

## A Successor of David Garrick

IT has been claimed for John Henderson, otherwise known as 'The Bath Roscius,' that when Garrick retired from the stage, the great actor's mantle descended upon him. Although the son of a factor on an Irish estate, he was of Scottish extraction, being connected with the Hendersons of Fordel in Fifeshire, a family to which Alexander Henderson, one of the first and most distinguished of the Covenanters, belonged. He was born in Goldsmith Street, Cheapside, on March 8, 1747, and received his education at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. When he left school he came to London and was sent to Daniel Fournier to learn drawing, for which he had shown an aptitude. Fournier, who came of a French refugee family, essayed the rôle of an Admirable Crichton, his ambition being to excel his neighbours in their trade or occupation whatever it might be.

'In the course of one revolving moon  
Engraver, painter, fiddler and buffoon'<sup>1</sup>

is the description given of him by a contemporary rhymester, but, in addition to this, he was shoemaker, dealt in butter and eggs, modelled in wax, and taught drawing. In 1761 he wrote a treatise on the 'Theory and Practice of Perspective,' to which Henderson contributed some etchings. He used his pupil very badly, for the future tragedian's employment principally consisted in driving his master in a chaise to certain academies in the district, and in looking after the horse when he returned home. Whilst residing at Islington, Henderson joined a spouting club, and his success as a reciter turned his thoughts in the direction of the stage. That he was ambitious, and had perfect confidence in his own ability, there can be little doubt, since the part, in which he made his first appearance, was that

<sup>1</sup> Of course the couplet is an adaptation of the well-known lines on Zimri in Dryden's *Absalom and Achithophel*, first part, ll. 549-550.

of Hamlet. The performance, which was given by him under the name of Courtney, took place at Bath, on October, 6, 1772, and was favourably received.

In Garrick's time the tragedy of Hamlet had many absurd stage traditions attached to it, which have at the present day happily fallen into disuse. For instance, it was customary for the Prince of Denmark to enter, having a stocking dangling at his heel, to prove to the audience that his mind was disordered, and for the gravedigger to amuse the gods by taking off half-a-dozen waistcoats before commencing to dig. Henderson, like other intelligent actors of his standing, refused to be bound by established usage. When the Ghost entered in the closet scene, Hamlet was expected to kick down a chair, since the noise of its falling would, it was thought, add greatly to the terror and perturbation of the incident. In censuring Henderson for neglecting to do this, and for other irregularities, one of his critics sagely remarks: 'Deviations so slight as to evade the common eye, and innovations so trifling as to be thought unworthy of notice, have led the way to heresies in religion, and the abolishment of order in civil government. Let us nip error in the bud, and not by our silence give sanction to impropriety.'<sup>1</sup> It is not likely that these magnificent sentiments in any way affected Henderson's interpretation of the character, but the quotation affords a curious illustration of the clumsy methods by which the dramatic censor of the time attempted to harass the actor, without leaving him scope for the display of his own imagination.

During the same month he appeared as Richard III., a part which Burbage, the greatest tragic actor of Shakespeare's day, created. This season, amongst the many rôles which he assumed were Benedick, Macbeth, King Lear, Alonzo, Bobadill and Don Felix in the *Wonder*, and his extraordinary versatility soon earned for him the name of 'The Bath Roscius.' Before the end of the year he had disclosed his identity, and had firmly established himself in popular esteem. 'I am a great favourite here,' he writes in one of his letters, 'if being followed at the theatre and invited to private parties among people of consequence are proofs of it.' Whilst at Bath he only received a guinea a week, but in 1776, when he came to London, he was probably paid a much higher salary. Next year, Colman

<sup>1</sup> See further, article on 'Stage Traditions' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xix. (1878).



took the Haymarket Theatre from Foote, and on June 11 Henderson acted Shylock there. Macklin, whose impersonation of the Jew was then regarded as unrivalled, gave him encouragement, but Garrick refused him an engagement because he was apparently offended by an imitation of himself given by Henderson in his presence, at the request of some third person. In mimicry Henderson was an adept. O'Keefe, the Irish dramatist, narrates an instance of this, when the actor displayed his talent before a private audience at Cork. 'Among other laughables,' he writes in his *Recollections* (1826), 'he gave us an interview between himself and a theatrical manager; the subject was the manager teaching him, the actor, how to perform Shylock. "This Shylock," said he, "that is Shakespeare's Shylock, though he is a Jew, he's a Jew that walks the Rialto at Venice and talks to the magnificos, and you must not by any means act such a Jew as if he were one of the Jews that sell old clothes and slippers and oranges and sealing wax up and down Pall Mall." In this piece of humour Henderson had the manager's voice perfectly correct, and it gave a great deal of harmless amusement.' The sequel shows that O'Keefe, successful as he was as a farce writer, had not the sense to see when a joke had been carried far enough. 'A year or two after,' he naively confesses, 'I was indiscreet enough, on the mention of Henderson, to tell this very manager how cleverly he took him off; he was much nettled, and said: "Take me off, a very impudent thing of him!"' In all probability the unfortunate man was Colman, for, as has just been mentioned, it was under his auspices that Henderson first impersonated Shylock. After all, his remarks are not without significance, since, until Macklin assumed the part, it had been regularly allotted to popular comedians,<sup>1</sup> who, of course, played it in their most amusing style. O'Keefe, who had himself been an actor in early life, befriended Henderson when in Ireland, and wrote of him as a cheerful and pleasing companion. He was the author of no fewer than fifty plays and farces, but of all his writings two songs from his operas, namely, 'I am a Friar of Orders Grey' and 'Amo Amas I love a lass,' have alone survived.

Henderson's rendering of Falstaff is said to have been a marvellous performance, comparable only to that of Quin. He was especially good in scenes of riotous mirth, and he derived immense popularity from his representation of the part. He

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 337.



JOHN HENDERSON

*From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery, by permission of Messrs. Walker and Cockerell*



evidently revelled in it, for, according to one member of the audience, when on the stage his eye was lighted up and his whole countenance beamed voluptuous humour. As Othello he was not so successful. On the first night he complained that his manager habited him in such a ludicrous garb that he wanted nothing but a brush and a scraper to give him a complete resemblance to a chimney sweep, and this disconcerted him. He failed in consequence to give point to the more important speeches, as he felt that his hearers were laughing at him the whole time. The first original rôle he played was Brutus in the *Roman Sacrifice*, a tragedy by William Shirley. Horace Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory on December 23, 1777, tells her that he witnessed Henderson's acting in this piece, but was disappointed in him. He admits, however, that the tragedy was 'without a tolerable line,'<sup>1</sup> so that the failure of the production can hardly have been the actor's fault. Next year he appeared as Edgar Atheling in Cumberland's *Battle of Hastings*, and Bireno in Jephson's *Law of Lombardy*. Sir Giles Overreach was also one of his principal parts. At no time did he lack patronage. George III., although a regular theatre-goer, was a tender-hearted spectator. He did not care for Shakespeare or tragedy in general, but, if we may believe Thackeray, preferred farces and pantomime, when he would laugh so outrageously as to have to be called to order.<sup>2</sup> On one occasion he and Queen Charlotte went to Covent Garden to see Cumberland's *Mysterious Husband*, when Henderson took the hero's part. His acting is described as perfection. During the last scene, in which the husband dies, the King's attention was riveted to the stage, and all at once he exclaimed, 'Charlotte, don't look—it's too much to bear!' The drama was by Royal desire never performed again.

In 1784 Henderson played for the first time at Edinburgh, in the same year that Mrs. Siddons took the town by storm, and attracted even the Kirk ministers to her performances. Theatrical representations had never been regarded with much favour by the townspeople, and a visit of certain Elizabethan actors to the capital in 1599, who, it is alleged, were members of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, led to a conflict between James VI. and the Kirk.<sup>3</sup> It was not until the

<sup>1</sup> Horace Walpole's *Letters*, edited by Peter Cunningham (1858), vol. vii. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Georges*, chap. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 40.

reign of George II. that plays were given with any degree of regularity in Scotland. Allan Ramsay then erected a playhouse in Edinburgh, which was soon closed by order of the magistrates, and he sustained considerable losses in his spirited endeavour to arouse popular interest in the drama.<sup>1</sup> But shortly afterwards entertainments were permitted at Comely Garden, near Holyrood, similar to those at Vauxhall, which were well attended. The theatre, in which Henderson acted, was the Theatre Royal in Princes Street, where he appeared for the first few nights as Hamlet, Shylock, and Sir John Falstaff in the *Merry Wives*.<sup>2</sup> The press afforded him a favourable reception. 'In judgment and taste,' says the *Courant*, 'Henderson is eminent. He understands perfectly the character he plays, and never fails to give the just meaning of his author. By the third night the house was so crowded that one might have thought Siddons was still acting.' He next gave *Macbeth*, attired in a Spanish dress, with a piece of tartan worn across the shoulder like an order of knighthood. This costume was hardly an improvement on that of Garrick, who was content to appear in the Court dress of the time—a scarlet coat, gold-laced waistcoat, and powdered wig. Macklin was the first actor to don Highland garb, and was hissed off the stage. It is said that he looked more like a Scotch piper than a general and prince of the blood. Stage managers were apparently unaware that tartan had not been invented in the remote times of *Macbeth*.<sup>3</sup> Before leaving Scotland, Henderson expressed his grateful sense of the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and assured his admirers that he would ever retain a lively remembrance of their liberal and flattering attention.

It is not generally known that Henderson was mainly instrumental in popularising that famous ballad, *John Gilpin*. In the spring of 1785 he gave readings at the Freemasons' Hall in conjunction with Thomas Sheridan, including in his repertoire selections from *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey*. By the suggestion of Richard Sharp, one of his friends, the poem, which had then only been published in newspaper form, was added to the list, and it proved more attractive than the serious part of the recitations. Indeed, in his comic readings Henderson is said to have been superior to Mrs. Siddons. But

<sup>1</sup> Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (1888), p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> See article on 'Macbeth on the Stage' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xv. (1876).



his pathetic utterances were hardly less effective. 'He broke the people's hearts with the story of *Le Fèvre*,' wrote Tom Dibdin, 'and then nearly killed them over again with laughing at "Johnny Gilpin."' During the season the profits amounted to £800, and every performance was crowded by an appreciative audience. Mrs. Siddons was present on one occasion, and, according to an interested spectator who sat next her, showed her approval by 'lifting up her unequalled dramatic hands and clapping as heartily as she herself used to be applauded in the same manner.'<sup>1</sup> The ballad soon became the town talk, was republished from the newspaper, and 6000 copies of it were sold as soon as it appeared in print. Henderson gave it on the provincial stage, and thus it attained a wide popularity before ever its author's name was disclosed. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1791, John Nichols, the antiquarian, records an interview between the actor and Dr. Johnson, at which he had the honour of being present. The conversation turned, as was natural, on the merits of a certain dramatic writer—perhaps John Home, another Scotsman, whose *Douglas* was then the rage, and whose *Alonzo* Henderson had produced—when Johnson said, 'I never did the man an injury, but he would persist in reading his tragedy to me.' The doctor was unusually affable, for, as Henderson took his leave, he invited him with much earnestness to come again frequently. 'The oftener you call on me, sir, the more welcome will your visits be,' was his cordial farewell. Johnson, it will be remembered, was the friend of Garrick, and it is interesting to find that he had an equal regard for his rival and successor.<sup>2</sup>

Henderson was only 38 when he died of fever on December 3, 1785. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his grave is close to that of Garrick in Poets' Corner.<sup>3</sup> He must have

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxiii. (1836), p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson's only daughter, Harriet, married in 1798 James Carrick Moore of Corswall, brother of Sir John Moore who fell at Corunna and son of Dr. John Moore of Glasgow, correspondent and friend of Burns. Mr. James Carrick Moore died in 1860 and was succeeded by his son, John Carrick Moore, at whose death the estate of Corswall passed into the hands of the late Sir D. C. R. C. Buchanan, Bart., of Drumpellier. His daughter, Miss Julia Carrick Moore, now resident in London, presented to the National Portrait Gallery in March, 1895, the portrait of her grandfather, which had been 'painted by his friend Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.' See page 308.

<sup>3</sup> See hereon *The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey*, by Mrs. A. Murray Smith (1902), *passim*.

possessed remarkable histrionic talents, for his appearance was not in his favour. He was short in stature, and his figure was ill-proportioned. George Colman the younger, in his *Random Records* (1830), tells us that his father, at one time manager of the Haymarket Theatre, started him in characters whose dress might hide his personal deficiencies. Thus it was arranged that his first two impersonations at that theatre should be Shylock and Hamlet, in which the Jew's gaberdine and the Prince of Denmark's 'inky cloak' were of great service. As in the case of his contemporary, David Ross,<sup>1</sup> another Scotch actor, who attained great success in the character of George Barnwell, but who in his later days grew very portly, the effects of good living soon became visible. This is apparent from the portrait painted of him by his friend Gainsborough, who, whilst urging him to use Garrick for a model 'as the greatest creature living in every respect,' expressly warns him against this failing. 'Look upon him, Henderson,' he writes, 'with your imitative eyes, for when he drops you'll have nothing but poor old Nature's book to look in. Now is your time, my lively fellow, and, do you hear, don't eat so devilishly. You'll get too fat when you rest from playing or get a sudden jog by illness to bring you down again.'<sup>2</sup> It is not probable that Henderson followed his friend's advice to abstain from excessive conviviality, but he was professedly of the Garrick school, and he was not too proud to benefit by example. As an instance of this, it has been maintained that his rendering of the part of Benedick was so closely copied from his master as to be practically identical.

In the year after Henderson's death, his friend, John Ireland, principally remembered as the biographer of Hogarth, published certain *Letters and Poems, with Anecdotes of his Life*, a curious medley, which displays little skill in arrangement. The poems, which are few in number, can only be described as worthless, but the letters are animated, and deal for the most part with the actor's successes and failures, as well as with family concerns.

<sup>1</sup> He joined Garrick's company at the same time as Mossop (1751), and of these two actors a certain wit wrote :

'The Templars they cry Mossop,  
The ladies they cry Ross up,  
But which is the best is a toss up,'

an effusion which, it is said, vastly delighted Garrick. See his *Life*, by Joseph Knight, F.S.A. (1894), p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., vol. xx. p. 364.



