

Reviews of Books

ORIGINS OF THE FORTY-FIVE AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THAT RISING. Edited by Walter Biggar Blaikie, LL.D. 8vo. Edinburgh, printed by T. & A. Constable for the Scottish History Society. 1916.

THESE papers are interesting and important, and the Editor's introduction is not less interesting and important. No one else knows so much about the Forty-Five as Mr. Blaikie, and no one else can write about it so well. He has unearthed some valuable material, and he has explained its significance both in his masterly introduction and in a series of useful notes, which supply an answer to every reasonable question. When this has been said—and it is certainly no more than justice requires—the reviewer's task is restricted to an attempt to indicate briefly the lines of interest in Mr. Blaikie's book. He has called it *Origins of the Forty-Five*, and the name which he has added to the historiography of the Rising is that of John Gordon of Glenbucket. The Jacobite revival may be said to have begun with the sale of an Aberdeenshire estate and the visit of the laird to Rome, in January, 1737-8, as an emissary of a group of Scottish Jacobites, including Glengarry, who was Gordon's son-in-law. Murray of Broughton, in a series of memoranda, printed by Mr. Blaikie, belittles Gordon's mission, but he himself was sent from Rome to Scotland soon after Gordon's arrival, and the French State Papers which appeared in 1901 in Captain Jean Colin's *Louis XV. et les Jacobites* tell 'how the Chevalier de St. George was living tranquilly in Rome, having abandoned all hope of a restoration, when about the end of 1737 he received a message from his subjects in Scotland.' The French State Papers and Murray of Broughton's contemptuous reference gave Mr. Blaikie his clue; he searched for, and discovered, the date of the sale of Glenbucket in 1737, tracked Gordon to Paris and then to Rome, and proved his point. From the collection of documents used by Captain Colin, Mr. Blaikie has printed, for the first time, a 'Letter from some Scottish Lords to Cardinal Fleury,' written in 1741, which throws fresh light upon the development of the movement, and is naïf and amusing as well as enlightening. These two MSS., in Mr. Blaikie's expert hands, justify the title of the book, and they—and he—have made a real contribution to our knowledge of the topic.

Of the 'Other Papers relating to the Forty-Five,' the one which will attract most attention comes also from the French archives, and is an account of the events immediately preceding Culloden, written by the Marquis d'Eguilles, the official representative of France in the Jacobite army. It was a disputed question among the Jacobites themselves whether the Prince or Lord George Murray was responsible for fighting the battle

168 Blaikie : The Origins of the Forty-five

of Culloden. Captain Daniel, an English Jacobite whose *Progress with Prince Charles* is here printed, asserts that Lord George insisted upon fighting that day, and that the Prince was compelled to yield to him. Neil Maceachain, the Prince's guide in the Hebrides, ascribes the statement to Charles himself, and says that he often spoke about the way in which, in spite of all his own 'rhetoric and eloquence,' Lord George out-reasoned him, and left him with no choice if he was to avoid a dissension in the army. There is no reason to doubt Maceachain's statement, and Charles Edward was neither the first nor the last Prince to avail himself, in this way, of the 'responsibility of ministers' as an explanation of disaster. But Mr. Blaikie quotes the definite and detailed statement of D'Eguilles that the decision to fight was made by Charles himself :

'The Prince, who believed himself invincible because he had not yet been beaten, defied by enemies whom he thoroughly despised, seeing at their head the son of the rival of his father, proud and haughty, badly advised, perhaps betrayed, could not bring himself to decline battle even for a single day. I requested a quarter of an hour's private audience. There I threw myself in vain at his feet.'

The arguments which D'Eguilles says he addressed to the Prince were sufficiently strong ; who were the bad advisers he does not say. Andrew Lumisden, in another of the narratives, remarks that Charles had either to fight or to starve, but he adds that he 'resolved to risk the event of an engagement altho above 3000 men were expected every hour,' a remark which tends to confirm the statement of the French envoy. It is difficult to believe that D'Eguilles was not speaking the truth, for it is difficult to suggest any reason for his distorting the facts, and Mr. Blaikie's reference to the French State Papers has settled a long-standing dispute.

There is plenty of local colour and local incident in the book. An Inverness minister, whom Mr. Blaikie identifies with the author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*, edited by Mr. Andrew Lang in 1898, gives a lively account of the Highlands, and the minister of Tain tells of the progress of affairs in Ross and Sutherland. Of these ministerial narratives, the most valuable for the military history of the Rising is a narrative dealing with the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, from which we learn many details about the skirmish at Inverurie in March, 1746. In a valuable series of appendices, Mr. Blaikie deals with several interesting topics. His 'Genealogical Tables showing the kinship of certain Highland Chiefs and Leaders in 1745' will surprise even those who know about Highland relationships. It was very much of a family business, and some of the chiefs must have entered the Rising from similar motives to those of Hector M'Intyre in his repudiation of the Antiquary's gibe at writers.

Perhaps the most pathetic document in the book is the Appendix, which gives the protest of Cardinal York, made when, at the death of James in 1766, Clement XIII. refrained from acknowledging King Charles III., and thus abandoned the traditional policy of the Papacy towards the exiled house. At great length the Cardinal convicts the Pope of 'five serious inconsistencies,' and in the course of his exposition of the argument he tells a characteristic anecdote of King James III. It was usual for the Pope, at

Lipson : Europe in the Nineteenth Century 169

an interview with an heir to a throne, to offer him an arm-chair, and it was important that this recognition should be accorded to Prince Charles Edward. But in deference to 'the custom of the Kingdom of England where even the eldest son in the presence of his father is not allowed to sit in a seat equal to his,' James desired that when he and his son were received in audience together, the Prince should be given an 'easy chair, but without arms.' Fortunately, the good Cardinal was able to say that, when the Prince visited the Pope alone, he was provided with an arm-chair.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : AN OUTLINE HISTORY. By E. Lipson, M.A. Pp. iv, 298. With eight Portraits and four Maps. Demy 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd. 1916. 4s. 6d. net.

MANY people in these days are looking about them for something to read on the development of modern Europe, and their wants have called forth a generous supply of literature varying from outline histories to special studies bearing on particular aspects of the great war. Those who are not specialists in Modern History have, no doubt, found that general accounts too often leave but a slight impression upon the mind; and they may have wondered whether this was due to the fault of the reader, the complexity of the subject, or the method of exposition. Mr. Lipson seems to have felt that the traditional manner of dealing with the matter from the standpoint of international politics did not give either the student or the general reader so good a grasp as he might expect to gain within the limits of a manageable work and that something might be done to remedy the defect.

Apart from any innovation in the method of exposition, his book would have commanded attention from the quality of the writing. It is eminently clear; it is forcible and epigrammatic without exaggeration; it carries the mind along without jolts; and it creates an impression of mastery. In a sense, of course, it is a fugitive work, written under the shadow of events whose issue is not yet clear and at a time when many of our historical judgments are undergoing rapid revision. That is in the nature of the case. On the other hand, while the book is, and cannot but be, an appreciation of modern developments and events in Europe from the British standpoint—Mr. Lipson assumes the history of Great Britain as read, and does not affect to stand outside the drama as a merely disinterested critic and spectator—it is tolerant without being in the least colourless. Unlike many outline histories, too, it is not in the least sketchy; on the contrary, a great amount of detail is filled in with ease and skill, rendering it attractive to the general reader and useful to the student.

The fundamental problem is to expound international relations in their necessary correlation with the internal development of the particular States. Mr. Lipson gives the key to his method in the chapter dealing with the European Concert. The wars of the eighteenth century were attributed to dynastic ambitions; and so the French Revolution aroused hopes, especially in England, of a lasting peace. The Napoleonic struggle, indeed, belied these hopes; but it none the less stimulated the search for pacific contrivances against the menace of the future. The theoretical

170 Lipson : Europe in the Nineteenth Century

doctrine of the equality of the powers, great and small, was *de facto* overborne by the political superiority of the strong and by increased rivalry among them. Diversity of ideas and institutions prevented any solid international structure. The Concert of Europe threatened to introduce the tyranny of the directing powers, and by reactionary interference to repress the instincts of nationality and destroy the very peace which it was the avowed object to maintain. 'England,' said Canning, 'is under no obligation to interfere, or to assist in interfering, in the internal concerns of independent nations.'

If, then, it was diversity of ideas which made Alexander I.'s Holy Alliance 'a piece of sublime mysticism,' and which became fatally apparent at the meetings instituted by the Quadruple Alliance, it is necessary to understand the inner development of the individual States which wrecked the project of European federation.

In the case of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, the year 1870 marks the end of the formative period in their history. For the French, after Waterloo, the problem was 'the establishment of a form of government acceptable to France combined with the pursuit of a policy which was acceptable to Europe.' The downfall of the Second Empire leads naturally to an account of German unification. It was in Germany that Napoleon cleared the ground of many petty divisions and awakened nationalism in opposition to his dominance. But was Germany to be united under Prussia or under the Habsburgs? Thus the internal problem involves the policy of Metternich and relations with Austria. Then Bismarck, depriving Prussia of liberty and substituting glory, ousts Austria and completes his work—if it be complete—with the French war of 1870. He comes into contrast with Cavour, though the story of Italy is postponed: the reactionary who declined to merge Prussian nationality with the statesman who was content to see Piedmont absorbed.

The Russian story is brought down to the present day: it is only now that she 'stands upon the threshold of a new life.' And so on to Austria-Hungary with her racial complexities, the 'mouldering edifice' which Metternich said he devoted his life to maintain. We follow the history to the *Ausgleich* of 1867, when, determined to recover influence in German affairs, Austria took the Magyars into partnership and conspired with the stronger races to dominate the weak, a plot of which the *dénouement* is being enacted. To speak of Austria is to think of Italy, and we pass to the story of how the 'geographical expression' became all but the Italy of the Italians.

A useful account of the Balkan States leads us back to the chapter on the European Concert, and so on to the 'New Era,' where the outstanding features are clear; the shaping of the French Republic; the consolidation of Germany; the Alliances; the Eastern Question; and, finally, German *Weltpolitik*.

