

Reviews of Books

ENGLAND IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR : a Study in Combined Strategy.
By Julian Corbett, LL.M. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. Pp. Vol. I. xi,
476, Vol. II. 407. London : Longmans, Green & Company. 1907.
21s. nett.

THIS is a most masterly work, of which it is not possible to speak in terms of praise which shall be too high. While to the ordinary reader its description of the events of that great war, which definitely established the position of Great Britain as a power of world-wide empire, is intelligible and graphic, to the student it brings lessons of the greatest possible value. The Diplomat and the Commander, whether naval or military, will find it instructive, as to the conduct of war in all its branches. Throughout its pages, the lessons of the different scientific divisions of warfare are taught with clearness, the lines which divide them being sharply drawn. The greater strategy, which is the province of the statesman in consultation with his combatant advisers, determining the main purposes of the war, and the carrying of these out in the most effective way, looking to the questions of co-operation to be obtained from allies, and the attaining of the main purpose by striking in the best place for attainment, although that place be in a part of the earth far distant from the centre of Government, is expounded and illustrated with exceptional efficiency. The wonderful strategic instinct of the elder Pitt, which led him, in spite of strenuous opposition by his own colleagues and his Sovereign, to hold fast the leading idea that our issue from the War with power to dictate terms favourable at home was best to be effected by our striking effectively at the power of France on the American Continent, constitutes one of the greatest episodes of higher strategy that is to be found in history. It was a brilliant illustration of grasp by a master mind, which, having instruments which it can depend upon, as Pitt had in Anson and Hawke, ably seconded by Boscawen, Howe, Saunders and others, uses them with courage and indomitable resolution. Mr. Corbett illustrates in his narrative how, while Newcastle was alternately trembling and elated, cast-down and hesitating one day and buoyant the next, as news of progress of the contest came from the different spheres of action, Pitt held on with far-seeing determination, with the glorious result that at the end of the struggle our enemies had a very poor show for barter when the adjustment of the distribution of spoils took place—they holding but few places which were valuable to us, and we holding the

whole of the east of North America by conquest of Canada, so glorious a prize, and ever since to this day such an invaluable possession for the prosperity and strength of the Empire. Pitt, by the confidence that his firmness and manifest insight inspired, carried the country with him, a thing essential to the final success of the greater strategy, for, as the author truly says, 'The spirit with which a country goes into a war is as much an element of strategic calculation as its army or its navy.'

Pitt, knowing that the country was with him, knew that the nervous fears of his colleagues about the invasion of the country from the shores of France need not be so regarded as to compel a crippling and confining of the operations of our fleet, while he used the forces he had at home to threaten diversions here and there towards different parts of the coast, so as to keep our French neighbours in constant dread of an invasion by us, and so to hinder them from supporting by adequate reinforcements their own generals, Richelieu and Soubise, in the land war in the region of the Rhine, and of Hanover and Stade. Thus, as regards our defence against invasion, the sound maxim of strategy, that 'no defensive disposition is perfect unless it threatens and conceals an attack,' was given due and effective weight. No war is brought to a successful issue by the mere contests of fleets on the water, nor by tamely waiting to fight an enemy on your own land, in disregard of the wise word of old Polonius, as to how a man should conduct himself when in a quarrel. The merely defensive is the weakest form of defence, and never was this more clearly discerned than in the Seven Years War.

Mr. Corbett is equally successful in his treatment of the lesser strategy of the War, that strategy which consists in so conducting movement, whether on land or sea, and while the opposing forces are not yet in contact or nearly so, that when they do meet the advantage of the position, as distinguished from the question of numerical strength, shall be obtained. And in describing this, he enunciates very clearly how the action of the fleet in the area selected for the major strategy is not that of merely finding and fighting the enemy's ships, but that its function is in close connection with the action on land, actual or contemplated, by which alone operations of war can be conclusive. For, as he points out, the expression 'the command of the sea' is often misunderstood, and particularly so in these islands of ours, as if that command was something final in itself, and not a means to an end. The true function of the fleet is to enable the nation to which it belongs to cover its country's commerce with protection, to stop and harass the commerce of the enemy, to ensure that whatever expedition the nation may have to send abroad shall not be destroyed on the sea, and to make certain that any expedition sent against us shall be dealt with as completely as may be on the water, and if it succeeds in landing shall be cut off from its base and trapped. In all this work its efficiency may ensure its success in every encounter, but beyond this its known power in minor strategy will have a weighty effect on the strategy of an enemy, hindering or making impossible proposals which may be brought forward in Council on questions of major strategy.

It is only necessary to say further that Mr. Corbett is as successful in description and criticism of the tactical aspects of the war, both on sea and land, as he is in his dealing with the higher matters. Tactics being the name for those separate or combined military or naval operations which take place in the region of dispositions for and conduct of action when the opposing forces are practically at one another's throats, the story of such is always most interesting to the ordinary reader. And nowhere will such a reader find more graphic pictures of such stirring events as the siege of Quebec, and the naval operations in America, in the Channel, and in the Mediterranean during the Seven Years War, than are given by Mr. Corbett.

To all who love to read of the great deeds of our statesmen and heroes of the eighteenth century, who may in truth be said to have made our empire by a just enforcement of our rights, this truly great work can be heartily recommended.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

THE SHIRBURN BALLADS, 1585-1616. Edited from the MS. by Andrew Clark, Honorary Fellow of Lincoln College. Pp. viii, 380. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 10s. 6d. nett.

MR. CLARK has laid all students of Elizabethan history and literature under a heavy debt of gratitude, by the publication of the Earl of Macclesfield's manuscript collection of ballads. It may be questioned whether anywhere there exists so admirable a means of gauging that discordant medley, the popular Elizabethan mind, as may be found in this volume. Our only quarrel with the editor is that his modesty has prevented him from doing complete justice to his knowledge in an adequate introduction. It is true that, throughout the book, Mr. Clark has scattered freely his social information as comment on the individual ballads; but his purpose, at least for general readers, would have been better served by an inclusive introduction on popular manners and popular taste in literature in Shakespeare's day.

Lovers of the heroic, and the ancient supernatural will find little to please them here, but for readers of Shakespeare and students of Elizabeth's reign the book is treasure trove. In matter of ballad form there is much to interest us. The average tale or moral reflection runs, of course, to the old jogging rhythms which Dr. Johnson scorned:

‘ If ever words did move a wight
To shed a wofull teare,
Then can no creature choose but weepe
This dolefull tale to heare.’

But there is a wonderful variety of chorus forms, of the sort familiar to readers of Elizabethan comedy, with its snatches of song; and here and there occur variations, such as the strange jingle on Christmas:

‘ Is not this a blessed wonder?
God is man, and man is God.
Foolish Jewes mistooke the thunder
Should proclaim the king abroad.’

Angels they syng, "Behould the kinge!"
 In Bethlehem where this was done.
 Then we, as they, rejoyce and saye,
 We have a saviour; God, a sonne.'

Lest any wonder at sacred themes cropping up in a profane collection, one should explain that everywhere things holy and unholy rub shoulders here, and sentiments of devotion, such as 'Jesu, my loving spouse,' go to the tune, 'Dainty, come thou to me.' Apparently what Professor Huxley used to call the Corybantic elements in Salvation Army ritual had sixteenth-century exemplars. Of all the formal variations, perhaps the most interesting is that designated a 'jig,' defined by Mr. Clark as 'a dramatic ballad or ballad-drama written to dance music and capable of presentment by dance action on the stage.' To quote once more. 'A piece like that named "As I went to Walsingham" has four acts, each with its own tune, and its own distinctive stanza. . . . In all



A right excellent and godly new Ballad, shewing the uncertaintye of this present lyfe, the vanitye of the alluring world, and the unspeakable joyes of heaben prepared for those that unfainedly beleede in the Lord Jesus.

four acts the stanzas are oddly broken up by distribution between the four *dramatis personae*.' The result is a lively confusion, with suggestions in it of both dramatic action and ballad narrative. Everywhere in the subject-matter contemporary history finds rhyming expression. Among the Elizabethan proletariat these rude poems were the substitute for the *Daily Mail*, selecting their subjects from stirring foreign news, loyal gossip, and popular crime, to please the great slovenly mind of the people. You may see here how dearly Englishmen then loved a king, or a lord, and gloated over a coronation. Essex, even as traitor, still seems to dominate the popular imagination by virtue of his earlier feats of derring-do.

'He never yet hurt mother's sonne;
 His quarrell still maintaine the right;
 Which makes the teares my cheekes downe runne
 When I thinke of his last good-night.'

Popular imperial sentiment or story goes into hobbling rhyme, and Elizabeth finds here, as she does in all contemporary poetry, a literary throne erected for her. But the ballad-writers and readers are anything but fastidious in their desire for news. Odd accidents, like the falling of Norwich Cathedral pinnacle during a thunderstorm, meet with serious record, and every monstrosity of the time has its ballad. Indeed the frontispiece of the book is symptomatic of this popular sensationalism, for it represents 'Eva Fliegen, the miraculous mayd that lived at Muers



The first part of the widow of walling streete and her 3 daughters.

in Cleveland,' for sixteen years without food, and who had this additional claim on the British public that she was visited by James I.'s daughter Elizabeth. But let the portent speak for herself and tell of royal largess given in exchange for a nose-gay :

'The which the gentle lady took,
 In kinde and humble wise,
 As if they had been Jemmes of worth
 And Jewells of great prize ;
 And, for the same, returnd me backe
 A guift of good red gold,
 An hundreth Dollers presently,
 The which my keeper told.'

Already it is evident how direct a bearing the ballads have on popular opinion in the early seventeenth century ; and one may recommend

them to all students of mob morality. Their history and their romance reveal what Mr. Clark calls, with needless force, 'the baseness of popular taste in Shakespeare's day'—it is rather the contemporary form of a permanent inability in the crowd to think nobly. The moral standards of the poems amuse by their variations and contradictions. Here and there, throughout the volume, one comes across the most admirable morality—'a right excellent and godly new Ballad, shewing the uncertainteye of this present lyfe, the vanity of the alluring world,



A most excellent ballad of S. George for England and the king's daughter of Egypt, whom he delivered from death; and how he slew a mighty dragon.

and the unspeakable joyes of heaven . . .'; or morals drawn from famous crimes to such a tune as this:

'All children behould what heare hath bin tould;
 Accuse no man falsely for lucre of gould.
 Now fie upon falshood and forgery fraile!
 And great is the truth, and it will prevaile.'

But where the morality does not proceed, as it usually does, from such crude eschatological terrors as still give the crowd its chief sanction for religion, it stands in suspiciously close juxtaposition to enjoyment of criminal detail. Happy is the people who can admire the murderer (granted that he be bold), enjoy his hanging, and still depart with a moral sentiment. The balladists love what modern journalism would

describe as 'double murder and suicide,' and if the main figure be a gentleman, with a capacity for eloquent repentance, the hero stands complete :

' A gentleman he was of courage bould ;
His like I never sawe before.
But whenas I did him behould,
My greefe it grew still more and more.'

Detail for detail, the student of modern popular melodrama may recognize sixteenth-century parallels to catch a crowd, that loved and loves sentiment rather than reality. To be fair to Shakespeare's groundlings, if these be their songs, the broad outline is one extremely moral. But the moral rule is everywhere broken into by exceptions. In the love motives which occupy many of the ballads, youthful peccadilloes, more than half excused, form the central incident :

' Most maidens nowe and then,
Will do as I have done,'

says one fair ballad frailty ; picturesque repentance is permitted to cover a multitude of sins, and even 'Philip, the devil of the west,' a swash-buckler with a genius for breaking out of gaol, is softly dealt with for his violent gallantry. Shakespearean critics, who idealize the minor details of their author, and find philosophies of life in drinking catches, might do worse than study here the originals of Autolycus' songs, and realize at first hand the material Shakespeare used—expressions of a dislocated popular mind, sensual and pious in turns, but always sentimental ; religious where no austerity need enter, gallant in extolling useless freaks of courage from a safe position in the rear ; patriotic in a fashion that sets together infant monsters and popular heroes. Superstition in these verses is always degraded and grovelling ; never tinged with the nobler paganism of a bygone day, but cunning to discern the pathology of human nature, and loving to be crammed with tales of two-headed babes, or crude and incredible visitations of God on crime. It may be unfair, but one cannot refrain from a comparison of the 'Wife of Usher's Well' :

' It fell about the Martinmas,
When nights are lang and mirk,
The carline wife's three sons came hame,
And their hats were o' the birk,'

with the Shirburn substitute : 'Miraculous newes from the cittie of Holdt in Germany, where there were three dead bodyes seene to rise out of their graves upon the twentieth day of September last, 1616, with other strange things that happened.' The truth is, that, judged by aesthetic standards, these rude verses can hardly aspire to literary rank. Their justification is rather historical and comparative ; Shakespeare's greatness and his loans from all things, common and unclean as well as transcendental, have made these verses essential to his students. Apart from 'My mind to me a kingdom is,' which is in, but not of, this collection, the only lines with any charm of feeling are those

entitled, 'The mery Life of the countriman,' which Mr. Clark includes in an appendix from a Bodleian MS., and which smack of country joys not unworthy of 'the sea-coast of Bohemia':

'When corne is ripe, with tabor and pipe,
 Their sickles they prepare;
 And wagers they lay how muche in a day
 They mean to cut down there.
 And he which is quickest, and cutteth down cleanest the corne,
 A garlande trime they make for him,
 And bravely they bringe him home.'

The volume is elaborately illustrated from the rude woodcuts which adorned contemporary broadsides; Mr. Clarke's notes introductory to each ballad are admirable in their fulness of detail; there are adequate indexes and a glossary sufficient for its purpose.

J. L. MORISON.

INNOCENT THE GREAT: An Essay on his Life and Times. By C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, B.A. Pp. xxiii, 273. Medium 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 9s. nett.

MR. PIRIE-GORDON has chosen a worthy subject for his book. For Innocent III. competes only with Gregory I. and Gregory VII. for the highest place in the long line of the successors of St. Peter. And as we read we feel that the author of this work has many qualifications for the task which he has undertaken. He has made himself familiar with the original authorities, he bases his narrative directly upon them, he is an enthusiastic, though not indiscriminating, admirer of Pope Innocent, he can write in an attractive style—marred occasionally, it is true, by a fondness for unusual words and awkward parentheses—and he has the art of seizing hold of the central incident of a tortuous train of events, or the guiding principle of obscure diplomatic negotiations. But notwithstanding all these things, rather because of them, his monograph is somewhat disappointing. Mr. Pirie-Gordon makes an attempt to accomplish the impossible. He aims at being brief; and a short biography of Innocent the Great cannot be satisfactory. The history of his Pontificate is really the history of Europe for sixteen years of surpassing importance and complexity. Such a history, if it is to be well written, imperatively demands more than a couple of hundred octavo pages of large type.

That Mr. Pirie-Gordon has expended enormous labour on the biography will be evident to anyone who examines only his eight elaborate genealogical tables, his six appendices, and his excellent maps. All of these have their value; but their relation to the text is not always obvious. They ought to have been adjuncts of a much bigger book.

The chapter on 'Innocent and England' is a fair specimen of the merits and the defects of the volume. It is readable, interesting, and often acute. But it leaves unnoticed Innocent's action, or inaction, in regard to King John's desertion of Havise of Gloucester, and it compresses into a single paragraph, two pages long, the story of the Great Charter of Liberties.

Scanty treatment of such things as these entails incompleteness in the picture which is presented to us of the great Pope. Throughout this chapter, so far as we have tested his statements, the writer exhibits the rare merit of accuracy ; and he corrects a mistake of some eminent historians as to the status of Pandulf, in a perhaps needlessly lengthy note. But does he not himself fall into error when he places the famous meeting between the king and the nuncio at Northampton ?

