pringle Thomson. One advantage of the system is that it is possible to let both sides speak when the epoch is—as usually—an age of conflict or controversy. Free trade in opinion ensures contemporary colour in the selections.

The Freedom of the Press in Egypt, by Kyriakos Mikhail (Smith, Elder & Co., 1s. net) is 'an appeal to the friends of liberty.'

Farquharson Genealogies, *No.* 1, *Achriachan Branch*, by A. M. Mackintosh. (Pp. viii, 44. Nairn : George Bain, 1913.) This is a section, with annotations added, from the Brouchdearg MS., and represents a very large body of pedigree-study from the end of the sixteenth century to 1733.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (December), concluding its thirteenth volume and its twenty-sixth year, shows unabated force of variorum research. Items include odd confirmation of a local tradition about a crossroads burial. A familiar letter of 1727 from a newly married man to an old acquaintance has a delightful review of previous abortive aspirations. 'Sometimes I liked my Mistress better than she did me, another was fond and I was indifferent.' At last he married 'dear Betty,' who joins in these frank greetings to their common friend, which read like a letter of Steele's in *Tatler* or *Spectator*.

Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archæological Journal (October and January) is strong in the lore of churches, and gives reproductions of several good brasses and many architectural features, including a tympanum, somewhat of the Dalmeny type. The Bisham palimpsest brass, with its reference to Halidon

Hill (see *S.H.R.* ii. 483), is shown in a very distinct plate. Canon Oldfield edits 'Instructions,' written early in the eighteenth century for the traditional forms of procedure of the Manor Court of Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire.

In the *Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society, Edinburgh*, No. 7, vol. ii., 1913: editor, John Lindsay, M.D. (Edinburgh: Lindsay & Co., 17 Blackfriars Street), there is a biographical note on the late Ludovic, Earl of Crawford (1847-1913), by Mr. W. A. Lindsay, K.C. The editor himself contributes a long genealogical and territorial account of the Lindsays of Wauchope and Barcloy. It rakes wide for Lindsay material of all kinds, and the heap is considerable.

Aberdeen University Library Bulletin (January) is chiefly concerned with a classified list of current serials.

The Aberdeen Book-lover (Messrs. D. Wyllie & Son, Aberdeen) is the latest demonstration that books beget magazines, and it falls into line with other bibliographical enterprises of the same northern district. Photographs of Deeside authors, and notices of northern literature, supply themes not likely soon to be exhausted. The editor is Mr. R. M. Lawrance, a student of clans and their patronymics.

The *Juridical Review* for February lightens its learned load of law with whimsicalities out of the early black books of Lincoln's Inn, and with the retold tale of Lady Grange's abduction to St. Kilda. The 'Persona Ficta,' re-introduced by Mr. Herbert A. Smith of Oxford, continues to maintain his puzzling abstract yet eminently concrete attraction.

The American Historical Review (January) opens with a rather dubious article on what is called Truth in History, concerning which Mr. W. A. Dunning plays with the fascinating but dangerous philosophical superiority of the old general idea over the minor modifications of fact rediscovered by research. Students, not of Indian history only, will appreciate Mr. A. A. Macdonell's investigations into the early phases of caste. A British theme of perennial moment follows in the wake of Mr. Goddard Orpen's seven reasons for answering affirmatively the question, 'Did the Norman occupation make for the progress of Ireland?' Mr. W. E. Lingelbach pieces together much new matter on economic causes, effects and movements during the Napoleonic wars. An important text from the archives of the Indies at Seville is edited with good accompaniment of footnotes. It is the Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau, 1794-1795. He was a schoolmaster who accompanied an exploratory expedition up the Upper Missouri River, and wrote a good report, very full of material facts, not only on the geography of the journey but also about the Indians, who required very cautious handling. There was chronic mistrust and a tendency to panic.

In the April issue of the same *Review* M. Henri Pirenne offers a tentative hypothesis regarding the social history of capitalism in and since the Middle

Ages. He seems to be on the right track in tracing a series of changes not only in the groups of capitalists but in the nature of capital itself at every change—and they were very many—in economic organization. In his view continuous development ought not to be a foregone postulate: the permanence of a capitalist class, linked in spite of alterations of person and form, in an endless chain down through the centuries is, he maintains, 'not to be affirmed.' Mr. Dana C. Munro performs a much needed work of analysis and reconstruction, although still to some extent hypothetical, on the expeditions known as the Children's Crusade of 1212, a movement wherein the element of myth obviously bulks large. M^me^ Inna Lubimenko writes on the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars relative to numerous schemes of mercantile and marine intercourse between the countries. An interesting if impracticable project of colonial government made in 1623 is edited from a Sackville MS. by Mr. A. P. Newton. It is styled 'A forme and polisie to plante and governe many families in Virginea,' and it derives special interest from its blending of theoretic precepts from Moses and Aaron, the Romans, and King Alfred down to the latest concepts of Jacobean constitution-mongers.

