

Reviews of Books

A HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. By John Buchan. In Four Vols. Vols. I. and II. Pp. xv and ix, 552 and 578. With 18 and 20 maps respectively. 8vo. Edinburgh and London : Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1921. Each vol. 25s.

THE History of the Great War which Mr. John Buchan wrote and published in twenty-four small volumes between February 1915 and July 1919 was, in point of quantity at any rate, a monumental achievement, especially 'as the bulk of it was written in the scanty leisure which I could snatch from service abroad and at home.'

Unavoidably it contained, as the author says, many imperfections and errors, and he has now set himself to produce, in four volumes, a work aiming at a truer perspective and a juster scale. Judged by the first two volumes, this new work is well worth the labour and thought which have been bestowed upon it. It is, to begin with, eminently readable from cover to cover, whether it deals in a clear and graphic manner with the operations on land and sea or discusses the political, social and economic background in the countries of the different belligerents.

Mr. Buchan cites the august instance of Thucydides in advocacy of the advantages of a history of great events narrated and explained by a contemporary or, still better, by one who has played some part in them. He might have been content with the testimony of Bismarck, who for recent events preferred histories written by journalists as being the most vivid and readable. Mr. Buchan is more than readable ; he is, at times, extremely instructive.

Military specialists may find items of greater or less importance to correct in his accounts of particular battles. His great merit in this part of his narrative is that he selects his details wisely, gives a clear impression of the trend and objects of each operation and co-ordinates its significance with that of each separate campaign and of the whole War. And to each phase he imparts an interest as thrilling as that which it excited at the time—often, indeed, more thrilling, because of the fuller knowledge both of the facts and of their meaning which a competent writer now commands. An instance of this is his treatment of the Salonika expedition and of Balkan questions in Chaps. xxxix.-xli. ; and there are many other examples. No one could start upon one of his chapters without reading it to the end, and one chapter creates an appetite for the next.

Mr. Buchan's exposition of the policy of the belligerents and of the internal condition of their countries at different stages of the War is probably on the whole as sound as it well could be. Particularly able are the

chapters (xxxv. and xlvii.), 'The Straining of America's Patience' and 'America at the Cross-Roads.' The first of these describes the sentiments predominant in America and the considerations which delayed any clear expression of them and decisive action upon them. The folly of German diplomacy, with its alternate threats and cajoling, is exhibited as it was disclosed to the world by the American Government when America at last entered the War. The author rightly observes, 'The Allies had no need of an advocate : Germany herself was the chief pleader in their case.'

Mr. Buchan's analysis of German political thought and German aspirations before the war is in the main right, although there are some errors in detail. It is not correct to say with regard to the German 'social democracy' that 'the workers . . . controlling the administration . . . were prepared to set up any barrier that would secure the wealth which they sought to share from being pilfered by foreigners.' The reference is clearly to protection ; but the mass of the German Socialist working-classes and their representatives in Parliament—the strongest party in the Reichstag at the outbreak of war—were free-traders. The small group associated with Schippel did not at that time count in the party. It was hatred and fear of the Russian Autocracy which united the working-classes, Socialist and Catholic, in support of Germany's first Declaration of War ; nor could they understand the different attitude of Labour in Britain and in France. Once the world-war had begun, the *Kriegspsychose* and the control of all news by the Government did the rest. A long time elapsed before the leaders of the Majority Socialists could ascertain the truth and a further period before they had the courage to proclaim it. By that time the fear of defeat and invasion overcame popular scruples, which were only fully aroused when it was realised that Ludendorff was a military gambler and that the stakes were millions of lives of sons and brothers at the front, and starvation and suffering at home.

On the other hand, Mr. Buchan's characterisation of the policy of aggression and aggrandisement promoted by the great industrialists and financiers is eminently just. He does wrong, however, to include Dr. Rathenau among that party. Rathenau in his book or pamphlet, *Der Kaiser*, has demonstrated—none more convincingly—that it was the National Liberal Party, the party of the industrialists, the great financiers and the university professors, that was most to blame for the fatal toleration and encouragement of the régime of William II. in home and foreign affairs. And it is that party, under the new and specious name of *Volkspartei*, which is to-day the greatest danger to the internal tranquillity of defeated Germany and to the peace of Europe.

Mr. Buchan's first two volumes do not go beyond the end of April or beginning of May, 1916. The succeeding two volumes will be awaited with interest and, if they fulfil the promise of their precursors, should complete a most valuable instrument of instruction for the English-speaking peoples, who ought periodically to refresh their memories regarding those tremendous events, political and military, which have changed the whole outlook of history and the prospects of the development of mankind.

GEORGE SAUNDERS.

THE LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY OF EDWARD CAIRD, LL.D., D.C.L., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow and Master of Balliol College, Oxford. By Sir Henry Jones, LL.D., and John Henry Muirhead, LL.D. Pp. xl, 381. 8vo. With portraits. Glasgow : MacLehose, Jackson & Co. 1921.

THIS work was begun by Sir Henry Jones, Caird's successor in the Chair of Moral Philosophy, his devoted friend, and the continuer of his philosophical teaching ; but failing health compelled him to call in the assistance of Professor Muirhead, by whom the last chapter of the biography and the greater part of the discussion of Caird's philosophy have been written.

The letters of Edward Caird, to which a separate part of the book is assigned, are disappointingly scanty in number. He was a man of comparatively few intimacies, although many friendships, and his habitual reserve prevented the free utterance of his mind to a host of correspondents. It is much to be regretted that the letters which he sent to Mrs. Caird, at times when circumstances had separated them, were destroyed by an unfortunate mistake after her death ; but of his letters to Miss Talbot a number have been preserved, and several addressed to Sir Henry Jones himself have been added. His preserved correspondence, brief as it is, has the touch of a remarkable personality, a singular interest and charm, and is full of illuminating comments, happily and tersely expressed.

It has been said by Sir George Adam Smith that Edward Caird was one of the greatest citizens Glasgow ever had ; and it may be added that he was one of the greatest Scotsmen of his time. To write his life was not easy, for Caird had none of the smaller peculiarities that lend piquancy to such works, and it is characteristic of the man that very few anecdotes were ever related of him. He was great in a plain way, magnanimous in the true sense, and not much occupied with his own personality, nor eager to impress it on others. No man who was less histrionic ever lived. It was by his noble simplicity of mind and character, his transparent honesty, and the wide sweep and compass of his intellect that Caird became a great University teacher and influenced a whole generation. He was persuasive, not combative.

But he had also an unusual firmness and tenacity, could speak plainly, when plain speaking was required, and was loyal through and through to every cause he took up. Sir Henry Jones's narrative shows the width of his activities. He had no philosophic aloofness, never dreamed of separating the University of Glasgow from the city of Glasgow, and led the way in movements the object of which was, in his own words, 'to bridge the gulf that separates the well-to-do from the poor.'

Sir Henry Jones inherited Caird's philosophical system, but in his teachings it acquired a new tone, and was proclaimed with the intensity and fervour of his own temperament. The book before us is a record of two extraordinary men. For the younger of the two, who now becomes, like the first, only a memory, gratitude and affection will last as long as those who knew him.

JOHN S. SMART.

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THE LIFE OF HENRY, THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON. Shakespeare's Patron. By Charlotte Carmichael Stopes. Pp. xi, 544. With 8 Illustrations. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 42s.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES is the distinguished authoress of many works relating to Shakespeare and his times. She is steeped in Shakespearian lore, and this, her last production, was undertaken, as she says in her preface, 'in the hope that I might find more about Shakespeare, which hope has not been satisfied.' The book, as she further explains, is 'a collection of materials towards a life,' which will be useful, if not necessary, to other writers who may feel constrained to delve in the same direction.

To Shakespearians, the book undoubtedly will be of great interest, dealing as it does with his time and bringing its readers into the atmosphere in which he lived. To the ordinary reader it may appear to be too full of details which do not deal directly on the subject. Mrs. Stopes is a 'picker up of learning's crumbs.' She neither spares herself nor her readers. Every detail which she can ferret out regarding the Earl of Southampton is brought to light. She searched for twenty years for some account of Southampton's method of escaping from matrimony. She finds that he wore his hair long, unlike the fashion at court; why, she cannot discover. Mrs. Stopes apparently believes with Mrs. Watt Dunton that nothing which concerns the home life of a poet can be dismissed as trivial. Nevertheless, anyone who cares to wade through this 'collection of materials' will feel that he has come not only to know the Earl of Southampton (and he was worth knowing), but also much that is interesting in the period when he lived, 1573-1604.

He was a statesman, a soldier, and a patron of literature, and through all the distractions of the troublous years which he spent, sometimes fighting, other times imprisoned in the Tower, at the whim of Queen Elizabeth, he 'had not given up the pursuit of literature.' Shakespeare claimed him as a friend, and dedicated to him first his 'Venus and Adonis' and afterwards his 'Rape of Lucrece.'

'The love I dedicate to your Lordship is without end . . . what I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours.'

