

## Reviews of Books

A MILITARY HISTORY OF PERTSHIRE. Edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine. 2 vols. 1660-1902, pp. xxiii, 634; 1899-1902, pp. xxi, 316. With Portraits, Illustrations, and Maps. Cr. 4to. Perth; R. A. and J. Hay. 1908. 31s. 6d. nett.

PERTSHIRE is certainly to be congratulated on the appearance of these two handsome volumes and on the zeal and energy which has been devoted to their compilation by the Editor and her collaborators. They form not only a very complete and adequate memorial of the services of Perthshire men and Perthshire regiments since 1660, but they include some contributions of considerable interest and value to the historian, notably the work of Mr. Walter Biggar Blaikie on 'Jacobite Perthshire,' and the articles of Ross Herald (Mr. Andrew Ross) on 'The Historic Succession of the Black Watch' and on 'The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' As is inevitable from the lines on which the book has been planned and from the number of persons who have contributed to it, there is in places a certain lack of cohesion, and one cannot pretend that all the articles reach the high standard of those already mentioned, but it would be difficult to suggest any method by which the lack of cohesion could have been avoided. Some of the biographies of lesser known Perthshire soldiers of the past in volume i. will very likely prove of great interest to their descendants and connections, even though the accounts add very little to historical knowledge.

While the first and larger volume goes down to the year 1899 and the outbreak of the South African War, the second is altogether taken up with that struggle, including as it does complete rolls of all Perthshire officers and men who served in it in any branch of the forces of the Crown. There is also an account of the raising and organising of the Scottish Horse, a regiment for which Perthshire, through the Duke of Atholl and the Marquess of Tullibardine, was very largely responsible, and to which it contributed over 160 officers and men. Its services, notably at Bakenlaagte and Moedwil, are adequately commemorated, as are those of the two battalions of the Black Watch, the former of which, the old 42nd, was unlucky in not being sent to South Africa from India till December, 1901, when the infantry regiments had no longer much chance of gaining great distinction, whereas the second battalion, the 73rd, which had formed part of the original Highland Brigade, bore the brunt of the fighting at Magersfontein and Paardeberg, and suffered very heavily. This volume is,

perhaps, of more immediate interest to the county, but from the historical point of view it is hardly to be compared to the first. This starts with sketches of the careers of the numerous regiments which Perthshire has at one time and another contributed to the Regular Army. Of these three now exist, the old 42nd, now the 1st Battalion Black Watch, the old 73rd, originally raised as a second battalion of the 42nd, given an independent existence in 1786, and reunited to the 42nd under the territorial re-organisation of 1881, and lastly the 90th, raised in 1794 by one of Perthshire's finest soldiers, Thomas Graham of Balgowan, afterwards Lord Lynedoch. This regiment, which distinguished itself greatly in Egypt in 1801, and more recently in the Crimea, in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny and in the Zulu War, was for a long time known as the 'Perthshire Volunteers' or 'Perthshire Light Infantry,' but ceased to be connected with the county in 1881, when it was linked with the 26th Cameronians as the 'Scottish Rifles.' Of the deeds of all these three good summaries are given, but the authors have not had space enough to add anything appreciable to our knowledge, though it may perhaps be mentioned that the Duke of Wellington began his military career in the 73rd, and his first uniform would therefore have been the kilt. But in addition to Mr. Allan M'Aulay's article on the 42nd there is an important paper by Ross Herald (Mr. Andrew Ross) on 'The Historic Succession of the Black Watch'; in this it is shown that independent companies of Highlanders similar to those raised in 1725 and formed into a regiment in 1739 had been in existence as early as 1667, while the name 'Black Watch' seems to have been applied to them in 1677 (p. 33). But though Ross Herald is able to prove 'the almost continuous succession of a Watch in the Highlands from 1667,' there was more than one breach of continuity in the succession, and one can hardly regard the present 1st Black Watch as entitled to claim precedence from 1667. Still the paper is the fruit of great research, and throws no little light on the circumstances under which the oldest existing Highland regiment came into being.

Of great interest also are the contributions dealing with 'The Reserve Forces of Perthshire,' especially Ross Herald's full and excellent account of the Perthshire Militia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that is to say of the organisation of the 'fencible men' or 'fencibles,' who are rather to be regarded as predecessors of the Militia than of the so-called 'Fencible' regiments, which were raised in such large numbers between 1793 and 1797. These were really Regulars in all but name and the limitation to Great Britain of the area in which they were liable to serve; they were raised by voluntary enlistment, and may perhaps be compared to the 'Territorial Army' of to-day rather than to the Militia, for no more of them were raised after the passing of the Act of 1797 (37 Geo. III.) authorising the formation of a Scots Militia. Such a force had existed before the Union, an Act of September, 1663, authorising the formation of an organised and disciplined Militia, selected out of the 'fencible men,' who from the earliest days had comprised 'all men that hath landis or guidis.' These are described as 'fensable personis' in 1528, and subsequently the term 'fencibles' was usually applied to all levies of a character

corresponding to the 'train-bands' of England. Perthshire Militia, embodied and organised under the Act of 1663, had done good service in suppressing disorders and rebellions in 1678 and 1679, but from the Union to 1797 Scotland was without any Militia, though between 1715 and 1757 one finds commissions of Lieutenancy issued to leading nobles authorising them to command and supervise 'the Fencible men or Militia.' A Scots Militia Bill was vetoed by Queen Anne in 1707; another, though introduced by Harley's Government in 1714, was rejected by the efforts of Lockhart of Carnwath, while Bills to authorise the creation of such a force were ineffectually introduced in 1760, in 1776 and 1782. Incidentally it may be mentioned in connection with the Bill of 1760 that Lord Barrington, who over this question voted against the Government of which he was a member, was only Secretary *at War*; there was no such office as Secretary of State for War before 1794. Before leaving the Militia one may perhaps notice the really considerable success of Castlereagh's Act of 1808 for the creation of a Local Militia (cf. pp. 229-230), a far more satisfactory force than the Volunteers whom they superseded.

We have already referred to Mr. Blaikie's articles on 'Jacobite Perthshire,' among which special mention must be made of his memoir of Lord George Murray, one who as a leader of Highlanders ranks with Montrose himself, but Lady Tullibardine's own contributions on Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir must not be overlooked. She differs from Professor Sanford Terry as to the exact site of the former battle (p. 270) and she seems to have proved her case. The rout of the Scots Brigade is partly ascribed to their having been mainly composed of recruits (p. 263), but Hastings' English regiment can hardly be regarded as much more than new troops, for though they had been in existence more than three years they were undergoing their 'baptism of fire.' It may be mentioned that Lady Tullibardine adopts the spelling 'Dundie' as being that of Claverhouse's patent of nobility. The rest of the volume, about a third in all, is devoted to short biographies of 'Perthshire's Men of Action,' among whom Lord Lynedoch, Sir Hope Grant, Sir David Baird, are perhaps the most notable soldiers, while the navy is well represented by Duncan and Lord Dundonald. These sketches are in some way the least satisfactory part of the book, being necessarily rather too short to afford their contributors much scope when the subject is a man of much note, while it is only in rare instances, as for example General John Reid, the composer of the music of 'The Garb of Old Gaul,' that the lesser known persons have any general interest. But at the same time it is evident that care has been taken to avoid overlapping among these biographies, and one does not have, shall we say, the story of the 42nd at Quatre Bras, repeated in the notices of all the different officers who fought there.

C. T. ATKINSON.

FYNES MORYSON'S TRAVELS: AN ITINERARY CONTAINING HIS TEN YEERES TRAVELL THROUGH THE TWELVE DOMINIONS OF GERMANY, BOHMERLAND, SWEITZERLAND, NETHERLAND, DENMARKE, POLAND, ITALY, TURKY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. WRITTEN BY FYNES MORYSON, GENT. 4 vols. Containing facsimile reproductions of all the engravings in the original edition of 1617. With full index. Pp. Vol. I. xxv, 468. Vol. II. vii, 466. Vol. III. xii, 499. Vol. IV. ix, 521. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1907-08. £2 10s. nett.

OF the many Elizabethan amateurs of travel there are few more entertaining than Fynes Moryson, Gent. He had better luck than some of them in gaining first-hand and varied experience, and he had more than their share of the wisdom of the philosopher in turning his experience to account. Excellent gossip though he is of doings in every corner of sixteenth century Europe, he is at his best in what may be called the theory of travel, which he glances at in odd places throughout his work, and treats of at length in an interpolated discourse 'Of Travelling in General.' We have no hint of the book's quality from its plain title, nothing of the comprehensive promise which finds readers for Hakluyt and *Hakluytus Posthumus*, or of the quaint style which allures us to Coryat. Yet Moryson takes his place honourably with these better known adventurers, and deserves the handsome treatment which he has received in the present edition. Had the book been no more than the record of an Elizabethan 'who knew manie mens maners, and saw many citties,' it would have had a strong claim on the ever-increasing band of Shakespearian students. And historical students, too, were Moryson's exhaustive account of Tyrone's Rebellion to be taken on its own merits, would find a score of reasons for Messrs. MacLehose's reprint. These historical merits we shall not attempt to discuss, especially in these professional pages: nor may we approach the antiquarian mysteries of tulbents, bonegraces, and orkees. To some, whose interest is more literary, the pleasure of the book will be beyond these things—in its pervading Elizabethan sentiment, in its echoes of phrase, in its allusions, and, not rarely, in its style. It is difficult, even for an Elizabethan, to escape the manner of his age, and almost as difficult for him to lack literary competence in the dull task of an 'Itinerary.'

Moryson was a true eclectic, not a mere restless person. 'For my part,' he says, 'I thinke variety to be the most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplative alone, nor active altogether, but mixed of both. . . . They seeme to me most unhappy, and no better then Prisoners, who, from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares. . . . Let us imitate the Storkes, Swallowes, and Cranes, which like the Nomades yeerely fetch their circuits, and follow the Sunne, without suffering any distemper of the seasons. The fixed Starres have not

such power over inferiour bodies, as the wandering Planets. . . . Men were created to move, as birds to flie; what they learne by nature, that reason joined to nature teacheth us. . . . We are Citizens of the whole World, yea, not of this World, but of that to come: All our Life is a Pilgrimage. God for his onely begotten Sonnes sake (the true Mercury of Travellers) bring us that are here strangers safely into our true Countrey!' He tells us that the spirit of travel was born in him. 'From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie (which I had in Cambridge in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well as by the eies.' In his story of his love of moving and learning he helps us to find the true purpose of Elizabethan travel, and he gives point to the oft-misunderstood attacks of his day on the 'oversea' and 'Italianate' gentry, who anticipate the mawkish sentiment which delighted the youth of the Grand Tour. Let the traveller 'constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne.' The right traveller is not talkative on his return; it is he 'who has scarce seene the Lyons of the Tower and the Beares of Parish-Garden' who engrosses all the table-talk, and speaks as if he 'had passed the pillars of Hercules.' And it is the false traveller who comes back a 'transformed and awry' creature, as Ascham and all the good haters of Tuscanism have told us, and as Lord Oxford knew to his cost.

Moryson's asides, too, regarding the publication of his story are characteristic. We see him at work, during a long retreat with his sisters Jane and Faith in Lincolnshire, putting 'into some order out of confused and torne writings the particular observations of [his] former Travels, to bee after more deliberately digested at leasure.' Later, when the work was done (1617), he 'found the bulke thereof to swel,' and chose to suppress rather than to 'make his gate bigger than his Citie.' The full experience, the leisurely digest of hard facts—for he confesses 'giving (like a free and unhired workman) much time to pleasure'—and his care for the form, sort well with his repeated protests against mere vagabondage in sightseeing and bookmaking.

Much of the allusive felicity of Moryson's style, especially in the 'Discourse,' is probably to be explained by the fact that like so many of his contemporaries he was a University man; a fact, too, which gives superior authority to his anticipation of the late Mr. Rhodes's views of donnish incapacity. 'Neither are the wise observers of humane Pilgrimage ignorant, that grave University men, and (as they say) sharpe sighted in the Schooles, are often reputed idiots in the practice of worldly affaires; as on the contrary blockish men, and (to speake with the Italians) very Asses, by continuall practice in grave employments, gaine the wisdome of them whose affaires they manage.' Perhaps Moryson, who was a fellow of Peterhouse, made a reservation in favour of himself and his fellow-collegians. For with all his interest in Plato

and the Italians, he is always shrewd and practical, more 'canny' indeed than his Scottish contemporary Lithgow.

The echoes of Elizabethan thought and turn of style are persistent throughout. Indeed, were this reprint to be edited in the familiar way, the best commentary would be found in extensive quotation from contemporary writings. The Discourse, in its plan, its pros and cons, its marshalling of evidence, follows the traditional pattern of the *Defences* and *Apologies*, so closely that we begin to see why poetry and travel and all things appeared good to these men, and for one great reason. The reflections on dissimulation have their parallel in Bacon's better-known Essays. The 'affectate Traveller' stands in Moryson's pillory exactly as we see him in Overbury's. Allusions familiar in Sidney, Lyly, Harington, and others strike the reader continuously. Queen Bess, Alexander, Hercules, Plato, Amadis, the monks, London, Irish spiders, receive their literary due. 'Life,' he says, 'is compared to a stage, and our Parents and Kinsmen expecting our Proofoe, to the beholders.' In Moryson's two letters in Italian (which the author duplicates in English) we are on familiar ground, not very far from the forced pleasantries of Gabriel Harvey and his friends. All these things are interesting, inasmuch as they are 'atmosphere' rather than conscious copying. Plagiarism, as we understand the term, was not an Elizabethan vice, and Moryson did no more than his neighbours in making free of the common stock. We do not require to read far in his pages to feel that like these neighbours he preserves his individuality, and gives freshness even to travellers' statistics. 'The Italian women,' he writes, 'are said to bee sharpe witted, the Spanish blunt (I should hardly thinke it), the French simple (I should rather say most crafty, as most women are every where), the Germanes good mothers of family (yea exceeding good).' And again, 'the old English Hospitality was (I will boldly say) a meere vice, as I have formerly shewed in the discourse of the Italian diet, which let him reade, who shall thinke this as dissonant from truth as it is from the vulgar opinion.' In narrative and descriptive passages, no less than in criticism, his directness is refreshing. Among the best are his story of his embarrassments on his return from France to his sister's house (i. 422-3); his adventure with highwaymen on the French frontier near Metz (*ib.* 399), perhaps as good as anything in Nash's picaresque tale; and his meeting with Beza (*ib.* 390). There are others quite as entertaining scattered throughout his steady record of tavern bills, journeyings, and sightseeing.

The *Itinerary* was written in Latin and translated by the author. The Latin text does not appear to have been printed, and the English has till now been accessible only in John Beale's folio of 1617. Some chapters, extant in MS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were intended as a supplement to the third part. Selections from these have been printed by Mr. Charles Hughes in his *Shakespeare's Europe* (1903). It is to be hoped that the publishers will receive sufficient encouragement in their present venture to add the Corpus text *in extenso*. We

know Moryson's description of the English actors in Germany and his account of the contemporary intrigue of Francesco de' Medici and Bianca Capello, which Middleton made use of in his *Women beware Women*; but there must be many other scraps of considerable value.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

THE KING OVER THE WATER. By A. Shield and Andrew Lang. Pp. xiii, 499. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 15s. nett.

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD, THE OLD CHEVALIER. By Martin Haile. Pp. xii, 479. 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1907. 16s. nett.

THE 'Old Pretender' has long awaited his biographer, and now a kind fate has sent him more than one. To most of the readers of these books James Stuart is best known as the Prince in 'Esmond,' who cared more for three honours than for three kingdoms, the Prince whom the nation 'loved and pitied,' and who was unequal to his fortune. Mr. Lang is probably right in his suggestion that the origin of Thackeray's conception of James III. is a confusion with the young king in 'Woodstock.' One Stuart Prince must be like another, and the nephew of Charles II. and the father of Charles Edward must have been the lover of Beatrix. There are popular delusions which will survive any refutation, but we hope that the publication of the books before us may do something to secure for the most unfortunate of Stuart Princes a juster estimate. He was doubtless the son of James II., but he was also the son of Mary of Modena, than whom no better or purer woman ever sat on the throne of this realm. He knew his father only in the closing years, when repentance, if not more real than of old, was, at all events, constant; and it was not the lover of Catherine Sedley or of Annabella Churchill whom the boy recollected, but the dying man who whispered: 'No one can lose too much for God.' James was just thirteen when he received his father's last command never to separate himself from the Catholic Church; the strongest influence in his life was that of his mother; and environment and religion combined to resist whatever unlawful passion had come to him from Stuart and Bourbon. There had always been this strain of religious feeling in his family; we find it in the Bruce, in James IV., in Queen Mary, in Charles I., and in his own half-sister, Mary of Orange. To none of these did it become the habit of mind which made James III. the almost unique instance of a respectable monarch in exile: but none of them held the view of Charles II. that God would not damn a man for a little illicit pleasure. We lay stress on this because the most serious difficulty in the way of a juster appreciation of James is simply the fact that he was a Stuart, and must therefore have been a sinner like his father and uncle, a gambler like his sister Anne, and a drunkard like another of his family. Miss Shield and Mr. Lang, in one of these books, and Mr. Haile in the other, ought to dispose of this legend once and for all.

