

## Reviews of Books

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. Vols. IX. and X. 1813-1815. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Pp. xxv, 534; xviii, 458 with volume of 30 maps. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1920. 84s.

WHEN, more than twenty years ago, Mr. Fortescue published the first instalment of his great enterprise he hoped to carry his story to 1870 in another couple of volumes. The twenty years have seen no less than eight more volumes from Mr. Fortescue's pen, to say nothing of four separate volumes of maps, and it is still a far cry to 1870. Indeed, Mr. Fortescue suggests that he may perhaps find it necessary to call a halt at the point to which these volumes have taken him, since, as he points out, the remuneration he has received for his labours is hardly calculated to encourage him to continue; indeed, it has largely been through the help given him by his appointment as the King's Librarian at Windsor that he has been able to carry his story down to 1815. It is to be hoped he will continue his valuable work, but it would have been particularly regrettable had he not been able to complete the story of Wellington's campaigns, more especially because what stands out as specially valuable in his treatment of the Waterloo campaign is that Waterloo has been to him no separate and disproportioned study, but that he sees it as one among Wellington's many campaigns, brings to the study of Wellington's ideas and actions in 1815 a profound knowledge of the Duke's strategy and tactics, and realises how very much the Duke owed at more than one critical moment in the campaign to the fact that he was face to face with opponents like Ney and Soult, whom he had beaten so often that they were under the influence of the moral ascendancy he had established over them. The mere fact that it was Wellington whom Ney was facing on the morning of June 16th caused the French Marshal to people the apparently (and really) lightly held Quatre Bras position with imaginary red-coats, hidden but ready to spring into activity directly he launched his attack and capable of withering his columns with the deadly musketry Busaco had taught him to respect.

Mr. Fortescue might perhaps have made even more use of his study of the Peninsula when dealing with the 1815 campaign. A noticeable feature in Wellington's strategy in Spain and Portugal is his fondness for the outflanking movement; these volumes contain the most remarkable and outstanding examples of it, the campaign and battle of Vittoria, and the manœuvres by which the Duke forced Soult away from Bayonne in 1814 by threatening his flank. It was because he knew the peculiar vulnerability of his position in 1815 to anything like an outflanking movement against his right

that the Duke displayed that anxiety about that flank which contributed to delay his concentration on June 15th (though the main responsibility for that delay lies on the shoulders of the Prussians who failed to give their ally adequate information), which again caused him on June 18th to leave a strong detachment at Hal. Mr. Fortescue curiously enough has not brought out the most probable explanation for that puzzling episode, though he tells how the Duke told Colonel Woodford, the staff-officer whom General Colville had sent over from Hal for orders on the morning of June 18th, that it was already too late for Colville's division to reach the field. The Duke never expected the battle to be prolonged until the close of the day; he was expecting the Prussians to be up and in line hours earlier than they were and, as Mr. Fortescue shows, with better staff-work on Gneisenau's part in arranging the march the Prussians might have been on the field at two o'clock.<sup>1</sup> Had this happened the battle would have been decided before Colville could have appeared. Mr. Fortescue rightly says that it is 'hardly profitable' to speculate on 'the possible issue of the fight had the Prussians failed to appear,' because Wellington 'only accepted battle on the understanding that Blücher would support him,' though he makes a good point, not usually properly appreciated, that at the time of the final attack by the Imperial Guard Wellington had still a considerable part of his reserves in hand.<sup>2</sup> Quite apart from Chassé's Dutch-Belgians, of whose claim to have defeated the Imperial Guard Mr. Fortescue says very little but pretty obviously does not think much, there were two British cavalry brigades and two Hanoverian infantry brigades 'practically untouched,' while, in addition to Adam's strong and thoroughly effective brigade, four other battalions of British infantry were far from as exhausted as the rest and were certainly fresher than any French troops except the Old Guard.

Wellington's 'admirable husbandry of his reserves' is a point of which Mr. Fortescue rightly makes much, and the Duke's mastery of the art of tactics is certainly well illustrated by the battle of June 18th. As Mr. Fortescue says, 'throughout the long agony of eight terrible hours the Allied line was literally pervaded by Wellington,' he 'said himself that he personally had saved the battle four times and if he had said forty times he would not have overstated the truth.'<sup>3</sup> Certainly as far as tactics go Napoleon cuts a poor figure at Waterloo in comparison; Mr. Fortescue is fully justified in condemning the French attacks as 'incoherent,' 'what Napoleon himself would have called *décousus*.' Whatever the initial responsibility of the Emperor's subordinates for the more salient blunders, like the formation of d'Erlon's corps or for the wasteful attacks on Hougomont, a most conspicuous example of the abuse of Marshal Foch's great principle of 'economy of forces,' there can be no question that Napoleon took no steps to interfere with either. Judging by Waterloo alone, Mr. Fortescue has ample justification for calling the Duke 'Napoleon's equal, if not his superior, in the actual direction of a battle.'<sup>4</sup> It is a bold saying, no doubt, but after all it is not in tactics that Napoleon was at his greatest, and Wellington's greatness as a tactician is generally

<sup>1</sup> x. pp. 340-342 and 412.