It may perhaps be thought that no one will derive much benefit from the portentous list given in an earlier chapter of names and titles of men ' who took part in the fourth Crusade '—of whom the first on the list, by the way, ' died before it started.' And we are a little disconcerted to find an elaborate itinerary of the Pope taking up more than a quarter of the short chapter on his character. Elsewhere it might have been explained that those ' remarkable phantastic persons ' who were summoned to the fourth Lateran Council—the Kings of Lumbricia, Corkaia, and Mindiensia' were, in fact, the petty kings of Limerick, Cork, and Meath. The list of cardinals created by Innocent, compiled from Ciacconius and Oldoinus and Cristofori, would have been more useful if it had been compared with Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica*. Such a comparison, moreover, would have saved the writer from contradictory statements about the date of Stephen Langton's promotion to the College.

But it is ill work picking holes in the first book of a very promising author. We hope that Mr. Pirie-Gordon will, in the future, give us a biography of Innocent, on the scale, let us say, of Mr. Dudden's *Gregory the Great*. Such a work would supply a much felt want in historical literature.

H. J. LAWLOR.

ANCIENT BRITAIN AND THE INVASIONS OF JULIUS CAESAR. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). Pp. xvi, 764. 8vo. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1907. 21s. nett.

SEVEN or eight years ago Dr. Rice Holmes, who had already made his mark in the field of Indian history, published a notable study of Caesar's Gaulish campaigns. At once compendious and thorough, it immediately established his reputation as a leading authority on the *Commentaries* and everything connected therewith. Many who read it must have regretted that the expeditions to Britain did not fall within its scope. The gap is much more than filled by the substantial volume now before us. The narrative portion of the book covers 373 pages, and it is not until page 300 that Caesar appears upon the scene at all. What precedes is a comprehensive and connected account of 'the story of man's life in our island from the earliest times,' so far as it is possible to reconstruct it without the aid of written record. Each of the Ages—Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron—is discussed in turn. The multifarious evidence is marshalled in masterly fashion, difficulties being fairly faced and an independent judgment exercised on controversial points. The result is a really valuable contribution to archaeological literature. Nowhere else will the student find such a

convenient summary of 'prehistory,' or so useful a mass of references to original sources. He may not always agree with Dr. Holmes's conclusions; but he cannot but be deeply impressed by the wealth of industry and acumen that are displayed on every page. Probably he will miss the perfect clearness of exposition which marked Dr. Joseph Anderson's memorable series of Rhind Lectures. The fault, however, lies rather in the writer's method than in his power of expression. In the earlier chapters, at all events, there is overmuch striving after completeness, and the canvas consequently tends to become too crowded. Little is gained, for instance,—and some valuable space is lost—by speculations as to the extent to which totemism and the practice of magic may have prevailed amongst the palaeolithic inhabitants of Britain; there is not a tittle of evidence either one way or another. Mommsen's paradox about imagination is profoundly true: it is the mother of all history, just as of all poetry. But Pegasus must be bridled, or he will carry us into regions where contact with reality is entirely lost. Not that Dr. Holmes often errs in this direction. And, on the other hand, he knows how to make skilful and legitimate use of the imaginative faculty. A case in point is the striking picture of neolithic life on page 119, and other passages equally good could be cited from his chapter on the Bronze Age.

The treatment of the Age of Bronze is not improbably the portion of the book that will appeal most strongly to the general reader. To begin with, there is a human link in the person of the adventurous traveller, Pytheas. Then the megalithic monuments are peculiarly impressive, pre-eminently so Stonehenge. Lastly, weapons, implements, and ornaments are all attractive, while the ceramic material is sufficiently abundant to provide the fascination of definite problems to be solved. Dr. Holmes has handled the theme in a manner worthy of his opportunity, and he is to be congratulated on the vivid and coherent sketch he has produced, albeit most readers are pretty certain to find here or there inferences which they will hesitate about accepting. The discussion of the Early Iron Age is also good. This is followed by an illuminating account of Caesar's actual invasions, obviously based on independent research of an unusually thoroughgoing kind. To the casual eye Caesar's statements in the *Commentaries* appear straightforward and simple. When they are probed, however, puzzles emerge that have taxed the wit of the keenest thinkers. Some of them have up till now defied the combined efforts of geologists, astronomers, historians, and practical seamen. Where did Caesar muster his fleet? Where did he land? For answer to these and many other enquiries, the curious may safely turn to Part II. of Dr. Holmes's book. Here we get the laboratory work, as it were, the detailed reasoning of which Part I. is the outcome. It is a veritable mine of information and of reference. Scottish archaeologists will appreciate its exhaustiveness when they learn that there is a niche not only for the 'Pictish question,' but also for Dumbuck, Langbank, and Dunbuie. Withal it is far from being dull. When we read of the 'laborious puerilities' of one eminent man or of

the 'fascinating lack of humour' of another, when we are told that a third 'blunders in a way which makes me hesitate to accept his statements about archaeological details that I have not myself studied,' or when it is written of a fourth, 'whose competence I neither affirm nor deny,' we cannot help wondering whether Dr. Rice Holmes aspires to have inscribed on his tomb, '*Malleus Professorum.*' Certainly in this portion of his book he drinks delight of battle with his peers in the fine old-fashioned style of literary controversy.

There is an extremely good, though not absolutely perfect, index, and we have noted an abnormally small number of misprints. We should like, however, to know the authority for the statement (p. 226) that Agricola visited Thule.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

LUTHER'S TABLE TALK: A CRITICAL STUDY. By Preserved Smith, Ph.D., New York (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of the Columbia University). Vol. XXVI. No. 2. Pp. 135. Imp. 8vo. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1907.

THIS is a useful bit of work well done. Few books are so often quoted and referred to by friends and foes as that which goes by the name of *Luther's Table Talk*. It is a quarry for biographers. It has been searched through and through by Romanist partisans for sentences which may exhibit the Reformer in the most unfavourable light. It has been printed in innumerable editions, and translated into many languages. Yet the book, as we have it, is a mere uncritical hotch-potch in which the first-hand notes of contemporary guests at Luther's table have been blended with all manner of unauthentic material, arranged without reference to chronology and without being checked by the mass of autobiographical information to be found scattered through Luther's multitudinous writings. A critical edition of the *Table Talk* has been called for again and again, but the magnitude of the task has probably deterred conscientious editors. We are promised one by the editors of the Weimar edition of *Luther's Works*, and meanwhile must wait patiently for it.

What Dr. Preserved Smith has given us may be looked upon as useful prolegomena to such a critical edition as is needed.

The author has described the elder and younger group of guests who sat at the Master's table and took down everything—good, bad, and indifferent—that fell from the lips of one, who, in his strength, was careless of what he said. Twelve men have left a record of such conversations. The notes taken by four of them are extant—those of Conrad Cordatus, Johann Schlaginhaufen, Anton Lauterbach, and Veit Dietrich. The actual note-books of the first three have been carefully edited; Dietrich's MS., preserved in the Nürnberg city library, still awaits an editor. The notes of five others are preserved more or less fully in a collection of *Lutheriana* made by Johannes Mathesis—they

are Mathesius himself, Magister Plato, Hieronymus Weller, Antonius Corvinus, Hieronymus Besold, and Caspar Heidenreich.

These note-books are the real sources of the *Table Talk*—sources not equally trustworthy. Much depended on the reporter's ability to write fast and on his carefulness to date his notes. If we put them all together it may be worth while to see what ground they cover. They give us reported conversations of Luther during the years 1531-1533, 1536-1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1542-3, and 1544, all of which may be more or less proximately dated.

Some of these note-takers also made collections of the notes of others, and out of one of these collections mainly, by varied manipulations, the present *Table Talk* has come. Lauterbach, the most conscientious of the note-takers, collected a great quantity of copies of other reporters. He kept them beside him till 1558, when he put his own and the notes of others into one volume, which he worked over and over again during four years. His method was to arrange Luther's sayings in sections, and then group them together under chapters which followed a theological arrangement. This book of Lauterbach's was almost completely superseded by that of Aurifaber, also one of the original note-takers. He really adopted Lauterbach's collection, adding some things of his own. This edition is practically the *Table Talk* as that is commonly known. Luther's sayings have been continually re-touched; they have been torn from their context; chronology has been discarded for a mechanical arrangement.

Dr. Preserved Smith gives us useful and informing chapters about the printed editions of this *Table Talk*, about the translations, and about the use made of the book in literature and in history. One of the most useful parts of the book to a scholar is the third part of the appendix, where the relations of the MSS. to each other are described and illustrated with a diagram.

T. M. LINDSAY.

GREENOCK AND ITS EARLY SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT. By William Auld.

Small 4to. Pp. 85, with 21 Illustrations. Greenock: J. M'Kelvie & Son. 1907.

THIS is a short, but interesting, survey of a little corner of Scotland during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. It might be described as a bird's-eye view—only people have different conceptions of what a bird's-eye view may signify. Quite recently we were invited by a farmer to take 'a bird's-eye view' of his prize bull: by which he meant keeking in at the door of its loose-box. But we obtained a clear, if swift, impression of its proportions, size, colour, and general appearance, and that is all that can be hoped for in a rapid survey either of a living object, or of a town as it appeared a century or two ago, whether we permit our imaginations to hover over the old times, or to peep in at the half-opened door of the Past.

We are shown how the place developed from a few thatched hovels to a considerable town with steepled kirks, gabelled houses, and a

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custom-house quay. We obtain glimpses of Sir John Shaw, 'the maker of Greenock,' of James Watt, of John Galt, of Burns' Highland Mary, and of poor Jean Adam, immortal for her song of 'There's nae luck about the house.'

To those who only know Greenock as it appears to-day, it may be remarkable that, as Mr. Auld points out, the hill-slopes down to the shores of Clyde were, formerly, clothed with forest trees. 'Crow-mount,' 'Thrush-grove,' linger in the local language, telling of the stems and branches which once swayed in the autumn blasts and blossomed in the spring sunshine, where now the busy factories are crowded together.

No notes on Greenock would be complete without references to its ancient herring industry, or tales of the press-gang, or the influx of Highlanders after the '45, and we find them here. To show how extensive was the Highland invasion, Mr. Auld reminds us that the minister of the East Parish, writing at the close of the eighteenth century, mentions that one might walk from one end of the town to the other, passing many people, without hearing a word of any language but the Gaelic.

Before the close of the epoch chosen by our author, we catch a view of the tall chimney-stalk of the 'Comet' sweeping by, and may hear the echo of the cheers which greeted the completion, in 1827, of the wonderful waterworks by Mr. Thom, the engineer after whom the great reservoir in the heathery hinterland is named. From this reservoir Thom cut an aqueduct to the town around the shoulders of the hill of Dunrod, and to this day the water-power thus provided is regularly utilized in several industries.

Mr. Auld has attempted no more than a brief glance over past days, but his facts are carefully founded, and his story is illustrated by reproductions of contemporary sketches and pictures, pleasantly recalling the older times.

HUGH SHAW-STEWART.

THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT, A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS. By Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B., priest of Downside Abbey. Pp. xvi, 595. 8vo. With seven portraits. London: George Bell & Sons. 1907. 15s. nett.

THOUGH the literature of the religious settlement in the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign is becoming extensive, if not to say wearisome, it cannot be doubted that there was room for a book like this, in order that we may have an opportunity of learning how the momentous events of that period are viewed by an intelligent Roman Catholic. The facts themselves have been long known to students, but it is only right that we should welcome their interpretation from every point of the intellectual compass. One may deplore the religious bias in history, but, do what we will, it has a way of presenting itself in the most unexpected quarters. Dom Birt very properly disowns at the outset all taint of religious prepossessions, and takes as his guide the familiar maxim that the historian should be impersonal, and hold himself

aloof from every form of prejudice. But if it were the author's aim to be a narrator of facts and not the advocate of a cause, it is extremely odd that he should have stepped down at once from this pious position to tell us why he had undertaken to go over again ground so often trodden in recent years. One can understand his objections to the beautiful romances of Froude, or even to the general deductions of Bishop Mandell Creighton, but the severest critic will scarcely ascribe exuberant imagination to the exhaustive analysis by Dr. Henry Gee, or to the more extended review by Mr. W. H. Frere. With every desire to be just to the author, it must be acknowledged on his own admission that the book is designed as a counterblast, not to Froude or Bishop Creighton, who did not profess to give special attention to the narrow limits of this inquiry, but rather to the later scholars who sifted the evidences with the minutest inspection. How far the most recent excursion into the region of debate is justified by the new facts brought to light, every reader must judge for himself.

The importance of the period covered by the book can scarcely be equalled in the history of the English Church. In these few years the last battle of the New Learning was fought and won. The papal power in England was veritably in its 'last ditch' when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and for a short interval there was a pause as the stream of tendency, which received a temporary check in the previous reign, continued to struggle with the old elements in its onward progress. In estimating the relative strength of the rival forces in conflict, the main point now at issue, hotly debated since the days of Nicholas Sandar, is how far the *suscepta religio* established under the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity was agreeable to the English clergy. As it is by admission difficult to judge of motives and opinions, we are driven to gauge them entirely in the light of definite acts. If the vexed question is to be decided by the counting of heads, as Dom Birt seems to contend, we must have a more minute examination of the evidences of the period, diocese by diocese, than has hitherto appeared, after the manner of Mr. Frere's discussion of the Marian reaction, and as Dr. Gee has attempted for the period under review. It is clear that the clerical attitude to the national settlement can only be appraised by the number of deprivations or sequestrations which resulted from resistance. Surely this is capable of ample proof. Dom Birt is not satisfied with the Anglican figures, but when he undertakes to amend them his success is not at all encouraging.

If the diocese of Carlisle be taken at random, by way of supplying a test to the author's methods, it will be seen into what miscalculations he has fallen. Many things contributed to make this north-western corner of England a papal stronghold. In the eyes of their reforming bishop, the clergy were 'wicked imps of Antichrist,' while they appeared to Fuller, the historian, as 'nuzelled in ignorance.' What was the net result of the acceptance of the national religion in this region? Dom Birt begins by telling us a story of the deprivation of the Dean of Carlisle, and of his return to his allegiance to the Holy See. It is

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a pure myth. Dean Salkeld was not deprived, but died Dean of Carlisle on 3rd September, 1560, as the author might have known, had he consulted two letters of Sir Thomas Smith to Secretary Cecil preserved at the Record office (*S.P. Dom. Eliz. xiii. 30, xiv. 27*) and compared them with *Exchequer Certificates, Bishops' Institutions, Carlisle, No. I.*, in the same repository. As Sir Thomas Smith's letters have been in print for some years, the slip is inexcusable. Then, again, the mistake is made that those clergy who did not appear before the commissioners in 1559, and were in consequence pronounced contumacious, were men of papal sympathies. There is no ground for such an inference. As pluralism was not uncommon in these days, it can be proved that not unfrequently a parson who attended before the commissioners in respect of one benefice and satisfied the requirements, often failed to do so at another session of the commission in respect of his other benefice, and was pronounced contumacious. For this reason the record of the proceedings is untrustworthy in estimating the number of recalcitrant clergy. Nor is sequestration an infallible test. The instance of William Bury, rector of Marton, which the author quotes, may be taken as a case in point, for though the sentence of sequestration was delivered against him, it is known that he died incumbent of that benefice. Back, then, we must go to the records of deprivation as the only unsuspecting warrant for assuming allegiance to the Holy See. When tried by this test, religious uniformity was secured in the diocese of Carlisle by the loss of the bishop and two parish priests, and if the cases of the latter be still further scrutinized, other influences, in addition to their papal proclivities, will be found to have contributed to this result.

