

Reviews of Books

OLD DORNOCH : ITS TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS. By H. M. Mackay, Town Clerk of that City and Burgh, with Foreword by Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland. Pp. viii, 151. Crown 4to. Dingwall : North Star Office. 1920.

MR. MACKAY has printed his four 'popular lectures' delivered at Dornoch in 1912-14. The volume is divided into four chapters, viz. I. Medieval Dornoch, II. The Reformation Period, III. The Reformation to the Revolution, and IV. The Revolution to the Disruption. In these the writer presents the interesting history, necessarily with gaps, of the old city. The book is written evidently from a full mind by one who is deeply attached to the burgh and parish in which he lives, and has a thorough knowledge of its ecclesiastical and civil remains, and of the successive personalities connected with it in ancient and modern times from the days of the Church of St. Bar until those of the Free Kirk. From Sir Robert Gordon's *Genealogie of the Earles* he quotes freely, but he must have given his extracts regarding early times with his tongue in his cheek. For after all Sir Robert, when he deals with events before the times in which he lived, is a sad romancer. We doubt the derivations given by Mr. Mackay of Cnoc-an-Lout as connected with Jarl Liot, and of Crock Skardie as referring to Jarl Sigurd; and there is little, if any, evidence for St. Bar's having been Bishop of Caithness, though this Irish saint of the fifth or sixth century may have had the Church, which preceded St. Gilbert's, named after him. Again, the stories of St. Gilbert (which come from the *Aberdeen Breviary*) are almost certainly mere monkish inventions; and the existence of the five earliest bishops in the list quoted at page 52 is very doubtful, and probably Andrew was first bishop. Earl Harold (in spite of Sir Robert), did not kill Bishop John. It is, too, unlikely that Freskyn (Fretheskin or Fresechyn) de Moravia came from Friesland, and the family were established at Strabrock in Linlithgowshire before Freskyn, the first of them to come North, and himself a good lowland Pict or Scot, came to Duffus in Moray.

Of St. Gilbert, the founder of the cathedral at Dornoch, and his charter a full and excellent account is given, with a most interesting identification of the sites of all the ecclesiastical buildings and residences—so good that we long for a map. The old etymology of Dorn-eich ('horse shoe') for the city's name is given as traditional, but its real origin is still to seek, in spite of the city's 'horse-shoe' corporate seal. We have little doubt that the Earl's Cross, which survives, was a mere boundary stone; while the King's Cross at Embo, which has disappeared, possibly marked the site of a

fight of uncertain date with the Norsemen, who are said to have landed at Little Ferry, where, doubtless, long before, they had had (as Mr. George Sutherland Taylor suggested) a town or settlement on the ness of the Vik called Vik-naes, and by Gaels corrupted into Uignes and later Unes.

Turning to the later chapters, the accounts given of the land-grabbing proprietors at the Reformation, and later of the Tulchan bishops and clerics, Catholic and Episcopalian alike, of the vandalism of the Mackays in destroying and of the Sutherlands in 'restoring' St. Gilbert's Cathedral, and of the clan fights for the burgh form an excellent and illuminating commentary on Sir Robert Gordon's bald statement of such events; and the heroism of the fighting Murrays, loyal survivors of the old stock of the De Moravia family, stands prominently out in Mr. Mackay's book.

The writer dwells (perhaps in one instance with undue breadth of anecdote) upon eccentric persons of modern days, of whom the burgh always yielded an abundant crop, and he tells us of the witches of Dornoch and of the burning of the last of them at the stake.

Mr. Mackay's book was not originally meant for publication, but to humour and please a local audience. In it he has given us a set of sketches, extending over more than seven centuries, drawn in good perspective, and painted in true and effective local colour, of an interesting old Scottish burgh and its inhabitants, and we venture to express the hope that he will now proceed to write its history with an appendix of records from the charter room at Dunrobin and the municipal archives, illustrated by photographs, a map of the parish and large scale plans of the burgh showing the sites of its ancient buildings.

JAMES GRAY.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH SEAS, written in the year 1633 by Sir John Borroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. Edited with introductory Essay and Notes by Thomas Callander Wade, M.B.E., M.A., LL.B. Pp. viii, 115. 8vo. Edinburgh: Green & Son, Ltd. 1920. 7s. 6d. net.

By a curious coincidence this book appears to have been dealt with by two Scottish writers independently at the same time. A brief and accurate account of it is to be found in Mr. Heatley's book (*Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations*, pp. 131 to 141), and it is now edited with an excellent introductory essay and notes by Mr. Wade.

The work is a small one written in Latin in 1633 at the request of Charles I., when the famous controversy with the Dutch as to the freedom of the sea was on the point of leading to open rupture between the two countries. Desiring to be sure of his ground before challenging the encroachments of the Dutch in the North Sea fishing grounds, which had hitherto been regarded as exclusively English, the King commanded Sir J. Borroughs to prepare a Memorandum setting forth 'the true state of the question of the Dominion of the British Seas,' and the present work was the fruit of researches in the unpublished records of the Tower of London. It was completed in 1633, two years before the appearance of Selden's *Mare Clausum*, which used much of its historical material, but it was not published till 1651, eight years after the author's death. In the literature

of the famous controversy it occupies an important place, for though it made no contribution to the legal aspects of the dispute, it contains much (though probably unsifted) historical evidence of the assertion of the English claim to sovereignty in the seas. Nor did the author forget the political object for which his Memorandum was required, and he added by way of appendix a quite important note on the 'inestimable riches and commodities of the British Seas,' which, for its mere information as to the British sea fisheries of his day, and their importance as a source of political power, is still of value.

Mr. Wade is to be congratulated in making so excellent a contribution to the breadless study of international law. His own equipment is well shown in his introductory essay, and his work is a credit to the scholarship to be found among practising lawyers in Scotland.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

THE LIVINGSTONS OF CALLENDAR AND THEIR PRINCIPAL CADETS : The History of an Old Stirlingshire Family. By Edwin Brockholst Livingston, author of *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*. New edition, entirely revised and greatly enlarged. Pp. xix, 511. 4to. With 20 Portraits, 8 coloured coats of arms and other illustrations. Edinburgh : Printed at the University Press by T. & A. Constable for the Author. 1920.

THIS sumptuous volume is, so far as bulk is concerned, the most weighty contribution to Scottish Family History that has appeared for many years. But, as we shall see, it has much more to recommend it, and is a very thorough and exhaustive piece of genealogical work. If the Livingstons did not play quite so conspicuous a part in Scottish History as did the Douglasses or the Hamiltons they were well to the front throughout, and a family which can boast of having had some seven peerages conferred on its members, not to speak of five baronetcies, cannot have had a negligible influence on public affairs. It is a far cry to their beginning; whether or not they can rightfully claim descent from that Saxon Leving who inhabited his 'toun' in Linlithgowshire and gave the church of the same to the newly founded Abbey of Holyrood in 1128, they can at all events boast of a pedigree which is both ancient and honourable. It is from Sir William Livingston, who had acquired the widely separated lands of Gorgyn or Gorgie near Edinburgh and Drumry in Dumbartonshire, that the Livingstons of Callendar derive their descent, his younger son, another Sir William, being founder of that house. It is matter of history how the grandson of the latter Sir Alexander played a conspicuous part in the reign of James II., how he was nominated Guardian of the infant King and had the Queen Mother arrested, and how a similar fate met the chiefs of the house of Douglas, who were ultimately through the machinations of Livingston and Chancellor Crichton, executed for high treason.

But there were many ups and downs in these troublous times and the Livingstons fell from their high estate in 1450, some of them being executed, while almost all of them had their estates confiscated. But only a few years afterwards Sir Alexander's son Sir James got his property restored to him and was created Lord Livingston of Callendar. He also

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for some time occupied the position of Guardian of the King and held besides the offices of Great Chamberlain and Master of the Household. The fourth Lord Livingston was a waster, and if he was present at the battle of Flodden he escaped with his life from that fatal field, though several of his kinsmen were among the slain. Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, was one of the eight Guardians of Queen Mary appointed by Parliament in 1543, and five years afterwards accompanied his young mistress to France, where he died the following year. William, the sixth lord, the brother of one of the Queen's Maries, was one of the leaders of the Reformation, which, however, did not prevent his being a faithful friend to his Queen, and he was by her side when she hastened from the disastrous battle of Langside. Both he and his wife shared the earlier years of Mary's captivity in England, and both never ceased their exertions in her cause. In 1573 he returned from England, made his submission to the government of the boy King, and for the next twenty years occupied himself unobtrusively in the business of the country. The next lord made himself useful to James VI., was along with his wife (who was a Catholic and got into great trouble with the Presbyterian ministers on that account) appointed Guardians of the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, and was, on the occasion of the baptism of Prince Charles, created Earl of Linlithgow. His son, the second Earl, continued the tradition of the family in being a favourite at Court, and was appointed Vice-Admiral of Scotland, not perhaps a very arduous office in these days, though he must have been very proud of it as a portrait of him is still in existence in which his honest though not very distinguished-looking countenance beams with satisfaction as he holds in his hands an obsolete type of some naval instrument, possibly a sextant. He was also Keeper of the Palace of Linlithgow, an office which his father had held.

The third Earl was a soldier all his life, beginning his service under Sir John Hepburn in the thirty years' war. He became the first colonel of the Foot Guards, an office which he exchanged in 1684 for the somewhat incongruous one of Lord Justice-General. His son the next Earl was also a soldier, but had a shorter career than most of his family. With the fifth Earl the fortunes of the Livingstons were eclipsed. A Jacobite Peer, he was attainted and his estates forfeited in 1716. On his death in 1723 he left an only child, Anne, who married William Boyd, Earl of Kilmarnock, whose execution on Tower Hill in 1746 has been the subject of many a graphic narrative.

It is impossible within due limits to indicate the many distinguished persons who have made the name of Livingston honoured through both Continents. Among the more notable peerage honours which fell to them may be noticed that of the Viscounty of Kilsyth, which was created in the person of Sir James Livingston of Bencloughie in 1661. But this title too was forfeited in 1715.

The holders of the Newburgh Peerage were in a way more fortunate, Royalists though they were. Sir John Livingston, the first Baronet of Kinnaird, accompanied James VI. to England, and so ingratiated himself with His Majesty and his successor that he was created a baronet in 1627,

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while his son Sir James was raised to the Peerage under the title of Viscount Newburgh and Lord Kinnaird at the early age of twenty-five. After the Restoration he was further promoted as Earl of Newburgh and got the more substantial benefit of a lease of the customs of the Border for a term of twenty-one years. His son, involved in Jacobite plots, narrowly escaped by finding bail for £5000. He died in 1694, and the Earldom descended to his only child, a baby girl. She married, in time, as her second husband, Charles Radcliffe, the next brother of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. He did not take warning by his brother's fate, but was 'out' in the '45, and the executioner's axe clumsily severed his head from his body in the following year. The Earldom of Newburgh now went through various vicissitudes. It was not forfeited by the attainder of Charles Radcliffe and was inherited by his eldest son (there being no sons of the Countess's first marriage). His son in turn succeeded, but on his death without issue the title devolved upon a person with eight Christian names, but who was known as Prince Giustiniani, who was the great grandson of Charlotte Livingston by her first marriage with Thomas Clifford. He took no steps, however, to establish his right to the title, and it was erroneously assumed that as he was an alien the right would pass to the descendants of the younger daughter (a daughter by the second marriage) of Countess Charlotte, Lady Mary Radcliffe, who married Francis Eyre, by whose descendants it was accordingly assumed and borne till 1858, when a lady with ten Christian names, the daughter of the above-mentioned Prince, was naturalised and proved her right to the Earldom. She married the Marquis Bandini, and the title is at present vested in the person of her grandson Carlo.

There were many Livingston families who did not attain to the dignity of the Peerage, and the history of all of them is carefully treated in detail by the author. The Livingstons of Newbigging had no doubt a fleeting glimpse of Peerage honours in the person of Sir Thomas, who was created Viscount of Teviot in 1697, but he died without issue and the Peerage came to an end, and a Baronetcy, which he had got in 1627, also expired when his brother died in 1718.

The Westquarter family were an important branch, but the succession was very erratic, and the estates came ultimately into the hands of the Bedlormie branch; the next owners were the Fenton-Livingstons, and with them closed the ownership of Westquarter, which was sold in 1909.

The family of Parkhall, who still retain that estate under the name of Livingstone Learmonth, call for no special mention. The Dunipace Livingstons were to some extent more interesting, having had a Baronetcy conferred on Sir David in 1625 with remainder to heirs male whatsoever. The first Baronet dissipated his estates, left his family in poverty, and the title has never been taken up since, though some one must be entitled to it.