<sup>2</sup> x. p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> x. 411.

<sup>4</sup> x. 409.



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admitted even by those who have not studied the Peninsular War closely enough to appreciate the soundness and the daring of his strategy.

Waterloo, though the most controversial and to most people the most familiar and absorbing of the topics covered in these volumes, does not exhaust the interest of Mr. Fortescue's pages. He gives a much clearer account of the complicated operations in the Pyrenees than Napier does, his map of this is a great help, and the recent publication of an exhaustive French account by Captain Vidal de la Blache has resolved many doubts as to the doings of our adversaries. Mr. Fortescue might have shown how admirably Wellington's operations illustrate the principles laid down in *Field Service Regulations* for the conduct of an outpost screen, but he happens to be unusually brief in his comments on this particular operation. Of the Vittoria campaign and of Wellington's invasion of France he gives excellent accounts, which again owe much in lucidity to the copiousness and excellence of the maps. Wellington ran many risks in the operations which culminated in Toulouse, but it is interesting to notice how thoroughly he had taken the measure of Soult at this time and how he suited his strategy to the conditions and to his opponent.

Apart from the operations in which Wellington was concerned, Mr. Fortescue has not much to tell. There are the unsatisfactory operations of Murray and Bentinck on the East Coast of Spain, Bentinck's capture of Genoa in April, 1814, Sir Thomas Graham's expedition to Holland and his attempt on Bergen op Zoom and the closing stages of the American War. Mr. Fortescue gives an excellent and sympathetic account of Graham's doings; he was unfortunate in his allies, Bülow's Prussians, who left him very much in the lurch and he had some very indifferent material under him, battalions which were full of raw recruits with relatively few officers of experience. To Bentinck Mr. Fortescue is perhaps less than fair. Bentinck was more of a politician than a soldier, and his interference in Italian politics was insubordinate, wrong-headed and doctrinaire, but his expedition to Genoa is rather scantily treated. Mr. Fortescue should not have fallen into the error of stating that the 14th Foot occupied Genoa in December, 1813, the letter he quotes from the *Castlereagh Correspondence*<sup>1</sup> is obviously wrongly dated and belongs to January, 1815, not 1814. We wish also that Mr. Fortescue could have found a little more space for two other out of the way and unfamiliar episodes: the doings of the rocket-battery of the Royal Artillery which represented Great Britain at the 'Battle of the Nations' at Leipzig and the adventures of the detachment of the 35th Foot who joined the Austrians on the Adriatic in 1814. The American campaign he tells very well; there is indeed no other good modern account of Pakenham's repulse at New Orleans, and it is interesting to notice that the usual version of the text-books about the Americans 'repulsing Wellington's veterans' is hardly accurate. The two battalions who failed in the assault were not Peninsular veterans, one had been in the Peninsula, it is true, but had been sent back as a skeleton and had been filled up with recruits, the other had never been under Wellington at all. Similarly, though many Peninsular battalions had reached Canada

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ix. p. 482.

before the operations on the Great Lakes ended hardly any of them arrived in time to be seriously engaged.

A long chapter on the organisation, recruiting, discipline and interior economy in general of the Army during the period 1803-1814 is a valuable piece of work, and by no means the least interesting in the book ; indeed, one would have been glad of more on this subject ; more statistics as to numbers, as to the distribution of the Army, proportion of foreigners and similar things would have been appropriate and welcome. In a work of such length and dealing with so many matters of detail absolute accuracy is extraordinarily hard to attain, but Mr. Fortescue seems to have fallen rather below his own standard in this respect, for these errors are unusually numerous and it is hard to understand how he came to overlook the particulars about Darmagnac's German brigade at Vittoria ; they are fully given in Commandant Sauzey's *Les Allemands sous les Aigles Françaises*.

