

Reviews of Books

THE POTTERY FOUND AT SILCHESTER. A descriptive account of the Pottery recovered during the excavations on the site of the Romano-British City of Calleva Atrebatum, at Silchester, Hants, and deposited in the Reading Museum. By Thomas May, F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. xvii, 320, with 88 Plates. Imperial 8vo. Reading: E. Poynder & Son. £1 5s. net.

THE report of the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund, issued in 1909, announced that the work of excavating and planning the area of the Romano-British town of Calleva Atrebatum, which had been in progress since 1890, had at length been completed. That during the season then current the outer defences and the ditch encircling the existing wall were to form the subject of investigation, and that it was proposed to defer until the following year the consideration of the general results deducible from the excavations and the reports on the pottery and other objects, now in the Reading Museum.

Seven years have passed, and we still await the publication of the general results of the Silchester excavations, while in Mr. May's volume we have the first of the promised reports on the objects found. It is unfortunate that the excavators at Silchester made it part of their plan of operations to reserve all critical notice of the smaller finds until they could be dealt with collectively when the whole site should have been excavated, and it is in no spirit of disparagement of Mr. May's labours if we express the opinion that the result of storing up such archaeological material to be dealt with after the lapse of years is almost certain to detract from its value. For the proper study of Roman pottery nothing is more necessary than exact knowledge of the relation which the material bears to the site on which it has been found. The stratification of finds, the position of potsherds in pits or ditches, the association of groups of vessels or of dishes with coins are each capable of yielding facts of the first importance in the history of the site, or of the chronology and sources of the ceramic supply. Even where such facts are noted as the work proceeds, there is always the risk if publication be too long delayed that details are forgotten, or the impression left upon the mind of the excavator loses its freshness.

Mr. May, so far as we are aware, took no part in the excavation at Silchester, and therefore for his information as to the circumstances under which the pottery was found has had to rely on others, but we find few traces in his work to show that such help was available. The scanty references in his volume which definitely connect the collection with

the site are simply reproduced from the annual reports published in *Archaeologia*. These reports give little assistance; they contain minute descriptions of architectural remains, and careful plans of buildings, but the authors do not seem to have realised the importance of their smaller finds, and especially of the pottery, as a means towards working out the history of Calleva. Had it been carefully studied and dealt with during the course of the excavations it would probably have materially assisted towards the general conclusions to be embodied in that final report which still awaits publication.

Mr. May has produced a catalogue of specimens typical of each variety of the ceramic remains found at Silchester. Each item is described with much care, and is illustrated in a series of excellent plates, which reproduce photographs of vessels and fragments, as well as outline drawings of selected types. Much labour has been bestowed in endeavouring to define the provenance and chronological position of the groups represented, and in the apparent absence of helpful records of the excavation the literature of Roman pottery both at home and on the Continent has been searched assiduously. There is an exhaustive list of potters' marks and a sufficient index. The volume, which thus introduces the Silchester collection to a wider public, will form a useful work of reference.

The mass of material dealt with is large, for Calleva Atrebatum must have contained a considerable population, and its existence as a town extended over not less than four centuries. It had its beginnings in pre-Roman times, represented in the collection by late Celtic vessels analogous to those found at Hengistbury Head. It probably did not long survive the close of the Roman occupation, and the painted vessels and ware with impressed decoration, which date from its closing period, can be paralleled from the forts on the Saxon shore. At Calleva, as on every other Roman site in Britain, the pottery furnishes us with evidence of the close relations with continental Europe subsisting in these early centuries. The Belgic Terra Nigra, which forms one-third of the whole collection, was imported in the earliest period. The Italian potters were represented by the ware of Arezzo, which probably made its appearance in the reign of Augustus. Beginning with the Claudian conquest came the traffic in Terra Sigillata from Southern Gaul, to be replaced later in the second century by the products of Lezoux, and finally, as trade gathered in the wake of the military settlements on the frontier, from the potteries of the Rhine. In the third century, when Terra Sigillata had passed out of fashion, dishes must still have come from the Rhine, such, for example, as the black beakers with bulging sides decorated in white, with scrolls and convivial inscriptions, while to a still later period belong the bowls of poor red ware, stamped with narrow bands of striated chequer pattern, which came from the region of the Marne.

To these must be added many of the mortaria and the great amphorae which carried the products of Spain or Southern Gaul.

But it is certain that much pottery was made in Britain. The pre-Roman types of dishes found at Glastonbury and Hengistbury Head prove the existence of a tradition which reveals itself in the shapes and decorations of many of the vessels belonging to the period of Romanization.

The excavation of Haltern has shown that already in the Augustan epoch the coarser vessels employed by the army were being manufactured on the Rhine, probably at Xanten, though the finer ware was brought from Italy. There can be little doubt that in the same way the industry in Britain received a considerable impetus from the needs of the Legions. At Silchester the potters had established kilns outside the North Gate. From the outlines of fragments found around these it is probable that as early as the Flavian period they were supplying a portion of the coarser ware used in the town. Other native wares represented at Silchester are the beakers, with their characteristic decoration in barbotine of galloping deer, with hounds in pursuit, produced at Castor, near Peterborough, and the dishes with their dark brown vitreous surface, which were made in the neighbourhood of Crockhill, in the New Forest, only some forty miles distant from the town. The potteries there seem to have been in operation down to the beginning of the fifth century. Lastly, there is a coarse ware found in considerable quantities, made of clay, black and stringy in texture, in which a quantity of pounded flint is incorporated, many of the vessels being formed without the aid of a wheel. This variety, which Mr. May terms British gritted ware, is believed to be of exclusively native manufacture.

The local potteries must have been widely disseminated. They doubtless existed in the neighbourhood of the larger settlements wherever suitable clay was obtainable. There are numerous traces of them in Britain. They have been found, as might be expected, in a city having the importance of Colchester, where obviously the native industry survived to be carried on during the Roman occupation. Mr. Acton's discoveries at Holt have revealed the pottery and tile works of the XXth Legion situated at an easy distance from its base at Chester. The little town of Corstopitum, lying in the shelter of the great wall, had its kiln as well as its pottery shop, while recently Mr. George Macdonald's highly successful efforts to recover the true line of the Antonine vallum have resulted in bringing to light a potter's kiln in the fort of Mumrills. With the exception of one or two easily recognised types which are represented at Silchester, we know very little of the output of local potteries in Britain. There is no evidence of the manufacture of Terra Sigillata in this country, but there must have been many local varieties of less decorative ware, and probably a good deal of imitation of continental forms. Across the channel the Belgic potters imitated the shapes and even the stamps of the dishes from Arrezzo. The makers of the East Gaulish Sigillata borrowed the designs employed at Lezoux and La Graufesenque. The Castor beakers with their hunting scenes are scarcely to be distinguished from similar vessels emanating from Cologne, and doubtless it was still more easy to reproduce the humbler vessels of daily life. A knowledge of the characteristics of local production, of the exact sources from which the northern garrisons drew their supplies, would be of the utmost importance. In the future, in which to many of us the collections from the Limes Forts and the museums on the Rhine are probably closed for ever, this aspect of study is well worthy of the attention of archaeologists.

JAMES CURLE.

A CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: THE NORMAN KINGS. By George Cyril Brooke, B.A. 2 vols. Vol. I. pp. cclvi, with 62 Plates. Vol. II. pp. 462. Demy 8vo. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees. 1916.