Take, for example, this extract from a letter to an unknown correspondent, which is merely headed 'From the Banks of the Thames, June 18th': 'For the books you have my best thanks. I used to think I was fond of fishing, but I find it a very dull business. Sir, such a life as I now lead is fit for nothing but an otter, and I believe in my conscience the animals I am with are web-footed and have fins. They are neither fish nor flesh, "A man knows not where to have them," but yet I cannot quit these *rods* and *earth worms* these ten days. Think what a treasure your parcel! Until its arrival, all the print I could pick up in the house from garden to wine cellar was *Bracken's Farriery*, *Hannah Glasse's Cookery* (which, by the way, I very much like, for the last receipt in the book is for a surfeit), *Pomfret's Poems*, and Pope's *Essay on Man*, which last I have read through, and think it very inferior to his other ethic epistles.' Henderson was an omnivorous reader, and especially delighted in books concerned with the marvellous and supernatural, of which he had a good collection. According to Ireland, he had trod the whole circle of witchcraft, from the *Witch of Endor* to the *Story of Mary Squires*, had perused with avidity such works as *Mandeville's Travels*, *Peter Wilkins' Voyage to the Moon*, and *Wanley's Wonders of the Little World*, and had sought for and read the accounts of murders, battles, massacres, martyrdoms, earthquakes, or such events as were calculated to give strong and forcible impressions. But, as his biographer quaintly observes, it must not be inferred from this that his nature was necessarily cruel, and he had a genuine regard for the classics of literature, whose beauties he fully appreciated and expressed in his public readings.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

## The Bishops of Dunkeld

### Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

*Continued*

SINCE the issue of the January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has called my attention to a fact which suggests that the real name of the bishop last recorded may have been, as Myln tells us, 'Richard,' and not 'David,' as I have entered him, relying on the *Great Seal Register*. It will be seen (p. 203) that in the Inverness charter among the witnesses we find, immediately following 'David electo Dunkelden,' the name 'David abbate de Neubotill.' Now it seems certain, or all but certain, that the name of the abbot of Newbottle in 1250 was Roger (see *M. s.a.* 1236, 1256). Hence it is possible that an 'R' was misread as 'D,' and expanded into 'David.' If this be true of the abbot, it may be also true that an 'R' (for Richard) may have been similarly misread in the case of the bishop. In mediæval script one of the forms of capital 'R' bears a considerable resemblance to one of the forms of capital 'D.' It seems that neither the original charter nor its confirmation is now among the burgh records of Inverness.

**RICHARD (III.) OF INVERKEITHING.** According to Myln (11) 'camerarius regis' . . . Bower (*Sc. x.* 3) also represents him as chamberlain of the king, and says he was advanced to this see in 1250. From Inchaffray (76) we learn that 4 Non. Aug. 1263 was in the 12th year of his pontificate. This shows that he was consecrated after 2 Aug. 1251, and before 2 Aug. 1252. In the charter (Inchaffray) just referred to he says he has inspected charters of his predecessors 'John the first, Richard, John the second, Hugh, Gilbert, and Galfrid.'

There is evidence for Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, in 1255, when he was appointed at the convention of Roxburgh one of the Guardians of Alexander III. (*A.P.* i. 419). See also *Fœd.* i. 329: in 1260 (Cambuskenneth, 269): in 1263 (Scone, 74): in 1271 (Arbroath, 191-2): in 1264 he was auditor of accounts (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. 11).

In 1265 he erected at his own cost the new choir in the church of the monastery of Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 20). In 1266 the bones of John of Leicester were translated to the south, and the bones of Richard (I.) and Gilbert to the north of the new choir at Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 21). In 1268



Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, together with Robert, bp. of Dunblane, attended the Council held at London shortly after Easter, convened by Ottobon the Legate (Sc. x. 24).

Richard of Inverkeithing died on the feast of St. Magnus Martyr (16 April) 1272. His body was buried at Dunkeld, and his heart in the north wall of the choir which he had built in Inchcolm (Sc. x. 30). *Lanercost* (97) places the death of Richard de Inverchetin 'Duncheldensis episcopus' under the year 1275 (which must be an error), and relates that it was commonly believed that he had been poisoned, hinting that this was by order of the king with a view to his obtaining possession of the moveable estate of the bishop.

The writer of the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was a credulous gossip.

**ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE** (D'Estotville), Dean of Dunkeld (as early at least as 1257: *Fœd.* i. 353). According to Bower (Sc. x. 30) 'genere nobilis.' Succeeded 'per electionem' (Sc. and Myln) perhaps in 1272; but, if so, there was some delay in the papal confirmation. On 7 May, 1274, Gregory X. commits to the bps. of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow to examine into the learning and fitness of Master Robert, dean of Dunkeld, whom the canons had elected *per viam compromissi*, and, if satisfied, to confirm his election which the pope declares to have been canonically celebrated, and to consecrate him, after having received the oath of fealty to the Roman See (T. No. 255).

Robert must have died before Dec. 1283 (most probably early in that year, or at some time in the preceding year); for see next two entries.

**HUGH DE STRIVELIN** (*i.e.* Stirling), canon (? of Dunkeld). From C.P.R. i. 469 we learn that 'on the death of bishop Robert the chapter had elected canon Hugh de Strivelin, who died at the papal court while prosecuting the business of his election.' Our historians have taken no notice of this election.

**WILLIAM**, Dean of Dunkeld. On the news of the death of Hugh de Strivelin having been announced to the chapter by Masters Peter de Tylloyl and Matthew de Crombech, canons, the chapter commissioned the dean, Robert the chancellor, canon Weland de Stykelaw, and the two said canons to elect, who elected William, dean of Dunkeld, whom the pope consecrated by O. bishop of Tusculum. This is related in a letter of Pope Martin IV., dated Orvieto, Id. Dec. (13 Dec.) 1283 (C.P.R. i. 469). Concurrent Letters were sent to the chapter of Dunkeld, to the clergy and to the people of the diocese, to all vassals of the said church, and to the king of Scotland (*Ib.* 470). The bp. of Tusculum mentioned above was Ordeonus (by some called Odo), created cardinal in 1277 (*Ciaconius*, ii. 225). Of this William, hitherto unknown, so far as I am aware, nothing further appears save that he is mentioned in the confirmation of his successor. Perhaps he lived till the end of 1287 or beginning of 1288, for his successor was confirmed before the middle of April, 1288. See next entry.

It is certainly remarkable that a bishop of Dunkeld for some four years should seem to have left no trace in Scottish record.

**MATTHEW DE CRAMBETH**, Dean of Aberdeen (C.P.R. i. 491). This is doubtless the Matthew de Crombech, canon of Dunkeld, noticed in the last entry.

On 13 April, 1288,<sup>1</sup> the pope, Nicholas IV., wrote to Matthew, bp. of Dunkeld: he recites that on the death of William, bp. of Dunkeld, the dean (Symon) and chapter convened to elect a successor. They proceeded *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii* were five in number, viz. Matthew, dean of Aberdeen and canon of Dunkeld, the dean of Dunkeld, Gregory, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and William, archdeacon of Teviotdale, and Thomas de Preston, all being canons of Dunkeld. Matthew was elected by the rest *concorditer*. At the instance of the chapter Matthew consented. The decree of the election was laid before the pope, examined by three cardinals, and confirmed. Matthew was consecrated by the pope himself (*per nos ipsos*). Concurrent Letters were sent to the dean and chapter, the clergy and people of the diocese, the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the other Guardians of the realm, and to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway (T. No. 306).

Myln (12) says that Matthew 'per Anglos institutus est,' which is very probable, but he blunders in placing Matthew's appointment in 1300, which blunder is followed in *Extr.* (131). We find Matthew 'permissione divina' bishop of Dunkeld on 12 August, 1289 (Holyrood, 71). He was at the convention of Brigham, 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441). Matthew, having sworn fealty to Edward, 4 May, 1304, had the temporalities of the see and his own patrimonial property (partly in Kinross and partly in the barony of Crambeth in Fife) restored to him (B.C. ii. 398). He was sent with others to the king of France on political business in 1295 (Lanercost, 191). He was ambassador to France in 1303 (A.P. i. 454). He was in Edward I.'s Parliament at Westminster in 1305 (*Ib.* i. 119).

Matthew must have died before 28 Aug. 1309, for at that date Edward II. of England wrote to the pope that his almoner, John de Leck, had been elected to the see of Dunkeld (*Fœdera*, ii. 86). On 14 Dec. 1309, Edward appoints John de Leck to receive the books, vestments, and other *ornamenta* of the chapel of the late bishop, falling to the king by the custom of Scotland (*Ib.* ii. 99). But the election was disputed (see next entry), and the see remained void for some three years. Edward II. advanced 200 lbs. to promote Leck's appointment at the Roman Court (B.C. iii. 33). See next entry.

Matthew's death is erroneously assigned to 1312 in *Extr.* (137).

**WILLIAM SINCLAIR** (de Sancto Claro): brother of Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin; canon of Dunkeld.

On 8 May, 1312 (T. No. 398), Pope Clement V., in his letter to William, bp. of Dunkeld, recites that on the death of Matthew the chapter convened for an election, and proceeded *per viam scrutini*, the appointed scrutineers being three canons of Dunkeld (named). They

<sup>1</sup>In the copy of this letter in the British Museum, *Monumenta Vaticana*, Addit. MS. 15,364, fol. 187, as printed by Stevenson (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, i. pp. 45 ff.), the letter is dated 10th April (iii. Id. Aprilis).



took the votes of themselves and of the other canons then resident; and the result was that William, canon of Dunkeld, was elected unanimously. William consented, and proceeded to the Apostolic See with proctors of the chapter. But John (presumably John de Leck: see last entry), who at that time claimed to be a canon of Dunkeld (*qui tunc pro canonico dicte Dunkeldensis ecclesie se gerebat*), impugned the election of William, asserting that he was about to be elected by some whom he said were canons of Dunkeld, but *extra Dunkeldensem ecclesiam*. Both John and William appeared before Cardinal James,<sup>1</sup> cardinal deacon of St. George in Velabro, who had been appointed judge by the pope. Each contended that the election of the other was uncanonical. While the litigation was proceeding John (who had the support of the king of England) was promoted to be archbishop of Dublin (18 May, 1311: see C.P.R. ii. 83. The temporality of Dublin granted, 20 July, 1311: B.C. iii. 19) and therefore retired from the action. The pope then declared William's election to have been canonically celebrated, and confirmed William, 'generis nobilitate preclarum,' to the see of Dunkeld, and afterwards caused him to be consecrated by Berengarius, cardinal bishop of Tusculum.<sup>2</sup> With this letter there was a concurrent letter to the chapter of Dunkeld. It is significant that the usual concurrent letter to the king is not recorded. The pope might well be doubtful who was king of Scotland. In Edward's letter to the pope of 14 Dec. 1309, he had described the dean and chapter as zealous adherents of him, and as having convened in a place (not named) where they might be safe from hostile incursion, and there electing John de Leck *concorditer*. He had evidently been deceived. (*Fæd.* ii. 86.) It seems from what has been cited that William's election had preceded the (so-called) election (not at Dunkeld) of John.

William Sinclair was probably striving to make his way back to Scotland when, on 2 Feb. 1312-13, Edward II. granted, at the bishop's request, a safe-conduct to 'the bishop elect of Dunkeld said to have been confirmed by the pope,' to turn aside at Berwick-on-Tweed to get himself arrayed, thence proceeding to the king (Edward II.), provided he goes no further into Scotland or holds converse with the enemy (B.C. iii. No. 301).

It is to be noted that, long prior to his confirmation by the pope, Sinclair had, as bishop of Dunkeld, taken part in the political action of the Scottish bishops. On 24 Feb. 1309-10, at Dundee, he was a party to the declaration of the clergy of Scotland, including eleven other bishops, that they had willingly done fealty to Robert, illustrious king of Scotland, as their lawful king (A.P. i. 100<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Caietanus de Stephaneschis. *Ciaconius*, ii. 324.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ciacon.* ii. 373.

<sup>8</sup> The account of William's valour in repulsing the English who had landed at Donibristle, when he sallied forth from his manor of Auchtertool and led the hesitating sheriff to the attack, and how for this king Robert used to style him 'my bishop,' is told by Bower (Sc. xii. 24) and Myln (13). In the latter will be found some notices of his church building.

We find Sinclair present at the coronation of Edward Balliol at Scone on 24 Sept. 1332 (Sc. xiii. 24), and he is in a parliament held in Edinburgh by Edward Balliol on 12 Feb. 1333-34 (A.P. i. 542). Yet in 1335-6 the bishop of Dunkeld 'extat contra fidem,' and the lands of the see at Kirkcramond are accounted for to Edward, king of England (B.C. iii. p. 335).

Sinclair died, according to Myln (13-15), on 27 June, 1337, and there is no reason for doubting Myln's statement. The see appears to have become vacant in the year from Michaelmas 1336 to Michaelmas 1337. It was certainly vacant at Michaelmas 1337: for an account was rendered to Edward III. of the revenues of the church of Cramond, 'que quidem ecclesia est in manu Regis per vacationem episcopatus Dunkeldensis' (B.C. iii. p. 391<sup>1</sup>).

**RICHARD (IV.) DE PILMOR**, who at the time of his appointment was precentor of Moray (C.P.R. iii. 126, 182), canon of Aberdeen with the prebend of Cruden (*Ib.* 150), and canon of Ross with the prebend of Contan (*Ib.* 183).

On account of a disputed election and the death of the pope before whom the litigation had begun, the see was vacant for some seven or eight years.

On 5 July, 1344, Clement VI. writes to Richard de Pilmor, 'elect of Dunkeld,' and narrates that on the death of William, bishop of Dunkeld, who had died in Scotland (*in illis partibus*), the chapter had convened for the election of his successor. The electors were divided; and the election was disputed between Richard de Pilmor, priest, and the late Malcolm of Inepeffren (Innerpeffray), canon of Dunkeld. Both parties resorted in person to the Apostolic See.<sup>2</sup> And to both elections opposition was raised by Duncan, precentor of Dunkeld. Pope Benedict XII. submitted the whole question to Bertrand, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was to report to his Holiness. While the process was still *sub iudice*, first, Malcolm died, and then Benedict XII. (25 April, 1342). Clement VI., who succeeded, ordered the business of the inquiry to be resumed. Bertrand reported; and the pope, 'non tamen persone tue vicio,' but 'for certain reasonable causes' (which as usual are not stated), quashed the election and declared it null and void. But *auctoritate apostolica* he appoints Richard to Dunkeld.

<sup>1</sup>In *Registrum Glasguense* (i. 231) we have a copy of a writ, dated at Scone, near Perth, in the General Council assembled there on the Tuesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March), 1324, to which the seal of 'Walter,' bishop of Dunkeld and Conservator of the whole clergy of Scotland, is said to be attached. There can be, I think, no doubt that 'Walter' is a clerical error for 'William.' It may be observed that 'Walter' (as the name of another person) occurs in the writ, and, for the last time, immediately preceding the notice of the bishop of Dunkeld. William was certainly the name of the bishop immediately preceding Richard de Pilmor (see next entry).

<sup>2</sup>The election probably took place towards the end of 1337; for we find Edward III. granting (3 Jan. 1337-38) a safe-conduct to Master Malcolm de Innerpeffri, elect of Dunkeld in Scotland, who is going to Rome to have his election confirmed (B.C. iii. No. 1254). Perhaps Malcolm was an adherent of the English party.



Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the diocese, to the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, and to David (II.), king of Scotland (T. No. 559).

A few days later, 14 July, 1344, the pope grants leave to Richard, elect of Dunkeld, to contract a loan of 3000 gold florins on the moveable and immoveable estate of the bishopric as held by him and his successors, Richard having declared that otherwise he did not believe that he could obtain credit. The pope limits the bond over Dunkeld to four years. The object of the loan is stated to be to meet the expenses incurred, or to be incurred, in 'expediting his business' (T. No. 560).