It is impossible to mention even by name the other cadet branches to which chapters are devoted. There are full accounts of Virginian Livingstons, who came from Aberdeen, besides Highland and Irish branches and two French families of the name whose progenitors were in the Scottish Archer Guard. The Scottish descent of the Livingstons of the Manor

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of Livingston in the Province of New York is also given, the American generations having been already treated of by the author in another large book.

It will be seen from the above that this is a very exhaustive family history, and puts on record probably everything that is known about the name so far as our knowledge goes at present. It has been compiled with much loving care, and if it is not altogether for the general reader it will at least prove a mine of information for persons engaged in genealogical research, or who may wish to trace the historical sequence of any of the families mentioned. Besides being excellently compiled, the book has several special features to recommend it. At the end of each chapter there are relative notes and references giving chapter and verse for every statement in the text. The last two chapters of the book are specially interesting: the one treating of the castles and mansions occupied or owned by Livingstons in the olden time; the other deals with the heraldry of the family, which in some cases shows strange variations, particularly in the crests. The cinquefoils or gillyflowers are, however, a constant feature, though the origin of these together with the royal treasure borne by some branches of the family is a matter of conjecture, as is the reason why no less than a dozen different mottoes should be borne by various offshoots. There are eight coats of arms illustrated in colour from the pencil of Mr. Graham Johnston of the Lyon Office, which are exceptionally fine specimens of heraldic art, and there are no less than twenty portraits reproduced. These vary in merit, but there is a charming portrait of the last Viscount Kilsyth, the famous Jacobite soldier, representing him as a boy sitting on a grassy bank, with a spaniel of somewhat disproportionate size sitting at his feet, along with some trophies of the chase. It is a pity that the artists' names are not, when known, given.

JAMES BALFOUR PAUL.

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THE ROMAN EVACUATION TO THE DISRUPTION, 1843. By Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. lvi, 653. 8vo. With Portrait, Eight Maps and Thirty-two Genealogical Tables. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 20s. net.

PROFESSOR TERRY has re-written the history of Scotland on a scale which will appeal to those who have not leisure or inclination to read works in more than one volume and those who have out-grown the use of school-books. In other words, he has endeavoured to supply the need of both general readers and students; and it may not be easy to determine which of the two classes is the more to be congratulated on the result of his labours.

To achieve the degree of compression required for a work of this kind without prejudice to clearness must have been a most difficult task; and Professor Terry has been very successful, except perhaps where, in the laudable desire to present his facts in their proper sequence, he approaches them from one point of view and then returns to them from another. There is much to be said for this method, which avoids the discursiveness of chronological narration; but it may occasionally perplex the reader, as

in the case of Solway Moss, p. 168, and also pp. 370-381, where Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh and the surrender of Charles to the Scots are twice mentioned in different connexions. The constitutional history of Scotland—such as it is—might have received more attention from one who has written a treatise on the Scottish Parliament. Social and intellectual life is almost excluded from the survey till in the eighteenth century it becomes the main theme; and then the economic development is rather crowded out by the literary and philosophical revival. Battles, except of course in their antecedents and results, are barely mentioned; but, as a set-off to this scant allowance of fighting, we have the insertion of much that is quaint and enlivening from original sources, and notably the two vivid characterisations of James VI.

The pre-Reformation period is disposed of in 182 pages, and thenceforth full advantage is taken of the larger canvas. The compression in this part of the book is indeed rather intensified than relaxed, but it is less apparent owing to the necessity of working up into the narrative a greater wealth of detail; and the author threads his way through the mazes of political and religious dissension with an impartiality which is even more remarkable than his skill. These qualities are satisfactorily tested in the reigns of Mary, James VI. and Charles I.; but perhaps the most judicious and interesting chapters are the three which carry the narrative from 1660 to 1688. As the biographer of Claverhouse, Professor Terry must have been already familiar with the central part of this period; but he achieves his greatest success towards its close.

The chapter on the Union comprises a graphic and very accurate sketch of the Darien scheme; and it is safe to say that there is not one of the many influences promoting or obstructing the Union which does not receive adequate recognition in this masterly and vivacious survey. Here and elsewhere the narrative is happily embroidered from the contemporary records—for example, in regard to the Marquess of Athol, 'whom caution had removed to Bath, ostensibly to 'pump his head.' The style of the book accords admirably with its rugged strength. It is terse, if not brusque, epigrammatic and frequently picturesque. These qualities are conspicuous in the brief opening chapter, 'The Roman Episode'; but the flavour which provokes an appetite for so much solid fare is, as it should be, too pervasive to be tasted in quotation.

There is reason to believe that Scottish history as taught to junior students is by no means a virile diet; and it is much to be desired that Professor Terry should prepare a school edition of his book.

W. L. MATHIESON.

GEORGE, THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND (1558-1605): HIS LIFE AND HIS VOYAGES. A Study from Original Documents. By Dr. G. C. Williamson. Pp. xix, 336. 8vo. Cambridge: at The University Press. 1920. 25s. net.

THE first Lord de Clifford was killed at Bannockburn. The eleventh was made Earl of Cumberland by Henry VIII. and became grandfather of the hero of this work. The author has discovered, and has been permitted to

use, documents hitherto unpublished, including original letters and 'the three stately manuscript volumes of the Clifford papers.' He tells us that Earl George, an orphan at eleven, was sent when thirteen years of age to Cambridge, the first Earl of Cumberland to have a university education. He remained at college over three years, and his expenses of residence amounted to nearly £200, which the author thinks 'in those days was a very considerable sum.' It covered his buttery charges, tutors' fees, breakfasts, candles, wood, coal at 15s. (£2 of our money) a load, fees for two doctors and cost of medicines to the 'Apotigary,' dancing lessons, a 'gittern lute,' a bowe and arrows, his clothes (some of silk and taffeta), his laundry bill, his pocket money and the cost of keeping two horses and a groom . . . We almost wonder how he did it, and read without surprise that he had his breeches mended for 1s. 6d., his hose footed for 4d., and that he paid 1d. for a comb.

At nineteen he was married to Lord Bedford's youngest daughter, who was not yet seventeen. He does not seem to have spent much of his life in her companionship. She lived at his castle of Skipton in Yorkshire. He became a diligent attendant at Court, and was one of those famous adventurers who, after Drake, carried on the process of 'singeing the King of Spain's beard,' to their country's profit, not forgetting their own.

The chief part of the book is given to his twelve expeditions to this end. The last, in which Puerto Rico was taken and held till fever made it untenable, was the most important. Lord Cumberland did not accompany them all, though he equipped or helped to equip them. The fifth has an interest of its own. Detained for three months in Plymouth by contrary winds, it sailed in 1592 and he remained on shore. It consisted of five ships. They joined forces off the Azores with part of another English expedition and together captured the *Madre de Dios*, probably the richest prize ever up to that time brought to England.

They took 800 negroes out of her, a rich booty that seems hardly to have been missed. For she was laden with spices, pepper, drugs, ambergris, carpets, calicoes, ivory, porcelain, hides, carved ebony furniture, jewels of great value, including diamonds and pearls, besides other wealth. Much was transferred to the Earl of Cumberland's ships and not accounted for at the final settlement. Much of the cargo and most of the jewels indeed never came to light. Sir John Burrows with a prize crew took the ship home in the Queen's name. But the crew put into various ports in the Azores, and at each sold for their own benefit part of the treasure. The huge vessel, after enduring terrible storms, was brought into Dartmouth late at night. Then began a scene described as like Bartholomew Fair. The sailors carried ashore and sold what they liked. The rabble plundered at their will, and there was no one with authority or power to stop them.

News came to the Privy Council, and a Commission, Robert Cecil at its head, was sent down post haste to take possession. But private enterprise was quicker. Every jeweller in London had agents to meet the carrack. There were two thousand buyers. The Queen had few troops and no ready way of transporting them. When the Commission arrived much of the most precious booty had disappeared. But there was still a vast

treasure to examine. Things of great value were found hidden in the private chest of the commander, Sir John Burroughs, who, however, does not seem to have suffered any penalty even in public estimation.

The various adventurers were awarded their shares. The Queen got a tenth, and in addition, '*ex gratia*,' the pepper. The pepper filled the holds of six ships and was brought to London, where she sold it for £80,000 to a syndicate, whom she protected by prohibiting all importation of pepper till they, in turn, should have sold it. Lord Cumberland was awarded £36,000, with the view of encouraging him to further adventures. But no Commissioner ventured to search his returning ships, though, as Raleigh bitterly says, they overhauled his to the keelson.

Lord Cumberland was always a courtier and lived in the favour of his virgin mistress, who endured no rivals and exacted unstinted devotion of life, property, deeds and even thoughts to her service. It is recognised that this was, though enforced in Tudor fashion, the service of England. Her task was almost overwhelming, her resources in men and money what we should call miserably inadequate. Yet she made them serve. The author harps too much on her rapacity.

Dr. Williamson is a practised biographer. He has all the needful zeal, industry and conscientious devotion. Yet he lacks the incommunicable art of the story-teller. He heaps up information, and we gather with interest even the scraps—the sort of food supplied to the navy, the mention of fraudulent contractors and victuallers, of allies supplying the enemy with food and munitions, of the maimed in war losing their home jobs and coming on the parish, of plans known as promptly to the enemy as if Spain had been the Sinn Fainn. We are grateful for the light thrown on the hero of the book, his associates and the times in which they lived.

The book has a good index and is adorned with many fine illustrations, including seven portraits of Lord Cumberland. One of these might have been spared in return for a good map of his voyages. ANDREW MARSHALL.

OLD ENGLISH BALLADS, 1553-1625. Chiefly from Manuscripts. Edited by Hyder E. Rollins. Pp. xxxii, 423. Cambridge : at the University Press. 1920. 18s. 6d. net.

INSCRIBED to Professor Firth this capital addition to the ballad treasury of Great Britain is the editorial spoil of Dr. Rollins, Assistant Professor of English in New York University. It presents in handsome guise no fewer than seventy-six poems reproduced either from manuscript or from broad-sides which are often as rare as manuscript. Great care has been taken to search out the contemporary side-lights of ballad history coming from calendars of state papers and the like as well as from the numberless publications which form '*fasciculi*' of ballad texts. The introduction neatly and competently classifies the pieces, differentiates their motives and places them in their general relationship in the whole series. The seventy-six items consist of ballads on Queen Mary and on Queen Elizabeth, Catholic ballads, protestant ballads, miscellaneous ballads, appropriately ending with (odd juxtaposition) '*The Parliament of Devils*,' followed by '*A singular salve for a sick soul*.' The categories are thus comprehensive enough.

The selection largely reflects the controversies of the Reformation, and therefore the introductory discussion deals with the persecution of protestants under Mary and the protestant reprisals under Elizabeth and James. These burning questions indeed considerably 'fill the bill' of the book and dominate the study prefixed. Both sides are represented, and the editor has some justification for his opinion that the balance of merit and spirit inclines to the Catholic production. Direct use of historical incidents and allusions to the religious movement and changes of the time occur throughout. Cases of individual martyrdoms and persecutions are the subjects of specially doleful yet earnest ditties, notable among them those on Robert Glover, protestant, burnt 1555, and John Careless, also protestant, who died in prison 1564. Later pieces include a denunciation of the 'hereticke' John Lewes, burnt 1583, the outburst of metrical indignation against Edmund Campion, Jesuit, executed for the faith 1582, and the laments over the four priests who suffered for the like cause 1601, as did John Thewlis, 1616, on whom two remarkable ballads appear, the one theological in purport, but the other a crude but graphic narrative of a pitiful doom. What a percentage of doctrine can be dissolved into a ballad, how even the crucifixion can serve for a theme not to mention the cross itself, is shown by this noteworthy collection. The pessimist flourished too: one may not be surprised to find him a Catholic, fallen on evil days, denouncing the reformed tenets:

They deem them selves predestinantes,
yet reprobates indeede
Free-will they will not have; good workes
with them are voyde of neede;—
Which poyntes of doctrine doe destroy
eich commonwealth and land:
Religion ould in order due
makes Kingdoms longe to stand.

More curious are thirteen stanzas soon after 1603 'by a lover of music and a hater of the Puritans,' whose iniquities included hostility to song and harmony:

They doe abhorre as devilles doe all
the pleasant noyse of musiques sounde
Although Kinge David and st. Paule
did much commend that art profound:
Of sence thereof they have noe smell
Noe more than hath the devilles in hell.