Other poets of lesser fame dedicated their works to him, even although, at the time of their publication, he was out of favour at Court. As long as Elizabeth was Queen, the Earl was obliged to lie low. These were the days of autocracy, and Elizabeth never forgave his 'daring to marry one of her Maids of Honour ('Elizabeth Vernon'), without receiving her royal permission.' In spite of the years of imprisonment in the Tower, the Earl appears to have maintained his loyalty towards Royalty, although he stood for constitutional rights against the abuse of the Royal Prerogative.

One is reminded of that great Hebrew statesman, who, after languishing in prison in Egypt for years, was raised to be Viceroy or Regent. Southampton's was a chequered career, but there is a list of honours to his credit which argues for him more than ordinary gifts and graces. He was chosen by the Earl of Essex to be General of the Horse to fight in Ireland, which in those days proved itself to be a puzzle to the Government, much after the

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same manner as it is now. He was appointed Councillor to the Queen. He had the office of Keeper of the New Forest for life. He was a Vice-Admiral. He was Governor of the Isle of Wight, and, says a contemporary, 'his just, affable and obliging deportment gave him the love of all ranks of the people and raised the Island to a most flourishing state.' He was a Privy Councillor in 1619, and in 1622 he was again imprisoned for encouraging the 'Palsgrave in his wars,' and committed to the charge of the Dean of Westminster. He was, after being released, leader of the Upper House in what was called the Country Party as opposed to the Court Party, and there occupied himself trying to preserve the privileges of the subject from the encroachments of the Royal Prerogative. HENRY G. COOPER.

THE WITCH-CULT IN WESTERN EUROPE. A study in Anthropology. By Margaret Alice Murray. Pp. 303. 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1921. 16s.

A COMPREHENSIVE treatise drawing upon the best sources, especially the records of actual trials for witchcraft, this work of Miss Murray's calls for particularly hearty welcome. No such capable a compilation has ever before appeared. On the theoretic side, it sets up in slender outline the general witch creed in chapter after chapter dealing with almost every phase, dogma, practice, belief, fear or feature of a terrible institution which it is intensely difficult to account for on any convincing and single line of interpretation, and the mystery of which the authoress has had the good sense and restraint not to propose to solve. If a critic ventures a central doubt it is whether the reference to the cult as the fugitive scattered and broken relics of a religion can be made good. If so, what religion? Was it Mithraism? Or was it any other single specific cult? To the present critic it seems better in general terms to assign its origin not to a specific ancient worship, but to regard it as derived from a multiplicity of religions, tenets, superstitions and the folk-lore faith of which the Roman authors sufficiently attest the exuberance, with the multitude of elves and fauns and satyrs, the household spirits, the manes of the dead, the infinite conjurations and ceremonies, and the dark revolting use of recurrent sacrifice, especially human sacrifice, at the very basis of the system.

What are the particular doctrines of interpretation applied by the authoress and how far can they be accepted as probable explanations of the cult? Miscellaneous principles and hints may without pretending to logical order be instanced, and some apparent omissions pointed out. First of all the witch's sabbath receives illuminating exposition and the truthfulness and importance of *Tam o' Shanter*, in spite of its shortcomings at several points, are made clear by the repulsive and gruesome homage which is the implied centre of ceremony. Perhaps the element of perversion—partly from devotion to Christ, partly from feudal obeisance and acknowledgment, which are both of them parodied and reversed—is insufficiently examined on the question whether the whole affair is not a blasphemous burlesque of Christianity invented long after that religion had established itself in Europe. And not in the sabbaths only, for the critical problem is whether a deliber-

ate presentment of the converse to Christ is or is not the radical concept of the witch system as practised in the West. One singular contrast to account for is that this mysterious but far from secret cult had not in its manifold perversions a Bible of its own. At least it does not appear from Miss Murray's diligent extracts from the records of trials that any such Bible existed to be discovered and produced to confound the wicked brood. The writer of this review owns a remarkable MS. of possibly Shropshire provenance which, with its array of magic formulae, signs, incantations and queer prescriptions (some of them apparently from Reginald Scot), represents the tradition of Christian countercharms against the witches turning oftenest the names of God to master the demons and their deluded coterie of Satanic followers. Were there any such text books on the other side, containing the formulary of the witches?

The 'covine' of thirteen, as the typical company of the bands of witches, has never been so well demonstrated as by Miss Murray and is a most important article for use in tracing the pedigree of the necromantic creed. Among subjects not much discussed is the question why the cult roused such intense alarm and detestation. It would certainly seem that the malevolence which seems to have been an inspiring motive of their existence was the primary and obviously natural cause of the fear and hatred which expressed themselves in so many witch-prickings and tortures, ordeals and witch-burnings. There are in this book many new proofs of a persistent hostility to fertility whether of man or beast or vegetation, as an initial conception in the witch's 'villainous apery' of power, the destroying spirit which made them a curse to the world as well as to themselves.

In gathering the evidence for the horrible creed and ritual this work displays a singular and one must suppose a very self-denying abstinence from secondary proofs such as come from writers about witchcraft. By far the most significant 'proofs,' if one may call them so, of what the witches themselves believed, come from their own statements alleged—there is little doubt quite truly—to have been made by men and women at their own trials. Many vital annotations are added from the literature of belief and disbelief in the monstrous structure of delusion, but the suppression of reference for example to Lecky and H. C. Lea is a surprise even greater than the like ignoring of Cauzons' *La Magie* (see *S.H.R.* x. 309). The author's preference for first hand fact is in the main laudable, although to it is probably due her failure to utilise Lea's many illustrations of the cult from Inquisition processes, especially the discovery of the Spanish inquisitors that the phenomena of the 'sabbaths' were subjective. It may be worth while to point to a striking chapter in Alfonsus de Spina's *Fortalitium Fidei*, edition 1525, fo. ccclxv. for earlier examples of some of the tenets and phenomena, such as the *forme de bouc* and other animal shapes recorded in Miss Murray's deeply learned book as adopted by the presiding demon ('in shape o' beast') at the sabbath.

Sympathetic as a reviewer may be to researches so extensive, it is impossible for him to conclude without absolute refusal to listen to the doctrine that there was any belief, either English or French, that Joan of Arc was 'God Incarnate'! The appendices embrace extracts on fairies, an 'Arrest

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et procedure' at Orleans in 1615, a list of covines mainly in thirteens, a roll of sixteenth and seventeenth century named witches and warlocks and an important note on the problem of the Maid. Miss Murray has given us a great, sad, strange study.

GEO. NEILSON.

MARLBOROUGH AND THE RISE OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By C. T. Atkinson. Pp. xx, 544. With 8 Illustrations and 16 maps. 8vo. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. 21s.

It is somewhat remarkable that two important lives of Marlborough should be published in the same year, but although Mr. Taylor's book has only been published recently, its author died in 1913 with his work incomplete. Thus he wrote under the shadow of impending disaster with the great war of the future weighing heavy upon his soul. Mr. Atkinson, on the other hand, writes in the hour of victory, with a wealth of allusion to the events of the last few years which add zest to his style and point to his story.

Writing largely from the same materials Mr. Atkinson approaches his task from a different angle, and sets out to show not only Marlborough the great soldier, but the beginnings of the British Regular Army: particularly valuable too is his able treatment of the earlier years of Marlborough's life, for here Mr. Taylor died before he could complete his work. Thus Mr. Atkinson's long expected biography is very welcome, and perhaps its delay is not altogether to be regretted: to many the war has given a broader outlook, certainly where military affairs are concerned, and the reader will discover a new zest in the story of Marlborough, and perchance a personal interest when he finds that great soldier campaigning in well known country in Flanders. It sounds strangely modern to find the colonel of the Cameronians writing, 'neither Mons nor Ypres opens France to us and either will be hard to take in so advanced a season, both being in great part defended by morass.'¹

Mr. Atkinson's able review of the state of military science in Marlborough's day is an essential preliminary to any careful study of his campaigns, and the discussion of the campaigning difficulties in the Low Countries is illuminating. For despite the vast increase in the size of modern armies the essential conditions of campaigning there have changed but little, while the importance of the Inland Water Transport was understood by Marlborough no less than by the generals in the wars of the French Revolution. In addition to the more well known sources, Mr. Atkinson has made excellent use of the volumes of the Historical MSS. Commission, and by this means has been able to throw much new light on many points, and among other things to clinch the story of the action of the British right at Ramillies. The numerous letters in the great collections published by the H.M.C. afford a new and pleasing touch to the story of Marlborough's campaign.

Though a sympathetic biographer, the writer is not blinded by enthusiasm for his hero, and the verdict on Marlborough's behaviour in 1688 implies a condemnation of his later treason. 'His conduct towards James only becomes hard to defend when coupled with his subsequent conduct towards

¹p. 389.