Readers will be grateful to Mr. Lipson for an illuminating and attractive book. Teachers ought to find it exceedingly useful, and not least because it exhibits in an eminent degree what is most valuable to the student, the gift of historical style.

R. K. HANNAY.

THE HOLYROOD ORDINALE, A SCOTTISH VERSION OF A DIRECTORY OF ENGLISH AUGUSTINIAN CANONS, WITH MANUAL AND OTHER LITURGICAL FORMS. Translated and edited by Francis C. Eeles, F.S.A.Scot. The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Vol. VII. 4to. Pp. ciii, 221. Edinburgh: Printed by T. & A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty. 1916. 21s. net.

MR. MOIR BRYCE has put students of liturgical forms under great obligation by allowing the Holyrood manuscript in his possession to be printed, and no more suitable channel could have been selected than *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, of which he is president. Mr. Bryce has been fortunate in having at hand an editor like Mr. Francis C. Eeles, whose literary gifts and wide acquaintance with medieval church customs eminently qualify him to undertake the supervision and interpretation of one of our ancient Service Books.

The contents of the manuscript are so varied and of such unequal value, showing signs of addition and erasure, that one hesitates to believe that it ever ranked as one of the official or principal books of Holyrood Abbey. It begins with a form of Bidding Prayer for benefactors, with special mention of several of the Scottish Kings, and ends with an inventory of *instrumenta ecclesiastica* dated in 1493. The body of the manuscript comprises a kalendar, martyrology (which for adequate reasons has been omitted in the printed book), gospels and homilies for use in chapter, a legendary history of the founding of the abbey, the rule of St. Augustine (so often printed that it is here omitted), an ordinale or directory for the services throughout the year, a manual of occasional offices which include only the visitation of the sick and burial of the dead, with some special forms of blessing, and a litany for canons on travel or pilgrimage. Like the manuscript itself, the principal contents have no titles. The headings of the offices or sections as well as the title of the printed volume are the work of the editor.

No exception can be taken to the editor's decision when he selected the Ordinale as the chief title of the book. The section is not only the longest but the most important of the manuscript in whatever relation it may be viewed. Without this form the remainder would be of slender interest in the history of Augustinian liturgical services. The Holyrood Ordinale, too, has characteristics which make it to a certain extent distinctive. It does not include directions for the performance of ordinary services, being almost wholly adapted for special days, and may therefore be regarded as supplementary to the Consuetudinary, which dealt more with rules and regulations embracing the whole inner life of the convent. As our knowledge of such matters, so far as the Augustinians are concerned, is very meagre, the importance of the Holyrood publication cannot be exaggerated. It is true that the study of the manuscript has led Mr. Eeles to presuppose that it is a fifteenth century copy of a document or documents of much earlier date written for some English house, scarcely for a group of houses, as he believes. But the source cannot detract from its value as a Scottish liturgical book. The Order of St. Augustine was not an insular or national institution. Its framework, ideals and aims were constant in

172 Hume Brown : Register of Privy Council

every clime where it got a footing, but their adaptation to local needs followed not the law of the Medes and Persians. Mr. Eeles has shown in more than one instance that the Holyrood canons clung tenaciously to their own peculiarities and variations as best suited to the northern kingdom. For all practical purposes, as it seems to us, the Holyrood collection of liturgical documents may be accepted as a Scottish book.

It is a pleasure to bear testimony to the careful editing and faithful exposition of the contents of this most interesting manuscript. The full introduction, covering over a hundred pages, holds the reader's attention throughout as the editor unfolds the significance of the successive parts of which it is composed. It is a veritable mine of Augustinian lore. Though here and there one may take a view other than the editor's on some side issue, such difference of opinion only increases respect for the work as a whole. Mr. Eeles may be specially complimented on the list he has given of English Service Books belonging to the Augustinians, in manuscript and in print, at present known; it is a very useful addition to the introduction. The four photographic facsimiles of parts of the original form a link between manuscript and printed book.

JAMES WILSON.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Edited and Abridged by P. Hume Brown. Third Series. Vol. VIII. A.D. 1683-84. Pp. xxvi, 883. Imp. 8vo. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. 1915. 15s. net.

THIS volume in its contents throughout is a faithful sequel of that immediately before (see *S.H.R.* xiii. 84). 'As in the preceding years of the reign,' says the Introduction, 'the main business that occupied the Council was the suppression of disaffection on the ground of religion, and towards the achievement of this end continuously severer measures and sterner enforcement of them were its persistent policy.' The chief heads of historical interest under which the editor groups his survey of the period covered include, besides the staple of repressive measures, the English conspiracy known as the Rye House Plot, the legality of torture, the state of the Borders and the Highlands, and a series of developments of manufacture and foreign trade. We learn more fully than hitherto the circumstances under which Sir James Dalrymple (afterwards Lord Stair) consulted his personal safety by flight to Holland after some menacing from Claverhouse. Cloth and sugar were particular subjects of manufactory, as were beaver, half-beaver, and castor hats, in which last an Edinburgh merchant trading to America had a monopoly, stipulated, we are rather naïvely told, to 'do no prejudice to any felt makers.' Copper mines in Currie were wrought by a German. Foreign trade, however, even from Ireland, was penalised wherever it was likely to compete to the disadvantage of the Scottish lieges, protected interests being inclusive of the trappings of coffins and the garments at funerals.

The ferries from Kinghorn and Burntisland across the Forth to Leith vigorously opposed the pretensions of Kirkcaldy in setting up 'small boats of purpose to intercept the complainers' passengers in fair weather.' The

Hume Brown : Register of Privy Council 173

case was remitted to the Court of Session, and Professor Hume Brown does not follow it further. Lord Fountainhall, it may be noted, was interested in the suit, which involved knotty points. 'The Lords being unclear,' he tells us, they committed it to three of their number to accommodate the difference if they could. This committee of amicable compositors failed, but ultimately a submission to arbitration was arranged, and Sir John Cunningham's decree-arbitral restricted Kirkcaldy to four boats and Dysart to two, leaving Burntisland and Kinghorn free to have as many as they pleased.¹

As usual, the miscellaneous social facts are most informative and interesting. Sittings of justiciary accomplished a considerable amount of hanging, the victims being often highlandmen 'pannold for theft.' These courts also saw to the enforcement of many provisions for the peace, including the taking of bonds wholesale to that end by heritors, chiefs of clans, and heads of families.

The separate section (pp. 531-588), covering justiciary proceedings from 1682-86, contains in its array of disorder a telling picture of the state of the Highlands. But it is surpassed in volume and variety of unique information by the section which follows (pp. 591-713), consisting of over 200 summonses, statements, interrogatories, lists of fugitives, depositions, and schedules of recusants, etc., especially from the disturbed districts and covenant centres of Lanarkshire. Several very singular letters are amongst these papers, some of them written from 'irone hous' or tolbooth prison by zealous covenanters whose ardour of theology glows through their sometimes deficient spelling. Among them are 'confessions' made under sentence and expectation of death, notably those of John Whitelaw and Arthur Bruce in 1683 (pp. 633-38). There are 'Dying Testimonies' uplifted against many persons and proceedings—against the King, against the Test, 'which is so redicklows,' and above all against 'popry and pralicy and Erastien swpramisy.' The type of these personal covenants and death-bed confessions is well known, and their intensity of significance is not obscured by their occasional uncouthness of expression. Other letters describe the prison experiences of the writers. Those of Archibald Stewart in January-February, 1684 (pp. 67-77), recount not only his cross-examinations concerning his complicity in Bothwell Bridge, Hamilton Muir, and Drumclog, but tell of his and other prisoners' relations with the soldiers on guard over them apparently at Glasgow. Looking forward to his execution there, he wrote to his brother, his 'loving billey,' in a strain of wonderful exaltation of spirit over 'swch a honrabell death as to dea a marter.'

Tragic things like these alternate with less tragic, such as bonds to keep away from conventicles, to attend the parish church and 'live regularly,' or to carry to the Plantations of America or to Holland persons who had been sentenced to transportation. Domestic matters like the petition of the tailors against importers of English cloth are rarer among the miscellaneous papers than in the general minutes of the Council. Unexpected themes of interest constantly crop up there. Now it is a 'translatione of the

¹ Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 261, 268 ; Morison's *Dictionary*, Supplement III. 497.

Psalmes into Scottish-Irish meetter,' a proposal for ransom of a Scot seized by Turkish or by Salee pirates, a charge of 'contumacious absence' from the King's host, or a too forcible artifice of recruiting for the Dutch war service from Scottish prisons. At other times demands of access to charter chests occupy the Council, or the much-vexed rights of fishing on the Don, the repair of highways and bridges in Perth, Lothian, and Carrick, proceedings against accomplices of 'John Balfour the bloodie murderer of the late Lord Primate,' the long-winded tale of the burning of Sir Robert Sibbald's house in Edinburgh by the negligence of Lady Rosyth, the unlicensed export of brass from broken up artillery, the summoning of the 'generall rendezvouz' of the militia, or the bribing of a sheriff. Occasionally there emerges an illuminating claim such as that the fishermen of the North are by custom under the same servitude as 'coall-hewars and salters' in the South. We have the prohibition of penny weddings, a remission recommended for a rebel, and the application of a collection made for prisoners with the Turks towards the nearer if hardly cognate distress caused by a fire in Kelso. Variety is the order throughout these extremely interesting proceedings. A note should be made of the offer (page 433) to the Council of certain manuscripts, written by the late Sir John Scott of Scostarvet, and reckoned to be of service in searches of the land registers, etc. An endless store of history is in these minutes, papers, and memoranda, as full of matter for our domestic annals as for that great subject still awaiting its historian, viz. the Privy Council in its medley of functions as a court, both civil and criminal, and as a cabinet of administration. Flexible and formidable as an engine of autocracy, the Privy Council of Scotland perhaps outrivals the Parliament itself as a constitutional organisation. Before Professor Hume Brown concludes the long editorial task he has so finely discharged already in so many volumes it may be hoped that he will, in some future preface, return to the beginnings to trace 'at the long breath' the growth and development so fateful for the national destinies. We hope to have from the patient, safe, and lucid pen of the editor of so many books of this great record his reasoned survey and estimate of the Privy Council, the most powerful of Scottish political institutions.