NEARLY a quarter of a century has elapsed since the British Museum authorities last issued an instalment of the catalogue of their English coins. In the interval the officials of the Medal Room have certainly not been idle. They have pushed almost to completion their monumental description of the Greek series—an achievement of which British scholarship has good reason to be proud. They have dealt in the same thorough fashion with the issues of the Roman Republic, as well as with those of Byzantium, and of the Vandal and other kingdoms that were reared upon the ruins of the Western Empire. India, too, as was only right, has received a fair measure of attention. But the staff is a limited one, and consequently all this activity has had to be bought with a price. Great Britain, save for her medals, has been left severely alone. The necessity was regrettable, and adverse comment upon the policy adopted has not been wanting.

On the other hand, those who have felt most keenly that home products were being unduly neglected will probably be the first to admit that the long delay has had its compensations. Mr. Brooke's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Norman Kings* was eminently worth waiting for, and, while its excellence is the direct result of the personal qualities that have gone towards its production, it owes not a little of its value to the fact that it has been possible to take account of what has been accomplished in the last decade or two by zealous and competent enthusiasts like Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. W. J. Andrew. The author has been wise enough to seek help in every quarter where it was likely to be found, and he is to be congratulated on his success in securing the co-operation of all who were in a position to produce fresh evidence, whether as collectors or as students.

The book is thus much more than a mere register of the contents of the British Museum trays. It is a comprehensive treatise on the coinage of the period, and contains matter that is of real significance for the historian, no less than for the numismatist. By the exercise of an infinite capacity for taking pains, Mr. Brooke has been able to grapple successfully with many of the obscure problems by which he was confronted, while his methods are so sound that, even when he fails to reach a solution, he never fails to clear the ground thoroughly and to lay secure foundations. No more solid contribution has ever been made to the study of English numismatics. An admirable illustration of the scientific skill with which the lines of attack have been selected, and of the patient care with which they have been followed up, is furnished by the discussion of the fundamental question as to the proper chronological arrangements of the various 'types.' The testimony of finds, of overstruck coins, of mules, and of lettering is exhaustively reviewed so as to lead up to a series of conclusions that are practically irresistible. The irregular issues, which mainly belong to the turbulent reign of Stephen, are handled with equal judgment, albeit with less definite result. And Mr. Brooke is conspicuously fair-minded. In

moving about in this doubtful region he always endeavours to do full justice to the views of others, nor does he refrain from drawing attention to possible weaknesses in his own theories. He is much more concerned to get at the truth than to establish a reputation for omniscience.

The volumes are handsomely printed, a new fount of type having been specially cut for the inscriptions. In the setting forth of details the convenience of students has been consulted at every point. The fact that the indexes alone cover fifty pages speaks for itself. There is an 'Epigraphical Table,' and sixty-two capital collotype plates, representing somewhere about a thousand coins. The latter include not only British Museum specimens, but also all noteworthy examples from other collections, the Hunterian Museum contributing its quota. The proofs have been vigilantly read, but there is a slip on page clxxxix; the Christian name of the author of *The Foundations of England* is James, not William.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

AN AMERICAN GARLAND, being a Collection of Ballads relating to America, 1563-1759. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Pp. xlvii, 91. Demy 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1915. 3s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR FIRTH has done a useful piece of work in editing this volume. The ballads, which belong to the printed, not the traditional kind, have been selected from several different collections, including one in the possession of the editor. They illustrate successive stages in the history of America, as it was reflected in contemporary opinion and report in England, and communicated by the writers of popular verse. The first stage was that of dawning knowledge, when the Elizabethan world was becoming aware of mysterious and romantic lands beyond the Atlantic. Its ballads deal with voyages of exploration, like that of the worthy Captain Thomas Stutely in 1563. There followed a period in which adventure and dazzling dreams of gold gave place to schemes of colonisation, and it began first to be perceived that a new and great country would arise, to be peopled by the descendants of English settlers. The work of plantation had been seriously begun in 1610, when *Newes from Virginia* celebrated the voyages of Gates and Somers, and the governorship of De la Ware :

And to the adventurers thus he writes,
 Be not dismayed at all,
 For scandall cannot doe us wrong,
 God will not let us fall.
 Let England knowe our willingnesse,
 For that our worke is good,
Wee hope to plant a nation,
Where none before hath stood.

A new and unforeseen aspect of colonisation opened in the reign of Charles I., when the settlements beyond the Atlantic became a place of refuge for the Puritans. Professor Firth gives five ballads relating to this aspect of colonial history, which are all hostile to the Puritan emigrants :

the popular muse, as might have been expected, was on the other side. A later stage in the settlement of America appears in the enforced migration of convicts, and unfortunate persons who had been kidnapped, which did not entirely cease till the American Revolution, when Botany Bay succeeded as a penal settlement. The editor has also included contemporary ballads on the fall of Quebec and the death of General Wolfe; but closes without illustrating the ballad literature of the time of Washington. Selections from that literature, which in itself is copious, have been published in Frank Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, issued in 1856, and now out of print. A new edition of it would be desirable as a supplement to the present book.

J. S. SMART.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: A HISTORICAL OUTLINE. By Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xx, 255. With many Illustrations and Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1915. 6s. net.

WE learn from the Preface that 'this volume was begun as the first instalment of an attempt to trace, for the information of unlearned or general readers, the architectural tradition from its remoter origins to the time when it became generally recognized as part of Roman civilization.' In so far as these remoter origins are represented by the buildings of ancient Egypt, which the present work deals with, the author's attempt is an eminently successful one.

The 'development' of an architectural style in Egypt, if such a word may be used with reference to the almost monotonous repetition of the one or two motives which served during a period of perhaps 5000 years to constitute the art in that most conservative land, is clearly and simply described in its historical sequence. From the Mastabas and Pyramids of the Old Kingdom, the origins of which Mr. Bell places at about 4000 B.C., the sequence is followed through the rock-cut temples of the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Dynasties to the work of the great Pharaohs in the temples of Karnack and Luxor. In turn the period of Persian dominion is dealt with, followed by the reinstatement of the kingdom by Alexander the Great and the elaborated reconstruction of the earlier motives under the Ptolemies till the final passing of the tradition under the sway of all-conquering Rome about the beginning of the Christian era. The book is free from all unnecessary technicalities, and is written generally in a pleasant and readable style; though from one so well qualified as is the author by intimate personal knowledge to appreciate the stupendous results achieved in the culminating period, a more generous enthusiasm of description might have been indulged in, an endeavour to convey to his readers the cumulative effect of these mighty buildings in what Professor Blomfield well calls the impression of their 'eternal strength, their tremendous and even terrific mystery.'

From the words of the Preface already quoted one is left in some dubiety as to whether it is Mr. Bell's intention to follow up the present volume with others dealing with the arts of Greece and Rome. We trust that the success of the present one will be such as to encourage him to proceed. For such a series, midway between the technical treatise and the guide-

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book, there is ample scope towards the spread of a more general knowledge and appreciation of architecture. In such case, however, his 'general reader' should be furnished with a better definition of that art than that here given as the 'art of building in an ornate, stately or otherwise excellent manner.' This definition is not only insufficient but misleading. Building is in itself a craft, a technical process, however ornate, stately or excellent in execution, and but furnishes the means by which the art of architecture expresses itself in its ultimate appeal, in common with all the arts, to the imagination. Senmut, the architect of Hatshepsut's temple, was, as is evident from Mr. Bell's own pages, not a builder but a director or designer of buildings; so also were Mnesicles and Ictinus during the Periclean age in Greece, such were the practitioners of the art in all its great periods, and the original term ἀρχιτέκτων may with more felicity be rendered the primal or master artist than, as our author puts it, the 'chief builder.'