JAMES WILSON.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS. Vol. I. By John Herkless, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and Robert Kerr Hannay, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. viii, 271. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS first volume deals only with the first four Archbishops, Graham, Schevez, James Stewart, and Alexander Stewart. The writers have very laboriously exhausted almost all the available sources of information as to the personal histories of these prelates. The Papal Registers of the period concerned have not yet been reached in the series of volumes which Mr. Bliss is editing for the Master of the Rolls. Nor do Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay appear to have made any independent research in the Vatican archives. But they have used with effect transcripts of papal records found in the British Museum and elsewhere. It is not probable that anything of serious importance remains to be discovered, though in such matters one must always speak with hesitancy. Certainly historical students have reason to be grateful for what has been done.

The appreciation of the documents and their handling on some occasions show a want of familiarity with the manner and style of writs issued

under papal authority; and in consequence a true perspective is sometimes missed. Thus, when it is stated (p. 21) that when Graham was provided to Brechin it was contemplated by the Pope 'that the vacancy [of the benefice of Kynnell, which he held] would occur through the lapse of the canonical period for consecration,' the authors seem to attach a significance to a customary formula in such cases, which it does not deserve. If worth mentioning at all, the words 'might occur' should be substituted for 'would occur.' The same formula will be found elsewhere in Theiner's *Monumenta*, for example, in the case of Forstar in 1462 (No. 820), of Lyell in 1459 (No. 796), and of Andrew Stewart in 1455 (No. 772).

Again, here and there a more minute examination of the documents would have revealed particulars which are sought. Thus, we are told with reference to Graham's appointment to the See of Brechin, that 'Nothing is known of the installation [by the word "installation" in this place it is clear that "consecration" is meant] beyond the fact that a document signed at St. Andrews in 1466 specifies that year as the third of the bishop's consecration.' Now, it is interesting to find that a careful comparison of two documents (both mentioned at p. 23) enables one to fix the date of Graham's consecration within extraordinarily narrow limits. The document from the Arbroath Register, dated 29 Dec. 1466, is in the third year; and the other document, dated 3 Nov. 1467, is also in the third year. It is plain then, if we may venture to rely upon the accuracy of the dating, that the consecration of Graham must have taken place after 3 Nov. 1464 and before 29 Dec. 1464. But no doubt errors in dating by the year of a bishop's consecration are not infrequent.

Again, the contest of Graham for the teind sheaves of Rhynde would have been rendered intelligible if it had been stated that Rhynde was connected with Pittenweem. And some of the moralizing might have been spared (pp. 34, 35).

In the list (p. 45) of the Cathedral churches of Scotland subjected to St. Andrews, when it was elevated into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan See, Orkney is omitted, though it is mentioned in the bull of 17 Aug. 1472, which is referred to.

As regards Archbishop Graham's supposed reforming tendencies, it is almost a case of slaying the slain to expose the absurdities of George Buchanan's account of that prelate. Yet, though serious students of history have for many years corrected the statements of Buchanan, it was still perhaps worth while to examine the evidence with care, when we find a writer like the late Dr. James Rankin, in a volume edited by the late Principal Story, speaking of Graham as 'one of the best, but most unjustly treated and unfortunate, of our bishops.' Readers of the volume before us will find material for estimating the value of such a way of talking. My own view is that we have no ground for supposing Graham was in any special way given to self-seeking or personal ambition (and here my view-point is somewhat different from Prof. Herkless's), but I concur with our authors in believing that the best explanation of some of the charges brought against him before Huseman,

the papal commissioner, is that the unfortunate man's reason was unhinged. In passing I may notice what is, doubtless, a mere slip of the pen, where our authors (p. 61) speak of one of the charges made against Graham being that 'he had created prebendaries.' That was what all bishops did when new canonries were founded in their cathedrals. But the charge was that he had created 'protonotaries.' And what is pointed at is the invasion of a papal prerogative.

Long ago Archbishop Spottiswoode corrected the error of Buchanan in making Patrick Graham the uterine brother of Bishop Kennedy, and rightly called him Kennedy's 'nephew.' But subsequent writers, including such careful students as George Grub and Joseph Robertson, reverted to the opinion that Kennedy and Graham were both sons of the Lady Mary, daughter of King Robert III. And following Robertson, I have to plead guilty of the same error in the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies*. The matter is now set at rest for ever by Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay. Graham was Kennedy's 'brother-son' (pp. 12, 25, 95).

It is stated (p. 62) that the promulgation of the sentence upon Graham was committed by Pope Sixtus IV. to the 'Bishops of Brechin and Orkney, and the Chancellor of Aberdeen.' I venture to suggest to our authors that the word 'Orkney' here is an error. The original as given by Theiner is 'Brechinensi et Archadensi Episcopis'; and it is certainly an excusable error (if it be an error) to suppose that 'Archadensi' appears here in mistake (and the Vatican records abound in curious forms of Scottish place-names) for 'Orchadensi.' But the general practice of the Roman *curia* was to associate in such cases some outsider with two local commissioners; and this fact suggests that the Latin word is not an error, and that the bishop of Achonry (*Archadensis*, a variant of *Achadensis*) in Ireland is the person intended.

It is a somewhat misleading way of putting the facts to say (p. 74) that 'on 1 Oct. 1467, Graham and his chapter erected the collegiate church of Dalkeith into a parochial church distinct from Lasswade.' What happened was that the parish of Lasswade was divided, and the parishioners who lived in the direction of Dalkeith were allowed to regard the altar of St. Mary in the collegiate church of St. Nicholas as their parochial altar. The collegiate church of St. Nicholas, at Dalkeith, continued to be a collegiate church down to the Reformation.

I have drawn attention only to some particulars in the treatment of the life of Patrick Graham. Similar merits (and they are great) and similar defects will be found in the subsequent part of the volume. The laborious gathering together of material from various quarters claims the gratitude of students of the period of Scottish history that is dealt with. But, it seems to me that the writers of the book have not been in many cases silent when it would have been better to be silent. For a just estimate of the characters of these prelates (with the exception perhaps of Alexander Stewart, the youth so full of promise, who fell at Flodden) the material does not exist. The book would have been better if we had had less comment and less moralizing.

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It may be added that Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has recently discovered in the archives of the Vatican a note of the provision of Alexander Stewart to St. Andrews, which Professor Herkless and Mr. Hannay had contented themselves by referring it in a general way to the year 1504. On 10 May, 1504, Alexander Stewart was granted the administration of St. Andrews till he was twenty-seven years of age, when he was to become in reality archbishop.

JOHN DOWDEN.

THE ITINERARY OF BENJAMIN OF TUDELA: Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary. By Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A. Pp. xvi, 94 and Hebrew Index. Demy 8vo. London: Oxford University Press. 1907. 5s. nett.

WHAT appears here in book-form was communicated by Mr. Adler to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, volumes xvi. to xviii. It is not only a new translation, but an improved text of a work that has been long known chiefly through the edition of Asher, published in two volumes in 1840 and 1841. The text of that edition was based on the Editio Princeps, printed at Constantinople in 1543, and the Ferrara Edition of 1556; and Asher lamented the fact that he had not the benefit of a single manuscript to aid him in cases of doubtful or divergent readings. Curiously enough, about twenty years after Asher's death, the British Museum acquired from Messrs. Asher & Co., as part of the Almanzi Collection, a volume containing, among other things, a complete manuscript of the work. The text of this MS. has been taken by Mr. Adler as the basis of his edition. He has had, moreover, the benefit of two other complete MSS. as well as large portions of other two, the variant readings of all of which are given at the foot of the page. We have thus a carefully prepared critical text, much superior to that of Asher; and, though it is not voweled as in Asher's edition, neither the Hebrew scholar nor the ordinary English reader will feel inconvenience, for the Hebrew is simple and fluent, and the English translation is excellent. To the translation are attached valuable foot-notes, of a topographical, historical, and archaeological character, embodying much that has come to light since Asher's day, although the elaborate notes and essays contained in Asher's second volume are of permanent value. The book is also provided with seven facsimiles of pages of the MSS. employed, and with a good map of Western Asia at the time of Saladin, A.D. 1190, on which the Itinerary is traced. This is almost indispensable, because Benjamin, while giving the distances of the places mentioned, is not careful to state the direction in which he travelled.

Though Benjamin was not the earliest Jewish traveller, he is the first who has left us a detailed record of his travels. Even before the destruction of the second Temple, Jews had found homes in most of the countries of the then known world, and kept up communication with their native land; and, after the great dispersion, movements on a larger scale were a matter of course. In the Middle Ages the people were scattered to every corner of the earth, and wandering Jews kept up communication between one country and another, the bond of a common religion and a common language assuring them a hospitable reception wherever they went. In the

great upheaval of the Crusading period, when the Jews suffered bitter persecution on all hands, their common sympathies would be quickened by the common danger, and reports of travellers as to the condition of the people in the Dispersion would be eagerly listened to. At such a time, and in such circumstances, Benjamin started on his travels. There is some uncertainty as to the exact date and duration of the journey. It must be placed between the years 1160 and 1173, but Adler thinks that the actual period spent out of Europe must be limited to the years 1166 to 1171. Leaving his native place, Tudela, in Navarre, he visited most of the countries in which the Jews were to be found. Passing through Catalonia, Southern France, Italy, Greece, and the islands of the Levant, he traversed Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, as far as Bagdad. And, though he does not seem to have visited them, he gives interesting accounts of countries farther to the East and North. He returned by way of Khusistan, the Indian Ocean, and Yemen, from which he proceeded to Egypt, in which country he made a prolonged stay, returning to Spain by way of Sicily.

The style and method of the narrative are very simple: 'In every place which he entered, he made a record of all that he saw or was told of by trustworthy persons'; and an unknown writer, who speaks thus in the Preface, seems to have compiled the narrative from these travellers' notes. It is not made clear what prompted Benjamin to make his journey. He is careful in recording the numbers and occupations of the Jews in the various places visited by him, and in noting the names of distinguished persons, living or dead, connected with the places. He also shows a manifest interest in trade and commerce; but there is also the broad human interest of the sightseer, who is quick to note anything new or strange. The result is a collection of matter of great interest and of no little antiquarian value bearing upon a most interesting period of history. We may specify his notes on Alexandria and its famous lighthouse and extensive shipping; his description of Constantinople under the decadent Greeks, who 'hire from amongst all nations warriors to fight with the Sultan,' 'for the natives are not warlike, but are as women who have no strength to fight'; or again, the graphic touch in his description of the republics of Pisa and Genoa, where 'each householder has a tower to his house, and at times of strife they fight from the tops of the towers with each other.' At Bagdad he gives a glowing account of the Caliph and his public procession to the mosque, as well as a detailed account of the various Jewish Academies, and the princely magnificence of the Exilarch, 'Our Lord the Head of the Captivity of all Israel.' Interesting particulars are also given, among other things, about Prester John, David Alroy, the Assassins, and the Druzes. It is true, we cannot always accept Benjamin's identifications of ancient places with sites visited by him; for, in the tales of early travellers, the names of famous places had a habit of flying far abroad and attaching themselves to most unlikely localities. But, as regards the Holy Land at least, it is well known that Jewish pilgrims were much more accurate in this respect than Christians; and the English reader of this edition will, with the help of Adler's notes, be saved from uncertainty or confusion on this head. Legendary matters, which give a piquancy to the narrative, will

be estimated at their true value, and allowance must be made for cases where our traveller got his information at second hand. But wherever Benjamin states what he saw or learned directly himself, he gives us the impression of a careful observer and a truthful narrator.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

THE JUNTO. By Teresa Merz, with introduction by W. F. Lord, M.A. Pp xv, 192. Demy 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid and Company, Ltd. 1907. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume, which obtained the Gladstone Prize for 1903, consists of a series of interesting biographies of the five men who formed what was known in the slang of the day as The Junto, a word derived from the Spanish Junta, meaning an assembly. Curiously enough the number was the same as that which suggested the Cabal, of a slightly earlier period, that word, as is well known, representing the initial letters of the statesmen who composed it.

From a constitutional point of view the Junto is of great interest. It formed the beginning of the modern Cabinet, that is to say, a selection of men representing, not the different parties in the State, but the majority for the time being in the House of Commons. Up to this period the House might make, or refuse to make, a law, but it had no direct share in the government of the country. The result was evil. 'Its mood changed,' to quote Mr. Green, 'as William bitterly complained, with every hour. It was, in fact, without the guidance of recognized leaders, without adequate information, and destitute of that organization out of which alone a definite policy can come.' The suggestion of a change to somewhat of our present system, we owe to Sunderland, a man of little principle, and more than doubtful loyalty, but in this matter he certainly acted for the good of the nation. William it would appear took slowly to the idea, but was probably influenced in its favour by the nature of the material he had at hand, in this union of prominent men all bound together by the same views and interests, and in themselves capable of forming a strong Government. 'The binding force of the Junto,' says Mr. Lord, 'was its devotion to the principles of 1688.' These were the principles which had brought William III. to the throne, and which had kept him upon it. The five members of the Junto were John Somers, Thomas Wharton, Edward Russell, Charles Montagu, and Charles Spencer. Prominent in the reigns of William and Anne, they were less fortunate after the accession of King George. Within two years of its date (18 Sept. 1714) Somers, Wharton, and Montagu were dead, Russell spent the rest of his life in obscurity, and Spencer fell into political disgrace over the failure of the South Sea Company. Of these biographies the longest is that of Somers. Although the greatest man in the Junto, he was its least aristocratic member, but he did not spring, as Swift said he had, from the dregs of the people. His family had been men of landed estate for several generations. The son of a lawyer, it was by his legal ability that he first rose to fame. At the

trial of the Seven Bishops he made a weighty speech, which barely lasted more than five minutes; it must have been indeed a remarkable speech to have come from one of his profession. After the Revolution, to the success of which he contributed, he became the favourite minister of William, and although for a period following the accession of Anne, he was in opposition, he soon regained great influence. By Scotsmen he ought to be remembered as one who 'gave all his thought and energy to the great work of the union of Scotland.' Both Mr. Green and Miss Merz attribute its success largely to him. The latter says: 'his one desire was to make it entire and complete, and so enthusiastic was he that he corresponded with the ministers and the leaders of party in Scotland, which largely helped to reconcile them to the change.'

Wharton was one of the best hated of men, 'the most universal villain I ever knew,' says Swift. But Swift also spoke ill of Somers. Of Wharton's profligacy there seems no doubt, and it is somewhat curious that a man so exhibiting the vices of the Restoration period should have proved a successful minister in the graver times which followed the Revolution. But he had a great zeal for the Protestant Succession. Russell, a scion of the famous house of Bedford, had a naval career, and was, so to speak, the man of arms of the Junto. He was the hero of the Battle of La Hogue, but Miss Merz is not disposed to give him much credit for that. She says: 'his share in the victory can hardly be called a noble one, it was more a matter of chance than of will. He had tried to remain on good terms with both William and James; by underhand dealings he had been preparing to act traitor to William, and probably because of this he had not brought the French to action in the preceding year, in spite of considerable superiority of force.'

Perhaps the most brilliant of the Junto was Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax. Like Somers he was a patron of learning and of the Muses in those days when the Muses needed patrons. He wrote verses, admired by his own age, which admitted him to a place in Johnson's edition of the Poets, although the editor did not rate them very highly. Doubtless Montagu's patronage was of more value than his poetry.