C. T. ATKINSON.

**CAPTAIN MYLES STANDISH : HIS LOST LANDS AND LANCASHIRE CONNECTIONS.** A new investigation. By the Rev. Thomas Cruddas Porteus, B.A., B.D., vicar of St. John the Divine, Coppull, Lancashire. Pp. xii, 115. Cr. 8vo. With 8 Illustrations. Manchester University Press. 1920. 3s. 6d.

THIS little volume in its paper cover is a pleasantly written study of one of the Pilgrim Fathers associated with the men of the 'Mayflower,' who founded the colony of New England in the early part of the seventeenth century. Much has been written about the expedition in 1620, and the ancestral homes and later fortunes of its members. There is a wealth of mystery about Captain Myles Standish, by no means the least insignificant of the so-called Pilgrims, touching his religion, pedigree and lost estates. Mr. Porteus has set himself the task to clear up what other writers have left obscure about the hero of his choice, and he has achieved considerable success. A curious feature of Captain Standish's character may be gathered from the contents of his library, to which a chapter has been devoted. There are several interesting illustrations—one of which, that of the hero himself from an American painting, is fitly placed as a frontispiece to the volume—a bibliography, and a meagre index.

JAMES WILSON.

**EXTRACTS FROM NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE COUNCIL MINUTE BOOK, 1639-1656.** Pp. xxiv, 243. With one Illustration. 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne : printed for the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Records Committee by the Northumberland Press. 1920.

CERTAIN members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne have formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of publishing a series of annual volumes dealing with the records of Durham, Northumberland, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and this volume of extracts from the Newcastle Council Minute Book for the years 1639 to 1656 is the first fruit of their public-spirited undertaking. The transcription of the records has been carried out by Miss Madeleine Hope Dodds, who has also written



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the introduction to the volume and prepared the index. It is regrettable that in so many cases borough records are imperfect; pre-Reformation minutes and others having been destroyed by fire and accident and general neglect. These extracts usefully supplement the information which is contained in local histories. Newcastle in the period dealt with was even then a busy coal port, and the Council worked their own coal. The town was not then wholly industrialised, and the cows of the burghers were still driven daily to the common pasture. An interesting agreement is given *in extenso* dated 1653 between the mayor and burgesses and Robert Hunter, the town's neatherd, for regulating his duties during both summer and winter seasons. Many glimpses are obtained of the troubles, financial and administrative, which afflicted the town of Newcastle during the Cromwellian period.

It is proposed that the volume for 1921 shall consist of abstracts in English from the Curia Regis Rolls, to be edited by Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A.

ROBERT LAMOND.

STUDIES IN STATECRAFT, being Chapters Biographical and Bibliographical, mainly on the Sixteenth Century. By Sir Geoffrey Butler. Pp. viii. 140. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1920. 10s.

THIS short book—the title is not a very happy one—contains five studies and two bibliographies: (1) on Rodericus Sancius of Arevalo, 1404-1471, Bishop of Zamora, the castellan of St. Angelo at Rome under Pope Paul II., with special reference to his dialogue on peace and war, and a bibliography of his writings; (2) on the alleged monarchical opinions of the French civilians in the sixteenth century; (3) on William Postel, 1510-1581, the French oriental scholar and political idealist, with a revised, but not original, bibliography of Postel's writings; (4) on Sully and his Grand Design; (5) on Le Nouveau Cynée of Emerich Crucé.

The most original of these studies is the first. Sir Geoffrey Butler has rescued an interesting man from oblivion, a man who has an indirect connection with the Renaissance in England. His dialogue on peace and war—in which the interlocutors are Bishop Roderic himself and the papal biographer, librarian and humanist, Platina—survives in a manuscript now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Sir Geoffrey Butler thinks that it was brought to Canterbury by Sellinge, prior of Christ Church. It afterwards came into the hands of Archbishop Parker. Unhappily the dialogue is rather trivial, of no great importance to students of the Renaissance. It is to be regretted that Sir Geoffrey Butler, instead of giving it unmerited importance before an elaborate political background, did not make it the occasion of a wider treatment of Roderick's works, especially of his popular *Speculum humanae vitae*. Moreover, Sir Geoffrey's analysis of the humanist circle in Rome during the pontificate of Paul II. is not quite convincing. He involves the whole group in the movement, surely not very serious, originated by the disgruntled abbreviators, and does less than justice to that very attractive leader of the Roman Academy, Pomponius Lactus.