The miscellaneous pieces are chiefly religious in cast, but among them is a capital 'Song of the Duke of Buckingham,' being an earlier and better version than that in the Percy Folio of a political tragedy in 1483. It is a surprise to find so little trace of Scotland and the Scots in this considerable bagful of storied song, but one satire *circa* 1620 follows a familiar strain of jibe at the unpopular immigrant. It tells how formerly the old English beggars swarmed at fair and market, feast and farm:

But nowe in these dayes from Scotland we see
for one *English* begger, of Scottes there come three:

In fayers and markets they scorne to abide
the courte is theire Coverte to mainteine theire pride
by begging, by begging.

This incomplete summary will show what a mass of excellent song-stuff—some of it for literature, all of it for history—is still coming and to come from the commonplace books, the private copy-books, and even the household account books of unknown people who loved and preserved these pious, controversial, mournful, joyous and satirical ditties and rimes on current things which were indeed the ballad singer's joy.

It is not easy to divine the motive of the selection. Evidently the editor found an attraction in his reiterated conclusion that the Protestant barbarities against Catholics outdid those of Mary against the reformers, and form a very dark blot on 'the spacious times of great Elizabeth' and on the reign of her successor. A critic is not called on to settle the comparison, but he welcomes the opportunity of saying that Dr. Rollins approves himself at all points a skilful and sympathetic editor, that he enriches his text by his commentary, and that his substantial and deeply interesting book does honour even to its distinguished dedication.

GEO. NEILSON.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN SCOTLAND, 1488-1688 : A Sketch of the Development of Furniture and Household usage. (Rhind Lectures in Archaeology, 1919-20.) By John Warrack. Pp. xvi, 213. With Sixteen Illustrations. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1920. 7s. 6d. net.

THOSE who attended Mr. Warrack's lectures in the spring of 1920, and a large public besides who are interested in the romance of the past, will welcome the appearance of this volume.

Mr. Warrack has delved deep in musty records and literary works, and has produced from his finds a series of pictures of Scottish interiors characteristic of the various political periods to which he refers them. He commences with the feudal castle with its great hall sparsely furnished, and while he details its picturesque appointments he corrects any tendency to undue admiration by adverting to some of the inelegant social usages of the time. Let it suffice to mention one. It was bad manners to blow the nose at meals without turning aside the head!

His picture of the pre-reformation parson of Stobo in his manse at the head of the Drygate of Glasgow, shows a condition of luxurious living among the clergy which, if general, explains much of the spoliation of church property which followed a few years subsequent to this worthy cleric's death. From his income of 2000 merks a year from the benefice of Stobo one would like to know how much he allowed the rural vicar who had the cure of souls in Stobo. His bed is carved and gilded, and hung with damask curtains; his watering pot is of silver, he has chains and ornaments of silver and gold, and such a wardrobe as would enable him to cut a fine figure indeed as he walked the streets of the Glasgow of his day.

To those of us who accept the terms of objects of daily use without troubling as to their true intent Mr. Warrack has much information to give.

He tells of the evolution of the cupboard from a table to display cups on, to a press in which to conceal them; and of many other developments and changes which have brought about the fashion of our homes as we know them, and of our manners with which, perchance, we grace them.

Mr. Warrack has used his evidence with restraint, and not generalised too freely when facts did not warrant it, as is too frequently done in treating of times bygone. If occasionally he seems a little discursive it must be remembered that these sketches were written to be delivered in the form of lectures which of necessity must be less condensed in their matter. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Warrack will carry his enquiries farther and give us a picture of life in Scotland in the eighteenth century with an account of the development of the household furnishings, a period for which he would find ample material to work on.

ALEX. O. CURLE.

THE CHARTULARY OR REGISTER OF THE ABBEY OF ST. WERBURGH, CHESTER. Edited with Introduction and Notes by James Tait, M.A., President of the Society. Part I. Pp. 1, 256. Small 4to. Manchester: Printed for the Chetham Society. 1920.

THE Chetham Society has conferred another great boon on northern antiquaries by the publication of the first part of the chartulary or register of the famous abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, under the immediate supervision of Professor Tait, president of the Society. It is not easy to write with reserve of the importance of some of the deeds comprised in this collection. Not only has the abbey of Chester its roots firmly fixed in the pre-Conquest period, but its refoundation on a Benedictine basis by the Norman earls of Chester invests the charters, given to the community in the early twelfth century, with an interest and importance not altogether confined to the locality. Though most of these early deeds were known through the reports of Dugdale, Ormerod and others, we have at last been supplied with the best available texts and a critical discussion of their integrity. It is fitting that such a work, in view of the position that the abbey held among northern ecclesiastical institutions, should have been entrusted to Professor Tait.

It is satisfactory that the charter of King Edgar to the religious community of St. Werburgh in 958, so long regarded as a forgery or at least treated with suspicion, should now be vindicated as authentic, 'though absolute proof is not within our reach.' This conclusion has been formed after consultation with Mr. W. H. Stevenson and Dr. Henry Bradley, and from such a court of experts it will be hazardous to appeal. The document supplies the earliest trustworthy evidence of the existence of a collegiate church in Chester, entitled in the name of St. Werburgh, and thus goes a long way to settle the claims of rival founders.

The *testimonium* of Archbishop Anselm, said to be 'the earliest extant document of its kind issued by an English archbishop,' by which he confirms the refoundation of the old college of canons into a Benedictine institution by the first Norman earl of Chester at the close of the eleventh century, throws a welcome light on the procedure of the period. It

reflects, we believe, the general mode of reconstruction in Scotland, as well as in England, when native institutions were superseded by those of the continental type of ecclesiastical organization. That which happened to the old canons of St. Werburgh at the time of the reconstitution of the abbey was the same as the treatment that King David I. at a later period meted out to the Culdees of St. Andrews. As the Culdees were permitted to retain possession of their old status for life or to embrace the Augustinian Rule and become canons of the newly-founded priory, in like fashion the prebends of the old community of St. Werburgh could only revert to the new monks after the decease of the prebendaries, not as Dugdale inferred, that the old canons were obliged to become monks of the new foundation. The document, here printed at large, is worth the close attention of students of ecclesiastical origins in Scotland.

The deeds in this portion of the collection, 408 in number, though relating largely to Cheshire, have an external interest by reason of the feudal status of the early benefactors of the Norman institution, not only of the famous family of the founder, Hugh of Avranches, and his successors in the earldom, the family of Meschin in the twelfth century, but of the *principal potentates* on the Welsh Border. The contents of the volume touch general history in various particulars, not the least of which is the extraordinarily interesting *carta communis Cestrisirie*, which Professor Tait denominates 'the Magna Carta of Cheshire,' whereby Earl Ranulf III. conceded certain remarkable liberties to his Cheshire barons on their petition about the date of Runnymede. The immunity from service beyond the eastern boundary of Cheshire without their consent or at the earl's expense reminds us of the claims of the Cumberland tenants on the Scottish Border in the old fief of Ranulf I. when lord of that district. One would like to know more of the incidence of foreign service and its relation to castleguard at home both for the tenants within the county and outside it. There is a curious similarity in the military features of Border fiefs, whether with regard to Wales, Scotland or Normandy, which have been, so far as we know, never fully worked out.

There is a slip on p. 71 where the late Sir Archibald Lawrie is misnamed, and it is doubtful whether the editor is justified in describing any member of the earl's family as *le* Meschin. It may be allowable in the case of other families, like those of Brus and Percy, to distinguish the younger from the elder of the same name, but in the usage of the earls of Chester and collateral branches, Meschin was the family name without reference to age or status. In one of the deeds of this register Ranulf, son of William, the founder of Calder Abbey in Cumberland, describes himself as Ranulf de Ruelent (Rhuddlan), son of William Meschin, which is curious. He was probably born at Rhuddlan. But the volume is so full of historical materials, bristling with points of interest on almost every page, that we need only refer the reader to a diligent perusal of it.

JAMES WILSON.

THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1558-1580. A STUDY OF THEIR POLITICS, CIVIL LIFE, AND GOVERNMENT. By John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. With 8 Illustrations. 8vo. Pp. viii, 387. Longmans, Green & Co. 1920. 21s. net.

FATHER POLLEN has now published in consecutive form some results of the long studies which have already borne fruit in various articles in *The Month*, and in the introductions to volumes xxxvii and xliii of the Scottish History Society. His work is based upon original authorities, and besides the sources commonly used he has been at pains to consult the manuscripts preserved in the archives of Paris, Simancas, the Vatican, the English College at Rome, Westminster, and Stonyhurst. The book, therefore, is well 'documented,' and—to quote his own eulogy on Nicholas Sander (p. 306)—we shall always find him a witness on the Catholic side who is worthy of attention. An impartial historian, however, he is not, although he makes a genuine effort to be fair. To Queen Elizabeth, luckless victim—as he supposes—of hard times and evil counsellors, he is surprisingly lenient, and to Burleigh, though he exaggerates that statesman's antipathy to Spain, he shows himself not ungenerous (p. 14); but from a historical standpoint the book is vitiated by the unfortunate consequences of the writer's firm conviction that the Church of Rome is eternally in the right. Such a conviction, indeed, is not necessarily incompatible with the writing of sound history, but in this case it has prevented the author from fully understanding the dilemma which confronted both the English government and its Catholic subjects, and it has also caused him to judge somewhat partially the deeds and motives of the great protagonists.

The reason for Father Pollen's failure to grasp the real point at issue is obvious. Confident in his faith he sees, in the universal spiritual dominion of the Popes, nothing incompatible with the temporal dominion of princes. Nowhere does he lay stress upon what was the great drawback of the Roman religion in the eyes of a race which gloried in the new-found 'nationality,' the fact that the rule of the Pope was a 'foreign' domination. For our author, Burleigh is not an English statesman, but a 'Protestant courtier' (p. 329), and by constantly underrating the strength of the appeal of nationality, he fails to make clear the main difficulty of the English Catholics. With the Elizabethan government he is no more successful. Constantly distinguishing between the 'spiritual' and the 'temporal' ambitions of Catholicism, he is unable to see why the English ministers pursued a policy of persecution. A passage on page 303 reveals very clearly his attitude of mind.

'It was not the conquest, humiliation, or the dismembering of his country of which he [Sander] was thinking, but of the re-establishment of religion, law and order in place of regal tyranny and heretical licence with revealed doctrines.'

This may be true. But the English government could not direct its policy by what Dr. Sander was thinking, what concerned it was the 'conquest and humiliation' which would inevitably ensue if once his thoughts were clothed with action.

More serious than Father Pollen's failure to appraise the questions at issue between the Tudor government and its Catholic subject, is the partial way in which he distributes his censure and his praise. Firm in his belief that Rome was always right, he (unconsciously perhaps) applies one standard to the defenders of the Faith and another to her opponents.

The government's use of spies is everywhere condemned, but it is quite innocuous (or even meritorious) for Catholics to 'elude' tests by taking oaths against their convictions (p. 253), to bribe governmental officials (p. 342), and to engage in conspiracies (p. 183). That Queen Elizabeth's ministers persecuted can be denied by no sane historian, but our author makes no mention of a fact which his book abundantly proves, namely, that—except in great emergency—the officials preferred to wink at a great deal, nor does he ever think of comparing the lot of an English recusant with the fate of a heretic in Spain. To Bonner and his burning confrères is applied a standard of *real politik* (p. 7). 'They had not the instinct to see where to stop'; but there is no justification for the proceedings of the English government, even though (p. 250), if judged by the same standard, those proceedings were most successful. Drake was a pirate who in 1581 came home 'laden with the spoils of a country with which England was at peace' (p. 15), but if the Spanish Council (though it may not have planned Elizabeth's assassination) prepared in 1571 to utilise the *coup* if it were made, its action is 'not edifying,' but not 'very astonishing' (p. 180). 'The theory that paternal tyranny is the ideal form of government' is dismissed as 'radically unsound' on p. 188, but when (p. 66) the Catholics took the view that the object of a council was not to judge the Pope, but to hear his judgments, their attitude is considered perfectly orthodox. The original intention of Ridolfi may have been not to assassinate Elizabeth, but to convert her (by a *coup d'état*, of course); but though Father Pollen undoubtedly proves that the account of Pius V.'s share in the transaction, as given in the *Acta Sanctorum*, rests on a mistranslation, he will hardly convince most readers that, in the eyes of the compilers of the *Acta*, Elizabeth's taking-off was not an enterprise which might well engage the consideration of the Saint (p. 125, note 2). *Pius cogitabat illam malorum omnium sentinam, seu (ut appellabat ipse) flagitiorum servam, de medio tollere* can hardly bear any other meaning. After all, Pius had certainly excommunicated the Queen, he did encourage Ridolfi, and Ridolfi's schemes, however they began, certainly ended in an 'enterprise of the person' of a most suspicious kind (p. 176). It would be easy to add further instances of the writer's partial judgment, but one more must suffice. We read (p. 183) that in August, 1572, the Earl of Northumberland was executed. 'On the same day the French King and his mother Catherine de Medici perpetrated a *still graver* crime in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.' Incidentally, were not the Guises involved?