Spencer, the youngest member of the Junto, was the son of that Sunderland who secured for it a political position. The father had shifted about in search of a safe policy, the Whiggism of the son was a 'violent and domineering passion,' but 'corrupt and narrow.' He was the only one of the five who retained a prominent position in the reign of George I. 'Considered,' says our author, 'either in his political life, or in his personal life, it is impossible to admire him. His personality and his career are singularly unattractive.'

Miss Merz writes intelligently. There is a certain amount of repetition, not easy to avoid in successive biographies of the same period. We have noticed only two mistakes. Who is Lord Macpherson? Russell was not the younger brother, but the nephew of the first Duke of Bedford. Had he been the former, he could not easily have been the cousin of the Duke's son, the political martyr, William.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN TWELVE VOLUMES. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M.A. Volume XII. The Reign of Victoria, 1837-1901. By Sidney Low, M.A., and Lloyd C. Sanders, B.A. Pp. xviii, 532. Medium 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

THE scope of the work has been deliberately limited by its projectors. It is a 'political' history, and the authors of this volume point out that the political history of the age does not always correspond to its widest movements—the national growth, material and moral, the advance in activity, in the knowledge and mastery of the forces of Nature, in civilization and in humanity.

Another limit has been set to this last volume. The picture is drawn on a scale reduced to half that of its predecessors. Volume XII. is the history of sixty-five years; volume XI., of the same bulk, is the history of but thirty-seven; volume X., of forty-one. Measured by its duration, the England of Victoria might have had, in proportion, two volumes. Measured by its greatness, its power, its influence, the number of its people and the amplitude of their conscious political life, by the fullness and minuteness of its public records, more.

But if the book has defects due to the plan prescribed for it, it owes many excellencies to the high accomplishments and the honest work of its authors. It opens with a short introductory summary or 'argument,' in which the reader is at once attracted and engaged by the clear and comprehensive view, the firm grasp, the felicity and accuracy in expression, of the writers. Here, as elsewhere in the volume, there is a happy example of the advantages of a literary partnership, in which mutual revision has ensured moderation and exactness, without obliterating charm and distinction of style. In these opening paragraphs the authors set down English foreign politics in the reign of Queen Victoria as having been hesitating and confused, and as having gradually resulted in England ceasing to regard herself as a European power, but rather as the head of an extra-European confederacy, more interested in the politics of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific than of Europe. And English domestic politics they describe as having seen the triumph of the *laissez-faire* system in trade and legislation. They find that the United Kingdom became a democracy, in the sense that political power passed into the hands of the majority; and that, for the first time, the country had a really constitutional sovereign, and a cabinet system working without impediment. But they are careful to add that, at the end of the reign, signs were not wanting that some of these attainments had already been modified, and that against others a distinct reaction was perceptible.

After this introduction the story turns to the accession of Queen Victoria, and the opening chapter tells of the election of her first parliament and the subjects which immediately claimed its attention; insurrection in Canada, the perennial trouble with Ireland, the Queen's marriage, the temporarily disastrous economic revolution caused by the introduction of labour-saving machinery, with the misery of the working-class, the migration from the country to the towns, the Chartist riots, the

growth of the free-trade propaganda, the failure of statesmen and politicians, absorbed in party controversy, to meet, or even to perceive, the needs of the country; the going out of the Whigs and the coming in of Sir Robert Peel. The second chapter is devoted to Peel's ministry, and the third chiefly to the victory of free trade. The remaining sixteen tell of the evolution of new political parties; the invention of the Empire; reforms, political, legal, and economic; the great figures that played their part on the political stage; Britain's many wars in three continents and her vast colonial expansion. They carry the history down to the death of the Queen and Empress in the first month of the new century.

There follows a single chapter on literary and social development, and the book closes with a brief and brilliantly written sketch of the condition of the English people at the end of the reign; the general advance in wealth, education, and refinement; the deterioration of fashionable society, the widespread eagerness for amusement and excitement, the vulgar worship of riches and disregard of all that did not make for pleasure or worldly success; the higher standard of comfort, but the deeper poverty of the poor; and, finally, a two-fold tendency—in circles of wealth and aristocracy to imperialism, among the industrial masses towards socialism.

The authors have been forced to much compression and omission, and the plan of selection they have followed is not always beyond criticism. They have told a great deal twice over, that is to say, both in the text and the appendix, and have given much space needlessly to the details of party votes, party forecasts of gains and losses, party victories and disappointments. They can only find two lines for the Volunteer Movement, but there is always plenty of room for Lord Beaconsfield's epigrams. No one can doubt that the writers wish to be perfectly fair. Yet they are not altogether unbiased, although they are seldom so misleading as when they describe Huxley as 'bitterly hostile to Christianity,' and include Sir Conan Doyle in their catalogue of authoritative historians.

But the chief defect in this political history is one which was unavoidable. It gives no sufficient account of Queen Victoria's part in the politics of her time. The selection from the Queen's Letters, published a few months ago, was too late to be consulted.

A conventional figure of the Queen has been established in the public imagination. The true figure, should it ever be revealed, will be found different, though probably not less heroic. The Queen Victoria of this history is the conventional Queen Victoria.

But in the Queen, of whom we get some glimpses in the Letters, the English monarchy was rather becoming genuinely constitutional than already become so. She inherited German ideas of royalty, such ideas as tinged the very bones of her most beloved and constant advisers, Stockmar, her uncle King Leopold, and her husband. For her, as for them, the Divine Right was by no means extinguished. When her people and her ministers were in favour of a free Italy, she protested that the attempts to overthrow the Sicilian despotism were 'morally wrong,' and, on the same principle, she and the Prince Consort were partisans of Austria against the cause of Venetia and the Duchies.

Writing to her ministers, she passionately appealed to the treaty of 1815, that already discredited compact of the European princes who met at Vienna after the fall of Napoleon to scramble for such territories as they could seize, and who distributed among themselves the possessions of the smaller states with no more regard to nationalities or ancient rights than Napoleon himself had shown. Austria had got some portions of Italy a hundred years before, as part of her plunder at the close of the war of the Spanish Succession. Now she laid hold of the States of Venice. The Italian people were consulted in neither case, and hitherto few had heeded their 'cries of anguish' under what Lord John Russell, in writing to the Queen, called 'Austria's ruthless tyranny.'

Against the Austrian doctrines of 1815, Lord John quoted to Her Majesty the British doctrines of 1688, and added that the power of sovereigns might be forfeited by misconduct, and that each nation was the judge of its own government. His argument made no impression, although by 1859 very different ideas of government and of humanity from those of 1815 had become current in Europe.

The published Letters are not given *in extenso*, they belong to a comparatively small period of the Queen's reign, and the portions selected for publication have passed through the winnowing hands of an experienced and discreet official of the court. No historian has yet been permitted to examine Queen Victoria's letters and official papers. But we now know authoritatively that they fill many hundreds of volumes, and that they form 'what is probably the most extraordinary series of State documents in the world' concerned with 'all the complicated machinery of the monarchy and the constitution.' No political history of the reign can be authoritative while what these documents have to tell is unknown.

The volume is furnished with two appendices, one on authorities, the other a complete list of the cabinets of the reign. It has an index, which rather disappoints by its omissions, and two maps, the second of which is not so clear as it might be.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF VENICE. By Horatio F. Brown. 2 vols. Vol. I., pp. xii, 366; Vol. II., pp. v, 349. Demy 8vo. London: John Murray. 1907. 18s. nett.

THESE comely volumes by an acknowledged master of his subject will mainly interest students who have progressed some distance along the Flaminian Way of historical research. Mr. Brown is too much of the archivist to darken the sober progress of his investigations with theories or generalizations, and the reader is usually left to draw his own conclusions from the framework of correlated evidence of which the more valuable of these Studies consist. The wider the reader's knowledge of European history, the more fruitful will be his conclusions. The wisdom of this self-denying ordinance of the author is realized when he neglects it, and attempts, with somewhat disappointing results, in the case of several studies, to pass beyond the political thought or methods of Venice.

To the beginner the history of Venice offers fewer attractions than most other fields; her life, if gorgeous, was impersonal and was pitched in a low key, with the note of fear for ever sounding. It is only when the student passes behind the bright curtain of romance, which to the casual reader constitutes history, and reaches the region where are fashioned the great institutions of the race, that he begins to taste the flavour of the dry ferruginous vintage, which was the product of the age long working of the cruel winepress of the Venetian Constitution. As the salt air of her lagoons plays havoc with the wines which Venice imports from the mainland, so on another plane the dry and calculating policy of her sons, always at work beneath her seemly and luxurious surface, has had an insidious effect on those who have served or opposed her. The Italianate Englishman, the *bête noire* of our National writers of the sixteenth century, was the Northerner who had sipped the poison of the Venetian spirit, and the contribution of the Republic to European thought and character is to be found not so much in the study of her internal history as in the portrayal of her influence on the course of Italian history and in the estimation of her contribution to the working out of the problems of political philosophy. The Venetian constitution and policy were completely developed and finally fixed at a time when the other states and forces of Europe were, with the exception of the Papacy, fluid and undetermined, and the interest of her future depended not on herself, but on her effect on younger and more generous growths. She represented the penetrating realism of the Italian spirit consciously limited to practical and material ends. This limitation leads the student of Italian history who has an inkling of the power of the National realism, when applied to more exalted aims, to pass on to a field where it received fuller scope. Returning to the metaphor contained in our first sentence, it may be said that the Flaminian Way, which in the realm of history takes a different course from that which it followed topographically, leads through Venice straight to the Eternal City. The study of Venetian history is but a halting-place on the progress to the study of the Papacy. No inquisitive mind can remain satisfied with the limited and grimly disillusioned handling of events and tendencies which constituted the contribution of Venice to Italian thought, and must pass on to the complete exposition of the National spirit which is to be found in the history of the Papacy. It is difficult to view Italian history from a Venetian standpoint without distortion, while in the history of the Papacy is to be found the key which unlocks the secret of the strange political development of the Peninsula. The same truth holds in the wider field of general history, where the conscious limitation of her activities to material ends prevented the Republic from being a formative force even in a region like the Levant, to which she specially devoted herself. The Papacy stepped into her *cuvée réservée*, and while she still sold the vintage the Pope had given it a new bouquet.

In this self-imposed limitation of the Venetian spirit lies the explanation of the corresponding limitation in the scope of Mr. Brown's

Studies. The Studies may be divided into two classes, those which deal with the relations between the Republic and individuals, and those which deal with general questions of policy. The first are usually excellent, notably the exhaustive study of the career of Carmagnola and the account of the relations between the Republic and Cararresi. The Republic set no limitations to herself in dealing with her mercenaries; she hired them, watched them, paid them, cajoled them, and strangled them. There was no discharge in that war between the terrible impersonality of the Venetian policy and the instruments which were used for its ends. To the same class belong the carefully articulated analysis of the Spanish Conspiracy of 1618 and the valuable account of the Venetian State Archives. The subjects of these Studies give full scope to their author's skill as an accomplished student of Venetian records; but when the reader turns to those Studies which deal with wider questions, he is somewhat disappointed. The want of grasp which one feels in some of the latter is probably due to the combination in a compressed form of special and valuable information from Venetian Archives and somewhat banal views on general questions. This defect may be attributed in part to the limited point of view of the Venetian Republic, to which reference has been already made. The historian is unconsciously influenced by his material, and long years of work in Venetian Archives have probably inoculated the author with the perfunctory attitude towards deeper and wider investigation which characterized the Venetian rule even when, as in the case of her commercial policy, her vital interests were at stake. A limitation of range almost invariably implies a corresponding limitation of depth, but with this reservation all the Studies merit careful perusal.

Mr. Brown has the art of happy characterization and is the master of an easy narrative style. An instance of the former is to be found in the portraits of Contarini, Sadoletto, and Reginald Pole, in the study which bears the name of the first. Again, the following description of Paolo Sarpi's style could not be bettered, 'It is a masculine, athletic style; a style of bronze, polished and spare. . . . His manner was precise, parsimonious, hard, positive, pungent.' Students have been too long satisfied to read Sarpi in Le Courayer's translation for the sake of the notes, and Mr. Brown's essay will not have been written in vain if it sends them back to the exhilarating Italian of the witty friar.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

MARSHAL TURENNE. By the author of 'A Life of Sir Kenelm Digby,' etc. With an Introduction by Brigadier-General Lloyd, C.B., D.S.O. Pp. xxiii, 401. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a very agreeable and entertaining book. It is no easy matter to write lucidly on strategy for the ordinary reader. Perhaps the author has succeeded so well because he is, as he tells us, himself an amateur in these affairs. He is quite free from the bad ambition to tell too

much, and he has taken the trouble to procure excellent plans. The map at the end is not so good. It is overcrowded with unnecessary names; and places so important on one occasion as Rain and Lauingen are not marked. He was wise in quoting so freely from Napoleon's criticisms: they greatly increase the value of the book. Napoleon thought Turenne the greatest of all modern generals before his time, and studied his campaigns minutely; for he recognised in his strategical marches a new development in the art of war, and he was well aware that since strategy is the permanent element of that art, its lessons can never be out-of-date. This is insisted on in the excellent Introduction by General Lloyd. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that which deals with the methods and implements of war in the seventeenth century. Among much that is good there are, however, some inaccuracies. The author has confused the 'Swedish feathers' first used by the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus with the forked gun-rests introduced about a century before; and this is the more surprising since he goes on immediately after to describe the real 'Swedish feathers.' 'Hargobusier,' too, on the same page (41) and elsewhere, is almost the only form the word does *not* take.

It would, of course, be impossible to write a life of Turenne without saying a great deal about the complicated politics and intrigues which occupied so many of the distinguished personages of the time. This is well done, and makes very interesting reading. But there are considerable defects to be noticed. It is scarcely fair to quote largely throughout from De Retz on the most important matters, and then inform the reader somewhere well on in the book (p. 154)—what is very far from true—that of course De Retz is only a gossip, and is not to be regarded as a witness. It is still harder that, when he is quoted, he should be quoted inaccurately, or mistranslated, as on pp. 18, 37, 38, and 140. The italicised words on p. 38 are a clean mistranslation, which gives the author's italics a point he did not intend; and De Retz's antithesis about La Rochefoucauld, *il n'a jamais été guerrier, quoiqu'il fût très-soldat*, becomes nonsense when rendered as on p. 140, 'he never was fit for war, though an excellent soldier.' *Dévotés* for *dévots* on p. 289 is also unfortunate. His account of the Fronde is, on the whole, well adapted to his purpose, but it is not free from blunders. To call the Parliament of Paris 'the French Parliament,' as he does several times, argues a considerable misconception in his own mind, and is bound to mislead many readers. This appears most clearly when he talks of that body 'dismissing' a minister of the Crown (p. 128)! Nobody would guess from reading this and some neighbouring passages that the Parliament of Paris was one of a number of Parliaments throughout France, and that all were simply close corporations of lawyers doing the judicial work of the country. Their likeness to the English Parliament scarcely extends beyond the name. They represented nobody but themselves; and it was an accident that made them, in the absence of a States-General, the only body to which the people could readily appeal. There are some errors of detail also.

Only two members of the Parliament of Paris, not four, were arrested before the 'Day of the Barricades.' There had been an arrest some time before, but then the number was five. On p. 129 we read, 'Mazarin blockaded Paris!' (1649). This quite misses the truth of the affair. What about Condé, who conducted the blockade? At that moment he was the hero of the Court party and controlled its actions, while Mazarin humbled himself almost out of sight. On pp. 134, 135 the author talks as if the New Fronde of 1650 differed from the Old by having certain nobles in its ranks. This is a very inadequate distinction; for most of the nobles he names were in the Old Fronde, and defended Paris against Condé—a point not brought out in his account of the Old Fronde.