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William.’¹ But these unpleasing traits in Marlborough’s character soon pale before his greatness as a soldier. Fortunate in his early training, for in 1674 he was privileged to serve under Turenne and thus to gain an insight into French methods and also a knowledge of the Rhine valley itself, Marlborough soon showed his gifts as a strategist. From the first he had a firm grasp of the true meaning of sea-power, and it was he who suggested and carried out the successful attacks on Cork and Kinsale in 1690, thus isolating the hostile army in Ireland. The breadth and soundness of his strategical conceptions are well known : the bold movement to the Rhine is only one example ; in 1706 he proposed a yet more daring scheme, to transfer himself and a part of his army to Lombardy, and even, so it appears, to strike a decisive blow at Toulon with the help of Eugene ; but the plan was too bold for his allies. Again in 1708 after Oudenarde, he wished to leave the difficult Flanders country, and to strike boldly into France, possessing himself of a Channel port as a new base. This time it was Eugene who finched, and thus Marlborough was not able to exploit his victory and make full use of his command of the sea, and the campaign dragged on in the Low Countries.

As a tactician Marlborough was no less a master : with a cool head and a rare eye for ground and for the weakness of his opponent’s position he would fight his battle with all his might, making full use of all his forces. Nothing dismayed him, for with prompt decision he would modify his plans as might be necessary ; thus both at Blenheim and Ramillies he obtained the necessary support for the decisive attack by withdrawing men from a flank after the battle had actually commenced. An infantry general, Marlborough knew how to use his cavalry, and relying firmly on shock action taught his men that the sword was ‘the only weapon British horse make use of when they charge the enemy.’² With the infantry, fire discipline was all important, and the Duke himself would exercise the whole army in fire control by signals with flag and drum. Still it was not till 1706 that the arming of the infantry became homogeneous, with disappearance of the pike and the substitution for it of the socket bayonet.

The high state of discipline in Marlborough’s army is shown by the frequency of his operations and marches by night, for nothing is more difficult to carry out with success. Indeed Marlborough knew well how to make good use of his men’s marching powers, but it was careful organisation that made his movements so successful. The staff work was excellent, and the famous march to the Danube is a good example of the way in which the men were spared unnecessary fatigue. The army was able to march on an average from 12 to 14 miles per marching day, and to cover 250 miles in less than six weeks.

Perhaps the greatest charm of the book is in the peeps we get of the early history of the regular army. The Scots Greys at Malplaquet when ‘Jemmy Campbell at the head of the grey dragoons behaved like an angel and broke through both lines,’³ or the Guards and line regiments at Blenheim marching right up to the village and reserving their fire until their Brigadier had thrust his sword into the palisade. Such glimpses and the stories of the

¹ p. 98.

² p. 503.

³ p. 405.

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soldier diarists show the British army in the making, and justify Marlborough's proud declaration that 'English men are better than what can be had anywhere else.'

C. S. S. HIGHAM.

TUDOR CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, A.D. 1485-1603, with an historical commentary. By J. R. Tanner, Litt.D. Pp. xxii, 636. Large 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1922. 37s. 6d.

MANY students will welcome this new volume of constitutional documents. While some documents with which they are already familiar in Professor Pollard's *The Reign of Henry VII. from Contemporary Sources* and Sir George Prothero's *Select Statutes and Constitutional Documents* are naturally included here, for a large part of the period no selection has hitherto been available. The volume is divided into sections dealing with various aspects of constitutional history, such as the Church Settlement, the Privy Council, the Law of Treason, Parliament. The historical commentary adds much to the value and usefulness of the book. Constitutional problems of the time are discussed in the light of the most recent research, with numerous references to modern works. (One would have preferred the reference to the original authority rather than to W. Denton's *England in the Fifteenth Century*, on page 8.) Some note on the sources for the Parliamentary history of the period would have been useful, more particularly as cases illustrated in Prothero's volume by extracts from the Lords' or Commons' journals are here illustrated by extracts from the journals of D'Ewes. Extracts are also included from contemporary and seventeenth century political and ecclesiastical writers, and this leads one to suggest that a section illustrative of contemporary political theory would be a useful and not irrelevant addition to the book.

J. H. FLEMMING.

THE HISTORY OF CONSPIRACY AND ABUSE OF LEGAL PROCEDURE. By P. H. Winfield, LL.D. Pp. xxviii, 220. 8vo. Cambridge: the University Press. 1921. 20s.

THIS elaborate work on the History of the English Law of Conspiracy will be welcomed by students of the origins of law in England where a wealth of record in year books and reports of early decisions exists, quite unknown on this side of the Border. It is remarkable to the modern practitioner to learn that the law of conspiracy, now of wide scope, should have apparently arisen out of the abuse of legal forms of process used as engines of oppression, in connection with which its rules were certainly first formulated and developed. The work has evidently been in no mere perfunctory phrase a labour of love to Dr. Winfield, who has spent the better part of ten years upon his erudite researches among ancient briefs, year books and early texts and statutes.

The book is the first of a contemplated series of Cambridge Studies in English Legal History, which is designed, as explained in a general preface by Professor Hazeltine, to further scientific investigation in regard to the development of the laws of England and their historical connection with other legal systems. The series will include both monographs on special

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topics based on original research and editions of legal-historical texts hitherto unpublished or so far inadequately edited. This painstaking and learned book sets a standard for the Studies which may not be easily followed.

ROBERT LAMOND.

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. By Frederick Chamberlin. Pp. xxiv, 334. With 8 Illustrations and numerous facsimiles. 8vo. London: John Lane. 1922. 18s.

MR. CHAMBERLIN has set himself to vindicate the character of Queen Elizabeth from reckless charges advanced by her adversaries. Basing his argument largely upon the testimonies of distinguished physicians, he has little difficulty in showing that the queen, far from possessing the magnificent physique often ascribed to her, was in fact more or less of a chronic invalid. From her father she inherited an impaired constitution, quite unable to stand the strain of the scandals and dangers which she had to face, as a mere girl, during the reigns of Edward and Mary.

To most readers Mr. Chamberlin's case will be convincing. The weakest part is the unsatisfactory treatment of the 'Hatton' letters (pp. 181-183). Who was 'my Lord of Ctm.,' and what is his significance in the story? Why should Hatton hate him? In view of all the circumstances, however, it is probable that the author is right in ascribing Hatton's odd language to Elizabeth's love of extravagant adulation, and in the main he disposes completely of the charges, direct and indirect, made against the queen.

The author is not an historian. He writes from an altitude which enables him to refer to the *Cambridge Modern History* as 'that remarkable publication' (p. 244) and to describe the *Political History of England*, edited by Mr. Poole and Dr. Hunt, as being 'as pretentious an historical work as Englishmen have produced during the last fifty years.' He blames most modern historians for not defending the queen's character, quite unconscious of the fact that most serious writers have acquitted Elizabeth of anything worse than the vulgarity and coarse freedom which were characteristic of the age. In his own pages occur several errors in chronology and some extraordinary examples of hyperbole. Statement is sometimes made to answer for proof, and in the development of his own theories the author sometimes contents himself with assertion instead of argument.

If Leicester did not owe his position to his being a queen's minion, he must, says Mr. Chamberlin, have been a man of great qualities. *Non sequitur*. But it is probable enough that Leicester's abilities have been seriously underrated by historians. He is a curiously vague figure on the historic page, and it is a pity that our author did not combat more fully the attacks made upon his character, and endeavour to prove, as well as to assert, that the earl was a politician of real merit. Perhaps he will do this in a subsequent volume.

In his present work he has rendered great service. He has collected much evidence, some of it quite new, and has presented it with scrupulous fairness and clarity. His exposure of Lingard's historical methods (pp. 190-192) is most striking. He has destroyed the myth of Elizabeth's superabundant health, and rendered it hard, if not impossible, to believe in her immorality.

J. D. MACKIE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND. Session MDCCCXX—MDCCCXXI. Vol. lv. Fifth Series. Vol. vii. Pp. xxxii, 324. With many illustrations. 4to. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Neill & Company Limited. 1921.

TRAPRAIN LAW is probably the most important 'draw' in the present instalment of the Antiquaries' Transactions, and Mr. A. O. Curle's bulletin of exploration, his guarded inferences on the trophies of his research, and, not least, his select exhibits on his sketches and comprehensive plates of finds clearly maintain Traprain as still the summit of archaeological attraction. He gives an orderly catalogue of the whole finds made in 1920, which, albeit less dramatic than the treasure-find from the early years of Christian art reported in the previous volume of *Proceedings*, yet confirm and enhance with a new wealth of relics in pottery, glass, iron and bronze, the extraordinary resources of this hillside as witness to the early history of Lothian. Urns, ornaments, jewels, and arms, coins, harness, and arrowheads, whorls, fibulae, rings and quernstones—the body of evidence gradually emerging intensifies the significance of the site. The coins are mostly of the fourth century. Another east-country stronghold, Fast Castle in Berwickshire, is described in a good general paper by Mr. William Douglas. Its chief interest arose from its connection with the Logans of Restalrig, notorious because of the Gowrie Conspiracy.