Having considered the light in which Father Pollen views the problem, and the standards by which he judges action, we can now approach his main thesis. Beginning with a description of the complete collapse of Catholicism in 1559, he goes on to show that the 'political' attempts of the Catholic princes were unreal, ill-coordinated, and ill-timed, and that their

effect was not to improve, but to damage, the position of the English Catholics, which reached its nadir in 1568 (p. 111) or in 1573 (p. 250). But all the while there was springing up, unseen, a fresh spiritual impulse which expressed itself (pp. 106-11) in a new controversial literature, 1564-1567, and in the founding of the Seminaries (chap. vii.), and which worked up triumphantly to the great mission of 1580 (chap ix.).

The first chapter, though written from a Catholic point of view, is clear, sound and full of information; the account of the Catholic reaction and the counter-Reformation abounds in interest, and will be, for the average English reader, the most valuable portion of the book. It is to be regretted that Father Pollen (than whom none could do it better) has not told us more of the home life of the honest, valiant 'recusants' who would remain English, but could not find it in their hearts to conform. Unfortunately, however, captivated by his interest in the 'political' side of the counter-Reformation, he devotes much space to questions which have already been fully discussed by Knox in his *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, and by Kretzschmar in *Die Invasionsprojekte*. Much of the book, indeed, is devoted to the doings of the Catholic fugitives and their schemes for a reconquest of England.

Father Pollen, it is true, sets the matter in a somewhat new light. He gives evidence to prove that the Catholic League, so dreaded by Elizabeth's ministers, was a myth, and that the excommunication—a purely legal measure resting on no religious dogma—would not necessarily involve the destruction of Elizabeth. He goes on to prove that the English government, which he represents as an influential minority (a kind of 'Soviet,' perhaps) deliberately made capital by exaggerating the dangers of Catholic invasion, and (p. 241) was 'mean enough' to employ the alleged danger 'as an incentive to further persecution.'

This is hardly fair to the Elizabethan government. The Bull had certainly been issued to support a rebellion (p. 294), and, even after it received the mild interpretation of 1580 it still laid upon Elizabeth the 'unchanging anathema.' Neither the Pope nor any other Catholic doubted the Papal power to depose monarchs, and if Father Pollen condemns the Bull at all it is only because it was not too well timed (p. 158).

However one might explain the Bull away, it was a reality. The course of history and the evidence of the archives prove that the Catholic League was not. But the Age, still tinged with the 'Universalism' of the Middle Ages, was prone to believe in Leagues, and the Elizabethan government (which lacked both our experience and our information) may be pardoned for its mistake—a mistake based not only upon the reports of untrustworthy spies, but on the evidence of the Bishop of Ross himself (p. 339). After all, one Pope (p. 164) had certainly encouraged the Ridolfi plot; another had sent to Don John not only 50,000 crowns to aid his enterprise, but also (possibly) the investiture of England or Ireland (p. 216), had encouraged Stukely and had equipped Fitzgerald. Father Pollen, who thinks that the Pope's conduct in these affairs was marked by 'very great imprudence' certainly succeeds in proving that the connection between such political adventures and the despatch of the Catholic mission is more

slender than has been imagined (p. 232 and p. 332). But as the life of Persons shows, it was impossible to draw a rigid line between spiritual and political aggression.

If, then, the Elizabethan government showed its fear of a great Papal League, such fear was not unnatural; but Father Pollen is right in his contention that the main strength of the Papacy was not the calculating support of the Princes, but the courage and devotion of the missionaries. With the story of Edmund Campion the work closes on a high note of courage and optimism.

If Father Pollen, as he seems to imply, will tell in another volume of the success which these missionaries enjoyed, his book will be heartily welcomed.

J. DUNCAN MACKIE.

DIPLOMACY AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By D. P. Heatley, Lecturer in History, University of Edinburgh. Pp. xvi, 292. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

By an oversight attributable to the reviewer and not to the editor (for which the former tenders his apologies to the author), notice of this book has been too long delayed, for it is a work of varied interest and erudition, deserving a cordial welcome from the intelligent general reader and the student of modern history. Although it is neither a collection of essays nor a text book in the technical sense, its remarkable apparatus of citation and references make it approximate to a book of the latter kind. If the first paper, from which its title is derived, is on the whole disappointing, the balance is redressed by three others of outstanding merit, (a) on the juristic literature of the development of international understandings as law, which fills a gap too often noticeable in modern English text books on International Law. In these one looks in vain for a critical appreciation of the classical writers, Vattel, Wheaton, Martens, Phillimore and others, who are constantly referred to as if they were of equal value. The present author's contribution towards filling this gap deserves nothing but praise; (b) a well informed and well written account of the seventeenth century controversy on the sovereignty of the seas, which is given as an illustration of controversial literature for the benefit of historical students. Here again the author's wide reading and scholarly understanding command respect; and (c) an excellent account of the earlier projects for perpetual peace which have not been without their effect in establishing the League of Nations on a foundation of governmental support which none of its predecessors had the good fortune to enjoy. Historical student, as he is, the author is not inclined to be sanguine of the success of the present scheme even with its advantage above referred to.

Attention should be drawn to two important appendices, the first containing a rich and varied selection of extracts illustrative of the function of the ambassador, the qualities of the diplomatist, and the conduct of negotiations. And the second, taken from more or less contemporary sources, on more modern aspects of the same subject. Of especial value in view of the popular demand for open diplomacy are the extracts from the

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Report of the Select Committee on the Diplomatic Service of 1861 which the author gives at pp. 250-259. His own conclusions, as contained in his first paper, are substantially based on this report. He has some good remarks on the true nature of control over the determination of foreign policy in a country such as ours, viz :—in Parliament's command of the purse and the responsibility of ministers to the House, and he recognises, as did the resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 16th April 1917, the right of self-governing Dominions and India to an adequate voice in the conduct of foreign policy and full information on foreign relations. The conclusion of peace has not deprived this question of its topical importance which dominate all others in the internal relations of the Empire.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

HISTORY OF THE BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB. Vol. XXIV. Part I. 1919.

HAVING as its frontispiece a portrait of the late Commander F. M. Norman, R.N. (preceded by a *Roll of Honour*, 1914-18), this issue opens with the anniversary address of the president, Professor R. C. Bosanquet, on 'The Beginnings of Botany—some Notes on the Greek and Roman Herbalists.' The early botanists of Greece and Rome are discussed with wealth of reference and illustration, and the mixing of magic with medicine down the ages is emphasised. The coming of Christianity did little or nothing to shake the belief in exorcisms, prayers and set formulae carefully observed.

Reports of meetings and excursions follow, including one to Traprain Law, where Mr. A. O. Curle gave an instructive address. The next paper is on 'Border Bookplates' with illustrations, by Mr. T. G. Leadbetter, and there are several shorter articles and interesting notes.

In the last paper Dr. George Neilson writes on 'Birkenside and the Stewardship of Scotland,' giving text and translation with notes of Charter by Malcolm IV. in favour of the Steward of the lands of Birkenside and Legerwood. The article is furnished with six pages of excellent facsimiles and a sketch map. New light is thrown upon the relations of the Skene and Balfour copies of the Stewardship Charter, placing the Skene copy in its rightful place of accuracy, and showing up Sir James Balfour's unwarrantable tampering with his original. Having misread in Sir John Skene's copy of the lost Charter the contracted word *postquam*, rendering it *priusquam*, Balfour did not hesitate to add a non-existent date, and to make other clumsy and misleading attempts to render his copy consistent with itself. Hence have naturally followed confusion and doubt as to the authenticity of the Charter preserved by Skene. Balfour's garbled copy has, as is well known, been printed in sundry important historical volumes, e.g. the *Register of Paisley*. Aided by Dr. Maitland Thomson, Dr. Neilson has now cleared up what was dark, and by putting before the reader the text in facsimile of Skene's transcript and Balfour's 'doctored' copy thereof, he has placed the authenticity of the Stewardship Foundation Charter on firmer footing than ever before.

JOHN EDWARDS.

CARMINA LEGIS OR VERSES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LAW OF SCOTLAND.

By W. M. Gloag. Pp. viii, 82. Glasgow : MacLehose, Jackson & Co. 1920. 5s. net.

AN 'attempt to illustrate the principles of the law of Scotland in metrical form' is in itself a whimsical experiment requiring a certain measure of wit to carry it off. To report a judgment and give the reasoning in rime, as for example in *Bruce v. Smith*, 1890, 17 *Rettie* 1000, calls for juridical equally with metrical precision. The Sheriff and the Court of Session alike rejected the custom claimed by an overlord in Shetland for his third, as his share of the prize when whales were driven ashore. In what degree apt and perspicuous a versified rendering may prove itself even at this incongruous task, may best be gathered from a quotation which is not without its felicities.

Judged by these rules the Shetland custom fails
To give a landlord any right in whales
In catching which he neither lent a hand
Nor gave the captors passage o'er his land.
There is no proof that udal law extends
Land rights beyond the point where dry land ends,
Nor that the law of Shetland would impeach
The right of fishermen to use the beach.
Then for the landlord no case can be made
Save that such claims have hitherto been paid,
But paid by men who had good cause to fear
Resistance to the claim would cost them dear.
A customary law no court will frame
From forced compliance with a lawless claim.

The poet as law reporter has to 'bridle in his struggling muse with pain' in order to satisfy the law; and on the other hand must have his troubles in getting the question of title to sue or *damnum fatale* or maybe the Gaming Act of eighteen ninety-two into happy combination with the stanza. A critic's formula might well be to ask whether the legal or the poetic element predominates, and to answer that Professor Gloag's legal exercises in verse invite the reader rather to share the mild diversion they afford, than to disintegrate the elements of wit and metre from their coalition with the law.

GEO. NEILSON.

MYTHICAL BARDS AND THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WALLACE. By William Henry Schofield, Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. Pp. xiv, 381. Medium 8vo. Cambridge : Harvard University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. 12s. 6d. net.

THE fifth volume of the Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature is devoted to a reconsideration of the problems connected with Blind Harry's *Wallace*. These have attracted an amount of attention which is somewhat remarkable when one reflects on the meagre quality of the *Wallace* regarded

as literature. The poem, however, did so much to express and nourish Scottish patriotism, it was for so long, in one form or another, familiar in Scotland, by being woven into the substance of widely-read histories, it became to such an extent the record of

How Wallace fought for Scotland, left the name
Of Wallace to be found, like a wild flower,
All over his dear country ; left the deeds
Of Wallace, like a family of ghosts,
To people the steep rocks and river banks,
Her natural sanctuaries, with a local soul
Of independence and stern liberty—

that historical students were compelled to examine it and to test its value. The task was undertaken at first with obvious reluctance by Blind Harry's countrymen, but as the historic sense quickened and the poet's vogue lessened, their treatment became more thorough till Dr. George Neilson is found asserting that 'as history the poem is the veriest nightmare.' Professor Schofield gives a sketch of the progress of opinion on the trustworthiness of Blind Harry as a chronicler, but it is no more than a sketch.

Once the critical instinct was roused other questions began to be asked, and current accounts of the author of the poem, what he has to say of himself and of the sources of his narrative all came under suspicion. The existence of John Blair, Wallace's chaplain, according to Blind Harry, and his Latin book was doubted, the picture of the author as a blind wandering minstrel was found less convincing, and that he was, as he himself declares, an unlearned man, seemed less certain. The arguments against his having been blind from birth and being 'a burel man,' based on such natural description and display of literary and astronomical lore as may be found in the poem are not conclusive. In a case of which probabilities and suppositions form so large a part it is well to avoid even the appearance of dogmatism, but these arguments seem to underrate the sense-experience of the blind and the amount of stock material and *clichés* used in the *Wallace*. Here is a passage full of delight in nature : 'What a joy it is to feel the soft, springy earth under my feet once more, to follow grassy roads that lead to ferny brooks where I can bathe my fingers in a cataract of rippling notes, or to clamber over a stone wall into green fields that tumble and roll and climb in riotous gladness.'