The brief essay on the French civilians, reprinted from the *English Historical Review*, is timely and helpful. Sir Geoffrey Butler sets himself to correct the facile impression that professors of Roman law in the sixteenth century were thorough-going apologists of absolutism. He might have pointed out that the traditions of the law schools in Italy were still less committed to monarchical doctrines unrelated to the political exigencies of the Middle Ages. To see this, one need only read the admirable essay on Bartolus, written by the late Mr. Cecil Woolf, especially the pages on Bartolus' commentary on the law of the Digest relating to the *Decuriones*, and their 'ambitiosa decreta.' Reference to medieval thought would also have helped to give proportion to Sir Geoffrey Butler's essay on William Postel. The hard-faced legists who gathered round King Philip the Fair of France, nearly three centuries earlier than Postel's day, were also familiar with the conception of world peace through world power, and like him, though in a very different spirit, were not uninterested in oriental studies. But they, perhaps, are not fit company for the attractive, disinterested, crackbrained scholar whom Sir Geoffrey sketches with such sympathy.

The last essays are slight. The paper on Le Nouveau Cynée adds nothing to the work of Crucé's American editor,<sup>1</sup> and the more elaborate study of Sully and his Grand Design is a skilful résumé of the conclusions of Charles Pfister and other writers on this famous theme, with the additional suggestion that Sully interpolated the project in his memoirs and attributed it to Henry IV. in order to 'provoke the little men of the succeeding generation to salutary thought as might still save the State.' Even if this view be accepted it does little to increase the practical significance of the Grand Design. Sully was doubtless a better balanced man than the Emperor Maximilian I., but they seem to have been alike in their capacity for solemn self-glorification. When as great a man as Henry IV. did arise in France, he unhappily preferred other methods of salvation than the method of the Grand Design.

Sir Geoffrey Butler's book is good reading for an idle day, but, in spite of its rather pretentious title-page and its impressive manner, it is not a serious contribution to the history of statecraft. Those who wish to see a discussion of the ideas of Postel, Sully and Crucé in a general setting should turn in preference to Christian Lange's *History of Internationalism* (1919). Sir Geoffrey Butler presumably has no illusions on the subject. One reader at any rate, while grateful to him for the pleasure which these essays have given, hopes that he will concentrate upon the French civilians. A good monograph is needed on their political thought in its varied relations with contemporary history and learning, and Sir Geoffrey Butler would seem to be well qualified for the arduous task of writing it.

F. M. POWICKE.

<sup>1</sup> A study of Crucé, which I have not seen, has recently been written by M. Louis Lucas.



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A HISTORY OF EVERYDAY THINGS IN ENGLAND, 1066-1799. Written and Illustrated by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. In two parts. Pp. xiv, 208 ; xii, 208. 8vo. With 200 Illustrations. London : B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 1920.

THIS is a creditable effort to capture young recruits for the study of antiquity. There is a regular gallery of drawings, 191 plain and 9 beauti-