The record of Mr. A. O. Curle's fortunate activities is not confined to Traprain, but embraces the broch of Dun Troddan, Glenelg, Inverness-shire, an obviously well appointed example of the order. Its ground plan, structural distinctions, and meagre historicity are well set down. Relics found were few, but analogies of the three hearths at three levels warrant Mr. Curle's hint of a date possibly as remote as the fourth century.

Mr. Graham Callander has had many tasks, inclusive of a bronze age hoard from Glen Trool, cinerary urns from Kingskettle, and the broch of Dun Beag at Struan in Skye. The last, a fine specimen known to the eighteenth century antiquaries, has yielded quite a harvest of relics, a stone cup, a stone mould, buckles, a gold ring and a deer-horn pick. Pieces of pottery found are of early type. Mr. Callander is too wary a chronologer to hazard himself far, but he evidently inclines here to an early Christian date. Sir Herbert Maxwell describes the shaft of a large cross unearthed at Longcastle, Wigtownshire, in a search for a lintel-stone for a pig-sty! Sculptured on both sides with interlacing basketwork the shaft, 5 ft. long by 1ft. 8 inches wide, notably enlarges the Galloway store of this type of Christian monument. Dr. George Macdonald's succinct analysis of a hoard of coins found at Perth in 1820 supplements his reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle* (noticed *S.H.R.* xix. 155). Rev. John Stirton's 'Relics of the Family of Innes of Balnacraig,' Mr. Storer Clouston's 'Orkney Bailies and their Wattel,' Mr. Douglas Simpson's 'Notes on Five Donside Castles' and Mr. Eeles's compact description and transcription of the inscribed Methuen Cup can have only mere mention here, but would of themselves prove the unflagging spirit in which the Society faces the problems of the past.

GEO. NEILSON.

ANNALS OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND. By Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I. Together with his own autobiographical notes and some reminiscences by Sir Harry R. Reichel. Pp. li, 344. 8vo. London : Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1921. 21s.

THIS volume consists of two parts not really connected with each other. But while in the first we have the story of the author's life mainly written by himself, in the second we have admirable proof of his qualifications as an historian.

The story of Raleigh's life is one with which we are fairly familiar in Scotland. A clever lad, head of his school, trained first in a northern University, and then, armed with a scholarship, finding his way to either Oxford or Cambridge, there gaining first class honours and a Fellowship, and finally entering upon a more or less distinguished career, while Scotland, in the majority of cases, sees him no more.

Sir Thomas wrote not exactly an autobiography, but notes dealing with the leading events of his life up to his return from India, and these have been supplemented by a friend. The author may not have intended that the notes should have formed a preface to the *Annals*, which were left unpublished at the time of his death ; but it is always desirable to know something about the author of a book, and the notes themselves will be found very interesting. Raleigh early showed signs of ability, and after being dux of the Edinburgh Academy attended Edinburgh University during three winters, where he had as a fellow student R. L. Stevenson, 'with whom,' he says, 'I have spent many idle hours.' Having obtained an exhibition at Balliol, he went to Oxford, gained a First in the Final Classical School, was called to the Bar and went to London. He confesses to a dislike of case-law. His connection with Oxford was renewed when he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls, and also for a time he held the post of Reader in English Law at the University. He twice stood for Edinburgh seats in Parliament. He was Registrar of the Privy Council for several years and then went to India as a member of Lord Curzon's Council. He has left an interesting account of the busy years he spent there. Concerning the Viceroy he remarks 'though he adheres to the Conservative party, Curzon is a Radical by temperament.' The Indian climate and work affected his health and he died in 1920.

Turning now to these *Annals*, if we accept Sir Harry Reichel's estimate of his friend he had certainly one qualification for this work. He was, 'Reichel' says, 'preeminently fair-minded and incapable of anything like partisanship. A Scot to the core, he could give it against his native country, did the evidence incline that way.'

The author says 'Under the title of the Church in Scotland I include any society which honestly claims to connect itself with the society instituted by our Lord and organized by His Apostles. I have not consciously endeavoured to make out a case either for or against any particular society or school of opinion.' He suggests to us the position of one who has been rather surfeited with the ultra-Protestant views which still prevailed in Scotland in the days of his youth, and is anxious to find out what may be said on the other side. Thus, referring to the laws made by the

Council of the old Scottish Church, he remarks, 'They are often quoted to prove that what the Protestants said of the unreformed clergy was, in substance, true. It is difficult to obtain any light on the further question how many *good* clergymen there were; we know that there were bishops like Reid and priests like Winzet, and for every such man who put himself on record by managing a diocese or writing a book there must have been many who lived and died obscure.'

The character of Knox did not attract Raleigh. He repudiates the idea that Knox was 'the chief author of the liberties we now enjoy,' while he considers that Mary had the more modern ideas upon the subject of religious toleration and favoured compromise. It must be however remembered that it was in Mary's interest to compromise, she being the weaker party. She also was doubtless influenced by her French training. Upon Knox's side there could be no thought of compromise. Papists were idolaters to be rooted out of the land. Of one thing Knox had a certainty. He was always sure that he was right and that his adversaries were wrong. This was doubtless due not to any high estimate of his own judgment, but to the belief that he was always under divine guidance. It was a certainty shared by his successors in the seventeenth century. It made for strength, but also for intolerance. While Knox in his public life seems generally to have been inspired by the Old Testament, it is to be noted that when he came to die he found his comfort in the Gospel of St. John. He and his old enemy, Mary of Guise, seem at the end to have rested upon the same religious foundation.

The plan adopted in this book has been to devote a separate chapter to each century from the beginning of the Christian era. Some of these are necessarily very short. Those relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth are long and full.

The many incidents relating to the churches, some very characteristically Scottish, which occurred in the eighteenth century, are duly noted. Under the nineteenth the story of the Disruption is again told briefly, but in a clear and very fair manner. The latest events mentioned are the great Free Church case and the Royal Commission which followed upon it.

This book is the outcome of much and careful reading. The author does not claim to have thrown any new light upon the important matters dealt with, but he has certainly given us an admirable compendium of our national ecclesiastical history.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

PRICES AND WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1914-1920. By Arthur L. Bowley, Sc.D., Professor of Statistics, University of London. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1921. Royal 8vo. Pp. xx, 228. Price 10s. 6d.

LE VICOMTE GEORGES D'AVENEL declares that the history of prices is 'la plus grosse part de l'histoire des hommes.' Prices according to him afford the key to great secular changes which would otherwise remain mysteries to the historian. To tabulate records of prices and reduce them to some common denominator is to prepare the way for important discoveries. Here there

is no need for hypotheses, nor can the human fallibility of the researcher lead to error. Figures cannot lie. This is an alluring prospect. But in spite of the enthusiasm of d'Avenel, and the assiduity with which he and his collaborators have collected prices, historians remain somewhat sceptical. Perhaps they find it easier to form hypotheses and more adventurous to be liable to fall into error. If, however, they are inclined to put d'Avenel's principles to the test, they would do well to consider the period treated in this volume.

The War concentrated into a few years changes which normally work themselves out very slowly. For these years there is a great abundance of material. In fact, the difficulty is to take into due consideration the wealth of available evidence. Professor Bowley's book is one of the series planned by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace in order to lay the foundation for the *Economic and Social History of the World War*. It is confined to an account of the principal movements of prices and of rates of wages. To explain the causes of these movements is no part of the author's plan. He records the facts and endeavours to find a basis for their interpretation. His attempts to do this are peculiarly instructive. They at once expose the difficulty of establishing comparisons between one period and another. By taking the prices of a number of commodities—each of which will be affected by conditions peculiar to itself as well as by causes operating on all prices—it is possible to construct index-numbers which make comparisons between wholesale prices, retail prices, or rates of wages, in different years, feasible. Professor Bowley explains this method and subjects the Index-numbers of the *Statist*, the *Economist*, and the Board of Trade to close examination for the War period.

The important social question, however, is whether the pre-war standard of living was maintained. At normal times this question is fairly well answered by comparing the rise in prices with that in wages. If they keep pace with one another the standard is probably maintained, for the working class family's budget is pretty constant. But during the War this simple method was not applicable. The budget was affected by the change in the quality of certain commodities, by the appearance of substitutes, and by the strict rationing of such an article as sugar. A pre-war budget is therefore not comparable with a war budget. The Committee on the Cost of Living to the Working Classes adopted the method of comparing the nutritive value of the articles which figured in the average pre-war budget of 1914 with that of the average budget of 1918. This they expressed in 'calories.' They found an average fall of about three per cent. As to rates of wages, it seems established that they lagged behind prices—as it is generally supposed they will when prices are rising—but here again Professor Bowley shows that the conditions were abnormal. Rates of wages are misleading. In many cases earnings were much higher than the average rate of wages because of the adoption of piece-rates and the working of overtime. Earnings often outpaced prices. After the Armistice this would cease to be the case. Rates of wages then become comparable with those of 1914.