Mr. Haile is unfortunate in the comparison which his book inevitably challenges. He has written a careful and accurate biography; he is thoroughly interested in his subject, and he is a whole-hearted admirer of his hero. But Miss Shield has been successful in obtaining the collaboration of Mr. Andrew Lang, and her book has gained from his unequalled knowledge of the politics of the exiled Court, and of its relations with European Powers. Almost every page contains evidence of this familiarity with the setting of the subject, and in this, as in width of view, in calmness of judgment, and in literary execution, 'The King Over the Water' has claims to greatness which Mr. Haile's useful work does not possess. Mr. Lang explains that the book has been written by Miss Shield and that his own part has been that of supervision and condensation, and it is a pleasure to say how admirably Miss Shield has performed her task. The book is based on a most careful study of the numerous authorities, to which ample reference is made; it is well-arranged and well-proportioned, and it brings out many points of interest, and will be an invaluable guide to the student of the period; and not only to lovers of the House of Stuart, to whom Mr. Haile chiefly appeals.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF FRANCE AND ITALY. By Professor John Rhys, Fellow of the Academy. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. ii. Pp. 101. Imp. 8vo. London: Oxford University Press. 1907. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a brilliant attempt to bring light into an obscure province where the materials to be dealt with are relatively meagre and difficult of treatment. Sir John Rhys is as versatile as ever, and it is a pleasure to find such subjects dealt with so attractively and with such skill. We congratulate Lady Rhys and himself upon the care taken to secure correct readings, and, where this is so hard, upon the fertile suggestiveness of treatment of possible readings. He has made the subject so much his own that every one interested in the problems of ethnology must consult with him. Thirty-five inscriptions, 'concerning which there has been no serious controversy as to their celticity' (p. 78), are dealt with, as well as others which have been contested by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Sir John regards the latter as in the language of the Coligny Calendar and of the Rom Defixiones. This means that the language he terms Celtican once extended across the Alps far down into North Italy, and 'seems to have covered the area which, *par excellence*, belonged to the ancient Ligurians' (p. 81). In a postscript where he notes M. Camille Jullian's saying: *Reste à savoir si nous dirons CELTE ou LIGURE*, he concludes that it was the Ligurians of a later age, but still pagan, who set up those inscriptions. . . . 'What I have called Celtican was practically one and the same language as that which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville calls Ligurian. In fact, I may say that ever since that distinguished scholar wrote to show that Ligurian must have been an Aryan tongue, I have had the idea



present to my mind that this was the continental idiom akin to Goidelic, as Gaulish was to Brythonic. So to me it becomes more and more a question of names, whether it is to be called Celtic or Ligurian . . . : whatever you call the language of those documents the key to it has proved to be Goidelic. Some of my critics would say not Goidelic but Brythonic: even so the key remains Celtic' (p. 100). The *Revue Celtique* for January, 1906, points out that *p* was not in early Oghams and, in contrast to Rhys's view in *Celtae and Galli*, the critic takes the Coligny Calendar to be Ligurian. One could wish that Sir John had entered further into the problem of the Ligurians, whose national hero Ligys is brought into connection with Heracles (Strabo, 4, p. 183). Some indefinite information preserved by Avienus may reflect historic movements of races. If Ligys be connected with the river name Liger (Loire) in northern Gaul the following in Avienus would be clearer :

Si quis dehinc  
Ab insulis Oestrymniciis lembum audeat  
Urgere in undas, axe qua Lycaonis  
Rigescit aethra, cespitem Ligurum subit  
Cassum incolarum, namque Celtarum manu  
Crebrisque dudum praeliis  
Ligures . . . pulsi, ut saepe fors aliquos agit,  
Venere, quae per horrentis tenent  
Plerumque dumos.

What of *Lloegr*, the Cymric name for England as far north as the Humber? One asks whether the Ligurians were not the first of the Indo-Europeans to come to these islands.

In his discussion of the Todi inscription, now in the Gregorian Museum of Etruscan antiquities in the Vatican, he is inclined to read *Goisis* from the Etruscan letters KOISIS and to equate *goisi* with the *gōi* of *Góidel*, *Gáedel*, *Gaoidheal* 'a Gael,' Welsh *Gwyddel* 'an Irishman,' and to assume that we have here to do with a form from the same origin as Gaulish *gaiso-n*, *gaiso-s*, Vergil's *gaesum* 'a spear,' Irish *gáe* 'spear,' *gáide* 'armed with the spear'; *pílatas*, a regularly reduced form of *Gāisid-íe-s* or *Gōisid-íe-s* but with a different affix *-ēlo* yielding *Gāisid-elo-s* or *Gōisid-elo-s* whence *Góidel*, *Gáidel* (now *Gaidheal*, 'Gael') with meaning probably parallel to that of *gáide* 'one who is armed with the spear, a spearman, a *gaesatus*.' This is the most likely explanation of the origin of the name Gael.

There are equally acute suggestions throughout the discussion, e.g. *obal* is equated with Irish *ubhall* 'an apple,' but he adds 'this yields no satisfactory meaning unless we assume that besides the sense of "apple" the word had that of "offspring or child, καρπὸς τῆς ὀσφύος (Acts ii. 30)." That we may do so becomes a certainty when the fact is recalled that POMMIO, a word of the same origin, doubtless, as the Latin *pomum* "apple," occurs in the sense of "offspring or son" in one of the Rom Defixiones' (p. 101). This is paralleled by the Gaelic use

## 468 Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy

of ūbhlan 'apples' for 'dear ones, beloved' in a Gaelic poem, where a widow laments her husband, MacGregor, who was slain by the lady's father and brother :

tha mi nis gun ūbhlan agam  
ged tha ūbhlan uile aig cāch ;  
is ann tha m'ūbhlan-s' cūbhraidh clannach  
agus cūl an cinn ri lār.

The Briona inscription now in the Cathedral of Novara, North Italy, seems to show two endings in the nominative plural, *oi* and *ī*: 'the latter is the one that won the day in Latin and Celtic, while in Greek *oi* held its ground as in ἀδελφοί, χρόνοι; and just as in Latin one finds cited only *pilumnœ poplœ* (for the usual *populī*) so in Celtic these two instances *asoioi* and *Dannotalicnoi* seem to stand alone: no other certain example seems to be on record. There must, however, have been a period of transition when both *-oi* and *-i* were in use side by side, and to that period the Briona inscription would seem to belong. I cannot help adding that this pair of instances of the plural in *-oi* marks this inscription as an early one: it is possibly the earliest Celtic on record' (p. 65).

Avowedly, the meagreness of materials makes research here very difficult, and one cannot be too cautious. Yet we may ask whether the only alternative be Celtic or Ligurian? Why not Celtic and Ligurian? It has never yet been proved that the Ligurian language was not of the Indo-European group. This has been enforced very clearly by Paul Kretschmer, an acknowledged authority, in a masterly discussion 'On the inscriptions of Ornavasso and the Ligurian language,' in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* for 1905. The first point to consider is whether Ligurian be Indo-European, thereafter to ask one's self what is the relation of Ligurian to Celtic. Certain resemblances between both do not prove unity of speech. So far as I recollect there is no reference to interpreters between the Celts and the Ligurians; nor do we read of interpreters between the Latin speakers and the Ligurians. Perhaps the bilingualism of the Ligurian borders might account for this, and classical writers found no necessity to draw attention to the matter which, however, was even to them obscure. Despite all that has been said, the testimony of Strabo has not been overthrown, and he expressly states that the Celts were a different nation from the Ligurians as well as from the Iberians: ἔθνη δὲ κατέχει πολλά το ὄρος τοῦτο [the Alps] Κελτικὰ πλὴν τῶν Διγύων οὗτοι δ' ἑτεροεθνεῖς μὲν εἰσι, παραπλήσιοι δὲ τοῖς βίοις.

The most reasonable view is that the Ligurians were by language Indo-Europeans, who in time became much mixed with the aboriginals of the Mediterranean basin, just as in later ages the Celts of Gaul and the bordering Alpine regions became mingled with the Ligurians and gave rise to the mixed breed the Κελτολίγυες, the Celticised Ligurians. The mingling of races and the darkness attendant upon

national origins help to account for the uncertainty of the ancients, as expressed by Cato and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, regarding the Ligurians.

However much may be in common between Celtic dialects and Ligurian it is not allowable to identify them until we have accounted for real differences, such as the Ligurian genitive in *-ui*, *-oi*, as against the Celtic genitive in *-i* in *o*-stems found in the Coligny Calendar as in Ogam inscriptions. This holds unless there be some other explanation of Pauli's observation that in Ligurian the genitive singular of *o*-stems is in *-ui*, older *-oi*. What are we to say of lexical differences such as, seemingly, *pe* 'and' cognate with Latin *que*, Oscan, Umbrian, *-p*, in *neip*, Greek *τε*, Phrygian *ke*, Sanskrit *ca* (Kretschmer), but lacking in Celtic, save perhaps in Irish *na-ch* 'not'; also *pala* 'grave, tomb' as against the Gaulish *logan*, Irish *lige*? The Ligurian has the suffix *-asc-*, *-esc-*, *-usc-*, *-osc-* as against *-isc-* in most of the other branches of the Indo-European family. Borrowing from aboriginal or other races, and dialectal variation may account for much: either of these for the preservation of final *-m* in *vinom Nâsom* of the vase from Ornavasso as against the usual *-n* final in Celtic: Gaulish *νεμητρον*, 'sanctuary,' O. Irish *nemed n-*, which meets us still in the name *Roseneath* (Ros-ne'ich, Ros-neo'ich, the promontory of the sanctuary); *cantalon*; *celicnon*; *inquimon*, *cantaran* of the Coligny Calendar. Doubtless there was some considerable dialectal variation on this point as inscriptions in Gaul would indicate: *usellom* (*useilom*) on the bilingual altar-inscription of Notre-Dame; *πovέμ* 'a plant-name': L. *ponem*; \**brivatiom*, perhaps for *brivation*, as Thurneysen suggests, before the *Frontu* following it.

Ligurian place-names are surprisingly like Celtic forms; Kretschmer adduces from Veleja such as *fundus Bivelius*, *Roudelius*, *Eburelia*, *saltus Eborelia*, *pago Eboreo*, *fundus Bittelus*, *Nitielius*, (vicus) *Nitelius*. Latin lips are responsible for the endings in *-ius*, *-ia* after the *-l* suffix which meets us in undebased Ligurian, as in *Precele*, *Bittelus*, *Debelos*, *Solicelos*. It is clear that in *Bivelius* we have the same root-form we have to postulate for Celtic, \**bivos*, = Irish *biu*, Cymric *byw* 'living,' Gaelic *beō*, Oscan *bivus*, Latin *vīvos*, Sanskrit *jīvās*. With *Roudelius* one must equate Gaelic *ruadh* 'red,' O. Irish *ruad* in *Anderoudus*, *Roudius*, the place-name *Roudium*. With *Nitielius* one must equate the first element in *Nitiobroges*, *Nitiogenna* of the Gaulish speech: Irish *nith* battle, strife, Gothic *neip*, O.H. German *nīd*. The Ligurian *Albium*, and such varying forms as *Albinum*, *Albici*, *Ἀλβειῖς*, *Ἀλβίουκοι* in Strabo, is to be regarded as cognate in root with Celtic words such as *Albion*, *Albioderum*, *Albiorix*, *Albiorica*. *Balista*, the name of a mountain in Ligurian territory, is a superlative form from the Indo-European \**bhal* 'shining,' whence Sanskrit *bhālam* 'glance,' Lithuanian *bālū* 'to become white,' Greek *φάλιος*; whence also Gaelic *bealltuinn* 'Beltane,' allied in root to *bale* in English *bale-fire*. Not to be missed is *Comberanea*, the name of a stream by Genoa given, and rightly, by Kretschmer as equal to the Celtic \**kom-bero* bringing together, hence

'confluence' met with in Scottish place-names as *Comar*, Cymric *cymmer* 'confluvium,' Bretonnic *kemper* 'confluent.'

Nor should we forget among tribal movements the influence of early commerce. Herodotus tells us that the name Sigynnae was applied to 'pedlars' by the Ligurians inland of Marseilles, and by the people of Cyprus to some peculiar make of spear. It is only in relatively late and semi-historic ages that the merchant or pedlar class can be looked for, and it is not strange that there is no common Indo-European name for them as a class. The *specialty* of a tribe might be named after them in some places, and thus from spears and weapons; or the pedlar-class might be designated as *the* pedlars after *the* tribe with whom the Ligurians had dealings. I believe these were the Sequani. This has recently been made as probable as the historical notices can admit of in a brilliant essay by Mr. Myers.<sup>1</sup> Whither were these pedlars going and what were they going to sell? The gist of Mr. Myers' well-reasoned answer is that the Ligurians above Marseilles gave to the men who worked the transport-trade across their country a name which for Herodotus is that of a Danubian people. 'This transport-trade from the Danubian region into the Rhone basin was clearly in a westerly direction; and out to the west, for Herodotus and his contemporaries, lie only the Kelts, the Kynesii (whom Herodotus makes the most westerly of all) and the Iberian population of Spain. Here again we can prove nothing directly; but it does not need a great stretch of imagination to see Sequanian caravans moving from the Jura to the Pyrenees with their merchandise of wrought iron and sheaves of long-bladed *gaesa*.' The Sequani were near the region which produced the iron of the Jura forges which had an intimate connection with the iron-using culture of La Tène and similar sites in Western Switzerland, and these in their turn with early Carinthian and Styrian iron-workings. The culture of Hallstatt is to be attributed to them also.

The river-name *Sequana* (the Seine) M. D'Arbois regards as Ligurian, and when in 1897 the Coligny Calendar was discovered near enough to the territory of the Sequani it was ascribed to the Ligurians by de Ricci on account of the forms *Equos* and (*in*)*quimon*, inasmuch as the Ligurian *Quariates* or *Quadiates* showed the possession of Q for the P of Gaulish. Thurneysen pointed out the genitives in *-i*, undoubtedly Celtic, *Equi*, *Cantli*; *i* in mid(x) 'month' for *ē*: also the preposition *ate*, and he pronounced the inscription Gaulish, *qu* was similarly preserved in Gadelic and then delabialised to *ç*, but he thought it possible likewise that *qu* in initial position in this Gaulish dialect had become *p* as in *prin(n)i*, *petiux* of the Coligny Calendar. If the words *Quiamelius*, *Quariates* be truly Ligurian they may be referred, as Kretschmer points out, to Indo-European velar or palatal *k+v* to account for initial *Qu*: cf. Gr. *ἐπομαι* where *π* is from *\*q<sup>u</sup>* but Gr. *λάκκος*, *γλύκκα*, *πέλεκκον* where *κκ* from *κF* goes back on Indo-

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropological Essays*, presented to E. B. Tylor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907, p. 271.

proto-Celtic \**qalō* 'grave,' perfect \**qeqala* to be inferred from Irish European *kū*. The Ligurian *pe*, *pala*, could go back on Indo-European labio-velar *q<sup>u</sup>*. Kretschmer explains *pala* 'grave' as cognate with a *cechlatar* 'foderunt,' *to-chlaim* 'I dig,' Cymric *palu* 'fodere,' Cornish *pal* 'spade.' It is scarcely probable that all the words which have come down to us with an Indo-European stamp, in these inscriptions, as also in place and personal names, are due to Celticised Ligurians, the *Κελτολίγυες*. Even then they belong to an independent Indo-European speech which Rhys considers to be the Continental idiom akin to Goidelic, as Gaulish to Brythonic. To the Ligurians D'Arbois assigns as their earliest home the whole of Gaul to the Rhine, and in historic times a territory stretching from the Cevennes in the west to the plains of the Po, and from the sources of the Rhine and the Rhone in the north to the Arno in the south. The Celts of the P-group or Gauls would have dwelt on the Danube, in Bohemia, in South or West Germany. Though the earliest movements are pre-historic there were attempts on the part of Celts to reach the Mediterranean long ere the march to Delphi or the sack of Rome. The Adriatic *VENeti*, the Breton *Veneti*, the 'Eneti whom Homer describes as in Paphlagonia in N.-W. Asia Minor, seem scattered fragments of an earlier Venetia, the root of which word meets us in Gadelic *fine* 'tribe,' Old Breton *coguenou* 'indigena,' Welsh *Gwynedd* the name for North Wales or Venedotia, and cognate with Norse *vinr* 'friend.'

Similar scattered fragments of Indo-Europeans may have escaped the notice of early writers; possibly among such were the Ambrones who, according to Plutarch's *Marius*, though from beyond Helvetia, understood the Ligurian speech at least so far as their common ethnic name used as a war-cry, the name being formed on parallel lines from a common parent speech; Contzen,—and he thought that one must either hold to a Ligurian branch of the Ambrones or else that the Ligurians of the Province were Celto-Ligurians whom Marius had in his army—notes that Diefenbach came to no results as to the Ligurian speech, but inclined on the whole to the hypothesis that the Ligurians were Gadeli. The riddle of their speech, if not their history where records do not exist, is solved as well, possibly, as it can be by Sir John Rhys, whose work will help all investigators of the tribes around and eastwards of the Rhone:

Rhodani alveo  
Ibera tellus atque Ligures asperi  
Intersecantur.

It is a region attractive already through the riches of the literature of Provence; here in the inscriptions is an additional stimulus to scholars, Classical as well as Celtic, and one which widens the survey of history.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

A LIFE OF GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY. I. SCOTLAND, 1643-1674. By T. E. S. Clarke, B.D. II. ENGLAND, 1675-1715. With Bibliographical Appendixes, by H. C. Foxcroft. With an Introduction, by C. H. Firth, M.A. Pp. xlvi, 586. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1907. 15s. nett.

THIS volume originated with Miss Foxcroft, and the largest part is from her pen, including valuable and laboriously compiled appendixes of Burnet's published works and extant letters. Mr. Clarke's share, chapters i.-iv., is explained in the Preface: he already contemplated a Life of his predecessor in Saltoun, when Miss Foxcroft's inquiries led to 'a division of the subject,' since 'it seemed better to produce one complete, than two imperfect biographies.' Professor Firth's Introduction deals with Burnet as a historian.

Mr. Clarke tells the story of Burnet's formative years with care and thoroughness. His chapters are well conceived; and their solid march is saved from dulness by real, if controlled, affection for a former incumbent of Saltoun. The various influences of home and friends and early travels are examined and stated with a right sense for proportion; and the chapters on Saltoun and Glasgow are good examples of how local activities can be made to illustrate the larger history of the nation. Burnet, as the main theme, is never lost sight of, however much temptation offers to digress on larger topics; and Mr. Clarke gives us a definite conception and picture of the man.

