

Reviews of Books

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue.
Vol. VIII. 1811-1812. Pp. xxiv, 687. Med. 8vo. 23 Maps in
separate volume. London: Macmillan & Co. 1917. 30s. net.

WHEN the announcement was made that Mr. Fortescue had been selected to write an Official Military History of the present war, one touch of mis-giving inevitably diminished by a little the satisfaction with which readers of his *History of the British Army* welcomed the news. They could not but fear lest the new task might hinder the completion of the old, that the story of the British Army in the Napoleonic Wars might be left unfinished, and they felt that this would be a heavy price to pay, even for an account by Mr. Fortescue of the great fight against odds which the Old Army waged at Le Cateau and Ypres and of the mighty struggles by which their Territorial and 'New Army' successors have carried on the work so well begun. But fortunately that will not be the case. Perhaps the most pleasing thing in the new volume is that the Preface tells us the next volume is written and only waits for its maps. We are not then to be deprived of our Vittoria, our Pyrenees, our Toulouse and our Waterloo from Mr. Fortescue's pen, and even if his new task should defer indefinitely his resuming the story of the years between 1815 and 1914, there is a break in the sequence at 1815 which will leave the *History of the British Army* from 1660 to 1815 as to all intents a finished work, no fragment to be numbered with the great uncompleted like Macaulay's *History*.

Mr. Fortescue's last volume took his readers to the dramatic moment when Wellington turned to bay behind the lines of Torres Vedras, a barrier even more formidable than any 'Hindenburg line' of to-day on account of the relative inferiority of the artillery of 1810, and thereby stayed Massena's invasion of Portugal. The new instalment is almost exclusively concerned with the Peninsula: two chapters alone take us across the Atlantic to the shores of the Great Lakes, and thus the volume gains considerably in unity even if it lacks the diversity of interest which has characterized its predecessors, in which the reader has been led from Asia to America and back by way of distant tropical colonies to battlefields nearer home. The story Mr. Fortescue has to deal with, however, does not lack variety of incident or interest. Massena's retreat, the abortive effort of Wellington in 1811 to secure the fortresses on the frontier between Spain and Portugal, the hard-fought struggles of Albuera and Fuentes d'Onoro, which formed landmarks in that effort, Wellington's brilliant success against the frontier fortresses in 1812, his advance into

Spain, the astonishing triumph of Salamanca and its consequences, the recovery of Madrid, the French evacuation of Andalusia, Wellington's check at Burgos and his skilful retreat into Portugal; these form a fine theme and Mr. Fortescue's treatment of it rises to the occasion. He narrates the chief battles with his customary lucidity and felicity, and if he does not try to rival Napier in rhetoric he surpasses him in clearness and in arrangement: his story is always intelligible and is admirably illustrated by a really excellent series of maps, which are a great help to the understanding of tactical and topographical details. Once or twice perhaps, one is tempted to feel that Mr. Fortescue has tried to show more on one map than it will quite bear; we should, for example, have been grateful had he found it possible to devote a separate map to the Salamanca campaign after July 22nd, so that the manœuvres of June and July and of October and November could have been followed quite independently. However, he is fully justified in claiming for the maps 'an excellence hitherto unknown in England,' and they constitute a remarkable achievement of which he and his coadjutor, Mr. Cribb, may legitimately be proud.

One grumble, however, a reviewer must be allowed. Mr. Fortescue's work is a *History of the British Army*, not merely of its campaigns. But this volume tells one but little of the institution, of its establishments, organization and administration. He finds space rightly for explanations of the state of politics in England, but we would have willingly sacrificed the detailed account of the development of the breach between England and America for the same space, or even half of it, devoted to the internal economy of the Army. A few more appendices, giving for example the establishments and distribution of the British Army on Jan. 1st, 1812, would have been far more valuable to students of military history. Even the development of Wellington's force in the Peninsula hardly receives sufficient attention: Mr. Fortescue does not mention for instance how Howard's brigade, which had been in the First Division at Fuentes d'Onoro, came to be with Hill in October 1811, nor does he give several other important changes in organization.

However, passing on from this one shortcoming, the volume is so full of interesting and suggestive points that a reviewer is at a loss to know for which of the many he can find room in the limited space at his disposal. One of the most striking is Mr. Fortescue's explanation of the miracle, it is no less, of Albuera as being due to the intense *esprit de corps* by which the regiments were animated (p. 214). In the British Army regimental feeling and regimental independence may at times have been carried to excess, but it was because a battle was a regimental matter and because regimental feeling made every battalion strive to the last to outdo the others that Beresford's many blunders were redeemed, and that the irresolution which Soult displayed at the critical moment (p. 202) proved his undoing. Mr. Fortescue is severe on Soult. With many great qualities as a commander on the field of the battle itself he lacked resolution. In the presence of Wellington this was perhaps most marked. When he had joined Marmont in July 1811 and was facing Wellington on the Caya with a considerable advantage in numbers (p. 236), and again in November 1812, when the

combined French armies had forced Wellington back to Salamanca (p. 613), Soult displayed the same irresolution and a marked reluctance to test the measure of his formidable antagonist. But he was not the only Marshal to feel ill at ease in front of Wellington. Marmont himself, a most accomplished tactician, was anything but happy when trying to make Wellington release his grip on the Salamanca forts in June 1812, and in the manœuvring which culminated in Wellington's great victory of July 22nd the same nervousness and uneasiness may be traced. Irritated by the coolness and dexterity with which Wellington avoided the traps so skilfully laid for him, exasperated by finding himself unable to get any nearer to the tactical success which alone could give any substantial value to the prospective strategic advantage he had gained by threatening Wellington's line of communications, an advantage which would have proved of great use in case of victory but did nothing to bring about victory, Marmont lost control. His patience gave way, he sought to snatch at a prize he could not reach, and as the result he overbalanced himself and fell into disaster. Salamanca, however, Mr. Fortescue regards as falling short of a decisive victory. This was largely because Wellington, who 'at every crisis was in the right place doing the right thing' (p. 509), was too busy doing other people's work and directing every movement himself to be able to concentrate himself on his own special task. Still, if Alba de Tormes had been held by the Spaniards, as Wellington all along believed it to be, the French could not have escaped total ruin. Mr. Fortescue also thinks that Wellington should have continued his pursuit of the beaten Army of Portugal, instead of turning off to march on Madrid. Indeed he regards him as having sacrificed all hope of solid military advantage to secure the political and moral advantage of driving Joseph from the Spanish capital (p. 588). There is much to be said for this view, but it is hard to follow Mr. Fortescue when he apparently regards it as a misfortune that Soult was forced to evacuate Andalusia, and the failure of the Spaniards to rise to the occasion was in no small degree responsible for Wellington having to retreat back to Portugal. Had he gone chasing Clausel beyond the Ebro in August he would have enormously prolonged his line of communications, would have got right out of touch with Hill, and would have found it very difficult to prevent Soult and Joseph from uniting to fall on Hill's force, little over 20,000 men at the outside, in which case Wellington's communications would have been in direr peril even than Moore's in 1809. The real reason why Wellington could do no more to improve his splendid victory was lack of equipment and reinforcements. He was not strong enough after the costly captures of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, successes which had to be paid for in men because sufficient guns and trained engineers with their stores had not been provided to do more than win one great victory. With another 10,000 British infantry he would never have had to fall back to Portugal.

Mr. Fortescue, it may be gathered, is no indiscriminate eulogist of the Duke. He is very severe on his conduct of the siege of Burgos and on his earlier efforts to take Badajoz, a little overlooking perhaps the shortcomings of his equipment for sieges: he considers that but for Wellington's too

restrictive orders Hill might have gained a considerable victory over d'Erlon in June or July 1812 (p. 458): he criticises his dispositions at Fuentes (p. 174), though he praises the skill with which he retrieved it. But it is just this which makes Mr. Fortescue's high praise of Wellington so emphatic and weighty. As strategist, as tactician, as organizer and administrator, the Duke's great merits are clearly shown. He had taken the measure of his opponents and of what they could do. He had realised what was possible in the very peculiar theatre of war in which he was engaged, and that is more than can be said of Napoleon, who tried to apply to the Peninsula a system of warfare that had worked well enough in less rugged and barren countries. In Spain war could not support war, and Wellington's system of supply was based on this fact, whereas Napoleon's orders to Marmont at the time of the capture of Badajoz presupposed either that he had supplies and transport, which he had not, or else that the country was not a desert, which is just what it was (p. 420). Napier's endeavour to exculpate Napoleon at the expense of Marmont is shown to be highly unconvincing, and Mr. Fortescue's summary of the whole question of the French failures in Spain is worth quoting. 'Let the worshippers of the great Emperor say what they will, there is among the manifold blunders that ruined the French cause in the Peninsula not one that may not be traced directly to the orders of the Emperor himself' (p. 625). Yet it was because Wellington knew how to profit by his adversary's blunders that these errors proved so disastrous. Moreover, he had established a moral ascendancy, even over skilful opponents like Massena and Marmont, which was fully worth the 40,000 men at which he himself appraised the value of the Emperor's presence on the battlefield.