The author writes better than most historians: with a certain familiar ease and life. Now and then, unfortunately, he is betrayed by his qualities into calamitous things like this on p. 54: 'if six was the quantity represented by Cardinal Richelieu, that represented by Cardinal Mazarin may be roughly estimated at half-a-dozen,' or like the staled metaphor on p. 135, where he tells us that 'the apparently ridiculous thin end of the wedge of discord had been jestingly inserted into the highest society of France'—a cutting jest! Now a man who can write so well has no business to do these things. I must not forget the excellent portraits. That of Turenne by Charles Le Brun is very fine, and finely reproduced.

G. S. GORDON.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Part III. By the Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Pp. xi, 530. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN's readers have come to look with genuine but unexcited expectation for fresh instalments of his book on the American Revolution, and the latest volume will cause no disappointment. Its author has long been recognized as a master of leisurely picturesque narrative and one of a great historical school, now unhappily dying out. In the present volume it is not the novelty of the views expressed, or the evidence of hard work at original sources, which wins the critic's approbation, but the calm, interested treatment of a great subject by one whose chief contribution to historical literature is his own point of view. It may be questioned whether Sir George has presented us with any new light on the events of 1777-1778; but he has given us a kindly, well-informed comment on facts that cannot lose their interest. His best work in the present volume—the Saratoga campaign, the winter in Valley Forge, or such an incident as Franklin's embassy to Paris—consists in reproducing, not too reconditely, but very humanly, the personal records in which the period abounds. He has drawn liberally, and advisedly so, on 'The American Archives,' and everywhere elaborates the broader historical events with sidelights from contemporary letters and diaries. We may see Mrs. Washington knitting stockings for herself and her husband; watch American generals intrigue and

scheme against their great leader, and follow the course of Burgoyne's heady eloquence, as 'Julius Caesar Burgonius' wrote, as well as fought, his fatal campaign. Everywhere the narrative is enlivened with passages of gentle irony, half-epigrammatic—judgments on men and on affairs, by an old parliamentary hand—as when he says of Gates that 'he was qualified by nature to make his way fast and far in any profession where advancement goes by favour'; or of a speech of Burgoyne's that the Indians 'relished the perorations, of which there were several in the course of the speech'; or of Louis XVI. addressing Franklin, 'on such occasions Louis XVI. seldom found much to say and never said the right thing.'

The most interesting chapters in a book which quietly, but firmly holds one's attention are those which deal with Saratoga, Valley Forge, and the Continental attitude towards American independence. The military passages are written with zest, and a fine discrimination in the praise and blame dealt out to individual commanders. Their only defect is that the eye for country and the vivid background of American landscape which one recognizes as the elements of Francis Parkman's greatness are not so clearly present here. Sir George Trevelyan does indeed draw from past and present geographical sources for the Saratoga campaigns, but no reader of Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* will be quite satisfied with the Englishman's rendering of Burgoyne's advance along that historic waterway, which had figured in the campaigns of the Seven Years' War.

It is interesting, as a sidelight on War Office methods in Colonial campaigns, to be reminded that perhaps the main reason for the surrender at Saratoga was simple and sheer neglect of obvious duty on the part of a British Cabinet minister. Burgoyne was depending on co-operation from the South as he advanced from Canada, and yet, as the author reminds us, the command to co-operate was never decisively given from England. 'On the twenty-sixth of March,' says Sir George, 'the London War Office transmitted to Howe a copy of the letter of instructions addressed to Governor Carleton and General Burgoyne, and that letter contained a sentence to the effect that the Secretary of State would communicate with Sir William Howe by the next packet. No such communication ever reached Howe.'

The European incidents are quite as charmingly rendered as the American. In a gentle and most readable manner Sir George passes from court to court, recalling Choiseul, Vergennes, Beaumarchais, and more notable figures, to our minds; nowhere achieving the highest architectural unity of design, but never failing to let us see the actors, to follow their motives, and to hear the verdict of a man of the world on their actions. One may indeed characterise the work as a relic of mid-Victorianism, with all the sound good sense, and social knowledge, and mild sententiousness of that epoch, and with not a little of the capacity for picturesque detail which marked that age of novelists; a species in literature too rare now to meet with anything but joy and approbation in critics, just a trifle bored with pretentious scientific prodings into the unimportant new.

J. L. MORISON.

HISTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE ET SECONDAIRE EN ECOSSE PLUS SPÉCIALEMENT DE 1560 À 1872. Par Thomas Pettigrew Young, Docteur ès Lettres, Maître ès Arts de l'Université d'Edimbourg, ex-Lecteur d'Anglais à l'Université de Dijon. Pp. xi, 403. Imp. 8vo. Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1907.

THIS book, as the author tells us, is a history of primary and secondary education in Scotland, that is of education up to but not including the university standard. The main topics under review are pre-Reformation education dating back to St. Columba in 563, the Education Act of 1496, the subjects and condition of school instruction prior to and immediately after the issue of the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560, the confusion arising out of the multiplicity of grammars and the attempts to reach uniformity, the growth and influence of the parochial system, the rise of the burgh schools, school education in general from 1803 to 1900, and education in the Highlands. There is also a short chapter on the educational systems of Bell, Wood, Owen, and Stow. An excellent bibliography is appended and some interesting photographs of certain of the high schools of Scotland at various stages of their history. The work throughout is suitably illustrated.

The volume is written in French and intended primarily for French readers. This may to some extent justify the author in being throughout historical rather than critical. The one subject which receives adequate treatment is the parochial system. Here the author shows an accurate appreciation of the work of the Reformers, giving them full credit for what they did, and not falling into the common error of overlooking the fact that the nucleus of this system was in existence prior to the Reformation. His treatment of the burgh schools is brief and inadequate, and his reasons for brevity unconvincing. More might also be made of the transition from the control of the church to the control of the state. Further, the deliberate exclusion of the university limits the value of the work. In conclusion, it is interesting to note that in the chapter and appendix on Latin grammars, the author owes much—and acknowledges his debt—to the papers on that subject by Dr. David Murray which have been recently published in volumes xxxvi. and xxxvii. of the *Transactions of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*.
J. CLARK.

THE SPIRIT OF JACOBITE LOYALTY : An Essay towards a better understanding of 'The Forty Five.' By W. G. Blaikie Murdoch. Pp. 166. 8vo. Edinburgh : William Brown. 1907. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS little book bears evidences that it is the result of wide reading and very considerable thought. The author has been struck by the want of real understanding which has been shown by many writers of history towards the '45, which has led them to style the loyal devotion as 'decrepit affection for a dynasty,' and the Jacobites who took part in the movement as 'men in the mood for adventure, living in poverty at home, whose condition might possibly be made better, but could hardly, in any extent, be made worse.' He has therefore written this essay to show the nature

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of the loyal spirit which was felt by those (or most of those) who followed Prince Charles's banner. He demonstrates that the three men who made the enterprise possible, Lochiel, Lord George Murray, and Lord Pittsligo, regarded the Stuart cause as a Religion, and, with success, that most of the Jacobites who 'went out' were neither venal nor self-seeking but believers in 'Divine Right.' Far from being an uncultured host, the prince's forces included poets, painters, lawyers, dreamers, and many men trained in the arts of war and peace, not only in the mountains, but in court and camp.

Though many of the Jacobites were Lowlanders, the writer admits that the rising of the '45 was in the main a rising of Highlanders and so influenced by Gaelic tradition, and thus he is led to examine more particularly the causes which made the clansmen Jacobite. Mr. Blaikie Murdoch is an admirer (apparently whole-hearted) of the Irish Celtic revivalists, and we need not follow him in his citations of their praises, but he shows that among the Highland clans, the love of the past and its traditions, the belief in destiny, and the vague idealism, all helped to make the Jacobite cause the one for which so many Celts were ready to sacrifice all and show such wonderful fidelity. The rest of the work refutes (if it is necessary) the charges of want of discipline brought against the Highlanders. We think the author perhaps exaggerates the sinking of clan feuds in the Jacobite army, but he brings many cogent examples of extraordinary humanity and discipline. The book ends with a review of the flickering hopes of the Jacobites, and the wonderful and beautiful loyalty of some of the survivors of the '45 to the ideas and vanished ideals of their youth for which they had sacrificed so much.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By Thomas Hughes, S.J. Documents. Vol. I. Part. I. Nos. 1-140 (1605-1838). Pp. xvi, 600. S.R. 8vo. With Maps and Facsimiles. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s. nett.

THE collection of original documents illustrative of the History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal, satisfies our most sanguine expectations. Though only the first part is before us, it forms, so far as it goes, a complete body of evidence in support of the religious history of North America after the colonization of Newfoundland, Virginia, New England and Maryland, recently given us by Father Hughes and noticed in this *Review* (v. 229-31). With the original documents now before him, the student is not dependent on the editor's deductions in the introductory volume, but he can read for himself and form his own estimate of the evangelistic enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries in the West. These originals, which cover the period from 1605 to 1838, are skilfully arranged in a documentary apparatus, comprising the correspondence of the Jesuit General in Rome from his own autograph register, letters of papal envoys in the Vatican, and a heterogeneous assortment of Jesuit documents collected from various sources in Europe and America. Preliminary papers relating to the early colonial period,

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1605-1633, are followed by certain documents of an administrative character bearing on American affairs from 1629 to 1744, to which are added controversial documents of a civil nature, which throw a welcome light on the dispute which raged so long between the secular authorities and the Jesuit missionaries on questions of property and civil disabilities.

In the arrangement of this vast mass of historical material, the editor has had an excellent opportunity for the display of his critical judgment, and few readers will feel disposed to take exception to the plan that has been pursued. A thousand documents, he says, running on continuously, did not promise a sufficient organic unity, unless we divided them analytically into parts or members, and added illustrative observations to make a synthesis of the whole, organically complete. It is for this analysis that our thanks to the editor are due, that is, for bringing the subordinate parts together under separate headings and inserting a connecting thread of historical explanations as we travel from one department to another. The wisdom of this arrangement becomes apparent when the author had to deal with the period, 1773-1805, during the interval of suppression when the Jesuits may be said to have no history.

From the nature of the subject and the thoroughness with which it has been treated, it may well be imagined that this volume of original documents supplies an important contribution to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. We are present at the laying of the foundation and we watch the progress of the building. From time to time it is possible to catch glimpses of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, secular and regular, relations of church and state, lay and ecclesiastical trustees, the rise of secondary education, the limitations of seminary and liberal studies, and a host of other constitutional and subsidiary matters of great interest. The editor's candour in supplying such a wealth of papers and documents cannot be too highly commended.

JAMES WILSON.

THE LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE CONSTITUTION. Third edition. Vol. II. The Crown. Part I. By Sir William R. Anson, Bart., D.C.L. Pp. xxxii, 283. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE two well-known volumes of this standard treatise are in process of transformation into three. The frequently consulted volume on the Crown, of which the second edition has for some years been out of print, has now been split into two, of which Part I., corresponding to the first four chapters of earlier editions, has now appeared in an enlarged form. Notable additions are made to the chapter on the Councils of the Crown, the author claiming to have 'been able to throw some fresh light on the beginnings of Cabinet Government'; while there is a new introduction, in which stress is laid on recent changes in the actual working of the constitution since Walter Bagehot described it in the days of Lord Palmerston. Sir William Anson, in modifying opinions expressed in earlier editions, is confessedly influenced by the recent work of Mr. Sidney Low on the

Governance of England, who has perhaps exaggerated the differences between the Constitution as it was previous to 1867, and as it is to-day.

W. S. M^cK.

In *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* (pp. xxv, 272. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett), Abbot Gasquet publishes a second edition of a work which, appearing in 1893 under the title *The Great Pestilence*, has been received as a standard treatise on the subject for England. The book traces the plague in its approach to British shores, and contains accurate information of its progress throughout the various English counties; but does not follow its devastations into Scotland.

The *English Historical Review* (January) opens the year with a study by Mr. J. F. Baldwin on the history of the King's Council from Edward I. to Edward III., showing the many changes brought about, chiefly by the fluctuating power of the Crown, and illustrating the necessary conclusion that the Privy Council of the later period was not a separate organisation but a continuation. Miss S. Kramer on 'The amalgamation of English mercantile crafts,' collates important facts of guild history in the greater towns of England. The Master of Peterhouse reviews *Queen Victoria's Letters*, and Mr. R. L. Poole discussing undated charters of Henry II. offers data as tests of date, which give the paper value for its propositions in diplomatic.

Notable in the contents of *The Reliquary* for January are representations and descriptions of various magnificent reliquaries in the Cathedral Church of Saint Antonio at Padua. Two of them belong to the fourteenth century and are simple figures of a saint and a bishop, but the others are achievements of the silversmith's art in the first half of the fifteenth century. Among these—all remarkable—the Censer of Sixtus IV. is indeed superb. Other themes of this number are tapestries made from designs by Rubens and some Essex brasses with good types of legal and lay costume. That of Sergeant Thomas Rolf (1440) has an inscription, *Es dedit ipse satis miserisque viis mamlatis*; translated, 'Large sums in charity he spent: the lepers were relieved.' One wonders whether the *viis* may not rather mean a grant for the repairing of roads—*ad emendationem viae*—a common subject of such bequests.

The Genealogist for January deals with the Glynnns of Glynn, whose armorial salmon spears connect the family with a ford over the Cornish river Fowey.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset in December congratulated itself, as we do, on its completing twenty years of existence. It shews a very vigorous readiness to enter on its third decade, which we trust will be fortunate. A number of useful items are printed illustrative of Somerset bell-founding in century xvii.

In the *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (May-July, 1907) Lieut.-Gen. Tyrrell briskly sketches the history of the relations between Russia and Persia, beginning with an Arab description of tenth-century Russian piracy and coming down to international politics of last century. Episodes of Russian experience in Persia include astonishingly close parallels to some of our own in Afghanistan.

In the *American Historical Review* for January, Prof. G. B. Adams writing on the origin of the English constitution, lays emphasis on the contribution of Magna Carta, in transferring from the feudal to the modern State the principle that there is a body of law above the King. He insists on the principle itself coming from feudalism. Mr. A. B. Hart has a Scottish subject, which he handles briskly, pictorially, and critically. It is of John Knox as a man of the world that he writes. The great impression made on this writer by the Reformer's career and writings is that of his immense personal force and democratic influence—though Mr. Hart is no worshipper and can see the unlovable side.

The *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Feb.) sees the conclusion of M. Bédier's study on the historical part of the legend of *Raoul de Cambrai*. It establishes a notable relationship of the romance with the monastery of St. Géri and with a Countess Adelaide, mother of a Count Raoul. Besides it indicates less clearly influences from and upon records and legends of other monasteries in the Cambrai region. There is a most circumstantial account of the assassination in 1617 of Marshal Concini, favourite of the French queen-dowager, Marie de Medici. Among British subjects discussed is the tennis-ball episode between Henry V. and the dauphin before Agincourt. This is the theme of a German student, O. Emmerig's dissertation. The critic, M. Bémont, does not seem to be convinced by the author's relegation of the incident to the realm of myth. Another review is an estimate of M. Jacques Bardoux's *Essai d'une psychologie de l'Angleterre contemporaine*, which describes the 'two great phenomena, a violent reaction in favour of protectionism, and an energetic forward movement of the Radical party.'