Miss Foxcroft is already a recognised authority on Burnet. Her edition of a *Supplement to the History of my own Times* and other researches have made a new life desirable, and have enabled its composition with a fulness and critical exactness not likely to be surpassed for some time. On the score of information, none could be more fitted than Miss Foxcroft to write the Life of Burnet; and she has fittingly undertaken in this volume the much more crowded and complex part of his career. The result is an exhaustive and most matterful treatment, in six lengthy chapters, of the various activities of the man in England, as churchman and controversialist, as politician and historian. Miss Foxcroft's weakness is of style and arrangement rather than of substance. Her manner, though nervous and spirited, is not always adequate to her purpose; and her wish that where possible Burnet's own language should be employed, and employed so often and at such length as it is, deprives the chronological plan of her chapters of some force. Even though it is true that 'his *literary* work reflects the characteristics of the man,' more of Miss Foxcroft would really have given us more of Burnet, as occasional paragraphs and pages of the Life will, I think, convince the reader. Perhaps that 'the work was originally planned on a somewhat larger scale' and compressed with difficulty may account for this comparative weakness of structure. Compression, however, has not injured a main thesis of both authors, that 'the religious and theological aspect of Burnet's career' is the most essential and important. Readers of the *History of my own Times* are apt to overlook this fact

or to minimise its importance; and nothing short of Miss Foxcroft's intimate and large acquaintance with Burnet's multitudinous writings could have righted the balance so exactly and for all time.

Professor Firth's Introduction should be read by all students of Burnet and of historical method; it has all the solidity and packed information characteristic of his work. Incidental passages have the interest of throwing light on his own conception of history and of the historian's office. But his main concern is to estimate Burnet and relate him to the progress and development of ideas regarding history; and this is done with a precision and air of finality impossible to any save so close a student of Burnet's century. One instructive passage might perhaps have been added from Burnet's *Reflections on Varillas*: 'A historian that favours his own side is to be forgiven though he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he sets out the best sides of his party, and the worst of those from whom he differs: . . . this bias is so natural that if it lessens the credit of the writer, yet it does not blacken him, but if he has no regard to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange if others take some pains to expose him to the world.' The latter part of this shows to what extent history was still mere pamphleteering in Burnet's day. It enhances his greatness by suggested contrast, and perhaps helps to explain his limitations.

R. DEWAR.

NOTES ON THE EARLIER HISTORY OF BARTON-ON-HUMBER, by Robert Brown, F.S.A. Vol. I. to end of A.D. 1154, pp. xiv, 133; Vol. II. A.D. 1154-1377, pp. xvi, 238. Crown 4to, with 34 illustrations and maps. London: Elliot Stock. 1906 and 1908. 15s. each nett.

MR. BROWN'S second volume, completing the work, enables an examination to be made of it as a whole. And the advantage of doing so is the more apparent from the strict chronological method observed by the author. This is applied not only to the general history but to the descriptions of the two great features of Barton, its churches of St. Peter and St. Mary. The pre-conquest portion of the former and the foundation of the latter as the chapel of All Saints, ascribed to A.D. 1090, are treated in the first volume, but for their subsequent history and architectural development we must turn to the chapters devoted to Ecclesiastical Progress, under Sections iv. and v. of Vol. II. These churches, separated by a distance of 180 yards only, are as remarkable in their characters as in their proximity to each other. St. Peter's Church is familiar in the pages of Prof. Baldwin Brown's second volume of *The Arts in Early England*, where its erection is ascribed to the period between Edgar, A.D. 950, and the Norman Conquest. 'The building affords a type of early church of a somewhat singular kind, in which the ground story of the square tower forms the nave or body of the oratory, a small chancel being built on to the east of it.' So much of this early structure is still extant that Professor Baldwin Brown has

been enabled to delineate its original appearance; and a reproduction of his plate in the first of Mr. Robert Brown's volumes adds to the value and interest of the accompanying plans and illustrations with which the work is amply furnished.

The possession of such a feature has in itself made this town a place of pilgrimage, and it may well have inspired such a work as Mr. Robert Brown presents in his two volumes. In them every available early record has been collected from original sources. Each is translated and edited with care and scholarship, every name and term having its due note or explanation. These volumes are thus a mine of information respecting technicalities, manorial customs, tenancy and land division as they occur in the quoted documents; whilst the references to field names and local terms are elucidated from the writer's wide knowledge and observation. They exemplify how important a function may be exercised by 'the man on the spot' in dealing with the history of a parish and the advantage possessed by him through his intimate personal connection and knowledge of local detail. It is seen besides, that within so restricted an area and in a survey that embraces its history only as far down as the latter part of the fourteenth century there is nevertheless so large an amount of material available as the industry of the author has accumulated in these pages. Nor need it be added that the light here thrown on the early annals of a provincial township has its correspondence with the course of affairs witnessed in the march of events in the State itself, events often explained and interpreted by local illustrations.

Mr. Brown deprecates the titles of 'History' or 'Monograph' for his work, designating his pages as 'Notes' merely; written 'in a spirit of affectionate regard' for his birthplace. To read his pages, however, is to experience a growing appreciation for the quality of a work described by so modest a title.

The name Barton and the similar name Berwick are alike developments from an original *bere* = barley, with the suffix respectively of *tun* and *uicus*. They are both widely distributed in the island, and of such frequency that one may count no fewer than forty-five Bartons and thirteen Berwicks used as place-names. But in Lincolnshire Barton-on-Humber is the only Barton in the county. This of itself is an interesting survival in an area where the earlier names have largely given place to those adopted after the Danish settlements had been established. These are sufficiently indicated by such test words as terminations in—*by*, and the substitution of *beck* for the Anglian 'burn.' By this criterion the evidence of Danish influence in Lincolnshire and elsewhere may be well judged. It is therefore unfortunate that Mr. Brown should have adduced quite a number of vernacular words as 'specimens of the relics of our Danish past,' almost every one of which, still current in Anglian dialects, is, in fact, of earlier introduction than its cognate Danish equivalent. 'Bartonians at the present time,' we are told, 'are very familiar with such Danish words as *grew* (a greyhound), *intak* or *intake* (land taken from the common field), *keel* (a small goods-carrying vessel), *muck* (dirt, also manure), *mouidiwarp* (a mole), *rave* (tare up, rout out),



*slape* (slippery), *stee* (a ladder), *stunt* (obstinate), *swill* (to throw water on the pavement), *throng* (busy), *toft* (land on which a cottage with common right stands), etc. What has been called 'The Scandinavian craze' could hardly go further.

In references to the introduction of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons it is common to minimise the influence of the North in the conversion of the country. This is apparent in Mr. Brown's allusion to Augustine's arrival in England in A.D. 597, and to the work of St. Chad. But the Venerable Bede, although living under the system then enforced as orthodox, is too veracious a historian to omit the fact that Augustine's Mission resulted in failure; so much so that his successor Mellitus was driven from the country; whilst the East Saxons relapsed to their ancient paganism. It was from Ad Murum and by men hailing from Iona and Northumbria that the faith was rekindled. It was by them, too, that the faith was first carried to Mercia. Missionaries from Gaul returned to reap what the Christians of the North had sown, and to enforce conformity to their orthodox usages. In an encounter with resolute characters of the type of Wilfrid and Theodore the mild spirituality of men who went on foot and walked humbly, like St. Chad, became altogether subordinate.

Not the least valuable portion of the work are Mr. Brown's accounts of Gilbert of Gaunt, first Lord of Barton, and his family, his history of the house of Beaumont and the genealogy of the family of Rudston, of whom the author's maternal line is descended; all showing evidence of long, patient research.

It is not easy to realise in the now quiet streets of Barton and in its inlet from the Humber the stir of a busy port and haven and a commercial seat of keen merchant-adventurers. These, however, added their quota of ships and men to various fleets and expeditions. In 1332 the attempt of John de Balliol upon Scotland is connected with Barton, when the fleet of eighty-eight ships, 'assembling at Barton and Kingston upon Hull, took to sea' and arrived on the seventh day at Kinghorn. 'It is interesting to note that the gallant expedition, which for the moment conquered Scotland, started from Barton and was practically commanded by the Lord of the Manor of Barton' (Henry de Beaumont). At an earlier date (A.D. 1313) certain good men of Barton had petitioned 'by reason of a depredation committed on the sea by the King's Scottish enemies upon their goods and chattels to the amount of £1000 sterling.' Licence was obtained from the King, in consequence, for the equipment 'at their own expense' of two ships, with men capable of bearing arms, to make reprisals.

Once Barton had been a frontier town where the head of a high road from Lincoln and the south terminated on the great estuary of the Humber. There is a sense of finality in its position. Its armadas and its merchant ships no longer count. But if its streets are now reposeful, its historical remains are of unusual interest, and they will continue to attract attention in the pages of this sumptuous and excellent account of its early history.

R. OLIVER HESLOP.

## 476 Mackinnon: History of Modern Liberty

A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY. By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. Vol. III. THE STRUGGLE WITH THE STUARTS (1603-1647). Pp. xviii, 501. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 15s. nett.

THE scope of this ambitious work and the method of treatment adopted by its learned author were fully discussed in the *Scottish Historical Review* (vol. iii. 94) in a notice of the first instalment. Dr. Mackinnon, with remarkable capacity for rapid production, has now published a third volume containing a detailed narrative of the quarrels between the Stuarts and their English and Scottish subjects, from the Union of the Crowns until the surrender of Charles by the Scots to the Parliamentary Commissioners on 26th January, 1647. The same characteristics of unwearied industry, wide reading, and accurate, careful scholarship which characterised the earlier volumes are again conspicuous here. Once more, Dr. Mackinnon shows himself a lover of the concrete rather than of the abstract; more interested in giving his readers an exhaustive compendium of facts than in discriminating between the various conceptions of 'liberty' that are involved. While the results may be disappointing to students of political science who maintain that a history of liberty ought to be primarily a history of ideas rather than of facts, it would be unfair to criticise Dr. Mackinnon's achievement from a standpoint so alien to his own. The present volume is really a general history of England and Scotland during the first half of the seventeenth century. It thus covers only half of the ground comprised in the recently published volumes by Professor Montague and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan respectively, with which it challenges comparison; for each of these works, in treating of the constitutional struggle against Stuart methods of government, is necessarily concerned with the 'History of Liberty.' The present volume, however, has an opening and a final chapter devoted exclusively to political theory. Chapter I. contains an interesting though brief account of 'The Political Significance and Effects of the English Reformation'; Chapter XX. discusses 'Toleration—Church *versus* Sect—Religious and Intellectual Liberty.' It is in these portions of the work that the reader will find Dr. Mackinnon's main conclusions as to the nature and various forms of liberty.

WILLIAM S. McKECHNIE.

THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD. A STUDY OF THE VERSIONS OF THIS ALLEGORY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE IN LATIN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH. By Hope Traver. Pp. 171. 8vo. Bryn Mawr, U.S.A. 1907.

ONE of the Bryn Mawr College monographs, this collation of variants and examination of sources must be welcomed as gratifying evidence that the ladies' colleges in America are capable of producing sound contributions to literary history. A passage in the seventy-fourth psalm, in which Mercy and Truth meet, and Justice and Peace kiss each other, readily lent

itself to the allegorising and moralising middle ages. Started by St. Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who got their suggestion from the Jewish *Midrash*, the allegory received definitive form from Grosseteste in whose *Chasteau d'Amour*, it has a feudal setting which gave it security of tenure in European literature. Various parallel adaptations were made, chief of which was the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Cardinal Bonaventura. The *Chasteau* and the *Meditationes* appear to have been the main sources of later literary versions such as the *Court of Sapience*—which Stephen Hawes attributed to Lydgate, although recent authorities, e.g. Schick and MacCracken, refuse to accept the ascription, and MacCracken puts it out of the 'Lydgate canon.' The *Court of Sapience* may have influenced Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*, which again is thought to have been imitated in Drummond's *Shadow of the Judgment*. Miss Traver industriously and clearly collects and arrays the many signs of the considerable place the allegory fills in literature. In the early years of the fourteenth century, Grosseteste's story was retold in English in the *Cursor Mundi*, and was also incorporated into the *Gesta Romanorum*, a collection which, though in Latin, was probably compiled in England. A little later in the same century versions of the allegory are found in the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and in *Piers Plowman*. With the beginning of the fifteenth century English versions multiplied. The French poet, Guillaume Deguilleville (fourteenth century) made large use of the allegory, which he developed considerably. Curiously influential was another version of the legend, the *Processus Belial*; this worked out some medieval applications of law, and exhibited the Virgin as advocate successful in debate with Masceroen procurator for the devils in a plea for the recovery of mankind who had been rescued through the harrowing of hell. Elaborate legal mechanism thus called into play was found effective for dramatic presentation. About the middle of the fifteenth century, Arnout Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* (existing in a MS. of 1473, but known to have been performed in 1452) displays the pleading of Misericorde for humanity in a long drawn out debate with Justice, in which Verite, Pais, and Sapience participate. The piece is, of course, terribly overweighted with theology. In the end, Justice, falling in adoration before the Father, withdraws her indictment of man. Miss Traver sees curious similarities between the 'process' in Greban's play and the trial scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, but, in the absence of fuller citations of the text of passages founded on, it is not possible to concede that she has established more than one or two vague and general likenesses. *Li Regret Guillaume* may be suggested as a probable offshoot of Grosseteste's poem omitted from the list of derivatives. Bryn Mawr College has credit by Miss Traver for this successful piece of source-digging, which reveals not a few unknown parts of the channel by which this scriptural allegory flowed through the middle ages. Dr. Carleton F. Brown is specially referred to, along with Professor Schick of Munich, among Miss Traver's helpers. Her work shows her worthy of her friends.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts IV. and V. With an Appendix of Extracts from Leland's Collectanea. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Pp. viii, 192. With map. Foolscap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 12s. nett.

THE new instalment of this welcome edition of *Leland's Itinerary* possesses all the good qualities of Miss Toulmin Smith's work recently pointed out in this *Review* (v. 98-9). The present portion comprises various indications of the great antiquary's activity in addition to the regular narrative of his journeys through some of the Midland shires. We have notes on men and families in certain counties, collected from rolls, pedigrees, and oral information. The appendix (pp. 115-172) contains the miscellaneous documents which Hearne printed, and which Miss Toulmin Smith wisely retained, though they are only remotely connected with the object of the work. Those who compare the new edition of these documents with the old will thank the editor for her decision. The critical discussion of the manuscript sources of the appendix is valuable.

From the statements in this volume much might be said about Leland's accuracy as an observer and his discrimination as an historian, but such lies outside our present purpose. Miss Toulmin Smith sometimes corrects his Latin grammar, but she has not always verified his Latin quotations. One could have wished that the genial historiographer had been less credulous in accepting the 'verbal information given him by local gentry.' Leland was by no means the last antiquary led astray by the same guides. Family traditions are the most whimsical and least trustworthy of all the forms of historical evidence known to serious students. No pains have been spared to elucidate obscurities in the narrative and to identify places mentioned therein. The student with this edition in his hand need not be troubled about the manuscript authority for the printed text. There is abundant evidence of careful and experienced work.

JAMES WILSON.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1635-1639. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction and Notes by William Foster. Pp. xxxvi, 396. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE calendaring of the valuable collection of documents relating to the home affairs of the East India Company is proceeding slowly. The first volume, covering the Court Books down to 1616 appeared as early as 1862 as a *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616*. This was followed by four other volumes of the same series, the last of which extended to 1634 and was issued in 1892. Meanwhile the calendars of the letters received from the factors in India had begun to be printed at the Clarendon Press, and it is evident that when the question arose as to publication of the next instalment of the calendar of the Court Books it was difficult to decide whether it should make its appearance uniform with the previous volumes dealing with this material or it should follow

## Court Minutes of East India Company 479

the form of the Letters from India. The latter decision has been adopted with very satisfactory results. Though necessarily the present volume contains less, it is easier to work with, being of a more manageable size. There are other changes. In addition to the papers at the India Office, documents which illustrate them at the Record Office or British Museum have been noticed. Certain minor alterations in the method of compilation are important to those who require to make any considerable use of the new calendar. In the previous volumes the indexing was based on the plan of giving sometimes the paragraph and sometimes the page. For instance, taking a case at random from the Calendar for the period 1630-4, one gets a reference such as the following: p. 26, 70, 80, p. 71, p. 73, pp. 75-7, 102, p. 90, 111, p. 176, 211 and so on, the change from one notation to the other being puzzling to many who use the index. In the present volume the reference is consistently to the page. Another improvement is the addition of notes, and, generally speaking, the condensation may be described as being more readable than in the earlier volumes.

So much for the appearance of the calendar; as to the Court Books and other material dealt with, these cover a period of considerable interest, one indeed which is essential to any student of the conditions surrounding monopolies for foreign trade. From several sources, the birth of the rival East India company known as Courten's association can be observed. It is significant to notice that, though James I. had bound himself and his successors not to grant any licenses contrary to the privileges of the original East India company, Charles I. not only authorized Courten's association (which by the way began its career with piracy and ended it with counterfeiting the moneys circulating in India) but held shares in the venture, which were given to him without payment. The position of the company on the whole question was a very simple one. On the news of the breach of faith on the part of the Crown, the adventurers resolved that in future their ships would sail 'sufficiently furnished'; and on a further scrutiny one learns that 'the sufficient furnishings' were to consist of more cannon and larger crews (p. 162). Had the vessels of the rival bodies met on the high seas it would be easy to guess the consequences; however, the Dutch East India company settled the fate of the expedition of Courten's association with which this volume deals by taking all the ships.

W. R. SCOTT.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY. By James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Charles A. Beard, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. 2 Vols. Cr. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xi, 362, 1907; Vol. II. pp. vii, 448, 1908. Boston and London: Ginn & Company. 6s. 6d. each.