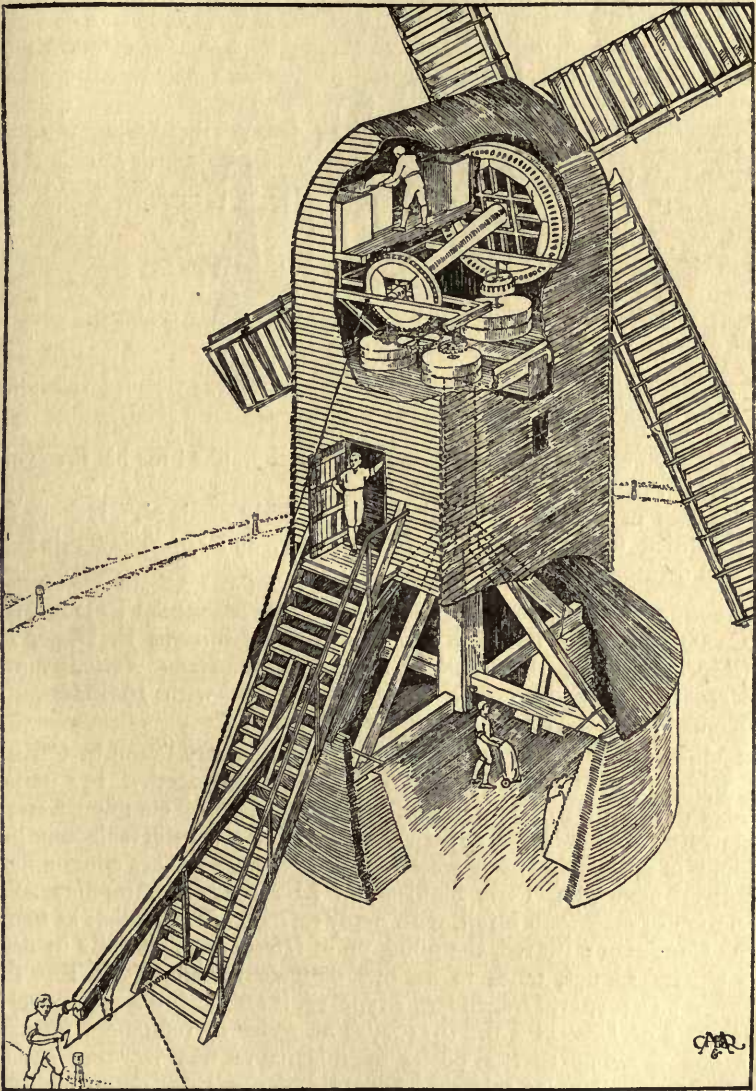


The Great Hall.

fully coloured, representative of English life across the ages. Almost all of these follow originals or sound models, and the result is a fairly effective picture of the house, the castle, the court, the church, the ship, the chase, the games, the soldiering, and the industry, as well as the everyday, sabbath-day and holiday life of the land from the fabulous age of Arthur down to the eighteenth century. The coloured illustrations are, for the most part, representations of costume in different centuries. The text is written

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for the comprehension of youth, and the author's own technique is trimmed to that pattern, and the work is well-suited to allure the schoolboy and lay



A Windmill in Essex, to illustrate early mechanism of windmills.

the foundations of an antiquary. There are numerous extracts from Pepys' *Diary* in the account of the seventeenth century ; these refer to the ordinary life of a household, and bring out in a very vivid manner the ways.



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of a Londoner in Pepys' time. Agreeable examples of the artistic revisualising of the past occur in the figures here by permission reproduced. The illustration of the thirteenth century duel of Walter Blowberme and Hamo le Stare would have been better had it adhered more faithfully to



A Judicial Combat.

the figure which Professor Maitland had photographed for his first volume of *Pleas of the Crown*.

The idea of the book is capital and is fairly attained. History is not mere politics, it has all life for its province, and 'everyday things' are standard memories.

CATALOGUE OF THE ROMAN POTTERY IN THE MUSEUM, TULLIE HOUSE, CARLISLE. By Thomas May, F.S.A., and Linnaeus E. Hope, F.S.I. (Reprinted from the *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society's Transactions*.) Pp. 85, with 19 Plates. 8vo. Kendal : Titus Wilson & Son. 1917.

THE Museum contains a collection of Roman pottery found in Carlisle or on neighbouring sites on the Wall of Hadrian. Altogether 194 items are catalogued and described in detail. These consist of complete vessels or decorated fragments in Terra Sigillata, as well as a considerable number of examples of pottery in coarse wares. There are appendices containing lists of potters' names on Terra Sigillata, on Mortaria, and Amphorae. The description of each item is full, with many references to parallels at home or on the Continent; indeed, the piling up of references, especially in dealing with potters' stamps, tends to become somewhat confusing. The stamp CRICIROF on a platter, Dragendorff's type 18, is assigned to a potter working at Banassac or Lezoux A.D. 70-140. The series of references terminates with one showing that a potter of this name was working at Trier A.D. 175-225. We are told that the style of the Trier potter is different from that of the Central Gaulish potter, but as Dragendorff's type 18 had gone out of fashion long before A.D. 175, the reference is of no value for the identification of the fragment now in Carlisle.

The earliest Sigillata belongs to the Flavian period, to which the first occupation of Carlisle must be assigned. There are also specimens of this

## Catalogue of Roman Pottery, Tullie House 215

ware from Central and East Gaulish kilns operating in the second century. Among the coarser ware, examples carry the series down to the fourth century. One fragment of a white flagon is assigned to a period before the middle of the first century, but it seems doubtful whether any of the pottery is earlier than the reign of Vespasian. The plates, on the whole, are good, especially the drawings of vessels of coarse undecorated wares. We regret that the authors did not sum up the evidence to be obtained from an examination of the pottery as a whole. A comparison of the collection with those of Silchester and York, which have both been dealt with by Mr. May, might have afforded some interesting information on the different sources of supply of these towns, and the areas of distribution of native potteries.

JAMES CURLE.

**DUMBERTONSHIRE : COUNTY AND BURGH FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**, forming Part II. of a Revised History of Dumbartonshire. By John Irving. Pp. 143-350. Quarto. Dumbarton : Bennett & Thomson. 1920.