Particular attention has been drawn to these consequences of the abnormal conditions of War because they show that the standard of living is not

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such an easy conception to deal with as is sometimes supposed. This book is worthy of Professor Bowley's reputation as a statistician. He writes with intimate knowledge of the War conditions, for, although he does not tell us so, he was in constant touch with the Government departments during the period of strain which he here dispassionately describes.

J. F. REES.

NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE AND BRITAIN. By C. Raymond Beazley, D.Litt. Pp. 344. Cr. 8vo. Glasgow: William Collins, Sons & Co. 1922. 3s. 6d.

BRITAIN AS A EUROPEAN POWER. By Andrew Browning, M.A. Pp. 304. With 10 maps. Cr. 8vo. Glasgow: William Collins, Sons & Co. 1922. 3s. 6d.

THESE two volumes fully maintain the high standard of an excellent series. Professor Beazley, within the narrow limits set by space, has produced an admirable sketch of recent European history. His book is one which can be confidently recommended to the general reader as well as to the student, for it forms an introduction to the subject which is calculated to lure the reader on to further investigations amongst the volumes cited in the bibliography. A lively style preserves the sense of movement from start to finish, and as the period covered is 1812-1918 the narrative exhibits clearly the origin and growth of those forces which culminated in the catastrophe of 1914. Apart from his style, Professor Beazley achieves his success not so much by condensation—tabloid history is indigestible—as by a bold selection of topics, which leads to a ruthless elimination of some, and a scanty treatment of others, but which permits a full and illuminating account of those which the author deems of fundamental importance. A leading place is given to the German and Russian influences, and the dominating figure is that of Bismarck. The achievements of Bismarck and the failures of William II. are clearly and forcibly shown forth, and it is in delineating the Age of Bismarck that Professor Beazley gives us his best work. We gladly note the promise that his original research in this period will bear fruit in further publications.

Mr. Browning must also be congratulated upon a good and somewhat novel piece of work. The object of his volume is to bring out the connection between Britain and Europe. The subject is approached from the British rather than from the European standpoint, but the history of Britain is dealt with only in so far as it affected, or was affected by, the history of Europe. Mr. Browning's method is to take up a great movement such as the Crusades, or the Reformation; to show this movement first in its European aspect, and then to show with what modifications it affected Britain. The result is an attractive volume which should be of considerable service to the student.

FRANCIS C. HOOD.

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THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB. Eleventh volume. Pp. xii, 176, 43. With 17 plates, 8 illustrations in the text and 1 map. 4to. Edinburgh: Printed by T. & A. Constable for the members of the Club. 1922.

THE Old Edinburgh Club, instead of trying to issue a small volume to its members every year, has just distributed its eleventh volume, which is for the two years 1919 and 1920. The Club is to be congratulated on its method of meeting the present difficulties of production, for the volume now in our hands is a substantial one, full of valuable papers and richly illustrated. Professor Hannay contributes a learned paper on 'The Antecedents of the College of Justice.' It is one of several papers which have recently been contributed by him on the development of Scottish Institutions. Mr. Peck writes an interesting article on Shelley in Edinburgh in the early part of last century, in which there is a drawing of a couple of houses in George Street, which reminds one of the beauty of that street before modern architects destroyed its simplicity and dignity. There is a composite paper on the Tailors' Hall, Cowgate, in which the records and buildings are dealt with by Mr. Thomas Ross and Professor Baldwin Brown, while Mr. Forbes Gray adds two chapters from its History. The paper is very richly illustrated with architectural drawings.

A valuable feature of this volume is a large scale map of Edinburgh in the mid-eighteenth century. Mr. Henry F. Kerr has contributed some letterpress to accompany the map, and has marked with very great detail the historic places of interest in the old city. He has also indicated on the map the lines of the streets as they are at present, so that the positions of the streets and buildings as they were two hundred years ago can be compared with the Edinburgh of to-day.

The historian of the future will find the volumes of this Club a veritable quarry. It is idle to lament the buildings which had disappeared before the Club began its activities; we ought to congratulate it upon the valuable work it has done in the last fifteen years.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS.
Volume I. By John Humphreys Davies. Pp. xiv, 382. 8vo.
Aberystwyth. 1921.

CONTAINING the additional MSS. in the collections given to the library by Sir John Williams, G.C.V.O., this catalogue, prepared (the preface tells) 'as a labour of love' by the Principal of the University College of Wales, is a register of progress already marked. The library made a magnificent start as regards Welsh manuscripts with two great collections each catalogued by Dr. J. G. Evans. Now we have a supplementary catalogue which with patriotic spirit does substantial justice to the importance of the library's contents. The collections abound in poetry, Welsh poetry, and pains have been taken in the cataloguing to quote the first lines. Besides its vast stock of song this catalogue covers numerous commonplace books, pedigree notes, letters, and a few Welsh deeds. Among them is correspondence between Welsh philologists and George Chalmers, author of *Caledonia*, who

received it is to be feared much unreliable place-name-lore from his Welsh friends. Principal Davies has had the advantage of help from Mr. A. J. Herbert of the British Museum in dealing with the Arthurian MSS., which include the *Birth of Arthur*, *Le Vieux Tristan* the *Roman de Gallehaut* and *Yvain*.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY ON SCOTTISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE. Compiled by Arthur R. Anderson. Pp. 43. 8vo. Glasgow: Saint Andrew Society. 1922.

THIS is drawn up as a handy reference list of 300 books on Scotland. While the plane of selection perhaps scarcely does justice to the full intellectual stature of the society there are helpful and representative suggestions for readers who need such guidance as Mr. Anderson's recommendations afford.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY. Published by the Department of Modern Indian History three times yearly. Editor Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Vol. I. Part I. Pp. 188. 8vo. Oxford: Humphrey Milford.

A NEW journal of Indian history issuing from Allahabad University and edited by an Indian professor whose reach of study is a wide radius should find response in this country where Macaulay and Hunter are standards, the one for his general narrative of conquest, the other for his detail of constitutional, civic and mercantile life under modern administration with its growing share of native authority in the task. Professor Ahmad Khan makes a good start with a readable and weighty sketch of the 'East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century,' which has its main direction towards tracing the central policy of the old East India Company. He interprets that policy very favourably, commending its aspirations after free trade, the peaceful expansion of commerce and the soundness of its economy. He is at issue with Hunter and others as to the political objective of the Company, believing that its enterprises did not originate in a design of empire-founding, but in a purpose to make India the 'mart of nations.' The editor himself writes four articles in the present number. Chief among them is one on the War with Aurangzeb, in which he reiterates the view, based on India Office documents, that the Company's aim was security, not territorial sovereignty. Evidently there are difficulties in Indian printing if we may judge from the number of vexatious misprints or misspellings. One word we never saw before is 'unoften': may it be smothered at its birth! The wish is without prejudice to the welcome and goodwill extended here to the new journal.

G. N.

Two more papers on mounds and remains steeped in tradition come to us from the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxvi., section C, Nos. 4-5. The first is by Mr. John P. Dalton on 'Cromm Cruaich of Magh Sleacht,' and is an attempt to discover the site where stood the figure of Crom Cruaich, famous in the biographies of St. Patrick and regarded in that saint's time as the chief idol of Ireland. This study—a memory of the

pre-Christian creeds—gathers a remarkable series of legendary data on well-worship, the idolatries which Patrick found and the varieties of the story of his demolishing Crom's famous shrine. The human sacrifices associated with him make one wonder sadly whether in these fierce days of ours the Isle of Saints has not in spite of St. Patrick returned to the cult. No easy task however has to be faced in locating the site of the idol which has engaged previous enquirers, and Mr. Dalton adds an attempt to penetrate the mystery of Crom's personal identity in his place of supremacy in the old Irish pantheon. He inclines to reckon him a sun god or thunder god and to set up his vanished simulacrum at Magh Sleacht, Tullyhaw, Co. Cavan. His discussion of Crom is fascinating, and although the localities of legend are elusive he makes a strong case for Tullyhaw. Mr. T. J. Westropp conducts a cognate inquiry in his double paper 'The Mound of the Fiana and a note on Temair Luachra,' about the credentials of another god, Lug, the terrible and bloodthirsty, whose face was splendid as the sun. Here again there is a perplexing problem of location into which we may not enter beyond acknowledging the attraction of this dissertation parallel to Mr. Dalton's.

In the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (xxxvi. C 16-22) Professor H. J. Lawlor makes a valuable contribution to the history of the Synod of Kells, 1152, based on a list of Irish sees in a MS. in the Library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier. He argues that this list is not related to that given in the *Liber Censuum* but to the *Provinciale* of Albinus, and that the Montpellier list and the *Provinciale* have a common origin in an exemplar written within fifteen years of the Synod. He traces the Montpellier MS. to Clairvaux and notes that St. Malachy of Armagh and Cardinal Paparo, both closely associated with the Synod, were friends of St. Bernard. He suggests that it was transcribed at Clairvaux from Paparo's manuscript of the Acts of the Synod. The Montpellier version offers Prof. Lawlor material for annotation. Mr. E. J. Gwynn is to be congratulated on his discovery of the version and Prof. Lawlor on his ingenious and illuminating treatment of it.