GEO. NEILSON.

IRELAND UNDER THE STEWARTS AND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. By Richard Bagwell, M.A. Vol. III. 1660-90. Pp. xi, 351. With Map. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 15s. net.

WITH this volume Mr. Bagwell completes his valuable and distinctive study of Ireland under the Stewarts, of which the earlier volumes have already been noticed here (*S.H.R.* vi. 407). The period is a fairly definite and compact one in Irish history. It comes between the old Ireland and the new, and is the stage of the main part of the transformation. It opens, under James I., with the destruction of the ancient tribal constitution and the substitution of the English legal and social framework. During its course, by successive forfeitures and plantations, added to those of Tudor origin, by far the greater part of the country had passed into the

hands of men alien in every sense to the natives. And it closes on the verge of what Burke called 'that unparalleled code of oppression,' the penal laws.

Within this period, too, the reign of Charles II., the chief share of the present volume, had its own characteristic features. There was little active troubling of the Catholics in respect of their religion; the persecuting machinery of the Tudors had become ineffective. Of course, as a result of Cromwell's treatment of the corporations, the Catholics remained politically powerless: the Parliament of Charles II. was as wholly Protestant as that of James II., through similar manipulation, was Catholic. The outstanding fact is, that with some readjustments of ownership, the Cromwellian land settlement was accepted and maintained, and the least possible done, and that amid no small outcry, to meet the legitimate expectations of the dispossessed Irish, who had had the solemn obligation of Charles and his father to replace them in their properties. It is true that the English Parliament and the settlers' interest would have proved too strong even for a more scrupulous monarch, yet Charles could find estates for his mistresses—Lord Essex just saved Phoenix Park from Lady Castlemaine—though an O'Dempsey was left in beggary. The brighter side of things is a prospect of industrial development. But even 'the maintenance of the Protestant interest' had to yield to the maintenance of English industrial monopoly, and, one after another, Ireland's natural avenues of development—shipping, cattle, food products, wool, cloth—were deliberately and conclusively closed. An Irishman might as well be a mere Papist as a competitor in business; the English Parliament saw to it that neither should raise his head.

Unfortunately, Mr. Bagwell has allowed himself to be bound too strictly by his dynastic limits. The result is that, at his close, we do not reach the real end of any subject except Stewart rule. Even the military section thus remains incomplete. The narrative proper ends at the Battle of the Boyne, a dramatic rather than an historical finish. The Act of Settlement drags its slow and involved length throughout the volume, but the closing up of that complex piece of land legislation and of the plantation policy as a whole necessitates reference to the measures of 1698 and 1700; and Mr. Bagwell does not take us so far. The full story of the massacred industries also carries us forward to the same time, and is really more significant and more germane to the essential subject than references to Irish passivity during the eighteenth century Jacobite risings. To leave such things at a loose end, out of respect for mere dates, was a mistake. A more intimate treatment of these economic factors might have spared us an allusion to 'reliance on the potato' (p. 318) as an explanation of delayed improvement and starvation: people do not rely upon the potato out of malicious preference. Sir Wm. Petty saw deeper.

As for the Stewart kings, they acted after their kind: they were ready to treat with Ireland, but it was for their own limited interest. Charles II. was sympathetic to the Irish as Catholics, but not as Irish. James II. was partly bored and partly alarmed by the spirit he had roused among them, but only because it endangered his interests in England. The loyalty of

the Irish Catholics, again, was not specifically dynastic; it regarded their own interests first, their lost lands and their proscribed religion, and, for the sake of these, might even be perverted to alliance with a foreign power such as Spain or France. This was the inner terror of Irish rebelliousness, since the Catholics were still about two-thirds of the population. But there was another centre of potential rebellion, namely, the Protestant dissenters, and particularly the Presbyterians of the north. These ignored the laws against their religious practices; and the Presbyterians further carried on an anti-Episcopal propaganda, while they kept in touch with their native Scotland, which was not at this time conspicuously submissive. 'Ormonde,' writes Mr. Bagwell, 'thought the most dangerous party in Ireland to the King's government was that of the Protestant Nonconformists 'taken simply by themselves without the consideration of foreign incitement or assistance'' (p. 325). A strange government to which the minority of a minority, the 'legal Protestants,' as Petty called them, could alone be looked upon as loyal. And if the Catholic Irish failed to recover their lands as the reward of their Stewart loyalism, neither did the Presbyterians win toleration by their devotion to the Revolution. Confiscations and penal laws drove from Ireland the best of the Catholic population; religious intolerance and industrial selfishness on the part of England provoked the great Nonconformist emigration of the close of the century. On this phase, too, we see how Mr. Bagwell might have profited in completeness had he carried his story, even in outline, down to that time. The more dynasties changed, the more they were the same thing in Ireland.

Mr. Bagwell's characteristics as an historian are now well known. He is singularly detached in attitude, as he is clear and unimpassioned in style. On the line he follows he is thoroughly and soundly informed. On Parliamentary and official affairs generally, on the intrigues of Whitehall and the intricacies of political factions, on the personalities implicated in Irish affairs, and many interesting details, personal and social, he writes out of the fulness of his knowledge and appreciation. The adroit, patient and dignified Ormonde is, rightly enough, the most attractive figure on his crowded stage. But Ormonde's efforts to further the cloth industry are neglected, and still await the attention they deserve. Similarly the placing of Ireland under the ban of the Navigation Acts, which excluded her from all direct trade with the Colonies, was a step, or rather a series of steps, grave enough to warrant more than a passing allusion. There are several references to the 'prosperity' of the island under Charles II., but the details are too general. The military chapters, however, are both fresh and full and excellently done.

Scottish readers will be interested in the appearance of *tulchan* or stuffed calf skin of their ecclesiastical history as the Irish *puckan*. But while the *tulchan* was used to draw the milk of the benefices for laymen, the *puckan* represented the worthless title-deeds to their lost lands which the Catholics licked 'over and over in their thoughts' (p. 33). The *tulchan* soon disappeared, but Mr. Bagwell suggests that the Irish variety may still survive.

Of late years there has been a tendency to magnify the international

Blagden-Hill : Catalogue of Manuscripts 177

importance of the Battle of the Boyne as a factor in the struggle against the ambitions of Louis XIV. No doubt King William's freedom of action was of the first importance, and every little helped. But it is going rather far to say with Mr. Bagwell that 'The great French victory at Fleurus and the great English disaster of Beachy Head were both neutralised on the banks of the Boyne' (p. 300). The Dutch defeat at Fleurus, on the same day, was 'neutralised' by the timely arrival of the Elector of Brandenburg with his army, and the defeat off Beachy Head, on the day before, not till 1692 by the Battle of La Hogue. The point was that William should be free to leave England, and that could not be till the supremacy of the sea had been achieved. The wider political effects of the Boyne are to be sought in England, not on the Continent.

W. MACKAY MACKENZIE.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES BELONGING TO THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. 2 vols. Vol. I., Pt. I.; Vol. II., Pt. I. Vol. I. by C. O. Blagden; Vol. II. by S. C. Hill. Vol. I., pp. xxxii, 302; Vol. II., pp. xxxv, 421. 8vo. Oxford: University Press. 1916. Vol. I., 10s. 6d. net; Vol. II., 12s. 6d. net.

THESE publications are the first instalment of what promises to be a most important and valuable bibliographical enterprise. A catalogue of India Office manuscripts was contemplated about thirteen years ago, but the scheme did not become practicable until 1911, when specialists were found prepared to undertake the task, and the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in Council was granted for the necessary expense. The first volume is to be devoted to the three collections formed by Lt.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, R.E., 1753-1821, who was created Surveyor-General for India in 1815, and two of them are comprised in the part now issued—the one known as the '1822' Collection and the other as the 'Private' Collection. The manuscripts embraced in these collections relate almost entirely to the East, and include many items relative to Java and other Dutch possessions. They have been catalogued by Mr. C. O. Blagden, late of the Straits Settlements Civil Service.

The first part of the second volume is devoted to the collection made by Robert Orme, 1728-1801, author of *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745* and *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*. The positive value of this large and somewhat varied collection is considered to be very great, because (1) it contains a large number of documents, with an almost complete set of military journals, no other copies of which are known to exist; (2) it contains copies of official and semi-official documents which have now been lost; and (3) it gives us much information about the very interesting personality of Orme himself. It has been catalogued by Mr. S. C. Hill, formerly Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India.

In the case of both volumes the work of cataloguing has been done with extreme care and a scholarly appreciation of the relative importance of the documents dealt with. Besides the lists of manuscripts (many of which are described and quoted from at considerable length) helpful introductions

178 Fraser : Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville

have been provided by Mr. Blagden and Mr. Hill, as also explanatory Prefaces by Dr. F. W. Thomas, librarian of the India Office Library. A full index accompanies each part. These Catalogues are issued in a very convenient form.

J. MAITLAND ANDERSON.

HENRY DUNDAS, VISCOUNT MELVILLE. By J. A. Lovat Fraser, M.A. Pp. x, 146. With one Portrait. Crown 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1916. 3s. 6d. net.

It is not at all amiss that the present century should be reminded of the sway—beneficent in the main—Henry Dundas, the colleague and friend of the younger Pitt, wielded over his native Scotland. One has frequently heard tourists in Edinburgh pointing to the monument in St. Andrew Square in Edinburgh in honour of Lord Melville and saying, ‘Lord Melville, who was he?’ and yet, as this biographer in his excellent sketch points out, in Lord Melville’s own day Sir Walter Scott wrote that the Edinburgh streets were ‘thought almost too vulgar for him to walk upon.’ He was no ‘adventurer,’ as an English writer dubbed him, but the son of an old Scottish family, *une famille de la robe*, who owed much to the law. Born in 1742, he became an advocate twenty-one years later, and a successful one, rising in 1766 to the rank of Solicitor-General. He entered the House of Commons in 1774, and next year he was Lord Advocate. As ‘The Advocate of Scotland,’ he annoyed George III., and rapidly trimmed his sails to please the Court better. He became the friend of Pitt, and after 1783, when the latter became Minister, his most faithful, valuable, and astute *soutien*. His political acumen was very useful to his chief, and this friendship (which was not without some subservience) had a great place as a factor in Pitt’s successful career, and there was affection too, though it waned a little before Pitt’s death.