The volume is very fully illustrated with plans, sketches and photographs from various sources which, with the authorities on which the text is based, are duly acknowledged; it has two useful maps and several appendices, though we rather question the utility of the inclusion among these of a lengthy and somewhat out-of-date essay by Lepsius. In addition to the index, which might have been more comprehensive, there is in the final chapter an excellent summary; also an introductory table of the principal Dynastic Kings of Egypt. In any future edition this last should be extended so as to include the types of buildings and principal examples of those erected during the respective periods or kingdoms, as such an outline would be of great assistance as a guide or sign-post to the reader making his first approach to the subject.

ALEXANDER N. PATERSON.

EAST AND WEST THROUGH FIFTEEN CENTURIES, being a General History from B.C. 44 to A.D. 1453. In Four Volumes. Volumes I. and II. by Brigadier-General George F. Young, C.B. Vol. I. xxvi, 605; Vol. II. xii, 595. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1916. 36s. net.

THIS is an interesting and important historical work dealing with the past history and future possibilities of nearly all the nations involved in the present world-wide war. Through extensive investigation, great labour and thoughtful study, the author has gathered together in a simple, concise, and readable form the results of the work of past historians and present-day critics. He claims for his work four special features: (1) That history has been treated by him as a whole, combining both its secular and religious aspects, as religion lies at the root of three-fourths of the events recorded in secular history; (2) that the zenith of the power of the Roman Empire was in the time of Constantine the Great, and just before A.D. 395, and not in the second century, as maintained by Gibbon and others; (3) that as a military man he has dealt largely with military matters, and has arrived at conclusions frequently differing from earlier writers; and (4) that he offers views regarding many persons, subjects, and events differing from most accepted authorities. Thus, for instance, he differs from them in regard to the date of the letters of Ignatius, and presents the life and

work of the Emperors Tiberius, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine the Great, Gratian, and others in a comparatively new light.

The author devotes a good many pages to Marcus Aurelius, and, contrary to most authorities who seek to exalt this pagan philosopher and Emperor, he maintains that he was a conspicuous failure in the three divisions under which his achievements might be grouped. In war he was unable to defend the Empire from the ravages of barbarians. In peace he failed to introduce any measures for the benefit of his subjects, while his financial administration was defective. Lastly, his treatment of Christians was a great blot upon his character, for he was the first Emperor who ordered the massacre of all Christians, men, women, and children. Regarding Constantine the Great, the author endeavours to show that, while not becoming a Christian himself until late in life, his removal of all restrictions upon Christians and the issue of his edict exhorting his subjects to embrace Christianity were the results of conviction, and gave expression to the feelings of the nations under his rule. Gratian, who was assassinated when only twenty-four years of age, is shown by the author to have been successful in war and peace, the beloved of his people, and an ideal in character and behaviour. His only fault seems to have been his true or 'uncompromising Christianity.' Here again we think General Young has rightly exposed Gibbon's perversity. These two volumes cover the history of a period of about 800 years, to the death of the Emperor Leo in the East and Charles Martel in the West. The work practically embraces the history of the whole of the countries now engaged in war, from Ireland on the West to Persia on the extreme East, covering the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, the development of the Western nations, the rise of Mahomedanism and its overflowing scourge from East to West, and finally the revival of the Roman or Latin powers in the West. Good maps and beautiful illustrations, obtained from many sources, greatly help the reader to grasp the material presented for his consideration. A carefully prepared index and a useful bibliography of works of reference enhance the value of the volumes, making them in every way a work of reference of good value. Some blunders and unauthenticated statements have crept into the text of these attractive volumes. The author calls the book of Revelation the book of 'Revelations,' and asserts that Barnabas was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

CHARLES S. ROMANES.

THE GROWTH OF A SCOTTISH BURGH : A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF DUMFRIES. By G. W. Shirley. Crown 8vo. Pp. 52. With Five Plans. Dumfries, 1915.

THIS reprint from the local Antiquarian Society's *Transactions* is a distinctly original effort of archaeological reconstruction made by a student of unusual capacity and intimate knowledge both of the topography and the records of a historic town. Mr. Shirley, the burgh librarian, has attempted to piece together the evidences of the structural evolution of Dumfries, correlating its development of lines of street and its early public buildings with the movement of national as well as burghal history. Few, if any, similar essays of this class have been made for other Scottish towns, and the

experiment is to be welcomed, not only for its contribution to historical method, but for its solid foundations to a scientific interpretation of the annals, the geography and the economics. The focal point he finds at a small ford (near the Mechanics' Institute) of the Mill Burn, beside which was a greater ford across the river Nith. From this point the town grew out first south-east towards St. Michael's Church and in the direction of the Castle, and then north towards the present Midsteeple and the old church of the Greyfriars in the salient of the river, from the front of which the so-called Dervorgilla's bridge was thrown across. The various notes he groups into a general and rather elaborate defensive scheme, the ingenious argument for which leaves a good deal of room for debate.

The twelfth to fourteenth century history of the castle is well brought out in contrast with the fifteenth century private fortified house known as the New Wark. He has fresh arguments about the famous Bridge and additional material about the Friars, but the *tout ensemble* of his propositions would require the discussion of local circumstances and records. A suggestive note is struck by his concluding protest against the unplanned building of the present town, deploring the failure to take advantage of many fine opportunities of site. Mr. Shirley is now serving in the Army Medical Corps in France. We trust the day is not distant when the history of the Nithside burgh may be further advanced by further studies from Mr. Shirley as penetrating as the present suggestive and closely vouched essay.

GEO. NEILSON.

ARCHAIC SCULPTURINGS. Notes on Art, Philosophy and Religion in Britain 2000 B.C. to 900 A.D. By Ludovic MacLellan Mann. Pp. 52, with 21 illustrations. 8vo. Edinburgh: Wm. Hodge & Co. 1915. 2s. 6d. net.

SYMBOLS on ancient monuments have inspired many interpreters, but none who have soared higher than Mr. Mann into the mystic atmosphere of the Pictish universe. If we follow we shall discern on the rocks below astonishing 'concepts in mysticism, religion, art, geometry, and astronomy.'

A better assured example of Mr. Mann's capacity as an archaeologist working on very early periods is his *Report on the Relics* from the cave and vitrified fort at Dunagoil, Bute, appearing in and reprinted among other *Preliminary Reports* from the Transactions of Buteshire Natural History Society. He has excellently classified the finds, including (besides discs, whorls, and other implements of bone) smoothers and pounders, etc., of stone, and, most interesting of all, a triangular and a cup-shaped crucible, the former with remains of bronze slag still adhering to the inner wall. He regards the date of the cave as centering upon A.D. 500, and that of the fort as between B.C. 300 and A.D. 75.

The thirty-third volume (Section C) of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd.) contains some valuable papers of archaeological interest. Mr. Thomas J. Westropp, who has made a special study of the ancient Forts of Ireland, contributes a good article on 'Certain Typical Earthworks and Ring Walls in County

Limerick' similar to his studies on the ring-forts and fortified headlands in other counties. Some recent archaeological discoveries in Ulster are discussed by Mr. F. J. Bigger, and notes on certain Irish inscriptions are supplied by Professor Macalister. Of more general interest are the papers of Mr. Dudley Westropp on 'Irish Money Weights and Foreign Coin Current in Ireland,' and of Mr. M'Clintock Dix on 'The Printing Press in Belfast in the Seventeenth Century,' a sequel to similar studies for the cities of Cork, Kilkenny, and Waterford in previous volumes. All the articles of the section are carefully written and well illustrated.