The passage is from Miss Helen Keller, who, when about eighteen months old, became deaf, dumb and blind, and the *Wallace* contains no lines with such a genuine passion for nature. Miss Keller has several passages of this quality. Here is one more : 'A child's mind is like a shallow brook which ripples and dances merrily over the stony course of its education, and reflects here a flower, there a bush, yonder a fleecy cloud.' In Blind Harry there is nothing so near in spirit to nature as to compel the assumption that he was not congenitally blind or indeed blind at any time. If it be argued, as it has been, that a blind man could not have had access to the material employed, especially if he were unlearned, very delightful play can be made, as has been done by Dr. J. T. T. Brown and others, with the author's knowledge of Chaucer and his scholarly allusiveness.

But if the author were a genuine minstrel he would have had access to the minstrel's stock in trade, and come into possession of a miscellaneous body of knowledge.

Professor Schofield has a theory of his own which renders unnecessary all such discussion about a real Blind Harry. He assumes that the author of the *Wallace* was called Blind Harry, but he was not a wandering minstrel and was never blind. Whatever his station may have been, he was in close sympathy with the nobility, was possibly a herald-messenger, certainly 'a vigorous propagandist, a ferocious *realpolitiker*, without principle when it was a question of Scotland's place in the sun, without reluctance to lie in manipulating history to his own end.' This unknown person took as his pseudonym 'Blind Harry,' since 'his prime object was to fan a pestilent quarrel, and he could have chosen no person more suitable to be the mouth-piece of his violent hate than a bard of Fenian blood, one of the race of Ossian, and akin to Billie Blin, alias Odin, calewise, caleworker, sower of enmities.' Many pages are devoted to the treatment of Blind Harry as a mythological personage, son of Gow mac Morn, and great-grandson of Finn mac Coul. The investigation penetrates into many nooks of curious lore and includes even a hint that Wandering Willie of *Redgauntlet* may be Billie Blin! Scott did not require to go to mythology for the original of a strolling blind fiddler with a rowth o' auld tales; Blin Bob was a well-known street hawker in Aberdeen, up to some thirty years ago, and was famous for his caustic speech, but no one ever 'evened' him to Billie Blin. There is no proof whatever that Professor Schofield has hit on the true solution of the authorship of the *Wallace* by postulating two characters, one mythical and the other fictitious. The book contains matter, such as the chapters on 'Blind Harry and Blind Homer' and 'Conceptions of Poesy,' which is only slightly, if at all, relevant to its leading proposition, and there are occasional lapses in expression.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CLAN LINDSAY SOCIETY. Vol. II. No. 8. Pp. xxiv., 88. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh. Edited for the Board of Management by John Lindsay, M.A., M.D. 1920.

THE last item in this, the concluding *part* of the second volume of these publications, may very properly be mentioned first:—it is a 'Roll of Honour of Clan Lindsay.' While the Roll is not held out as 'complete in extent or exact in every detail,' it is clearly the result of much research in such records as are as yet available. It contains 626 names of Lindsays or sons of Lindsay mothers, and 144 of them are recorded to have made the supreme sacrifice.

The largest contribution to the *part* consists of 44 pages, and is a historical account of the family of Lindsay of Dowhill. In its method it is a model for the treatment of such a family in such a periodical. It loses nothing by its moderation in its conclusion on the evidence that exists of the derivation of the line of Dowhill from the main line of the Lords of Crawford. The appearance of John, son and heir apparent of Adam Lindsay of Dowhill, among the heirs in the famous Lindsay entail of 16th

October 1641, by which the Earl diverted his succession from his son 'the Wicked Master,' is sufficient by itself to presume that the family of Dowhill was reckoned among the kin of the Entailer; and the non-appearance of Adam himself and his other sons only proves that 'the Wicked Master' was not the only Lindsay who was omitted from the Earl's list. It may be remarked in passing that, on pages 278-9, in the print of the Extract of the Matriculation of John Lindsay of Dowhill's Arms, given out by Lyon on 17th September 1673, the word *effects* should presumably read *effeiris*; the word *Barriemundie* should read *barrie undie*; and the word *Corse* should read *Torse*.

Some useful pages of notes of wills of 'miscellaneous Lindsays of the sixteenth century whose pedigrees are not precisely ascertained,' are contributed by Mr. W. A. Lindsay, K.C., Norroy King of Arms. In the course of some prefatory observations he says, referring presumably only to the law in the sixteenth century:—'The executor of an intestate estate is the Procurator-Fiscal, but it was the invariable practice that the Commissary appointed the wife or children—if any—as executors in place of the Procurator-Fiscal.' If the second clause of the sentence contains an accurate statement of the course of action of the court, it seems rather to shake the statement in the first clause, for there is a general admission that *cursus curiae est lex curiae*. I confess that I have not met evidence that the commissary's procurator-fiscal ever had a right to the office of executor save in the case of an individual executry to which he had been appointed and confirmed by the commissary. Still, in the annals of the consistorial courts, which earned the satire of Henryson in his *Fable of the Dog and the Sheep*, and of Sir David Lindsay's *Complaint and Testament of the Papingo*, one should be surprised at nothing.

A Scots Church statute of the thirteenth century, whether a statute for the whole of Scotland or only for some single diocese is not certain, enacts:—'As to the goods of one dying intestate, let the prelate of the Church dispose of them as in God's sight.' (Patrick's *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. 50.) That expressed the position of the medieval church regarding the matter. The ecclesiastics had successfully arrogated to themselves a most extensive jurisdiction in temporal affairs, of which the matters of both testate and intestate succession were a lucrative part. But the king's courts had opinions on some of these things too; and in the fourteenth century, if we take the *Regiam Majestatem* as a witness, they held, regarding the administration of an intestate's estate, that it belonged to his relatives (ii. 31). This principle, however, was clearly not admitted by the opposite party; and early in the fifteenth century—in 1420—the Bishops, Abbots and clergy of a Scots Provincial and General Council thought it well to re-affirm the position of the Church with unusual solemnity. They came to a unanimous declaration on oath that 'from so far back that there is no memory to the contrary, the bishops and those holding the jurisdiction of an ordinary had been wont to . . . appoint executors to those who die intestate' (Patrick, p. 81). The declaration extended to a good deal more; but it is to be noted that regarding the persons whom they appointed it said nothing.

It is unnecessary to recall that Henryson's and Lindsay's satires on the ecclesiastical courts belong respectively to the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth. In 1540 a significant Act¹ was passed by Parliament. It proceeds on a narrative that frequently in the cases of people dying at too early an age to make a will, the ordinaries (*i.e.* the bishops or those clothed with their authority) appoint stranger executors, who 'withdraw the goods from the kin and relatives who should have the same by law.' The Act ordains that in cases of such deaths the nearest of kin shall have the succession without prejudice, of course, to the quota due from the estate to the ordinary. The Act did not go beyond the provisions of the *Regiam Majestatem*, but it was ineffectual.

In 1549 the Church solemnly re-affirmed the right of the bishops and their commissaries to appoint such executors as they chose.² It was only after the lapse of ten more years—in 1559, when the whole fabric of church government was tottering to its fall—that the ecclesiastics gave way on the point and formally admitted the right of the next-of-kin.³ How far the bishops would have given effect to the statute we have no means of knowing, for next year came the crash. But that the abuses had not been removed before the Reformers came into power we know. One of the first matters to which the Assembly of 1560 attended was 'to desire the Estates of Parliament to take order with the confirmation of testaments, that pupils and orphans be not defrauded, and that laws be made thereupon in their favours.' It was probably in consequence of this request of the Assembly that the 'Instructionis gevin to the Commissaries of Edinburgh, Anno Domini [12 March] 1563' were issued,⁴ and the right of the next-of-kin established firmly and—if I am right—finally. It is in the 'Further Instructions' of 26th March 1567 that, so far as I am aware, the Procurator-Fiscal appears for the first time as a possible executor, dative:—'vi. Item, that everie inferior Commissar have ane Procurator-fiscal, quha sall be ane honest discreit man, and persew all common actiounis, and sall be decernit executour dative to all testamentis within the jurisdictionis quhair he servis, in cais the narrest of kin to the deid confirmis not the testament in dew time, and ilk Procuratour-Fiscal sal find caution that the gudes he sall happen to intromit with sall be furth cumand as effeiris . . .' The next and more detailed instructions belong to the next century—1610 and 1666.

A short note by Mr. W. A. Lindsay on another subject is given the place of honour. It records the recent discovery of a copy of a charter, dated about 1147-50, by William de Lindsay of a parcel of his demesne land in Molesworth, which was in the Earldom of Huntingdon. The charter appears to be applicable to the settlement of a question which Mr. Lindsay was obliged to leave open in his article on the Earls of Crawford in the *Scots Peerage*; and to show that William, the second named in the succession of the Scottish house of Lindsay, was the son and not the brother of Walter, who ranks as the first.

J. H. STEVENSON.

¹ 1540, Cap. 40.

² *Gen. Statutes*, 1549, Patrick, p. 116.

³ *Gen. Statutes*, 1559, Patrick, p. 178. ⁴ Balfour's *Practicks*, 654.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND : THE TUDORS AND THE STUARTS, 1485-1688.
By Cyril E. Robinson. Pp. xii, 260. With 8 Maps. Crown 8vo.
London : Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1920.

THIS book carries out its aims of stirring interest, giving information and imprinting facts upon the reader's memory. It is a fair account of a difficult period. The writer gives every necessary fact, and sometimes, as in his account of Elizabethan literature, really awakes his reader's mind by hinting at unfolded treasures. He is especially good on the Armada and Charles II. The only thing we may point out is that sometimes he is so anxious to be fair to the Reformers that he is hardly fair to their opponents. We think, however, he sees Cromwell's Irish policy in its true light when he writes : ' Ireland was all to pieces, and stern treatment seemed the only possible course ; but Cromwell was more than stern. For once in his life he was abominably cruel.'

BELGIUM : THE MAKING OF A NATION. By H. Van der Linden, translated by Sibil Jane. Pp. 358. With 5 Maps. Post 8vo. Oxford : The Clarendon Press. 1920. 7s. 6d.

IN this work we have an excellent account of the inhabitants and different governments of the country which has now become the habitat of the Belgian nation. The first part—the Roman Conquest, the Franks and the invasion of the Germans—is easy enough to follow ; but the second portion—when the growth of the Flemish cities, gaining riches through wool and other wealth, vied with the power of the feudal lords—is a trifle confused. Again, the rise of the House of Burgundy would have been more easily elucidated had there been a tabular pedigree of the Dukes, showing their descents and how it led to the imperial, Spanish, and Austrian rulers. We learn, however, with interest that Belgium during the Spanish and Austrian rule retained more self-government and a more national spirit than is generally suspected, and this, after the Secession of 1598, was aided by the Catholic renaissance. The various deviations between autocracy and revolution until 1789 are well described, and also the various successes and failures of the French from 1792-1814. Then came the strange forced marriage between Belgium and Holland—an unnatural union—which ended in 1830 by the foundation of the kingdom of Belgium. This, though seemingly peaceful and not too glorious in its colonial rule, suddenly showed that it could become glorious as a European State when it defied Germany. Germany breaking a solemn treaty invaded Belgian territory—in the great world war ; and Belgium then manifested that it was indeed a true nation willing to defend its own boundaries. A. F. S.

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND, ITS INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER. The Chalmers Lecture, 1916-1920. By Henry F. Henderson, M.A., D.D. Pp. ii, 236. Demy 8vo. Paisley : Alex. Gardner. 1920. 7s. 6d.

THIS book arose from a Chalmers lecture, and is worth reading as an account of the writer's view of the welding of national character and religion

in Scotland. Naturally perhaps he unites the two wherever he can, attributing to religion the success of the Scot abroad and his excellent education at home. He has to fall back upon various sources—Sir David Lindsay, John Knox, Patrick Walker, Sir Walter Scott on the one hand and Dr. M'Crie on the other, that difficult source Robert Burns, and Robert Louis Stevenson, who in his wildest moments retained 'something of the Shorter Catechist.' He has done it well, for though he puts forward the foundation of Savings Banks and other philanthropic works as works of religion, and the excellent wide spirit of Carlyle of Inveresk, he does not forget the awfulness of the witch burnings. Perhaps, too, he might have said more of the tyranny of the Kirk Session, but, as the people acquiesced in it, it was probably part of the natural spirit of the time.

THE EARLY ENGLISH COTTON INDUSTRY, with some Unpublished Letters of Samuel Crompton. By George W. Daniels, with an Introductory Chapter by George Unwin. Pp. xxvii, 316. With 5 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Manchester: University Press and Longmans, Green & Co. 1920.