Doubtless the money was raised, and the bulls expedited, for on 27 Sept. 1344, he is commanded to betake himself to his diocese, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. iii. 170).<sup>1</sup> On 25 Jan. 1345, Richard was granted by the pope an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 162). At the same date he is granted faculties to dispense (*a*) six sons of priests, (*b*) six persons of illegitimate birth, and (*c*) six sons of deacons to be ordained and hold a benefice each (*Ib.* 162).

Richard de Pilmor did not long hold the see. We find him and another Pilmor, John de Pilmor, bp. of Moray, in the chapterhouse of the cathedral at Elgin on 20 Oct. 1345 (R.M. 156). With several other Scottish bishops he signed a petition to the pope for a dispensation for the marriage of Robert Stewart with Elizabeth More. Before the petition was granted (22 Nov. 1347) he was dead. See next entry.<sup>2</sup>

#### DUNCAN DE STRATHERN, Precentor of Moray.

He was appointed, by papal provision, 15 Oct. 1347, to the see void by the death of Richard (T. No. 575). The pope states that he had specially reserved the appointment, and makes no reference to a capitular election. But there is other evidence that there had been an election at Dunkeld; for *ROBERT DE DEN*, archdeacon of Dunkeld, on 28 Jan. 1348, was granted by the pope the reservation of a benefice, he having been elected to the see of Dunkeld in ignorance that it had been reserved to the pope (C.P.R. iii. 245). Den seems to have died before Oct. 1349 (*Ib.* 315), perhaps at the Apostolic See (*Ib.* 593).

Shortly after Duncan's provision to the see he was allowed by the pope (9 Nov. 1347) to contract a loan of 2000 florins to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See (C.P.R. iii. 264).

That Duncan's name was Strathern is inferred on comparing C.P.R. iii. 182 with 240. Myln (15) says Duncan was an Englishman and had come to Scotland with his cousin, Walter de Fotheringay, in company with Edward Balliol. But the name Duncan and the name Strathern do not favour this statement.

<sup>1</sup> The consecrating bishop was Peter de Prato. *Giaconus*, ii. 416.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the bishops of Moray and Dunkeld were brothers, for John de Kethensis was a nephew of Bishop Richard (C.P.R. iii. 153), and he was also a nephew of Bishop John (*Ib.* 463).

Duncan was present at David II.'s parliament held at Dundee, 15 May, 1350 (see charter cited by Crawford, *Officers of State*, 288). He was bishop of Dunkeld, 1 April, 1354 (Kelso, 389 : see also A.P. Supplement, 9). He must have died later in the same year or early in 1355.<sup>1</sup> See next entry.

**JOHN (II.),** Precentor of Dunkeld.

He was provided by the pope (Innocent VI.) on 18 May, 1355 (T. No. 621). In the letter referred to, the pope states that the vacancy had been caused by the death of Duncan, that the chapter of Dunkeld, ignorant, as they alleged, of the pope having reserved the see to his own provision, had elected John, precentor of Dunkeld, being in priest's orders, and that he in like ignorance had assented to his election, and had come in person for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The pope pronounced the election null, as being contrary to his reservation. But nevertheless he appoints the said John. John was consecrated before 29 June, 1355, for on that day the pope orders him to betake himself to his see, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (T. No. 623).

He seals a letter of credence *in concilio* at Perth, 17 Jan. 1356-57 (A.P. i. 515).

The exact date of John's death is uncertain. John, bp. of Dunkeld, was accepted (with other bishops) as an arbiter by the chapter of Glasgow, 2 Sept. 1362 (R.G. i. 271). He was in Edinburgh on 8 May, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 45), in Perth on 17 April, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 44, No. 125), and in Parliament at Perth, 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496). John, bp. of Dunkeld, was a witness to the fourteen years' truce signed at the castle of Edinburgh, 20 July, 1369 (*Fæd.* III. ii. 877).

**JOHN OF CARRICK.** He appears as 'elect of Dunkeld' in 1370 (*Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 356). But he probably failed to obtain confirmation, for, as bishop of Dunkeld, we hear no more of him. Is this the John of Carrick who was appointed chancellor of Scotland in 1370? John of Carrick, canon of Glasgow, appears as a witness on 4 April, 1369 (R.M.S. ii. No. 494). As to John of Carrick, the chancellor, evidence is abundant.

**MICHAEL DE MONYMUSK,** Dean of Glasgow, Chamberlain of the King.

There is no light as to his appointment in the papal records as printed in T. and C.P.R.

There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) 1 July, 1372 (C.P.R. iv. 101). 'Michael Dunkeldensis' is present in the parliament held at Scone, 4 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562).

We find 'M., by divine permission, bp. of Dunkeld,' on 23 Oct. 1374 (Scone, 145).

According to Myln (15) Michael died 1 March, 1376, and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld, on the right of William Sinclair. There does

<sup>1</sup> Myln is seriously in error in placing Duncan's death in 1363.



not seem to be any evidence, except that of Myln, for Michael being chamberlain of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

**JOHN DE PEBLYS**, Chancellor of Scotland (1377).

Appointed perhaps in 1377, or certainly early in 1378. There are *lacunae* at this time in the papal records. We have, however, evidence that his appointment was certainly before the death of Gregory XI. (who died 27 March, 1378). On 26 Oct. 1378, Clement VII. (Anti-pope) makes provision to Adam de Tiningham, dean of Aberdeen, of a canonry and prebend in Glasgow void by reason of Gregory XI. having promoted John de Peblis, papal collector in Scotland, to the see of Dunkeld (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 538). He was not consecrated at once, for we find him as elect of Dunkeld, 17 April, 1379 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 544). He was still elect of Dunkeld when he gets a safe-conduct to England, 10 May, 1379 (2 *Rot. Scot.* 15). Indeed, as late as 11 March, 1383-84, he subscribed a letter to the chancellor of England (Richard Scrupe) only as 'Johannes de Peblys, confirmatus Ecclesie Dunkeldensis, Cancellarius Scocie' (B.C. iv. No. 322). This shows that we cannot accept his appearance as 'bishop of Dunkeld' on 11 Aug. 1379 (R.A. i. 112) as a proof of consecration. Scotland at this time adhered to the Anti-popes; and it appears that John was, before 30 Oct. 1379, deprived by the pope, whom he did not recognise and whose acts were ineffective in Scotland. See the passage relating to the appointment of Robert de Derling, which is given in the appendix to this article relating to the appointments of the papal, as distinguished from the anti-papal, bishops of this see.

It was perhaps some information as to Derling's appointment, misunderstood, that made Myln (16) assign the death of John de Peblys to 1396. See next entry.

We find 'John our chancellor, bishop of Dunkeld,' on 14 Feb. and 18 March, 1389-90 (R.M.S. folio, pp. 197, 178).<sup>2</sup>

J. DOWDEN.

<sup>1</sup>There is much evidence as to Michael's earlier history. He had been dean of Dunblane and dean of Aberdeen, from which he was eventually, after much litigation, in which he had spent his goods and those of some of his friends, removed. In 1366 Michael de Monymusk, licentiate in Canon Law, petitions Urban V. for a vacant canonry and prebend in Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he had the deanery of Glasgow. While dean of Dunblane he held also prebends in Brechin and Ross. See C.P.R. *Petit.* i. 142, 325, 326, 375, 379, 506, 527.

<sup>2</sup>Earlier history of John de Peblys. In 1374 he was archdeacon of St. Andrews, M.A., doctor of Canon Law, papal nuncio, and collector of papal dues in Scotland, Sodor, and Orkney. He had canonries and prebends in Glasgow and Aberdeen and the church of Douglas in the former diocese (C.P.R. iv. 152, 195). He had been official of Glasgow for at least three years in April, 1363 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 417), and Treasurer of Glasgow in 1365 (*Ib.* 506).

(To be continued.)

## Reviews of Books

THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND. By G. Baldwin Brown, M.A., Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. I., pp. ii, 388, Vol. II., pp. iv, 351. Med. 8vo, with Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1903. 2 vols. 32s. net. (I. The Life of Saxon England in its relation to the Arts. II. Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest.)

THESE two volumes, though in a sense each is complete in itself, are the first instalment of a comprehensive history of the Arts in Early England. It is therefore, perhaps, too soon to express any opinion as to how far Professor Baldwin Brown has succeeded in the task which he has taken in hand. We need, however, have no hesitation in saying that he has begun well. In his second volume he has dealt with the remains of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture so satisfactorily, that it must long continue to be of value to students of English history, even when they approach the subject from a very different standpoint to that of our author. And if, when reading the first volume, we sometimes feel inclined to find fault, it may well be that the completion of the work will show us that the fault lies rather in the reader than in the writer, and that what may now seem to us a tendency to over-hasty generalisation, and a somewhat undue insistence on the unity of the present and the past, have sprung from a perfectly right desire on the part of the author to emphasise points which a close study of the detail in old handiwork may incline us to overlook.

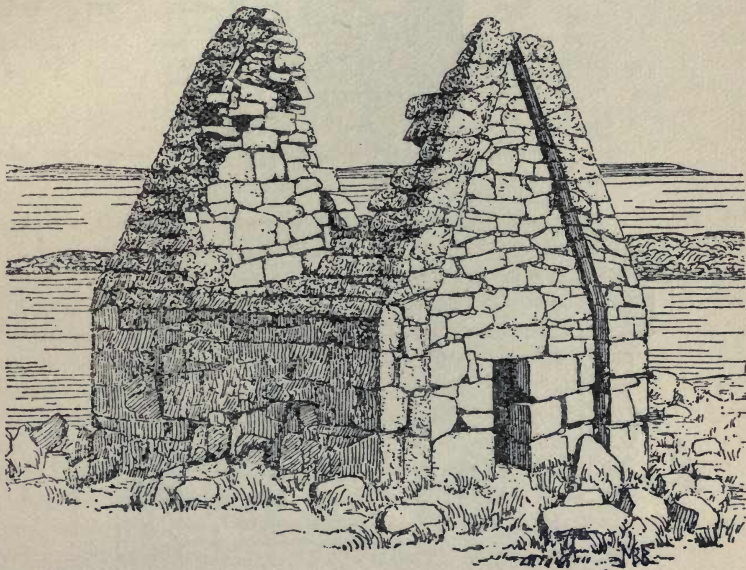
The first volume has at anyrate this merit, it is delightful reading throughout. In the opening chapter, with its description of an old Kentish cottage, even though we may fail to see the particular connection between that cottage and Saxon art, we at once feel the loving appreciation of the author for the 'simple structure which has grown by a sort of accident into beauty,' and begin to look eagerly forward to the fulfilment of his promise 'to bring out' in a later portion of his book, 'the lessons which the modern craftsman may learn from his far away forerunners of early Saxon days.'

The object of the introductory volume is to help us to realise the ordinary social and religious life of English people during the early mediæval period. The author tries to attain this object by singling out here and there certain points of contact between the past and the present, which may enable the imagination to travel easily back to those scenes



in the midst of which the work, which he describes in detail further on in his book, was executed. His object is a good one, for the arts of a people are always and everywhere the outcome of their ordinary life; and his method is good, for the points of contact which he has selected are of so familiar a kind, that there must be few readers who cannot easily and at once understand them.

The development of motor-traffic, and the need to meet this, may probably before long give even greater vividness than it has at present to one of these points; nothing is more characteristic of England than its public roads, and of these roads Professor Baldwin Brown has made good

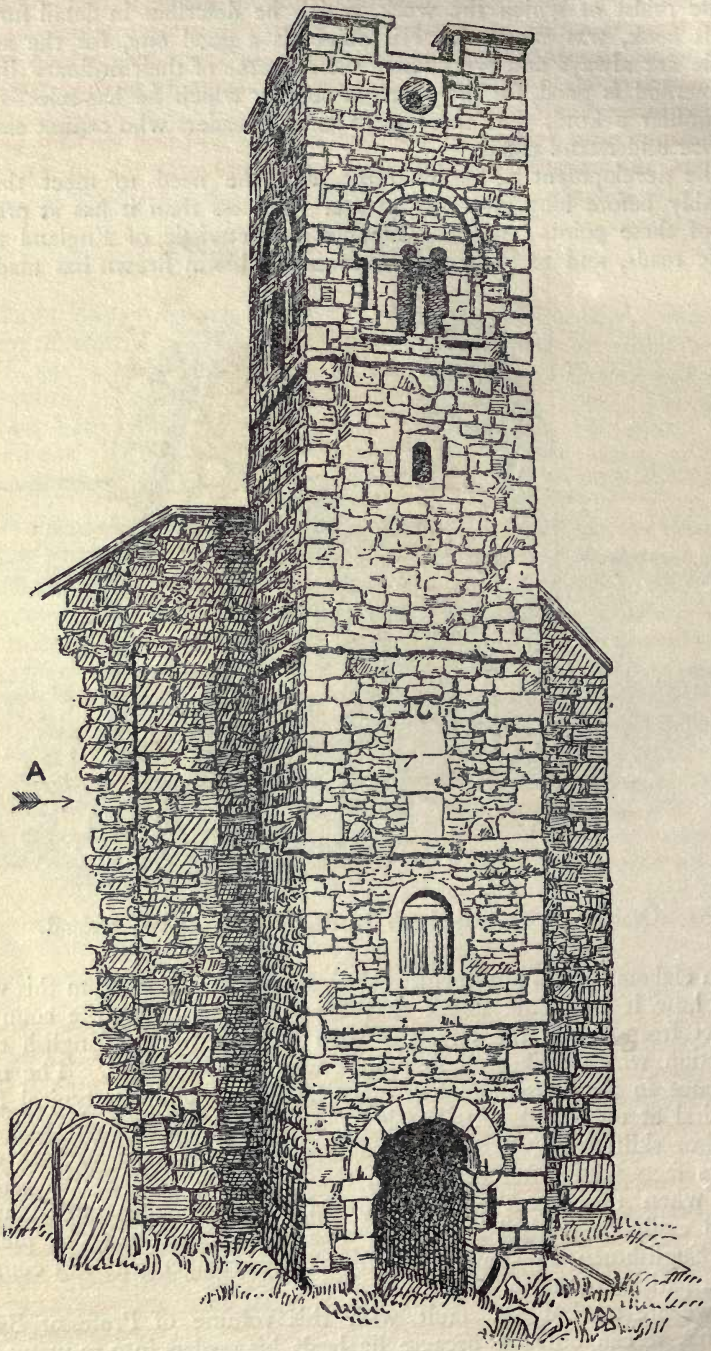


Oratory on St. Macdara's Island, off Connemara, Ireland.

use in elaborating his argument. We gather many hints from this volume as to how it has come about that the art of living in the country, as distinct from life in the city, has been brought by the English to that perfection which strikes all foreigners who visit our land. The marked difference in the surroundings of a typical English and of a typical foreign cathedral at once makes itself felt by anyone who has seen both. The Professor skilfully seizes on that difference in order to impress on his readers facts whose full bearing on the history of the arts they will only grasp when they come to the study of details. Other important facts should easily be realised by anyone who knows, as it may be presumed most Englishmen do know, anything of the arrangements still connected with a parish church.