C. T. ATKINSON.

THE HOTHAMS, BEING THE CHRONICLES OF THE HOTHAMS OF SCARBOROUGH AND SOUTH DALTON FROM THEIR HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED FAMILY PAPERS. By A. M. W. Stirling. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Illustrated. London: Herbert Jenkins. 1917. 24s. net.

In the matter of output of family histories Mrs. Stirling bids fair to rival the late Sir William Fraser. She may not have the *cachet* of 'printed for private circulation' nor the glory of massive tomes printed on hand-made paper and gleaming in scarlet and gold, but on the other hand she has style and a nice sense of discrimination, which makes her books much more readable than the works of that somewhat ponderous historian. Whether the Hothams will be liked quite as much as some of her former family records is perhaps a little doubtful; but the book is an excellent piece of work, and has to do with persons who occupied prominent positions in the public life of the time. Indeed, so much so is this the case that in order to throw light on her subject the author has to go pretty far afield on the path of general history.

The book is called the Hothams, but the great bulk of it is concerned only with those members who were in possession of the baronetcy from the time of its creation in 1622 to that of its merging in the peerage in 1797. It is an old and distinguished family, and most of its members

played their parts in life bravely and well. The Hothams, indeed, are said to have come over with the Conqueror, and in a tabular pedigree given at the end of the book his descent is duly traced through some twenty-seven generations. No documentary evidence is, however, cited in support of it : there was no doubt a small parchment deed, said to have been the original grant of the Hotham estates by William the Conqueror, which was kept as a precious heirloom in the family. At a dinner party given by the fourth baronet one day, this jealously guarded document was produced and handed round the company for inspection. One of the guests, who had unfortunately dined not wisely but too well, exclaimed when he got it into his hands, 'Curse this musty parchment—it only stops the bottle,' and incontinently threw it into the fire, where it was speedily destroyed ! Whether or not they came in with the Conqueror, there is no doubt that the Hothams are a very old family, and it is stated on what seems good grounds that Scorbrough has been in the family for at least seven hundred years. From the reigns of Henry I. to that of William and Mary the estates descended from father to son or grandson without the direct line ever once failing : since then, however, the contrary has been the case, and there have been but very few generations in which the succession did not pass to brothers, uncles, or cousins.

They were really a remarkable set of people : brave, honest, accomplished, and gifted with a great amount of common sense rather than genius. The first baronet to whom we are introduced in Chapter II. was governor of Hull in 1628, but in the troublous times he and his eldest son lost their heads in both senses of the expression. Hesitating and uncertain, they failed to please either the Parliamentary or the Royalist party, and they were both executed by the former, one on the 1st and the other on the 2nd January, 1645. The second baronet fared better, and was a sturdy and consistent supporter of Dutch William. The fifth baronet had a most interesting career : he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Frederick William of Prussia, the originator of that Prussian militarism which has since worked so much havoc in the world. His mission was to arrange, if possible, two marriages, one between the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards Frederick the Great, with the Princess Amelia of England, and another between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia. Of his embassy, which was ultimately, as is well known, unsuccessful, and on that extraordinary Court to which he was accredited a long and amusing account is given. The ambassador's brother, Beaumont, who ultimately succeeded to the title, was an exceedingly attractive character and his family was a notable one. Few, if any, parents can boast that out of five sons one should rise to be a peer, another a bishop, another a baron of Exchequer, and two generals in the army. With the history of these five brothers almost the whole of the second volume is occupied ; indeed, three-fourths of it is taken up with the doings and correspondence of Charles, the eighth baronet, and a very fine gentleman he was, besides being one of no small abilities. A soldier who saw much service in his youth, he returned to England for good in 1763—was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to George III., besides being made a

colonel and a Knight of the Bath. The young King had the highest opinion of Sir Charles, and to the end of his life held him in affectionate esteem. He wished to appoint him governor to the royal princes, but he managed to escape this not very enviable post, though he recommended his brother George, who held it for a good many years and had not his troubles to seek in consequence. Sir Charles's circle of friends were distinguished in many ways. We meet with Horace Walpole, full of the gossip of the day, Lady Suffolk, Lady Buckingham, the beautiful 'Vice Queen' of Ireland, and many others famous in the social history of the period. Sir Charles was an upright, honest, though somewhat sententious gentleman, as may be seen from the desperately long and it must be confessed somewhat heavy letter of guidance and advice he wrote to his daughter, whose winsome face is by far the most beautiful among the many fine portraits which are reproduced in the book. Whether the views and obligations of matrimony which it set forth so solemnly frightened her from becoming the wife of anybody we do not know, but she died at a good age many years after, unmarried.

It was not only in socially select circles that Sir Charles found amusement: earnest and even austere as he seems to have been in his private life he was very fond of the drama and had many theatrical acquaintances. We have letters from the Siddons, majestic and somewhat stilted as might be expected, from John Kemble, and from Eliza Farren, afterwards Countess of Derby, who was an exceptionally brilliant and amusing correspondent, and whose letters are a delight to read.

This work will take high rank among family histories, and there are few families whose representatives have during such a long stretch of years so uniformly kept up the credit of their name and the dignity of their race.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

PORTUGAL OLD AND YOUNG: AN HISTORICAL STUDY. By George Young. Pp. viii, 342. With 4 illustrations. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. 5s. net.

THE writer of this delightful book is a true lover of Portugal, and wishes to make the reader love that beautiful country as he does himself, and by the charm of his style and his enthusiasm he has his reader to a great extent in his thrall. He traces the history of Portugal from the Roman times to the present, when, as oldest ally of England, it is now fighting side by side with Britain in France. And he shows why this is so. He tells how the alliance between England and Portugal, then a struggling kingdom only recently carved out of Galicia and the Moorish territories, began in 1147, and has lasted ever since. English troops assisted the Portuguese in their crusades with the Moors, at Aljubarotta in 1383 against the Spaniards, and have since helped them at every difficult period, save when the religious differences interfered. The first King of the House of Aviz, married Philippa of Lancaster, and the royal line for a time was greatly under English influence. The writer describes the great discoveries and conquests of Portugal under Prince Henry the Navigator and

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King Manoel, and shows how the reign of the latter with his policy of Spanish marriages, rich and prosperous as it seemed to be, was really leading up to the moral bankruptcy of Portugal, when, after the loss in Africa of the visionary King Sebastian, it fell, through the death of an effete Cardinal, to swell the Spanish Empire of Philip II., and so, for a period, lost its independence. One wishes that Camoens had had more followers stirred by his song of the glories of the past to oppose the Spanish yoke, and one wonders what might not have been had Queen Elizabeth only supported Dom Antonio with more vigour.

The author is a little less convincing when he describes the Portuguese 'revolt' or War of Freedom in 1640, for he does not explain the reason satisfactorily while writing of the Portuguese 'captivity.' The reason we take it is very much the same as that which prevented Scotland being merged in England. The Portuguese must have, through Galicia or Lusitania, absorbed some forgotten race absolutely hostile in mind to Spanish *morgue*, and it was the spirit of this people which time and again separated the two countries, which, geographically, were almost one. It is strange how the marriage of Charles II. to the Portuguese Infanta still unites their two peoples further, though through it Portugal lost Bombay and much of its Indian territory, and its chief town in Morocco. Into the latter history, the Methuen Treaty—which almost gave the pleasant city of Oporto to the British, the Napoleonic changes which forced the Court to flee to Brazil, and the Peninsular War, we need not enter except to praise the way they are dealt with; we also pass the Civil wars which led to the fall of the odious Miguel and the rise of the not romantic Maria da Gloria. The Saxe-Coburg Kings are well described, and, except for the excellent phrase, 'the Court and through it the country were controlled by barons of finance, many of them German Jews, whose pillaging and plunderings were all too recent to be respectable,' the writer is temperate about their virtues and vices. He is also calm about their removal from the Throne and the discomforts of their adherents. He is illuminating on the Republic, its beginnings, policy, and doings, and we are grateful for his political instruction.