The *English Historical Review* for April begins an elaborate 'History of the Col de Tenda,' by Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge, in which the part played by that pass across the Alps since the eleventh century is chronologically traced through many interesting episodes of war and travel. Marie Antoinette's correspondence in 1791 with Barnave and others (edited in 1913 by Heidenstam) is subjected by Miss E. D. Bradby to close and adverse criticism. Prof. Haskins draws up a view of the sources for the reign of Robert I. of Normandy, A.D. 1027-1035, including a list of charters. Dr. J. H. Round finds new proof that the Grand Assize (associated with Glanvill) was early known as the assize of Windsor, and he suggests the council held there in 1179 as probably fixing the date. Mr. A. G. Little offers fresh and most valuable data for the origins of the *Lanercost Chronicle*, to which it is clear a chronicle of Friar Richard of Durham was a contributory. We shall await with interest Dr. James Wilson's interpretation of the new evidence by which Mr. Little has considerably transformed the problem of composition. Mr. Harold Temperley, in 'A Note on Inner and Outer Cabinets,' usefully and critically supplements for the eighteenth century the questions recently discussed regarding the evolution of Cabinet government. He strengthens the case for his contention that from 1700 until 1760 there was an inner knot of Ministers possessing and developing power not shared by the Cabinet as a whole.

The *General Index* to volumes XXI.-XXX., 1906-1915, edited by Reginald L. Poole (pp. 75, price 3s. 6d. net), will be warmly welcomed for its aids to the utilisation of the rich store of history housed in the *English Historical Review*. The index consists chiefly of proper names, so that subjects when not names scarcely receive their due. But what index could render justice to such a repertory? Editor and publishers alike may be assured of the grateful appreciation their quarterly wins from all workers in history and research.

The Athenæum, which has recently become a shilling monthly, preserves, although of course much enlarged in contents, essentially the all familiar format. We trust it will in the new monthly guise re-attain and maintain the place of special authority which as a great weekly it held so long. An important side product of this now historic journal is its series of 'Subject Indexes to Periodicals,' which must be of first-class value for all working purposes. The indexes already issued each cover one subject for the year

1915, including Science and Technology (2s. 6d.), Education (1s.), Theology and Philosophy (1s. 6d.), Language and Literature (1s. 6d. net), Economic and Political Sciences and Law (1s.), and Fine Arts and Archaeology (1s. 6d). Special attention must be called to the index of History, Geography, Anthropology, and Folk-Lore (1s. 6d.), which is most helpful. There is to be a separate index to Legal Periodicals. The whole scheme of bibliographical synthesis represented by those indexes, which are a project of the Library Association, merits support as well as commendation.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset for March gives the attractive prelude to a supplement by Mr. J. S. Udal of 'Dorset Dialect Words,' to be edited in future issues. This little magazine is an invaluable repository of record, inscriptions, and heraldic lore of both its shires. An interior picture of Taunton Castle shows the appropriate use of the Great Hall as a county museum.

The latest 'Bulletin' of history from Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is on *The Chronicles of Thomas Sprott*, by Walter Sage. We cannot honestly praise this essay, which betrays a grievous lack of medieval equipment. The bibliography is proof enough of this.

The *American Historical Review* for April is notable were it only for the report it contains of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington last December. Judging by the summary of discussions, this historical conference must have attained an exceptional level, for its themes were eminently suggestive propositions. An important subject was the project of a national archive building in Washington on a becoming scale for monuments housed at present, it seems, under 'shocking conditions.' Economic causes of ancient wars, Medieval colonization, Nationalism how far a product of democracy, Diplomacy and politics, Franklin as a political force in the French revolution, U.S. contribution to the origin of warfare by submarine and monitor, Acquisition recently of the ownership of the *Review* by the Association—these all gave scope for a well-balanced critical general report by the managing editor of the *Review*, Professor J. F. Jameson.

Keenly interesting is Mr. Herbert D. Foster's article on the 'Political Theories of Calvinists before the Puritan Exodus to America.' It represents much reading, and by its marshalled body of facts appears to surpass any previous exposition of what may be called applied Calvinism in secular politics. Calvin's doctrine that in every realm the three estates had a duty as protectors of liberty 'by the ordinance of God' proved itself a dynamic tenet in Europe, our own country leading the way in its application. Very curious and subtle channels of its propagation were the rubrics of Calvinistic versions of Scripture, especially of Beza's Latin text of the New Testament. Beza was assistant and successor to Calvin, and his democratic doctrine went beyond Calvin's. Mr. Foster's study is a valuable perspective view. Mr. Lynn Thorndyke concludes an examination of Roger Bacon, from which the famous friar emerges shorn of some plumes of the originality

assigned to him by scholars hitherto unaware of the extent to which his books were a mosaic of his time. His latest critic doubts his alleged condemnation for either magic or astrology. In a review by Professor Cheyney there is a pregnant hint that it is difficult to infer any special direction in recent English historical study as regards the Middle Ages. Mr. C. H. Van Tyne adduces fresh reasons for holding that the compelling inducement the French had to support the insurgent States was their conviction that war with Britain was inevitable, and that the West Indian islands of France and Spain might be taken through an alliance with the States. The Americans were recognized as holding the balance of power, and France decided that it was better to join America betimes rather than risk the sequels of a peace between Britain and her Colonies.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for April continues 'The Indian Agent,' which instructively exhibits the difficulties the U.S. Government have had in getting fair play for the Indian.

In the *Revue Historique* (March-April) M. Leon Homo commences an article on 'Flaminius and the Roman Policy in Greece, 198-194 B.C.' A very important paper is a posthumous lecture by Gabriel Monod, in which that distinguished historian traced the course of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, with particular reference to the Council of Trent and the counter-reform. The vehement influence and policy of Caraffa (made Pope as Paul IV. in 1555) appears as the decisive force of repression, while Jesuit energy was the chief agency of the counter-reform. The Council itself, at its three stages, 1545-47, 1551-52, 1562-63, if it fixed doctrine so rigidly as to shackle intellectual freedom, helped to bring about a Catholic Renaissance. In his final summation of consequences, M. Monod contrasted the Catholic with the Protestant system, the immutable dogma and absolutism of the Papacy on the one hand with the endless variety and liberty of Protestantism, both for creed and organisation. Both, he concludes, 'elevating the moral ideal and teaching virtue to men, deserve to be studied and judged with respectful sympathy.'

In the number for May-June M. Leon Homo completes his study of Flaminius, whose Greek enthusiasm he exhibits as shrewd Roman policy. M. Morel-Fatis edits an indignant, defensive, autobiographic memoir of the Spanish revolutionary Andrés Maria de Guzman, guillotined with other Dantonists in 1794. Mindful of the heroic element in our ally's history, M. Émile Haumant tells in glowing terms part of the story of Karageorge, the Serb leader and ultimately victim. An able but chilly review estimates the claims, and the actually very limited measure of success, of the medieval Germans in the matter of sea power.

Communications

NOTES FROM A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOUSEHOLD BOOK. The following notes are from a scroll Household Book for the years 1652-1653, kept by the steward of John Hay, first Earl of Tweeddale. Tweeddale joined the Covenanting party on the outbreak of hostilities, but he leaned to the moderate side. Although Neidpath Castle, his Tweeddale residence, held out for long against the English Republicans, he afterwards acquiesced to the new order, and was returned member of Parliament for Haddingtonshire in Cromwell's Conventions. The family history (written 1687) says he had to flee from one part of the country to another at the beginning of the Republican regime, and the Household Book mentions journeys to Aberdeenshire, Dunfermline, Peebles, and Berwick, but does not manifest any evidence of undue haste in his comings and goings.

C. CLELAND HARVEY.

TWEEDDALE HOUSEHOLD BOOK, 1652-1653.

1652.

Setrday 23 July : Item to the foutman for thre dayis wagis when he went to the bathens¹ and the bornes £1 4 0 : Item to John Deins when he went to neoubotel² with Sir John bird 4s.