We need not go through Melville’s career, which is, for good or ill, admirably described in this book, but we will mention the complete submission of Scotland to him when Home Secretary and so ‘manager.’ He was popular in his native land on account of his ‘Restoration of the Forfeited Estates’ in 1784, and his flooding the rich employments of the East India Company with the scions of Scottish families, and so bringing a lot of grist to the home mill. His all-including patronage was also fairly used, and in that age, particularly as on several occasions he showed liberality of mind, no one saw very much to object to in his omnipotency.

This was shown soon after his impeachment in 1806 and his acquittal. When the cloud had passed all his power in Scotland came back again. He was the ruler the Scots were accustomed to, and once he was acquitted they fell anew willingly under their old bondage.

It is not for us here to talk of his failures in the War Office or the Admiralty. The author has done his work well on these points as in the other phases of Melville’s life. He does not tell, however, of the agony of mind Melville endured during the impeachment, which caused the fallen Minister to number (in marks which still show) the trees at Melville lest they had to be sold to defray the legal defences, an extremity only avoided

Green : Short History of the English People 179

by the sale, ultimately, of his other seat—the beloved Dunira. Nor does the writer allude to Lord Melville's unsuccessful courtship of the brilliant Lady Louisa Stuart, the youngest daughter of the favourite Lord Bute, of whom he has already been the biographer.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By John Richard Green. Revised and enlarged, with Epilogue by Alice Stopford Green. Pp. xlvii, 1040. With six Maps. Crown 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co. 1916. 5s. net.

No one who recalls the thrill which came into the spirit of English history with the original edition of this work in 1874 will turn without sensations of pathos suffusing a readiness to welcome this revised reissue with Mrs. Green's Epilogue, which, carrying forward from 1815 to 1914 the tradition of her husband's canon of interpretation, claims anew for Green's *Short History* a unique place in national narrative. True enough, the forty-two years may have left some of us less warmly receptive than we once were of a few principles which kindled the historian's enthusiasms, but Green's instincts as an interpreter of the soul of movement in English popular history assure his continuing lure and charm. He remains alone in his category ; his picturesque, emphatic, patriotic book has still no parallel. And for the Epilogue, there is only one question : is it faithful to the lines the original work laid down ? Probably few open-minded critics will deny that Mrs. Green's picture of the British people since Waterloo shows the traits of that portentous century in essential conformity to the antecedent vision her husband saw. Some readers may feel that while Mrs. Green's keynote of nationalism to explain the discordant aspirations and action of Europe during the last half-century is a sound unifying canon of generalisation, her application of it to the case of Ireland incurs the danger of hostile criticism and the stigma of partisanship. But the Epilogue no more than reflects the attitude of the original history towards Ireland under the Georges, and were it otherwise, even if Mrs. Green's well-known Irish ardour had carried her a little beyond the restraints of British orthodoxy, it would be churlish to deny her in the execution of a sort of trust for her husband's standpoint a reasonable latitude of exposition. As a whole the Epilogue very successfully and clearly registers the history of the century which untoward but not wholly unpurposed fate was to conduct towards the terrific culmination of which we now grimly abide the issue. The new chapter, written in the same libertarian spirit as that in which John Richard Green 'died learning,' is worthy of comparison with any chapter which precedes it in the *Short History*. Circumstances have necessitated fresh constructive work on colonial development and on British relations with foreign powers. State-building and federation are now the commanding institutional themes, which call for and sustain the animating historic fire. In synthetic compression of the facts, and in an energetic yet orderly grouping of the influences which have moulded the age while contributing to the disaster or our existing world, Mrs. Green writes like one who has found her true mission as historian of her own time.

GEO. NEILSON.

180 Longman : Tokens of Eighteenth Century

TOKENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONNECTED WITH BOOKSELLERS AND BOOKMAKERS (Authors, Printers, Publishers, Engravers and Paper-makers). By W. Longman. Pp. 90. With fourteen Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1916. 6s. net.

THIS is a piece of research work very satisfactorily accomplished. The subject is a clearly defined and limited one, but it has many points of interest, and Mr. Longman contrives not only to give a scholarly account of the issue and use of this copper coinage, but he throws many interesting sidelights on the issuers and users of these tokens.

The period dealt with is from 1787 to 1801. Prior to 1787 coins were few in number and many of them debased. It is probable that the success of the pieces used by traders led to the Government taking the question of twopenny, penny and halfpenny coinage seriously in hand. The plentiful supply issued from Soho works in Birmingham in the closing years of the eighteenth century supplied the need, and traders' tokens were doomed.

Besides the genuine pieces which were used in trade, it is curious to notice the varieties which were struck for sale to collectors, and those specially made by collectors. In the end of the eighteenth century communication in this country, and especially with other countries, was slow and difficult, and it might have been expected that the sale to collectors would have been so small as to have discouraged the producer. But the number of people who had leisure and means and interest to buy books or collect works of art or of historical interest must have been much greater in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than is commonly supposed.

We know that in the middle of the seventeenth century the great geographical publishing family of Blaeu, in Amsterdam, published an atlas of the world in eight folio volumes, including maps of the counties of England and of Scotland on so large a scale that several of the counties each filled two large maps. This work was issued in numerous editions, with text in French, Latin, Dutch and Spanish.

Lackington, again, who was one of the principal issuers of the tokens treated of in this volume, built up in a marvellously short space of time a great bookselling business ; the catalogue issued by this firm in 1806 consisted of more than 500 pages. What classes of people purchased these costly atlases, these books and tokens, at a time when we are accustomed to think that interest in such matters was both limited and local ?

A considerable number of issuers of these tokens were booksellers, who were the authors of political pamphlets, which they also published ; most of these represented advanced views, and more than one of the authors were brought to the Law Courts.

There are many indications also of the varied occupations of these booksellers who issued tokens. They often combined publishing, bookselling and printing in addition to authorship, and William Gye of Bath left his family a printing business with which was combined the sale of stationery, tea and State lottery tickets, while Frederick Fisher, the Brighton bookseller, owned also a circulating library and news room, in which he conducted auctions of 'goods, estates and pictures.'

JAMES MACLEHOSE.



EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS.

SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND: AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND MANNERS OF HIS AGE. 2 vols. Vol. I. xxiv, 546. Vol. II. x, 610. With many Illustrations. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. 25s. net.

THESE two volumes, containing thirty chapters by forty separate authors, are worthy of their subject and the occasion. Issued in the tercentenary year, they were planned by Sir Walter Raleigh as early as 1905. A first editor was found in Sir Sidney Lee, who after five years' labour was forced in 1914 to relinquish the work, happily completed in 1916 with Mr. C. T. Onions as final editor. As each contributor is an expert or specialist, each chapter may be expected to prove interesting and helpful. Bibliographies attached to every chapter remind us of other authorities, but never before within the compass of a single book has a Shakespearean introduction been put within our reach so generous in conception and contents and so stimulating and illuminative in effect. It is Shakespeare's England the experts are depicting. They show the life of the age reflected in his plays. Never before on this circumstantial level was such a collection of the relevant facts provided, facts bearing on the greatness and identity of the poet.

A simple test of personal identity may be found in the dramatist's knowledge of Music, illustrated by a glossary of sixteen pages, embodying the musical terminology of the poems and plays. Other chapters reveal Shakespeare's love of animals in general, but especially of birds; he knows the fallow deer better than the red; among hounds he prefers the cry of the basset to that of the beagle; among horses his favourite is the barb. With regard to the use of his knowledge, he is contrasted in the realm of Botany with Spenser, who often did not know the plants he named; in Folklore with Lyly, who is as pedantic as Shakespeare is natural; and in Hunting and Woodcraft with Ben Jonson, who, eager to show the extent of his knowledge, crams in every detail he can gather from books. But though the dramatist is not disagreeably bookish, he owes much to books; and in the chapter on Scholarship we find a list of those actually reflected in his works. Yet who shall tell us of the great field of literature in which he must have browsed, if only for a vocabulary such as in itself to distinguish him from all other English authors?

But it was impossible that *Shakespeare's England* should without a flaw run the gauntlet even of a kindly criticism. Already our knowledge is being enlarged by works of later date. Among these may be mentioned *Shakespeare and Precious Stones*, by G. T. Kunz, a New York scholar and expert, who devotes twenty-nine pages to a list of references in the plays to precious stones; and the *Birds of Shakespeare*, by Sir Archibald Geikie, who assures us of the dramatist's intimate acquaintance with birds. Although the chapter on Medicine declares that mental disease is more skilfully handled in the plays than any other medical subject, that reference is, strangely enough, the only allusion to madness, to which a separate chapter might well have been devoted. The matter of Ghosts and ghostlore has obtained but meagre attention, and the contributor would surely have had more to say had he consulted such a work as Lavater's *De Spectris*, a translation of which was printed in London so early as 1572. Further,

the writer on Duelling might have enlarged, and on some important points corrected, his knowledge by reference to *Trial by Combat*, by George Neilson. To other inaccuracies pointed out in previous criticisms may be added that the words attributed (vol. i. 209) to 'Mine host of the Garter' were spoken by Sir Hugh Evans, and that Ophelia bids Laertes (ii. 89) (instead of the Queen) wear his rue with a difference.