THIS is an educational manual which admirably serves its purpose, and is at the same time as entertaining as a romance. It is intended as an

## 480 The Development of Modern Europe

introduction to current history, and written, the authors say, in order that the reader may understand the foreign news in his daily paper. With this modest object they have produced a brief but valuable history of Europe from the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. to the end of the year 1907, describing tersely and vividly the political changes and national developments of the period, and especially setting forth with philosophical acumen the advance of free institutions.

In this, partly, perhaps, because it is American, the book does not hesitate to assign the leading rôle to France. England, indeed, established, a hundred years earlier than France, the supremacy of parliament, by executing one king and expelling another. But the English parliament was only a council of nobles and wealthy landlords. It was the ideas of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, accepted in turn by the European nations, which liberated the people, and 'the French National Assembly was the first to furnish a definite program and model for constitutional reform in Europe.' In the opinion of the authors, England, in political and in educational progress, is being gradually left behind.

After masterly chapters on each of the chief European states in the nineteenth century, and a useful review of the expansion of Europe during the same period, the work ends with extremely well-balanced statements of the chief political and social problems of to-day, *The Responsibilities of Modern Government*, *The War on Poverty*, and *The Progress and Effects of Natural Science*.

The authors know how to seize the essential and omit the unimportant. They tell just what one wants to know with brevity and lucidity, and with a delightful absence of recondite allusions and unexplained references.

An appendix contains a list of the chief European rulers since the reign of Louis XIV. with their dates, and a list of authoritative books on the period, suited to form a valuable and inexpensive collection for use in a Higher School. The volumes have, besides other illustrations, thirteen full-page portraits, thirty-seven clear and instructive maps, and a serviceable index.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

'BONAPARTISM,' being six lectures delivered in the University of London.

By H. A. L. Fisher. Pp. 124. 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS interesting and pregnant essay is an expansion of a thesis outlined in the author's contribution to a recent volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*. It represents the general conclusions on the question of the real significance and effect of the Napoleonic idea reached by a student of the great Emperor's external policy as exhibited in his dealings with the States of Eastern Europe in particular. The work of Mr. Fisher in this field has entitled him to rank as a specialist, and it is from this point of view that he considers in the first branch of his thesis Napoleon's claim to have fostered the idea of liberty and the spirit of nationality. 'The wars of Napoleon,'

he writes, ' may be regarded from many points of view. We may, if we choose, consider them as wars of propaganda containing the precious seed of revolutionary philosophy to scatter it broadcast through Europe.' The result of these wars was the formation of subsidiary revolutionary governments throughout Europe. ' In what sense,' he asks, ' can the term *liberal* be applied to these parasitic governments of the grand Empire ? ' With the sole exception of Switzerland ' there was little pretence of deference to the consecrated force of historical association. The constitutions given to the dependencies of the Empire are variations on one despotic archetype. . . . The ring of dependent States were the satellites of Mars.' To the mind of Napoleon even Italy, in spite of appearances to the contrary, was not an end, but a means ; and he said of Poland : ' The whole problem of Poland consists in exciting the national fibre of the Poles (against Russia) without awakening the liberal fibre.' Turning further to France herself, Mr. Fisher finds the same disregard of the ideals of liberty and nationality on the part of the Emperor. She received no better treatment at his hands than the States of Germany and Italy, and as his Imperial policy developed it became slowly but surely less national and liberal.

Having thus cleared the ground and outlined his criticism of the policy of Napoleon, Mr. Fisher turns to the genesis and evolution of the Bonapartist idea, which dates, in his view, not from the first Empire, but from St. Helena. This derivation of Bonapartism from the period of the Emperor's captivity is the salient feature of his study. If it be permissible to borrow a surgical term, it may be said that Bonapartism is Napoleon *at the second intention*. The great Emperor only lost his material power to gain a new and more lasting Empire over the minds of his fellow-men, and succeeded in impressing upon France at least the interpretation of his own policy and actions, which he wished to preserve. Fortunate in this, as in most of his audacious attempts, he was successful in falsifying history, and for two generations Europe looked at him through his own eyes. By the time that his astute understudy was ready to take his place on the boards, the despotism of the First Empire was forgotten, and the second Napoleon appeared before Europe in the blaze of the limelight which his uncle had manufactured for him at St. Helena. He claimed to represent the Bonapartist idea, the tradition of nationality and of freedom founded on national history, which only the implacable hatred of England had prevented the great founder of his house from realising.

In the latter part of his volume Mr. Fisher in the light of this claim sketches the tragi-comedy of the Second Empire. The outline is of the slightest, and bears the marks of hurried writing, but it merits expansion, and it is to be hoped that in a second edition the author will elaborate the second branch of his thesis, and thus give his work a balance which it lacks in its present form. Mr. Fisher is too much inclined to neglect the new factors and forces with which the Second Empire had to deal, and to look upon the events of the last generation with the eyes of a previous age. Thus, to take two instances, his treatment of the ecclesiastical policy of Napoleon III. is inadequate, and the Emperor's encouragement of industrial organisation and commercial expansion had an important effect

in modifying his logical policy of opposition to the formation of corporations within the State, which Mr. Fisher does not indicate. A centralised despotism cannot withstand the disintegrating forces of widespread industrial activity.

'Time,' writes Mr. Fisher, 'alone was wanting, as to the uncle, so to the nephew.' One might add: 'As to the *ancien régime*.' For the pre-revolutionary Monarchy and the two Empires were alike in this, that their rulers realised too late that they could not afford to debase the ideals on which their claim to power had originally been founded, and all three were swept away in a vain and tardy attempt to return to the enthusiasms of their youth, and to light their empty lamps in the face of the relentless bridegroom. 'On voit que l'histoire est une galerie de tableaux où il y a peu d'originaux et beaucoup de copies.' These significant words of Alexis de Tocqueville might be adopted by Mr. Fisher as the motto of his illuminating study.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

GLASGOW MEMORIALS. By Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk. With 100 Illustrations. Pp. xxiv, 353. Cr. 4to. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1908. 21s. nett.

THIS handsome volume supplies a real want. Glasgow has never lacked pious sons, from M'Ure downwards, to celebrate her progress; nor, since the institution of the great book clubs, a zealous army of spade workers to investigate her origins. Mr. Renwick's main task has been to provide the world of letters with a readable account of the results obtained by the explorers; including, last in time but among the first in importance, himself and his late chief, Sir James Marwick. That such work should have been undertaken in the first instance for the newspapers, is at once an indication of the author's object and an excellent sign of the times. For such an enterprise as the printing, a generation ago, of the seventeenth century list of pollable persons in Renfrewshire, one feels indebted rather to the public spirit of the then editor of the *Glasgow Herald* than to the antiquarian tastes of his readers. But here, there is perhaps not a sentence in the topographical section which will fail to interest any intelligent Glaswegian. For the more scattered audience now appealed to, if I may take my own case as typical, a sketch map of Glasgow as it was about 1560, with the positions of the ports and extent of the suburbs at that date, would have been helpful. To which a plan might have been added, showing the burgh territory as it is, and distinguishing later acquisitions from the ancient 'Liberties.' The value of these would not have been greatly diminished though some details had been given on conjecture. For growth such as Glasgow's something must be paid; even the site of the chapel dedicated to St. Mungo's mother is hopelessly lost (p. 232), and its modern representative is a railway terminus. Yet the Register of Sasines still respects the boundary between the lands which Bishop Jocelin assigned to his free burgesses and those which he retained to be tilled by his villains (p. 133).

Mr. Renwick is the historian not of modern but of ancient Glasgow;



his subject is rather the passing of the old than the coming of the new. Yet in occasional and semi-ironical touches he contrives to exhibit without obtruding his loyal pride in his city; as where (p. 150) he compares the earliest known Account of the Common Good with the latest—each showing a credit balance, of £40 Scots and £16,000 odds sterling respectively; or where (p. 181) he observes that the jurisdiction of the Burgh Court is practically obsolete *except* for one class of cases of which it deals with some twenty thousand a year.

Of the many interesting topics touched on or suggested by the book, only a few can be referred to here. Not yet have I found time to visit the site of the 'know of grummell at the Drygate Heid,' where St. Ninian and St. Kentigern found the local chief in his 'Rath' (p. 14), between the primeval forest above and the (perhaps terraced) slope stretching towards the Clyde valley below. But the great church surrounded by canons' manses and gardens, and the little city clustered round its cross at the foot of the hill, are easier to conjure up; many visitors to Glasgow attempt it, and never till now has it been possible to fill in so many details. Mediaeval Glasgow is perhaps less difficult to imagine than the neat Oxford-like University town which to the English tourist of the later seventeenth century seemed the pleasantest (or the least unpleasant) of the sights of Scotland.

The mercantile importance of Glasgow developed slowly; the Bishop had no grant of coquet till 1490 (p. 167), more than a century after the dates of similar grants to St. Andrews and Arbroath. Glasgow's first prosperity was as a centre of inland trade,—the Bishop's 'peace' being doubtless better protection for merchants than that of the bailies of Rutherglen, Renfrew or Dumbarton; while the large body of permanently resident clergy kept up a steady demand for wares. The Reformation, scattering and impoverishing the priests, caused at first a 'slump,' at least in the demand for houses of the better sort (p. 23). But the University was growing, the town's share of the west coast fisheries was growing, and trade with 'Yrland and ellisquhair' was springing up; of the position in 1581 an interesting notice is quoted (p. 157). The Union of 1603 no doubt opened the way for foreign trade; the decay of the east coast ports during the troubles of the seventeenth century must have helped Glasgow; but anything like rapid growth was only possible after 1707.

The scanty notices which it has been possible to collect of the internal affairs of the town before the sixteenth century do not seem to present any peculiar feature. If we have no Bishop's charter founding the burgh, neither have we record of the foundation of any royal burgh before the time of Alexander II.; which the author is perhaps right in explaining by the suggestion that such rights were at first not constituted by writing but by act of the King through his bailies (p. 103). In the sixteenth century Glasgow emerges a fully equipped and strong municipality; owing its strength partly to advantages of position, but largely also to the character of the Bishops' government,—mild yet not negligent, and aiming not at extension of seigniorial rights, but at preservation of custom. In 1510 the magistrates attempted to prohibit the burgesses from appealing

causes from their own court to the ecclesiastical tribunals; which affair was 'arranged' (p. 176) by the Provost's prompt submission. The barony rentallers were dealt with on the same principle—hence at the Reformation the possessory right of a St. Mungo's rentaller was by the courts recognized as equal to that of a feuar. How then does it happen that 'kindly tenancy' has not survived at Glasgow as at Lochmaben? Probably owing to the levelling influence of the legal profession. The town's right to the mill of Partick was not feudalized till 1738 (p. 159).<sup>1</sup>

Of the author's execution of his task, it need only be said that it is worthy of the conception, and not unworthy of the setting,—which is saying a good deal. As the reception of the book is understood to have been cordial, it may not be out of place to conclude with a few suggested corrigenda for a second edition. Mr. Renwick seems (p. 115) not to have seen the royal charter of 30th April, 1594 (preserved in the Register of the Privy Seal) granting the barony and regality to the Duke of Lennox for payment of a blench duty; this, which made his previously acquired liferent right heritable, was never ratified by Parliament, and was soon superseded by a different arrangement. The statement at p. 187, that certain lands in Cathcart parish belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline, is a mistake; the tenor of the charter quoted shows that the lands were not held in mortmain; the natural inference is that they were Archbishop Beaton's personal property, probably acquired by him from Lord Cathcart. At p. 269 the ancestry of the too celebrated parson of Glasgow, Archibald Douglas, is not correctly given, Mr. Renwick having been misled by the author of *Fasti Ecclesiae*; Archibald was not a grandson of the second Earl of Morton, but a descendant (great-great-grandson or thereabouts) of an uncle of the first Earl.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

**BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV.** Memoirs of Sir Edward West, Chief Justice of the King's Court during its Conflict with the East India Company. With hitherto unpublished documents. By F. Dawtrey Drewitt, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. With Illustrations. Pp. xviii, 368. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 9s. 6d. nett.

THE author of this book has accomplished, we think with success, the pious task of rescuing from undeserved obscurity, and defending against hostile criticism of old date, the memory of his ancestor, Sir Edward West, who, though known now chiefly as the author of papers on economic subjects, occupied the important post of King's Judge in Bombay from 1822 to 1828. He has used the letters and diary of

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop's grain rents, and the teinds of the churches belonging to the Bishop, Chapter and individual Canons, were paid according to the 'feir of Glasgow,' which appears to have been intentionally 'struck' at a moderate figure. There is on record a lawsuit between the Abbot of Kilwinning and his chamberlain in 1557, in which the latter offered to account for the victual rents of the Abbey lands by the 'feir of Glasgow,' while the Abbot maintained that he had been in use to be paid at the rate of 2 shillings per boll higher.

Lady West and memoranda by the judge and has drawn on contemporary records of the occurrences therein referred to which were the main subjects of conflict in Sir Edward West's judicial career. The post of King's Judge in Bombay in the early part of the nineteenth century was not merely important but difficult, for at that time the East India Company's officials were the reverse of friendly to a king's representative prepared to reform judicial abuses and administer justice even-handed as between natives and Europeans. Almost from the moment of West's arrival in Bombay 'a dryness sprang up which grew into an animosity,' and even at the hands of the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, West had to suffer not merely half-veiled official antagonism but open social slight which culminated in a challenge—or what seems to have been a challenge—delivered to him by a representative of the Governor. The dignified letter (p. 229) which West addressed to Elphinstone on that occasion detailing this and the many other incidents of which he had reason to complain, shows how very painful dissension may become in a small community where one man, occupying high position, has the duty of standing out against the irregularities of powerful officials. Like all his predecessors, except Sir James MacIntosh, who lived to return to England, West died at his post, survived only for a few months by his wife, who had accompanied him to India as a bride. We gain the impression from this book that he was a just, fair-minded, able man, 'a champion of judicial integrity' (in the author's words), daily struggling with the difficulties of an almost intolerable position. In Lady West's diary there are interesting glimpses of persons known elsewhere than in India. In 1825 Bishop Heber, of Calcutta, held a visitation at Bombay, and meeting him at dinner, Lady West found it 'almost England again from the manner and style of behaviour and conversation—unlike the Goths here.' Sir Hudson Lowe, Napoleon's custodian in St. Helena, reached Bombay in the following year on his way to Ceylon, the governorship of which he had been promised. The impression he made on Lady West was less agreeable. He took her to dinner, and he was, she thought, 'a stupid man; looks sheepish, very silent, and anything but pleasing.' Sir J. P. Grant, of Rothiemurchus, of the Scots Bar, who went to Bombay as Junior Puisne Judge in 1828, she found 'very prepossessing,' and a very welcome addition to their circle in Bombay. (Her husband found him a staunch and loyal colleague). Early in her diary she is impressed with the suddenness of death in India. 'Here people die one day and are buried the next, their furniture sold the third, and they are forgotten the fourth.' Not merely Judges, but Bishops die at their post, Heber, for instance, in 1826, after three years in India, and his successor Bishop James, in 1828, after but one year.

There are a number of valuable documents in this book which throw strange light on the abuses in the administration of justice in Bombay, notably, West's 'Charge to the Grand Jury' in 1825 (pp. 189 *et seq.*), a very powerful exposure of illegal practices in the subordinate magistracy (*inter alia* imposition of banishment, excessive flogging,

## 486 Nunburnholme, History and Antiquities

and security for good behaviour without specifying amount, period, or sureties); his letter in 1828 (p. 294) on Police Magistrates addressed to Sir John Malcolm, Elphinstone's successor, and Sir J. P. Grant's address at Quarter Sessions in 1828 (p. 291).

The book contains some interesting photographs and facsimile reproductions of letters by West and his wife. In the transcription of the first of these (p. 36), nine words (all unimportant) are omitted from the third last line.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

**NUNBURNHOLME, ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.** By the Rev. M. C. F. Morris, B.C.L., the rector. Pp. viii, 312. 8vo. London: Henry Frowde. 1907. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE Rev. Dr. Cox, the able editor of 'The Antiquary's Books,' in his admirable little volume, *How to Write the History of a Parish*, of which more than one edition has been published, lays down systematic rules for the guidance of those who are about to write parish history. Mr. Morris has, in the book before us, followed the same lucid manner in dealing with the history of Nunburnholme, of which he is the rector. Few writers until lately have treated these smaller histories in a scientific way, most of them jumbling periods together in a haphazard guide-book fashion. Mr. J. R. Walbran, in his *Antiquities of Gainford*, in Durham county, an unfinished work published about sixty years ago, was about the first who went to original MS. sources for much of his material, and his incomplete book remains a model. It would be invidious to name recent writers who have followed the same praiseworthy method.

The village of Nunburnholme is situate on the verge of the Wolds in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Its population is small, only some 200 people, while its acres are but 1850. The author (who succeeded his father, the Rev. F. O. Morris, the well-known naturalist, in the spiritual care of the parish) begins with the geology of the district. This is followed by some notes on the early remains. Of the Ancient British period are barrows, pottery, flint weapons, etc., used by the Wold dwellers who, as the author points out, do not appear to have been so cultivated as the people of the same period in Southern England. Of this early people other traces have been left in names such as 'combe' (cwm). Of the Roman period the chief remains are the roads, a stray coin or two, and pottery, and a hoard of about 6,000 third brass coins, ending with Probus (276-282) (found at Methill), many of them of the commoner of the 'Thirty Tyrants,' such as Victorinus, Tetricus, etc. This is succeeded by a history of the manor, with a record of the various distinguished people who have owned it, short biographical notices of them being given. These include the Greystokes, the Dacres 'of the North,' the Howards (amongst them 'Belted Will'), the Cavendishes, and George Hudson, the 'railway king.' On the downfall of the last named, of whom there is a full account, the manor was purchased by the then Earl of Londesborough, and it is now held by his successor the present earl.