We think he is a little too insistent on the prevalence of the Jewish strain in Portugal, and not enough so about the very mixed, Oriental and African, blood in the nation, which in its native alliances has followed the deliberate policy of Albuquerque. We think also he is not a very careful genealogist. One or two of his statements need scrutiny, and Isabella the Catholic especially would be much surprised to see herself (twice) called 'sister' of 'La Beltraneja!'

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE WRITER OF THE ANONYMOUS LETTER TO LORD MONTEAGLE in 1605. 4to. Pp. 28. With two facsimiles in the text and three accompanying. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1916.

THIS anonymous 'identification' of an anonymous scribe is a fascinating effort at proof. Perhaps it is too direct and simple in its definite, not to

call them dogmatic, allegations as to the elements of detection. These consist (first) of circumstantial evidences that Francis Tresham of Rushton, privy to Gunpowder Plot, was the person through whom the historic warning was given to Lord Monteaule, and (second) of a series of subtle and specialist contentions designed to establish, *comparatione literarum*, that the actual monitory letter was written by William Vavasour, a clerkly dependant, undoubtedly made use of for extremely confidential service by Tresham shortly before the latter's death as a prisoner in the Tower. It is a weighty burden of proof, but the first half seems scarcely to admit denial : the second half is in much more dubious case. The letter being in all probability in a disguised hand it is not surprising that in general effect the script, which is a well sustained unity, bears no apparent resemblance to the examples of Vavasour's handwriting reproduced.

When the individualities and gestures of the writings are examined in detail the question is whether the idiosyncrasy of the pen betrays the scribe. Points alleged are chiefly (1) the use of the long s, (2) the small i for the first person, (3) a peculiarity of t, y and h. A master of history in the period has found the contention 'probable'; even this means that the thesis fails. After repeated and patient scrutiny the present critic is unable to find probability made good by the evidence. The long s was current form, the small i quite common, and the other detective touches neither determinate nor brought home. The signature of Francis Tresham himself suggests resemblances to the anonymous communication. It was, said Fuller, 'a strange letter from a strange hand, by a strange messenger'; and the strange hand remains unidentified.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH OVERSEAS ENTERPRISE : A PRELUDE TO THE EMPIRE. By Sir C. P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Pp. viii, 203. 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1917. 6s. 6d. net.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS gives in this book an account of the true foundations of the British Empire, which are to be looked for not in the annals of England's continental wars but in the less well known records of her early trading companies. In these are to be found, on a small scale, the characteristics of British overseas expansion—private enterprise before State action, 'penetration by trade and settlement not by conquest.' Sir Charles Lucas traces the history of the three early English trading companies, the Merchants of the Staple, the Merchant Adventurers, and the Eastland Merchants. The facts about the origin of all are doubtful, but in each case the merchants established themselves in a foreign land by their own efforts, and after a time obtained charters from the king recognising their regulations. These were all regulated companies, each member paying a fee and trading on his own account, something on the lines of the organisation of the craft guilds. The Merchant Adventurers were, in fact, closely connected with the Mercers' Guild, if they did not grow out of it.

The Staplers were probably the oldest company of the three. It soon became convenient for them to have for the sale of their principal article of merchandise—wool—a fixed market, or a staple. It was also, for revenue

purposes, convenient for the government, which after a time adopted and formalised the staple system, sought privileges for the merchants abroad, and recognised their organisation. The staple towns were sometimes in England, sometimes abroad, frequently, and at last permanently, at Calais.

But the Staplers were overshadowed by their fellows and rivals, the Merchant Adventurers. Their headquarters were always abroad, in the Low Countries, and later at Hamburg, which was their sole market from 1751 until the dissolution of the company under French pressure in 1808. The Merchant Adventurers were a very powerful corporation, consisting of practically all the wholesale merchants dealing in cloth in the countries bordering on the North Sea. Their privileges were guaranteed and their government recognised in numerous charters. The governing body, consisting of a governor and twenty-four assistants elected by the General Court, *i.e.* the members at the principal mart, had its seat abroad, and all the different groups, London, Newcastle, York, Hull and Exeter were subject to it. They were a national company, the 'English nation beyond the seas,' successful rivals of the Hanse Merchants, and they were also distinctively English in their combination of private enterprise with government encouragement and regulation and in their powers of self-government—the first of the great chartered companies which have played so important a part in the growth of the Empire. Many of the Merchant Adventurers belonged also to the Eastland Company, which traded in the Baltic, but neither the history of its commerce nor of its organisation is of such interest as that of the Merchant Adventurers.

Both as an introduction to the story of British overseas enterprise and as a contribution to early commercial history this book is of much value and interest.

THEODORA KEITH.

THE HISTORY OF MOTHER SETON'S DAUGHTERS: THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO. 1809-1917. By Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M.A. 2 volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1917. 21s. net.

THE most interesting part of this detailed narrative of *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters* is that which describes the life and work of the foundress, Mother Seton, down to her death in 1821. The subject is not an unfamiliar one to those interested in the religious life of the United States in the early nineteenth century: for the Rev. C. I. White's *Life of Mother Seton*, first published in 1853, has run through ten editions. The object of these volumes is to carry on the account of the Sisterhood of S. Vincent de Paul founded in America by Mother Seton, from the time of her death to the present date, with special reference to the branch of the Order founded in Cincinnati.

The life of Mother Seton has an interest for those who follow Scottish family history: for Mother Seton, whose maiden name was Bayley, married into the American branch of the family of Seton. Soon after her husband's death she was received into the Roman Communion in 1805, and in 1809 founded at S. Joseph's, Emmitsburg in Maryland, the first

house of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. This small foundation prospered and spread throughout the United States, until now Mother Seton's daughters are numbered by many thousands. The remarkable sanctity and simplicity of her life made a profound impression upon the religious life of her times, and steps have been taken to start the proceedings for the beatification and possibly ultimately the canonisation of Mother Seton. Her grandson, Monsignor Robert Seton, Titular Archbishop of Heliopolis, has been for many years prominent in Roman Catholic circles in America, and has held high office in the Papal Household.

The Cincinnati community was first planted in 1829, and it is to this branch that Sister Mary McCann, the authoress of these volumes, belongs. Her work as a whole, while manifestly a labour of love and a monument of persevering work, is somewhat disappointing and rather tedious. As so frequently happens, the personality of the foundress completely overshadows those of her successors. The narrative is too detailed. A very large number of letters from bishops and clergy to Sisters of the Order are printed *in extenso*, although there is nothing striking about them. Some of them are also reproduced in facsimile. The style of composition is not very careful. There has been too much use of scissors and paste, too indiscriminate a selection of documents from the archives of S. Joseph's without sufficient regard to their arrangement in systematic order. There is a good deal of information given which can really be of no value now.

But the volumes are not without merit. There runs throughout them a note of sincerity and zeal which is unmistakeable. The writer is an enthusiast, in the most literal sense; and those who care for the growth of Roman Catholic institutions in the United States will find much to interest them as they trace the remarkable development of a community which has been productive of much good.

WALTER W. SETON.

THE COMMONWEALTH AT WAR. By A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D.,
Fellow of All Souls and Professor of English History in the University
of London. 8vo. Longmans, Green & Co. 1917.

THE nineteen essays included in this stimulating volume have already appeared in print in *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Contemporary Review*, and *Yale Review*, in the last of which they cannot fail to have performed particular service to the cause for which the Commonwealth is battling. Their republication, Professor Pollard modestly suggests, may serve to illustrate, among other things, the 'deceitfulness of human wishes and fallibility of human judgment which a great crisis inevitably enhances.' It is, of course, inevitable that articles written hot upon the event should here and there contain *dicta* proved fallible by subsequent happenings. But Professor Pollard has been both bold and wise in refusing to trim his essays in the light of later knowledge. Indeed, few men can have written so much upon the great issues before us as they have arisen which so little needed emendation to give it permanent value as a historical document. The book is brilliantly written, a piercing

indictment of that loathsome thing which has raised its ugly form against civilization, and equally searching in its diagnosis of the moral obtuseness and political ineptitude which permits a self-centred fraction of our people to protest peace when there is no peace. The book is far from being confined to these aspects of the Commonwealth in war-time. But the essays which treat of them are those which will be read with most gratitude by all who recognise in Professor Pollard a brilliant protagonist of the Commonwealth's convictions and purpose.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH FRANCISCAN HISTORY, being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916 by A. G. Little, M.A., Lecturer in Palaeography in the University of Manchester. 8vo. Pp. ix, 248. Manchester : At the University Press. Longmans, Green & Co. 1917.