The three Indexes at the end have been very carefully prepared. In search for light on disputed passages the present critic has verified all the quotations from fourteen of the plays, an investigation confirming the right of *Shakespeare's England* to rank as a most valuable commentary on the text. If this was felt to be so in one play above the others, it was in *Hamlet*, and in this connection reference may be permitted to a single detail. The King's *rouse*, accompanied by the firing of guns, finds appropriate illustration in a note (vol. i. 109) where the French ambassador, writing of a meeting in London between James the First and Christian the Fourth of Denmark, says that the most remarkable ceremony was the healths they drank, each accompanied by a volley of cannon. A passage in Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland* should be noted as even more apposite, inasmuch as it records a banquet to the King of Denmark on board English ships lying before the Castle of Elsinore, at which feast every health drunk was emphasised by 'six, aught, or ten shott of greatt ordinance, so that during the Kingis abode, the ship dischaigned ane hundreth and fyftie shott.' Once only (i. 452) was the Index thus consulted found at fault. There is no trace of any passage from Henry V. answering to the reference. Acknowledgment must be made of the wealth and beauty of the illustrations, selected with almost faultless judgment.

JAMES D. FITZGERALD.

THE SUCCESSORS OF DRAKE. By Julian S. Corbett. With eight Portraits and eight Maps. New Impression. Pp. xiv, 466. Post 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1916. 10s. 6d. net.

IN his Preface, written sixteen years ago, the author says that the period with which his book deals, 1588-1603, has been neglected and misunderstood by historians. That reproach has been partly removed, but his work has not been superseded. It and its predecessor, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, remain standard authorities. The fulness, masterly ease, vigour and freshness of their narrative and comment are as attractive as ever.

The re-issue of a book so brilliant, so accurate and so fascinating would always have been welcome. Just now it is peculiarly opportune, for it is a study of events which in some respects curiously parallel those in which we are living. In the last years of Elizabeth, England and her allies, Holland and France, were fighting for national existence. The enemy aimed at world dominion. Spain was ruled by a fanatic obsessed with lust for England's ruin, and later by his fatuous but equally malignant son. She made use of savage atrocities. She had succeeded in seizing a footing within sight of our shores. She had sent agents to foment, and armed forces to raise, rebellion in Ireland; and she had a system of spies so



DURHAM SEALS.

- WILLIAM THE LION (obverse and reverse).
- DUNCAN II.
- ALEXANDER I. (obverse and reverse).
- ALEXANDER II. (obverse and reverse).

efficient that their reports are still indispensable to the historian. England was risking embroilment with neutrals by seizing at sea the munitions and food which they were sending to the enemy, and by her action was setting up the precedents on which international Laws of Contraband have been founded. Even the idiosyncrasies of the censorship were anticipated. Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, held the office. The Cadiz exploit of 1596 has been called the Trafalgar of the war. The most impartial and fullest account of it seems to have been sent to him for license. It was pigeon-holed at Lambeth, and withheld from publication for—three centuries!

Mr. Corbett does not omit to urge the 'moral' of his history. And perhaps it has a concern as instant as the story. It is the need of an effective army as well as an effective fleet. The end of the war at Elizabeth's death saw Spain far more powerful on the sea than she was before. For Mr. Corbett the real importance of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar two centuries later was what it afterwards enabled Wellington to do, for he holds that the true value of 'sea-power' lies in its influence on the operations of armies. Drake's successors failed. He thinks this lesson more interesting than victory would have been.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA. Edited by R. Blair. Third Series. Vol. xiii. Pp. xxxiv, 348. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Co., Limited. 1916.

THIS collection of 'matter of Northumberland' contains many capital pieces, inaugurated, as is here, by Mr. J. C. Hodgson's editing of a MS. by the herald John Warburton, in which notices occur of numerous ruined towers, chapels, castles, and family seats in the county *circa* 1715. Mr. Richard Welford abstracts and annotates sixteenth and eighteenth century Newcastle monuments. Rev. J. F. Hodgson deals with a defaced female effigy at Darlington and a St. Anthony panel at Barnardcastle, the latter showing the saint's well-known porcine protégés as big, fierce, bristled and ramping. Professor Haverfeld describes an exceptional Roman bronze measure from Carvoran (*Magna*), on the Wall. Parallels from Herculaneum and Corunna add interest to the description. Rev. Dr. Gee writes a notice of a Latin poem on a journey from Oxford to Durham in 1583 by 'a certain Dr. Eedes.' This diary in hexameters includes an account of the arrival and sojourn at Durham of the ambassador and secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, on his way back from his abortive mission and 'Bye-course' in Scotland. At Durham, the diarist tells of his hearing a choir boy who sang Scottish songs in Scottish fashion. The historical interest of this poem must be considerable, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Gee will soon find a place for the original text of the poem, the writer of which was a friend both of Walsingham and of the well-known dean of Durham, Toby Matthew. A second contribution by Mr. Welford is a worthy tribute, full of biographical matter in the form of an obituary notice and bibliography of the late Mr. R. O. Heslop. It well reflects the antiquarian and literary energy which Mr. Heslop so genially generated around him, and it reflects

the affection he inspired. Mr. Hodgson's life sketch of William Hutchinson, 1732-1814, has been separately noticed (*S.H.R.* xiv. 92). Dr. Frederick Bradshaw, writing on the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1296, interprets it by a commentary aptly styled 'Northumberland at the end of the thirteenth century.' An important inference, eminently intelligible but requiring to be closely tested, is set forth: 'It seems an undoubted fact that Newcastle as a flourishing industrial centre is the product of the long Scottish wars.' On Dr. Bradshaw's own evidence alone the direct negative to this proposition may well be maintained. May we suggest his withdrawal of that question-begging word 'undoubted'?

Reserved for the final item to be noticed here is what we may confess to having with reluctance accepted as the last fasciculus of the Catalogue of Seals at Durham from a manuscript made by the venerable Dr. William Greenwell, collated and annotated by Mr. C. Hunter Blair. Equipped with eight full-page plates and some figures in the text, it may fairly be considered a royal conclusion, as it contains sixty seals of English kings and princes, from William Rufus to Charles II., and fifteen seals of the kings of Scotland, from Duncan II. A.D. 1094 to James II. A.D. 1457. These seals send us back to that great English book, which ranks so high as—incidentally—an invaluable repository of faithfully edited Scottish charters, viz. Raine's *North Durham*. Great is the debt of Scots history to the chapter of Durham for the preservation of these splendid vouchers with their seals. Dr. Greenwell and Mr. Blair confine themselves rigidly to the sigillary subject, and abstain from all discussion of the fine questions of authenticity of the charters to which they are either attached or attributed. As regards the admittedly forged charter and seal of Edgar (No. VIII. of Raine's Coldingham appendix to his *North Durham*), Dr. Greenwell, with the courageous frankness which has always characterised him, not only declares it a 'forged charter and seal,' but seemingly suppresses the seal from the catalogue altogether, a course which, perhaps, like most sentences of excommunication, opens a door to objection, as undoubtedly the existence of one forgery is a factor in the challenge of a related deed. Probably the time is ripe now for a re-examination of the whole of the problems raised by the fascinating set of very early Scottish charters at Durham, in which, whether with the artlessness of truth or the artfulness of unscrupulous claims to suzerainty, there occur acknowledgments not very easy to get round, made by Scottish kings who in each case indubitably had something to gain at the time by concessions to English kings. For this re-scrutiny the new catalogue, by its exact descriptions and its magnificent series of plates of the seals, furnishes the most admirable aid to the new generation of exponents of diplomatic science, which with immensely improved opportunities has come into the field since the days of Raine, Cosmo Innes, E. W. Robertson, Freeman, and Skene. One who has seen Dr. Greenwell, Dr. Maitland Thomson, and the late Sir Archibald Lawrie together in the precincts of Durham with certain of the charters under their critical cynosure, without visible breach of the peace, may cherish the hope that the added light now shed on them by Greenwell and his coadjutor in this catalogue will carry us yet further in definitive illumination.



DURHAM SEALS.

- EDWARD I. (obverse and reverse).
- EDWARD BALIOL (Privy Seal).
- JOHN BALIOL (obverse and reverse).
- ROBERT I. (obverse and reverse).

Eirspennill. Noregs Konunga Sögur. Udgivet av den norske historiske Kildeskriftskommission. Kristiana. 1916. The fourth yearly volume of this reissue, in the original Old Northern tongue, of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway, by Norwegian and Icelandic scholars, under the auspices of the Norwegian Historical Commission, with Finnur Jónsson as editor, contains the completion of the Hákon Saga, and fully maintains the excellence of its predecessors.

Fornvünnen. Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Stockholm. 1915. The report for last year of the proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sweden, edited by Emil Ekhoff, contains papers in different departments of art and historical interest in Sweden, including one on a collection of English embroideries, some of them of the medieval period, described and illustrated. In a classified catalogue of a large collection of ancient silver money, with figured examples, we note products of English mintages (London and provincial) to the number of 801, from the time of Edgar (959-975) to William II. (1087-1100), with a few from Dublin, of Siktric III. (989-1029). Those of Ethelred (978-1016) are no fewer than 404, while 285 are attributed to Knut (1016-1035); and the places at which the different coins were struck number 56. Continental mints are more largely represented. A summary of the whole work of the Academy for the year is given in German; and particulars of the acquisitions by the Royal Historical Museum and for the coin collection, for the same period. The volume is an important one for all who are interested in northern archaeology.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

The latest issue of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Vol. xxxiii., Section C, Nos. 6-11) contains articles of varied interest, one at least of which will appeal to scholars outside of Ireland. Professor Macalister has contributed a full and careful survey of 'The History and Antiquities of Inis Cealtra' (No. 6), an island in Lough Derg, close to the boundary of the counties of Galway and Clare, the site of early Christian institutions, replete with archaeological survivals of a type happily common in Ireland. The slabs have been classified in groups chronologically, beginning with the eighth century and ending with medieval and early modern monuments, a bold adventure which may invite contradiction as well as admiration. The survey, which covers some eighty pages, is extremely well illustrated.