The April number of the *English Historical Review* opens with a firmly outlined statement by Mr. W. A. Morris on 'The Sheriffs and the Administrative System of Henry I.' Its remarkable feature was the high centralisation which after 1106 grouped several shires under one sheriff, a pluralism of sheriffs presumably of well tried loyalty. Under the Conqueror and Rufus the sheriffs had been mainly a hereditary and baronial class: under Henry there was considerable displacement. It is curious to hear of a sheriff of eight shires, or of eleven held by two courtiers. The definiteness of Mr. Morris will make easier the examination of assigned causes for these experiments in administrative devolution.

Mr. W. T. Waugh makes the 'Great Statute of Praemunire' his text and puts forward very guardedly and in tentative form an opinion contrary to the notion that the statute of 1393 'was intended and understood to be a measure of the first importance protecting against ecclesiastical intrusion the whole field of jurisdiction claimed by the Crown.' As interpreted in

later times it was a powerful instrument for the Crown when at variance with either pope or clergy. Mr. Waugh documents his scrutiny with a weighty body of footnote commentary and quotation.

Mr. George Unwin, finding the 'Transition to the Factory System' as his problem, exhibits the conditions during 1780-1790, illustrating, e.g. the effect of the muslin wheel or mule in the manufacture, and examining both external relations and internal economy of cotton as well as muslin weaving, with incidental notices of silk-throwing prior to the effectual introduction of the power loom. Mr. Ernest Barker has a great and charming theme in Lord Bryce, and his handling of it reveals many intimacies and records many personal and literary facts about him especially as political observer, ambassador and historical author. His titles to fame include his having been invited to be the editor of the *English Historical Review* on its foundation in 1885.

Notes and Documents in a list even fuller than ordinary range from the Conquest to the Crusades and from the 'Law Merchant in London in 1292' to one more re-examination of Macaulay's aspersions on the clergy in sixteenth-seventeenth century England. Rev. H. E. Salter edits a very odd Latin invective poem possibly dating towards 1331. Mr. F. M. Stenton, who has lately been writing on semi-servile tenures in East Anglia, has come upon a series of paragraphs in a record of encroachments in the Register of the abbey of St. Benet of Holme, in Norfolk, between 1101 and 1107. They contain primary contemporary memoranda of a time when Norfolk was directly under Danish influences, inclusive not only of Scandinavian names but of tenurial specialties, notably of the recurrent term *manreda* (Scots law knew it as 'manred') used, Mr. Stenton thinks, as meaning homage, a suggestion some readers may incline to doubt, as hardly quite covering the case. It is used as Mr. Stenton clearly shows 'to cover men who are described in Domesday as *bordarii*,' a cottar class which falls to be remembered whenever the 'bordland' (or boreland) is etymologically analysed. Mr. Stenton deserves congratulation for his *dossier* of tenurial data. Their range is probably not confined to East Anglia.

The Antiquaries Journal for April is a closely illustrated and very varied miscellany beginning with Roman spoons and ending with finely distinct and articulate plates of Lord Emly's shrine, a reliquary from Tervoe, county Limerick. Mr. Reginald A. Smith describes recent exhibits, notably two beautiful gold crescents from Cornwall and a cast from a remarkable shale mould for jewellery found by Mr. F. G. Simpson in an excavation of the Northumbrian Vallum at Halton Chesters. Mr. Hildburgh deals with some very skilful Catalan specimens of medieval stamped metal-work. Prof. Zammit shows Maltese sculptured heads. Note is taken of the progress of a controversy on the date of Stonehenge involved in a discussion of the late Sir N. Lockyer's astronomical theory. Conflicting computations point to about 1840 B.C. as against Lockyer's 1680 B.C. A report on the Hartlepool Saxon cemetery adds much fresh fact. An armorial pendant, bearing fleuretty a leopard rampant silver (believed to be for Holland) is an exhibit by Mr. C. H. Blair, found at Darlington. A sacred spring at Alesia has been under discussion by M. René Cagnat and other French antiquaries.

In *History* for April Dr. William Miller traces the somewhat side-tracked story of the Republic of San Marino with special bearing on modern politics but with frequent reversion to old historical episodes. Its survival of the war appears to have marked some advance of democracy in the government and Dr. Miller's closing sentence quotes its parliamentary motto *Animus in consulendo liber: in votis dirimendis aequanimitas* as requiring jealous maintenance. Mr. D. G. E. Hall works out the Anglo-French relations under Charles II., showing clearly the general unpopularity in Britain of the Francophile policy and its steady trend towards the revolution of 1688. Professor A. P. Newton adds to the list of this magazine's characteristic 'historical revisions' a restatement of the Columbus question, showing the tangle of misrepresentations to which the explorer in supporting his financial and aristocratic pretensions resorted for various of his interests, and which include a considerable vitiation of the real genesis and purpose of the enterprise.

This brisk, well-conceived quarterly made such obvious progress under the editorship of Professor Pollard, that the advance may confidently be expected to continue under his successor, Miss E. Jeffries Davis, to whom our good wishes are heartily tendered.

The *Juridical Review* for March opens with a resonant plea by Mr. William Roughead, repeating a former argument of his for a reversal of the verdict of condemnation of the memory of Lord Braxfield. There is great force in the defence, but it is hard to find justification for his bearing in the political trials. Lord Sands is humorous regarding the 'personal litigant,' of the stamp of Dundonnachie. Mr. A. R. G. M'Millan has gathered solid data about the Scottish Admiralty Court. He has discovered a capital subject. His article suffers by condensation. The Rev. Thomas Miller writes once more polemically on parochial tithes: sometimes his blows at the adversary seem a trifle wide of the mark. Professor James Mackintosh cordially estimates the late Professor Henry Goudy as a civilian. Dr. D. P. Heatley has a wider field before him in his well-wrought appreciation of Viscount Bryce, especially bringing out the potency of Roman law study in Bryce's lifelong observation of democracy. One can well understand how Bryce's many-sided distinction should be regarded by a scholar not less drawn to the history of Roman institutions than Bryce himself. The paper though short is a fine tribute which will gratify the dead scholar's numberless admirers.

The *Juridical Review* for June begins with an English murder case, the poisoning of Sir Theodosius Boughton in 1780 by Captain John Donnellan. Mr. William Roughead handles the story (which ends with the execution) in his lively manner with comprehensive information. Lord Anderson writes on 'Edinburgh in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century,' and reconstructs the city with happy touches, some of which refer to the lawyers of the time. 'The Real Pleydell,' Mr. James Thomson's article, might perhaps have been more satisfying had Mr. Thomson known of Mr. Frank Miller's careful study of Andrew Crosbie in the recent *Transactions* of the Dumfries antiquaries.

The April number of the *American Historical Review* is perhaps its most noteworthy issue. Professor Franklin Jameson devotes sixteen pages to a clear, succinct and attractive account of the annual meeting of the Association at St. Louis. Subjects discussed which excite remark embrace Prof. Breasted's plea for intensified study on the new light upon the Origins of Civilization available under recent and new opportunities in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and Syria, particularly as regards the origins of science. The American Revolution had a sitting all to itself. Agriculture and its influence on American transport inclusive of the development of the Conestoga horse and wagon, the turnpike and the canal were exhibited as at once economic, historical and social factors. Increasingly the history of science is demanding its place in these yearly conferences.

The presidential address by the French ambassador, Dr. J. J. Jusserand, must have been a delight to hear. It is a brilliant performance, and its appearance in this issue of the Review will enable many readers to share the pleasure of the audience. Its theme is the School for Ambassadors, and it is a witty, weighty, well sustained and comprehensive statement of the development of the function of ambassador, from the crude beginnings and low moral of the older until the ultimate expectation rose to a refined ideal of truth and honour, against which the illustrious exponent a little maliciously exhibited Bismarck as a typically gross offender. The address had as its centre of gravity the demonstration that Pecquet of the French foreign office in 1737 had excelled all his competitors in defining the ethic of embassy, with an exacting austerity. M. Jusserand is to be congratulated on the obvious fact that time and the arduous demands of office have only served to heighten the literary quality and philosophic grasp of this great political essay. We who remember his earlier writings with admiration can see in this finished product a masterly example of a scholar's workmanship ripened by the experience and responsibilities of thirty years in a lofty ambassadorial chair.

Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick has returned to Prof. Firth's article in the *Scottish Historical Review*, xv. 185, on the term British Empire. He adds many citations to Prof. Firth's, drawing chiefly from maps and having a trend towards a comprehensive sense wider than merely Great Britain.