If we are to find any fault with this volume of Professor Baldwin Brown's, it can only be because he leads his readers into so many varied





Western tower of Church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth, Durham, before the last restoration.



and fascinating paths, that they are hardly to blame if they occasionally allow their thoughts to wander far from the subject which he has in hand, especially since in the copious supply of footnotes—which is one of the merits of his book—he gives ample guidance to anyone who wishes to yield to the temptation.

Probably most readers of the first volume will find its fifth and sixth chapters, the chapters descriptive of early monastic life in England, to



Western doorway of porch, Monkwearmouth.

be those which are of most interest. These chapters, which are written in a singularly fair spirit, contain little, if any, information which is not worth remembering, and omit little which we could wish to have seen included; perhaps it might have been well if the author had inserted a note pointing out how, long after the Norman Conquest, the presence of both sexes continued not only in houses of the Gilbertines, but also in several Benedictine nunneries; for without such a note a reader may easily get the idea that the custom came to an end much sooner than it did; perhaps too we might have had rather fuller information as to ceremonial usages, though with the knowledge that our author has yet to deal with some of the most striking, even if small, monuments of art as applied to religion, we may scarcely feel justified in complaining of such

omission. But, even if these be omissions, this volume appears to us as useful as any single existing volume in our language to be recommended to the notice of any one beginning the study, not merely of what Professor Baldwin Brown proposes to put before us, but of far wider fields of development in English political or social history.

The second volume deals with ecclesiastical architecture in England from the time of the conversion of the Saxons to the time of the Norman Conquest; it must therefore be looked at from a different point of view from that from which we look at the first volume. We have not now a book which the general reader can run through rapidly and with pleasurable ease; we have one which, if it is to be appreciated, needs close attention, and bespeaks the possession of a good deal of special knowledge. In this, as in the first volume, an admirable index and numerous excellent illustrations give us much help. We are glad to have these in the first volume, but in the second we find them quite invaluable. By the aid of the index we are able to gain a mastery over the contents of the book in a wonderfully short space of time, and the illustrations enforce the author's views in a way which no words could do; this is partly because Professor Baldwin Brown has wisely refrained from adopting any of the modern processes of photography which, however admirable for securing accuracy of a certain kind, can never express that insistence on a particular feature which is so often just what a learner needs.

More than half of the volume is taken up by a detailed consideration of existing buildings or portions of buildings. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to group together, in anything like a complete manner, or to classify the remains of Saxon churches in England. The attempt is pre-eminently successful: close personal observation underlies all this part of the Professor's work, and, in whatever direction his conclusions may some day be modified, it is not likely that the collection of facts on which it is based will ever be superseded. About 185 places are mentioned where Saxon ecclesiastical building can still be seen. To many persons this number may at first seem large; but if they read this book, those persons will probably admit that the number must soon be largely added to. For they will find that no structure has been included in the list except on very strong technical evidence derived from the building itself; and they will find too that the Professor has not yet dealt with any of the evidence which can be derived from the study of Saxon ornament as displayed in other things than actual mason work. When he comes to consider manuscripts which often illustrate architectural detail, and the carving of stone crosses, or of ivory, we shall be surprised if Professor Baldwin Brown does not supply us with at any rate a strong presumption for assigning a pre-Norman date to many structures not included in his list.

In the classification of existing remains, Professor Baldwin Brown rightly prefers on the whole to base his dividing lines rather on type of plan than on chronological sequence; but he does indicate a division into three periods. It must be left to the reader to examine the grounds of this division for himself; it will be well worth his while to do so; but



we are inclined to think that he will find it somewhat difficult to convince himself of the existence of the middle period.

A consideration of the political relations between England and the Continent in the early part of the ninth century, and onwards, will pre-dispose the reader to agree with the author when, for technical reasons, he attributes some of the most striking features of later Saxon architecture to German influence; and we feel sure that this conclusion will be found to be even more probable when we come to deal with art as applied to small objects.

We are tempted to dwell on many of the points discussed in this volume, but to do so shortly and at the same time adequately is probably impossible; we can only advise all who are at all interested in its subject to read the book for themselves: if they do so they will be delighted with it. One hint of caution may perhaps be given; it is this, was not Wilfrid more influenced by Roman examples than our author seems to think? The personality of Wilfrid is of such importance in the history of English architecture; so many known incidents in his life might lead us to expect him to have been considerably influenced by Rome, that we think the subject is well worth pursuing, and perhaps Professor Baldwin Brown may forgive us for the wish that he had dealt more fully with the point. But be that as it may, we fancy there will be few readers to disagree with our author's conclusion—'Saxon England stood outside the general development of European architecture, but the fact gives it none the less of interest in our eyes.'

THOS. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

THE ANCESTRY OF RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D. (Archbishop of Canterbury): A CHAPTER IN SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHY. By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Longforgan. Pp. viii, 39, with 12 Illustrations, 8vo. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 3s. 6d.

'WORTHY Mrs. Goodal kept a shop in Leith.' So begins the book of the Ancestry of Randall Thomas Davidson, but we are relieved in the next sentence or two, and learn that after all Mrs. Goodal had no part in the Archbishop's pedigree, and next to none in his family history.

The first of his line who is mentioned by Mr. Philip is David Randall, a Scots merchant in, or connected with, Holland. He appears in *Wodrow* several times. His son Thomas Randall, who became an eminent minister of the Church of Scotland, was born in 1710, graduated at Edinburgh in 1730, and was presented successively to the parishes of Inchtute and Stirling. The surname Randall, not wide spread in that form at least, was already common, says Mr. Philip, in the neighbourhood of Inchtute. 'It occurs frequently in the Register of Cupar [-Angus] Abbey. Amongst the tenants in Carse Grange are Ranalds, Ranaldsons, Randalsons, and Randalls, or, as it is sometimes given, Randal, Rendale, Randell, Rendal. There were others about Perth in the days of the Reformation.' Mr. Philip does not push the matter

further, but the catalogue suggests the enquiry if the surname is Celtic and only another form of Ranald, and if Thomas Randall's presentation to Inchture suggests a relationship between him or his family with Randalls already there. To us, Thomas Randall is known through the *Diary and Letters* of Joseph of Kidderminster, the *Life of Dr. Erskine*, by Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, his own pamphlets and such like, and his contributions to the Scottish Paraphrases. He was a man of genius and personal influence, of great piety and 'a dash of excentricity,' and was not invariably entirely obedient to the courts of the Church. His wife, Mary Davidson, widow of John Eliot of Chapel-hill, and mother by that marriage of the Court Physician, Sir John Eliot, Baronet, was a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Davidson, one of the ministers of Dundee. She had a brother Hugh, rector of Kirby, Yorkshire, and—what is more relevant to the subject of the present narration—a brother William, merchant in Rotterdam, who acquired a fortune, and purchased the estate of Muirhouse, near Edinburgh. The eldest son of her second marriage, Thomas, his uncle William's heir, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Thomas Randall Davidson, followed his father as minister of Inchture, was afterwards minister of the 'Outer High' Parish, Glasgow, and finally of the Tolbooth Parish, Edinburgh. He was a popular preacher, a paragon of punctuality, and a master of manners. He was known to have given one divinity student from the country lessons with practical demonstration on how to come into a room, and to another a banknote privately with the injunction to go for a term to the dancing school. And yet, withal, Dr. Davidson of the Tolbooth was remembered by the great Thomas Chalmers as 'that venerable Christian patriarch . . . whose heavenward aspirations, whose very looks of love, and grace celestial apart from language, altogether bespoke the presence of a man who felt himself at the gates of his blissful and everlasting home.' Dr. Davidson married twice, firstly Christian Rutherford, and after her death, Elizabeth, sister of Henry Cockburn, the well-known Judge, and daughter of Archibald Cockburn, one of the Barons of Exchequer.

He was succeeded by his eldest son by his first marriage, William, and he, by his son Thomas, an eminent palaeontologist. But Muirhouse eventually passed to Henry (not mentioned in *Scots Fasti*), Dr. Davidson's fourth son, and third by his second marriage. Henry Davidson of Muirhouse married Henrietta, daughter of John Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame, in Berwickshire, and their eldest son is the Primate whose ancestry Mr. Philip set out to prove.

It is an interesting and well informed monograph. So far as he has been able Mr. Philip has delineated the mothers as well as the fathers of the stock, and his little work, apart from the interest of the individual characters which in succession are portrayed in it, is a valuable contribution to the library of the student of heredity. Time and again a son of a Scottish minister has become an English Dean or Bishop. But what in the wide range of possibilities, good, bad, and indifferent, has some son or near descendant of the manse not become! Still the monograph before us appears at an interesting moment, when—not to go further—the one



## Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher 329

English Archbishop is the grandson of a Scots minister, and the other, a great-grandson. Dr. W. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, is great-grandson and name-child of Dr. William Dalrymple, minister of Ayr.

J. H. STEVENSON.

DIE GEDRUCKTEN ENGLISCHEN LIEDERBÜCHER BIS 1600. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sangbaren Lyrik in der Zeit Shakespeares. Von Wilhelm Bolle. (Palaestra xxix.) Pp. cxxvi, 283. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1903.

THIS volume contains the text (without the music) of 25 English song-books published between 1587 and 1600. Most of these have not previously been reprinted entire, though many of the songs—perhaps all of them that have any real poetic merit—have found admission into various modern anthologies. Herr Bolle has deserved the thanks of students of Elizabethan poetry by bringing these collections together in a convenient form, and also by the pains he has taken to trace the origin and the literary history of the poems. In the case of those pieces which are extant in more than one early edition, the variant readings are given in the footnotes. The proof-reading has not been so careful as could be desired; there are many obvious misprints not included in the list of errata. Such uncorrected errors as 'tore agast' (p. 79) for *sore agast*, 'lovers feares' (p. 26) for *lovers teares*, 'billy' (p. 29) for *lilly*, 'though' (p. 32) for *through*, 'rorie' (p. 119) for *rosie*, are likely to shake the reader's confidence in the accuracy of the text, especially as it will be seen that similar misprints are not infrequent in the notes and introductions. It is quite possible that some of the mistakes above quoted may be found in the original editions; but, if so, they ought to have been corrected in the footnotes, or at least marked with a 'sic' to prevent them from being taken for editorial blunders.

The editor intimates in his preface that his original intention was to reprint only the seven song-books published by Thomas Morley, and that it was by Professor Brandl's advice that he was induced to include the other collections. This enlargement of plan has added materially to the value of the book, but one feature has been retained from the original design which does not harmonise well with the structure of the extended work. The section of the introduction entitled 'Inhalt und Form der Morley'schen Lyrik,' which occupies 40 pages, and has the appearance of having been written as a doctoral dissertation, is characterised by an elaborate minuteness quite out of proportion to the importance of the compositions discussed (of which, indeed, the editor himself has no high opinion); and this want of proportion is emphasised by the absence of any corresponding treatment of the metrical and stylistic features of the other collections. The form of the references in the dissertation, also, is unsuitable in its present position: the use of the letters from A to G to denote Morley's seven books might not have been inconvenient if the volume had contained no other texts; but now that Morley's books are interspersed among a number of others in chronological order, this notation renders it

very difficult to find the passages referred to. It would have been better if the seven collections had been indicated by intelligible abbreviations of their titles. However, it is not very likely that any one (in England, at least) will ever find occasion to follow Herr Bolle in his exhaustive study of the technique of Morley's songs, and, if any one does so, he can write the reference letters at the top of the pages.

The general introduction contains full biographical notices of the composers who contributed the music of the collections reprinted in the volume. In the article on Morley is given a long and interesting extract from his famous 'Introduction to Musicke.' Noteworthy evidence of Morley's celebrity as a musician is afforded by the two books, published in 1609 and 1624, containing collections of his compositions with German words. The text of these books is reprinted at the end of this volume.

Herr Bolle has done a solid and valuable piece of work, which justifies the hope that he will attain a distinguished position among the representatives of English scholarship in Germany.

HENRY BRADLEY.

THE PRECES PRIVATAE OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. Brightman, M.A.,  
Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford; Canon of Lincoln.  
Pp. lxii, 392. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1903. 6s.

THIS book needs no commendation from us: the names of the author and of his modern editor are a sufficient guarantee of worth. The Private Prayers of Lancelot Andrewes are among the most remarkable collections of Christian devotions which the world has ever seen. Drawn from many sources, patristic, mediaeval, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, they provide for every need of the Christian life. Compiled and selected with wonderful care, they formed the daily companion of one of the saintliest of men. The edition before us is an accurate translation from the printed text of 1675, corrected and supplemented by the mss. The matter has been re-arranged for practical use, as far as possible in accordance with the Bishop's own scheme of devotion. This has really been necessary, for in parts of the original much had been thrown together without arrangement. Marginal references have been added throughout. To glance over them makes one marvel at the wide reading and the keen theological insight of the author. Mr. Brightman has given us an excellent critical introduction, and there are about a hundred pages of closely printed notes, historical and theological. There are few books, in our judgment, which appeal to so many different readers as this. It is useful alike to the theologian, the man of letters, the liturgical student, the preacher, and the historian of the seventeenth century, for it is one of the richest productions of English learning when English literature was near its best. We are sorry that it is printed upon such poor paper. In a few years' time our modern publishers will have cause to regret their present meanness in this respect.

F. C. EELES.



## The Collected Works of William Hazlitt 331

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF WILLIAM HAZLITT. Edited by A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, with an Introduction by W. E. Henley. In twelve volumes. Demy 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902, 1903. 7s. 6d. net each.

It was said of Hazlitt that a complete collection of his works was all the monument he demanded. He has had to wait seventy years for it. The pious but insufficient labours of his son and grandson were directed to gathering essays which he himself did not live to issue in volume form; while enthusiasts such as Mr. Alexander Ireland did little more than trace and catalogue his scattered publications. Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover have taken advantage of their great opportunity. They have reprinted for the first time Hazlitt's early and laboured ventures in philosophy, politics, and grammar, and they have rescued from forgotten magazines the essays which he dashed off in his later struggles. The edition has the further interest of being introduced by a sketch of Hazlitt in Mr. Henley's most vigorous manner.

The labour of the edition, however, has been Mr. Waller's and Mr. Glover's. They have reprinted from the latest texts published in Hazlitt's lifetime, and have refused 'to modernise or improve Hazlitt's orthography or punctuation.' They have as wisely retained all his innumerable misquotations. In many cases it is impossible to say whether the variation is deliberate; and even his slips have their value. A Hazlitt correct in quotations is, despite the plea of his grandson, almost a contradiction in terms. The editors have dealt wisely also with his inveterate habit of repetition. But it is difficult to understand the arrangement of the volumes. The works are grouped neither chronologically nor according to subject. The *Life of Holcroft* is bound up with the *Liber Amoris*, the *Plain Speaker* is forced into company with the early *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*, and the *Round Table* is separated by five volumes from *Table Talk*. It is to be regretted that the editors did not insist on the inclusion of the *Life of Napoleon*. The savagery of the *Quarterly* would have been less galling to Hazlitt than the thought that his only elaborate work, to which he even entrusted his reputation, should not find a place in the first authoritative collected edition. The obloquy which it inevitably endured in his own day still seems to haunt it. It may be untrustworthy as a history, but it is a document which cannot be neglected in a representation of his varied talents. Its size has told against it: on all other considerations it had stronger claims to be included than the *Life of Holcroft*, which Hazlitt only revised and completed. To its omission we probably owe the reprints of his earlier works and stray magazine articles. The essay on *Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles*, which is claimed to be reprinted for the first time, is found in the edition published in 1891 by Messrs. Gibbings.