THE author of this revised history of Dumbartonshire, originally written by his father sixty years ago, has divided it into three parts published separately : I. Dumbarton Castle, II. The County and Burgh, and III. Its Industries.

This volume, Part II., starts with early Roman history, with which Dumbarton, being at the west end of the wall of Antoninus, naturally had a close connection. Apart from the sculptured relics the author mentions and describes, mostly of a military nature, there are few social traces of the Roman occupation, and almost none in place names.

One chapter deals with the Saints and other ecclesiastical crusaders, many of whom came over from Ireland to missionize Scotland in early times, and it is one of the mysteries of Irish history how St. Patrick, their patron saint, came to be born in or near Old Kilpatrick.

To the general reader Mr. Irving's chapter on clan warfare will bring the touch of lively adventure and romance. He fights the Battle of Glenfruin (the Glen of Sorrows) over again. He might perhaps have made a little more of it, because, though it happened so long ago as 1603, the Dumbarton boy of the present day is not allowed to forget it. What rankles in his mind is the cold-blooded massacre by the Macgregors of the Dumbarton students who came out to see the fun, and the tradition is that the stone where the deed was done, *Leck-a Mhinisteir*, or the Minister's Flagstone, can never have its blood stains washed away.

The murder of the students is perhaps a myth ; for the indictment upon which the 'Rhoderick Dhu,' who was their leader, in reality Allaster Macgregor of Glenstrae, and four of his companions were tried and afterwards executed, charges them with the slaughter of seven score Colquhouns, Macfarlanes and others, among them Tobias Smollett, bailie of Dumbarton and ancestor of Roderick Random—but not a word about the Dumbarton bairns.

Everybody knows that the Macgregors were, for their predatory exploits both before and at the battle of the Weeping Glen, put to fire and sword,



hunted and harried, and forbidden to bear their own name. Their clan, the clan McAlpine, though descended from kings was taboo, and many of them disguised themselves as Campbells, Grahams and the like, but never as a Colquhoun or a Macfarlane. The blood feud was too strong for that. And later there came their great deliverer, Sir Walter Scott, who has done more to remove the black mark against them and to create a literary glory for Dumbartonshire and the Lennox country than either the Macgregors or Dumbarton knows.

Mr. Irving records the fact that the missing Charter of Confirmation by James I. to the town of Dumbarton, 1609, has been found, and in a somewhat curious way. In 1907 there was a litigation connected with a claim by the Parish Minister of Dumbarton for a glebe, which went from the Sheriff Court to the Court of Session. In Edinburgh during the hearing of the case it was discovered to be in the possession of Edinburgh University, to whom it had been bequeathed by Dr. David Laing, the well known antiquarian. Mr. Irving says it was never ascertained how it came into Dr. Laing's possession. One has a fairly good idea. It was known in Dumbarton to have gone to Edinburgh as a number of process in a litigation with the town many many years ago—1813—and had never returned. Dumbarton brought an action against the University [1909. i.S.L.T. (O.H.) 51], got the charter back on condition of paying expenses as a kind of storage rent all these years.

Dumbartonshire is a fine county, and possesses in this book a good history. 'This country,' says Tobias Smollett in *Humphry Clinker*, 'is justly styled the Arcadia of Scotland. . . A perfect paradise, if it were not, like Wales, cursed with a weeping climate. . .' P. J. BLAIR.

DAVID URQUHART. Some Chapters in the Life of a Victorian Knight-Errant of Justice and Liberty. By Gertrude Robinson, with an introduction by F. F. Urquhart. Pp. xii, 328, and 5 Illustrations. 8vo. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1920. 20s. net.

DAVID URQUHART was preeminently a man who might have made history. After reading this account of his activities—as the author truly says it is not a biography—one wonders why he hardly left a mark at all. Perhaps the reason is that single-handed he tried almost consciously to mould history, in an age peculiarly unsuited to such an attempt.

In the time in which he lived the soil was most unreceptive for seeds such as a prophet like Urquhart had to sow; but the reader of these memories cannot but feel that Urquhart's own nature was largely responsible for his failure. He would have rated very highly the importance of the individual in history, and, though he would probably not have recognised it in so many words, perhaps highest of all the opinions of David Urquhart. From the very earnestness with which he believed in his own convictions, he was contemptuous and intolerant of the opinions of others; there were no half-tones, every deed and policy was either white or black, right or wrong. He, Urquhart, had no doubts, so none could exist.