Mr. Morris has had access to some unpublished manor rolls from which copious extracts are given. There is no mention, as in the records of other manors, of butchers being amerced for killing unbaited bulls, but there are entries of 'pains' for poundbreach, for lack of a bell wether, for neglect of duty by the pinder, and such like. Small incidents these truly, but such as would doubtless loom large in this out-of-the-way village and stir deeply, and serve as food for, the village gossips for many a long day.

In the third chapter of the history the church is fully dealt with. The author thinks there may have been a pre-conquest church on the site. There are no traces of this, however, if we except the fragment of a very fine cross of the period. The oldest parts of the present building are Norman, and there is a curious little window, with a rude chevron design on its head not unlike fan work. In the usual position in the chancel is one of these archaeological and ecclesiological puzzles, a 'lowside' window, with trefoiled head. The tower of the church is modern, as are the bells. The metal of the old bells of a church is seldom if ever used in the new ones as the vicar writes of his bells.

John Tonge who in 1521 gave a vestment to the church and left a sum for a trentall of masses, desired to be buried 'in the quire before our Lady.' He also gave 20s. and a 'yowys' to the Lady Prioress of Burnholme, besides a gift to the sisters. The sixth chapter deals with the twelfth century nunnery, which was dissolved in 1535 after an adverse report by Legh and Layton, 'ruffians,' as the rector elegantly terms them. It is now the fashion to condemn almost everything done in the time of Henry VIII., whether good or bad, and any stick serves the purpose, but judging from the archbishop's 'injunctions' there appear to have been good reasons for the dissolution.

The author refers to the 'seemly elevation' of the east end of the church. But in many pre-reformation churches the altar was not raised at all, indeed in some instances there is a descent towards the east. Nowadays it is taken for granted that the modern Roman practice is correct and proper and 'seemly.' A list of the rectors, with a short notice of each, appears to be fairly complete.

A very interesting chapter (viii.) is given on the East Yorkshire dialect, but the author is mistaken in assuming that all the words enumerated are peculiar to his neighbourhood, as many of them are in use not only in the more northern counties, but in Scotland. 'Hoos' for house, 'moos' for mouse, 'toon' for town, 'yel' for ale, 'yuck' for hook, and many others. To 'set' a person along a road is also common. One often finds a reluctance in natives to use dialect words to strangers. That master of dialect, the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte, found this out. He wanted to hear from the lips of a Gloucester peasant a dialect word signifying plastering. But not for some time did the word wanted, 'pargetting,' come out. When the speaker was asked by the late well-known John Bellows of Gloucester, who accompanied the Prince, why he did not say so at first, he replied

that he didn't like to use the word to the likes o' them. This occurred many years ago, before it found its way back to the literary language.

The book concludes with chapters on 'Elizabethan Nunburnholme' and on agriculture. It is well printed, with a good index, and has several illustrations, reproductions from photographs and from drawings by the author's sister.

R. BLAIR.

OUTLINE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY FROM ROMAN TIMES TO THE DISRUPTION.

By W. M. Mackenzie, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. xiv, 484. 8vo.  
79 Illustrations. 12 Maps. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1907.

THE demand for a national product in school histories only needed to be stated. It is being well realised, and a briskness of competition stirs the educational book-market. Already young Scotland has a better choice of historical lesson books perhaps than ever before. This condition of things is not a passing phase, and the class of work being done shows a rising standard which is of good augury. Mr. Mackenzie's compact sketch has almost every quality, both of historical spirit and literary workmanship, to command critical approval and popular welcome. The 'outline' is done with the firm and coherent strokes of a drawing which has caught the shape and suggests not a little of the action of the figure it delineates. Crisp, bold, and clear the narrative is packed with event and fact told in a Scottish spirit robustly national without chauvinism. It reveals continually the author's closeness of touch with his sources in chronicle and literature. A keen attention is paid to the elements of the common life, the relationships of race and class, whether under the feudal, religious or industrial régime, and the characteristic organisations of the country. There is vigorous blood in the veins of this little history, which may one day grow into a big one. Its picture of Scotland is a faithful piece of work, indicative of a freshness of outlook, a capacity of expression, and a high measure of individuality and knowledge. Animated by the popular spirit, which it interprets with much success, and registering no small independent study, Mr. Mackenzie's outline, capital for schools, will please not less the audience of larger growth.

GEO. NEILSON.

BONNET COURT OF CORSEHILL. From the Original Manuscript in the possession of Dr. Cunningham. Pp. 20. 4to. Kilmarnock: Standard Office. 1908.

DR. JOHN CUNNINGHAM of Stewarton has reprinted from the *Kilmarnock Standard* an edition, we believe, of only twenty-seven copies of his transcripts from the Minute Books of the Bonnet Court of Corsehill, being the records of the corporation of bonnetmakers of Stewarton, Ayrshire. The first entry copied is an agreement of 24 April, 1650, with the Glasgow Bonnetmakers, making it 'leisum to the hail bonnet-makers, subject to Corshillis Court in all tyme comming to haunt the marcats of Glasgow to sell their bonnets without ony interruptionne to be maid to their guds being visited and sichtit anent their insufficiencye be visitors one or mae to be appoyntit be the laird of Corshill and his successors quha hereby becomes lyable for all insufficient bonnets.' Sir Alexander

Cunningham, of Corsehill, was 'Deacon Heritable' of the corporation, and the Bonnet Courts were generally presided over by his Bailie. The business of the Court was multifarious. Much of it concerned trade regulations and the management of the corporation, admission of freemen, fines on outsiders 'without entry,' arrangement about the mortcloth, enforcement of rules giving rights of purchase first to members of the corporation, and other working conditions—these take up much space in the minutes. 'The bonnetmakers of Stewarton,' writes Dr. Cunningham, 'held themselves superior to those of Kilmarnock, and were jealous of their good name. There is an enactment imposing a fine of £50 Scots for each offence of "imposing Kilmarnock-made caps for Stewarton ones on the people of Glasgow," over and above expulsion from the Corporation.' Repeated mention is made of a close time for manufacture; for instance, in December, 1729, 'it is enacted that there be an idlesett of the howll trade beginning the 22nd instant to last till Candlemass.' A standard question was that of the dye for blue bonnets, the staple product. Thus a court was called in March, 1757, because 'ther is some person dying blew without indigo which they pretend to make bonetts and caeps of it, which said blew will nather stand wind nor wather, and so we have called a court and have thought it fit to put a stop to the same' under a penalty of 20s. stg. 'for each bonnet or caep maid of the said blew.' Dr. Cunningham has been much too sparing of introduction and annotation. We should have liked to see explained the transition from the feudal court and heritable deaconship of the Cunninghams (as existing until at least 1766, and probably for fifteen or twenty years later) to the democratic reconstitution of the body under the Bond of Community signed by the bonnetmakers of Stewarton in 1785. We trust that Dr. Cunningham (who in 1900 in a similar form privately printed a volume of extracts from the Baron Court Book of Corsehill) will continue to pursue these studies, which throw so clear a light, social and economic, on the old industrial system of Scotland in the Burns country and partly in Burns's time. Stewarton supplies a fine example, unusual in its type, of the baronial understructure of an industrial organisation.

SLAVONIC EUROPE: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF POLAND AND RUSSIA FROM 1447 TO 1796. By R. Nisbet Bain. Pp. viii, 452. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908. 5s. 6d. nett.

It is a real pleasure to read Mr. Nisbet Bain's able account of the growth of Russia and the rise and decline of the Kingdom of Poland contained in these few pages. An accessible history of the Slavonic kingdoms has, for long, been greatly needed, and in this excellent book we find all that can be desired. It is no easy task to condense, as in this volume, the early struggles against Tatars and the Teutonic Knights into small space, but the author has done it well and managed to correct the prevalent error that it was Poland and not Hungary which in earlier times prevented the Turkish advance in Europe. We

read here how the failure of the Jagiello dynasty led to the Elective monarchy and the consequent unrest in Poland while Russia grew strong under the powerful rulers the two Ivans. The author is at his best describing the dynastic struggles which led in Russia to the election of a Romanov Tsar and gives a sympathetic account of the able 'False Demetrius.' Condensation has again been happily used in the account of the unfortunate but glorious campaigns of John Sobieski and the wonderful reforms of Peter the Great and his successors (Mr. Bain emphasises the progress made under Catherine I. and Anne), most of whom came to the throne so irregularly. The book ends with the partition of Poland and the reign of Catherine II., to whom the author denies the title of 'great,' while acknowledging her extraordinary ability. We must point out three slips. We do not see how Maria de Gonzaga, Queen of Poland, can be described as 'the last surviving descendant of the Paleologi,' nor how the Romanovs were the kinsfolk of the 'grandmother' of the young Tsar Theodore. We think it is misleading also to style the French father of John Sobieski's Marysienka 'the Margrave Henri de la Grange d'Arquien,' but these will no doubt be corrected in the next edition.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF COLONEL NATHANIEL WHETHAM, a forgotten soldier of the Civil Wars. By Catherine Durning Whetham and William C. D. Whetham. Pp. xviii, 237. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 8s. 6d. nett.

THIS carefully compiled life is the result of work begun as a contribution to family history. Colonel Nathaniel Whetham is not a well known historical figure, though he played no mean part in the Civil Wars. He belonged to a Dorset family and was born in 1604. Apprenticed to a 'White Baker' in London about 1620, he married in 1632 his master's widow, and was drawn into the Civil Wars as major of dragoons raised by the City of London for the Parliament. The writers narrate his career as well as is possible. He was Governor of Northampton in 1643 and then took part in the siege of Banbury. He is believed to have disapproved of the King's execution, but continued to serve as Governor of Portsmouth during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and helped to administer Scotland from 1655 until 1656-7, and again in 1658-9. After returning later to his command at Portsmouth he assented to Monck's recall of Charles II., but retired immediately into private life, and died in 1668.

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA: a History of the Sixth Century A.D. By William Gordon Holmes. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo. Vol I. pp. xiii, 365, 1905, 9s. nett; Vol. II. pp. vi, 400, 1907, 10s. 6d. nett. London: George Bell & Sons.

IN modern thought the interest of Justinian is so impersonal, so codified as it were in canons of law, that there is almost a suggestion of profanation in the discussion of his foibles; which is inevitable when he is treated primarily as a person and only secondarily as a body of



jurisprudence. Yet it might be easy to justify the question, What has marble to do with the flaws of the man? Mr. Holmes not only deals with all sides of the Emperor and his consort, but places them in their personal, social, and institutional environment, so as to make the biography a clear, telling, and compact picture of the age in which they lived. Sympathetic without enthusiasm, the sketch ably discusses Justinian's domestic life, as well as his public work in the service of the empire for thirty-nine years (527-565 A.D.). It describes his wars with Vandals, Goths, and Persians, his architectural achievements, especially in the building of St. Sophia (wherein he thought that he excelled Solomon), and in provincial public works, his administrative reforms, his Constitutions and treatises as a theologian and religious law-giver, his relations to art, science, and literature, and his imperishable *Corpus Juris*. Considering the greatness of what survives, in consequence of Justinian's foresight and judgment, it must be said that the tribute of both historians and civilians to him is grudging, in its stress on the services rather of Belisarius, Narses, and Tribonian, than of their master. His campaigns checked for long the barbarian invasion, and his Code, Pandects, and Institutes preserved for mankind a monument of the Roman people nobler than any other memory of their mighty day. There was allegorical gratitude as well as verity in the tale quoted by Gibbon, that six centuries after his death his corpse was found still without sign of decay. Mr. Holmes, judging him perhaps more coldly than Gibbon, and in a more exact historical perspective, does full justice to his public zeal and energy, futile to prevent, but not wholly unavailing to retard, the Byzantine decline.

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART. FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER. 2 Vols. By Samuel Cowan, J.P. Vol. I. pp. xx, 528; Vol. II. pp. viii, 547. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis. 1908. 42s. nett.

If there is still a class of readers who wish to devour two bulky volumes of inaccurate history, this is a book exactly suited to them. It is not necessary for us to give a lengthy review of this work, which has been reviewed in full by uncritical contemporaries. The author is a champion of waning historical theories. He will not yet abandon the descent of the Stuarts from Bancho and their Lochaber origin. He still thinks that James IV. was married to Margaret Drummond as his first wife. He once names the last Duke of Albany 'Robert,' and he calls Monmouth 'heroic.' Curiously enough for a book with this title, the second volume ends with the reign of Queen Anne, and only gives the history of her last male kinsmen incidentally. Of the genealogical information, the less said the better, but we may point out a mass of mistakes in the family of King James I. alone. The portraits, beginning with 'Queen Annabella Drummond' (in late seventeenth or early eighteenth century costume), and including Queen Margaret Tudor, 'by Kneller,' hardly inspire confidence.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

## 492 A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times

A SCOTS EARL IN COVENANTING TIMES: BEING LIFE AND TIMES OF ARCHIBALD 9TH EARL OF ARGYLL (1629-1685). By John Willcock, B.D., F.R.Hist.Soc. Pp. xxi, 448. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. 1907. 10s. nett.

THERE is no doubt that this well-written work loses somewhat by having been preceded by the author's last monograph 'The Great Marquess' which treated of the life of the father of the 'Scots Earl' who is the subject of this biography. The heir of one of the most powerful Scottish nobles, he was 'fostered' in early life by the Glenurquhy Campbells, and after his marriage found himself—apparently whole heartedly and in good faith—on the Royalist side, and thus politically opposed to his father. Curious internecine feuds, characteristic of family life in bygone times resulted, and we read that 'seeing bluid hath bene drawin betwix the father and the sone ane can hardlie imagine they are in spoir or that thai can be reconcealit upon easie termis' and, indeed, they remained politically at variance all their lives. After the failure of the Royalist invasion of Kintyre, Lord Lorne surrendered to Monk, but he was soon 'suspect,' and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for refusing to take the oath to the Protector's Government. He lay there from 1657 to 1659, when he got restricted liberty, and upon the Restoration was received by Charles II. 'with a considerable show of kindness' which the immediate execution of his father somewhat interrupted. He was later arrested for 'leasing making,' and also condemned to death, a sentence which, though remitted at the time, when he was also 'restored,' was not forgotten twenty years later. Much of the book is taken up with the contemporary ecclesiastical strife in Scotland, and it is rather unfortunate for the author that he has had so few letters of his hero to provide materials for deductions on the Earl's attitude to current events as well as for details of his family life. We do not think also that he insists sufficiently incisively upon what he meagrely heads 'Argyll's difficulties with the M'Leans of Mull.' The chief interest of the book begins with the account of Argyll's refusal of 'The Test' and his second condemnation. His flight gives the author full scope for exercising his power of interesting his readers, and he gives an excellent description of Lady Sophia Lindsay's astuteness, and incidentally of the careless clemency of Charles II. From this period Argyll was forced into 'the Protestant interest,' and his connection with the rebellion of Monmouth is well narrated, and interesting illustrations are given from contemporary satirical prints of that abortive rising. The Earl's execution (in which the author follows Wodrow) closes the book, which will certainly have a place in Scottish biography. It would be still better, however, if the hardly serious criticism of Sir Walter Scott on page 230 were expunged.

There comes from the Clarendon Press a charming souvenir chapter of the history of printing in England. It is *A Brief Account of the University Press at Oxford, with Illustrations, together with a Chart of Oxford Printing* (4to. pp. viii, 47. 2s. 6d.), by Mr. Falconer

Madan, eminent as a scholar in the antiquities of books. The greatest provincial press in England, boasting continuity from Elizabethan days, furnishes ample matter for chronicle and instructive facsimile. Printing in Oxford has its earliest memorial in the Jerome bearing the date 'Mccclxviij,' but supposed really to have been printed in 1478, as the next book issued was 1479. Sixteen works are attributed to the years 1478-87. From 1517-20 what is called the second press was at work and produced seven—the arms of the University impressed on six of them, showing the academic connection. In 1585 Joseph Barnes became printer to the University, and after his retiral in 1617 successive private printers did the work until, in 1667, Dr. John Fell established a regular type foundry, and in 1669 installed the press in the Sheldonian theatre. In 1713 its quarters were removed to a new printing house, built mainly from the profits made out of the *History of the Rebellion*, by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. The Clarendon Press thus instituted removed in 1830 to the existing premises in Walton Street. Mr. Madan's notice of the career of the Press ends with an appreciation, which no student of English or of Oxford printing will think excessive, of the *New English Dictionary*, 'the greatest literary work ever produced at Oxford.' Portraits include Lord Clarendon and Archbishop Laud, the great promoter of the press, Dr. Fell (of whom Martial's *Non amote* was translated), and the venerated modern Bartholomew Price (d. 1899). Several blocks shew the University arms—the open book with seven seals and varying legends. The elaborate chart of classified works printed at Oxford from the fifteenth century until 1900 brings out the prominence of royalist literature evoked by the crisis of civil war in 1643-45, but chiefly shews the steadily ascending scale of book production from 1800 with about 40 volumes, until 1900 with about 275. Technically full of information which printers, publishers and bibliographers will all appreciate, the pamphlet yet more finely gratifies the curious sense of interest and mystery exercised by the printing press over the imagination of every lover of books whether he be bibliographically minded or not.

Ranke's *History of the Popes* (The History of the Popes during the last Four Centuries. By Leopold von Ranke. Mrs. Forster's Translation revised in accordance with the latest German edition by G. R. Dennis. 3 Vols. Vol. I. pp. xix, 548; Vol. II. pp. vii, 573; Vol. III. pp. xii, 500. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 10s. 6d.) needs no recommendation at the present day; and the scholarly labours of Mr. Dennis, in preparing the present edition, place at the disposal of English readers all the matter contained in the most recent of German editions. The work was first published in 1834, and was added to Bohn's Standard Library in 1848 in the form of a translation by Mrs. Forster. The eighth German edition appeared in 1885. This was revised by the author (who died in 1888), and was by him brought thoroughly up to date, while two new sections were added. These additions are incor-

porated in the present English edition, while various extracts from original authorities are now restored; and an enlarged index has been added, based on that of the latest German edition.