THE *British Society of Franciscan Studies* has done notable work in investigating sources and publishing volumes dealing with the history and literature of the Grey friars. In these six lectures Mr. A. G. Little, Chairman of the Society, takes a general survey of Medieval Franciscanism in England, its strength and weakness. Their titles are The Observance of the Vow of Poverty ; Failure of Mendicancy ; Privilege : Relation of the Friars to Monks and Priests ; Popular Preaching : 'The Fasciculus Morum' ; The Education of the Clergy : The Works of Friar John of Wales ; and The Franciscan School at Oxford : Grossteste and Roger Bacon.

Under 'Failure of Mendicancy,' the author points out that the spiritual work of the Friars tended to be neglected through the constant pressure of bodily needs. In a climate such as the English (and in a greater degree such as the Scottish), the ever present necessity of securing supplies of food and clothes resulted in religion being sacrificed to schemes for satisfying the material wants of the Order. Buildings also became larger—both Churches and Friaries—and as proving the comfortable quarters for guests that the friars could provide, we learn that 'in the fourteenth century the English Kings when in the north habitually lodged at the Grey Friars, York, and there are many instances of nobles and others having lodgings assigned them in the friaries.' It must be remembered, however, that the friar was a new and active force in religious life, and his zeal and unconventionality made for his popularity with the laity, a popularity which well-known causes extinguished gradually in the fifteenth century.

In the chapter on the education of the clergy, Friar John of Wales and his wonderfully popular treatises come under review. In the *Communiloquium* Friar John gives hints on the religious teacher's proper attitude in daily life, advocating talks face to face with all sorts and conditions of men as 'often more efficacious than public preaching or lecturing.' The volume has six valuable appendices, including a curious moralization of Chess. It is proof of Mr. Little's learned devotion to early Franciscan history and literature, and is an illuminating study of the Grey friars in England.

JOHN EDWARDS.

170 Williams: Handling of Historical Material

FOUR LECTURES ON THE HANDLING OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Pp. x, 86. Cr. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 3s. net.

This appropriately and admirably inaugurates a series of History publications from Allahabad University, with an analysis of the varieties of historical evidence, a statement of the requisites for critical examination, and an attempt to define conditions for success in historical writings. But we are not all convinced about the vices of Carlyle, and some will cheerfully sacrifice twenty-five Rankes for one Macaulay. Mr. Williams might have risked telling his students that history does not need to be dull. We are glad to assume with him that Buckle did not wholly die under Acton. But we miss any discussion of Lea's canon—(the negation of Acton's)—that moral judgments are not history.

Geo. Neilson.

ITALY, MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN, A HISTORY. By E. M. Jamieson, C. M. Ady, K. D. Vernon, and C. Sanford Terry. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1917.

It is justly remarked in the Preface to this volume that while Italian history is well represented in the form of monographs on particular periods and personages throughout its course, there are few works, at least in our language, which give a complete conspectus of what is certainly one of the most deeply interesting and important of all the histories of the world. Perhaps it is the very magnitude of the task which has prevented its accomplishment. Putting aside the history of classic Rome, Italy, in one way or another, has been the main field of human action in Europe from the earliest time down to our own: at first a dominant and world-embracing Empire, the seat of a tremendous spiritual power, and through every century nourishing and spreading abroad the fairest flowers and fruits of human culture. The Age of Dante, the times of the Medici, the Papacy, the Republics, the Reunited Kingdom, what splendid subjects are each of these for separate and detailed treatment, and how hard is the task to weave them into one continuous tale without finding our tapestry become too crowded, and without having, perforce, to leave aside details of the highest interest.

The authors of this volume have succeeded to a very marked degree in supplying the kind of book which is so much to be desired. If it suffers from anything, it is from compression, especially in its earlier chapters. But the knowledge is so abundant, the materials so thoroughly at command, and the style, as a whole, so engaging, that the impression left is that of fine work well and conscientiously done. It is not a mere narrative; it takes more the shape of a running commentary on Italian history from the time of the great struggles between Pope and Emperor in the thirteenth century, and before it, down to the present day, with a more detailed exposition of Italian politics in the nineteenth century, the great age of Cavour, and Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel.

The great names of the early Renaissance receive due honour, and not only these, but the very remarkable group of men who surrounded

Frederick II. at Palermo, and formed what might be designated an earlier Renaissance. The plan of giving separate sketches of the different communities and states, and resuming the story at intervals, tends to keep one's mind free from confusion in the great mass of detail: for it is undoubtedly difficult to do so, especially in these periods—and they do occur—in Italian history, when the daily life of the people and their rulers was alike dull and unenlightened. But from its mere mass of great names, alone, Italian history can never be other than interesting in the highest degree. And nowhere has it been more ably or more engagingly set forth than in this book in which its authors have combined a fine historical judgment with abundant scholarship.

DAVID J. MACKENZIE.

HISTORY OF SERBIA. By Harold W. V. Temperley. Pp. x, 359. Med. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1917. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS book is not only a history of Serbia and Montenegro, but is also a study of the historical development of the whole of the Jugo-Slav peoples. It is very instructive, and is written in a singularly restrained style when one considers the battles, invasions, revolts, and oppressions it deals with, for, in the author's phrase, the story of the Jugo-Slavs is 'bloody beyond ordinary bloodiness.'

The Jugo-Slavs early became split up into two great sections, of which the Croats and Dalmatians adopted the Church of Rome, the Latin alphabet, and in part, Western culture as far as they were permitted by their German oppressors; whereas the Serbians and Montenegrins acknowledged the Greek rite, and so, unfortunately for themselves, were ecclesiastically subordinate to the Byzantine Empire, and on its fall were absolutely cut off from the West by the Turkish Conquest. But the old kingdom of Serbia, in spite of its constant wars with Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Byzantines, had a great history, as we see here, and the spirit of nationality has always been strong, and, we have reason to think, will continue among the suffering people. 'Disaster,' says the writer, 'has sometimes created and has always intensified national feeling in Serbia.' The period of the Serbian zenith was from about 1190 to 1400. Stephen Dushan (1321-55), their greatest ruler, aimed at the Imperial throne of the East when cut off by death, and his death was followed by a gradual decline of Serbian power to a state of weakness, which allowed the Turkish invaders to conquer in 1389 at the battle of Kossovo, 'The Field of Blackbirds,' still sung in many sad ballads as the end of a great period of freedom.

The rest of the history deals with Turkish misrule and oppression, which was inaugurated at once by the 'tribute of children,' and the gradual acquisition of independence by Serbia and the fiery battles for freedom in Montenegro under the chiefs and vladikas. It recounts the painful feud in Serbia between the two chief families, the Karageorgevitch and the Obrenovitch, which did not end until the extinction of the latter worthless dynasty in 1903 by the brutal murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga, a murder which made way for the present king, of the rival

family, and which was not greatly disapproved of by the tumultuous subjects of the Serbian Crown. It is sad to think that the hard-won Serbian and Montenegrin independence is again under a hateful eclipse, but if history teaches anything it shows a phoenix-like power of resurrection among the Slav peoples.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

LETTERS ON THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM AND ON THE IDEA OF A PATRIOT KING. By Viscount Bolingbroke. With an Introduction by A. Hassall, Student of Christ Church. Pp. xxx, 141. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. 2s. 6d. net.

THE first of these tracts was written in France, whither the author retired in 1730. It was taken to England in 1736, and was, as Mr. Hassall points out, full of the writer's indignation 'at the baseness of his late allies, the Malcontent Whigs,' who had withdrawn from the Tory party, so that Bolingbroke's schemes for a *fusion* ended in failure. *The Idea of a Patriot King* was, on the other hand, written in 1738, and in it Bolingbroke hoped he had paved the way for 'a coalition of parties meeting on a national bottom.' The introduction to these tracts is good, and it is worth while to read the second of them to which Disraeli owed so much.

FREEDOM AFTER EJECTION. Edited by Alexander Gordon, M.A. Pp. viii, 396. 4to. Manchester: University Press. 1917. 15s. net.

THIS elaborate account of the Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformist ministers of England and Wales, 1690-1692, is an invaluable addition to a history of their religious movements. The MS. on which it is based dates from 1690, and gives a very full account of the surviving remnant of those Nonconformists who rejoiced in 'ye Religious Liberty of Dissenters by a Law' in 1662, over 'Twenty-five hundred strong.' It deals with a short period only in the history of a Sect, but it is worth study on account of the earnestness of the ejected, and the steadfastness of their 'glorious residue.' It is excellently and sympathetically edited.