An unsigned contribution of equal magnitude and significance is a first instalment of Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613-1631. Lionel Cranfield (Lord Sackville and afterwards Earl of Middlesex) had for several years been surveyor general of the customs and thus came to hold these papers of state invaluable for the mercantile and shipping, social, administrative and export and import development of the colony. Over forty pages go to this elaborate file of papers, which are a positive windfall to commercial and colonial history. In regard to Trade, of course Tobacco is the central concern, but there are large particulars also on furs and hides, fish, firearms, armour and bows and arrows, 'red cattell' and corn, with intimations about ships and forts and the already prevalent troubles with the Indians and hints on the 'Common weale' of Virginia and on 'plantation' policy. Captain John Bargrave's proposals in 1623 are astute and curious pieces of statecraft; for instance, his plan 'to sever and devide the faculties

of Sovereignty and the Commaund of the forces' among the colonists 'that they shall never meet united in power but to advance our polliticke end of houlding the plantacion to England.'

In the *Iowa Journal* for April the letters of a young minister, Stephen H. Hayes, in 1845 are edited. They are lively and descriptive, written on tour to Iowæ by way of Boston, Washington, Pittsburgh and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, returning by Chicago and the Great Lakes. The most impressive features of an uneventful journey concern the sections of the journey made by ship. The diarist was himself greatly struck on seeing the Mississippi. He learned that the man who had sown the first bushel of wheat in Ohio was still living. Already the issues were sharp between slavery and anti-slavery. Hayes himself was all against 'slaveocracy.' Already there was a vast export of cereals. Much corn was made into whisky for export. Roads were very bad: they were of 'corderoy' type. Altogether the letters attest the rapidity of the settlement of the western states.

In this number Mr. L. B. Schmidt concludes his account of the Internal Grain Trade. He largely bases his examination of the heavy statistics of rail and shipment on the struggle for traffic between the two. The columns of figures of east-bound flour steadily work out the heavy excess of rail over ship, while in wheat and corn there are enormous excesses by millions of bushels the other way.

Maryland Historical Magazine for December sketches the life of James A. Pearce (1805-1863), a Whig Senator, and continues its long notice of Thomas Johnson, politician, congressman, and brigadier, whose participation in the Independence discussions of 1776 made his influence of critical note in his time. Various letters and documents of 1707-1709 are printed, throwing light on a variety of matters, particularly the importation of slaves into Maryland between 1698 and 1709. Hearne's observations on the Calvert family are excerpted and reprinted from his *Collections*.

In the *Revue Historique* for Nov.-Dec. 1921, M. Louis Batiffol deals with *Richelieu et la question de l'Alsace*. The editors print his thesis with a reservation. M. Robere Vivier studies the *Ordonnance* of February, 1351, passed after the ravages of the Black Death. It relaxed the existing privileges of the trading corporations, but these bodies had regained their control by the end of a century. In the *Bulletin Historique* M. Halphen surveys recent publications on Medieval French history before the accession of the Valois. The number for January-February, 1922, contains a valuable economic paper by M. Terlinden on *La politique économique de Guillaume Ire, roi des Pays-Bas, en Belgique* (1814-1830). The *Bulletin Historique* is devoted to Byzantine history (Louis Bréhier).

The number of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for January, 1922, contains the second and final instalment of Dom Villecourt's study of the Chrism in the Coptic Church, and the final instalment of M. Viller's account of the Movement for a Union between the Eastern and Western Churches in the period from 1274 to 1438. M. Watrigant contributes an account of André Deville, an enthusiastic disciple of Mme. Guyon. The study is

based upon a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale containing an account of the arguments between Deville and his friend M. de la Vigne. The manuscript belongs to the first years of the eighteenth century. Dom Aubourg contributes a notice of Jackson and Lake's *The Beginnings of Christianity*, described with some reservations as 'une assez belle pièce d'apologétique catholique.' Among other recent publications noted are Père Allo's *St. Jean, L'Apocalypse*, volumes vi, vii and viii of Le Clerq's edition of Hefele, which bring the classical treatise down to the middle of the sixteenth century; M. Austin's *L'écho de la Réforme en France au XVI^e siècle*, and Father Pollen's *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. The number contains the usual invaluable bibliography extending to 88 pages.

The *French Quarterly* for March, 1922, contains an interesting and suggestive article by Professor W. P. Ker on 'Molière and the Muse of Comedy.' M. Eggli deals at some length with the regionalist movement in contemporary French letters, a subject which is attracting increased attention from intelligent observers. Professor Ritchie, of Birmingham University, whose competence on the subject is well known, lays down a high standard on the question of translation from foreign languages. The number contains interesting surveys of the French theatre, recent novels and a useful bibliography.

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (January-July, 1921) is largely devoted to articles and documents relating to the Third Order (*de Paenitentia*), instituted 1221, and therefore celebrating its seventh centenary. Father A. Van den Wingaert discusses the debated question of the identification of the first tertiary admitted by St. Francis. A manuscript of the first rule of this Order belonging to the xiii-xiv century has recently re-emerged from hiding, and is transcribed and annotated by Father B. Bughetti. The description of the Franciscan codices of the Riccardian Library at Florence is continued, and an index of matter in volumes 1 to 13 of the *Archivum* referring to the Third Order is given.

The issue for October last opens with an article upon the date of the Cardinalate of S. Bonaventure by Father A. Callebaut. The first Franciscan to receive the Cardinal's hat (S. Bonaventure) was in all likelihood promoted, by Pope Gregory X. at Orvieto, upon 28th May, 1273. Among the documents discussed is the early codex of Constitutions of the Franciscan Province of Provence (*Constitutiones generales Narbonenses*). These are given in their existing double form. By them the Order was governed until 1260.

In both issues an interesting record is resumed of Franciscan literature from 1914-15 onwards. One is struck with the number of works falling to be chronicled. Among the papers published during these years there occur several dealing with the philosophy of the Scottish Franciscan Duns Scotus.

J. E.

Notes and Communications

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was a sacrifice to the War. A born critic who made literature out of everything he touched, he should have had another score of years for his true avocation ; but the unfinished task fated to him instead was to write a history of aircraft in the war, and during his travels in connection with this work he caught typhus in Mesopotamia and died on May 13 at the age of 61. He had as a lecturer the ravishing gift of expressing his own love for his subject in terms that made the hearer love it too. When you heard him on Spenser or Milton you wanted to get hold of the *Faerie Queen* or *Paradise Lost* at once, determined this time to read it through, or—greater feat—to read it again. Although he did not write history he steered his essays and criticisms almost always parallel to that coast. His bright and happy work on *The English Novel* was a historical study of British fiction : his Milton was saturated with the political unity of the man and the poet : his Stevenson was an interpretation of biography in a case all its own. A Bohemian streak which he shared with Stevenson made him a lover of the picaresque, so that his essay on the English Voyagers and other pirates was a holiday revel. He wanted to write another on thieves and highwaymen. His Shakespeare was perhaps not the last word ; whose is? But it adorns its place in the English Men of Letters.

Raleigh's charm in conversation as on the lecture floor was in part due to his extraordinary faculty of appreciation. He had a great gift of seeing first class things, a soul of sympathy for brilliant creation and verbal felicity. As he once put it to the writer of this paragraph, 'You know, I am literary to the finger tips.' This was an apology for his interest being so much deeper in the poetry itself than in the facts on which and out of which the poet lived and wrote. Yet the present writer gratefully remembers the splendid generosity with which Raleigh, then a new entrant into Glasgow University, encouraged the studies of a minor investigator of Scottish history in the darkneses of the fourteenth century.

G. N.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY. The *Quarterly Record* for January, issued by the Bodleian, is one of unusual interest. It contains *inter alia* an account of the printing of a volume on the works issued by the Daniel press. This was produced within the walls of the Bodleian and on the hand press which Dr. Daniel used for many years, when preparing the series of privately printed volumes which will always be associated with his name. The *Record* also gives a sheet of poems by King James VI., printed on this press

in the Bodleian Library. They are accompanied by an introduction by Mr. Craster. Two of these poems have not been printed before, and belong to a much later period than King James's published works. The following are the opening stanza of 'A Poëme made by Kinge James, upon the voyage of his sonne Charles & Marquesse Buckingham, into Spayne.' March: 1623.

What suddayne change hath dark't of late
The glory of th' Arcadian state?
The fleecy flockes refuse to feede,
The lambes to play, the ewes to breede.
The Altars smoake, the offringes burne,
Till Jack & Tom doe safe returne.

The spring neglects his course to keepe;
The ayre with mightie stormes doth weepe;
The prety birdes disdain to singe,
The meades to smell, the woodes to springe;
The mountaynes droppe, the fountaynes mourne,
Till Jack and Tom doe safe returne.