THE introduction traces the cotton industry in Italy and the Low Countries, and prepares us for the trade which sprang up with the merchant adventurers in London, which after many vicissitudes centralised in the Lancashire cotton industry as far back as 1551. Mr. Daniels carries on the history of cotton manufacture in that country from the early times to that strange period 'the coming of machinery.' Then came the opposition to the latter, and later, the invention by Samuel Crompton (born in 1753) of the 'Mule,' which in 1779 revolutionised the industry. Letters of the inventor and accounts of his invention enrich this study.

THE EMPIRE'S WAR MEMORIAL AND A PROSPECT FOR A BRITISH IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF COMMERCE. By Ernest H. Taylor and I. B. Black, M.A., B.A. Large 8vo. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace. 1920.

THIS is an idea 'Made in Germany' while the joint authors were prisoners together at Rastatt in Baden. It began modestly as a 'Future Career Society,' and the authors have now put forth their enlarged scheme as a projected War Memorial for the Empire by the foundation of a Business University. Their aim is as follows: To intellectualise our great business communities and to produce a new business man and ambassador who will enter the competitive markets of the world fortified with the most up-to-date science of business and a new imperial and social point of view. To provide the youth of the Empire with a new idealism based on correct ideas of social and political responsibility. To create within our various business committees a more enlightened public opinion that will act and react on our politics, providing both a healthy criticism of policy and a stimulus to fresh progress. In this brochure they carry out the development of their idea in a very suggestive way.

BRITISH HISTORY CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, 55 B.C.-1919 A.D. By Arthur Hassall, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford. Pp. viii, 581. Post 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co. 1920. 20s. net.

EUROPEAN HISTORY CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, 476-1920 A.D. New Edition with additions. By Arthur Hassall, M.A. Pp. x, 439. Post 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co. 1920. 12s. net.

MR. HASSALL's new volume on British History follows in method of arrangement the plan adopted in his well-known *Tables of European History*, of which a new edition has just been issued. The volumes are brought down to 1919.

Both books are invaluable to teachers and students. Not only do they bring together clearly an immense number of facts relating to historical events and personages in their chronological order, but they show what happened in other countries each year. Events which seem of great importance to one State often acquire a different value when contemporary events elsewhere can be compared with them ; and Mr. Hassall's volumes make easy the study of these comparative values and relations. In both books there are not only numerous genealogies and lists of sovereigns and of ministries, but also appendices and notes giving the dates of wars and invasions, and lists of great constitutional events.

We welcome these volumes very cordially.

EARLY RECORDS OF GILPIN COUNTY, COLORADO, 1859-1861. Edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, University of Colorado (being Vol. II. of the University of Colorado Historical Collections, Mining Series, Vol. I.). Pp. xvi, 313. Demy 8vo. Boulder. 1920.

THERE is much of interest in this volume. It shows that when miners in great numbers began to penetrate the mountains they found it necessary to establish local government. What their conditions were, in the way of fighting a wintry climate with scanty supplies of food and of what are called the necessities of life, may be gathered from the very interesting records which were found in the vaults of the county clerks of Gilpin, Clear Creek and Boulder counties. But these difficulties were but incidents in the search for gold, which brought many thousand men to a country where a few weeks before 'the grizzly bear had held undisputed sway.'

It is curious to find how soon these pioneers recognised that they must organise a government and make laws. They did not wait for a constitution, but took matters into their own hands.

The volume now issued contains enactments made in Gilpin County relating, among other subjects, to mining claims, working, local officials and their duties and emoluments, trials, crimes and punishments. The variety of subject is endless, but naturally the larger portion deals with the definition, recording and working of claims. The book throws a curious and interesting light on a bypath of history.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FRANCO-SCOTTISH SOCIETY (Scottish Branch), 1914-18. Pp. iv, 148. 8vo. Office of the Society, 19 York Place, Edinburgh, 1920.

No sterilisation of the historical mind resulted from the War, which in matters Franco-Scottish was an active stimulant of research. The Annual Reports for 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917 give a cheerful account of the Society's activities, which include an impressive new departure in the purchase of two MS. Rolls on vellum containing the household accounts of Mary Queen of Scots, 1550-1552. These have been laboriously deciphered and transcribed by Dr. Maitland Thomson, whose variety of service to our national history can hardly be sufficiently emphasised. The information those accounts furnish is mainly culinary, showing the provision of bread, wines, fish, poultry and eggs, fruit and firewood for the Royal Household of France. A very elaborate study of the history of Inchkeith—a most proper theme for the Franco-Scot to undertake—has been drawn up by Mr. A. Francis Steuart. 'Inchkeith and the French Occupation' fills sixty pages of solid extract from all the authorities, French, English and Scottish, from the fifteenth century down to the repulse of Paul Jones in 1779; and it may be implicitly accepted as an unmatched and trustworthy store of critical record reflecting circumstantially every phase of the island's eventful story. The great importance of the island-fort due to its outlying position of aloofness and command would seem to have been better appreciated by our French allies and our English enemy than by our own authorities. This implication emerges constantly from Mr. Steuart's sympathetic and spirited narrative. The islands of the Forth have attracted French writers before, for instance Mr. Louis Barbé, and this latest chapter greatly confirms the international interest of the whole group to which Inchkeith belongs.

Mr. Baird Smith edits a receipt dated 10th February, 1475[-76], for the wages of the Captain and Archers of the Scottish Guard. Several illustrations make these transactions more attractive, such as the pencil sketch of Leone Strozzi, prior of Capua, and especially the touching frontispiece of the French monument in honour of the 15th Scottish Division at Buzancy (Aug. 1918), with its heart-stirring and superb motto : *Ici fleurisa toujours le glorieux chardon d'Ecosse parmi les roses de France.*

THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF EDWARD OF CARNARVON. By T. F. Tout. Cr. 8vo. Pp. 51.

REPRINTED from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, this essay is an admirable and fair-minded sifting of a very large body of evidence—chronicle, public muniment, gossip, judicial proceedings, state papers, each yielding its quota to the ultimate inferences—concerning the end of Edward II. and the true inwardness of Berkeley Castle. The story of the contemporary annalists has remarkably well undergone the ordeal of rigid examination. It is a trying story, and Professor Tout's revision of the entire case does not make it less harrowing. New points in the

evidence are the curious challenge of William Shalford in 1331 for his alleged complicity in—not exactly the murder, but in the steps leading up to the murder in 1327. The inference finally reached is that all the circumstances, and especially the after-histories of the captive king's custodians, point to Mortimer as the real criminal. One phrase in the essay (p. 21), to the effect that a certain policy was 'carried out with tenfold rigour than before,' is rather a startling liberty with the English language in an otherwise brilliantly written treatise.

AN OUTLINE ITINERARY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST. By William Farrer. Royal 8vo. Pp. ii, 183. London: Oxford University Press. 1920. 18s. net.

THIS is reprinted by permission of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. from the *English Historical Review*. In notices of its original appearance there, in two instalments, attention was directed (see *S.H.R.* xvii, 152) to the importance and standard value of a study so nearly exhaustive of the outlines of the career of Henry I. from 1100 until 1135. Parallel in method to that of Eyton's well-known work on Henry II. this Itinerary goes beyond its model in succinct yet widely diverse information, and will be found indispensable for the annals of a reign in which the effects of the Conquest revealed themselves in manifold changes and novelties in English administration. Upwards of 740 documents are arranged, for the most part absolutely but sometimes tentatively, according to their historical order or connection. The absence of subject-heads in the index is perhaps to be regretted, but the general student of the time will doubtless make his own list of such generalisations and commonplaces for his own lines of study.

Dr. Farrer's brief introduction sets forth the difficulties or the task of finding dates and places and occasions for so many documents of which so large a proportion are undated. He suggests as much to be desired 'a full chartulary giving the last and most complete text' of all the instruments now calendared. This may be a counsel of perfection; if not, its feasibility must be largely owing to the fine work the editor of the Itinerary has done in first driving a clear road through the forest.

SAGA-BOOK OF THE VIKING SOCIETY. Vol. IX. Part I. Pp. 252. With One Portrait. 8vo. London: Viking Society, 1920.

NOT every year, not once in a decade, is a society honoured by such a contribution as that which Sir Henry H. Howorth, now president, has made to its transactions, being the substance of two papers read by him when vice-president two years ago. It is a long study in 252 pages of the life of Harald Fairhair, founder by conquest and unification of the kingdom of Norway, towards A.D. 872. But its preliminary discussion of the misty prehistoric elements of the 'fylkies' or provinces of the peninsula before the unifying, and its sifting of traditions, sagas, chronicles and universal record, make up a most instructive and almost a garrulous talk all round the deepest and darkest sources of the Norwegian annals.

Perhaps no man living except Sir Henry could have put together so extraordinarily interesting an introductory section, at once narrative, criticism and citation, ranging from the remotest legends up to the authenticated facts of the ninth century, when the ambition of Gyda, unwilling to be wife to any one not king of all Norway, impelled a provincial kinglest to the career which extinguished a whole series of little folk-kingdoms, and made him as the Swedish King Olaf said 'the great king in the land.' And the story is a great one, diversified by constant touches of archaism, mound burial and ship burial, 'the figure of the crow,' the swords with names, the memories of Charlemagne and the Northmen, the queer ceremony of abdication by which a king came down to be a jarl, the *aula* as ceremonial forum, white horses as emblematic in state processions, the building of the Danewirk, the short-lived glory of Dorestad as capital of Friesland, and the continual entrance into the sober story of some vow or eccentric custom or magic episode which it is a pity to rationalise. The venerable author has packed into his four hours' well-marshalled talk a magnificent summary of the beginnings of Norway.

FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANAE. The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. By Hew Scott, D.D. New edition, revised and continued to the present time under the superintendence of a committee appointed by the General Assembly. Vol. III. Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Pp. viii, 536. Large 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1920. 25s. to subscribers.

THE Committee of the Church of Scotland is to be congratulated on having overcome the difficulties which have delayed the publication of this new volume in their large undertaking. It includes the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which embraces Renfrewshire and Dumbartonshire, and portions of Argyllshire, Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire.

This volume contains a large number of Quoad Sacra parishes as it deals with perhaps the most densely populated area in Scotland. Its pages are full of interest. In a work which contains many thousand names and dates it may be impossible to avoid occasional errors, but the impression which we receive from a careful perusal of many of the entries is one of great care taken in the collecting and arrangement of facts and dates. The side-lights which the entries throw on the history of Scotland are innumerable, and we are grateful to the promoters for having provided one of the most useful books of reference. It should be in every public library in Scotland, and in the principal libraries in the United Kingdom.

THE INFLUENCE OF MAN ON ANIMAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND. A Study in Faunal Evolution. By James Ritchie, M.A., D.Sc. Pp. xvi, 550, with 90 Illustrations and 8 Maps. Large 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1920. 28s. net.

THIS is a fascinating volume which merits the study of all naturalists and has also its interest for the historian. Beginning with animal life in Scotland when man first arrived here, we have an account of the red deer,

the boar and the otter amongst other animals which then abounded, but there are no traces of domestic animals at that period. Later there are traces of sheep, oxen, dogs and, perhaps last of all amongst the larger animals, the horse. Then follows a study of classes of animals; and the change in type between, for instance, the wild ancestors of sheep and the modern Cheviot or black faced is both curious and interesting. In the same way the evolution of cattle, the horse and the smaller domestic animals is traced.

The permanent struggle between man and animals is fully dealt with. We are apt to forget that in some cases animals have been deliberately exterminated in order to secure the safety of man and his stock, while in other instances the stock has been enormously depleted to provide food or skins for man's use. On the other hand, the history of the way in which other animals have been protected and their growth encouraged, either for their use or for sport, is discussed at length. These are only a few of the points contained in this curious and delightful book. Is it not within the sphere of this *Review* to consider the many scientific problems with which it deals, but for the light it throws upon the history of Scotland we cordially welcome it.

Professor Morison's disquisition on *Nationality and Common Sense* as a Queen's University *Bulletin* from Kingston, Canada, emphasises the limitations of nationalism and the necessity of sane restrictions. 'The whirlwind of national enthusiasm' must not be allowed to blow the roof off the world, which needs internationalism to keep it on. The League of Nations is viewed as a splendid and practical aspiration.

The Old Glasgow Club has just issued (one volume, demy 8vo, pp. 88, with two illustrations) its *Transactions for Session 1919-20*.

This issue contains papers by Lord Scott Dickson on 'The Covenanters and the General Assemblies of the Kirk held at Glasgow in 1610 and 1638'; on 'Bishop Jocelyn; or Glasgow in the Twelfth Century,' by the late Rev. James Primrose; and papers on Ballads; on the Burgh of Pollokshaws; and on the Holy Wells in and around Glasgow.