He started life with little in the way of position to help him and with his nature one is not surprised to find him very soon developing a talent for

knocking his head against a stone wall, and so ending any hope of bringing his influence to bear on British or foreign policy from within. Not being dependent on his own efforts for a livelihood, he was able to devote his life to the attempt to influence, from without, the political methods of his time.

He was an idealist and a prophet but he was almost a practical statesman as well. He possessed in an unusual degree the personality which fascinated others and impressed them with the justice and importance of any scheme on which he might at the time have concentrated his energies ; a man who could persuade the leaders of Chartists and revolutionaries to abandon their schemes of personal betterment in favour of a system of self-education and international development by means of committees of working men to study foreign policy, was capable of being a power in the land.

Urquhart's knowledge of European politics was startling ; he travelled often and widely. Wherever he went he showed the same power of seeing below the surface and getting behind the scenes ; he was an Englishman and a Protestant and yet when in Turkey he became a Turk and so important was his influence that for the rest of his life he never altogether lost it. When he was in Rome, he became the ally and leader of Cardinals, meeting the Pope and almost succeeding in passing a policy of his own through a Vatican Council. So many and so complex were the threads that he held in his hands that statesmen from Britain, Cardinals from Rome, Viziers from Turkey all came to visit him in his chalet on the lower slopes of Mount Blanc, and came not to give but to receive information in regard to their respective charges.

His views never lacked in originality, and his habit of showing the merits of politics not commonly popular in his country, enabled him to utter several prophecies the accuracy of which was almost astounding in after years to those who had heard them.

Urquhart strove for the establishment of a law of nations ; in any civilised nation law was supreme. If any man sinned against the law he was punished according to the law, but as between nations this was not so. This Urquhart considered subversive in the long run of all morality, public and private ; the fact that, though in essence might was right, it was generally considered advisable by the nation which planned aggression (in Urquhart's mind this was always Russia) by means of tortuous diplomacy to give some cloak of virtuous intention to their deeds, did not make matters better. He proposed, as the only remedy, the re-introduction of religion into politics. The only source from which he could hope to influence politics through religion was the Papacy, to the Papacy therefore he turned, and though never a Catholic, he was, for the later years of his life, in constant and intimate touch with the internal politics of the Vatican, because through it he saw his only chance of reforming the external politics of Europe.

With this idea as his foundation Urquhart regarded Italy from a point of view very different to that usually adopted by the English historian. The states of the Church must remain. In order to set a standard and example to the nations, it was necessary that the Pope should be also a temporal sovereign. He had the advantage of not being an hereditary sovereign.



He was priest as well as king, typifying the standing of religion in politics, and because his temporal kingdom was so insignificant he could have no ambitious projects in this world and for that very reason his moral influence would be all the greater, and in addition, he carried behind him the whole weight of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. With these views then, Urquhart looked with no favourable eye on the aspirations of Victor Emmanuel, on the plottings and deep laid plans of Cavour. Garibaldi was to him what recently D'Annunzio has been to us.

The book is almost too condensed, and yet it is obviously incomplete, so that one hopes a fuller attempt will be made to write a life of Urquhart. His points of view are very different from those commonly taken in this country, and whether right or wrong, they were those of a very able man who spent his life and energy in the pursuit of a noble ideal.

HAMISH A. MACLEHOSE.

WILLIAM BOLTS. A Dutch Adventurer under John Company. By N. L. Hallward, M.A. Pp. x, 210. 8vo. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1920. 15s. net.

THIS book is a veritable mine of interesting extracts, but unfortunately no adequate references are given. Despatches received from the governor of Bengal, consultations of the Council and intercepted letters, all are quoted at length, but the author does not make it clear whether the MSS. materials which he has used are to be found in Calcutta or at the India Office; even printed authorities are treated in the same way, Verelst's *Bengal*, Bolts' own writings, and other books are freely used, but reference is seldom made to the page from which the extract is taken. It is a little disappointing too that the number of quotations has prevented the author from thrashing out some of the interesting minor problems connected with Bolts' career. Our appetite was whetted by the mystery of Bolts' appointment as alderman of the mayoral court of Calcutta, when he was actually suspended and even under threat of dismissal from the company's service. His accusation too, that the enmity of the council against him was merely the outcome of their private jealousy as rival traders, deserves further discussion.