THE ABSOLUTION OF ROBERT BRUCE. The following document is preserved in a Trinity College Manuscript (E. 2, 28, p. 396), of which Dr. Skene made use for his edition of the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun. He seems to have overlooked it, as he did also the fragment of the Life of Servanus, which immediately follows it in the same volume.¹

LITTERA PRO ABSOLUTIONE REGIS ROBERTI DE BRUYSS. [B]eringarius miseracione divina titulo Sanctorum nereii et achillei presbiter cardinalis religioso viro abbati Monasterii de paslecho ordinis Sancti Benedicti glauguensis dyocesis Salutem in Domino. Ex parte roberti de Bruyss laici de Karryk dicte dyocesis nobis oblata petitio continebat quod ipse olim suadente diabolo cum quibusdam concipicibus suis Johannem et Robertum cumyn milites ut plurimum sibi aduersantes in ecclesia fratrum minorum de Dumfreys occidit verum cum ipse cum dictis concipicibus suis propter capitales inimicitias et guerra et cetera discrimina sedem apostolicam ac etiam suum diocesanum uel eius vicarium adire non possit supplicando fecit humiliter sibi et dictis suis concipicibus per sedem eandem misericorditer prouideri Nos igitur qui libenter Christi fidelibus subuenimus autoritate domini pape cuius penitentiarii curam gerimus discretioni tue committimus quod si est ita postquam dictus Robertus et dicti sui complices ecclesie supradicte satisfecerint competenter ipsum et suos dictos complices ab excommunicatione quam eos propter contigit incurrisse et ab huiusmodi laicalis homicidii reatu absoluas hac vice iuxta formam ecclesie consutam et ipsorum confessione deligenter audita et culpa considerata iniungas eis autoritate predicta penitentiam salutarem et alia que de iure fuerint

¹ The text of this Life which Dr. Skene printed in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 412 ff., from the Marsh MS. Z, 4.5.5, seems to be almost identical with that of the T.C.D. fragment.

iniungeda†. Datum piceni x° kl' augusti pontificatus domini clementis iii anno quinto

The date of this letter is obviously incorrect; for Pope Clement III. died in 1191. But if we regard *Clementis iii* as a *lapsus calami*, and substitute for it *Clementis v*, we get the date 23rd July, 1310, which is consistent with other indications in the letter. The writer is Berengarius Fredoli senior, who, according to Eubel (*Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. i, ed. 2, p. 45), was Cardinal priest of SS. Nereus and Achilleus from 15th December, 1305, to his translation to the bishopric of Tusculum. It is true that Eubel states that the translation was made in (*ib.* p. 45) or about (*ib.* p. 39) 1309. But apparently this is an inference from the recorded facts that Joannes Buccamatius, Bishop of Tusculum, died on 10th August, 1309, and that Berengarius Fredoli junior succeeded to the title of SS. Nereus and Achilleus on 23rd December, 1312. The elder Berengarius may well have been still a cardinal priest in July 1310.

John and Robert Comyn were murdered on 10th February, 1306; and it is well known that Bruce was absolved a few days later—apparently on Saturday, 12th February (*Registra Joh. Whethamstede, etc.*, ed. H. T. Riley (R.S.) ii. 352; cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiii, 1918, p. 366). But the absolver was Robert Wischard, Bishop of Glasgow, Bruce's whole-hearted admirer. It is quite probable that a few years later he thought it well to secure an absolution that would carry more weight. It was literally true that in 1310 'he could not approach his diocesan,' for at that time Wischard was a prisoner in England (Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 307).

H. J. LAWLOR.

Trinity College, Dublin.

AESCULAPIUS IN FIFE (*S.H.R.* xix. 184). Sir Bruce Seton prints the account, rendered for medical attendance, by Robert Scott of Coats to the lady of Raith. He was, according to a family tradition, a cadet of the Scotts of Balwearie. During the Covenanting troubles he had to take refuge in Holland, but returned to Scotland at the Revolution. He purchased the small estate of Coats from Sir William Hope in 1704.

Whatever his qualifications may have been, his son John was certainly fully qualified, studying under the celebrated Boerhaave at Leyden, and taking his degree of M.D. in 1712, his thesis being dedicated to Scott of Scotstarvit. Dr. John Scott married the daughter and heiress of David Moncrieff of Rhynd, clerk to the Privy Council in the reign of William III. Their son Robert assumed the name of Scott Moncrieff, which has been borne by his descendants ever since.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

THE STUART PAPERS AT THE SCOTS COLLEGE AT PARIS. The following account of the literary remains of James II. of England and VII. of Scotland is preserved in the British Museum (Add. MS. 35,839, fo. 292) among the papers which originally belonged to Philip

Stuart Papers at the Scots College at Paris 327

Yorke, second earl of Hardwicke. This description may be compared with those furnished by :

1. Thomas Carte in his *Proposals* (1746) for printing his *History of England*, the relevant portions of which are contained in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 492, 505.

2. David Hume in his *History of England* (ed. 1797), viii. 4. Cf. J. Hill Burton's *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* (ed. 1846), ii. 179, 200 ; G. Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of David Hume*, p. 264 ; and Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (ed. 1875), i. 394-6, where Lady Shelburne gives an account of a dinner party in 1766 at which Hume described James's Memoirs.

3. James Macpherson in his *Original Papers*, i. 6-7.

4. Charles James Fox in his introduction to his *History of the Reign of James II.*

These seem to be the only accounts of any value of the papers of James when they were still all at the Scots College at Paris. During the French Revolution some of the papers were destroyed : the remainder after various adventures (*vide Hist. MSS. Comm. Stuart Papers*, vol. i. ; *ante*, xviii, 171) found a permanent home at Windsor Castle.

G. DAVIES.

'SOME ACCOUNT OF KING JAMES' MEMOIRS GIVEN ME BY LORD SHELburne.'

Paris, Nov. 23rd, 1771.

Father Gordon the Superior of the Scotch College shewed us into a small closet wherein have been deposited, since the death of James the 2nd. several letters and papers relative to that family. We saw opposite to the door three large boxes sealed with the family seal, one of which he told us contained the Duke of Ormond's correspondence, another Bishop Atterbury's, and a third very large one contained the letters of the whole family down to the year 1701. There was a fourth box, now empty, which, as Father Gordon says, was the very box sent by James II thro' the hands of the Sardinian minister to Paris before he himself left London, and this box contained several MS[S]. in his own handwriting, particularly several volumes of the Journals of his Life. These volumes are now placed under a double key on the left hand of the closet. We read some of the first pages of the first volume of the Journal which professes to give an account of his Life from his birth & appears written in an easy natural stile with a sufficient compass and in a very legible hand, expressing himself sometimes in the 1st sometimes in the 3rd person.

We saw likewise 5 very thick folio volumes which appear to be an history of his life compiled, as Father Gordon told us, about 60 years ago, not only from his Journal, but likewise from the large box of letters which were opened about 30 years ago but never since. We found in the 5th volume very particular accounts of the correspondence of most of the whig lords with James 2 to the time of his death. It appears that the Duke of

Marlborough continued a constant correspondence with him. There are extracts from several of his letters sometimes assuring him of his fidelity & acknowledging his conduct to be criminal in various respects and in the very meanest Terms, at others proposing different projects for a Revolution, in which he always supposes 20 or 25 thousand French Troops to be absolutely necessary. In other of his Letters he gives intelligence of King William's designs & of the preparations from time to time both of the Fleet & Army, in one particular of the expedition against Brest a month before it sailed. It appears likewise that My Lord Godolphin, My Lord Shrewsbury, My lord Dartmouth, Admiral Russell and Mr. Penn were in almost a constant communication with James 2^d. if not by Letter, yet thro' the medium of Mr. Berkeley & Colonel Sackville. Mention is likewise made of the Lords Devon[shi]re and Brandon being in the same disposition.

Admiral Russell appears to have been the only man who thought of stipulating any thing in behalf of the Kingdom, and mentioned something to that purpose in all his conferences, which, however, were confined to generals, referring to a particular Letter which should contain the whole of his sentiments with regard to the stipulations he deemed necessary to be insisted on in behalf of the subject. The conditions of the Duke of Marlborough and others appears to have been always personal, the principal of them, Indemnity for their past conduct. The duke at first only desired a Letter under the King's hand signifying his free pardon, but finding him easy and compliable, he increased in his demands and required a letter for Lord Godolphin with two lines added from the Queen signifying her particular forgiveness. Lord Godolphin's conduct seems to have been full of treachery, meanness and deceit towards both sides; the duke of Marlborough as bad, My lord Halifax capricious and violent, Lord Shrewsbury's seems to have had more of sentiment in it.

James the 2^d gives us his reasons for leaving Ireland so soon viz. a project which he had of making a descent upon England assisted by a great body of French. This project was afterwards dropt and Lewis 14th was displeas'd with James's want of *opiniâtreté* in Ireland.

James the 2^d absolutely denies having had anything to do in the assassination plot.

We read likewise a MS. containing advice to his son. After a short preface James cautions his son 1st against women, 2^{ndly} against youthfull ambition of Empire. . . .¹

The original of these instructions is at Rome. This copy has at the end of it an attestation written & signed by the Queen.

¹ Here follows a summary of 'The Advice which James the Second bequeathed to his son James,' which is omitted because 'The Advice' is printed in full in the *Life of James II.*, edited by J. S. Clarke in 1816, vol. ii. 617-47.