Mr. John L. Robinson, in his calendar of 'The Ancient Deeds of the Parish of St. John, Dublin' (No. 7), should have been more generous in reproducing the Latin for technical words and phrases. As it is, the omission lays him open to suspicion of inconsistency in his translation. Are there two Latin words for 'churchyard' and 'cemetery,' for 'a piece of land' and 'a plot of land,' and so on? Why should he translate the Latin of John and William and leave such names as Johanna and Alianora untranslated? On the other hand, 'the Street of the Fishers' seems to us a schoolboy way of rendering *vicus Piscatorum*, which we assume to be the Latin phrase, for he does not give it. It is quite certain that no medieval Dublin man, who spoke English, would refer to the street by Mr. Robinson's name. In more deeds than one in this collection the true

vernacular for the Latin is found. That the official of the archiepiscopal court of Dublin or of the archbishop of Dublin or of the diocese of Dublin should be called 'the official of the city of Dublin' (p. 192) seems to require some explanation. The official of Dublin, in shortened form, would be the proper style according to English usage. Anyway, how does *the city* come in? In 1530 there was a guild of St. Mary and St. Cythe in the church of St. Michan (p. 206). A note on the identity of St. Cythe, a very rare name in charter evidence, would be welcome. The deeds, which range from about 1230 to 1700, are quite local, though some of them are helpful in checking the list of Dublin mayors.

Mr. M'Clintock Dix, in furtherance of his history of the Irish printing-press, discourses on 'an early Dublin almanack' of 1636 (No. 8), and Professor Macalister interprets 'an Ogham inscription recently discovered in County Wicklow' (No. 9), both papers being well illustrated. Dr. R. H. Murray prints with useful comment two hitherto unpublished letters of William Penn (No. 10), dated in 1705 and written after the famous Quaker's final return to England, but they mainly refer to his financial difficulties.

Professor Lawlor's contribution on 'the Cathach of St. Columba' (No. 11), a manuscript now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is an illuminating study in literary criticism of special interest to students of Celtic Scotland. The manuscript was discovered early in the last century by Sir William Betham in a way that afterwards entangled him in a suit at law. It was inclosed in a casket or shrine, believed to contain a relic of St. Columba and on that account too sacred to be opened, which was lent to him by its owner for the purpose of description. The temptation to examine its contents was too strong for the curious antiquary who opened the cumdach or box and found, not a bone or a finger of the saint, but a very early text of a large portion of the Psalter. Only few references have ever been made to this manuscript, and most of these are of very little value. The script is now printed in its entirety by Dr. Lawlor with a learned introduction on its history, contents and significance. The introduction comprises some ninety pages, text fifty-eight, and appendices forty-six. In addition there is a sheet of the codex in facsimile with another of the Turin Bible for the sake of comparison, while the ornamental casket, in which it is enshrined, dating from the eleventh century, is illustrated from every view-point.

The text of the Psalter approaches very closely to St. Jerome's Gallican recension, and has little in common with the Old Latin. This affinity is ascertainable chiefly from the fact that it is provided with asterisks and obeli, the plan which Jerome adopted to denote respectively words in Hebrew but not in the Septuagint, and words in the Septuagint but not in Hebrew. As these symbols were only employed in the second or Gallican version made by Jerome, the inference is fairly obvious. Dr. Lawlor does not suggest that his manuscript is a pure Gallican Psalter: all that he insists on is that it has a Gallican text as its ultimate basis. But his conclusions are not based on a mere dogmatic authority: the process by which they were reached is set out by a minute analysis of the text and rubrics,

the latter of which show undoubted similarities to the corresponding rubrics of the Northumbrian Codex Amiatinus written at Wearmouth or Jarrow about the year 700. With this connection between them, the further inference is reasonable that the rubrics of the Amiatine Bible came from an ancestor of the Cathach. There is nothing improbable in this supposition in view of the paramountcy of Irish influence in Northumbria in the middle of the seventh century, when books were introduced there in considerable number from Iona or from Ireland through Iona, always assuming, of course, that the Dublin manuscript is a century or two older than that in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

It may be here stated that Dr. Lawlor seems to have no doubt that the Cathach, as the manuscript came to be called, was actually written by St. Columba in 560: in other words, that the traditions, which Manus O'Donnell embodied in his well-known biography of the saint compiled in 1532, are in the main worthy of belief. After the first perusal of the argument incredulity may be excusable, but on further acquaintance with the sections in all their interrelations, the evidence accumulates till it becomes overwhelming that the author has some justification for his implicit faith. It must not be assumed that he accepts O'Donnell's narrative as a whole: far from it. One of the most valuable sub-sections of his introduction is the method by which he applies the winnowing fan to sift the chaff from the wheat.

It is interesting to learn Dr. Lawlor's view of the cause or causes which sent Columba on his mission to Scotland. Here again he appeals to O'Donnell's narrative, and points to the battle of Cooldrewny in 561. Can the familiar story be accepted as true? There is genuine history, he avers, beneath the embellishments of the old traditions. The battle marked an epoch in Columba's career, and was in some way the cause or one of the causes of his missionary journey to Scotland. Adamnan's statement of the saint's excommunication by the Synod of Teltown is quite consistent with it. But Dr. Skene's view that 'Adamnan had no idea that Columba was actuated by any other motive than a desire to carry the Gospel to a pagan nation when he attributes his pilgrimage to a love of Christ,' is not warranted by Adamnan's words. Columba had got to cross-purposes with the Irish priests, and seized the earliest opportunity of withdrawal from Ireland to his own kinsfolk on the west coast of Scotland.

Incidents of this kind are only symptomatic of the wealth of historical matter which Dr. Lawlor has crowded into his pages in support of his contention that the script is Columba's work a few years before his flight to Iona. But the whole argument must be studied in all its bearings before the amazing conclusion can be fully appreciated. The literary exposition is happily fortified by the palaeographical notes, added as an appendix, of such an expert of early script as Professor W. M. Lindsay, who says that 'there seems no valid reason why we should refuse to the script of the Cathach the early date which Dr. Lawlor's theory assigns to it.' Few students of Celtic Scotland can afford to be unacquainted with this new chapter in its history.

JAMES WILSON.

The last issued Bulletin of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is by Mr. W. E. Macpherson, on *The Ontario Grammar Schools*, tracing the history of secondary education from 1807.

A penetrating critique and estimate by Professor Roland G. Usher will be read with mixed feelings by many admirers of a great modern historian usually regarded as the mirror of impartiality and the last word in scientific presentment of historical evidence. *A Critical Study of the Historical Method of Samuel Rawson Gardiner* (Publications of Washington University, St. Louis, Series IV. vol. iii. No. X. pp. 159. Price one dollar) may not surprise the reader by its indications of inconsistent and inadequate characterisation of great actors in the period of Charles I., but it will demand attention for the gravity of its challenge to the standpoints from which the verdicts of Gardiner were delivered, as well as to his failure to produce evidence for certain fundamental positions upon which these verdicts were based. 'The English Revolution of 1640,' says this American critic (who pays notwithstanding many a well-turned compliment to Gardiner's industry and determination to be fair), 'is as much an enigma to-day as it was to Charles himself. It is a riddle which has yet to be solved.' This contention emerges from Professor Usher's two propositions that Gardiner's condemnations of Charles rest upon unproved assumptions (1) that there were certain standard or accepted constitutional tenets which were held by the 'nation,' and which the king wilfully or blindly violated, and (2) that there was a 'national' and informed public opinion on the disputed issues, the actual ultimate formulation of which was the result of the struggle, not truly its antecedent. Put otherwise, the critic argues that the principles for which Charles fell were *ex post facto*, that at any rate their priority is not established, and that Gardiner, often failing even to recognise the necessity to prove assumptions of such magnitude, constantly contradicts himself and confuses his own judgments. Rarely in historical criticism does one find a bolder challenge on grounds so broadly and logically reasoned, and so close to the heart of a great contribution (in eighteen volumes) to English history. But a first impression of the criticism leaves one questioning (1) whether Gardiner's body of proof of public discontent is not far weightier than the critic allows, (2) whether the contumacity of kings is not indictable, and (3) whether there is not in the great issues a 'common law' of politics which operates *retro* and gives to inferences of culpability, really arising from results, a just status among the grounds of judgment. Bacon's endorsement of the condemnation of his accepting presents from litigants, while yet maintaining the precedents of excuse and his own honesty of judgment, is a case in point. There may be 'crowns to be broke' before a historian like Gardiner is compelled to remember at every stage of the case that the ruling was not declared till the end.

The *English Historical Review* for October opens with Miss Caroline Skeel's account of the 'Canary Company,' under a charter granted in 1665, with primary view to trade in Canary wines. In 1667, owing to the

bitter opposition of a group of rival merchants, the charter was cancelled. Mr. E. R. Turner continues (see *S.H.R.* xi. 115, 329) his studies of Cabinet and Privy Council evolution, in a paper on the 'Committees of the Privy Council, 1688-1760,' which brings out the subtle divergence of a waxing Cabinet from a waning committee. Under the title 'Bractoniana' Dr. J. H. Round picks many holes in the biographical sketches of Henry of Bratton, and, after educing a number of fresh facts, seems to locate him pretty securely as a man of Devon holding estates on the east coast of Barnstable Bay. Mr. J. C. Davies edits a valuable find from an unsorted bundle of Chancery miscellanea. It is the record of an assembly of wool merchants in 1322, summoned by a writ of Edward II. at York on May 18, while Parliament was sitting there. The date of the meeting was in the octaves of Trinity (June 13-20). The answers of the Sheriff of Cumberland to the order for summoning was that there were no great merchants of wool in his county, while the Sheriff of Northumberland replied that the only merchants in his shire belonged to the bounds of Newcastle, and that they said they durst not leave the town on account of the imminent danger of Scottish raids into the March, and many of the town's men at arms being 'in two ships on the sea in the king's service.' Unfortunately, there is no record to determine whether the assembly actually met or what, if any, advice it tendered on the question of the staple, which is believed to have been the projected theme of deliberation. A Dutchman's diary of a cattle-buying expedition (*i.e.* for buying cattle by barter) among the Hottentots in 1707 is edited by Mr. J. L. W. Stock.