ENGLISH DOMESTIC RELATIONS. A Study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as Revealed by the Literature, Law and History of the Period. 1487-1653. By Chelton Latham Powell, Ph.D., New York. Oxford: Humphrey Milford. 1917. Pp. xii, 274. Demy 8vo. New York: Columbia University Press. 6s. 6d. net.

THIS is an interesting study of the English Home—'including both the contract of marriage (its making and breaking) and the subsequent life of the family,' in theory and practice (the two are not synonymous) revealed by the contemporary law, literature, and history. It is to a certain extent novel, as, though many legal tracts are known and oft quoted, the didactic 'domestic conduct' books are new to many of us, and the author's digest of them is worth reading. Spousals, marriage, and divorce—and we see how grudgingly England has admitted the last—and the attitude towards women (much improved by the example of Queen Elizabeth) all come in for comment. There are interesting resumé's of

the theory of divorce from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Milton, and the writer points out that Milton's idea of women was higher than that of many of his contemporaries, and he shows by a careful study of contemporary literature how many phases of marriage were popularly regarded. On page 117 the author falls into a curious slip, making the divorce of Henry VIII. turn on 'the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister.' This is not a perfectly constructed book, but it is one to read with care and pleasure.

ROBERT BURNS: HOW TO KNOW HIM. By William Allan Neilson. 8vo. Pp. xiv, 332. Indianapolis: The Bobs-Merrill Company. Price \$1.50 net.

THE Scot abroad has a congenial theme when he is to explain Burns transatlantically. Professor Neilson's creed is essentially a true memory of the Scottish mind, tempered by the educative detachment from the disproportionate zeal of some of our home-bred enthusiasms. It is a reasoned estimate of a splendid vernacular spirit, not profoundly influenced by English models, not dramatic, not generally narrative expressed in song, a spirit steeped in sentiment and not touched to the quick by even cataclysmal politics. While some readers will reckon the last tenet noted—that he was 'sympathetically interested in the French Revolution'—as a restricted characterisation and will also consider his wit and satire insufficiently appraised, they may agree with the verdict that the *Jolly Beggars* was Burns's greatest imaginative triumph.

Lucien Lambeau, *Histoire des communes annexées à Paris en 1859: Charonne*, vol. i. (Paris: Leroux, 1916). Foreigners who visit the alleys of the cemetery of Père la Chaise are sufficiently absorbed by the examples of funereal art which in some cases give posthumous distinction to men and women who passed unnoticed through their lives, or by the emotions excited by the distinguished names which meet them from time to time. The more sophisticated may recall the figure of the confessor of Louis XIV. from whom the place takes its name, but it is improbable that one visitor out of ten thousand interests himself in the history of the soil which Death has made so significant. The thick quarto of M. Lambeau will appeal to the restricted public composed of local antiquaries and of students of communal origins. M. Lambeau has already dealt with the *quartiers* of Bercy, Vaugirard and Grenelle, and the continuance of his labours is probably due to the fact that they are carried on under governmental auspices. The origins of Charonne are interesting, but M. Lambeau deals with them in a very summary manner; it is apparent that his interests are largely local and personal. The volume is a respectable example of the intelligent treatment of local history.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

Archaeologia Aeliana (Third Series, vol. xiv., 1917, 4to, pp. xxxii, 342) covers a rich variety of Northumbrian antiquary lore. Miss M. H. Dodds with industry and care edits from the MSS. of the Butchers'

Company a full account of that Company with a long list of enrolments of freemen's sons and apprentices from 1627 until 1782. Students of similar guilds will note many byelaws, etc., cited, and particularly the freemen's oath, and the regulations of admission. 'The butchers of Newcastle,' comments Miss Dodds, 'were a most pugnacious, not to say disorderly, body, and their statute book shows a continual but ineffectual struggle to maintain good behaviour at meetings.'

Dr. R. B. Hepple pieces together the few scattered notices of early Northumbrian libraries, foremost being the fine collection which Acca possessed at Hexham in the eighth century. A biographical sketch is given by Mr. John Oxberry of Mr. W. W. Tomlinson, a genial and versatile journalist in prose and verse, whose *Guide to the County of Northumberland* has for thirty years done capital service to the enquiring tourist. The Rev. Dr. Henry Gee describes the Muggleswick conspiracy in Durham and Newcastle in 1663, a movement of desperate anabaptist character, aiming as alleged to destroy parliament and murder bishops, deans, chapters, and ministers. A series of executions in 1664 suppressed the plotters of anarchy. Mr. William Brown abridges or transcribes numerous documents relative to St. Helen's, Auckland, chiefly concerning pedigrees and descents. Dr. F. W. Dendy similarly pursues genealogy regarding descents of Hetons, Fenwicks and Dentons. A writ of 1618 records an inquisition after the death of no less a person than 'John Denton, late of Cardewe, esquire,' the first historian of Cumberland.

Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair continues from the venerable Dr. W. Greenwell's manuscript, the catalogue of seals at Durham which has already filled so many fine pages of these Newcastle transactions. The present instalment embraces upwards of 160 English and Irish ecclesiastical seals, many of them photographically reproduced with clearness and fidelity. In one plate are shewn seals of bishops of Durham, viz.: Anthony Bek (A.D. 1284-1311), Nos. 3125, 3126; Richard Kellawe (A.D. 1311-1316), Nos. 3127-3128; Lewis Beaumont (A.D. 1318-1333), Nos. 3129, 3130. Anthony Bek's head conveys no bad impression of an arrogant and meddlesome prelate.

Another plate (here reproduced by the courtesy of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries) is the portrait of John Brand (1744-1806), the Newcastle historian known to a wider public by his delightful *Popular Antiquities*. It illustrates a supplementary notice of Brand by Mr. J. C. Hodgson, who (as is the way of that indefatigable gleaner) rescues many lost facts. Another of Mr. Hodgson's contributions is *The 'Domus Dei' of Newcastle: otherwise St. Katherine's Hospital on the Sandhill*. Roger Thornton, supposed to have come from Yorkshire, *mercator Novi Castris super Tinam*, the Dick Whittington of Newcastle, died in 1429-30, and is commemorated by an extant brass as well as by a flattering tradition which his generosity seems to have earned. By several stages between 1402 and 1424 he set agoing a hospital, the final and formal endowment and foundation whereof he made on St. Katherine's Day 1425, by a charter hitherto scarcely known to exist, but now printed in full, with several relative grants from the originals in possession of the Rev. Dr. Greenwell, whose



T. Curran del.

REV. J. BRAND, M.A.

Fellow & Sec^y of the Antiquarian Society & Author of the History of Newcastle.

services to north country history as a collector and expositor form a great chapter of archaeology. Founded as a 'work of mercy' to support thirteen 'brothers and sisters of said hospital,' the survival of the institution for over two hundred years may be a fact to rebut a well-known superstition. An appendix gives the text of five deeds. One dated 1447 mentions purprestures, etc., 'ut in stallis porechis pentesis cameris getesis aut aliis purpresturis.' Is *getes*[is] akin to *jetty*, *jutty*, found according to Du Cange, cent. xiii, as *Giteia*, a projection from a building?

In the *English Historical Review* for October, the editor, Dr. R. L. Poole, re-examines the problem of the names and numbers of early popes, and particularly the origin of the rule that a pope's personal was not taken as his papal name. The explanation now reached is that it began because where the original name was Peter, papal modesty forbade the assumption of such a title as Peter II. Miss R. R. Reid investigates the growth of the office of Warden of the Marches towards Scotland. She has possibly paid less attention than is necessary to the Warden's duality of jurisdiction, first in his military capacity and secondly in an international tribunal, but her survey brings many fresh characteristics to light. Mr. D. A. Chart collects the facts about the Irish levies for the British Armies of the Napoleonic war, and shows that at least 150,000 Irish recruits served between 1793 and 1815. 'How well they fought,' he concludes, 'let Badajoz, Barrosa, Waterloo attest.' Mr. A. B. White, supplementing previous researches by him (see *S.H.R.* xiii, 203), now adduces further evidences from the close roll of Henry III. which definitely contrast Henry's *minor carta* of the forest liberties with his *major carta* or *magna carta* (both terms employed) of general liberties. Professor Firth edits from the MS. a narrative of the siege of Scarborough in 1644-1645 written in 1647 or 1648 by Hugh Cholmley for the use of Clarendon, then at work on his *History of the Rebellion*. Dr. M. R. James presents a hitherto unedited description of Rome by 'Magister Gregorius,' a twelfth century visitor. His *De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* was only known to the middle ages by extracts from it made in Higden's *Polychronicon*. Dr. James collates those extracts and adds valuable annotations to the curious medieval text. This number embraces also Mr. Beaven's scrutiny of regnal dates from Alfred to Athelstan. Miss I. D. Thornley's account of 'treason by words in the fifteenth century,' and Mr. James Tait's critical account of the Lancashire Declaration of Sports by James I. in 1617.