Much of the value of the edition lies in the excellent bibliographical notes, which give full details of the history of the different volumes and of many individual essays. In the explanatory notes—which on the whole are of less value—the editors have condensed a vast amount of varied material. They have given so much that it is almost ungenerous to hint at faults.

## 332 The Collected Works of William Hazlitt

The vague allusion in the essay 'On Criticism' to the silencing of the 'masked battery of Blackwood's Magazine' is explained by a reference to Mr. Lang's *Life of Lockhart*; but the fact is that the masked battery was never silenced, and in 1826 we find Hazlitt himself still complaining of the 'reckless blackguardism of Mr. Blackwood.' To define Granville the polite as a 'follower of Waller in English verse,' is to give a pointless paraphrase of Granville's own words which it would have been better to have quoted, if any note was to be given at all. The editors have aimed at brevity, but they would often have done better to have omitted rather than condensed. For there are many notes which are not imperative in an edition so 'monumental' as this. Is it necessary to say who Hoppner was, or to explain that Sir Thomas Lawrence was a 'portrait painter (1769-1830)'? The two notes on Sir Martin Shee in vol. ix. overlap, and do not tally in their details.

In the tracing of Hazlitt's multitudinous quotations the editors have been so successful that they may now be inclined to modify their early suggestion, that he sometimes used inverted commas to pass off a daring phrase of his own. It is truer that he did not acknowledge all that he might have done. When he said of Fawcett in the essay 'On Criticism' that 'he was not exceptionis,' he was probably recollecting a passage in the *Way of the World* (i. 2); and when he spoke of Lear's 'sublime identification' of his own age with that of the Heavens (v. 4) he used, as on many other occasions, the words of Charles Lamb. In the notes on the *Age of Elizabeth* we miss a reference to Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare, as well as to the 'ingenious and agreeable writer of the present day,' who held that good cheer and hospitable living were general in Elizabeth's time. There can be little doubt that Hazlitt refers here to Nathan Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*. It does not appear to have been noted that the introductory lecture on the *Age of Elizabeth* owes something to the grandiose preface to C. W. Dilke's six-volume edition of *Old English Plays* published in 1814.

The editors are supplying at least fifty closely-printed pages of notes to each of the twelve volumes, and many of the most valuable of these take up only a single line. There is no mistaking the knowledge and labour that lie concealed under an unassuming reference. The editing of texts or the writing of notes is too commonly a thankless task, but Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover know that theirs is already the standard edition of Hazlitt, and they are apparently determined that it shall not have a rival.

D. NICHOL SMITH.

THE KEY TO THE FAMILY DEED CHEST: HOW TO DECIPHER AND STUDY OLD DOCUMENTS. By E. E. Thoyts (Mrs. John Hautenville Cope). Pp. xvi, 150. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Second Edition. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 4s. 6d.

THIS little book first appeared ten years ago, as the Preface tells us. Its aim is indicated by its first title. On the 'Family Deed Chest' and its



probable contents, on parish registers and on parish officers' books (corresponding to our kirk-session registers), the information given is evidently based on the author's own experience, and is both practical and readable. The lady or gentleman blessed with leisure and the run of a few such repositories will find in this volume all that is needed to begin with; a Pocket Dictionary of Abbreviations can be added later; and the strenuous student, who demands more system and more precision, is told where to go. The neophyte is advised, quite rightly, to begin with what he can make out, and be content to acquire proficiency by practice. The stumbling-blocks are smoothed off or explained away—if the twelfth century contracted its words to save space, does not the twentieth do likewise to save time? If the student's Latin is weak, 'the correct conjugation of the verbs can be added afterwards by another person.' If a deed is in Norman-French, it 'can easily be understood,' or misunderstood, as the case may be, 'with the help of a slight knowledge of modern French.' To those tempted to use 'restoratives' for faded ink, the right advice, viz. don't! is tactfully reinforced by an allusion to the 'horrible smell' which awaits the wrongdoer. An interesting suggestion is made that shorthand should be studied 'as a means of training the eye and brain.' Would not art needlework do as well? The author evidently thinks not, and she is a lady. There is a chapter on 'Character by Handwriting,' which Mrs. Cope defends against objectors. If the neophyte should take her literally, and use her maxims as tests of genuineness, the results would be more curious than valuable. But a little 'graphology' may be usefully employed to enliven the perusal of a boxful of old letters.

Our author is opposed to the collection of parish registers in a central office; let every clergyman have 'a typed or printed copy' of his register, 'properly indexed' and 'at hand for reference,' and all will be well. The experience of Scotland shows, alas! that centralisation brings us no nearer to this millennial state.

The book is illustrated with photographs from old writs, which Mrs. Cope, true to her empirical principles, does not attempt to use for educational purposes. Indeed, many an expert would not care to tackle them without a magnifying-glass; but they are clear and good. The chapter on 'Legal Technicalities' is, of course, not adapted to northern latitudes. But Scotland is compensated by a photograph from a privately owned Chartulary of Reading Abbey, representing charters of David I. and Malcolm IV., some of which are not accessible elsewhere.

There is a short Introduction by Mr. C. T. Martin, of the Public Record Office, whose name carries weight in palaeographical matters. If he is a little in the 'nothing like leather' vein, we are glad to be reminded thereby that his science is in fashion at present; a historian who cannot read the records is not up to date. We wish the same could be said of the custodiers of local records and family papers.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

## 334 Life and Principate of Emperor Nero

THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR NERO. By Bernard W. Henderson. Part xiv., 529. With 16 Illustrations and 3 Maps. 8vo. Methuen, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book which ought to live, but which must expect in the course of its life, whether long or short, not to escape misunderstandings.

It is a careful, thorough, and scholarly treatise on the life of—may we not say—the most famous of Roman Emperors, and the results of the author's research are presented in a style so vivid and fresh that we cannot help reading his book. Yet I fear that it will be called an attempt to 'whitewash' the Emperor Nero and misjudged accordingly. But as the author says in his Preface :

'This history is an attempt not to "whitewash" Nero (though perhaps no man is ever altogether black), but to present a narrative of the events of that Emperor's life and of his Principate, with due if novel regard to the proportion of interest suggested by these events. Therefore some personal biographical details or court scandals receive but a scanty notice, or are omitted as too insignificant for even an Imperial biography. In their room I substitute topics of, in my judgment, a wider interest, the study of which may perhaps prove of greater service. Great events befell during the Principate of Nero. These, as well as the Emperor's character, may help, if it so chance, to justify this history.'

This then is the author's point of view. Nero was a thoroughly bad man, but by no means an altogether bad Emperor. This is not the first time that it has been pointed out that his unpopularity was Roman rather than Provincial. The Provinces were on the whole well governed during his reign, and, as the present author points out, some able and statesmanlike measures were planned, especially on the Armenian frontier of the Empire. One who like myself has seen the beginnings of Nero's canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, a work interrupted only by his death, but left unfinished till our own day, is very willing to admit that with all his private vices this man had some large and Imperial conceptions, and was not the mere 'Tigre devenu fou' the 'gamin couronné' whom many French and English authors have hitherto depicted him.

Let us not be misunderstood, and let us not misunderstand our author. Nero in his private family relations was a hopelessly bad man. The man, or say rather the lustful and arrogant boy, who slew his adopted brother, his wife, his mother, and his aged tutor, was undoubtedly a villain : only as 'nemo repente fuit turpissimus,' there were steps in his downward career, and as even Tacitus and Suetonius admitted, the beginning of his reign, the 'quinquennium Neronis' was a time of wise and merciful government, the credit for which must of course be largely given to his advisers, Burrus and Seneca. It is in the latter years of his reign, after his fears had been excited by the all but successful conspiracy of Piso, that he chiefly appears as the unredeemed tyrant, apparently thirsting for the blood of the noblest of his subjects. Lust and fear are both cruel passions, and by both was Nero possessed as by two devils. But these acts of tyranny and cruelty, which no trustworthy historian could dream of passing over in silence, were after all confined to Rome. Much was going on all the



time in the Provinces, and here the Emperor's action seems to have been on the whole wise, and the results of it beneficial. It is to this part of the history of Nero's reign, hitherto somewhat neglected, that Mr. Henderson rightly invites the attention of his readers.

There are many interesting discussions in the book, on the character of Stoicism and the causes of its failure, on the spread of Christianity in Rome, on the pretext for the first persecution of Christians, on the date of the Apocalypse (assigned by our author to the last months of A.D. 68); but to these I can only make this brief allusion. Probably the part of the work which will be considered most valuable by historical experts, is that in which the author describes and discusses Corbulo's campaigns in Armenia from A.D. 55 to 63.

We hope that the success of this book may lead the author to continue his elucidation of the history of Imperial Rome. May we suggest for his next study the reign of that other Emperor,—no faultless private character though an immeasurably better man than Nero, as well as a far wiser ruler,—the insatiable traveller and ubiquitous builder, Hadrian?

THOS. HODGKIN.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH: CHAPTERS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, BEING A PORTION OF THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC IRELAND. By Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. Translated from the original Latin by Matthew J. Byrne. Pp. xxvii, 212, with map. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1903. 7s. 6d.

THE contents of this book are indicated with sufficient fulness on a lengthy title-page. Mr. Byrne, who has devoted the past eighteen years to the study of Irish history, has set himself the congenial task of translating some hysterical chapters written by a remarkable man on the doings of Queen Elizabeth and her army of heretics in the Emerald Isle. The reader will thank the translator for his preliminary warning in the preface, that he regards 'O'Sullivan's work more in the light of material for an Irish history of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. than of itself supplying that want.' It is only just to compliment Mr. Byrne for the care he has taken to reproduce his author's sentiments and to avoid 'the danger of sacrificing accuracy to an attempt at elegance, and so substituting an English composition by himself for the history of O'Sullivan.' On the whole he has done his work very well, both as editor and translator.

In an appendix Mr. Byrne has collected some interesting notes on the weapons of war and modes of fighting in vogue with the Irish chieftains in their rebellions under Queen Elizabeth. The use of the military engine called 'the sow,' which seems to have been the most usual method of attacking fortified places, shows how antiquated were military tactics among the Irish at the close of the sixteenth century. In the Border wars of the early fourteenth century the Scots, under King Robert the Bruce, often employed this mischievous engine against the walls of Carlisle, *sed sus nec scalae eis valebant*, as the trustworthy chronicler of Lanercost testified.

Ample references to treatises on Irish weapons used at the time under review have been given.

The book is enriched with a good index and the reproduction of a quaint map of Ireland, drawn up by John Norden between 1609 and 1611, and still preserved in the Public Record Office in London. The map, though not new, is a useful addition, for it enables the reader to trace out the districts occupied by the Irish septs mentioned in O'Sullivan's narrative. It is to be hoped that Mr. Byrne will be encouraged to persevere with his intention of translating the works of Lombard, Rothe, and other contemporary historians of Irish events during the Elizabethan period.

JAMES WILSON.

LETTERS FROM DOROTHY OSBORNE TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, 1652-54.

Edited by Edward Abbott Parry. Pp. vi., 350. Crown 8vo. With 3 Illustrations. Sherratt & Hughes: London and Manchester, 1903. 6s.

THIS new and authorised edition of the most charming of English letters written during the seventeenth century by an Englishwoman, who was no unworthy contemporary of Madame de Sévigné, is a welcome and timely reprint. Only five letters are added to those printed in 1888, but the new recension differs from its predecessor in the dating of them, which has necessitated a new arrangement, and in the insertion of more or less copious explanatory introductions to each letter. Mr. Parry confesses a 'holy horror of the footnote,' which has induced him to put all his explanatory information in the introductory form; but it is questionable whether the footnote would not have been a more convenient device, especially since the difference of type between the letters and their introductions is so slight as to make it difficult for those who are not connoisseurs in typography to distinguish them at a glance. None the less the introductions, minute and copious as they are in the illustration of every name and allusion, form a most helpful, and indeed indispensable part of the book. Another commendable addition is the three appendices, one of which, dealing with the life of Dorothy's father, Sir Peter Osborne, and especially with his defence of Guernsey for the Royalists in the Civil War, gives a pleasing glimpse of a minor but most romantic episode in that struggle. The tasteful equipment of the book in type, binding, and illustration deserves a word of praise.

ROBERT AITKEN.

CHAMBERS'S CYCLOPAEDIA OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. New Edition by

David Patrick, LL.D., with numerous Portraits. Vol. I. pp. xv, 832; Vol. II. pp. xi, 832; Vol. III. pp. xvi, 858, royal 8vo. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1901-04. 10s. 6d. nett each.

THIS great work was founded sixty years ago by Scotsmen, and it has been maintained largely from the same source, but anything like a narrow patriotism is studiously avoided by the Editor. In his able but modest Preface he appeals to literary kinship and to the brotherhood of language, and he studiously, both in his selection of his coadjutors and in his choice



of authors, acts up to his principles. He writes 'To the youth of the English kin this book is once more and in a new shape offered as a help in seeking out and in laying to heart the wisdom and the wit of our famous men of old and the fathers that begat us, in the confidence that allegiance to the highest traditions of our literature will increasingly obliterate local and temporary jealousies.' From this it must not, however, be assumed that this great book of reference—one of the few really great works of its sort in our language—is particularly addressed to the young. It is adapted to the wants of all scholars, great and small, and it is at the same time a pleasant companion for the man of leisure, in so far as this can be true of any volumes which are too ponderous for the hand. By giving three volumes where there were two, the Editor is enabled to include many authors before ignored, to treat much more fully of almost all others, and to amplify the critical and biographical notices, bringing the work in all respects up to the requirements of the present time.

The general plan of the Cyclopaedia remains as in former editions, excepting only that now each author is presented once for all. That is to say, the arrangement is purely chronological, authors not being now discussed separately according to the class of their work—historic, dramatic, poetic and what not. This is a decided improvement. Each section of the work is prefaced by an historical survey—an entirely new feature. No one acquainted with the former editions should judge this one by them. The book is almost entirely rewritten, and great pains have been spent in verifying the biographical parts. As regards the extracts from the various authors' works, Dr. Patrick tells us that this is 'Not a collection of elegant extracts': but something there is 'to illustrate the author's average achievement, the standard by which he may be judged.' The book is an incitive to study rather than a study in itself. Still it is not a book which is no book. A cyclopaedia is not 'pure literature,' but a reader of ordinary intelligence can scarcely open the book at any page without finding absorbing matter of interest, and we should say that no better antidote to the bane of inferior fiction can be placed on our shelves than such a book as this.