In a later number of the *Revue* (March-April) M. Achille Luchaire begins a close study of the fourth Lateran Council held in 1215—a great assembly, including representatives of Scotland, as appears from an official list of the time recently recovered and edited by M. Luchaire. Matter of Britain very notable was part of the business, and the autograph chronicle of Matthew Paris contains a marginal sketch of the council. Magna Carta was one of the affairs of the hour, and especially the Archbishop Stephen Langton's part in procuring it. The bull confirming his suspension is discussed along with the parallel incident of the Pope's refusal to approve the election of Stephen's brother as Archbishop of York. A number of letters of Hotman, the famous Protestant jurist and political writer, dating from 1561 until 1563, attract attention by their vigorous comment on the civil war of religion which was imminent in 1561, and broke out in France in 1562. Some references of Scottish

interest occur. On 19th March, 1561, some three months after the death of Francis II., Hotman writes that the Guises appear to have designs on the crown of France, that they are intriguing with Philip II., and that 'people talk already of betrothal between the Infanta of Spain and the Queen of Scotland.' On 6th August, 1561, he writes, 'The Queen of Scotland is returning to her country. She goes by Calais, and will not touch the English coast. She is conducted by two of the Guises, the Grand Prior and the Marquis d'Elbeuf. The Duke of Guise accompanies her as far as Calais, but the Cardinal does not go on so far.' Sturm, rector of Strasbourg, classical scholar and acquaintance of Buchanan, is equivocally mentioned in May, 1562, in terms which advise Protestant distrust, for Hotman says he is believed to be attached to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he wrote letters under the name of Alexander Montanus.

The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* often illustrates the commanding place of Napoleon in the memory of France. Last year, besides the elaborate itinerary (which has not yet run half its course), there was a criticism of his art of war. His two favourite modes of battle are described thus in a review of Lieut.-Col. Camon's *La Guerre Napoléonienne*: 'On the principal theatre of his operations Napoleon might have the real superiority, or he might not. In the first case he would throw his army on the rear of the enemy and take him at one stroke (*d'un seul coup de filet*): in the opposite case he would seek to take between the different fractions of the enemy a central position from which he could manoeuvre to crush them in succession.' More striking and interesting from a psychological standpoint is a notice of M. Gonnard's *Les Origines de la légende napoléonienne*, in which are surveyed the captive Emperor's explanations of himself, given at St. Helena. 'His acts,' says the critic, 'were what they had been. He never dreamt of denying them or of withholding his recognition of responsibility for them. What alone he was anxious to tell was the *pourquoi* of his acts.' Some of these Napoleonic explanations of Napoleon are curious enough: 'Il a été le défenseur du principe des nationalités.' 'Pacifique, il n'a fait la guerre qu'à son corps défendant.' These are not the most remarkable of the *raisons supérieures* of his life, as expounded by him at St. Helena when he was thinking of posterity and recalling (as the critic, M. Ernest d'Hauterive, expresses it) to his last companions the memories of his incredible epopee. In a review of a work on *Paris en 1814* (Paris, Emile-Paul, 1907), M. Courteault accords warm praise to the *Journal d'un prisonnier anglais*, reprinted in the volume. The *Journal* was the work of an amateur artist, T. H. Underwood, a clear-headed and well-informed observer, not friendly to Napoleon. Long resident in France as a political prisoner, he saw things for himself, and his diary is judged as historic in the first degree.

Queries and Replies

LE DANDRY AND DEYCES. In the last volume issued by the Worcestershire Historical Society (James Parker & Co., Oxford) is a paper by Canon Wilson, giving a transcript of the accounts of the officials of the Priory of Worcester for the year A.D. 1522. On p. 30 we read, in the accounts of the Infirmarius, 'De quibus computat solutum domino priori in ffesto exaltacionis sancti crucis 3s. suppriori 2s. 3d. precentori 2s. 3d. ac 39 aliis monachis quilibet eorum 18d. et sic in toto . . . £3. 6s. 0d. Et solutum domino priori 4d. suppriori 4d. precentori 4d. cellerario 4d. infirmario 4d. refectorario 4d. le dandry 4d. et duobus deycis 8d. ac 33 aliis monachis quilibet eorum 2d. et sic in toto . . . 8s. 6d.'

What were the offices indicated by the titles *le dandry* and the *deyces*?

LOWLAND TARTANS. What proof is there of the antiquity of any Lowland tartans? From the researches of Lord Archibald Campbell and others there is no doubt that the Highland clans had, and used, their own distinctive tartans several hundred years ago, but apparently in conjunction with the kilt, which was practically unknown in the Lowlands.

A work entitled *The Tartans of the Clans and Septs of Scotland*, published in 1906 by W. & A. K. Johnston, gives nearly twenty coloured plates of tartans alleged to belong to essentially Lowland families, but one would like to know if one of them can be proved to have existed 150 years ago.

I append a list of some of these Lowlanders whose right to an ancient tartan seems to be based on fallacy: Armstrongs in Liddesdale; Chisholms and Cranstouns in the Borders; Cunninghams and Kennedys in Ayrshire; Dalzells in Lanarkshire; Dundas, Elliots, Hays, and Hamiltons; Cockburns in Berwickshire, East Lothian, etc.; Homes in Berwickshire; Kerrs, Lauders, and Scotts in the Lowlands; Johnstones, Maxwells, Montgomeries, and Hope-Veres.

Two of the oldest Lowland families are missing from this list, Setons and Swintons; do they not claim tartans?

So long ago as 1796 and 1798 there were articles in the *Scots Magazine* on Highland dress, kilts and tartans, and great doubts were cast on the antiquity of any Scottish tartans. After the '45 it is well known that Highland dress was proscribed by Act of Parliament, and tartans were destroyed, dyed, or laid aside till 1782, when the Act was repealed. Clan

tartans thereupon began to reappear, and it seems probable that there was then a great revival of patriotic spirit which induced even Lowlanders to acquire a tartan in the, perhaps, laudable idea that they, too, must have had one at some time, and so many were thereupon invented.

Sir Walter Scott had no faith in Lowland tartans, as is shown by one of his letters to Mrs. Hughes, written in 1825.¹ Mrs. Hughes had evidently made an enquiry on behalf of the Duchess of Buckingham, and Sir Walter, after referring at length to the Highland tartans, says: 'I do not believe a word of the nonsense about every clan or name having a regular pattern which was undeviatingly adhered to, and the idea of assigning tartans to the Douglasses, Hamiltons, and other great Lowland families has become so general that I am sure if the Duke of Buckingham had asked at some of the shops in Stirling or Edinburgh for his own family tartan they would not have failed to assign him one!'

In the volume on Scottish tartans published about 1842 by John Hay Allen, *alias* John Sobieski Stuart, there is a list of Lowland clans (with their tartans) comprising Armstrongs, Cranstouns, Cunninghams, Dundas', Hamiltons, Homes, Johnstones, Kerrs, Lauders, Maxwells, Montgomeries, Scotts, and Setons, but I understand that this work cannot be taken very seriously. It is to be noted that Chisholms, Cockburns, Dalzells, Elliots, Hope-Veres, and Kennedys are missing, but that the Seton family is included.

Messrs. Scott, Adie & Co., whose Scottish warehouse in Regent Street, London, is well known, possess a bulky volume containing tartans (actual cloth), supposed to be about a hundred years old, but of Lowland families only Chisholms and Cockburns are represented.

Possibly some reader acquainted with the old collection of tartans which exist, I believe, at Moy Hall would say if any Lowland tartans are to be found there.

H. A. COCKBURN.

92 Eaton Terrace, S.W.

DEDICATION OF DRUMMELZIER CHURCH. The chapel of Drummelzier, which after the Reformation became the parish church, was situated in its burying-ground near Merlin's grave, on the right bank of Powsayle water, a short way above where it flows into the Tweed. Who was the patron saint of the place of worship? Was it Saint Kentigern?

J. M. MACKINLAY, F.S.A. (Lond. and Scot.).

GEORGE BUCHANAN LETTER.—In the *Catalogue de lettres autogr. provenant de la succession de Vollenhoven*, Leiden, 1894, No. 257, is mentioned a letter from George Buchanan to Phil. Marnix de Ste Aldegoude, dated 2nd Nov. 1576. This letter has not been printed. I should be glad to know where the letter may be at present.

ALBERT ELKAN.

Hamburg, Harvestehuderweg 64.

¹ *Letters and Recollections of Sir W. Scott*, 1904.

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. At pp. 457-9 of the first volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*, I gave some notes concerning the various printers of whose official connection with Glasgow University I had been able to find any record. At the same time I asked for any information that would help to make the list of College printers complete. Now, after nearly four years, comes the first response to this appeal in a note from Mr. J. C. Ewing, of Baillie's Institution, calling my attention to the following intimation in the *Glasgow Herald* of Friday, 28th July, 1809:

At Glasgow, on the 21st instant, Mr. John Scrymgeour, bookseller, and printer to the University.

Beyond this statement, I have been able to get but little information about Scrymgeour. The Mitchell Library list of Glasgow printers knows not his name—that is to say, no book from his press is to be found on the shelves of the library. Presumably he is one of two brothers who are entered in the Glasgow Directory for 1803 as

Scrymgeour, J. & J., booksellers, New Circulating Library, 99 Glassford Street.

Before the issue of the Directory for 1807 one of the members of the firm had probably died, for the sole entry under the name in the year's list is

Scrymgeour, J., printer and bookseller, 6 Hutcheson Street.

Early in October, 1809, the trustees on the estate intimate, in an advertisement in the *Glasgow Herald*, that some of the books belonging to the circulating library have not been returned; and borrowers are informed that if brought back at once no charge will be made for the extra time the books have been withheld. In the same advertisement the trustees intimate that the valuable library is still undisposed of, and they invite offers for it. Up till the end of the year, however, no announcement is to be found in the *Glasgow Herald* of any successor in the business, though booksellers a century ago were much more enterprising advertisers than their successors of the present day. This is not a very large contribution to the history of the University printers, but it helps to fill up one gap, and one may live in hope of a complete list by and by.

West Princes Street, Glasgow.

WM. STEWART.

ST. WILLIAM, KING OF SCOTS, SURNAMED THE LION (*S.H.R.* v. 248). With reference to the engraving of William the Lion printed from the *Rutland Magazine* in the last number of the *Scottish Historical Review*, Mr. J. L. Anderson writes to point out that an engraving of this portrait appeared in *Archaeologia Scotica*, 1831, vol. iii. page 298. General Hutton, in his letter to the Society of the 22nd October, 1821 (which is also printed in the same volume), when he presented the copy from the original portrait, from which copy the Society's published engraving was reproduced, states that the copy was

made a few years previous to 1821 from the original fresco, the dimensions of the original being about four feet in height, by about two feet nine inches in breadth. The engraving in *Archaeologia Scotica* differs in many details from that published in the Review (*S.H.R.* v. 248) but clearly they are both from the same original.

JOHN KNOX AND RANFURLY. In his paper on Scottish students in Heidelberg (*S.H.R.* v. 74), Mr. W. Caird Taylor refers to the question whether John Knox, the Reformer, was descended from the Knoxes of Ranfurly?

All we certainly know about the Reformer's parentage is contained in a passage in his *History*, where he says, speaking of an interview with Bothwell, 'For my lord my grandfather, goodsher, and father have served your Lordships predecessors, and some of them have died under their standartis.' (Laing's edition of *Knox's Works*, vol. ii. p. 323.)

In David Buchanan's editions of the *History* (both published in 1644) he gives instead of 'my grandfather, goodsher, and father,' 'my great grandfather, gudeshier, and father.' Laing (*Knox's Works*, vol. i. xlii) points out Buchanan took 'unwarrantable liberties' with the text.

Dr. M'Crie in his *Life of Knox* adopts Buchanan's version (*Life*, edition 1814, vol. i. 339).

Buchanan (in the 'Life of Knox' prefixed to the *History*) was the first to state that Knox's father was 'a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie,' but he quotes no authority. The same statement has been made by various subsequent writers, for example, Nisbet, *Heraldry* (p. 180); Crawford, *Renfrewshire*, part ii. pp. 30 and 139 (published 1782); Matthew Crawford's 'Life' prefixed to his edition of *Knox's Works* (1732, p. ii); Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, 177; and M'Crie, vol. i. pp. 2 and 339. These writers most probably relied on what Buchanan had said. They quote no authority.

Dr. George Mackenzie (*Writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. iii. p. 111) was the first to contradict Buchanan, merely saying, 'His father was not a brother's son of the house of Ranfurly.' David Laing (*Knox's Works*, vi. pp. xiv-xv) and Hume Brown (*Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 5) both give it as their opinion that there is no evidence to support the statement of the relationship.

In 1896 Mr. William Crawford, a lineal descendant of the Reformer, published under the name *Knox Genealogy* a Genealogical Tree of the Reformer's family. The Tree was found in the repositories of the Rev. James Knox of Scone. Mr. Crawford does not seem to know, at least does not tell us, by whom it was framed.

The Tree begins with the Reformer's father, who is correctly stated to be 'William Knox.' His designation, 'Laird of the Lands of Gifford,' is clearly wrong. These lands never appear to have been in the hands of a Knox. For long before the Reformer was born they belonged to a family of the name of Gifford, and were carried by marriage into the family of the Hays of Yester, to whom they

still belong. (Paper by John Richardson in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iii. part i.) Mr. Crawford admits in his introduction that the relationship of the Reformer to the Ranfurly family is disputed. He says Ladyland, which belonged to the Ranfurly family, was part of 'Ranfurly.' It was a $2\frac{1}{2}$ merkland they possessed in the parish of Kippen, Stirlingshire, originally acquired apparently in 1655.

John Knox says his ancestors were vassals of the Bothwell family. Now, it is certain the Ranfurly Knoxes were never in that position—they held their lands from the Stewart Prince.

The Ranfurly family seem at one time to have had a good deal of property—partly in Renfrewshire, partly in Stirlingshire, partly in Ayrshire, but they do not appear to have been an illustrious family, and why some should be so eager to link the Reformer on to them is difficult to understand. They were probably not the oldest family of the name in Renfrewshire.

HORATIUS BONAR.

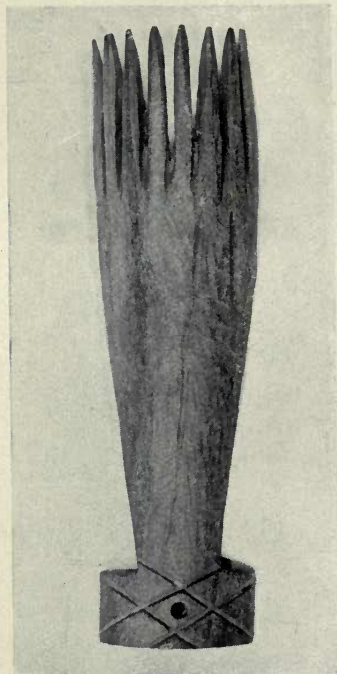
Notes and Comments

THE Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by its President, Sir Herbert Maxwell, has issued an appeal for subscriptions (which may be sent to Mr. James Curle, Priorwood, Melrose, or to Dr. Joseph Anderson) towards a fresh fund for the exploration of the Roman station at Newstead, near Melrose. The generous response made to a previous appeal resulted in very satisfactory progress being made, and in discoveries most important to Archaeology, which Mr. Curle briefly describes in a well-illustrated note annexed to the circular, with a reference to his article in our columns (*S.H.R.* iv. 443). The chief work of 1907 was the uncovering of the remains of a large block, which formed the Baths of the Fort. It was possible with some certainty to work out the four phases of occupation. The successive phases were: *First*, a small bath-house lying on a concrete foundation, which may be attributed to the period of Agricola's advance; *second*, a greatly enlarged building with spacious halls, extending to the west; *third*, a reduction in the size of the whole, in which this extension was abandoned and the building cut in two by a ditch, while the portion nearest the Fort was surrounded by a defensive earth-work lying on a cobble foundation; *fourth*, a period in which the ditch was again filled up, but of which the traces are much less definite than are those of the other three. The excavation of the Baths produced some interesting things. The coins were numerous, and presented a series from the Republican period down to Marcus Aurelius; Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan predominated as elsewhere. Several fibulæ and an engraved cornelian, with a figure of Helios, were got. The most important find of the year, however, came from a great pit, which had no doubt served as a well for one of the earlier occupations. At the bottom of this well, which was 20 feet in depth, there lay three bronze camp kettles and a beautiful bronze œnochoë with a decorated handle; near the latter lay a large rake. Slightly higher were a number of iron hub-rings, a stylus, a strigil, a bone cube belonging to a set of dice, an iron lamp, a bowl of coarse earthenware, a fragment of a charred oak beam, a human skull, the visor mask of a helmet (*S.H.R.* iv. 448), a sword—the short heavy blade of the legionary,—another sword doubled up but still retaining the greater part of its bone hilt, and portions of two other swords. The ditch cutting the Baths in two, as well as the ditch lying immediately beyond it, were cleared out. The inner ditch must have been post-Hadrianic, as



ENOCHOË OF BRONZE.