History (for October), the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, has the first part of a revision by Professor Firth of the story of the expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653. The fateful intervention by Cromwell interrupted a vote imperfectly recorded. Other two themes of 'revision'—is not history an everlasting revision?—are Magna Carta and the Armada. Professor Pollard thinks that the baronial revolt had certain features in common with a 'no rent' campaign. He is perhaps carried too far by Mr. Jenks's paradox about Coke. Mr. Godfrey Callender maintains that Elizabeth's own 34 ships were of the type of the famous

Revenge, long in keel and mounting mainly heavy broadside guns. One could have wished quotations of contemporary proofs. At the time the mature authorities appear clearly to have recognised that the English tactics were *ut procul missilibus instarent*, while the Spaniards still clung to the ideals of Lepanto, *ex propinquo dimicare voluerunt*. England had decisively chosen the right plan, which is in essential principle that of the navy of to-day. Mr. Callender maintains that in 1591 the *Revenge* with the guns low down, had still the same advantages as the queen's ships had had over the Armada with the high gun platforms three years before. Not long ago Mr. R. P. Hardie in his essay on *The Tobermory Argosy* (1912) expressed a further point thus—'There can be no doubt that before 1588 the English had discovered the tactical formation appropriate to broadside fire—'line ahead' as distinct from 'line abreast,' the natural arrangement for galleys.'

A valuable reprint from *The Month* (October 1917) is an article by Father J. H. Pollen, entitled *A Shakespeare Discovery: his Schoolmaster afterwards a Jesuit*. It seems to establish the probable identity of Simon Hunt, Oxford graduate of 1570, and master of the Stratford grammar school 1571-1574 with Simon Hunt, an Englishman who matriculated among other *Angli pauperes* at Douay University in 1575, 'undertook the voyage to Rome' in 1576, was there admitted a Jesuit in 1578, was subsequently appointed 'Penitentiary' or confessor of the English tongue, and died in office at St. Peter's in 1585. The chain of proofs leaves little to be desired though it is not absolute. Hunt's career is thus interpreted as that of a Protestant who definitely went over to the old faith in 1575. The honours of the discovery, which is a triumph of minor research, appear appropriately to belong to several students of both creeds. Father Pollen presents the facts and argument with generous recognition of Mr. J. W. Gray and Mrs. C. C. Stopes, but the connection with the Society of Jesus is drawn from a Douay MS. Diary of 1576-1577, and from Father Nathanael Southwell's Catalogue of Jesuits, a MS. of 1640. 'William Shakespeare,' writes Father Pollen, 'had just turned seven and a-half when he came under Simon Hunt, and when he had passed eleven Hunt was gone again. These four years were the time best suited for grounding, and that was the educational process which the poet owes to our schoolmaster.' We must, however, remember that no register, diary or catalogue has yet turned up to prove beyond simple presumption Shakespeare's education at Stratford. It may yet come.

Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset for September contains in the wonted miscellany of local lore a transcript of a late fifteenth century set of instructions and prayers 'for the poore men' of the Woborne Almshouse when at point of death. First God is to be invoked by the sufferer, then the Virgin, then all angels and principally his guardian angel (*precipue angelum pro sua custodia deputatum*) then apostles and saints: also he is to repeat thrice the verse recommended by Cassiodorus, *Dirupisti domine vincula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis et nomen domini Ihesu invocabo*.

In the *Aberdeen University Review* for February last, Principal Sir Donald MacAlister has printed his Murtle lecture on the Westminster Standards of the Scottish Churches. He emphasises the share that English theologians, especially men of Cambridge, had in the Shorter Catechism.

The American Historical Review for October presents a 'case of Witchcraft' in 1602 by Mr. G. L. Kittredge, who contends that the supposed malignancy of witches was the root of the craze against them. The question was incidentally examined in Wallace Notestein's book, reviewed in *S.H.R.* x. 409, but it is good to have a re-view of the purport of the vast body of psychical evidence presented by Elizabethan record.

Mr. W. T. Root enquires into the rôle of the Lords of Trades and Plantations during the years 1675 to 1696 in 'the unfolding of Britain's first empire.' Colonial evolution gained little from these much criticised predecessors of the Board of Trade.

Mr. Herbert E. Bolton treats of 'the Mission as a Frontier Institution' in the Spanish-American colonies. He points out that 'fifty million people in America are tinged with Spanish blood, still speak the Spanish language, still worship at the altar set up by the Catholic kings.' In the old Spanish settlements the Missions were a primary agency alike for creed, morals, political control and industrial development. Their civilizing and educative function made them the finest, while their ubiquity made them the foremost of the frontier agencies of Spain.

Mr. Carlton J. H. Hayes deals with a modern phase in a study entitled 'The History of German Socialism Reconsidered.' Tracing socialist action from Marx and Lassalle about 1860 down to the anti-Socialist bill which was passed in 1878 and vigorously enforced by repressive proceedings until 1890, the article emphasises the fact that the party preached no revolt: their working ideal was to be 'vocal but not violent.' Defeated at the polls in 1907 the socialists made a great recovery in 1912, a fact apparently justifying their policy of resistance only by words, which had its further natural outcome in the acceptance of the Kaiser's war budget in August 1914, and the desertion of Liebknecht when he led an attack on the second war-loan in December of the same year. German Socialism thus proved, for the time, its nullity as a political force. Its passiveness, however, which to our eyes looks like political suicide, has long been a declared first principle.

A capital suggestion is thrown out by Mr. W. L. Westermann, viz., that the Trades of Antiquity require co-ordinated historical investigation by monographs on the separate industries.

The number of the *Revue Historique* for September-October, 1917, opens with an article by M. Flach on *Les nationalités régionales de l'ancienne France*, which forecasts the early publication of the fourth volume of the author's *Origines de l'ancienne France*, and it is probable that the volume will have appeared before this notice is in print. The deliberate and untiring manner in which the penetrating and lucid mind of this distinguished historian has worked on the baffling material of the history of the institutions of medieval France awakens admiration. The first volume appeared in 1886, the second in 1893, the third in 1904, and now, after thirteen years, the fourth

is announced. The first volume was produced after a period of gestation of ten years, and the four volumes link the war of 1870 to the great struggle of our day. In France, the reputation of the author has grown slowly like a tree, and to the English speaking world, to which Fustel de Coulanges still represents the principal French contribution to the study of medieval institutions, he is not widely known. For ten students of Luchaire, you will hardly find one of M. Flach. To what is this to be attributed? The answer to this question is perhaps to be found in the third volume of M. Flach's history, which he described as the corner-stone of his building. In the preceding volumes the critical element was predominant. He displayed in them the qualities which rendered his *Études critiques sur l'histoire du Droit Romain* (1890), an effective counterblast to the theories of Fitting and Chiappelli, and gave its importance to his pamphlet on *Cujas, les Glossateurs et les Bartolistes* (1883). In his third volume, however, he enunciated his theory and brought on himself the criticism which he had made so freely. His fourth volume will probably bring matters to a decision.

M. Desdèvises du Dezert contributes a second instalment of his *Vice-rois et capitaines généraux des Indes Espagnoles*, and MM. Luchaire and Alazard provide a valuable analysis of the most important recent publications on the religious and artistic history of Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a long and appreciative notice, M. J. B. Coissac deals with Mathieson's *Church and Reform in Scotland*.

The Number of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* for July-October, 1915, contains the usual three divisions—*Discussiones, Documenta, Codicographia*. The most interesting item in the first division is an unprinted Treatise attributed by the editor to Archbishop Peckham. The manuscript is in Florence, bears the title *Quaestio Johannis Pecham*, and has for its subject, *De Pueris Oblatis In Ordine Minorum*. It is known that Peckham went to Paris about the year 1250, and remained there for twenty years. The editor of this unpublished treatise dates it from 1268 to 1272, during the period of the fiercest opposition to the Mendicant Orders in Paris, but this date is purely conjectural, and it may belong to the controversy with William of Saint Amour, which took place some years earlier. The manuscript is not mentioned by Mr. C. L. Kingsford, but it is well known that a considerable body of writings by Peckham exist in manuscript in Florence, Paris and Oxford. The accusation of child-stealing which was made against the Mendicants in the thirteenth century was directed against the Jesuits three hundred years later. The treatise under consideration is a frank and fairly stated defence, and will interest students of religious history.