In the very limited space at our command it is obviously impossible to consider in detail the quality of the work of the contributors. The list of leading contributors must suffice as warrant, and they seem to us to have worked with a view to sustaining their high reputation. In such variety there are necessarily degrees of merit. And if we are disposed to carp at the great space allotted to some authors, compared with the scant measure bestowed upon others, not to mention total exclusions, we bear in mind that in such matters the personal equation is necessarily prominent and the task of control very difficult. In short, the wheat so immeasurably exceeds the chaff that the latter becomes, to our mind, negligible.

The work is enriched by numerous portraits and facsimiles, the former mostly from the National Gallery. They are very good, considering the 'popular' price at which the work is brought out, and we only wish there were more of them. But of portraits alone there are some three hundred.

HAYWARD PORTER.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALFRED THE GREAT: being the Ford Lectures for 1901. With an Appendix and Map. By Charles Plummer, M.A. Pp. xii, 232, crown 8vo. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1902. 5s. nett.

THE recent anniversary celebrations and the consequent vast amount of uncritical writing on the subject of Alfred's Life and Times make a volume by a scholar of Mr. Plummer's standing at once necessary and welcome, and the work before us, though handicapped as a literary production by the amount of matter relegated to foot-notes, amply fulfils our expectations.

Its aim is to set before us a picture of the real Alfred framed in the history of his times, and especially to estimate his ability as soldier, administrator, educationist, and man of letters. Main lines of enquiry are the genuineness of the direct evidence of Asser, and the indirect evidence of the proved works of Alfred himself, for both of these have been invested with great importance because of the meagreness of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the fewness of the charters and other documents relating to this reign.

The critical examination of Asser is the best and most convincing part of the book. Here Mr. Plummer's main conclusions are :

1. That the crude arrangement of the work, the excessive assertion of the author, the evident corruption of the text, the frequent inconsistencies, and the obvious interpolations, are arguments against its being accepted as genuine in its present shape.

2. That even in the undoubtedly 'genuine nucleus' we have to allow for frequent exaggeration and occasional 'rebellion against facts.'

He would, therefore, at once brush away such myths as the 'cakes,' the 'early tyranny' and the 'invention' of the shires. Then coming to points not so obvious he challenges Alfred's claim to be the absolute founder of the English navy, and holds that his power has been greatly exaggerated and that the elaborate tale of his finance is nothing more than an 'acute fit of imagination' on the part of Asser. Yet he confirms substantially the verdict of early history on the merit of Alfred's services in the liberation of the country from the Danes, attributing his greatness largely to his skill in co-ordinating the administration of the kingdom.

The other line of enquiry is not quite so convincingly handled, though we are glad to see that Mr. Plummer denies the identity of the *Encheiridion* with the *Soliloquies of Augustine*, claims the metrical translation of the *Metra* as Alfred's, and rejects the recent opinion of Professor Sweet that Alfred could not have translated the *Bede* because the work shows 'Mercian characteristics incompatible with a West Saxon origin.' In other words, he refuses to accept on alleged philological grounds, a mere statement contrary to established historical evidence and, even if correct, worthless as argument, since at least four of the helpers of Alfred were actually Mercians!

On the other hand we do not see on what grounds Mr. Plummer objects to Alfred as the reviser of the *Dialogues of Gregory*, nor in what respect the evidence for his translation of the *Psalter* is inconclusive. Nor does Mr.



Plummer make out the priority of the *Orosius* to the *Bede*. The literalness of the latter—which Mr. Plummer attributes to ‘reverence’—seems more like the natural unwillingness of a ‘young’ translator to tamper with his original, while the freedom of the former seems to afford *prima facie* evidence of experience in translation. No doubt much of this ‘freedom’ is, as Mr. Plummer says, blundering and mistranslation, but that is largely due to the greater difficulty of the Latinity and the un-English cast of thought. Still there are also many distinct additions, such as the description of Germany and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with many editorial explanations, such as those referring to Hannibal’s march and the defeat of Regulus, which are valuable as word-pictures of Alfred’s own experiences and undoubtedly reminiscent of the Danish troubles.

But points of commentary like these are of minor importance in a work of such merit. Despite the author’s modest disclaimer of anything new to offer, he does much to give us a clearer conception of Alfred, and sets before us an able, scholarly, and critical estimate of that age in which England was being consolidated and foundations of English literature were being laid, under kingly auspices.

J. CLARK.

LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE ET LES CONGRÉGATIONS : EXPOSÉ HISTORIQUE ET DOCUMENTS. Par A. Aulard. Paris : E. Cornély, 1903, 311 pp. Small 8vo. 3 fr. 50.

In the preface to his excellent monograph, M. Aulard tells us that recent debates in the Chamber of Deputies and recent discussions in the French press on the question of the religious orders, have revealed very inadequate knowledge of the facts relating to the suppression of these orders in France during the Revolution.

These facts M. Aulard now gives. In a short but masterly *resumé* he traces the history of the monastic orders from the expulsion of the Jesuits by Louis XV. in 1762, to the final suppression, by the Legislative Assembly, of the regular orders on August 4th, and of the secular orders on August 7th, 1792. No parallel is drawn between the history of over a hundred years ago, and that of to-day, but the writer is careful to point out that the suppression of the orders under the Revolution did not originate in anti-religious feeling.

The question was first raised in October, 1789, by an appeal to the National Assembly on the part of the nuns of the Immaculate-Conception at Paris, against the exercise of undue pressure on certain novices to take perpetual vows; and was argued in the Assembly on the ground that perpetual vows were inconsistent with the recent declaration of the Rights of Man. Perpetual vows were decreed to be no longer binding, and a spirit of justice and consideration animated the earlier decrees which made arrangements for those monks and nuns who chose to remain in their orders, as well as in the provision for those who left. Very soon, however, the necessity of acquiring property which could be sold to make good the State deficit led to the suppression of certain monasteries,

and finally the hostile attitude, towards the Revolution, of those *religieux* who did not leave their orders, brought about the suppression of the whole.

The question of the religious orders was only a part of that of Church and State, and M. Aulard, strong Republican as he is, does not for a moment deny that the course pursued by the Revolution towards the Church was a grave political error.

M. Aulard follows his *resumé* by the official reports of the debates in the National Assembly, by the best contemporary journalistic accounts of these debates, and by the decrees relating to the question. Had he found room for a few of the petitions for and against the decrees cited, the reader would have had a still better idea of contemporary feeling. As it is, he has given us another example of the admirable manner in which the French school of history reproduces, edits and illumines the documents of the Revolutionary period.

SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE.

THE SHRINES OF S. MARGARET AND S. KENTIGERN. By P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. 20, with 4 plates. Royal 8vo. Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1903.

IN the early days of Christianity altars were built over the graves of martyrs. Later on it became common to translate the body of a martyr from the early grave in a cemetery and to bury it with honour under the altar of a new church. From this custom developed that of enclosing relics in newly built altars. In the middle ages there was a further development, and relics of saints were placed in small vessels of precious metal, which were set upon altars as a decoration for high days. A usage intermediate in character between the burial under an altar and the enclosing in a movable shrine took place when the body of a saint was translated from its earlier resting place and deposited in an elaborate fixed shrine, a structure of stone, wood, and metal, in close connection with an altar and usually behind it. In some churches, as at Glasgow, a chapel was formed in the crypt for this purpose, thus continuing the idea of burial with respect to the church above. In large churches, where the high altar stood at a distance from the east wall, a large shrine of this description was often placed immediately behind it, sometimes adjacent to it, but sometimes with a separate altar, and in an enclosed chapel behind the high altar and separated from it by a screen. The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster is an example of the latter arrangement, and the altar now to be seen at the west end of the shrine itself is an excellent restoration of what must have been the old arrangement. That of St. Margaret at Dunfermline seems to have been a shrine of this kind.

In his interesting paper Mr. Macgregor Chalmers gives some account of these two large shrines which formerly existed in Scotland—the one of St. Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, the other of St. Kentigern in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. Mr. Chalmers gives excellent repro-





I. CHAPTER SEAL OF DUNFERMLINE

II. CHAPTER SEAL OF GLASGOW

*From plates lent by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*

ductions of chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow, which he believes bear representations of these shrines. Unfortunately, we cannot follow him here, although his theory is very attractive. The buildings shown on the seals are only the conventional representations of churches so common in the art of the period. The usual medieval treatment is followed, by which the artist showed the outside and the inside of the church in one view. In the Dunfermline seal there is the sky above the church with sun and moon and two birds. The conventional foliage at the sides is probably intended to suggest trees. Within the church we see a queen—almost certainly intended for St. Margaret herself—and a monk, with a priest saying mass, with the help of a kneeling monk who is acting as his clerk. The whole forms a conventional representation of the church itself in St. Margaret's own day, and not a picture of her shrine. An examination of the Glasgow seal shows the same idea—not the shrine, but the church itself with a service going on within.

Mr. Chalmers says: 'It is probable that the shrine contained the following relics,' and he proceeds to enumerate many of those recorded in the well-known Glasgow Inventory of 1432, most of which had nothing to do with St. Kentigern. These relics were in separate movable reliquaries, and were unconnected with St. Kentigern's shrine, although perhaps they may occasionally have been used to adorn his altar on feasts. They must have been kept in the Cathedral treasury with the plate and other valuables, and they were brought out to deck altars with upon festivals, as is constantly done in Spain to-day, in the same way as the high altar at Westminster is still adorned with rich plate on Sundays and great days. The large fixed shrine of St. Kentigern in the crypt was a thing by itself. Readers interested in the subject of shrines and reliquaries would do well to consult the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv., pp. 121-125, and pp. 237 *et seq.*

F. C. EELES.

THE LANDS AND LAIRDS OF DUNIPACE. By John C. Gibson. Pp. 48, with two genealogical charts. Stirling: Cook & Wylie, 1903. 2s. 6d.

MR. GIBSON informs us that this is the first instalment of a work on estates and their owners in the parishes of Larbert and Dunipace. In this instance he has succeeded in giving us a very interesting account, which is a good deal more than a bare genealogy of the various owners of the lands. Several families notable in Scottish history have been connected with Dunipace. The Umfravilles are the earliest mentioned, and held the superiority until their forfeiture in the reign of Robert the Bruce. They and other possessors, on various occasions from 1190 onwards, gifted portions of the lands to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, which eventually seems to have acquired the whole. In 1495 the Abbey sold the lands to the Livingstones, a younger branch of the Callendar family. The second laird of this family was an Extraordinary Lord of Session under the title of Lord Dunipace. His grandson, Sir John Livingstone, the fourth laird, was father of Jean Livingstone, Lady Warristoun, who was executed



in 1600 for the murder of her husband, John Kincaid of Warristoun. Sir John Livingstone, sixth of Dunipace, sold the lands in 1634 to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, second son of the Archbishop. He was an Extraordinary Lord of Session, first under the title of Lord New Abbey, but afterwards as Lord Dunipace. He sold Dunipace in 1643, two years before his execution after Philiphaugh. The lands then passed through various hands, and were eventually purchased in 1677 by Sir Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny, who settled the estate on the sons of his eldest daughter, the wife of Sir John Foulis of the *Account Book* (printed by the Scottish History Society, 1894), from which Mr. Gibson gives some interesting extracts. Sir Archibald Foulis Primrose of Dunipace, grandson of Sir John Foulis, was 'out in the '45,' and was executed in 1746. His estate was forfeited and was acquired in 1755 by James Spottiswood, ancestor of the present proprietor.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

IZAAK WALTON AND HIS FRIENDS. By Stapleton Martin, M.A.  
Pp. xii, 263, with 18 Illustrations. London: Chapman & Hall,  
1903. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. STAPLETON MARTIN is obviously a thorough-going admirer of Walton, yet although he has evidently taken a great deal of pains, he does not seem to have added any new facts that have hitherto escaped notice. His aim, he says, has been 'to bring out the spiritual side of Walton's character.' But he does not seem to have reached any definite results. On page 18 he remarks that 'Walton, in my opinion, must be placed in Hooker's school,' while on page 21 he says that the reader 'will be forced to rank him (Walton) nearer to Laud's school than to Hooker's.' N. MACCOLL.

We gladly welcome the new edition of Messrs. A. & C. Black's indispensable *Who's Who*, and congratulate the editor upon the amount of information that he compresses into a short space. It is open to doubt as to whether there is much value in informing the world that Mrs. Crawford hardly ever knows what tedium is, or that she has found real life so interesting that novels and plays seem flat. Remarks of this kind might be severely sub-edited, and the deletion of a considerable quantity of unimportant information would increase the value of the book, but *Who's Who* is so useful and so accurate that blemishes of this sort can be pardoned.

The Tables which used to appear in the volume itself have now, from pressure of other matter, been issued as a separate shilling booklet, under the title of *Who's Who Year Book*.

*The English Women's Year-Book and Directory*, edited by Miss Emily Janes, contains much information on many points which are likely to be of interest to women.

The place of honour in the *American Historical Review* [Jan.] is becomingly accorded to Dr. Henry C. Lea for his presidential address to the American Historical Association on 'Ethical Values in History.' This venerable author, a profound scholar on historical ethics, discusses a dictum of

the late Lord Acton that in historical judgments we must apply the modern standard of rectitude. Dr. Lea—whether rightly interpreting Lord Acton's meaning or not may be open to argument—sets himself very successfully to show that the principle as he interprets it would often exclude excuses or justifications inherent in the state of contemporary opinion. Taking Philip II. of Spain as a type he illustrates in his career the anomalies that modern standards introduce, turning into a monster of cruelty one who long after his time was still regarded as the incarnate ideal of a Catholic prince.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Jan.), containing 236 pp. of literary text and 116 of bibliographical supplement, is a weighty survey of history from the clerical standpoint, published quarterly under the authority of the Catholic University of Louvain. A chief article is concerned with the general instructions given to the nuncios of the Spanish Low Countries from 1596 until 1633. Among points of British interest is 'the unfortunate position of the faithful (Roman Catholics) in Ireland and Scotland, where King James I. thought to implant Anglicanism, without provision for adequate censorship of heretical books, in the front rank of which were the writings of Marc Antoine De Dominis.' Roman orthodoxy was stirred by the theological writings of King James himself, as well as by the treatise *De Republica Christiana* of De Dominis which was combated by Janson, a professor at Louvain.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Jan., Feb.) M. Joseph Depoin essays an estimate of the Carolingian empire in the light of the recent important work of Prof. Kleinclausz upon the origin of the empire and its transformations. He thus challenges a verdict of one of our standard authorities: 'Nothing justifies the strange allegation of Bryce that Charlemagne would have been quite incapable of explaining his capacity as "Imperator Augustus."'

Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is dissected with judicial skill in the *English Historical Review* (Jan.) by Prof. Firth, who shows with what industry and independence, yet with what bias, the monumental apology for Charles I. was composed. Mr. Haverfield pronounces a fine eulogium and critique combined on Mommsen—a memorial essay which rises to the height of its great occasion, enlisting the reader's admiration for its dignity of style as well as for its just appreciation of this first of the moderns among the masters of history. Mr. J. H. Round goes far on the way of proof that Edward the Confessor had, in regard to the names and offices of his court, adopted those of the Normans. Dr. James Gairdner contributes an abstract of Bishop Hopper's visitation of Gloucester in 1551; and Mr. Hamilton Wylie a dispensation of a son of King Henry IV. 'propter defectum natalium.' The appearance of the *Scottish Historical Review* is, in the *Reviews of Books*, pleasantly greeted as 'a friendly rival.'

The *Reliquary* (Jan.) presents a rich variety of illustrated matter—almanacs, pin-brooches, spoons, crosses, and carved bench-ends being the



leading picture-themes. Mr. Legge's notes on early almanacs are entertaining. Mr. E. Lovett is ingenious, but fails to convince, in an effort to prove the evolution of the pen-annular brooch from a traditional type of pin-ring brooch. Much spoon-lore is set forth in Mr. R. Quick's 'Chat about Spoons.' Several pre-Norman relics in Lonsdale are described and sketched by Mr. W. G. Collingwood; throughout them interlacing ornament is recurrent.

In the *Antiquary* (Jan.) Mr. R. C. Clephan has an illustrated description of two fifteenth-century suits of armour at Berne, with useful cross references to the suits made at the same time for British celebrities, including James IV. In the March number Mr. Vansittart discusses, with versions in various languages, the 'White Paternoster.'

*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (Sept.-Dec., 1903) continues by quarterly instalments its steady supply of record, description, and various lore on these two shires. Heraldry and genealogy are in the ascendant with ecclesiastical and manorial remains. A full transcript is given of the inscription on Fielding's tombstone at Lisbon. One line is quotable in view of some opinions: 'Virtuti decorem vitio foeditatem asseruit suum cuique tribuens.'

*Pen and Palette Club Papers*, No. IV. (December, 1903). 'The Pen and Palette Club flourishes': so an editorial note informs, and so can, without danger, be inferred from this sturdy quarto. The Muses, as well as the Arts, still dwell by the banks of Tyne. Of the essays, that on Thomas Aird comes closest to a Scottish reader. From the pen of Mr. A. D. Murray (a friend of Aird, his successor in the editorship of the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald*, a brother of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, and now editor of the *Newcastle Journal*), it gives us a kindly and informing peep into the world of the poet of the 'Devil's Dream.' Among other clever things there is quoted a recent dictum of the *Dumfries Standard*—set down in humour, not in political malevolence—that Aird wrote far more kindly of the devil than he ever did of the Liberal party! Some Carlyle anecdotes appear also, with due modicum of salt in them. Not the least characteristic is that of the sage as theologian in conversation with Aird, his friend. Pointing to Troqueer Kirkyard, Carlyle said, 'Ay, there they lie in the hope of a blessed resurrection, but depend upon it, Aird, they have a long time to wait yet.'

Homage unstinted is due to Profs. Brandl and Morf's energetic and successful editorial work on the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. In the domain of literary history for the middle ages and the Renaissance the *Archiv* holds a powerful place, and the service it year by year renders to work of all kinds on old English can scarcely be set at too high a value. The December issue is unusually strong on this line. Dr. Liebermann edits three early Northumbrian documents, the first of which is Gospatric's letter. We notice that he reads Combres as a personal name, 'of Comber,' not

'Cumbrians,' as our correspondent Mr. Wilson prefers to understand it. 'Eadread's days' Liebermann notes as perhaps an allusion to Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, father-in-law of Earl Siward. A facsimile of this remarkable document, and another of Bishop Ranulf's grant to his bishopric of Durham of the lands of Elredene and Haliwarestelle, near the Border in North Durham, are most useful accessories to the Liebermann exposition, which exemplifies all that great scholar's customary learning and minuteness of care. Rudolf Fischer gives the first instalment of an inedited Pepysian MS., *Vindicta Salvatoris*, an English poem of the thirteenth century, forming one of the comparatively little known cycle of Titus and Vespasian romances, tracing back to Josephus or Hegesippus. Segments of the legend occur in the Scottish Legends of the Saints, attributed to Barbour, as well as in the alliterative *Sege of Jerusalem*. Another romance chapter of equal interest is Dr. Leo Jordan's essay on some phases of the saga of Ogier the Dane in its old French sources.

Shakespeareana form the staple of the latest part of *Englische Studien*. H. Logeman's notes on the *Merchant of Venice* contain, amidst a good many that do not strike home—which is the usual fate of efforts at solving *crucis*—a residuum of effective comment on passages illuminated a little by contemporary utterances. Another side of study is seen in C. Winckler's discussion of John Marston's early work and his relation towards Shakespeare. Instances of verbal coincidence, such as to prove contact, are apparently non-existent, and other indications of relation are scant.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (Jan.), a quarterly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is surprising in the scale it sets for purely State history. Certain periodicals have been sent us which are too far out of our orbit to admit of more than courteous acknowledgment. Amongst them are the *American Journal of Psychology* (London: Trubner & Co.), the *Anglo-Japanese Gazette* (Japan Press, London), the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (Paris: Leroux).

*The Teviotdale Regiment*, a paper read to the Hawick Archæological Society by Mr. John W. Kennedy, describes General David Leslie's march to encounter Montrose, and the complete victory he gained over the latter at Philiphaugh on 13th Sept., 1645. Long quotations from a tale by James Hogg evince a doubtful standard of historical authority, although the narrative has local colour from the share of the Earl of Lothian's Teviotdale recruits in the culminating event. A useful appendix is a reprint of a rare contemporary pamphlet descriptive of Montrose's overthrow.



## Reports and Transactions

MR. GEORGE MACDONALD read a paper (Jan. 21) on the excavations recently carried out by Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore at the Roman station on the line of the Vallum of Antonine at Bar Hill, near Glasgow. After indicating the obvious strategic importance of the position to troops holding the line of the Forth and Clyde isthmus, he referred briefly to the appearance presented by the fort when visited and described by Gordon nearly two centuries ago. Gordon spoke of the vestiges of old buildings as being more conspicuous here than in any other Roman camp he had seen in Scotland. Before Roy's time these vestiges had largely disappeared, and for many years practically nothing at all was visible above the surface. Until Mr. Whitelaw took the matter in hand, our knowledge of the station was limited to the little that could be gleaned from Roy. Fourteen months ago digging operations were commenced, under the direction of Mr. Alexander Park, with Mr. J. M'Intosh as master of works. The explorers began by opening up the centre of the camp, and on the first day were rewarded by striking the well, of which the diameter at the mouth was four feet. But it proved to be 43 feet in depth, and was carefully built round from top to bottom with dressed stones. Its main interest lay in the fact that, possibly when the camp was abandoned, it had been made the receptacle for articles too substantial to be speedily destroyed, and too heavy to be easily carried off.

It thus yielded finds which would have sufficed to give the excavations a unique place among recorded explorations of Roman sites in Scotland. To clear it thoroughly was a work of difficulty, and thereafter the general plan of the station and its defences was laid bare. As a rule, the forts on this line abut directly on the Antonine Vallum, which serves as their northern rampart. The station on the Bar Hill is an exception. It lies some 30 or 40 yards to the south, while the Military Way runs in front of it. In shape it is almost a perfect square, the dimensions being 399 feet by 393 feet. It is defended by a single rampart, built of sods resting on a stone base, like the great vallum itself, and showing no traces of the massive masonry found at Castlecary. It has the normal four gates. Outside of the rampart is the usual line of ditches, double on every side save the north. The praetorium had been a substantial structure of stone, and among others whose remains were revealed were the latrines, which lay (as at Castlecary) close to the north rampart, and a group provided with a heating system, apparently baths. Rows of post-holes

probably indicated the soldiers' quarters, and a remarkable feature was that here, as at the gateways, the remains of the wooden posts were in many cases found *in situ*. Beneath and within the camp of Lollius Urbicus, which dates from the second century A.D., there has come to light the outline of an earlier camp, which measures 191 feet by 160 feet, and is thus considerably smaller than its successor. It is rectangular in shape, with a small annexe towards the west, and it appears to have had only a single gate, which opened towards the east. This discovery was due to the insight of Mr. Haverfield, who has throughout been in close touch with the excavators.

The obvious suggestion is that here we are face to face with the handiwork of Agricola, who, according to Tacitus, built a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde in 81 A.D. If this be so, it is a striking testimony to the sound military judgment of Roy, who drew from the detached position of the Bar Hill fort the inference that it was probably one of those previously erected by Agricola. The collection of objects recovered is remarkable. There are many iron implements, masons' chisels, and the like, including a complete bag of workmen's tools, held together in its original shape by corrosion. Two inscribed stones tell that at one time the fort was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Baetasii, auxiliaries from Lower Germany, who must have been moved up from Maryport, in Cumberland, where we know from lapidary evidence that they were stationed. Hitherto the only regiment associated with Bar Hill was the First Cohort of the Hamii, Syrian bowmen, mentioned on the altar found in 1895. The usual debris of a Roman camp, from ballista balls to children's playthings, is present in abundance. Pottery and leather shoes are specially plentiful. The bones have been examined by Dr. T. H. Bryce, who identified many relics of the shorthorned Celtic ox (*bos longifrons*). Miscellaneous articles include a copper pot, a bell, the leg of a compass, oyster shells, walnuts and hazel-nuts, and four stone busts of singularly rude workmanship. Coins are not numerous, and in date entirely bear out the view that the vallum was abandoned in the reign of Commodus. They present one very curious feature. When the sludge at the bottom of the well was riddled it was found to contain 13 denarii. At first sight these resembled genuine pieces, but proved to be all of pure tin but one. Probably they were shams expressly manufactured for devotional purposes, the custom of throwing money into wells from superstitious motives being in ancient times a very ordinary practice. In conclusion, Mr. Macdonald emphasised the importance of the service Mr. Whitelaw has rendered to early history by these fruitful excavations.

The Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow shews its vitality by its contributions to the *Proceedings*, vol. xxxiv. for 1902-03. Mr. Richard Brown has made a useful study of the early Scottish joint-stock companies, beginning with the incorporation authorised in 1579 of Scotsmen trading in the Low Countries, and particularising the many companies formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

*Philosophical  
Society of  
Glasgow.*



for the promotion of fisheries, mainly of herring. Mr. John Edwards pleasantly describes, with piquant quotations, the *Chronicle of the Brut*, and reproduces in facsimile a page from the excellent fifteenth century manuscript which he possesses. Mr. George Macdonald writes with much learning on Coin Finds and how to interpret them, his leading object being to ascertain the main reason for hoards. The Roman Digest (41.1.31.1.) assigns three principal causes, viz., gain, fear, and safe keeping—*vel lucri causa vel metus vel custodiae*. By various evidences constituting a capital commentary on this text, Mr. Macdonald proves that historically the second of these causes stands easily first. Mr. Macgregor Chalmers finds in the shrines of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, and St. Kentigern at Glasgow, the material for the striking archaeological proposition that the church-like structures illustrated on the chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow are renderings of the respective shrines of these churches. His point gains graphic force in a separate revised reprint (*The Shrines of S. Margaret and S. Kentigern*, Carter & Pratt, Glasgow, 1903), having photographs of the English shrines of St. Alban and St. Edward the Confessor, to the type of which the two Scottish chapter-seal structures are analogous. The Philosophical Society celebrated its centenary in 1902, and the opening address of Professor Archibald Barr, the President, on some points in the Early History of the Society, is a valuable and suggestive review of its origin and achievement, especially in relation to mechanical philosophy, including the many contributions of the illustrious *doyen* of the Society, Lord Kelvin.

THE Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, part v., contain notably Mr. R. O. Heslop's 'Dialect Notes from northernmost England,' with a map showing the limits of the Northumbrian burr, and another to locate the Viking settlements. Some breath of the North Sea hangs about Mr. Heslop's utterances. He thinks in breezy anecdote.

*Archaeologia Aeliana*, the transactions of the Newcastle antiquaries, seldom fails to perpetuate the force of the Roman impression on north England, for the proportion of matter relative to the Roman occupancy is always highly significant both of its actual bulk as well as of its relative importance. The last issue, out of a total of 192 pages, devotes more than half to Roman subjects—epigraphy, excavations, and history. Medieval themes include an illustrated enumeration by Mr. S. S. Carr of early monumental remains of the Benedictine monastery of Tynemouth, consisting of fragments of early crosses with interlacing ornament of pre-Conquest type, and grave covers assigned to a somewhat later period. Mr. J. C. Hodgson usefully transcribes for Northumberland the original returns which were the basis of the *Testa de Nevill*. Some entries about Bamborough revive its place not only as a fortress but as once the Northumbrian capital and a great feudal centre. In an essay on Coupland Castle, about nine miles south of Coldstream, the Rev. M. Culley of Coupland incidentally discusses the border fortifications, mentioning that

not until after the middle of the fourteenth century did the building of border towers become popular. Coupland is a late example, not earlier than 1584. Mr. Culley, we observe, recants his former opinion that an inscribed date, 1619, fixes the period of erection. His general reasons for recantation seem scarcely so constraining as the specific epigraph of 1619 on the stone chimney-piece of the great chamber of the tower. The principal contribution of this part is of absorbing interest to all students of the Roman period in Britain. It contains the report on the excavations of 1898-99 at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*), a document on which the Newcastle Society and everyone concerned are to be most warmly congratulated. Mr. Haverfield deals with the inscribed stones, and Mr. A. B. Dickie with certain special architectural points. Each of these is excellent in his own province. But the main feature of the report is Mr. R. C. Bosanquet's masterly account of the digging and its results. We wish all such reporters would set forth their facts in as luminous and instructive a fashion. While the details are recorded faithfully and with the necessary minuteness of accuracy, they are properly co-ordinated and are interpreted by abundant illustrations from other sites at home and abroad. As a consequence, we get—almost for the first time—a clear and coherent description of the structure and purpose of the building found in all Roman stations, and generally known (on quite insufficient grounds) as the *praetorium*. A good deal of light is thrown on other obscure matters—the arrangements of the soldiers' barracks, for example. But the elucidation of the '*praetorium*' is the outstanding achievement. Mr. Bosanquet hints that the successful excavation of Birrens helped to stimulate the activity that has borne such excellent fruit. May we hope for an appropriate reply from this side of the Border? With Barr Hill and Rough Castle Scotland may claim to hold her own. But it is now her turn to 'go better.' What about Westerwood?