The Ostmen, descendants of Norse settlers in Ireland, have their rather pathetic story under English conquest from and after Strongbow's time interestingly pieced together by Mr. E. Curtis in the *English Historical Review* for April. Grantees of royal charters conferring the rights of English subjects upon them, they yet were under constant menace and liable to be treated as 'mere Irish' and outlaws. Masters of five cities: Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford and Cork when the invasion began in 1169, they had dwindled almost out of separate existence by the close of the thirteenth century. 'The records of the fourteenth century contain scarcely a trace of this isolated race, and suddenly and completely it vanished out of the history of Ireland.' In the same number Miss Kramer completes her essay on the amalgamation of English merchant crafts as a natural part of the evolution of the gild system. Mr. J. B. Williams writes a useful chapter for the history of the press in a well-informed article on the newsbooks, gazettes and newsletters of the Restoration. Mr. Round groups passages of record to shew that the *ora* of Domesday was normally, if not invariably, reckoned as sixteen-pence.

*Who were the Romans?* It is the question of Professor Ridgeway, discussed in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. iii, and separately reprinted (Pp. 44. Henry Frowde. 2s. 6d. net). The professor's position, of course in the front line of controversial fire, is that while the Patricians were Sabines and the Plebeians were conquered Ligurians, the Latin language was Ligurian too. Adjuncts of folk lore and Roman custom are arrayed in illustration, especially from the rite of confarreation and the use of cremation. The rest is philology—and conflict all.

*The Reliquary* for April devotes an article illustrating the sculptures of the temple of Aphaia Egina to the memory of Professor Adolf Furtwängler who died in harness in Egina last year. Fibulae from Wiltshire, primitive cliff-dwelling and flag-stone structures in Mexico, heraldic effigied and inscribed brasses from Essex, and the 'Moon-Dial' at King's Lynn are treated in letterpress and picture. Treasure trove, that still vexed question, is discussed by Mr. Carlyon-Britton, who advocates in lieu of the present unsatisfactory law the enactment of a statute making it compulsory for all objects of antiquity discovered within the British Isles to be offered at their fair market value to the Government. He suggests as a corollary the creation of a Department of Antiquities with an advisory board of experts.

*Modern Language Review* (April) follows Pantagruel's voyage on the charts of Jacques Cartier, published in 1545; shows the Inquisition as a cause of garbling Dante's *Vita Nuova*; collates texts of 'Erth uppon

erth'; and illustrates the unacknowledged translations by Elizabethan sonneteers. Daniel draws from Du Bellay, Lodge and Constable from Desportes, and Giles Fletcher from Ronsard.

In the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1907-1910, Part I. for 1907. Pp. 132, 37, xlvi. Kegan Paul. 1908), Professor Skeat offers a valuable contribution on 'The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales.' It is a collation of the MSS. and a body of inferences therefrom as to the structural changes made by the poet, which account in part for the different 'states' and order of the tales, and particularly the prologues and connecting end-links, as represented in the different MSS. of leading authority. His examination is close with the shrewdness of long study, and the results may be said to sum themselves up in his opinion—expressed as will be seen in very guarded terms—that 'it will never do any harm to look at the seven MSS. in this particular order, viz.: Hengwrt, Petworth, Corpus, Lansdowne, Harleian, Ellesmere, and Cambridge.' Dr. H. N. MacCracken propounds a 'Lydgate Canon,' giving a long catalogue of the genuine poems, followed by a discussion of those reckoned spurious. There is an amusing rejection in advance of an apprehended ascription of the *Court of Love* to Lydgate.

*The Bibliophile* (No. 2, April; No. 3, May; No. 4, June) is a sixpenny monthly magazine and review for the collector, student and general reader, with illustrations sometimes in colour and usually good, reproducing the work of old masters and modern painters, displaying specimens of ornate bindings, and amply stocked with portraits such as those of the poet Drummond and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, cuts of fabulous animals and water-marks and book-plates. Its literary wares include work of such writers as Arthur Symons, Martin Hume, Hilaire Belloc and Austin Dobson. Mr. Symons brings back old friends and introduces new when he deals with four humorists in verse—O'Keeffe, Whistlecraft, Peacock and Barham. Mr. Belloc, a trifle paradoxical, as is his wont, deplors the decline of the historical book in a lament which lays the blame as much on the readers as the writers. Mr. Dobson has a theme all his own in a survey of James Bramston's *Man of Taste*, published in 1733. To the man of taste, a superior person always, St. Paul's was not sacred—

Sure wretched *Wren* was taught by bungling *Jones*  
To murder mortar and disfigure stones.

Miss M'Chesney's account of *Eikon Basilike Deutera: The Pourtraicture of his sacred majesty Charles II.*, published in 1694, outlines the satirical parody, published in 1694, of the original *Eikon Basilike*, written to depict Charles I. Revolution wit could be a trifle dull, but the aim of the parodist was probably rather a political moral than a satire for its own sake. Under the title of 'A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage,' Mr. Arundell Esdaile attractively summarises the *Peregrinationes sanctae ad sepulchrum dominicum* of Bernhard von Breydenbach, printed in 1486. The experiences of the pilgrim at many points forestall those

of William Lithgow, and include adventures as rare and 'painefull' as his. Mr. Harold Bayley's notes on papermarks offer some rather unconvincing interpretations of their origins and significance. *The Bibliophile* deserves to win its way; there is already the assurance of sound work in its pages.

With the publication of its April number, the *Juridical Review* has entered on the twentieth year of its useful existence. Founded by Professor Goudy, before his services were claimed by Oxford, it has flourished under his able successors in the editorial chair, Mr. W. C. Smith, and Mr. H. P. MacMillan, rendering notable services to the study of scientific jurisprudence in Scotland. The present number gives abundant evidence that the Review preserves its virility, and in maintaining its high reputation, continues to deserve well of all Scots lawyers and of all students of Scottish history, particularly in its more legal aspects. In addition to articles whose interest is mainly professional, there are several that appeal to a wider audience. Among these may be singled out for favourable notice, an article (the first of a series) on the history of the House of Lords by Mr. C. R. A. Howden, written in peculiarly attractive, nervous English, and well-informed, though not entirely abreast of recent research on some points of comparatively trivial importance. 'An Example of Legal Make Believe,' by Mr. P. J. Hamilton-Grierson (whose book on 'The Silent Trade' has received a deservedly cordial welcome), discusses early practices in regard to 'adoption': it is a genuine contribution to another department of primitive custom. Lastly, there is a vigorous attack on 'Jury Justice' by Mr. Hector Burn Murdoch.

In the Whitsunday number of *Scotia*, Mr. Eyre-Todd, closing his pictorial studies of the Real King Arthur, is disposed to bury him in the 'Oon,' the *funnum Arthuri*, on the Carron. The Earl of Cassillis traces 'Scotland's share in Magna Carta.' Mr. D. Y. Cameron's fine picture of Stirling Castle makes a notable illustration of the magazine.

*The Rutland Magazine* (Jan.) has a descriptive article on 'Oakham in 1608,' and reproduces a plan of that date. Transcripts from Finch manuscripts at Burley-on-the-Hill contain interesting extracts from contemporary correspondence relative to the Revolution of 1688, including a letter of William Penn in 1692.

Mr. D. S. Davies has compiled (April) with more particular reference to Rutland, a good account of Church Chests and their contents, with notices of the parish registers, briefs and account books. South Witham burial register—date not chronicled—has an entry adding the remark after a man's name, 'A most remarkable honest Scotchman.'

*The Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal* (April) begins 'A Reading Pageant' from the pen of the editor, Rev. P. H. Ditchfield. Its opening episodes include the coming of St. Birinus, the arrival of the Danes, and the duel of Essex and De Montford, immortalised

in Jocelyn of Brakelond's chronicle and Carlyle's *Past and Present*. There is much to say for the pictorially-educative service of the pageant in stimulating local pride in local history.

Somersetshire has an Archaeological and Natural History Society, with no fewer than 693 members. The Society's *Proceedings during 1907* (8vo, pp. 328, price to non-members 10s. 6d.) form a well illustrated record of local archaeology. A large section registers the recent additions to the Taunton Castle Museum. The transactions are all on local subjects, one long paper being an account of excavations made on the Glastonbury lake village in 1906 and 1907, with sections, plan and photographs of the site and the timber-structure, and drawings of many relics found. Perforated implements of antler are numerous in these illustrations, as are small objects such as beads, rings, fibulae of bronze, bone, amber and baked clay. A comb of antler, an iron knife, and two files are also figured. Somersetshire local antiquities, chiefly architectural, appear in many plates. Among them may be noted the mediaeval shambles of Shepton Mallet, the mace of the now extinct corporation of Langport, and the old bridge of the last named place shewing what remained of a structure of at least nine arches, mentioned under Edward VI. as then 'beinge the great staye of that towne and the contrye there aboute.'

*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* for March has a note on the seal of Middleton Abbey, Dorset, the rimed Leonine elegiac legend of which—

Porta salutis Ave per te patet exitus Ave  
Venit ab Eva ve ve quia tollis Ave

—appears also on the seal of the Abbey of Arbroath. In the latter case this invocation surrounds the central figure of the Virgin seated with the Child in an open door, as shewn on a plate in Dr. De Gray Birch's work on Scottish Seals.

*Orkney and Shetland Old-lore* for April has its accustomed variety of Norse literature, lore and document. The Ballad of Hildina, translated from a poem preserved by oral tradition, but written down in 1774 in the island of Foula, is regarded as 'the principal relic of the old tongue called "Norn"—in Icelandic *Norræna*.' Hildina's burning of her bridegroom Illugi is a revenge completely of the old Icelandic kind, and the line for line rendering of Mr. Collingwood in the ballad metre of the original is an effective presentment of the piece. Shetland wrecks, Shetland phrases, and the texts of Orkney and Shetland deeds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries well warrant the name carried by this energetic serial of the Viking Club.

*The Irish Church Quarterly* (April) in its wide range from Egypt and the Exodus to the biography of Falkland and the burning questions of Rome and Modernism and the Scottish formulas of subscription of the Confession of Faith, touches also the criminal law records of Ireland under Edward I. in that country. Mr. Litton Falkiner's studies of the

Hospitallers in Ireland are commended, as is Mr. H. Wood's destructive scrutiny of Templar records resulting, as it is said, in the sweeping away of 'a host of mythical preceptories.'

Folklorists may find suggestions from Mr. A. F. Chamberlain's article in the *American Journal of Psychology* (Jan.), which, if not quite an outline monograph on the psychology of night, discusses certain of its phases, such as its connection with death and evil forces, the mystic effect of cock-crow, and primitive legends on the alternation of darkness and light.

Dr. Hiram Bingham has printed through the International Bureau of the American Republics a paper (pp. 18) on 'The Possibilities of South American History and Politics as a Field for Research.' It surveys the mass of Spanish-American records of which Dr. Bingham has compiled a preliminary catalogue numbering 25,000 items, and it urges the need of a comprehensive book to cover the institutional and narrative history of the period from 1560 until 1610.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Sept.-Dec.) appeared a study of the *lettre de cachet* in Lorraine before and after 1766, when on the death of the last Duc the province was united to the Crown. M. Duvernoy's conclusion is that in Lorraine, as in France itself, this form of procedure was employed not for the King's behalf but at the instance of the family, to check or prevent misconduct of young women for the most part. Other causes of detention are rare; the letter is a domestic not a political engine in general. The letter itself is in its terms above all things discreet; 'never do we read the words prison, house of correction, or penance—words rude and unpleasant—but decent terms like house of retreat or monastery, which could shock nobody, not even the beneficiary.' A later number (Jan.-Feb.) deals with the close of the career of Prince Henry of Prussia (d. 1802), brother of Frederick the Great.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for January contains the beginning of an article by Dom Gougaud on the work of the *Scotti*, the old Irish missionaries on the continent from the sixth to the eleventh century. The movement began as a succession of pilgrimages 'for the love of God' or 'for the weal of the soul,' St. Columban's arrival in Burgundy about A.D. 590 being the grand initiation of the extraordinary development of Irish influence on continental monasteries, many of which were founded by Columban and his disciples. St. Fursy made a reputation only second to that of Columban, and Irish hermits, monks, and missionaries in the Merovingian epoch have left an infinite if sometimes legendary impress of their dissemination throughout France. Miss Margaret Stokes has searched the forests for their vestiges, and M. Gougaud, neatly critical, observes of her results that her book on her three months' wandering is generally *plus pittoresque que précis*. Before A.D. 800, the Irish had penetrated to very remote parts and made for themselves names of power, as, for instance,



Rombaut in Belgium, St. Kilian in Franconia, and Tuban and Alto in the Rhine-land. The cult had its evils, for the *episcopi vagantes* were sometimes as defiant of discipline as of orthodox doctrine, and the wandering saint had to be put under regulation. M. Gougaud's opening article discusses shortly the causes of the movement, enquiring first whether it does not involve a reflection on the efficacy of monastic rule in Ireland itself, but he appears to favour the view which Montalembert so eloquently preached, that the enthusiasm of piety and missionary zeal, 'a real vocation for the apostolate,' and the high motives of the faith, 'legitimized the distant enterprises of these unwearied travellers whose results, despite the flaws inherent in all collective and prolonged work, remain a title of glory for their country and for religion.' Other causes indicated were not only the certain ravages of the Norsemen, but also the probable existence of bands of native marauders equally destructive and violent.

A curious addition is made to the record of hagiological fraud by an article in the same number of the *Revue* in which is traced the source of two letters attributed to St. Ignatius Loyola, first published in 1893 in the *Revue Thomiste* and edited in 1903 in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. It now turns out that these supposed letters of the founder of the Jesuits, assumed to date from the year 1538, the first year of Loyola's sojourn at Rome, are (except for about a score of words altered or suppressed) literally taken in mosaic sections from the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515-1517), that least likely of all places for inspiration or imitation to the orthodox devout! Ulrich Hutten himself might in spirit be amused to find gravely accredited to Loyola these shreds and patches, from the feigned and ironical correspondence of the Obscure Men with the super-excellent and most learned Magister Ortvinus Gratus, poet, orator, philosopher, and theologian. The changes made include the substitution of 'Magister Thomas' [Aquinas?] in the forged Loyola letter in place of the Johann Reuchlin of the *Epistolae*, and the analogous suppression of the name of that egregious Christian, Johann Pfefferkorn.

The April number resumes and concludes the subject. Special recognition is made of the *scriptura scottica* as a force in the evolution of Carolingian manuscript. Joseph the Scot, John Scot Erigena, Sedulius Scottus, the hermit Eusebius, Cadroe (a native of Scotland), and Marianus Scotus are a few of the many notables whose careers are noticed. M. Gougaud's article closes with the founding of the abbey of St. James at Ratisbon in 1090, after which a change came over the religious emigration, and Scotsmen are said to have by degrees taken the places once filled by Irishmen. Another contribution on the Immaculate Conception extracts from Oxford manuscripts passages from a sermon of Archbishop Fitzralph ('Armachanus') delivered at Avignon in 1342, in which that famous Irish controversialist ranges himself strongly on the immaculate side.

## Queries and Replies

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW  
*S.H.R.* (i. 457-9; v, 369). At the second of these references, dealing with the discovery of a hitherto unrecorded printer to the University, I pointed out that nearly four years had elapsed ere my first appeal for information had met with any response. Now a flood of information comes to hand immediately after my second appeal. In the first place it has been found that John Scrymgeour, the subject of the note, had printed in 1805 a three-volume edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, with a life and a preface by Professor W. Playfair. This preface, issued separately as a pamphlet, with the title, 'Life of Adam Smith, together with a view of his Doctrine, compared with that of the French Economists,' has also been found. Then through the good offices of Mr. W. Innes Addison and Mr. Coutts, of the University, I am now able to present a practically complete list of the University printers from 1795 onwards to the present day.

In November, 1795, James Mundell was appointed printer for three years, and in June, 1799, he was re-appointed for three years from 18th November last (1798).

On 12th October, 1801, the Senate agreed to delay the election of a University printer in succession to the deceased James Mundell.

On 1st May, 1802, the Senate elected James and John Scrymgeour to be University printers. There is no further reference to the Scrymgeours in the notes that have been collected, but on 28th January, 1811, a letter was read from Andrew Duncan soliciting appointment as University printer, and the Senate appointed him for such time and upon such conditions as they might afterwards think proper.

On 1st May, 1811, a printing account of £42 odds is mentioned from William Reid & Co. Very likely most of this would be incurred before Duncan's appointment. Mr. Duncan was still University printer in 1824, and probably continued some time longer.

On 2nd May, 1831, Hutchison & Bookman were appointed printers to the University till 1st May, 1832.

In March, 1832, applications were laid before the Senate for the office of printer from Mr. Bookman, Mr. Hutchison and Mr. Khull. No decision is stated, except that they were to lie on the table for future consideration. On 25th February, 1833, Mr. Khull was

appointed University printer till 1st May, 1834. Mention is made of Khull in 1837, when his printing account was ordered to be paid, exclusive of interest.

On 1st May, 1848, George Richardson was appointed printer to the University.

George Richardson's business was bought in 1872 by Mr. Robert MacLehose, who held the post till the end of 1894, when he retired from business and was succeeded by his nephews Messrs. Robert and James MacLehose. Since the death of the former last year, the appointment has been held by Mr. James MacLehose; so that the post has been in the hands of the MacLehose family for the past thirty-six years.

W. STEWART.

211 West Princes Street, Glasgow.

**ST. GREGORY'S, PARIS.** In a Psalterium published at Cologne in 1539, and recently purchased in London, the words 'Bibliotheca Seminarii Anglorum Sti. Gregorii Parisi,' are written on the title-page. Was this College founded before 1558, or was it a Paris Collegiate Institution affiliated with Douai after 1572?

W. H. TELFORD.

Reston Manse.

**CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY.** With reference to the query recently raised by our reviewer we are glad to hear that the volume of maps to illustrate the *Cambridge Modern History* which was announced some time ago, is in active preparation. On the completion of the *History*, two additional volumes will be published. One of these will contain a full detailed general index of the whole work, and the other will contain maps and genealogical tables.

## Communications and Replies

PRIVATEERS ON THE ENGLISH COAST IN 1808. The Editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* is indebted to Mr. William Brown, Blinkhoolie, Kinross, for permission to publish the following extract from a manuscript diary, entitled *Notes of a Jaunt to London by Water and returning by Land commenced 4th July, 1808*, by the Rev. David Brown, Parish Minister of Crailing.

We set sail with a fair wind and would soon have cleared the Firth of Forth, but the Capt. had agreed to keep company with another smack (y<sup>e</sup> Coldstream) a bad sailer, and to retard us still more her Capt. had been detained on shore more than two hours after we were under sail. The Coldstream fired a gun from time to time to remind our Capt. of his engagement. We shortened sail accordingly. It was judged prudent to have company as a greater security against attacks of the enemy's Privats. which had of late been rather frequent on the Coast. Each smack was armed with 6 four-pounder long Guns, besides muskets, etc. We had therefore no fear from any of the smaller sort of Privateers.

Our Company promised to be very agreeable and every moment we were becoming more acquainted with each other. The Capt. was a good obliging man, but very dull by means of a heavy domestic misfortune. We discovered that during his last voyage his wife had absconded with an artillery man of Leith Battery, leaving his house and two children. The greatest reason he seemed to have for lamentation of this matter, was the difficulty of obtaining a Divorce, in order to be at liberty to chuse another *Moll*. Sailors even of the better sort are apt to be very easy in such matters.

On the afternoon of the 5th July, the day of embarkation, we had a delightful sail down y<sup>e</sup> south coast of the Forth. About five in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon we had y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of viewing the Bass, passing close by it on the south. Opposite to the Bass is Tamtallan which seems to be y<sup>e</sup> ruin of a large Fort. Some curious looking rocks are in its neighbourhood—the views are picturesque. By waiting for the Coldstream we were detained all this night in Dunbar Bay and rather becalmed. Pass'd St. Abbs Head early on the 6th, a high rocky shore, well furnished with signal Posts. It is proper here to take notice of our accommodations. The after or smaller Cabin was appropriated to the Females, who by the rolling of the vessel had all been very sick thro the night. The Gentlemen occupied y<sup>e</sup> large Cabin which contains eight beds. These beds are only about 2 ft. nine inches wide, furnished with a mattress a Pillow and Blankets—are very commodious for one person, but must be very much otherwise for two. Luckily each of us got one, and I

was very happy in having brought sheets along w<sup>t</sup> me which made me quite comfortable. Some of the Gentlemen also were very sick the first night. I was quite well, but the noise and rolling of the ship prevented sleep. The perpetual noise of the sick passengers was also distressg.

This day (the 6th) y<sup>e</sup> wind was from the east by south. We made little progress. Passed Eyemouth—seem<sup>s</sup>ly a neat small village situated in a low opening on y<sup>e</sup> shore. The shore is bold and rocky. Pass'd Berwick, which has no great appearance from the sea. Here we were joined by a Berwick Smack Capt. Brown. We now thought our force very formidable, and defied the Privateers. But still the Coldstream lagged behind. This afternoon we were becalmed near Holy Island and y<sup>e</sup> tide being ag<sup>t</sup> us we anchored for a few hours. Towards night-fall pass'd Bamburgh Castle and held on with a brisk breeze along y<sup>e</sup> Coast of Northumberland.

On Thursday (the 7th) pass'd Tinemouth—had now a light south westerly wind. A great appearance of shipping and the vast smoke coming down the River indicates a Country abounding with Coal. From this time the sea was covered with ships of all sorts and sizes met this day with many smacks from London which haild us, wishing each other a good voyage. Towards evening passed Scarborough which is pleasantly situated on a high bold point. During this night we were greatly becalmed and had even to cast anchor to hold the ground we had made as any wind we had would not stem the tide which was now ag<sup>t</sup>. us.

The shore here is bold and the water deep to the very beach. In some parts we saw small fishing villages as it were stuck in to some low gullies.—Here were pointed out allum works on the sides of the high rocky beach.—The houses are all covered with tiles, and those villages have a very crowded mean appearance. In the night we made little progress for want of wind.

In the morn<sup>s</sup> early on friday 8th reach'd Flamboro Head, where we were obliged to drop anchor the wind being light and tide ag<sup>t</sup>. us. The scene here was delightful. This being the point which all vessels make bound to or from London, to and from all quarters—there were hundreds in sight at all times—at this time they seemed mostly bound to the north—among them were a vast proportion of light coal ships. Whilst we were thus detained by wind and tide they were wafted along with considerable rapidity by both wind and tide.—All was motion—it was wonderful to think whither so many were bound. The weather freshening and tide coming in our favour we beat across Burtington bay. Flamboro Head juts considerably into the sea; a high beach of chalk Rock frequented by vast numbers and variety of sea fowls the noise of which is like that at the Bass; but no Solan Geese were seen.

This afternoon a brisk wind with rain, the wind was called a breeze but was rather approaching to a gale; and the wind being rather too much against us the vessel rolled, which set the Ladies all to their old business of reachg. The afternoon was hazy and we could have no

views. In the night we pass'd Spurn Head, the mouth of the Humber and Wash, and by our dint of sail, and the blowing weather being now separated from all our companions, and a suspicious sail dogging us about ten O'Clock at night rather excited alarm. She was lugger rigged which is uncommon in these seas. We had our great Guns shotted and were getting the small arms in order some of the Passengers declared a readiness to sink or to die in arms rather than to visit the Dominions of Bonaparte. No doubt we thought our courage was great and the plan was laid how to bring our guns to bear with most effect. However, the enemy, if it was an enemy, thought fit to save us the trouble. Our appearance being that of a King's Cutter might perhaps intimidate. He disappeared and welcome. We had a good sleep and in the morning of Saturday 9th, were in sight and soon pass'd Yarmouth. We continued our course in the Roads with a fair light breeze and the tide in favour carrying us at a great rate along the Coast of Norfolk. The land here is low and flat and what we could see seems well cultivated. We saw a number of neat towns mostly built of Brick and all covered with Tiles which gives them rather a mean appearance.

Pass'd along the Coast of Suffolk. On the Coast of both these Counties are seen a number of Handsome Gothic Churches with high tower steeples which have a fine effect. The country seems very well cultivated and an appearance of wood gives it a delightful look. Orfordness and Lights have a pleasing appearance. Orfordness is a little off the shore, a sweet looking village with a handsome Church, and some wood. After this our course was at a distance from the shore, all marked with Buoys on both sides. In the evening we passed the Nore with moon light. Here all the Passengers who had never gone this way before, were fined of half a Crown to the Sailors. At this time we rather regretted the darkness as we wished to have seen the shipping—were told that few Men of War were there at the time. By day light on Sunday (10th) found we had pass'd Graves-end and at 4 O'Clock came to anchor in the midst of a Fleet of India-men a little below Long reach, where we lay and got a sound sleep till 10 O'Clock when the tide began to rise, when we were ready all dressed for approaching the City and enjoyed the most delightful prospects that we could suppose art or nature can afford. Passed Woolwich—viewed the Hulks filled with Convicts and saw a number of ships of war laid up for repair. Next had a prospect of Greenwich Hospital.—Behind these two places the country rises and is enriched with a number of beautiful Villas, green enclosures and corn fields with hedge rows of trees—Pollards. Some of the Corns seem'd ripening fast for the harvest.

Pass'd Deptford Docks, etc. we were now passing thro a crowd of ships of all sizes, many of them under sail—admired the dexterity of the seamen in keepg. the ships clear of each other. The River had the appearance of a thick forest. At 2 O'Clock came to a landing at Downe's Wharf Wapping—took a Coach and with all our luggage soon arrived at the Lodgings of our friend Dr. Cairns, 4 Beaufort Buildings, Strand, and got lodgings at No. 6, Mrs. McAllan Taylor.

## CLAVERHOUSE'S LAST LETTER.

'SIR, 'It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them have fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field, and the enemy's baggage which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies, and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, sir, be more particular, but take leave to assure your Majesty the Kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait(s) for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility, having had all their assurances for it,<sup>1</sup> except the notorious rebels.

'Therefore, sir, for God's sake assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary Kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours.

DUNDEE.'<sup>2</sup>

The hasty rejection of the Killicrankie letter, not on internal evidence, but on the assumption that Dundee is proved to have expired on the battle-field is worthy of more close consideration.

The exact nature of Claverhouse's wound is discussed in detail by Professor Terry:<sup>3</sup> 'According to Balhaldy,' he says, 'Dundee was shot about two hands' breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side. According to Balcarres he was shot in his right side immediately below his armour. Dundee's breastplate is preserved at Blair Castle. It shows a shot-hole "right through the centre." This hole, however, Professor Terry explains, was manufactured by the carpenter of the fourth Duke of Atholl 'presumably to improve its warlike appearance.' If the carpenter is responsible for the hole, 'then,' says Professor Terry, 'it is established that Dundee was shot neither in his right side, nor in his left, nor in his breast. . . . Balhaldy's and Balcarres's statements, mutually contradictory, are both disproved by the absence of a shot-hole on either side of the Blair breastplate.'

<sup>1</sup> From Dundee himself in a series of letters to every chief and nobleman of note who had not already joined Mackay.

<sup>2</sup> *Nairne Papers*. Bodleian Library. (*Macpherson's Original Papers*.)

<sup>3</sup> The Editor hopes to have some notes on this subject from Professor Terry in the next issue of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

With the greatest deference to Professor Terry, I would suggest that Balcarres's statement that Dundee was wounded in the right side immediately below his armour, and Balhaldy's remark that he was wounded in the lower part of the left side, neither of them affect the question of a hole in the breastplate; for if Dundee's fatal wound was below his armour in the lower part of his side, the breastplate would naturally remain untouched. Moreover, it is by no means certain that Balhaldy and Balcarres originally contradicted each other, inasmuch as although the particulars concerning a shot in the right side appear in the 1714 printed edition of Balcarres's work, no details whatsoever as to the nature of the wound are given in Lord Lindsay's edition which was printed from a manuscript copy of Balcarres's Memoirs in the handwriting of Balcarres's son, James, the fourth Earl. The supposed contradiction of Balhaldy and Balcarres is of small importance in this argument, as it seems clear that a bullet entering 'immediately below' Dundee's armour could not make a hole in his breastplate.

Ian Lom, the bard of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, who in his youth had taken part in Montrose's Highland victories and celebrated them in song, is believed to have been at the battle of Killiecrankie, which is the subject of his last warlike poem. Though a bard's rhetoric should not be literally accepted without due regard to other evidence, it may be admitted that he is a witness worth calling. He apostrophises 'gallant Claverhouse of the steeds, true leader of hosts,' and says:

'O heroic leader, thou didst fall in the fight,  
And dreadful was thy arm till thy hour came . . .  
Like flaming fire to them thy wrath  
Till fate crossed thy path;  
'Neath the folds of thy clothing the bullet pierced thee.'<sup>1</sup>

This, so far as it goes, supports Balhaldy; but we return to Professor Terry, who quotes 'An Account of the Proceedings, etc., No. 56, p. 129,' to establish the fact that the "Mortal Wound he (Dundee) received, and of which he soon died, was by a Shot in his left Eye." This, Professor Terry gives on the authority of Mackay and some of his officers who were said to have seen Dundee's corpse 'in a coffin in the vault of old Blair Church.' 'It may be stated, therefore, with conviction,' concludes Professor Terry, that Dundee's mortal wound was 'neither in the left, right, nor centre of his body, but in his left eye.'

Had Professor Terry consulted his medical friends they would have pointed out to him that this wound in the eye if mortal would have penetrated to the brain and killed Dundee not 'soon' but instantly. If Mackay and his officers had been able to examine the corpse of their conqueror immediately after his death their evidence might be of some value, but their supposed inspection is by way of having taken place in the vault of Blair Church some weeks after the fatal battle, and it involves a medical impossibility. It cannot, therefore, be accepted as

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Hist. Rev.* iii. 63. 'Killiecrankie described by an eye-witness.'



conclusive; whereas the statement made in Parliament, on oath, by James Malcolm, who had fought in the Jacobite army at Killiecrankie, and who referred to Dundee's 'wounds'<sup>1</sup> in the plural cannot easily be ignored.

A letter written by Thomas Stewart of Stenton two days after the battle, saying on hearsay that 'my Lord Dundee was shot dead on the head of his horse,'<sup>2</sup> was taken by Sir William Fraser to prove that Dundee died instantaneously; but presumably Sir William had forgotten that Lieutenant Nisbet, of Mackay's army, who had been taken prisoner at Killiecrankie, when afterwards cross-examined in Parliament in the presence of Dundee's especial enemies, the Duke of Hamilton and Sir John Dalrymple, declared that he 'remembered particularly' being told at Blair Castle by 'one named Johnston' how he had caught Lord Dundee 'as he fell from his horse after being shot,' and when Dundee had asked how the day went, Johnston had said '*the day went well for the King—meaning King James—but that he was sorry for his lordship*;' whereupon Dundee replied '*It was the less matter for him, seeing the day went well for his master.*'<sup>3</sup>

These celebrated 'last words' of Dundee (which come down to us through the testimony of an officer who had fought against him, and of the Parliament that had outlawed him), are characteristic. 'It is the less matter.' A more quixotic man might have said: 'It is no matter for me.' But Dundee, with all his devotion, was not quixotic; and his enthusiasm never blurred his clearness of intellect.

Though the question as to the authenticity of Dundee's last letter to the King is answered by Professor Terry emphatically in the negative, there are still a few points on which it is to be wished that we could obtain fuller information.

'Macpherson printed in 1775 in good faith, and with every reason to believe them genuine, a manuscript speech and letter of Dundee, in a contemporary hand, which he found among other papers of the period which his volume includes'; but, says Professor Terry, 'while Macpherson's other papers are genuine reprints of authentic documents, the contemporary manuscript of Dundee's speech to his army and his letter to King James is nothing more than a manuscript copy of a broadside printed in London within a few days of Killiecrankie, of no authority whatever, published in order to counteract the early rumours of Dundee's death and, as that event portended, the destruction of Jacobite hopes in the United Kingdom.'

But how can it be proved that the broadside (which is merely described by its present owner as likely to have been contemporary),<sup>4</sup> was published within a few days of Killiecrankie?

'It was after the exhilaration caused by the earliest accounts of

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ix. App. p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* 12. App. viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts Parl. Scot.* vol. ix. App. p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. T. L. Mawdesley, in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 10, 1903.

Killiecrankie,' Professor Terry tells us, 'that the London Jacobites heard of the fatal price at which the victory had been bought. The key to their attitude, and a guide to the steps which they took to counteract the disastrous tidings, is found in a letter from Sir Adam Blair, at that time a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, to an Edinburgh correspondent. The letter is dated 3rd August, 1689, the day following the receipt in London of the news of Dundee's death. "We have an account of Dundie's defateing Mackay," he wrote, "and to satisfy the minds of people heir, who are att present very unease, they give it out that Dundie is killed, which his friends heir are not apt to believe."' Incredulity on the part of Jacobites is not surprising, as the fables previously related by the revolutionists (maintaining that King James had intended to impose a spurious heir upon the nation and to hang or burn all Protestants), would scarcely dispose the adherents of the exiled King to give immediate and unqualified credence to information circulated by William of Orange's government. Professor Terry assures us that the Jacobite 'party managers were equal to the occasion,' and that 'within a short time of the publication of the Government's intelligence' (that is to say some time after August 2nd), a broadside was circulated which 'with magnificent audacity negatived the Government's declaration that Dundee had died in the action, by publishing, without comment, a letter from his own pen which proved him alive and confident, albeit wounded, an artistic touch, which met the official pronouncement half way.'

That a letter dated the 28th July,<sup>1</sup> and circulated 'a short time' after the 2nd August, would prove Dundee though wounded to be still alive at the time of its circulation, seems open to doubt. It could only prove that he had been alive on the 28th July. The inference that he had not succumbed to his wounds might possibly be drawn, but it is difficult to believe that a Jacobite forger would take King James's general out of his grave merely to put him upon a probable death-bed. If the Jacobite 'party managers' (whose names Professor Terry does not mention), were clever enough to counterfeit Dundee's style and mannerisms, it seems incongruous that they should not also have realised the folly of attempting to postpone a discovery of the real state of affairs by so feeble and necessarily short-lived a stratagem.

Professor Terry maintains that 'any doubt' of the spuriousness of the letter 'is removed by the fact that [in the printed version of it] Dundee is made to estimate his numbers at Killiecrankie at nearly three times their actual strength;' but I would suggest that, as the Highland army swelled to some 6,000 men within a few days after the battle, this may account for the interpolation in the broadside. It will be remembered that Dundee had arranged for a great gathering of the clans on the 29th of July, and had gone on ahead into the Atholl country with a small army, when, on the 27th, two days before

<sup>1</sup>It is not dated in the Bodleian MS., but it is dated 28th July in the broadside. Dundee in several cases omits to date his letters.

the remainder of his forces was due, he turned and faced Mackay. The clansmen arrived at the rendezvous on the specified date, too late for the battle. It might be conjectured that the English Jacobite 'party managers' on hearing, early in August, that the Highland army then consisted of considerably over 5,000 men, took for granted that all these men had fought at Killiecrankie, and consequently interpolated the impressive figures. Professor Terry remarks that the Bodleian MS. 'omitted so glaring an error,' and he takes this as evidence of 'the spurious character of the document'; in a controversy where all the points can be little more than conjecture, this omission might equally be taken to suggest the genuineness of the manuscript.