The Number also contains a critical text of the *Legenda B. Galeoti Roberti de Malatestis* an interesting *Relacion de China*, by the Spanish friar, Francisco de Jesus Escalona, who spent four years there from 1636; and an instalment of the valuable description of the Franciscan Codices in the Ricardi Library in France. Particular reference may be made to No. 2783, a seventeenth century manuscript, containing a *Comœdia Agans de Fr. Archangelo Lesleao de Scotia*.

Communications

TRAPRAIN LAW. Probably few enterprises of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland will be of more enduring interest than the series of excavations at Traprain Law, not only because of the valuable finds resulting, but more particularly because the site was already indicated by remote, and mainly legendary, historical passages of great antiquity, so that by the happy confirmations of the spade, the dim prehistoric literary verge of hagiology has now been firmly related to history. It can scarcely have been by chance that in the last issued yearly volume of the Society's Proceedings (covering the year 1915-1916), the elaborately illustrated account of the excavations at Traprain, by Mr. A. O. Curle, should have been so closely followed by the extensively pictorial description by Mr. W. T. Oldrieve, of the ancient roof of the cathedral of Glasgow. The traditional home of the mother of St. Kentigern has its fit sequence in the grand medieval edifice which was the shrine of her son. The *Vita Kentigerni* makes it clear that the *mons altissimus* of Dunpelder, or Kepduf, or Traprain, down which the maligned St. Thenew was cast, lay close to the abode of her father, the half-pagan kinglet Loth, from whom the Lothians derived their name.

It is thus a very antique chapter of history that has been unearthed in these diggings, which have disclosed the relics of successive periods of inhabitation of the slopes of the abrupt and striking eminence. There are Neolithic remains preceding remains of the Bronze age, and followed by remains of the Iron age, inclusive in the later stages of many relics, which, although manifestly of native Celtic origin, are yet decisively of Roman type. Fragments of Roman pottery at first suggested a Roman occupation of the site, but these, it has been finally accepted, owe their presence to native trading, not to direct military settlement. The scene of the exploration with the Lothian plain below is well brought out in fig. 1, as is the bronze implements in fig. 45, the variety of unglazed Roman pottery in fig. 19, and samples of iron equipments in fig. 34. Three main levels were determined. From the two lowest the bulk of the relics came, but an interesting exception is noted regarding figure 38. It represents spinning whorls and 'playing men,' the latter usually about $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch in diameter, and sometimes of stone, sometimes of Samian pottery, two of them from the level of the latest occupation, and ten from the next beneath. 'The discovery' (says the report), 'at Corbridge a few years ago, of a stone on which was cut a checkerboard, suggests that these objects were pieces in some game played with men or counters after the manner of draughts. If so,

the game was a popular pastime on 'Dunpelder.' First century Roman pottery was found on the lowest level: brass coins dating late in the fourth century came from the top level; these are significant hints of chronology. One of Mr. Oldrieve's pictures from Glasgow cathedral, shewing the delicate trefoil or cusped rafters of the choir roof, and another displaying the old timbers of the nave roof, as seen when stripped, may, in a sense, prolong our far extended vista into history from the slope of Traprain.

These proceedings are truly catholic in the types of antiquity they portray. Very fine examples, interestingly dissimilar, occur in fig. 4, giving the Newton of Lewesk sculptured stone, fig. 2, exhibiting a capital interior view of the broch of Dun Telve, at Glenelg on the Sound of Sleat, and fig. 3, which renders in approved medieval manner an ancient gun, as illustrated in a MS. of A.D. 1327.

FATHER ARCHANGEL OF SCOTLAND. The late Mr. Thomas Graves Law studied the Legend of this worthy in two papers which form pp. 332 to 376 of his *Collected Essays and Reviews* (Edinburgh, 1904). The original life of George Leslie, which Archbishop Rinuccini published at Macerata in 1644, under the title *Il Cappuccino Scozzese*, was received with enthusiasm on the Continent, and passed through numerous editions in which the original narrative was elaborately extended and embroidered. Within thirty years of its appearance, Archbishop Rinuccini's life was dramatised. 'The Roman Capuchins,' wrote Mr. Law, 'were so pleased with the story that they threw it into the form of a drama, and printed the play in 1673, under the title of *Il Cappuccino Scozzese In Scena*.' In his second paper Mr. Law is more specific. 'Meanwhile,' he wrote, 'in ignorance of the French amplified version, an enterprising son of St. Francis in Rome, Eleuterio d'Alatri, composed a drama *Il Cappuccino Scozzese In Scena*, which was published by his brother Signor Francesco Rozzi d'Alatri, in 1673.'

In a recent number of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (July-October, 1915), under the heading *Codicographia Franciscana*, an account of the Franciscan Codices in the Riccardi Library in Florence is given. Among them is included the following item: 'Cod. n. 2783² chart. mill. 288 x 200 ff. 41 saec. XVII. In principio et ad calcem terna folia insititia. In f. 1 non numerato legitur: Il Cappuccino Scozzese | in stile rappresentativo | dal P. Predicatore Generale F. | Ignazio Fantozzi | Perugino dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, confessore nel | venerabile monastero | di | S. Vincenzio | di | Prato. | L'anno 1653. Laus Deo. Ligatura in dimidia pelle; inscriptio dorsi: I. Fantozzi Il Cappuccino Scozzese (1653) | Sec. XVII.' This would appear to be an earlier unpublished dramatic version of the Life of Father Archangel than that mentioned by the late Mr. Law. It is in five acts, with fourteen characters. The first act is placed at Monymusk. The Prologue contains the following sentence: 'Degl' avvenimenti di questo Servo di Dio, e mio seguace, molto allegramente ne scrisse l'Eminentissimo mio Prelato, vero esempio di bontà e di dottrina, Giovanni Batista Rinuccini arcivescovo di Fermo. Dalle cui relazioni ha origine il rappresentamento da farsi hora a voi fedeli . . . perchè i meriti nostri



VIEW ALONG THE TERRACE ON TAPRAIN LAW.
Showing excavation in the foreground.



POINT OF A DAGGER-BLADE OF BRONZE.
Found on Taprain Law. $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

si rendino più attenti all' historia, dagl' occhi vostri m'involo senza mai allontanarmi da' vostri quori; indicating some relation between the dramatist and Archbishop Rinuccini, on whose life the drama is based. No reference to this unpublished play is found in Leone Allacci's *Drammaturgia*. Whatever its merits may be as a play, its existence affords interesting evidence of the extraordinary popularity which the Legend of Father Archangel of Scotland obtained on the Continent.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

CARLELL AXES. In the York Memorandum Book recently published by the Surtees Society (No. 125), the editor, Miss Maud Sellers, Litt.D., has printed (p. 79) the account of an affray in the city of York which took place at the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1419, whereby the procession was disturbed and the lighted torches were broken by a crowd carrying clubs (*fustes*) and 'Carlelaxaes.' In the glossary of words (p. 302) Miss Sellers explains the English phrase, Carlelaxaes, as 'possibly an adaptation of the French *carrelet*, diminutive of *carrel*, *carreau*, file: axes with sharp points: *carle*, meaning rough, clumsy, seems also admissible.' This etymology is very ingenious, but will it stand?

Let us search for other illustrations of the usage of the same phrase. In 1402 Bishop Strickland of Carlisle purchased a 'Karlellax': in 1456 William Merryman of Carlisle, 'yoman,' was pardoned for killing William Lyster, mason, with an axe called 'a Carlell hax': in 1486 three staves (*baculi*) called 'Karlell axes' were laid up in Rose Castle for the defence of the Bishop's household: and in 1507 Christopher Atkinson of Scotby, near Carlisle, was pardoned for the manslaughter of Richard Dobyson, as he had killed him in self-defence, Dobyson having pursued and struck him with a staff called 'a Carlill ax.'

These instances are very interesting, as they all come, except that in the York Memorandum Book, from one district on the map, whose capital city still sounds on Cumberland lips as Carlell or Carle for short. Carlell, or a phonetic variant thereof, accompanies us in folk speech down the centuries as the equivalent of modern Carlisle. These axes in my opinion were called Carlell axes, because they were invented or had a vogue in Carlisle and its neighbourhood. At all events the simplest explanation of a term like this is sometimes the safest.

What the instrument was like I do not know, but it was clearly a weapon of offence as well as defence. We have a classical analogy in the 'Jedwood-axe at saddle-bow' in 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel,' the famous Jeddart Staff which figures on the ancient arms of Jedburgh, but the Carlisle axe appears to have been used by footmen only. I am unwilling to have Carlisle shorn of any of its traditional reputation for prowess in combat.