Maryland Historical Magazine (Sept.), in a further instalment of Rev. Jonathan Boucher's letters, reaches the stage when the rising tide of rebellious feeling in America made the continued residence of a loyalist, such as he was, irksome in the extreme to himself. In early summer, 1775, he writes of the situation as most alarming. For six months he dared not venture out of his own house unarmed, 'no,' says he, 'not even to my Church.' Then came 'a kind of Association Test or solemn League and Covenant' requiring every man to testify his approbation of opposition by arms. Hence his abrupt departure from Maryland and his letter dated from London in October, 1775. Another letter of his of 27 November following is peculiarly noteworthy for its full-dress view of the situation as it had presented itself to a victim on the spot. 'They are easily satisfied,' he says, 'who can be contented to ascribe the present Disorders in America either to the Stamp Act or the Duty on Tea. These perhaps indeed first fairly brought Them to Light but in Fact the seeds of Them are coæval with the Colonies Themselves. There is a Principle of Revolt in all Colonies and in those of G. Britain which may be said to have been planted in imperfection more than in any others. The main Point our Ancestors seem to have attended to was the getting Them settled at all. It does not seem even to have occurred to them that in Process of Time such Bulky Adjuncts of the Empire must of Necessity wrestle with us for Pre-eminence: & of course in forming their Governments no precautions were taken to prevent it.' The entire letter is instructive. He thought all would depend on the issue of the first general action. 'I know Washington well,' he says, '& can say of him what I can of few of his Compeers that I believe Him to be an honest Man. In the military Line it is not possible his Merit can be considerable: He will however attone for many Demerits by the extraordinary Coolness and Caution which distinguish his Character.' Mr. Boucher's estimate of him was, as a forecast of his history, by no means amiss.

The issue for December and March continues the letters. Boucher, now (1776) fallen upon evil days, and—exiled from America—then back in England in financial straits, is no whit less keen a critic of the events American which had occasioned his misfortunes. One of his letters contains a shrewd criticism of Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense*, in which he detects power 'that almost attones for its silly and its wicked Reasoning.' Thomas Cresap (1717-1823), a Maryland pioneer and centenarian, has a spicy biography devoted to him by Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth. In Braddock's campaign of 1755 he did not give entire satisfaction to the English officers, if we may accept the indications of one of them who styles him 'Colonel Cressop, a Rattle Snake, Colonel, and a D—d Rascal,' which, as Mr. Wroth sententiously observes, 'is not precisely a complimentary account.'

British Supremacy and Canadian Autonomy, by Professor J. L. Morison, is Bulletin No. 9 (October, 1913) of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, and very clearly illustrates the complete failure of British Statesmen to forecast the possibilities of Colonial attachment to the mother country. The tendency from 1840 until 1860 was painfully indifferent and separatist, and Professor Morison evidently considers, with good reason, that the people of Canada were wiser than the politicians. Bulletin No. 10 (January, 1914) is *The Problem of Agricultural Credit in Canada*, by H. Mitchell. It favours the Landschaft system (under which owners form an association which is the real borrower in the public market), and explains the modifications with which it has been introduced in Saskatchewan.

A Smithsonian Institution publication of unusual general interest and value is Mr. William H. Babcock's essay ('Publication 2138') entitled, *Early Norse Visits to North America* (large 8vo, pp. 213). Including ten plates, mostly consisting of very early charts of the Atlantic islands and American sea-board, it is a full discussion of the traditions, records, facts, and probabilities of all the voyages before Columbus made his great rediscovery. Nansen's views receive a good share of criticism, and the new study is a solid repertory of evidence closely sifted.

Another antiquarian contribution to the same collections is 'Publication 2229,' by Mr. J. Walter Fewkes, on *Great Stone Monuments in History and Geography* (large 8vo, pp. 50), in which by comparison of monoliths, etc., in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, an attempt is made to show a unity of mental action among men.

In the Johns Hopkins University series, Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin has written *The Quinquennales: An Historical Study*, in which he has collected the literary and lapidary records of a municipal office which first gained firm place under Sulla. The quinquennalis had functions of audit allied to censorship; oftenest he was elected, but sometimes he was an imperial nominee; his office was high and dignified. 'There are in all 937 recorded quinquennales': and Dr. Magoffin's constructive diligence goes far to reconstitute for us their place in the Roman system.

The *Iowa Journal* (January) traces the Mormon trails westward through Iowa, 1846-1853. Other subjects are the (continued) history of the Iowa codes of law, 1875-1897, and the Iowa State seals, 1838-1847.

The Caledonian (New-York) for January contains an illustrated article on the Glenriddell MS. of Burns, by selling which the Liverpool Athenaeum made itself notorious, and by his generous announcement of his intention to restore which to Scotland, the American purchaser, Mr. John Gribbel, has earned what may not unfitly be styled the nation's gratitude.