Thoursday 28 July : Item to aen soger 6s.

29 July : Pair of silk stockens £7 0 0.

30 July : Peck and a half of horse corn £1 4 0 : Cols and candel 4s :
3 dozen pens 9s.

Monday 2 August : Item for mending of the louk of the chartour chist
£4 16 0.

3 August : Horses and the Cordiner in Shirahall mentioned.

4 August : Five horses come with my Ladie.

Sounday 8 August : Item to the bedral³ of the Tron kirk £1 4 0 ; Ittem for the pour 4s.

10 August : My Lord's cloas brought from Nidpeth :⁴ foutman sent to Senjohnistoun.⁵

¹Bothans : the Haddingtonshire seat of the Tweeddale family. It is now known as Yester, the name having been transferred from the old castle further up the glen, which was burned in the middle of the sixteenth century.

²Newbottle, now Newbattle, the seat of the Kers of Lothian. ³Bedral = beadle.

⁴Neidpath Castle, at Peebles, was the Hays' Tweeddale seat.

⁵Senjohnistoun = Perth.

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- 12 August : To my Lady £100 : Quire of pepar 6s : Tobacko pyepis 1s.
 Sunday 15 August : Bedral of West chourch £1 0 0.
 18 August : Stick of wackes 4s.
 21 August : Footman sent to the Bothans.
 Sunday 22 August : For the chourch of Pibels 6s.
 25 August : Two horses sent for the Doctor.
 Wednesday 25 August : My Lord went to Edinburgh and stayed till
 Saturday the 28 August.
 Fryday (27 Aug) in Leith : Horseshoes to the Crown nag 6s : to My
 Lady Drumferlins man 6s : Shoe to the Mare 6s. : 4 ells of harn for
 a shirt £1 8 0.
 28 August : Rosemary 6s.
 Monday 30 August 1652 : Ittem to the bedral in the bothans £2 16 0 :
 Ittem for the mort cloath £3 : Ittem to the lad that went for it 12s.
 Tuesday 31 August : My Lord went to Edinburgh and stayed till Friday
 3 Sept.
 Wednesday 1 September : My Lords part of Dinner with My Lord
 Calendar in James Keinirs £5 9 0.
 Thursday 2 Sept : Dinner £4 15 4 : Supper £1 10 0.
 Fryday 3 Sept : Chopin of Chanery £1 16 0 : Pound of Scouger candie
 £3 12 0 : 2 papers of prines 6s.
 13 September : My Lord went to Dowmfermlin :¹ Ferry charges at
 Quens ferie £3 3 0.
 14 September : Six quarters of ribans to be shoustrings 13s. 6d. : two pairs
 of Gloves at 10s.
 16 Sept : Dined in the Clarks of Dowmferlin £1 14 0 : Chopen of sack
 £1 0 0.
 Fryday 17 September : to denar in elspet fosteris : Item for a fryed chicken
 12s. : Itt. for a shouder of mouton 15s. : Itt. for 3 breid 6s. ; Itt. for
 3 pyents of eal 8s.
 Setriday 18 September : Dinner : Fryid chicken 12s. : rost of mouton 12s. :
 a foul 10s. : dish of eags 1s. : 4 breid 8s. : 4 pints eal 10s. : mouctken
 of sack 10s.
 18 September : Went to Balcaras.
 20 September : Left drinkmonie to the hous (of Balcaras) £5 18 0 : to the
 Nours £5 18s od : Groume 12s. : Poor 10s.
 Supper that night in Dunfermlin : Rost mouton 18s. : two pair pigens
 10s. ; 3 breid 6s. : 3 pints eal 8s.
 26 September : To breckfast : Item for a pyent eal and a Loaf 4s. 8d : To
 Denar : Item for a dish of skink 12s. : Itt. a pis of beif 18s. : for 3
 breid 6s. : 3 pyents of eal 8s. : Souper : Rost mouton 18s. : hen 18s.
 27 September : Dinner : broath, beif, a hen, dish of stoks, bread, ale, and
 sack : an ounce of scouger candie 11s.
 29 September : a Nitmoug 1s. 4d.
 30 September : Oysters to dinner 14s.

¹Dunfermlin. The Hays acquired an interest in Dunfermlin through having stood caution for Tweeddale's brother-in-law, the Earl of Dunfermlin, who assigned his estates to them for relief of this cautionary.

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- 4 October : Breakfast, dish of eggs and butter ; washing the cloas 2 tymes
 £2 6 0 ; shoeing at Fywie,¹ 4s. ; Ale to the horses at the kirk of
 Monekeboch 3s.
- Sunday 17 October : for the church of Aberdin 12s. ; smal money for the
 pour 6s.
- Wednesday 20 Oct. : Boatmen at Inshyre 7s. ; Dinner at Kinross, trouts
 6s. ; at Brig of Erne later.
- 21 Oct. : Supper and breakfast at Dunfermline.
- 29 Oct. : Poor of Haddington ; Cordiner of Bothans.
- 4 November : at Bothans.
- 5 November : to a shoger at Neidpath.
- 9 November : Went from Neidpath to Edinburgh and remained till
 13 Novr.
- 12 November : Shared dinner with my Lord Callindar.
- Sunday, 14 November : To the church of Bothans² 4s.
- 16 November : to two sogers 6s.
- 24 November : Went from Shirahall to Edinburgh and stayed a night.
- 29 November : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till 3 Decr. ; whytens to
 supper.
- 30 November : Dinner, stewed mouton, rost bief, rost mouton, a hen,
 oysters, bread, ale, sack, wyne, apples, and cheese ; Supper, wyne, ale,
 bread, and raisins.
- 2nd Dec^r : Collops to supper.
- 3rd Dec^r : Dinner, rost mutton with oysters etc.
- 8th Dec^r : My Lord went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 9th.
- 15th Dec^r : My Lord again in Edinburgh till the 18th.
- 17th Dec^r : Dinner, piece of Beef with Cabich, Roust of beef, a Hen,
 Bread, Ale, Apples and Cheese.
- 18th Dec^r : 2 ounces of wax cost 12s. ; 4 pounds of candell £1 0 0 ;
 3 loads of coal £1 19 0 ; and a stand of cownters & a kes to hold them
 14s.
- Thursday 21 Dec^r : Your Lo. went to Edinburgh from the bothans and
 stayed till Saturday 25 Dec^r.
- Setirday 25 Dec^r : Dinner, Item for dish of skink 10s., for weill rost 18s.,
 4 breid 4s., and 3 pyents of ale 6s. ; hank of silk to my Ladie 3s 4d.
- 2 Janry. : For the church 6s. ; to Lord Callender's man 12s.
- 3 Janry. : At Bothans, to tuo shogers 6s.
- Thursday 4th Janry. : Went to Edinburgh stayed till Saturday the 8th.
- 8th Janry. : Pair of spurs £1 16 0, 2 pounds of candell 10s.
- Monday 10th Janry. : Supper, 2 pints of ale 4s., mutckin of sack 10s.,
 3 nutmegs 4s., an ounce of sugar 3s.

¹ Fyvie. The Earl of Dunfermline's seat in Aberdeenshire, which probably belonged to the Hays by this date.

² The choir and transept of Bothans Kirk still stand beside the seat of the Marquess of Tweeddale, which is now called Yester. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the present parish kirk was built in the village of Gifford, the old kirk turned into a burial place, and the ancient hamlet of Bothans swept away.