The American Historical Review for July has a paper by Mr. Tenney Frank grouping evidence from inscriptions, literature, and history on the orientalising and other elements of race mixture in the Roman Empire, with the concurrent bearing on religion and politics. Mr. A. B. Hulbert deals with the development of Western shipbuilding, *i.e.* on the Mississippi side, *circa* 1799-1811. Mr. C. C. Pearson describes the 'Readjuster movement' of Virginia after her restoration to the Union in 1870, with its opposition, the 'Fundlers,' a party which had more conservative views of state reconstruction. Mr. D. J. Hill, well known as a historian of diplomacy, gives a rather striking account of the French estimate of Benjamin Franklin from his arrival in France in 1776 until his death in 1790. The enthusiasm which, as an apostle of 'liberty,' he aroused was no doubt significant and prophetic, and his election as the 'Vénéral' of the 'Nine Sisters' was probably neither very eccentric nor at all extreme in placing him at the head of a most brilliant intellectual circle.

In the October number Mr. H. Van der Linden discusses anew the famous bulls of Pope Alexander II. in 1493, with their glorious arrogance in the demarcation of a new hemisphere, treating them not as arbitral decisions, but as grants by a papal sovereign. Mr. George M. Wrong, building his essay much on Canadian foundations, traces the growth of Nationalism in the British Empire. He describes with refreshing vigour the inspiration and resolve which came with the present crisis. 'War,' he says, 'has blown away mists of disunion. It has shown a reality in the spiritual unity of the British peoples which makes it a great force of nature.'

In the *Iowa Journal* July and October numbers Miss Ruth A. Gallacher continues her special study of the curious frontier office of Indian Agent by a detailed history of the 'Indian Agents in Iowa' in relation to the native tribes, the Sacs, the Foxes, and others. The trail of whisky is over it all in a story of chronic incompatibility between redskin and white man, due to the vices of both. The lot of the nether-millstone is sad. Mr Jacob Van der Zee describes the 'Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement,' beginning dimly about 1806, but developing into a great immigration in 1843-45, when the Sacs and Foxes moved west to make way for the whites.

The Journal of Negro History for October (vol. i. No. 4) is a solid enough reminder that there is a point of view not represented on this side of the ocean. It is issued by the 'Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.' Well written and moderate articles deal with the Christian propaganda in the American colonies in the eighteenth century, and with negro conditions in Louisiana, Kentucky and Guatemala. A reprint is given of certain travellers' impressions of slavery in America, 1750-1800. The magazine, albeit historical and not political in its design, leaves a strong impression of the potentialities of what may be called colour-nationalism in the United States.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, born 1737, was at the College of St. Omer in France from 1748 until 1765, and his letters to his father make excellent material for the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June 1915—June 1916. By the time he was twenty, his accounts of himself have a mature and very intelligent character, with a keen interest in Roman Catholic problems and in matters affecting his native Maryland. Roman law he found dry and tedious, and he alternated monotony with French satires on the English

(Ces braves insulaires
qui sont sur mer les corsaires),

with the services of a dancing master, with book acquisitions (including 'two little pocket Horaces of the Glasgow edition,' as well as Boileau, 'Rousseau,' and Voltaire), and with much observation of current history. In 1760 he was in London, and sent on gossip about politics, Lord George Sackville's trial, and the shipment of Highland troops for the East Indies.

In 1761 the interest grows. 'Our new Monarch seems to please all parties: There have indeed been some complaints of his countenancing the Scots.' The coronation was impending: 'single front seats I am told will let for 12 guineas each.' The acute young Marylander makes numerous allusions to events current, the movements of the King of Prussia, Laudon, and the Russians, Pitt's resignation and possible reinstatement. He has subscribed to the new edition of the Statutes at Large, and has 'bought Hume's History which is now completed.' He reports on December 19 that 'the Parl^t is unanimous in supporting the measures of our late great Minister, and seems determined to prosecute the German war with the utmost vigour.' At this date General Ramanzoff is still besieging Colberg. News of its fall three days before could not yet have arrived.

In the part of this *Magazine* for June 1916 there is begun a good journal of a voyage in 1811 from Annapolis to Cherbourg on the frigate *Constitution*,

by David Bailie Warden, a native of Ireland and a graduate of Glasgow University. A dinner at Annapolis displayed animosities between Republicans and Federalists. Sailing on August 1, the ship quickly slipped down the land-locked bay to Norfolk, and some days later put out to sea. The capture of a shark on August 8 is the prime adventure of this first instalment of the diary.

In view of the share that French models had in the making and working of English burghal constitutions, M. Ch. Bémont's article in the *Revue Historique* for September-October on the municipal institutions (*mairie* and *jurade*) of Bordeaux will exhibit the spirit, ingenuity, and tenacity with which the burgesses stood to their liberties against encroachments by Henry III. and Edward I. Particularly adroit was a contention that their tenure was ancient and allodial, not a fief which, as a holding, only came into being, they said, 'au temps des Sarrasins.' M. Chr. Pfister extracts from a memoir on Alsace in 1735, the facts of the ecclesiastical state of the province as between Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists. A survey (first section) by G. Glotz of the Greek historical literature of 1911-1914 summarises recent works on the classical periods.

Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. These transactions (Tome III. No. 9, Tome IV. No. 1) exhibit the calm persistence of archaeology at Poitiers in 1915 and 1916. No surprise need be felt that the antiquary's thought, equally with the patriot's, returns to Joan of Arc. A vague popular tradition prevailed that the Maid was brought before the Parlement de Poitiers and interrogated either in the Gothic chapel of the Tour-Maubergeon, or in a chamber of the still existing Palace of Justice, anciently the residence of the Counts of Poitou. There was, however, quite definite evidence that the examination took place at a hostel near the Cathedral, and that it was made not by a court of the Parlement, but by special commissioners, all clergy, named by Charles VII. An unexplored record has now emerged containing extracts from the register of the Parlement for the period, but quite silent about the Pucelle, a negative fact taken as decisive. These references to the incident are of interest as bearing on an unanswered query in this Review (*S.H.R.* viii. 217) about the curious reference to Sir Thomas Erskine, sorely wounded in the face at the battle of Otterburn in 1388:

And schir Thomas of Erskin was
Woundit thar felly in the face ;
He may weill, syne the weme aperris,
Eit in the gret hall of Poyteris.

Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, ed. Amours, vol. vi. p. 336.

The riddle is now read, at least so far. A report to the *Antiquaires de l'Ouest* expressly mentions this historic house of Parlement as '*Le grand Hall du palais de justice où les comtes de Poitou recevaient l'hommage de leurs vassaux.*' The hall therefore is fully identified: may we not yet recover the more recondite sense of the allusion to the wounded knight, whose 'weme' or scar was obvious, thereby rendering him eligible to sit down to table there?

Communications

WRECK AND WAITH (*S.H.R.* xiii. 215). The meaning attached to 'wreck and waith' in Orkney and Shetland (and Scotland?) is given in an Act of the Privy Council of Scotland of 1611, abrogating certain unlawful acts in the islands, including one dealing with 'wrake or weith casten up be the sea,' evidently wreck and cargo.—(Peterkin's *Notes*, app. 69).

A. W. JOHNSTON.

THE 'LAWRIKMEN' OF ORKNEY (*S.H.R.* xiv. 49). There is no difficulty in the identification of the lawrightmen of Orkney. The designation *lögrettumenn*, lawrightmen (which, in Scottish documents in Orkney of the sixteenth century, is sometimes rendered in the corrupt and illiterate form 'larikmen'), was originally applied to the members of the *lögretta*, assize, of the *lögþing*, lawthing, in Norway, Orkney and Shetland, excepting in the case of the assize of the town of Bergen, the members of which were, in the thirteenth century and after, called *ráðsmenn*, town-councillors, derived from the German *rathmann*, and not from O.N. *ráðmaðr*. In Orkney and Shetland the designation 'lawrightman' was afterwards, under Scottish rule, transferred to a single parochial official who looked after the interests of the people, while the 'foud,' or bailie, represented the government. The members of the assize were thereafter called 'goodmen,' and they were chosen from the 'roithmen and roithmen's sons,' a term which will be explained below. The single parochial lawrightman survived in Shetland down till the eighteenth century, but there is no evidence of his existence or who, if any one, took his place in Orkney after the new régime was set up, in 1611, by royal proclamation. The last recorded notice of the single parochial lawrightman in Orkney occurs in 1576, when Robert Isbister is referred to as 'the larikman' in the bailie court of Stennes which was held by the bailie, William Sklater (*Ork. and Shet. Records*, i. 271).

Rancel is a North English, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland word, meaning to search for stolen goods, and it and the English *ransack* and the Gaelic *rannsaich* are all derived from the O.N. *rann-saka*, to search for stolen goods. The Scottish and English *ransackle*, and its variants, may preserve the transition from *ransack* to *rancel*. Undoubtedly the Orkney form, *rancel*, was borrowed from England, *via* Scotland. In Orkney and Shetland the man who was appointed to *rancel* was called a *rancelman* or *rancellor*. Ranselmen, as parochial constables employed in searching for stolen goods, were in active service, in Shetland, in 1602, under the Norse

form of government (Peterkin's *Notes*, app. 33). In 1611, after the abrogation of 'foreign laws' in Orkney, a royal commission was issued to Commissioners to hold sheriff courts, at which all the inhabitants were to attend, to pass acts, statutes, etc., for the better government of the islands. In accordance with that commission the 'Country Acts' of Orkney and Shetland were adopted, which ordained the *parish bailie to choose honest men, called rancellars or, latterly, lawwrightmen, 'to raise, search and seek all houses and suspect places within the samen, and, if neid beis, in case of suspicion, to pass to the next paroch or beyond the samen.'* The rancellors were 'solemnly sworn upon their great oath... and strictly examined by the sherreif and his deputs in their current courts... anent their declairioun of all thifts, bloods, royots, witchcrafts, and other transgressions of the saids acts,' etc. They had also to take trial of 'wrack and waith goods' (Barry's *History*, 1808, app. 464, 482, 483).