Excellent work has been done by many local associations in gathering together records of their own localities, and we wish all success to the Old Glasgow Club in the continuation of its work, which it has now been carrying on for twenty years.

A well-planned series of *Souvenirs of the 'Mayflower' Tercentenary*, edited by Rendel Harris (Manchester University Press: Longmans, Green & Co.) includes the following: (1) 'The Documents concerning the appraisement of the Mayflower' in May 1624, when the said ship was *in ruinis*—words which are perhaps more safely interpreted 'dismantled' than understood as 'broken up'; (2) 'Refusal of the Leyden Authorities to expel the Pilgrims'—the date of which the editor has not thought fit to indicate; (3) 'The Marriage Certificate of William Bradford and Dorothy May'—Bradford being subsequently the famous governor of Plymouth; (4) 'The Plymouth Copy of the first Charter of Virginia,' dated April 10, 1606—from the archives of the English town. Numbers 1 and 2 are

priced at 9d. net each, No. 3 at 6d. and No. 4 at 1s. Each consists of a reproduction in reduced facsimile accompanied by an accurate transliteration. Professor Harris has also written an attractive essay 'The Finding of the 'Mayflower'' (same publishers, price 4s. 6d. net) in which he submits a very tenuous (though not quite impossible) argument for identifying the timbers of the historic ship in those of an old schooner built into a barn at Jordans Hostel, Seer Green Halt, Bucks.

The papers of Mr. Westropp in the current volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxxv. section C, Nos. 10-11), on some forts and other remarkable places connected with the ancient gods and the great assemblies of the tribes in the county of Limerick, are learned studies in pagan mythology characteristic of the author. The careful investigation by the Earl of Kerry on 'The Lansdowne Maps of the Down Survey' (No. 12) is a very useful contribution and indispensable to the student of the topographical history of Irish counties. The earl points out the origin of the name of the Survey of 1654, which has no special affinity to the county of Down, as an unsophisticated non-Irishman might easily imagine. It was Sir William Petty who first proposed to measure the whole country 'by instrument' and to set it 'down' upon paper. The undertaking was referred to at the time as the 'down' survey, a description by which it has been known ever since. In 1810 the Irish Records Commission reported on the Survey and on such maps as were then known to be in existence. But in recent years a large collection of maps of the same Survey was discovered in an old chest at Lansdowne House, whose noble owner is a lineal descendant of Sir William Petty. These maps have been cleaned and mounted, identified by the Earl of Kerry and set out in a catalogue under counties for easy reference. The whole contribution is very praiseworthy.

The English Historical Review for October opens with Dr. Round's subtle and diversified examination of the office of Sheriff in Norfolk, with many illuminating facts on castles, castle-guard and *castellaria*, not the least curious of which is the tendency for a sheriff to take a new surname from his castle. Mr. E. R. Adair searches out the distinctive features of the galley in the English service in the sixteenth century, till the superior fitness of Elizabethan sail-craft under Drake and his successors was established and the Mediterranean oar-driven type disappeared from the English Navy. Miss F. Evans usefully schedules the salaries of the seventeenth century secretaries of state, and Mr. G. N. Clark analyses and describes the Dutch missions to England in 1689. The advent of William III. had made a firm understanding necessary, and as the outcome of the negotiations was almost a unification of sea powers by which England considerably profited, the four conventions constituting a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance deserve the investigation Mr. Clark has devoted to them. Documents printed by various contributors include charters to boroughs near the Welsh border in 1256, papers on Wycliffe's canonry, letters of 1469-1471 to Oxford University, and political correspondence manifesting the honesty of Wellington's action as ambassador at Verona in 1822.

The announcement now made that Mr. Reginald L. Poole has retired from the editorship will be received with widespread regret in the circles of history. In his hands, in part from 1895 until 1901 and in sole charge from 1901 until now, the *Review* has maintained a foremost place among the historical journals of the world. Comparisons are sometimes difficult as well as odious, but there can be neither impropriety nor ungraciousness towards other periodicals in repeating the opinion implied in many criticisms in these columns, that Mr. Poole had made and kept for his review the premier position. His release from an office of such laborious responsibility will it is to be hoped give him the more leisure and opportunity for his personal specialities of medieval study. There is happily therefore no need for the accent of farewell. As for Mr. Clark his welcome is assured, and we can only wish him a continued success for the magazine commensurate with its past.

History for July last opens with a paper by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers on 'History and Ethnology,' in which the present tendency to give more attention to institutions and ideas and less to details of transactions between individuals and nations is pointed out. The application, however, by Dr. Rivers's imaginary Melanesian visitor to these islands of the terms *Whiskey people* to typify the early Celtic element, *Beer people* the Anglo-Saxon, and *Wine people* the Norman, gives grounds for comments unfavourable to the swarthy scientist's powers of analysis. At all events, before generalizing it would be well for him to throw aside his horror of literary sources so far as to consult a paper by the late Dr. Joseph Robertson on 'The Use of Wine among the Lower Orders in Scotland (especially the Western Hebrides) in the Seventeenth Century' (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iii. 424). At that time wine had been, and was, the staple and somewhat unlimited drink of the western islesmen, and indeed of Scotland generally. In 1616 and again in 1622 the Privy Council prohibited first its use and afterwards its importation and sale in the isles. Written records cannot be ignored. Machiavelli as political thinker is criticised by Mr. Edward Armstrong, who inclines to look upon him as creator of modern Italian prose rather than as philosophical writer. 'Historical Revisions' include 'The Petition of Right' by E. R. Adair and 'The Balance of Power' by Prof. A. F. Pollard, who points out the danger of using as a guiding principle of thought and action a phrase which, owing to an entire change of affairs, has ceased to connote the ideas of its original framers. There are the usual reviews of books.

J. E.

In *History* for October Mr. Norman Baynes admirably surveys recent books on Roman History. He commends Ferrero but deprecates his tendency to imperial biography as the essential method of imperial history. Also he commends Donald McFadyen's recent treatise (Chicago 1920) on the 'History of the title Emperor.' Mr. Geoffrey Callender discussing the evolution of early Tudor sea-power illustrates the enormous change made by adapting artillery to ships. Professor Stenton re-surveys the episode of 'the Danes in England,' tracing the effects of the settlements in the Danelaw in the matter of tenure and place-names, but not bringing much novel light otherwise.

The American Historical Review for October celebrates its semi-jubilee and the editor, Prof. Franklin Jameson, is well warranted in characterising the twenty five volumes produced since 1895 as being 'at least an impressive monument to one generation of historical workers in America.' Salutations of goodwill and good wishes are heartily tendered to the editor and management. The *Review* has made itself invaluable and its interest can be very little less to readers in Great Britain than to Americans. Attention on this side will rightly be given in the present number to Sidney B. Fay's article entitled 'New Light on the Origins of the World War,' for it seems to demonstrate by recently recovered documents of first class authority that in the last fateful hours preceding the declaration of war by Germany it was Austria and not Germany which was the obstinate power. Now that the trial of the Kaiser has apparently been expunged from the programme of the Allies, the new body of evidence tending to lessen his responsibility (coming as it does from an American critic using the latest German publications), may perhaps have a less reluctant reception in the courts of history than would have been accorded a couple of years ago.

Robert Schuyler, under the rhetorical title 'The Recall of the Legions,' discusses the fluctuations in British colonial policy between 1776 and 1784, but possibly his limits of space have prevented his making handsomer allowance for the imperfections of political vision. Frederic Paxson, under the heading 'The American War Government 1917-1918,' describes the constitutional machinery and expedients resorted to in the crisis of the struggle. He styles the activities of that time an attempt to pass 'from the doctrine of individualism and free competition to one of centralised national co-operation,' a system symbolised in the phrase 'work or fight.'

In the number of the *Revue Historique* for March-April, M. S. Reinach presents an interesting hypothesis as to the presence of Buddhist elements in the legend of St. Francis of Assisi. The most important contribution is the first instalment of a study of Pierre du Chastel by M. Roger Doucet, in which the writer presents a well-balanced estimate of the rôle played by that courtier-humanist in the inner circle of the Court of Francis I. The number for May-June contains the remainder of M. Doucet's study and a further instalment of M. Halphen's critical commentary on the history of Charlemagne. The reader is sometimes tempted to question the expediency of publishing by instalments an elaborate critical study like that of M. Halphen, but a justification is probably to be found in the prohibitory expense of independent publication. The two numbers contain the usual valuable summaries of contemporary historical studies, the periods covered being French history from 1494 to 1660, Swedish history, and Christian antiquities.

The most interesting items in the *French Quarterly* for June are found in the *Variétés*, in which M. Rudler deals with 'L'Angleterre et Jeanne d'Arc,' M. Charlier with a 'source' of Chateaubriand, and M. Maingard with Leconte de Lisle.

The *Revue Historique* for July-August contains the first instalment of a study by M. Boissonade of the commercial relations between France and the British Isles in the Sixteenth Century, and an account of the unfortunate

British expedition to Buenos Ayres in 1807. Both writers make use of well-known sources, and their conclusions present no novelty. A summary of the publications of the past eight years on the history of Italy from 1789 to 1920 is provided by M. Bourgin. The first volume of the new edition of *S. Theresa's Letters in English* by the Benedictines of Stanbrook receives a critical notice from M. Morel Fatio, and M. Albert Waddington writes with enthusiasm of the new life of 'William the Silent' by the distinguished Dutch historian, P. J. Blok. The announcement is made of the continuation of Lavissee's standard *History of France* to the conclusion of the late war. The concluding volume has been entrusted to MM. Bidou and Gauvin, two well-known publicists.

D. B. S.

Students of Church History will welcome the re-appearance of the admirable *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, a worthy mirror of the learning of Louvain. It rises like the phoenix from the ashes and the current number is a reconstruction from MSS. and 'proofs' of the number for July, 1914, which perished in the conflagration of that year. For English readers the most important article is that by Pere Martin, O.P., on *L'œuvre théologique de Robert de Melau* (†1167), in which the learned Dominican furnishes an interesting addition to our knowledge of the subject. Since Mr. Kingsford's article appeared in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1896, Robert has been dealt with by Grabmann, Anders and P. Martin himself. The article is based on a careful examination of MSS. hitherto unidentified and the author indicates the important conclusions which may be drawn from the MSS. in the British Museum. He assigns an important role to Robert in the history of theological speculation and, while recognising the debt which he owed to Hugh of Saint Victor, he concludes that '*son œuvre présente des caractères particuliers et surpasse à plus d'un titre les travaux des maîtres antérieurs.*' These include Peter Lombard, as P. Martin assigns Robert's writings to the years 1152-1160. Robert has been generally classed as a realist, though Hauréau had doubts on the subject, but P. Martin takes the view that he belonged to no school and that he founded none. Now that it is evident that the principal sources for a study of this distinguished English theologian are to be found in London and Oxford, it is to be hoped that an English scholar will undertake the task of producing an edition of his *Sentences*.

D. B. S.

In the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* for January-April, 1920 (xiii. Fasc. 1 and 2) Father André Callebaut supplements his previous study of the nationality of Joannes Duns Scotus. The late character of the tradition in favour of his Irish origin is proved, and the fifteenth century testimony to his Scottish birth established by numerous quotations from philosophers of that century, all agreeing upon his nationality. For example, in a warm panegyric at Paris in 1448 Dr. William Forilong, who died at Rome in 1464, speaks of Duns Scotus thus: *O doctor subtilis Joannes dictus de Donis . . . te primitus Scotia genuit . . . O germen ergo Scotie, O Anglie scientia, O Francie subtilitas, sed O Colonie requies.* Again, a manuscript in

Bâle of date 1442 calls him *Joannes de Scotia*. After giving numerous quotations of a similar character Father Callebaut proceeds to prove from the Papal archives that in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Scoti meant Scots, and Scotia Scotland.

The question whether the Irish origin receives any support from the philosopher's writings is next answered in decisive fashion. It is shown that the reference to S. Patrick claimed as having been made by him in his lectures is due to a tampering with the original, the words *Sancti Arnoldi* (a continental saint) having been silently suppressed and *S. Patritii* substituted in 1503 by Maurice-du-Port, an Irishman. Lastly, there is added the testimony of a manuscript preserved in Paris of the early fourteenth century and therefore contemporary. Here he is called *Magister Johannes de Scotia, Ord. Fr. Min.* The two editors—Father Denifle and Monsieur Chatelain—point out that at that time Scotsmen flocked to Paris in great numbers as war had closed the English universities to them. Father Callebaut has discovered another Scot from Duns some years later graduating at the University there. He is *Thomas de Duns Scotus*. His date is 1349.