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- 15th Janry. : Breakfast, ale and a loaf ; Dinner, Skink, roast mutton, whittings, collops, bread, and ale.
- 28th Janry. : In Bothans.
- 4th Feby : Went to Berwick and stayed there till 6th Feby.
- 10th Feby : To the poor at Haddington. My Lord went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 12th.
- 11th Feby : Dined with the Master of Moray.
- 14th Feby : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 18th.
- 15th Feby : For dressing of the knock £3 0 0.
- 22nd Feby : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 26th.
- 23rd Feby : Dined with Ormistoun.
- 24th Feby : Dinner, Broth, Veal, Bacon, Ale, and Bread. For binding a book £2 0 0.
- 1st March : Went to Edinburgh and stayed a night.
- 9th March : At Tranent.
- 10th March : At Bothans.
- 16th March : Went from Dalkeith¹ to Edinburgh.
- 18th March : At Dalkeith.
- 19th May : a pound of powder cost £3 12 0.
- 6th April : My Lord went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 8th.
- 17th April : At Peebles.
- 21st April : At Edinburgh, a Lam Leg to supper ; to my Ladie Douglas nurse £5 0 0.
- 8th May : at Peebles.
- 10th May : Went to Edinburgh from Peebles.
- 13th May : 4 dozen pens 12s., making of the resignation to my Ladie £6 0 0, horses one night at Dalkeith.
- Sunday 14 May : Church of Barro² 6s.
- 6th June : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 11th.
- 9th June : Dined with Sir William Scott.
- 15 June : went to Newbottle.
- 17th June : Tip to nurse in Tinegame (Tynningham).³
- 20th June : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 25th.
- 3rd July : At Fala.
- 4th July : At Newbotle and Edinburgh.
- 13 July : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 16th.
- 20th July : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 24th.
- 23 July : Pound of butter cost 4s. 8d.
- 24 July : 2s. paid for a pound of Ginger.
- 26th July : Went to Edinburgh and stayed till the 30th.
- 27 July : Pound of fresh butter cost 4s. 8d.
- 30th July : Dinner, two dish of Mackrels, soden of Mutton, pair of Chickens, Bread, Ale, and Wine.
- 1st to 6th August and 24th to 27th August stayed in Edinburgh.

¹ Dalkeith was the headquarters of the Republican government.

² Barro is a small parish adjoining Yester, to which part of it was annexed when this parish was abrogated.

³ Tynningham, in Haddingtonshire, is the seat of the Earl of Haddington.

- 24th August : to supper a dish of nipes cost 10s.
 26th August : Dinner, Broth, Roast Mutton, pair of Chickens, dish of Herring, Bread, Beer, and Wine.
 27th August : Razor cost £2 8 0, 2 Soap balls 4s.
 9th to 10th Sept. and 14th to 17th stayed in Edinburgh.
 9th Sept. : Herring to Dinner.
 15 Sept. : 3 pair of shoes to Lord John and Lady Jean 16s. per pair.
 17th Sept. : To a soldier at Barro Church 12s.
 21st to 24th and 26th to 31st Sept. stayed in Edinburgh.
 27 Sept. ; Dinner, Broth, sodens of Mutton, Roast Beef, Pair of Rabbits, Bread, Ale, and Wine.
 5th to 8th and 11th to 13th October, stayed in Edinburgh.
 13th Oct. : Dinner, Fish, *Caperats*, Soden of Mutton, Roast Duck, Bread, and Beer.
 9th Nov^r : 2 pounds of Raisins at 8s. : At Leith.
 14th Nov^r : At Dunfermline.
 15th Nov^r : Footman sent to Castle Campbell.¹
 20th Nov^r : Weems Church.
 21st Nov^r : Tips for the house of Weems £6 : At Kirkcaldie.
 22nd Nov^r : At Dunfermline.
 23rd Nov^r : Went to Edinburgh.
 29th Nov. to 3rd Dec^r : In Edinburgh.

THE PRIVY SEAL OF JAMES V. Mr. Stevenson in his recent book on *Heraldry in Scotland* states (p. 397) that James V. took unicorns as his supporters in his Privy Seal, *i.e.* that the Royal Arms on that seal had two unicorns as supporters. Neither Laing nor the British Museum Catalogue gives any example of the seal. The Royal Arms on the Privy Seals of James I., James II., James IV., Mary, and James VI. till 1603, examples of which they give, all had two lions as supporters, and it seems rather remarkable that James V. should have departed from this rule. Mr. Stevenson gives no authority ; and, unless James had two seals, is his statement correct ? A document in my custody, dated 8 May, 1531, has appended to it the Privy Seal, which is the same as that used by James II., James IV., and Queen Mary in 1543. The supporters are two lions.

C. CLELAND HARVEY.

CHARLES CLELAND HARVEY. Among our contributors, from whom communications appear in the present number, Lieutenant Charles Cleland Harvey has been added to the list of those who have fallen in the war—a young man of very attractive character and of rare promise of archaeological distinction. An architect on the staff of Sir J. J. Burnet, he joined the army after the war broke out, and received a commission as lieutenant in the 7th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. He had been serving in France for a considerable time, and was severely wounded on

¹ Castle Campbell, near Dollar, was then one of the seats of the Marquess of Argyll.

27th March, and after an operation died on 3rd April, aged 34. He was a keen and well-equipped antiquary, who had made good his position in heraldry, genealogy, and charter study. He had before the war made considerable progress with the *Yester Inventory of Writs* for the Scottish Record Society. He rendered devoted service to Provand's Lordship both architecturally and in the schemes to preserve the old house. The corps of younger antiquaries with independent standpoints and special technique is much the poorer by the loss of Cleland Harvey, whose work and memory endure.

THE SCOTS COLLEGE IN PARIS. Nine years ago there appeared in this Review (*S.H.R.* iv. 399) an article by Miss V. M. Montague, in which the vicissitudes of this ancient foundation were outlined. The subject has received more recent treatment at the hands of M. G. Daumet in the *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, vols. xxxvii. and xxxix., 1910 and 1912, and printed, for private circulation, as a *tirage à part*, in 1912, under the title, *Notices sur les établissements religieux Anglais, Ecossais et Irlandais fondés à Paris avant la Révolution*. The references given by M. Daumet to MS. and printed sources give exceptional value to his study, particularly in connection with the history of the College during the eighteenth century and at the period of the French Revolution. DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND 'SIR GAWAYNE AND THE GRENE KNYGHT.' Lionel, son of Edward III., married Elizabeth, daughter of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; Lionel, then Earl of Ulster, became, by charter, Duke of Clarence in 1362, and died in 1368. He was the first Duke; the title was, at his death, extinct till 1412, when Thomas, son of Henry IV., became Duke.

Professor (afterwards Bishop) Stubbs was of opinion that the title of Clarence 'bore some reference to the ancient honour of Clare.' Clare, in Suffolk, was a market town in 1086, when it appears under the lands of Richard, son of Earl Gislebert, in Domesday Book; this Richard fitz Gilbert was apparently the ancestor of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Clare, who became Earl of Gloucester in 1226. The latter was the grandfather of another Gilbert, who was also Earl of Gloucester, and who died in 1295. The daughter, Elizabeth, of the latter Gilbert, was the wife of John de Burgh, father of William, Earl of Ulster, whose daughter, also Elizabeth, was married to Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence. On the death of her brother Gilbert (slain at Bannockburn in 1314), the first Elizabeth was one of the three coheireses of the possessions of the Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. Her granddaughter, who was married to Lionel, was the heiress of William de Burgh, who was dead before his daughter's marriage took place in 1342. Apparently King Edward thought the match a desirable one. According to Brady's *History* (seemingly on the authority of Sandford's *Geneal. Hist.*), William de Burgh was lord of Clare (in Ireland). Spenser, the poet, in his *Present State of Ireland*, alludes to Clare Castle and to 'Mortimers landes' in connection with George, Duke of Clarence,

'Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght' 419

brother of Edward IV. I do not know whether Clare in Ireland took its name from the Clares by reason of John de Burgh's marriage, nor even if the territorial name existed there so early as 1362. At any rate, there is a strong case for the title Clarence (date 1362) coming from the name Clare, which related to a market town in Suffolk, the Honour connected therewith, the surname and Earldom, and possibly to a district in Ireland.