Found at Newstead.



WEAVING COMB.

97
2

one of the coins of that Emperor was found at the bottom. A coin of Faustina the Elder, found near the surface of the filling, probably indicates the limits of its period. The ditch produced a number of fragments of pottery with potters' names, notably those of **CINNAMVS** and **DIVIXTVS**. It also produced Castor ware. A small silver chain with pendants, representing a crescent and a wheel, was an interesting find. The first occupation ditch along the west front of the Fort was also further prosecuted. The portion to the south of the west gate produced many tent-pegs, pieces of leather, pockets, shoes, a writing tablet of pine-wood, worked deer horns, tools, knives, a pair of compasses, shears, a weaving comb, a brass torque, a camp kettle, and coins of the Republic, of Vespasian, and of Domitian; besides a considerable number of pieces of pottery, including some very fine fragments of decorated bowls. So much has been obtained from Newstead to illustrate the history of the Roman advance that it is desirable to leave none of the possibilities of the site unexhausted. The portions of the ditches of the first occupation, so far as untouched, should be cleared out, and some portion of the great ditch of the later occupations should also be examined. The results obtained from the first occupation ditch on the west side are sufficient proof of its importance; it belongs to a comparatively short period at the end of the first century, and thus gives a rare opportunity for establishing a series of the pottery of that period. The clearing out of the later ditch might assist in determining whether the second occupation of the Fort belongs to the Antonine period, or whether it must be placed earlier in the second century. And there is the cemetery of the Fort still to be found, which in all probability lies somewhere on the margin of the homeward roads beyond the south annexe. Professor Haverfield has recently referred to the Newstead excavations as 'truly epoch-making.' He points out that the 'discoveries of individual objects, such as armour, are already unique,' and adds that, when the 'work is done, it will form a great contribution to our knowledge of both Roman antiquities and Roman Scotland.'

THE helmet-masks recently found at Newstead, one of which was figured in *S.H.R.* iv. 448, have evoked a suggestive and important exposition by Dr. George Macdonald in the *Scotsman* of Feb. 26. He begins with a description, emphasising their ornamental character, the thinness of the metal, and the arrangements for attaching a crest and plumes. A patch and the remains of a leather lining are noted as indicative of regular wear. The metal, however, is beaten far too thin to parry a serious blow. No soldier who had to fight for his life would have consented to shut himself up with such scanty provision for hearing and breathing freely; gladiatorial helmets disinterred in the gladiators' quarters at Pompeii are of entirely different shape and make, and much more business-like. The Newstead masks must belong to a very small but distinct group, including the famous Ribchester helmet in the British Museum, a visor and head-piece of thin beaten copper from the Black Forest, now in the Stuttgart

*The
Newstead
Helmet-
Masks.*

Museum, and two visors and a head-piece of gilded bronze now in Vienna. The known examples, about half a score in all (first satisfactorily collated by the late Prof. Benndorf), are without exception of too unsubstantial construction to have ever been used in actual warfare. But, although the masks cannot have been worn in battle, they yet belonged to the soldiery.

Mr. Curle's observations make it practically certain that the Newstead helmets are to be assigned to the end of the first or to the early years of the second century A.D. About that time a Greek author gives us a most illuminating glimpse of camp life among the Romans, which, rightly applied, can be made to furnish an unmistakable key to the puzzling helmet masks. In 136 A.D. Arrian, in his treatise on contemporary tactics, picturesquely described the 'gymnastic exercises' of the Roman cavalry. The lists were prepared on a level expanse of ground. In this there was marked out a great square, with a surface as soft and fine as possible. Arrian proceeds: 'The riders enter the arena arrayed in helmets of bronze or iron, gilded to attract the particular attention of the onlookers, wherever the wearers are specially conspicuous for rank or for skill in horsemanship. These helmets, unlike helmets for real battle, are not designed to protect merely the head and the cheeks; they are made exactly like the faces of the soldiers, with openings at the eyes, wide enough to afford a view of what is going on, and yet not so wide as to involve exposure. Attached to them are yellow plumes, which are not meant to serve any useful purpose, but are simply for ornament; and, when the horses gallop, the plumes show to great advantage, waving in the air under the influence of the slightest breeze. The horsemen carry shields, too, not of the sort they take into battle, but lighter (the object of the exercises being smartness and display) and gaily decorated. Instead of breast-plates they have Cimbrian jerkins, closely resembling breast-plates in cut and shape, but coloured—sometimes scarlet, sometimes purple, sometimes in many hues. Then they wear hose, not loose as is the fashion among the Parthians and Armenians, but fitting tightly to the legs. As for their steeds, their foreheads are carefully screened by frontlets, but their sides do not need any corresponding protection; for, although the javelins used in the evolutions have no heads, they might injure the horses' eyes, while they fall harmlessly against their flanks, particularly as the latter are, in large measure, covered by the saddle-cloths.'

This passage carries an enlightening explanation of the helmet-masks. The more closely they are examined, the better do they seem to fulfil the conditions required. The iron head-piece from Newstead has attachments, not only for a crest in the centre, but also for plumes at the sides. Furthermore, an inscription shows that the garrison of the fort included Gaulish cavalry. 'It would have been strange indeed,' writes Dr. Macdonald, 'if the men of such a regiment had neglected what was for them a national form of sport. In brief, we may be sure that, not once, but many times during the years of occupation, the Eildons looked down on just such a pageant as Arrian portrays.'

One can imagine how it would have stirred the spirit of the great wizard who sleeps hard by in Dryburgh, could he have known that the banks of his beloved Tweed had over and over again witnessed a spectacle that may fairly be regarded as the precursor of Ashby-de-la-Zouche.'

The significance of this is heightened when, with Dr. Macdonald, we follow Arrian's descriptions of these cavalry games. The company of brilliantly attired horsemen rode into the lists in squadrons, each headed by a standard-bearer. Some of the standards were ordinary Roman ensigns. Others were Scythian pennons. The Scythian pennon was a flag made of bright-coloured cloth in the shape of a serpent. As the horse quickened its pace to a gallop, the snake shook itself out to its full length, and sometimes positively hissed as it was borne swiftly through the air. The squadrons executed a series of the most complex evolutions—always, apparently, at full speed. They wheeled in circles and darted in lines, now in this direction, now in that. The initiative rested with the standard-bearers, who were specially chosen as the finest riders in the regiment. With the rest it was a game of 'follow my leader.' If one ensign came in contact with another, or if two horses collided, it spelt failure, and the whole array was thrown into confusion. These preliminary evolutions safely over, the squadrons changed their formation and embarked upon a set of exercises in which the headless javelins and the light shields played a conspicuous part, but in which skill in horsemanship was also put to the severest test. Then followed a similar display with blunted spears, it being a rule that a spear was always to be levelled against an opponent's shield, never against his helmet, which was not strong enough to resist a vigorous stroke. Finally the troopers assumed the full panoply of genuine war, and engaged in competitions directed towards proving their dexterity in the handling of various weapons. At one point the whole regiment was ranged in order, and the muster-roll called over. As each man heard his name, he had to answer 'Adsum' in a loud voice, and dash forward as fast as his charger could carry him, holding three short spears in his hand. The first of these he threw from the extremity of the lists at a mark fixed in the base of the raised platform. The second he hurled in the same direction—still galloping—from a position where his aim was perforce much more oblique. The third was reserved for another mark of which he caught sight for an instant as he wheeled his horse to gallop back to the starting-point.

'In its pomp and circumstance all this,' concludes Dr. Macdonald, 'is wonderfully like the Middle Ages, when the supremacy of the cavalry arm made tournaments fashionable everywhere. Can a direct connection between the two be traced? Any attempt to answer the question would open up a fresh line of inquiry, and carry us too far from the Newstead helmets. But a single remark may be permitted. There is good reason to believe that France was the cradle of the medieval tournament, and it

*Roman
Cavalry
Sports.*

*Medieval
Chivalry:
a Question.*

was in the same district of Europe that the "gymnastic exercises" which Arrian describes had their origin. He expressly states that they were borrowed by the Romans from the Celts, by whom, of course, he means the Celts of the Continent, for it was from the Gauls that the Romans of the early Imperial period learned almost everything they knew about horses.'

It is a question of extraordinary interest which our learned contributor thus raises out of the Newstead masks. He has laid stress on some things in Arrian well deserving it: and there are others. Thus Arrian mentions that the shields, as well as the helmets, were lighter than those used in war, and were apparently parti-coloured—the phrase Latinised, *ad voluptatem variegata*, having a smack of heraldic possibilities. The 'dragon' banner was known to both Normandy and England at the Conquest and long afterwards. (See *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 149 for an illustration.) But the most interesting point of all is the insistence of Arrian on the skill of the wheeling horsemen, the speed and grace with which they rode in varied convolutions round each other in the lists. This offers beautiful confirmation to the history of our word tournament, for the French etymologists are clearly right in associating *tournoi*, the tourney, with *tournoyer*, to turn round and round, and in deriving both from Low Latin *tornare*. Answer is happily forthcoming to Dr. Macdonald's inquiry after a direct connection. When the oath of Strasbourg was celebrated in 842, the Gaulish horsemen made a display, described by the contemporary historian Nithard (in Bouquet's *Recueil*, tome vii. p. 27) with spirit and sufficient detail. Ranged in opposing battalions, they charged and re-charged, brandishing their spears, swiftly advancing and retreating in mimicry of battle, with such horsemanship that, in spite of the great number of riders, there was never an accident. Nithard says the performance was worthy of the occasion, and a noble spectacle. His account bears close comparison with Arrian's stirring picture, which Dr. Macdonald has so skilfully utilised to no less a purpose of history than to establish at last through the helmet-masks of Newstead the essential continuity in medieval tournaments of the games of Gaulish cavalry serving in Scotland under the Roman invaders. Thus Arrian overthrows the story of the 'invention' of tournaments told in the Chronicle of Tours under the year 1066.

THE Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland has begun its labours. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., is chairman, and the other members are: Lord Guthrie, Professor Baldwin Brown, Dr. Thomas H. Bryce, Mr. Francis C. Buchanan, Mr. W. T. Oldrieve, Mr. Thomas Ross, with Mr. A. O. Curle as secretary. The object of the Commission is 'to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization, and conditions of life of the people in Scotland from the earliest times to the year 1707, such as: (1) Sepulchral cairns and other burial places;

*Preservation
of Ancient
Monuments.*

(2) forts, camps, earthworks, brochs, crannogs, and other defensive works, either overground or underground; (3) stone circles and standing stones, and rock surfaces with incised or other sculpturings; (4) architectural remains, ecclesiastical and secular, including sculptured or inscribed memorials of pre-Reformation times; (5) architectural or other monuments of post-Reformation times which may seem to the Commission desirable to include, and to specify those which seem worthy of preservation.' In the first place, a list is to be prepared of all the recorded monuments in Scotland as shown on the Ordnance Survey sheets and described in general books of reference. Thereafter the list will be extended by the addition of particulars of monuments not on record. Then a detailed inventory will be prepared, each county being taken separately. The Commission is to visit the various counties and report on the character of all the monuments and their general situation, noting the local names and describing their characteristics. A final duty will be to report as to which of the monuments are worthy of preservation. Interim reports will probably be made, after the manner of those issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Thus we may anticipate a skilful and attractive compilation of much matter of the highest archaeological interest. One important feature necessary for the equipment of such a work is not mentioned: the preliminary notices say nothing of illustrations. Illustration here, however, would in many cases be easy, and in not a few would be almost imperative.

BORN in 1852, Mr. James Dalrymple Gray Dalrymple of Woodhead, F.S.A., first became a familiar figure in antiquarian circles on his taking office as Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1877. To that Society he rendered services so great that it is no over-statement to say that he was virtually its re-founder. For five-and-twenty years he was the most faithful and zealous of Secretaries. President from 1904 until 1907, he occupied the chair during the Society's jubilee celebrations in 1906, in commemoration of which he instituted the Dalrymple Lectureship in Archaeology in Glasgow University. An ardent freemason, an indefatigable traveller, an archaeologist keenly interested in architecture, ecclesiology, heraldry, and genealogy, his erudition was extensive, and found expression in numerous topographical, descriptive, and historical papers, contributed to the various Scottish antiquarian societies. His death (Feb. 8) after a few weeks' illness was unexpected, and the occasion of much regret. Besides providing for the endowment and management of the Lectureship in Archaeology, his will contains a residuary bequest to be administered by representatives of the Society of Antiquaries, the Glasgow Archaeological Society, and the Ecclesiological Society, for the purpose of the repair and restoration of historical buildings. Special resolutions appreciative of his varied services,—not in archaeology merely, for he was a man of generous public spirit,—have not only shown a wide sense of the loss sustained through his death, but also indicate a particular degree of personal regard.

J. D. G.
Dalrymple.

MR. R. C. BOSANQUET, Professor of Classical Archæology in the University of Liverpool, who was appointed Dalrymple Lecturer in Archæology for 1908 in the University of Glasgow, delivered (Jan. 20-31) a course of lectures on 'Recent Discoveries in Greek Lands.' In introducing the Lecturer, Principal MacAlister referred to the generous founder of the lectureship, Mr. Dalrymple, and to his well-established reputation as an archæologist and fosterer of antiquarian study. Professor Bosanquet sketched in historical outline, made luminous by a splendid series of lantern views, 'The Heroic Age: Crete and the Mainland.' He illustrated some of the leading discoveries made during the past ten years in Greek lands, pointing out how greatly the interpretations of ancient history had been modified by the excavations in Crete, Asia Minor, and Greece. There were five lectures: I., 'The Heroic Age: Crete and the Mainland,' tracing the history of Crete from the Bronze Age down to the Dorian conquest. II., 'Athens and Sparta before the Persian Wars: their Relations with Ionia,' containing an account of the origin of the Spartan discipline and the reversion to primitive simplicity as a result of the Persian conquest of Ionia.' III., 'The Story of a Local Sanctuary: The Temple of Aphæa in Ægina.' IV., 'Delphi, and the other Pan-Hellenic Sanctuaries,' describing Delphi, Olympia, and Delos, and devoting much attention to the town of Delphi, the Sacred Way, the Treasuries, and specially to the monuments of Victory as a record of political rivalry and a historical illustration of (1) the triumph of Greece over Persia; (2) the victory of Sparta over Athens and her allies; and (3) the downfall of Sparta and the foundation of Messene and Megalopolis. V., 'Some Hellenistic Cities,' dealing with Priene, Pergamon, and Delos as types. These three cities, the lecturer said, illustrated three periods in the development of the Hellenistic city.