The rancellors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, did not replace the lawwrightmen, but were a continuation of the same rancellors of the old régime, and of the Old Norse law which enacted that *heraðsmenn, bændr* or neighbours, should be appointed *rannsaka*, to ransack, or search for stolen goods, in accordance with prescribed methods. Their continuity as searchers is proved in Shetland, where the single parochial lawwrightman was contemporary with the numerous parochial rancellors down till the eighteenth century—and those Shetland rancellors exercised precisely the same functions as their namesakes in Orkney. As the single parochial lawwrightman ceased to exist in Orkney after 1611, it is not surprising that the vacant title was latterly sometimes applied to the rancellor.

The three terms: (1) 'Roith,' O.N. *ráð*, rule, the distinctive Orkney and Shetland term for complete udal ownership (the possession of *roith* gave the owner an unchallengeable title to his estate, and to redeem it should it be alienated); (2) 'Roithman,' O.N. **ráð-maðr*, the Orkney designation for the man who possessed the 'roith' of an estate; and (3) 'Roithmen and roithmen's sons,' udal-men and udal-born, the Orkney qualification of the members of the assize of the lawthing¹—these three terms all flourished in the same period, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when there was abject ignorance, in Orkney, of Norse laws and terminology; e.g. the Rental of 1500 explains 'forcop' (O.N. *fararkaup*, the fee of the levy) as 'girse male,' rent for grazing. Under Norse law, all 'goodmen,' i.e. householders, tenants and landowners, were eligible as members of the *þgretta* or assize, while under Scottish rule, in the fifteenth century, the membership of the assize was apparently restricted, through Scottish influence, to the udalmen, the 'goodmen' in the Scottish legal sense of the term. It was an easy

¹The coincidence of the late thirteenth century Norse term *ráðsmaðr* (derived from the German *rathmann*), town-councillor, and the Orkney 'roithmen and roithmen's sons' who were chosen as members of the assize of the Orkney lawthing, at first misled me into interpreting the Orkney term as meaning [town-]councillors. They were not town-councillors, and Kirkwall had its own town council and 'bailies' while still under Norway.

transition, as the members of both the Scottish and the Norse assizes were nominated by the government. The members of the Orkney *hirðmannastefna*, formerly a meeting of the earl's bodyguard, but latterly, under Scottish rule, a sheriff court, were appropriately styled 'gentles,' corresponding with the 'gentlemen' of the Scottish large jury, and with the *bestir-menn*, best men, of the higher Norse courts of the king, archbishop and earls. The members of this Orkney sheriff court were gentlemen landowners, and the term 'gentles' is never applied to the members of the assize of the lawthing, which included poor owners of single pennylands, the rent of which would not buy a cow of the period. There is a contemporary notice, in 1438, of the 'gentiless' of the *hirðmannastefna*, presided over by the earl, as compared with the 'goodmen' of the assize (*Ork. and Shet. Records*, i. 45. The term is 'gentiless,' not 'gentiles,' as in *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, lvii.).

A. W. JOHNSTON.

The assumptions in the above note which are at direct variance either with the conclusions arrived at in my recent paper on the Lawrikmen of Orkney, or with the postulates on which those conclusions were based, appear to be these :

1. That the legal and social systems in Orkney and Shetland were identical (for it is on this alone that the assumption of 'the single parochial lawrightman' in Orkney depends).

2. That in Orkney the title of lawrikman became 'vacant' after 1611.

3. That the term 'roithman' was ever used of an odaller with direct reference to his odal ownership; in other words, that it ever meant odal-man.

4. Either that the Sheriff Court, termed the 'hirdmanstein,' differed in constitution from other Orkney Sheriff Courts, or that the assizes of all the Sheriff Courts differed in social standing from the earlier Lawthings and other head courts (for it is not quite clear on which of these assumptions Mr. Johnston proceeds).

5. That the Norwegian laws, in all their minute details as to formation of assizes, etc., were in force in Orkney, without even any local modifications.

6. That the assize of the Lawthing included 'poor owners of single pennylands.'

Mr. Johnston quotes no documentary evidence in support of any of these assumptions, and I can only say that in the course of my own researches through early Orkney records (and I have not wittingly allowed any extant deeds to escape unsearched) I have discovered no single bit of evidence supporting any one of them; but, on the other hand, very many pieces of evidence clearly and directly at variance with them all.

J. STORER CLOUSTON.

The Editor is aware that Mr. Johnston does not accept Mr. Storer Clouston's views as printed in the above paragraph. The subject may be reverted to in the next number of the Review, but this will depend upon the space which may be available.

ED. S.H.R.

The Old Church of Gorbals, Glasgow 195

THE OLD CHURCH OF GORBALS, GLASGOW. Impressed with the inadequacy of baronial supervision to meet the requirements of an increased and increasing population, the feuars and inhabitants of Gorbals formed themselves into an association for the better management of their common affairs, and by voluntary taxation and contributions they raised a public fund for expenditure on sewers, wells, street cleaning and lighting, and other useful and necessary purposes.¹

Of heritable property acquired by the Association the first portion of the old burial ground in Rutherglen Road was purchased in 1713. A few years later one of the feuars gifted the site for a church, the establishment of which was a great boon to the inhabitants as their parish church of Govan was situated at an inconvenient distance from the village. But Glasgow town council, 'as lords and justiciars' of Gorbals, at first withheld their consent to a disjunction from Govan parish, and it was not till the year 1771 that the new church and parish obtained official recognition. Meanwhile a chapel had been erected on the gifted site, and between 1729 and 1771 it was supplied by no fewer than twelve preachers in succession.² The chapel stood on the west side of Buchan Street, opposite a new road opened from Main Street on the east, and appropriately named Kirk Street. After the congregation removed to the existing parish church, which was erected about the year 1810, the old building was occupied as a Gaelic Chapel of Ease and subsequently as a *quoad sacra* parish church till 1842. At the latter date the Buchan Street congregation removed to the newly-built Knox's Church in Portugal Street, which in its turn was transformed into the John Knox Free Church. The old building was purchased by the Society for erecting additional parochial churches in the city and suburbs, but after being five years in their possession it was sold to a commercial firm. Latterly the property was acquired by the Glasgow Improvement Trustees, who formed through the site a prolongation of the widened Kirk Street to join with Oxford Street, the name now borne by the thoroughfare throughout its whole length from Main Street to Bridge Street.

The practice of 'kirk burial' was still in vogue when the original church was built, and the donor of the site, either considering the place unsuitable for such a purpose or unwilling to divert burials from the

¹ In 1846, when the village of Gorbals and surrounding district, then developed into a populous suburb, were annexed to Glasgow, the liabilities of the associated feuars exceeded their assets, and the heritable creditors tried to hold the Magistrates and Council responsible for the former on the ground that the feuars' property had been transferred to the city by the annexation act. The law courts, however, decided that there had been no such transfer, and rejected the claim. One consequence of this repudiation of liability was that the minute-books of the association, which, to judge from the samples printed in the law proceedings, contain many interesting local items, did not find a place in the city's archives, where they would have been readily accessible for purposes of research. Information as to the present custody of the books would be welcomed. About thirty or forty years ago they were in the hands of the late Mr. George Strang, writer, the feuars' agent.

² *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 46, 47.

196 The Old Church of Gorbals, Glasgow

common ground, stipulated that the feuars and inhabitants should continue to bury in that ground and not in the church or its surroundings, without the permission of himself and of the preses and assessors in Gorbals for the time.

The preacher in the old chapel from 1764 till his death in 1769 was Hugh Wallace, some irregularity in whose appointment the feuars refrained from challenging as he was 'a man agreeable to all concerned.'¹ Added to this estimate of the preacher's worth his last will and testament, from which the following passages are taken, affords pleasing indication of his devout feeling and amiable disposition: 'I Hugh Wallace, preacher of the Gospell in Gorbals of Glasgow, being long afflicted in body but sound in memory and judgement, not knowing when it may please Almighty God to call me from this frail life, I consign over my body to the grave in the hopes of a glorious resurrection, thro' Jesus Christ, and commit my spirit to God who has given it . . . I bequeath to Miss Jeanny Warrender, lawful daughter to Sir John Warrender, baronet, of Lochend near Dunbar, all my written papers and manuscript books whatsoever, together with all these English books in print that pertain to me which fall under the name of quartos, octavos and duodecimos whatsoever. I also bequeath to the said Miss Jeanny Warrender my bay shelty, now in my custody, or any other horse or mare that may be in my property at my death, together with my silver watch, half a dozen silver tea spoons, two pair of silver hand band buttons, together with every picture and print that may be found in my property at my death. I also leave to the said Miss Jeanny Warrender two fine lawn handkerchiefs, one of muslin with red borders, and my bible . . . I also bequeath to Mrs. Muirhead, spouse to Mr. Muirhead, merchant in Gorbals, as a small testimony of the many favours I have received from that family, Hopkins' Works, one volume folio. I moreover ordain and appoint that all my other books, cloaths, and whatsoever other things pertain to me be rouped off, that all my due debts and funeral charges may be paid off. And if anything over and above remain I leave that to Jeanny Carnochan, my niece, servant at present to Lord and Lady Semple. And that my just and honest creditors may suffer no inconvenience by my death I appoint my body to be carried to the grave without any show or unnecessary expenses. Only, according to the ancient manner, let a few pipes and tobacco be distribute among those who shall convey my body to its long home. This my last Will and testament I have wrote with my own hand, upon stamped paper, the 28 day of May 1766 years.' The executors of the Will are named, and power is reserved to make any changes and alterations.²

The author, a copy of whose works was bequeathed to Mrs. Muirhead, was the contemporary American clergyman, Samuel Hopkins, founder of a theological system which still has its adherents. ROBERT RENWICK.

¹ Minute of Feuars, 11th June, 1765, printed in law proceedings already referred to.

² The will is recorded in the MS. Register of Probative Writs kept for the Burgh of Glasgow, 21st July, 1766.