From whence did the author of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght* acquire the Duke of Clarence whom he names as one of Arthur's men?

'Sir Doddinaual de Sauage, the duk of Clarence, Launcelot & Lyonel, & Lucan the gode' (ll. 552-3). Was the Duke taken from the third Edward's son or from a legendary source? If the latter, it would seem that King Edward took the name of his son's title from fiction; this would be a bold hypothesis. If the former, it appears clear that the poem, in its present form, is not earlier than 1362, whether the poet merely copied the Duke or added him to what he founded on. Whether 'the duk of Clarence' came from history or legend, it seems to me more likely that the present poem was not published whilst Lionel was Duke of Clarence; on general grounds the period 1368-1412, the time when there was no Duke, appears to be a probable one for the poem as it stands.

Madden (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 313, Bann. Club, 1839) identifies 'the duk of Clarence' with 'Galachin, son of Neutres, king of Garlot, by a sister of Arthur, and cousin of Dodinal,' stating that the 'duchy was given to him by Arthur, after his marriage with Guenever.' However, whilst referring on the same page (313) to the *Roman de Merlin* and the *Roman de Lancelot*, Madden does not give the source of the statement concerning the gift of the Duchy, so that it is not clear that his authority for the fictitious title is earlier than the date, 1362, of the historical one.

The names of the Dukedoms conferred on the other sons of Edward III. who were made Dukes are Cornwall, Lancaster, Gloucester, and York. Until it is demonstrated that the Dukedom of Clarence is named in legend prior to Lionel's title, it seems to be reasonable to hold that the present poem of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght* is, at least, not earlier than 1362.

A. H. INMAN.

Mr. Inman is to be congratulated on raising what seems to me a first-class point for the meaning as well as the date of *Sir Gawayne*, and the importance is the greater because it virtually affects at least one other of the alliterative poems. For my own part I am disposed to agree that the name 'Duk of Clarence' means a date not much earlier, if earlier at all, than 1362, but I think that it decisively confirms the historical expositions submitted by me in my *Huchown of the Aule Ryale*, in the *Antiquary* for August, 1902, and in the *Athenæum* of 15th November and 6th December, 1902, and 30th May, 1903, while I readily confess (1) that it probably brings my date for the *Awntyrs* from circa 1359 down to circa 1362, and (2) that it deepens my corrected impression (*Athenæum*, 30th May, 1903) that the Gawayne of the *Awntyrs* was Prince Lionel. The interconnection of the two poems is much strengthened, and the historical bearing of Mr. Inman's query intensified by the following references (now

clearly identifiable as allusions to Prince Lionel) in the *Awntyrs*, the wonderful historicity of the second part of which I have always reckoned as my happiest discovery. How admirably Mr. Inman's point fits in will be clear from what happens in the concord of the great duel between Galleroun (*i.e.* Sir Robert Erskine) and Gawayne when King Arthur (*i.e.* Edward III.), in line 668, as part of the pacification, grants to Gawayne certain lands and castles, baronies and boroughs :

Eke Ulstur halle to hafe and to holde ;

and follows that up in line 672 by raising him to a new stage of nobility :

I shall dighte the[e] a Duke, and dubbe the[e] with honde.

When Prince Lionel went over to Ireland in 1361 he was still only Earl of Ulster, a title originally his in right of his wife. The *Scalacronica*, for instance, p. 200, styles him 'Lionel count de Hulster del heritage sa femme et fitz du Roy de Engleterre.' Why the Scottish champion in the romance duel should do battle for his Scottish lands with a usurping Gawayne of Ulster, who was to be dubbed a duke, is at once made clear by what Knyghton, the chronicler, states about Edward Balliol's surrender or transfer of his claims to the Scottish Crown in 1356: 'Die Epiphaniae Edwardus Baliol qui clamavit jus coronae Scotiæ donavit totum jus suum Leonello filio regis Angliæ Edwardi.' While in Balliol's deed giving up the kingdom to Edward III. Lionel is not mentioned, it is well known that in the intrigues of 1358-1363 the proposal was that a son of Edward III. should be accepted as heir of the childless David II. Wyntoun (ed. Amours, bk. VIII. lines 7173-6), tells of King David's 'motion' to that effect :

He movvit and said he walde that ane
Off the Kynge Edwardis sonnys war tane
To be kynge in to his stede
Off Scotland eftir that he war dede.

The final form of the abortive proposal was for a son, not heir apparent, of Edward 'l'un des filz du Roi d'Engleterre qui n'est pas heir apparant d'Engleterre' (*Acts Parl. Scotland*, i. p. 495). These citations give secure base to the historical interpretation of Gawayne as romantic equivalent of Lionel as English claimant to the Scottish lands in the *Awntyrs of Arthur*. When the dukedom is thus so true to fact in the *Awntyrs*, its historicity in *Sir Gawayne* appears to be a presumption scarcely resistible, and to be very plainly a contemporary touch. Finally I apologise for having at the outset forgotten that Mr. Isaac Jackson three years ago in *Englische Studien* dealt cogently with the very point now raised again by Mr. Inman. (See *S.H.R.* xi. 448.)

GEO. NEILSON.

THE APPIN MURDER MYSTERY. The alleged murder in May, 1752, of Captain Colin Campbell of Glenure, the Government factor on the forfeited estate of Stewart of Ardshiel, was utilized by R. L. Stevenson for a dramatic episode in his *Kidnapped*. The murder was presumed to have been committed by Allan Breac Stewart (the 'Alan Breck' of Stevenson's novel); and a cousin of his, James Stewart of Acharn, was

arrested as an accessory, tried for murder, condemned, and executed. There has always been a 'mystery' about the affair, the common theory being that a 'third man' was concerned in it, who was the actual murderer. Mr. Andrew Lang dealt with the story in his *Historical Mysteries*, indicating that he knew the secret but could not tell it. Mr. David N. Mackay, writer, Glasgow, published a little work on the subject, *The Appin Murder*, five years ago, in which he exculpated both Allan Breac Stewart and James Stewart, and said the true story of the murder is known to at least one family, who have preserved the secret inviolate.

In a recent communication to the Notes and Queries section of the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (14th April, 1916), Mr. A. M. Mackintosh, Nairn, expresses doubts as to whether there really was a murder. His doubts are based on a long MS. account of the career of Robert Mackintosh, of the Dalmunzie family, who was one of the counsel for James Stewart, this MS. having been written in 1840 by a nephew (born in 1774) of Robert Mackintosh, who had been well acquainted with his uncle, and was in close and frequent correspondence with that relative down to the time of his death in 1805.

According to this account, Allan Breac Stewart, 'in a statement made at some unknown period after the events of 1752,' acknowledged that he had unexpectedly encountered Glenure in a wood, and had thereupon expostulated with him as to the evictions he was threatening to carry out. Glenure, without answering, made a snatch at Allan's gun, which Allan endeavoured to retain, and in the scuffle that ensued the gun went off and shot Glenure through the body. Allan, fearful of the consequences to himself—either of being charged with murdering Glenure or with being a deserter—plunged into the thicket and escaped, and he never knew of the proceedings against James Stewart till it was too late for him to be of any use in saving his life. Mr. A. M. Mackintosh says it would be satisfactory to know when and in what circumstances Allan's statement was made. This account of Glenure's death appears to have gained 'very general credence.' Mr. Robert Mackintosh once told his nephew that 'it turned out that there was no murder at all,' and on being asked by his nephew if the account just given was well established, his reply was: 'There cannot be a doubt of its truth.'