'When and how the manuscript found its way among Nairn's papers cannot be traced,' says Professor Terry.<sup>1</sup> 'But it is not difficult to conclude that it was sent either as a curiosity of political audacity, or, more probably, as an indication of the party's vitality in London.' It is not difficult to advance this conjecture but to prove that it decides the question seems to me more than difficult, and I cannot agree with Professor Terry that the controversy is ended.

In style and spirit the letter bears so strong a resemblance to Claverhouse's other letters that, had its authenticity not been questioned, it would have seemed a fitting close to his career. It would appear consistent with all that had gone before that he who had 'toiled so much for honour' should have died as he had lived, striving to instil into the King something of his own indomitable spirit.

The reticence with regard to himself, the just pride in the achievements of those who had fought under him, the allusions to his diplomatic correspondence with every person of importance whom there had been any hope of gaining, are all so characteristic that one hesitates before finally accepting the theory of forgery.

'I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it.' To those few students of history who have learnt to know Dundee from his own letters rather than through the medium of his commentators, this is a most significant sentence; it was his way, whilst disowning all rhetorical aid, to convey his meaning most surely and effectively. 'I need tell you no news. You know all better than I do who dwell in deserts,' he had written to Lord Murray a few weeks previously; 'Yet I *can* tell you—' and then follow a succession of astounding statements.

I suggest that the last word has not yet been said, and that lying buried in the Charter Chests of some historic family in Scotland, there may perhaps be documents which would cast further light on these disputed points. In the meantime the constantly reiterated charge of forgery brought against the famous letter to the King should either be subjected to a fresh investigation, or dismissed with the verdict of 'NOT PROVEN.'

MICHAEL BARRINGTON.

<sup>1</sup> Nairn was Under-Secretary to Lord Melfort, who was Secretary to King James.

## Notes and Comments

THE Rhind lectures for 1907 were delivered in April, 1908, by Mr. James Curle, who took for his subject the Roman Military Station at Newstead. It is the first occasion in the history of the lectureship that a single excavation has been chosen as the subject for the course, and it affords a precedent for more detailed treatment which cannot but be valuable. Mr. Curle's treatment of his subject was indeed a comparative study of the Newstead fort, its garrison and the objects of their daily life, many illustrations drawn from continental sources being employed to interpret the rich material obtained from the site. We have more than once called attention to the very successful results obtained at Newstead, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is to be congratulated, not only on a series of diggings which have already produced results of the highest importance, but on these Rhind Lectures by Mr. Curle, with whose name the excavations must always be associated.

The first lecture of the series was chiefly devoted to the history of the site and to the remains of the fortifications. Of these, nothing is left upon the surface to indicate their presence; everything had to be traced out by spade work. The buildings formed the subject of the second lecture; only fragmentary foundations remained, and yet the plan recovered is one of the most complete we possess. The Praetorium, storehouses, and commandants' quarters, though larger in size, have much in common with similar buildings at Birrens and Borcovicus. Not the least interesting feature of the plan lies in the lines of huts which in the later period of the occupation must have formed the barracks of the soldiery. Comparing them with the barracks of the legionary cohorts at Novaesium, Mr. Curle estimates the garrison of the fort at its latest period at 1500 men, though not a few indications point to a larger garrison at an earlier period. The interesting problem of the successive occupations, the baths and other remains lying within the fortified annexes attached to the fort were dealt with in the third lecture. From these pits and wells, lying for the most part in the annex to the south, have come the most valuable finds of the Newstead collection, a collection which reveals the population of a Roman frontier post as no other in this country has done. These finds were used by Mr. Curle in his fourth lecture to illustrate the armour and equipment of the soldier. Roman armour and weapons remain objects of the greatest rarity, on the whole the excavation of forts, whether in Great Britain or the Continent, has produced surprisingly few specimens,

and the Newstead finds bring before us many things to prove the fidelity of sculptures such as the Trajan column on the grave monuments of the Rhineland. Perhaps it is in the study of pottery, which formed the subject of the fifth lecture, that the excavations at Newstead most distinctly advance our knowledge. Hitherto it has not been possible in Scotland to distinguish clearly the pottery of the early advance under Agricola from the later advance in the reign of Pius. The fragments carefully collected from the ditch of the early fort at Newstead supply a much needed series of types, and already we get from it the interesting result that the early pottery is absent from the collection at Birrens, and alone is represented by the few fragments from the fort at Inchtuthill, the most northerly of the Roman posts yet excavated. Many miscellaneous finds illustrating the arts and crafts of the fort were dealt with in the concluding lecture.

That the garrison possessed wheeled transport in the earliest period of the fort is a fact of great interest, while the series of fibulae for the first time in Scotland permits an attempt at chronological arrangement. The absence of inscriptions does not permit any very definite historical conclusions, but valuable indications were deduced from the finds, notably the coins and pottery. The coin series goes far to confirm the theory put forward by Professor Haverfield of the abandonment of the northern conquests somewhere about the year 180. Mr. Curle establishes at least a strong presumption that Agricola's conquests were not at once abandoned on his recall in A.D. 186, and while the traces of the Antonine occupation, as we might expect, are distinct, there is evidence that changes took place at an earlier period, and indications suggesting that in the reign of Trajan, Newstead may have formed an outpost of the Empire.

MONT ST. MICHEL has, as M. Etienne Dupont begins by telling us in *Les Prisons du Mont Saint-Michel* (Nantes: Durance, 1908, *Mont St.* pp. 23) been looked at on all sides—historical, romantic, *Michael* picturesque, ecclesiastical, and even biographical. 'Neverthe- and its cage less, considered as a place of detention, it has not yet found de fer. its historian.' So M. Dupont fills the breach, and his story is full of incident. Cardinal La Balue heads the list of distinguished prisoners—set in his cage of iron by Louis XI. Noel Beda follows, sent there by Francis I. for a satire, to die still prisoner in 1536. In 1546, Norman Lesley, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and the laird of Pitmillie were prisoners, but made their escape (*S.H.R.* iii. 506). Used very often as a place of confinement for libellous and satirical authors, the Mont became a leading prison of state, in which many celebrities were immured. A young man of Irish family named Stapleton appears, from the prison archives, to have been released in 1773 after a captivity of twenty-four years, due evidently to proceedings of the nature of *lettre de cachet* at the instance of his relations. The Revolution greatly increased the numbers committed to the Mont. Under Napoleon I. prisoners of war were sent there. It ceased to be a prison in 1863. An institution so curious as the *cage de fer*, which was a special feature of the Mont, and which doubtless helped to give the Mont the bad name it once had among French prisons, might

have tempted M. Dupont to tell more about it. For Scots history it has particular interest in view of Edward I.'s cage for the Countess of Buchan in 1306. In France, although it has been specially associated with Louis XI. (as Comines tells, who had eight months of it himself and liked it ill), it was no institution of his inventing. Moisant's *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine* (1894, p. 84) mentions that at Bayonne scolding women were shut up in the *cage de fer*, and after exposure for some hours on one of the bridges, were ducked in the river. This kind of punishment, it is there stated, was in full force from the thirteenth century until the middle of the eighteenth. As a punishment for state offences the cage (which appears to have been anciently a Danish usage) is mentioned by French authors as resorted to by Louis IX. Among the Germans it was a frequent practice in the fifteenth century. A classical example, however, was the fate of the Turk Bajazet in 1402 at the hands of his victorious rival Tamerlane, who made for the ex-Sultan, his master, what Jaïque Dex (*Metzer Chronik*, p. 363) calls a *jaiole de fer*. Poggio, as quoted by Gibbon, styles it *cavea*, which is the word employed by chroniclers in other cases. Sometimes the term is *cavea lignea*, for the thing was not always, indeed may have only seldom been, made wholly of iron. At Mont St. Michel, when Madam de Genlis visited the spot, she learned some curious particulars. 'I questioned the monks,' she says, 'about the famous *cage de fer*: they informed me that it was not of iron but of wood (*point de fer mais de bois*), and that it was formed of enormous logs (*bûches*), leaving three or four finger-breadths between them.<sup>1</sup> It was about fifteen years since any prisoners had been kept there, for people were often enough temporarily put there, they told me, when they were refractory, although the place was horribly damp and insanitary. The cage was in a cave, to which the descent was made by ladders. The Duc de Chartres in 1777 ordered its destruction, and with an axe struck the first blow himself, to the great rejoicing of the prisoners elsewhere in the prison.' 'It was surely,' says Madame de Genlis, 'the first time that these vaults resounded with cries of joy amid the tumult. But I was struck by the sad and stricken countenance of the gateman of the castle. I remarked to the prior that the man regretted the loss of the cage because he used to shew it to visitors. Monsieur the Duc de Chartres gave him ten louis, telling him that in future instead of shewing the cage he should shew the place it once occupied.' There might be vested interests, evidently, in a *cage de fer*.

THAT graciousness which the French know so well how to display on unlooked for and therefore the more effective occasions is manifested in the dedication of a 'Volume supplémentaire' of the *Revue Historique* to the memory of the critic and political writer, Alphonse Peyrat. The chief article is by one of the editors, M. Gabriel Monod, and turns

<sup>1</sup> This description differs greatly from that of Edward I.'s cage for the Countess of Buchan which was (Palgrave's *Documents*, p. 358) to be 'une kage de fort latiz de fuist et barrez et bien efforcez de ferrement'—a structure of wooden lattice work iron-bound.

upon the criticism written in 1837 by Peyrat of Michelet's *History of France*. The critique displays marked penetration on the part of the young journalist, who was to achieve great distinction both in literature and politics. His censures nettled Michelet, but in the correspondence now published a judicious intermediary is seen bringing about a personal meeting which turned the promise of quarrel into a friendship for life. Another article of great attraction to the archivist is on Simancas by Monsieur G. Constant, who, writing from that uncomfortable but inexhaustible storehouse of documents, narrates the story of the little Spanish town and the course of fortune which, by the decree of Charles V., and the execution of it by Philip II., turned the castle of the place into the present *Archivo*. Until Gachard began that course of studies there which after 1843 somewhat broke down its inaccessibility, the place had, as M. Constant says, remained a fortress for historians. Conditions are now greatly changed, but the way of study is still hard at Simancas, which makes some people regret that Talleyrand sent back to Simancas those 7861 bundles of documents which Napoleon carried off into France for the great depot of Archives which he designed on the Seine at Paris. Elba, however, saved Simancas, and its bundles of history were restored.

*Simancas  
Archives.*

VALUABLE as a survey of current historical methods, the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison well deserves the space the report of it fills in the *American Historical Review* for April. Both the side of study and the side of pedagogy are represented, and it is pleasant to see the professional interest not monopolised by problems of teaching but fairly divided between the concerns of the class-room and the advancement of research. A wide range of subjects appears to have been attractively covered, and there were bright discussions on some of them. Geographical location and physiography as factors in history, co-operation of State societies for gleaning documents in foreign archives, scientific organization of historical museums, and the co-ordination of local historical studies were themes well fitted to evoke instructive opinions. Very various were the views educed regarding the treatment due to the Middle Ages, especially over the rather daring proposal of one professor to skip the period from Gregory the Great to Abelard—a drastic deletion which the conference did not ratify. Many special papers of original note were read, among which was the presidential address by Professor Franklin Jameson on 'The American Acta Sanctorum,' discussing the body of curious material for history buried in the biographies and memorials of 'saints' in America, whether early Puritans or latter-day prophets and Christian scientists. British matters dealt with include Professor Abbott's enquiry into the beginnings of English political parties, and Professor Dodd's observations on the study of Coke on Littleton in contrast with that of Blackstone as influences on the federal question in the United States. Coke stood for the particularist interpretations of the Con-

*American  
Historical  
Association in  
conference.*

stitution, Blackstone for the broader rationalist views which emphasised the sovereign power, so that in a general sense Coke was a force for the rights of the separate states and Blackstone for the central power. Economic topics of the conference embraced the effect of the Pacific Railways in extinguishing the frontier which from 1850 until 1880 was a vast circle enclosing the Rocky Mountains and the Great American Desert but which before 1885 had virtually disappeared under the attack by rail. The last paper of the Madison meeting we need notice here is Professor Bolton's comprehensive report on the archives—surprisingly voluminous—of Mexico.

BESIDES its record of the Madison meeting the *Review* contains notes on the treatment of English Catholics under Elizabeth, and on the French co-operative historical enterprise initiated by M. Jaurès for the collection and publication of texts bearing on the agricultural, commercial and industrial economics of France at the Revolution. Norse students will find a full treasury of old court-lore in Mr. Larson's article on the household of Norwegian kings in the thirteenth century. Four distinct groups, all organised to guard or serve the king formed closely related gilds. They were the 'hirdmen,' the 'gests,' the 'candleswains' and the 'house-carles.' Each group had its function, the hirdman to guard the king's life and person, the gest to serve as outer guard and messenger, the candle-swain to wait at table and take his turn of guard duty, and the house-carle to render manual service in the household and to attend to the king's work generally. Offices of dignity included the 'drotseti' or seneschal and 'fehirthir' or treasurer and the 'stallari' or staller—the last an official known to Early English history, being in earlier stages mainly a war chief, but developing into a king's orator and ambassador. In the thirteenth century the old staller in Norway had given place to a new functionary, the chancellor, whose office was probably introduced from England in the thirteenth century. Mr. Larson's clear and circumstantial account of the Norwegian 'hird' is of the more interest for Scottish institutions in view not only of the regulations of the royal household in Scotland, but also of the fact that early Scots laws give a place of authority as well as rank to the hirdman.

HERALDIC notarial marks are always of interest. The accompanying representation of one is from an instrument of sasine, kindly submitted to us by Mr. James Barbour, architect, Dumfries, and bearing date 5th March, 1499—by the modern computation, 1500. It is in favour of Robert Monypenny as heir of his father, Patrick Monypenny, in the lands of Pilrig (*Pelrig . . . in regalitate et baronia nostra de Brochtonne*) on a precept by Robert [Bannatyne] abbot of Holyrood, proceeding upon the resignation of Elen Duddingston, widow of Patrick Monypenny, under reservation of her liferent. Thomas Maxwell was a priest of the St.

Norse  
King's  
Household.

Heraldic  
Notarial  
Mark.



Andrews diocese, admitted notary by sacred, imperial and royal authority His mark neatly incorporates with his initials the Maxwell arms, argent a saltire sable. Although there might have seemed also to be in this



a suggestion of the alleged arms of the see, borne on a seal of the Bishop's Official in the fifteenth century, Mr. J. H. Stevenson's examination of the significance of that seal (*S.H.R.* v. 315) makes this inadmissible, more especially in the case of a person who was merely a notary of the diocese.

THE *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (Jan.) contains further instalments of the studies of M. Petit-Dutaillis in the social history of the Low Countries as revealed in the remissions granted for acts of <sup>Medieval</sup> violence. We realised the degree of promise held out by the *law of feud*. first chapter (see *S.H.R.* v. 381) and the sequel has justified our anticipations. In the law administered under Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, during the time dealt with, from 1438 until 1466, the populace, equally with the nobility, exercised the right of vengeance, so well known in Scotland as the usage of deadly feud. Dying out elsewhere the old rule still held good in some provinces: a murder in revenge for another murder or a wrong was a legitimate act which met with public approbation. Constituted authorities everywhere were doing their best to check these private wars and family feuds. Chief instrument to that end was the system of assurance, the '*sur état*' as it was called in the Netherlands, best known in Scotland as 'lawburrows'—a process under which accused persons were bound over to keep the peace under heavy penalties. Forms of reconciliation familiar in Scotland were known to Continental practice also. Thus sometimes (as occasionally found in our own records) peace was ceremonially made by the parties drinking together. But the most curious ceremony was that of the *amende honorable* (usually over and above the *amende profitable* or pecuniary satisfaction); it was at bottom an

ecclesiastical humiliation and expiation made to the wounded honour of the wronged person or family. Bareheaded and unbelted, in kirtle alone, the person seeking reconciliation with the person or family offended made his submission by a public ceremony, in which he craved pardon and offered satisfaction. With this may be compared various Scottish examples noted in *Scottish Antiquary*, Jan. 1901, pp. 113-22; *S.H.R.* iv. 87; Calderwood's *History*, iii. 346; while a perfect rendering of the same thing earlier than the Scottish instances will be found in *Li Regret Guillaume*, a

lament for William, Count of Hainault (father of Philippa, Queen of Edward III. of England), dead in 1337. In that poem, written by Jehan de la Motte in 1339, an allegorical incident occurs in which a knight who has killed a boy is besieged by the father and is starved into surrender. No other course was open to him except this—

Que hors dou castiel istera,  
Et pour Dieu mierchi crieria.  
Hors issi em pur le kemise,  
Une espee en se main a mise,  
Au tref s'en vint, mierchi cria  
A genous, et puis li bailla  
L'espee en disant: 'A exil  
Me metés, je tuai vo fil;  
Pour Dieu vous en requier mierci.'

*Li Regret Guillaume*, ed. Scheler, 1882; ll. 3904-12.

The submission was accepted by the father—

'Levés sus' fait il 'sire ciers,  
Je vous pardoins d'ore en avant  
Le mort de mon loial enfant.'  
Lors li cavaliers se leva,  
L'uns l'autre en le bouce baisa,  
Ains puissedi n'eurent contraire. ll. 3925-30.

These passages show the process of satisfaction, or as we called it in Scotland, assythment, to have been fundamentally and in detail the same on the Continent and with us. When the documents of M. Petit-Dutaillis are fully presented there may be an opportunity of noting further elements of archaic criminal law common to Burgundy and Scotland in the middle ages. It is, however, abundantly evident that the relationship is not a parallelism merely: the institution has a European unity in the matter of the penitential submission, the security taken (styled 'borowis of pece' in a Scots Act of 1449-50) and the stringency of punishment, at least in theory, for breach of obligation by the parties to be at peace. In Burgundy as here the records of the custom afford most valuable evidence of the obstinate reluctance of the old right of private revenge to efface itself in favour of satisfaction sought in the forms of a newer public law. In the same sense, the gradual decline of lawburrows in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an assured sign of victory of the King's peace.