## Queries

CLOBEST. In a final concord of 40 Hen. iii. (Cumberland, *Pedes Finium*, Case 35, File 2, No. 68) between Thomas de Multon and the Prior of Lanercost about hunting rights in the barony of Gillesland, a sporting word, unique within my experience, is used upon which I should like to have the judgment of your readers. Shortly the provisions of the agreement are these: the Prior shall have two foresters (*wodewardos*) in his demesne: shall be at liberty to inclose his park and make a deer-leap (*saltorium*) therein: shall have 'quatuor leporarios et quatuor brachettos currentes cum voluerint ad capiendum in dominicis terris et boscis suis vulpes et lepores et omnia alia animalia que vocantur clobest': liberty for his men to carry bows and arrows through the whole barony of Gillesland, 'sine dampno faciendo feris in eadem foresta de Gillesland.' It is evident that a distinction is drawn between two classes of game, deer and 'clobest,' the latter or inferior class including foxes, hares, and other animals, like the cat or mart, which was reckoned a beast of the chase in Cumberland from an early period. Has this word been found elsewhere? There is no doubt about the true reading, for the record of the Fine in the Cartulary of Lanercost (MS. ix. 4) is the same. What is its meaning? To my untutored mind (I make no claim to be a philologist) 'clobest' appears to be the vernacular pronunciation of 'claw-beast,' a beast with claws (see Skeat *s.v.* claw), a class of game inferior to deer or 'hoof-beast.' I do not find reference to the word in Mr. Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society, vol. xiii.

JAMES WILSON.

SOLOMON'S EVEN. Writing in 1874 regarding Shetland, Mr. Arthur Laursen observes:—'It is a curious fact that almost the only trace left in the language of the people, of the long supremacy in the islands of the Catholic Church, is the remembrance of certain holidays and saints' days, now of course no longer celebrated, although not forgotten. Besides the well-known festivals still recognised, and the legal term days of Christmas, Candlemas, Lammas, Whitsunday, Martinmas, Pasch-Sunday, and St. John's Day (December 27), there are still dated Laurence Mass (August 23), Korsmas (3rd May and 14th September), Fastern Eve (before Lent), Catherinemass (22nd December), Boo Helly (fifth day before Christmas), Bainer Sunday (first before Christmas), Antinmas (twenty-fourth day after Christmas) or Uphellia Day, Solomon's Even (3rd November), Sowday (17th December), Martinbullimas (St.

Swithin's Day), Johnsmass (24th June).—(*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 716). In Mr. T. Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, p. 113, we find this entry:—'Solomon's Avon (Even), November 3rd, a superstition of ill-omen connected with this day. Shetland.' From whom did this festival receive its name?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ROBERTSON. Can you tell the parentage of, or particulars about George Robertson, a Writer in Edinburgh, married (second wife) Elizabeth Ogilvie, and died 1737: his son, Alexander, a Clerk of Session, owner of Parsonsgreen, matriculated in 1778 as a Cadet of the Strowan family?

W. H. R.

THE BROOCH OF LORNE. Can you give a list of the most ancient references or any particulars concerning the celebrated Brooch of Lorne, which was taken from Robert Bruce by the MacDougalls, and is still in the possession of their chieftain, Captain MacDougall, of MacDougall, Dunollie Castle, Argyleshire?

M.

[Some account of the Brooch is given in *Scottish National Memorials* (MacLehose, 1890), pp. 34, 35, with an illustration and references, particularly to *Archaeologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 419, plate xxx., and Sir Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.]

SIR JAMES DENHOLME OF CRAUSHAW. In the Edinburgh Register of Marriages under date 5th August, 1753, Sir James Denholme of Craushaws was married to 'Sophia Cockburn relict of Arch<sup>d</sup>. Allan merchant in Annan.' As Sophia Cockburn was born in March, 1697, it is improbable that there were any children. Who was Sir James Denholme? I can see no mention of him in Douglas' Baronage nor in Playfair.

H. A. C.

ST. BEYA'S DEDICATIONS. This Saint is commemorated at Dunbar, at Banff, and on the island of Little Cumbrae. Kilbag Head, in Lewis, is thought by Bishop Forbes (*Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, s.v. *Baya*) to recall either St. Beya, or St. Bega, who gave name to Kilbucho in Peebleshire. Are there any other Scottish dedications to St. Beya?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ACONEUZ. In the twelfth century Guthred, king of the Isles, gave to the priory of St. Bees in Cumberland the land of Eschedale in the Isle of Man, free and quit 'ab omni terreno servicio tam de pecunia quam et acuez et ab omni gravamine tam a me quam ab omnibus meis cum eisdem legibus et libertatibus quas habent super terram et homines suos circa ecclesiam sancte Bege in Coupalandia.' We have the same phrase-



ology again in a charter of King Reinald, except that the puzzling word is written 'aconeuz.' At subsequent dates when these charters were inspected and confirmed by Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and Antony, bishop of Durham, lords of Man, the word was reproduced in such forms as 'aconuweys' or 'aconeuez.' I have not met this word in any other connection, and I am anxious to know its correct form and etymology, as well as the precise nature of the territorial burden it represented. Was it a Scottish as well as a Manx service? It was certainly not Cumbrian.

JAMES WILSON.

## Replies

WRAWES (i. 101, 235.) The word 'rice'—I do not know the spelling—is used in parts of Midlothian, Peeblesshire, and the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire for the small branches placed below stacks when they are built on the ground, or used for filling up ruts in a cart track over soft ground. These branches are now for the most part of spruce fir, but in many places are still of birch. No doubt in former times birch would be the material generally used for such a purpose. But surely this word is the same as the German 'reis' and so may have no connection with 'wrawes.'

T. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

LEGEND FROM TIREE (i. 113.) It is perhaps worth while pointing out that Mr. R. C. Graham's interesting legend from the island of Tiree would appear to be a picturesquely embroidered variant of a common 'folk-tale.' Parallels could probably be produced from various countries. But the story is found in a simple form in the *Märchen* of the Brothers Grimm. English versions of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* are usually produced for the delectation of children, and in most of them the tale of 'The Old Man who was made Young' is omitted as verging on the profane. It will, however, be found on p. 499 of Ward, Lock & Co.'s 'complete edition.' The miracle-worker is Our Lord, but the bellows are blown by St. Peter, who was also present. The old man who was made young was an aged beggar who had asked alms from the blacksmith. After passing through the furnace he was cooled in the water-butt. The next morning the blacksmith attempted to work a similar change on his decrepit sister-in-law. The experiment was a ludicrous failure. The harder the blacksmith blew the bellows the louder did the old woman scream 'Murder,' 'until the man began to doubt whether things were going on right, and he took her out

and threw her into the water-butt. There she screamed so loud that the blacksmith's wife and her daughter-in-law, who were upstairs, heard it; they ran down and found the old woman howling and groaning in the water-butt.'

M.

LENYS OF THAT ILK (i. 101.) 'Reidhar' in modern Gaelic is 'ridir', knight; 'our' is 'odhar,' grey or dun; and 'vray' is 'breac,' freckled; 'tork' is probably 'torc,' boar.

I have to correct an error in the query. The John de Leny, who had a charter of the lands of Drumchastell, can scarcely be identical with John de Lena, mentioned as a witness in 1267, as the latter is designated 'magister,' and must have been a churchman.

A. W. G. B.

GOSPATRIC'S LETTER (i. 62.) The Gospatric letter, which formed the subject of an article in this Review in October, 1903, has attracted the attention of Professor Liebermann, who has printed it in facsimile with a translation and notes in the last issue of the *Archiv* (vol. cxi. pt. 3/4). After passing well-deserved compliments to Canon Greenwell and Mr. W. H. Stevenson for the part they had taken in the interpretation of the writing, Dr. Liebermann has followed your example by placing the English text side by side with his translation, and adding ample notes, philological and explanatory. As my interest in the document is purely historical, I may leave the discussion of the language to the experts. Nothing, however, that has been said by Dr. Liebermann, has materially altered any of the conclusions that I had ventured to advance in my notice of the writ. On the interpretation of the disputed phrase in Gospatric's mode of address to all his dependants, 'theo woonnan on eallun tham landann theo weoron Combres,' the Professor has taken the same view as Canon Greenwell, Mr. Stevenson, and Prof. Skeat, and rendered the passage as 'die wohnen in allen den Landen welche Comber gehorten.' Nobody will dispute the grammatical accuracy of the translation as the text stands, but if I am to understand by that phrase that Comber was a local personage, like Cumbra or Cumbranus, the south-country magnate slain by Sigebert in 775, I cannot accept it. I believe that the key of the difficulty will be found in the rise of geographical terms which in Gospatric's time were in process of formation. Gospatric's province had not yet won for itself a territorial name. States were called after their inhabitants. Cumberland derived its name from the land of the Cumber or Cymric race. It was the 'terra Cumborum' as England was the 'terra Anglorum.' The geographical description in both cases crept gradually into use. After a prevailing fashion, familiar to the student of English and Latin forms, the draughtsman of the writ reduced the territorial designation, which had not been at that time fully established in general usage, to its original conditions 'of all those lands that belonged to the Cumbrian' or Welshman.

To the list of Cumbrian magnates, 'Walltheof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth,' Dr. Liebermann has prefixed



'Wilhelm,' but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The word in the script is clearly 'Willann,' and not 'Willelmi' or 'Willelm.' Though the letter 'a' in this word, as seen in the facsimile, if taken independently of the scribe's caligraphy throughout the document, may be read as 'el,' few who have carefully examined the original skin will accept the suggested reading. Moreover, Dr. Liebermann's version necessitates the interpolation of the symbol for 'and,' which is fatal to his contention.

I looked with some curiosity for the rendering of the most important passage in the writ, that in which the jurisdiction of Earl Syward over the Cumbrians is spoken of, but it seems to have presented no difficulties to the translator. The obscure passage in question—'And ne beo neann mann swa deorif thehat mid that ic heobbe gegyfen to hem neghar brech seo gyrth dyylc Eorl Syward and ic hebbe getydet hem cefrelycc'—has been translated by Dr. Liebermann thus: 'Und es sei niemand so kuhn, dafs er bezuglich dessen was ich jenem gegeben habe irgendwo den Frieden breche, solchen wie Graf Siward und ich jenem ewiglich verlichen habe.'

It would be very interesting if the identification of Eadread—'on Eadread dagan'—with Ealdred, earl of Northumberland, could be proved; but the general tenor of the writing seems to be against it. As Earl Syward is properly designated, why should Eadread have been mentioned without his title? Last year I went over the list of Northumbrian rulers, kings and earls, with Canon Greenwell, in the hope of finding some counterpart of this personage among them, but every attempt at identification seemed to us open to some grave objection. Eadread appears to me to have been a local potentate like Moryn—'on Moryn dagan'—who had hitherto escaped notice as a great landowner in the days immediately before Gospatric's writ was issued.

JAMES WILSON.

Dalston Vicarage.

## Notes and Comments

MR. THOMAS GRAVES LAW, LL.D., keeper of the Signet Library, born on 4th Dec., 1836, died on 12th March last. When a personality so many-sided is removed from the historical circle, the sense of loss, though general, strikes different minds at different angles. Some of us knew Mr. Law best as the author of calendars of martyrdom and dissertations on catechisms, and Jesuit or Catholic controversies in the war of creeds. Others thought of him as a skilful bibliographer, and the most obliging of librarians. Others again classed him as a high authority on the text of the Vulgate as well as on early English translations of the Scriptures, especially the Scottish version of the New Testament, which he was still engaged in editing at the time of his death. Possibly more than in any of these capacities he was seen as the unwearying organiser and secretary of the Scottish History Society, scarcely less eager in historical pursuits of his own than in the search for contributions of value, and the sympathetic co-worker in all editorial tasks. An Englishman who had been twenty years a priest when he left the church of Rome in 1878 and settled in the capital of protestant Scotland, he so naturalised himself that we not only forgot he was an importation, but almost persuaded ourselves he was a Scot.

*The late  
Thomas  
Graves  
Law.*

At once ardent and exact, a keen controversialist, but devoid of bitterness, he combined minute detail with comprehensive views. His cordiality and solicitous friendliness of counsel in the enterprise of this magazine, and his zeal in its promotion, may not pass without a most grateful word of record, the more so as this kindliness of interest was evinced in defiance of pain and weakness.

One who knew him well and whose words are always worth remembrance has written that 'in the memory of those who counted themselves among his friends, he will always abide as one of the most loveable of men, an exemplar of tactful courtesy, and the type of a broad and genial humanity.' Scotland loses in him a deep scholar, in a field almost all his own. But he will be missed most of all as an accomplished organiser of studies, and as one who never neglected in the midst of his own researches a chance of assisting or encouraging a fellow-worker. Much of his learning therefore has gone to the making of the books of other men.

As the sea was threatening to undermine St. Andrews Castle on the northern side, the Crown, last autumn, constructed a massive concrete wall which ought to protect it for many centuries to come. Much of the sand and gravel required for this work was obtained on the beach opposite the eastern side of the Castle,

*St. Andrews  
Castle.*



and the lowering of the beach has revealed ledges of rock hitherto covered. In one of the ledges there is a distinct cutting, and in the cutting there is still part of the lower course of the old eastern wall, which is ten or twelve yards further east than the wall built by the Crown in 1884 and 1886. The Castle well has also been cleaned out, and in the bottom of it two gargoyles were found. Each terminated in a goat's head, through the open mouth of which the water had poured.

A CURIOUS and out of the way theme, the anatomical vivisection of criminals among the ancients, was lately handled by the Rev. *Vivisection* Dr. Robertson of St. Ninians in a paper read before the *of Criminals.* archaeologists of Stirlingshire. Celsus in his *De Medicina* approves of the action of certain doctors who dissected live criminals taken from prison (nocentes homines ex carcere acceptos vivos) and he repels the charge of cruelty offered by some against this sacrifice of sinners for the good of the just. Tertullian mentions the practice. Galen advised the dissection of monkeys as preparatory to like treatment of man. The vivisection of criminals was again reverted to after a long interval by the Renaissance surgeons. A queer Scottish reminiscence is quoted by the learned minister of St. Ninians. 'I am indebted for my knowledge of the following incident to the President of the Archæological Society of Glasgow. About eighty years ago a criminal named Matthew Clydesdale having been hanged in Glasgow and given over to Dr. Jeffrey for dissection, the students were testing the muscular movements of the body under a galvanic current when signs of animation were observed. Dr. Jeffrey immediately plunged his lancet into the carotid artery that no vivisection might take place.' The euphemism of the last sentence is truly naive. Mommsen does not include the delivery of a criminal to vivisection in his enumeration of the penalties in the criminal law of Rome.

*Some Notices of Old Glasgow*, a reprint of the Presidential Address to the Glasgow Archæological Society (19th Nov., 1903), by *The late* John Oswald Mitchell, LL.D., cannot be looked at without *John* a sharp consciousness of the loss to Glasgow antiquarian studies *Oswald* occasioned by the author's death. He, like his friend Colin *Mitchell.* Dunlop Donald, zealously cultivated the Ana of 17th-19th century Glasgow, its merchants and its buildings, and the pictorial aspects of its life. Gifted with a style which, expended on broader themes, might have made him another John Brown, Dr. Mitchell's numerous papers are invariably marked by a descriptive touch, a pawky air, and a breezy vivacity of narrative, all the more welcome because so very unusual in work so exact. His last paper shows the veteran antiquary's eye for pictorial characterisation quite undimmed. It is a discursive topographical survey of Glasgow as it might have looked to a stranger in 1707, and will be read with double sympathy, not only for its own charms and fidelity, but as the last tribute to the city he loved, from one who was held in equal regard as citizen and author.