Thus the nationality of Joannes Duns Scotus is firmly established, and John Major's statement, which is not, but might have been adduced, is proved to be correct. It may be noted that the renaissance and the Reformation changed the angle from which scholastic philosophy was viewed, and Scotsmen became the reverse of keen to claim as a countryman one of the acknowledged leaders of scholastic thought and methods. Hence the pretensions of the other claimants—England and Ireland—were allowed to pass unchallenged, and those of the latter country especially made headway.

At the end of his paper Father Callebaut designates Duns, the philosopher's native town, as *village du comté Berwich (sic)*, and allows the river Tweed to figure as the *Twee*; but these slight blemishes detract little from the force of a closely-knit, well-documented and convincing argument.

JOHN EDWARDS.

Notes and Communications

A CURIOUS WORD FOR GREAT-NEPHEW (*S.H.R.* xviii. 65). 'Eiroy' is the English form of Gaelic *iarogha*, great-grandson. 'V^eroy' is probably in error for 'v^eoy' = vicoy = Gaelic *mhic-ogha*; in which connexion cf. *mac-mic*, grandson. A. W. JOHNSTON.

Mr. William Angus of H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, states that the word is by no means uncommon. Burns uses it in his Dedication to Gavin Hamilton, and it is entered in Jamieson's *Dictionary* under 'Ier-oe.' It is also to be found in Johnston of Wariston's *Diary* (Scottish History Society), vol. ii. p. 96, and in Habakkuk Bisset's *Rolment of Courtis* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. page 62, line 28.

The Duke of Argyll states that only once has he found it used in Highland charters, and that was in the Writ of 1609 referred to in *S.H.R.* xviii. page 65.

THE DALKEITH PORTRAIT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (*S.H.R.* xviii. 32). All who are interested in the portraiture of Mary Queen of Scots will have welcomed Miss Steuart's article on the Dalkeith portrait and the reproduction of the portrait itself. Not all, however, will find themselves able to agree with her conclusions.

Miss Steuart compares the portrait with the well-known chalk drawing generally attributed to Clouet and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is true that the ropes of pearls are found in both and somewhat similarly arranged. The Clouet portrait is known to be dated between 1559 and 1561 when the Queen, then Dauphine, was aged 17 to 19. If Miss Steuart merely urged a general resemblance between the features in the Clouet and the Dalkeith portraits, it might not be easy to counter her view, but she goes further and dates the Dalkeith portrait as belonging to the same period as the Clouet sketch. I find it impossible to agree with Miss Steuart that the Dalkeith portrait represents a woman of approximately the same age as the Clouet portrait or that it could possibly be that of a girl of 19. I regard the Dalkeith portrait as that of a woman aged not less than 25 and not more than 30. On what further grounds does Miss Steuart base her case?

First, on the *carcan* composed of diamonds with *entredoux* of pearls, one of which was given back to the Crown of France before Mary returned to Scotland, because the *carcan* shown in the portrait and also the one restored to the French Crown Jewels both possess pearls set in clusters of five. This is not a very convincing identification.

Second, on the cross with seven diamonds which may have been similarly restored to the French Crown Jewels; but Miss Steuart admits that she cannot identify this cross precisely. It is just this cross and its position which afford some ground for doubt. If one examines all the authentic portraits reproduced by Mr. Lionel Cust in his book *Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots 1903*, one observes: (1) that no portrait appears to show a cross, but most show a crucifix; (2) that in no portrait is the crucifix shown hanging round the neck, but generally suspended so as almost to reach the waist.

Unfortunately, however, the case for the genuineness of the Dalkeith portrait breaks down completely in another way. If it is compared with the celebrated 'Carleton' portrait in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, which portrait is quite unreservedly and quite properly condemned by Cust, it will be at once apparent that the Dalkeith portrait strongly resembles the Carleton type. The features may be described as identical; the ropes of pearls are present in both, though not exactly in the same position; the position of both arms is identical; in both pictures the left hand holds a very similar rose (which incidentally is not in any other portrait); the costume is admittedly different. Cust gives (p. 133-136) a full account of the history of this 'impostor' portrait which is first heard of in 1713. Of the Dalkeith portrait it is known that it was at Dalkeith about two centuries ago. Neither of the two portraits can trace its pedigree with any certainty before 1700. Sir Lionel Cust sums up against the Carleton portrait as being one not even intended to represent Mary. Probably the same is true of the Dalkeith portrait, and I suspect that the reason why no reference to it is made by the late Sir George Scharf or Mr. Cust is that they both recognised it as a mere copy of the Carleton type.

But the main case against the Dalkeith portrait rests not on comparisons but on the picture itself. The features are wrong. The Queen, as shown by authentic portraits, had long narrow eyes, a thin nose, and thin lips and arched eyebrows: none of these characteristics are found in the Dalkeith portrait. Moreover, the costume is wrong. If the ruff round her neck is compared with other ruffs in XVI century pictures, it will be found that it is too broad for 1560: it would not be earlier than 1576. The head-dress also does not resemble any of so early a period. It is not easy to judge of the technique of the picture from the reproduction. Detailed examination of the original picture would probably reveal other anachronisms.

It would be a much pleasanter task to welcome a new and authentic portrait than to destroy an ideal, but sometimes the latter must be done.

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MACBETH or MACHETH (*S.H.R.* xvii. 155, 338), has been propounded as a problem by Professor Sanford Terry for which he awaits a satisfactory explanation as to what MacBeth is 'doing in this otherwise exclusive gallery of MacHeth rulers' in the province of Moray.

The MacBeth-MacHeth riddle emerges at or rather after King MacBeth's time. It is a veritable labyrinth without a thread till one goes far enough back. Beth in variant form but not Heth is the original root name and still is the essential and distinguishing part of MacBeth. Working forward one comes gradually to the compound MacBeth, with a small *b* of course. Moderns are mostly responsible for the capital in the middle of the name, and it tends to prevent confusion. To my thinking the MacHeths are MacBeths by indirect descent, and I support my conclusion by the following facts. Reference is made to

King Macbeth mac finlay (Mar. Scot. *c.* 1028).

„ Malbeth or Maelbeathe (Ang. Sax. Chr. under date 1031-1054).

„ Macbethad (Flor. of Wor. *c.* 1118).

„ Machethad (S. of D. *c.* 1129).

„ Macbeth (D of M. *c.* 1142).

„ Machetad (R. of Hov. *c.* 1201).

„ Macheth (John of Evers² *c.* 1265).

„ Macbet and Macbeth (*Chron. of Melrose*).

Then in the charters by which the same king conveys gifts to the Keledei of Lochleven *h* and *b* are twice found in juxtaposition thus—Machbet—but in the middle of the charter Makbeth is found and that plainly determines what the other two are.

Take another instance from the charters. It concerns a MacBeth, Judex or Sheriff, and his designation gives the following result, in favour of MacBeth :

Maledoun, son of MacBead, *c.* 1128

Maldouen and Maldoueni, son of Macobeth

Meldoinneth filium Machedath.

At that same period there is another Macbeth, Thane of Falkland, who may be the father of this Maldouen as well as of Cormac 'a son of Macbeath' who is mentioned in Ethelred's charter to the Keledei. Whether that be so or not, it is clear that Machedath is a MacBeth. The same result comes out in the undernoted example :

Macbeth Macktorphin, *c.* 1150

Macbeth Mactorpin

Macbet „

Machet „

Baron Macbeth of Liberton lived at this period and may be the above-mentioned man, but if not, he has his name spelled in variant form, as

Macbet, *c.* 1141-52

Macbether

Macbetber

Macbead

Malbead

Makbet

Malbet

In the Signet Library one had occasion to verify the Latin facsimile of Macbeth. That is the correct transliteration, but the editor changes it into Macbet Vere. One can easily see how another could make it Macbether, for the letters b and h are almost alike, but there is no doubt that Macbeth is intended.

Then as to Malcolm MacBeth. According to J. Stevenson's translation of the *Chron. of Holyrood* under date 1157 Malcolm's name is given as Malcolm Machel—a son of fire truly. Of course if the Macheths can be changed into MacKays they may be 'sons of fire,' but they have a better heritage among the Macbeths, their real kindred. In the footnote to the same editor's translation of the *Chron. of Melrose* under date 1134, Malcolm is referred to as 'the son of Macbeth.' Further, in the abbreviated edition of the *Chron. of Holyrood* under date 1157 one finds *Malcolm Machet cum rege Scottorum pacificatus est*, but according to Mr. A. O. Anderson he is also called Macbeth in Bouterwek's edition of the same extended Chronicle (38), and it is by the same authority we are told that Malcolm Macbeth died Earl of Ross 1168 (42). The Fraser Chronicles also support the reading Milcolm Mackbeth and likewise refer to Donald son of Melcolm Mckbeth.

Reviewing these lists where MacBeth and MacHeth are combined, it surely becomes manifest that b and h have simply been confused by similarity of writing in the past. Even now if any one writes Macbeth frequently with a small b he will soon find a possible Macheth unless he be careful with his pen.

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MACBETH, MACHETH (*S.H.R.* xvii. 155, 338). These two names may be two Latin (English) renderings of the same Gaelic name M'Bheatha, 'Son of Life,' a *personal* name originally, not patronymic. MacKay is the English form of Gaelic M'Aoidh, from Aoidh, fire. (See Macbain's *Gaelic Dictionary*.) In support of the above suggestion may be quoted Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*. Maledoun is referred to as Macobeth (p. 63, 1128), Machedath (p. 67, 1128), MacBead (p. 78, 1131-1132). MacTurfin is mentioned as Macbet (p. 120, 1143), Machet (p. 166, 1150), and Macbeth (171, 195, 1150). The Gaelic name M'Bheatha was thus rendered in Latin (and English) as MacBeth and MacHeth, one letter of the aspirate B (B H) being used in each case.

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QUEEN MARGARET TUDOR. Sir Bruce Seton, in his paper 'The Distaff Side' (*Scottish Historical Review*, xvii. pp. 284-5), says that Queen Margaret obtained in 1527 a separation 'a mensa et thoro' from her second husband the Earl of Angus, and then, 'although such a separation did not permit a fresh marriage,' immediately married Henry Stewart, afterwards Lord Methven. Riddell says (*Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Scottish Peerages*, i p. 470) that the Queen's marriage with Angus was dis-

solved by the Consistorial Court of St. Andrews in 1525. 'It was upon the valid ground of a precontract between him and another lady' ('a daughter of Tracquair,' says Hume of Godscroft, by whom he had a daughter Jean Douglas, who did not become legitimate, but who married Patrick Lord Ruthven). He says earlier (pp. 420 *et seq.*): 'They were accordingly divorced simpliciter; yet, at the same time, owing to the exclusive exception of the Queen's *ignorance* of the latter circumstance, and hence *bona fides* on her part, there was a special finding of the legitimacy of Lady Margaret Douglas, their sole issue.' It seems, however, that the St. Andrews proceedings were not final as the ultimate decree of divorcement was pronounced 11th March, 1527-8 (Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, ii. 212, where the year is given as 1528), after three years proceedings by Peter Cardinal of Ancona, the Judge appointed to enquire into the matter by Pope Clement VII. Without waiting for this news (the dates are very complex and are stated differently by different authorities) the Queen married Henry Stewart. Her brother Henry VIII. wrote, by Wolsey, to her later of the 'shameless sentence sent from Rome' and, reminding her of 'the divine ordinance of inseparable matrimony first instituted in Paradise,' bade her avoid 'the inevitable damnation threatened against advouters. (A. H. Pollard *Henry VIII.* pp. 209-210).

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY (*S.H.R.* xviii. 57). Owing to a typist's error a few words were omitted in the review of Learmonth's *Kirkcudbrightshire*. The passage should have read, 'Dundrennan, the parent abbey of Sweetheart Abbey, founded by Devorgilla Balliol.'

A CORPUS OF RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS. Professor Baldwin Brown and Mr. Bruce Dickins, writing from the University of Edinburgh, request us to ask that readers of this *Review* will kindly bring under their notice any newly discovered runic inscription and any example which they are not likely to know. Runically inscribed objects contained in the larger and better known public collections or which are published in archaeological works of national scope Professor Baldwin Brown will already have on his list; but as regards those in private hands or in local collections of the smaller type he will be very glad of information, as he and his colleague are preparing for publication by the Cambridge University Press an Annotated Corpus of Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, on or in stone, bone, wood or metal.