This conversation must date from some period before 1805. Mr. A. M. Mackintosh thinks that from Mr. Robert Mackintosh's words it may perhaps be assumed that the statement had appeared in print, and one object of his communication is to trace, if possible, the form or vehicle in which it was made public.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

THE HOSPITALLERS IN SCOTLAND (*S.H.R.* ix. 65). M. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, whose death at the age of fifty-six at his country seat near Tours in 1911 left a blank not easily filled in the ranks of French historians and antiquaries, possessed, as is well known, an unrivalled knowledge of the early history and muniments of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The monumental work *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, in four folio volumes, covering the period from A.D. 1100 to 1310, appeared

from 1894 to 1906, under his editorship, with an illuminating introduction from his pen. In 1904 he published what is the standard history of the Order in the Holy Land and in Cyprus. As far back as 1885 the Knights had attracted M. le Roulx, as is witnessed by the essay *De prima origine Hospitaliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, published in that year.

In the autumn of 1909 M. le Roulx called the writer's attention to the value for the Scottish history of the Order of the archives preserved at Malta. In a note he says: 'Je suis en effet occupé en ce moment à étudier l'histoire de la commanderie d'Ecosse.' His interest did not flag, and in the spring of 1911, when at his suggestion there had been obtained from the records at Malta a photograph of two pages relating to the Scottish preceptory and estates of the Order, he wrote several times on the subject.

The following letters must be read with reference to the document printed in *S.H.R.* vol. ix. pp. 65-68.¹

From M. le Roulx to Mr. John Edwards.

'Je m'empresse de vous remercier de votre aimable lettre et des renseignements qu'elle contient, mais je continue à ne pas comprendre le double calcul contenue dans l'acte :

1° Calcul en écus—

Torphichen -	-	-	71 écus.
Balantrodach -	-	-	39 „
Droits pour Leighton -	-	-	289 „

—————
399 ou 400 écus.

2° Calcul en francs—

Torphichen -	-	-	260 francs.
Balantrodach -	-	-	140 „
Droits -	-	-	Neant.

—————
400 francs.

Si dans ce calcul en francs vous ajoutez les droits appartenant à Leighton qui étaient 2 fois $\frac{1}{2}$ plus considérables que le revenue des terres, il faut outre ajouter pour ces droits mille francs ce qui donne un total de 1400 francs pour le 2° calcul. Je me demande comment 400 écus peuvent être égaux à 1400 francs.

Il me semble que vous n'avez pas envisagé la question sous ce point de vue.

J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX.

PARIS, I. IV. 1911.'

¹ An error in the translation (*S.H.R.* ix, p. 67, line 38) falls to be noted. For *preceptor* read *likewise*. The word 'pariter' was originally read as 'preceptori.' It is very much contracted, appearing in the manuscript as 'prt.' The error was corrected in the Latin transcript, but *per incuriam* was retained in the translation. It is also the foundation of the erroneous statement upon page 59 that 'in the deed Thomas Goodwin, who gets Balantrodach, is called preceptor.' The sentence in which these words occur should be deleted.

From Mr. John Edwards to M. le Roulx.

'The deed raises questions of valuation and apportionment which are difficult to answer, but I think that the position of matters becomes clearer if one keeps in mind that a sum of about 400 francs (livres) net was looked upon as the proper yearly revenue from the Scottish estates—'the priory of Scotland.'

In 1338 the English Hospitallers stated that the Scottish preceptory (including the estates) 'solebat tempore pacis reddere per annum cc marcas,' and that the possessions of the Templars in the same country 'solebant tempore Templariorum et tempore pacis solvere de responsionibus ccc marcas.' . . . Total, 500 marks.

This sum of 500 marks appears to have formed a basis for future estimates of value, and in 1412, in his petition to Benedict XIII. Anti-pope, Leighton values 'the preceptory or priory of the hospital of Torfichyne' at £500.

Before that date (in 1375) it had been leased for ten years at a yearly rent of 400 gold florins of Florence to Robert Mercer.

From *The Knights Hospitallers in England* (Camden Society, 1857), one sees how accounts were made up in 1338. The gross income was always given fully, and then under various headings the cost of running the establishment of each preceptory was deducted and the balance was the 'summa valoris.' This was remitted to headquarters.

In the deed before us the 'summa valoris' was fixed at 400 (399) scuta, and the agreement to be come to was really a settlement of the just proportion payable by each of the three brethren.

The calculation of values in francs,—Torphichen 260, Balantrodach 140,—is to be looked upon as a gross valuation which makes no allowance for the expense of living, upkeep, etc. (reprise), and this valuation is one which does not include 'alia emolumenta et introitus' assigned to Leighton. These latter are not valued in gross, as they are indefinite and fluctuating from year to year. We may take it that Leighton made what he considered a good bargain at 289 écus. He was on the spot, and presumably, being an Aberdonian, quite able to look after himself. He had no preceptory to keep up, and no 'supervenientes' to entertain.

These observations may possibly seem not entirely satisfactory, but they are the best explanation which I can give of the somewhat peculiar arrangement embodied in the 'bulla.'

JOHN EDWARDS.

GLASGOW, 13 April, 1911.

CANON CAPES. The Bishop of Hereford has written a *Memoir of Canon William W. Capes*, Canon Residentiary of Hereford Cathedral (Hereford: Wilson & Phillips, 1916). Canon Capes had made his reputation as a scholar, historian and man of letters, before he was installed as Canon at Hereford in his seventy-first year. At once he began his invaluable work on the long-neglected archives of the Cathedral, which date from A.D. 1275, and come down almost continuously to the present

time. He rescued many of them from destruction by damp, and by careful arrangement transformed a vast mass of miscellaneous papers into material available for historical research; at his own expense he issued to the Cantilupe Society a transcript of some of the most valuable documents possessed by the Chapter. At the time of his death he had more than half completed the work of cataloguing the MSS. of the Cathedral. The Chapter could not offer a better tribute to the memory of this accomplished scholar than by seeing that this work of his later years is completed, but the men who could do the work are few in number.

KING ROBERT THE BRUCE (*S.H.R.* xiii. 307). With regard to the absence of King Robert the Bruce from his infant son's marriage at Berwick on Sunday, 17th July, 1328, the statement that 'the King's presence at the wedding . . . *must be presumed*' is open to question. The charter to Richard Wyteworde, monk of Coldingham, granted at Berwick on Saturday, 16th July, is not a conclusive proof of Bruce's presence at the wedding within the church of the Holy Trinity on the 17th. As implementing the *Treaty of Northampton*, this wedding was the crowning diplomatic triumph of Bruce's reign, and Barbour, writing his *Brus* within half a century of the event, and with access to many of the guests, could have had small inducement, either as patriot or artist, to ring the changes, as he does, upon the King's absence. Pending further proof, the balance of evidence seems in favour of the statement of 'the rarely erring Barbour,' that a *malaise*, presumably incipient leprosy, the beginning of Bruce's *lang seknes*, which ended in death early in the following June,

. . . 'tuk him sa sar

That he on na wis nicht be thar.'

As to the Coldingham charter, among its eleven witnesses occur the names of Randolph and Douglas, appointed to act as Bruce's deputies along with his Chancellor, Walter de Twynham, Abbot of Arbroath. Is it not conceivable that the Royal seal may have been affixed in the King's absence?

JAMES F. LEISHMAN.

Incomplete