In July last the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (of Louraine) had the concluding section of M. Flamion's examination of a recent thesis by M. Guignebert on heterodox lines regarding the tradition of St. Peter's sojourn and death in Rome. A very appreciative report is given of the London Historical Congress. In October the *Revue* began an article which will merit close attention. It is by Ch. Mœller, and its title is *Les bûchers et les auto-da-fé de l'inquisition depuis le moyen âge.* At last there comes an elaborate reply to Dr. H. C. Lea's massive studies of the Inquisition. The direct bearing on controversial aspects of the question is not prominent in the first instalment, and M. Mœller is careful to say that the subject is approached with no wish to challenge the good faith of Dr. Lea's facts, drawn from a vast range of reading and from materials in part inedited. But he goes on to make unequivocal the clerical attitude towards the great American historian by stating that 'it is needful to distinguish between his facts and the interpretation with which he surrounds them, and which is impressed with a covert but continuous *malveillance* against everything which belongs to the Catholic Church.' At present it is not requisite to scrutinise the argument in details. One general point is the indication that the spectacular side of the auto-da-fé was in Spain ('the true home land' of the institution), a great popular attraction, comparable with a fire work or a bull fight. A chief line of argument is that by its very nature the stake was a punishment not inflicted by the Church but by the civil power, to which by the ecclesiastical condemnation the victim was 'relaxed.' How far this technical distinction will serve to restrict the responsibility of the Church by transferring it to or sharing it with the State is a problem on which the casuist need never fail to find rationalia. This will be the more evident when it is remembered how closely in Spain the civil authority was concerned in the foundation of the Inquisition, and how strangely that dreaded institution combined royal and papal sanctions—its complete incorporation of the double authority of Church and Crown, although not infrequently defiant of both Pope and King. (*S.H.R.*, iv. 323; vii. 297.) The reply to a reinterpretation of Dr. Lea's facts lays its foundations in Roman civil history, and the imperial punishment of Manichæans by fire under Diocletian. As a penalty, the State in its recrudescence in the eleventh century for heresy, may be interpreted as a survival. 'Il y a solution de continuité.' It will be interesting to resume the survey of the orthodox Catholic contention as the case develops, and especially if, as is highly probable, it provokes rejoinder. In the October number M. Mœller's article closes with a full examination of the case of the Netherlands

under Charles V. The Emperor's policy is heartily reprobated. The Inquisition there was confessedly more pitiless than that of Spain. Again, however, there is developed the plea that it was a lay matter, the personal work of Charles carried on with the obstinacy of which he was himself conscious, and under a complete illusion as to its virtue and possibilities. He does not cite Motley's dry observation that the distinction between papal, episcopal and Spanish inquisitions did not then 'convince many unsophisticated minds,' but he presses into view the civil liability for much more than the merely executive part of the system. At the end he puts into skilful relief the parallel abuses of witchcraft under the dominion of Lutheran theology which gave the Devil a dominant rôle in human affairs, and his peroration is a tribute by Macaulay to Voltaire and his humanitarian colleagues for their battle against the forces of cruelty and superstition. Glancing over the lines of argument adduced we seem to see that no negative is offered to Dr. Lea's facts, and that the only question is that of responsibility. This will naturally present much less difficulty to some thinkers than to others!

Bulletins de La Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest for 1912 and 1913 contain, along with more purely local contributions, an article by M. Alfred Richard, in which he maintains that the trident found on tombs, coins, etc., of the Merovingian age is a sign of the Trinity.

Mr. Isaac Jackson has contributed to *Englische Studien* an essay, 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, considered as a 'Garter' Poem,' summing up results of several years' study of the famous and perplexing poem. He has no difficulty in establishing the fact that the observances, symbols, and whole phraseology conform, with sometimes literal, sometimes poetical exactness, to the pageantry of the Round Table or Order of the Garter instituted by Edward III. according to a contemporary MS. source in 1344. There is real difficulty in his identification of the Green Knight's castle with Beeston, Cheshire; but much ingenuity and some research appear in a proposed identification of a figure in the poem with the Black Prince, as well as in some interpretations relative (1) to the scandal of Edward III. and the Countess of Salisbury, and (2) to the romantic marriage of the Black Prince with Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent. Mr. Jackson's data point to the end of 1362 as the period of writing this great poem. His thesis merits attention, and certainly is successful in its demonstration that 'Sir Gawain' is saturated with the Court atmosphere of Edward III.'s day.

Archivo Ibero-Americano (Marzo-Abril) is a Franciscan bi-monthly publication (Madrid, Redacción y Administración, Cisne 12) of historical studies on the Franciscan Order in Spain. One continued article traces the foundations in various parts of the country. An illustration shows a coarse figure of the saint as a sort of corbel in the Cathedral of Cuidad Rodrigo. The life of Friar Jerónimo de Mendieta, historian of New Spain (Mexico), 1525-1604, the story of certain foreign missions, and the MSS. of the Franciscan primatial library at Toledo are themes of papers. The contents also include discussions, notes, and specially a 'Crónica Franciscana.'