The lectures were well attended, and made an obviously popular inauguration, which gratified Mr. Dalrymple himself not a little, although he was unfortunately too ill to witness it, and died only a few days later.

THE Gypsy Lore Society founded to promote the study of Gypsy History, Language, Customs, and Folk-Lore is on the defensive against an apprehended attack upon the wandering race by a combination of the governments of Europe against them. Negotiations, it is alleged, have been in progress between France and Switzerland with the object of expelling the gypsies from Europe, and an international conference is to be summoned for that purpose at Berne during next summer. Germany and Great Britain are said to have already accepted invitations to send representatives. The Romany have caustic champions, who think we have not advanced very far from the barbarous ideas which prescribed the punishment of death for gypsies and those who consorted with them. They declare that while the savants of Europe are co-operating to rescue the fragments of Romany language and

folk-lore, the statesmen are conspiring to wipe out the last traces of the Romany themselves from the Western Continent. The Society's Journal, in the face of this danger, promises a defence of Gypsydom with historical examples of abortive attempts to 'civilize' the race. The Hon. Sec. of the Society, 6 Hope Place, Liverpool, is appealing for an increase of the membership to stiffen the sinews of the campaign.

THE lectureship founded to commemorate in Glasgow the late Dr. James Finlayson was inaugurated by a historical discourse given (Feb. 26) by Dr. Norman Moore, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. Sir Hector Cameron (presiding) paid a genial tribute to Dr. Finlayson's memory, not only as a physician, but also as biographer of Maister Peter Lowe, founder of the Glasgow Medical Faculty in 1599. Dr. Moore took for his subject the *Schola Salernitana*, a riming Latin collection of opinions or dicta on the preservation of health, on the uses of herbs, and on the remedies for some diseases. A compilation reflecting early medieval knowledge, the work bore the name of the famous medical school of Salerno, in Italy. The medium of verse employed was of course a common expedient long before and long afterwards as an aid to the memory. A pleasing digression by the lecturer drew special attention to a Scottish writer. Scotland had several medical poets, one of the chief being David Kinloch, who wrote in the sixteenth century on medical subjects. He practised his profession in France, was a loyal subject of James VI., and was proud of his native country and of the achievements of his countrymen in arms and in literature. That was shown by his declaration that no other race could equal the Scots in spirit or in battle, and that the ancient Romans, when they had subjugated most of the world, were routed in Scotland. Medicine in Latin verse was part of the literary inheritance of Scotland. Returning to the *Schola Salernitana*, Dr. Moore showed its wide popularity throughout the middle ages, and gave some account of twenty-five copies examined by him in British libraries. The book was first known in England in the time of Henry III., and had been often translated—into most of the languages of Europe, including Gaelic. It gave a list of foods to avoid and foods to eat, such as new-laid eggs, red wine, and rich broth; bread and cheese were recommended. A chronicle was given of remedies for poisons, and two sections on affections of the eyes, ears, toothache, sea sickness, hoarseness, colds, fistula, and so on. There were sections on the practice of bleeding, on the seasons, on the humours of the body, and on the importance of pure air. There was much about herbs. Violet, which had been asserted in these modern days as a cure for cancer, was given as a remedy for drunkenness, depression of spirits, and epilepsy. Bleeding was recommended nearly everywhere and for nearly everything. Referring to one of the English translations which came from a printing press in Grub Street, Dr. Moore said the rime was seldom better than was associated with the place of its publication. The place of composition of the original was invariably stated to be Salerno, and the date the twelfth

century. The verses were sufficiently in accord with the books written and the books read at Salerno to make it reasonable to accept that great school of medicine as the place of origin. When it appeared first had never been ascertained. It would be possible to trace many of the verses on food to some earlier book. The *Schola* was evidently a compilation or collection, and not the work of a single man, and its original object was to supply maxims in the practice of medicine.

IN *Green's Law-Book Circular* for January, a facsimile is given of an account in the ledger of Bell & Bradfute, from 1790 until 1793, for books and bookbinding. It is that of 'Mr. Walter Scott Jun^r Advocate George Sq^r.' Dr. James Colville contributes an interesting commentary on the literature thus indicated, as the foundation of Scott's future fame, then little thought of.

1790.					
Jan ^{ry} 12.	To [Binding] Pitscotties history of Scotland	„ „	10		
1792.					
May 4.	To No 1829 Evans Collection of old Ballads. 4 vol cr. 8vo bound	- „	14	„	
1793.					
June 28.	To Dalrymple's Remarks on the History of Scotland. 12°. bound	- - „	4	6	
Aug ^t 14.	To Burns's Poems. 2 vol. cr. 8vo, bound and gilt	- - - - - „	8	„	

These are suggestive entries among others which Dr. Colville briefly and shrewdly annotates as material used by Scott while 'making himself.' The little paper is a valuable peep at the beginnings of the poet and novelist—not at all of the sheriff. Literature, not law, is the note of the young advocate's bill, always paid promptly 'By cash in full.'

AN extraordinary duel story forms an incident in an article by Felix Meyer in the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* for July last, on the treatment of the Jews in Hainault in the fourteenth century. The Jews in England had been expelled in 1290. In September, 1306, the French Jews, similarly thrust out of their land of birth by Philip the Fair, received permission to sojourn for a time in Hainault, so that a settlement of many families took place under the protection of Count William. They prospered until 1322, when one of those terrible accusations common in Europe against the race was made against a young Jew, William, a court favourite and a godson of the Count. This was the affair of Cambron Abbey, where an image of the Virgin was found to have been shockingly disfigured, and a heavy clamour against the young Jew arose in consequence. At first abortive, it revived with still more furious vehemence four years later, when an old paralytic blacksmith, John le Febvre, had a vision in which the Virgin appeared instigating him to avenge the insult to her effigy, and bidding

him fight the Jew in the lists. Sanction duly obtained, the strange duel was fought at the gate of the park at Mons before a vast concourse, including Count William and his court. 'The Jew,' says the old historian of Mons, 'was armed with a baton and a buckler charged with little bells in order to make fun of the good old man, who was clad in white sewn with crosses, and had a shield in his left hand and a baton in his right.' The battle began, and the smith, despite his palsy, struck so fiercely that the first blow knocked the baton out of the Jew's hand, with the result that in stooping to recover it the latter laid his head open to a stroke which left him prostrate and scarce conscious. It was an all sufficient proof of guilt, and the Count, stopping the combat, executed the Jew at once with the becoming indignities and tortures for such cases made and provided by medieval law. The miracle of Cambron gave rise to a whole literature, including the poem of an early trouvère, who describes how they made the field with stakes and rope

Tant que on eut le camp fermeit
Destackiet [*i.e.* palissadé] bien et cordeit,

how valiantly John bore himself that day, and how worthily he made pilgrimages afterwards. M. Meyer does not advert to Dr. Lea's allusion to this duel in his *Superstition and Force* (4th ed. 1892, p. 210), nor does he notice in his list of authorities that the famous Olivier de la Marche, late in the fifteenth century, gave it place in his *Livre de l'advis de gaigne de bataille*.

DUELS and a variety of still more curious things in the old social life of the Low Countries are prominent in another article in the *Annales* (Oct. 1907) from the pen of M. Ch. Petit-Dutaillis. That distinguished archivist, under the general heading *Documents nouveaux sur l'histoire sociale des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle*, edits a group of fourteen pardons or letters of remission granted from 1438 to 1466 by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, for various crimes, prominently for homicides, the circumstances of which cast much light on the habits of private life during the period. The tavern has its frequent corollary the 'querelle de cabaret.' In a dispute over a damsel (somewhat discreetly described as 'une jeune femme querant son pain') Ostelet, one of the Duke's archers, ordered the lady contumeliously out of the house. 'To which Pierre replied that by the dear God he would like to see the man that would put her out.' An endeavour to gratify Pierre's aspiration led to Ostelet's being stabbed by Pierre and to a more serious retaliatory slash with a great knife whereof 'ledit Pierre est alé de vie a trespas.' Another slaughter in hot blood has its origin traced back to the tavern. The innkeeper, jealous of his neighbour, Christian le Cloot, forbade him the hostel 'whereto the said Christian answered that he would go so long as they sold beer there.' It came at last to a regular fight. The innkeeper went to his garden for a stick and soon encountered Christian (who was equally provided with a cudgel) to such effect that Christian shortly thereafter 'terminated his life by death.' These are sample

15th
Century
Pardons.

incidents narrated in the remissions, which differ from those usual in this country at the same time in their greater fulness—a feature which adds so much to their illustrative force. M. Petit-Dutaillis acutely sums up their historical value—the naïve savour of the conversations, the relations of classes, and the atmosphere of a troubled time. Reproducing the statements of the people concerned, the narratives are the more important because they are ‘neither the verbiage of the chronicler nor of literature.’ They are emphatically from the life; and we are glad that the editor of these examples has others to come.

No issue of the *Analecta Bollandica* could well contain a more curious and valuable contribution than that of Hippolytus Delehaye on the *Purgatory of St. Patrick*. Pilgrimage of Laurence of Pasztho to the Purgatory of St. Patrick, in an island of Lough Derg, County Donegal. It appears in the January number of this very learned quarterly, and consists of a short account of the legend, a survey (almost a bibliography in foot-notes) of recent discussions of it, an enumeration of recorded pilgrimages made to the place down to 1497 (when under papal order the Purgatory was destroyed), and finally a hitherto inedited—although not unknown—text which records a visit made in 1411.

Perhaps no odder notarial instrument exists than this, in which James Yonge, imperial notary and citizen of Dublin, by desire of divers worthy men in that city took down a ‘Memoriale’ of what the pilgrim told. Nor was the source wholly oral, for the document incorporates sundry credentials of the pilgrim. Sir Laurence Rathold, a knight and baron of Hungary, bore with him a commendatory letter from Sigismund, his king, dated 10th January, 1408, setting forth his generous birth, his courtly nurture (*in nostra aula regia*), and the devout motives of his journey to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, as well as to the Irish place of marvel. Our notary quotes it bodily and tells us, in the manner of his tribe, that it is not feigned, but authentic—which is probably more than can with certainty be said of the knight’s visions which follow, although they also have direct and indirect documentary vouchers. For the primate of Ireland, in December, 1411, also granted a letter confirming and incorporating another from the Prior of the Purgatory, whereby all the faithful of Christ were certiorated not only of the knight’s visit to the *spelunca* and his sojourn for a day therein, but also of the tribulations he sustained from unclean spirits, and the divine revelations which atoned for all his trials. Moreover, the cautious notary took a letter from the knight himself which sets forth briefly the motives of the pilgrimage and its happy results in quite satisfying some scruples the knight had had about the substance of the soul, as well as gratifying him with the sure experience of the marvels and miracles of the saints of Ireland.

What notary in our degenerate day ever had such a chance for such a Memorial? In fifteen short, clear, always lively, and sometimes thrilling, chapters the knight’s tale is set down. It begins with his arrival in Dublin and his devout visit made to the Church of the Trinity and its relic, the ‘baculus Ihesu.’ After a gracious reception by the primate, Nicholas,

archbishop of Armagh, he in due course, after much prayer and fasting and waiting for spiritual signs, journeys to Lough Derg, and receives the directions of the prior as to the mode of entering the purgatory, and the devotional observances necessary. He had a candle which, on account of the narrowness of the underground passages of the cave, was cut into nine pieces. Sprinkled with holy water and signing himself with the cross, he entered fortified with various relics and precious stones. It was St. Martin's day, about the sixth hour: the sun was in Scorpio, the 27th degree; the moon was in Libra. The knight's first vision appeared to him when he reached the second cave: two malignant spirits advanced invisibly upon him and pulled him back again and again until they were put to flight by the sign of the cross and the invocation of Jesus. Second came another demon in the guise of a most venerable pilgrim with a long beard, who denounced as frivolous and false the Christian faith, but who, like the first visitant, fled at the sign of the cross and the word of prayer. The third enemy took the more captivating form of a noble and beautiful woman, but the knight withstood her voluptuous words, and so clearly showed her what he knew about her that Satan, in her shape, 'irrecoverably disturbed,' retired in shame. The fourth and last vision—no impostor this time—was a goodly personage in a green robe and a red stole, who spoke Hebrew and disclosed himself as Saint Michael the Archangel. He not only showed to the knight innumerable souls in torture, including many of his own kith and kin, but also gave him sound doctrine about their liberation and the mitigation of their pains. By this time it was the next day, near the third hour after none; the sun was in Scorpio, the 28th degree; the moon was in Libra; it was the year 1411. The prior opened the door of the cave, and the knight, who had now burnt the last of his nine fractions of candle, stepped out into the open an unharmed and happy man, while the prior also was glad in the Lord.

Thanks to an able Bollandist, supplementing the Bollandist editors of 240 years ago, the tale of the Hungarian at last sees the light also. It only remains to say that there are distinct confirmatory evidences of the remarkable visit of which the notary heard, saw, and noted so much. In particular, there is a contemporary letter by Antonio Mannini, who was a companion of the Hungarian in the adventurous journey, which had difficulties and dangers enough without reckoning the terrible subterranean experiences which were for both men at once the object and the climax of the pilgrimage.

FRENCHMEN and Germans alike are devoting much study to the examination of literary influences as attested by direct indebtedness of great authors to the work of previous writers. In the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* M. Ant. Uhler traces many proofs of the great effect of Montaigne on a profound spirit so different from his as that of Pascal. M. Eugène Rigal sets himself in a spirit of debate to answer an author who affirmed that of all the romantic poets who drew upon Byron 'Hugo is the one who owes him the least.' Perhaps M. Rigal's strongest instance to the contrary is in the fact that

*Indebtedness
to literary
predecessors.*

on so French a subject as Napoleon the French poet took conceptions and phrases from Byron. M. Virgile Pinot next establishes that Voltaire's *Orphelin de la Chine* drew part of its plot from Mrs. Aphra Behn's novel *Oroonoko*—the story, first published in 1698, of the lovelorn and magnanimous negro whose 'very little religion' but 'admirable morals' Prof. Walter Raleigh has described as in the spirit of Rousseau long before Rousseau. But for Scottish interest we must turn to Professor Kastner's article in the *Modern Language Review* for October last on the Scottish Sonneteers and their borrowings from the French and Italian poets. Drummond of Hawthornden, Alexander of Menstrie and Montgomerie, are the sonneteers whose sources are disclosed or commented upon in Prof. Kastner's valuable dissertation. Drummond has been already shown to be in direct debt to Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, and Marino. Further parallels add Sannazaro (whom Bembo ranked 'nearest to Maro') and Tebaldeo to the list among the Italians. Among the French Prof. Kastner deals principally with Desportes, to whom he tracks Drummond's sonnets, ix, xiii, xx, xxiv, xxxii, xxxvi, of part first, and ix and x of part second, as well as at least six of the sonnets of *The Flowers of Sion*. Many citations of passages of some length side by side convince the reader that Drummond conveyed much from his models, practising the while the same art of concealing his art of translation and adaptation, as that of so many Elizabethan Englishmen. Drummond is not often a thrilling poet, but he seldom attains the frigid if pious flatness of Alexander, some of whose hidden springs are uncovered by Prof. Kastner. Citations again convince that he imitated and adapted Joachim du Bellay, Ronsard, and Desportes. Soundly critical, Prof. Kastner's view of the relations of these poets to Italian sentiment and Petrarchan conceit compels acceptance of his conclusion that their methods betray a want of inward touch and that the estimate of their poetic talent tends to decline. Yet the loss is little and there is material gain in the proofs, bringing home to us what French critics call the return to Italianism, which—a characteristic first of the French poets and afterwards of the Englishmen—was to display itself also in Scotland alike in political philosophy and in literature.