JAMES WILSON.

MAGNA CARTA COMMEMORATION ESSAYS, 1915-17. 'The starting point of the constitutional history of the English race' (as the great charter is styled by Viscount Bryce) eminently deserved the celebrations designed for 1915. Unfortunately the war intervening

curtailed almost to insignificance an ambitious public programme. Professor W. S. M'Kechnie alone had the honour of delivering before a distinguished public audience his address of a general, narrative, and introductory character. Almost all the other papers see the light now for the first time, with a preface by Viscount Bryce and an historical introduction by the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Historical Society. Possibly the net result in definite achievement of study or research is a trifle meagre. Professor M'Kechnie sees in the charter, abortive in direct effect though it was, a prototype of some such world league as may one day substitute justice for war. Professor G. B. Adams contends that Innocent III. in releasing John from the charter acted on his ecclesiastical rights alone, not feudally in virtue of the cession of England to him. Dr. J. H. Round denies the identification of the 'knights' of Cap. 2 of the charter with the 'lesser barons' of Cap. 14. Sir Paul Vinogradoff and Professor Powicke interpret differently the *lex terrae* of Cap. 39. Professor M'Ilwain, ever in quest of an elusive 'fundamental law,' reverts upon the charter the posterior light of an attempted definition of 'statute,' chiefly from the fourteenth century. Dr. Hazeltine exhibits the charter as a force of a sort on the American constitution, and Professor Altamira finds vague analogies in medieval Spain. Mr. Hilary Jenkinson closes the studies with a general survey of the financial records of King John. Although there is a paucity of definitely established new standpoints, there is much learning in these essays, befitting their septcentenary occasion as the most recent echo of what Tennyson phrased 'the manly strain of Runnymede.'

THE PROPOSED HISTORY OF GLASGOW. The *Scottish Historical Review* had great satisfaction in seeing effect handsomely given recently by the Corporation of Glasgow to the suggestion mooted in the *Review* (*S.H.R.* xiv. 353), that a public and official invitation should be given to Dr. Renwick to write a comprehensive history of Glasgow. Our readers will cordially endorse the approbation with which the community of the city, as well as the circle of historical scholars elsewhere having at heart the progress of Scottish burghal study, have welcomed the act of the Town Council in formally extending to Dr. Renwick the unique and honourable invitation. While no formal acceptance of the task appears to have been returned, there is reason to believe that already the work is tentatively in hand, and its form and scope in course of being sketched out, with due regard to the conditions best fitted to realise the general design, the success of which would not only meet a pressing want in the literature of Glasgow but would also be an occasion of public gratitude.

Clearing his path Dr. Renwick inaugurates the new effort by rounding off the old. He has completed the task of editing the Charters and Documents down to 1833: the last touch needed was to collect into an inventory the writs from 1833 until 1872. With the usual patient promptitude therefore there appears an Abstract.¹ This work is prefaced by a few pages which outline

¹ *Abstract of Charters and Documents relating to the City of Glasgow, A.D. 1833-1872.* Compiled by Robert Renwick. Pp. xxiv. 181. Glasgow: Printed for the Corporation of Glasgow, 1917.

the evolution expressed in the catalogue of Deeds and Acts of Parliament numbered from 1849 to 2350 exhibiting chronologically the emergence and development of civic enterprises for gas and water supply, parks, churches, markets, Clyde navigation, bridges, etc., down to the dawn of the tramways. Appended are a toll table, probably dating back to 1572, and lists of city church ministers, lord provosts, and members of Parliament from 1833 until 1872. So now the unwearied archivist is emancipated, and free for the further high adventure to which he is called.

SIR ANDREW MELVILL, 1624-1706. Does a portrait exist of Sir Andrew Melvill—soldier of fortune—whose memoirs were published in Amsterdam in 1704? He was born in 1624, and was son of John Melvill. He served in Flanders 1647-48; at Worcester 1651; Poland 1655-1660; Hungary 1664. He married Mlle. Lamotte, lady-in-waiting to the Electress Sophia, and came to England in 1660. M.D. at Oxford (*Wood's Fasti*), 25th February, 1681. In 1685 he was invited by Sir John Cochrane to join Argyle's expedition (letter given in Sir William Fraser's *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville*). Died 1706.

I should be glad to hear of a portrait, or to have any further information.

Vigo Street, London, W.

JOHN LANE.

SIR JOHN BALLANTINE'S KNIGHTHOOD. The mention of the family of Ballantine in the last issue of the *Review* (*S.H.R.* xv. 88), reminds me that a notable Scot of that ilk came into Cumberland soon after the Restoration of Charles II., and married one of the richest heiresses in the county. There was a mystery about his antecedents which caused the county magnates to be rather sceptical of his right to the knighthood which he claimed. The Scot I refer to was Sir John Ballantine, who married the heiress of Crookdake, a manor in the parish of Bromfield, in full view of the Solway on the western coast. There he settled in 1663 with his wife at Crookdake Hall, became a justice of the peace, afterwards high sheriff of the county, spent a useful public life, had a family of six children, and ultimately died in honoured old age.

But I am not concerned with the man or his pedigree. I transcribe a monumental inscription in his parish church, an inscription, be it observed, which was composed in my judgment at least a century and a half after the good Knight's death. The monumental brass was put up 'In memory of Sir John Ballantine, K^{nt} of Crookdake Hall in this parish, who died May 1705, son and heir of John Ballantine, Esq., of Corehouse, N.B., Lieut^{nt}-Colonel of Stewart's horse, 1650, and his wife Miss Lockhart of Lee: he was the descendant and representative of Sir Richard of Bannock line of y^e Corhous, 1452. Also in memory of Dame Anne his wife, daughter and heir of William Musgrave, Esq^r, of Crookdake, who died 5th June 1691: she was the last representative of the lines of Musgrave and Lowther of Crookdake and eldest co-representative of those of Colvil and Tilliol of Scaleby Castle and Ireby Demesne.' There are symptoms of the mid-Victorian genealogist about this inflated memorial.

But the thing about Sir John Ballantine which interested his contemporaries most, was his claim to knighthood. The suspicion was so strong, that the wire-pullers communicated with the College of Arms in London, and the reply served only to deepen the distrust of Sir John's title. Here it is and I am committing it, I believe, for the first time to printer's ink: 'Wee, the officers of Armes, whose names are subscribed, do hereby certifie that having searcht into y^e Books and Records of our Colledge we do not find that at any time since his Ma^{ties} happy Restoration there hath passed under y^e great Seale of England a Patent for Baronet, or that y^e order of Knighthood was conferred on John Ballantine of either of counties of Northumberland or Cumberland. Given at y^e Colledge of Armes, London, the 7th day of November, 1679, annoque R[egni] R[egis] Caroli 2^{di} nunc Anglie etc. Tricesimo primo. Rob[er]t Devenish, Yorke Herald, Reg[iste]r of the Colledge of Armes. Gr[egori]y King, Rouge dragon, pursu[ivan]t of Armes.'

The time was approaching when the active justice of the peace of Crookdake Hall might reasonably expect to be sheriff of his adopted county, and his right to the title must be established before the day arrived. Another appeal was made to Sir William Dugdale, the chief censor of the purity of English titles. His reply, dated from the Heralds' College, London, on 3rd June, 1682, was in the same strain as that of his subordinates a few years before. There was no memorial in the office of Sir John Ballantine's knighthood. He was one among others whose names he had on a list who assumed that title, but had never received the honour from this King. He had also a note of a greater number of titular Baronets, who had warrants from the late King (Charles I.) to pass patents for that title, but who had proceeded no further therein. Knights made by a commissioner, he told his correspondent, were of the same standing as those made by the King himself.

In due course the aspersion on his integrity became known to the worthy Knight of Crookdake, who determined to silence once for all the slanders of his traducers. He had no difficulty in producing a certificate from Alexander Areskine, Lyon King of Arms, that Sir John Ballantine had been knighted by Charles II. in 1663, and that the patent was recorded in the Scottish Herald Office. Many years ago I saw Lyon's certificate, which I then regarded as genuine, but unfortunately I either omitted to transcribe it or else lost my transcript. At the present moment I have at hand only a note of the occurrence.

It will be seen that the old prejudice against colonizing Scots was not quite extinct in Cumberland in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The most curious feature of the incident, as it strikes a layman, was the neglect of Garter in not communicating with Lyon when the second application was made to his office. Was 'red tape' of such early origin in our public institutions? At all events full justice was afterwards done to this knightly Scot, who like many of his countrymen found a home on the southern shore of the Solway.

JAMES WILSON.