Despite these small drawbacks the book is most interesting reading, for William Bolts was a skilful merchant and bold adventurer who entered the company's service as factor just at the time when Clive's victory at Plassy had brought Bengal within the grip of the company's servants. Bolts' career reflects the state of misrule and oppression which existed in Bengal before the reforms of Warren Hastings and the interference of Parliament in the affairs of the company. After six years of private trade Bolts had amassed such a fortune that he was able to resign his official position and to defy the orders of the council for two years longer, until in despair they deported him from India. Returning to England he set himself to ruin his enemies, and began a series of actions, notably against Governor Verelst, whom he succeeded in ruining. After becoming bankrupt himself he determined to seek fresh openings for his energy abroad, and trading on his Dutch descent he got into touch with the Empress Queen Maria Theresa.

His bold plans for reviving the Ostend Company, which had been such a thorn in the flesh to the English in the early days of the century, were favourably received, and Bolts reappears in India as a Lieut.-Colonel in the Imperial army and at the head of a trading expedition, to alarm the English by his intrigues with the French agent at Poona during the difficult days of the American War of Independence. But his scheme soon fell through, and Bolts disappears from fame to die a pauper in a Paris hospital in 1808.

The bold schemes of this industrious scamp have an interest beyond the mere record of travel and adventure, for Bolts' career just covers that great period of change in India from Clive's conquest of Bengal to the governorship of Wellesley, when Britain stood forth as the paramount power in India. And Bolts' part in this drama, though a minor one, is yet significant. He is the type of unscrupulous servant whose callous abuse of the right of private trade made the first years of the company's rule such a curse to Bengal; his intrigues with the Nawab of Oudh and the Dutch at Chinsura show the danger of a lax system of control over the Europeans in India; at home his vicious attacks on the company helped to swell the growing feeling against the Nabobs, and in favour of regulating the powers of the company; in India again he plays his part in the wide-spread system of intrigue which Warren Hastings was called upon to face. But it was all in vain. In the very year in which Wellesley completed his work, the Dutch adventurer, who had been the trusted adviser of an Empress, and had dreamed of an Austrian trade system stretching from Delagoa Bay through India to distant China, died in obscurity and neglect.

C. S. S. HIGHAM.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM. By Allen Mawer, M.A., Joseph Cowen Professor of English in Armstrong College, University of Durham. Pp. xxxviii, 272. 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1920. 20s. net.

FOR some years explanation of the meanings of the place-names on the map has been engaging the attention of some of the best of our English scholars. Not that it is a new study: the old writers in distant ages loved to interpret the vernacular names of places by giving them what they conceived to be their Latin equivalents. Gateshead was explained by Bede as *caput caprae*; Wulfeswelle by Simeon of Durham as *fons lupi*, and so the custom went on. Writers in modern centuries followed the prevailing usage, though Leland in this respect is more reticent than Camden. At the same period John Denton attempted an explanation, sometimes very fanciful, of many of the place-names of Cumberland in his topographical survey of that county. Etymology was a favourite recreation of some of the old antiquaries, as may be inferred from the table-talk at Monkbarrow.

But the methods pursued in our time are more trustworthy than those which have gone before. The study of English place-names, says Professor Mawer, is steadily advancing in its methods and extent, and in his contribution to the science the general principles laid down by Skeat, Wyld and Moorman have been followed. The form of the name in the earlier



centuries is always investigated as a preliminary to its possible etymology. It cannot be too often urged that the history of the earliest forms in the vernacular is of the greatest moment. Names were not given to places by a syndicate of scholars : they were the natural outcome of folk-experience and folk-speech. For this reason folk-etymology should not be neglected.

Though we have a high opinion of Professor Mawer's industry and success in the elucidation of the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, we are not convinced that he has always discovered the right key to unlock the difficulties of some of his names. Haltwhistle may be taken as an example. In his researches he has carried back the form of the name to Hautwisel in 1240, and he shows that it varies little in subsequent centuries. In consequence, he regards the word as 'a hybrid compound of O.Fr. *haut*, 'high,' and M.E. *twisel*, O.E. *twisla*, 'fork of a river or road,' descriptive of the position of Haltwhistle on steeply rising ground between Haltwistle Burn and S. Tyne.' Had Mr. Mawer known that an earlier form of the name, perhaps the earliest yet found, was Hachetwisel, he would have hesitated to regard the first element as French. It may be permissible to doubt that a name in use in Northumberland so early as about 1138 was likely to have had Norman influence in its formation.

The net result of Professor Mawer's survey of the place-names of the two counties is set out in his introduction, and it has some very striking features. The Celtic element is alleged to be no stronger than in most English counties, and a good deal weaker than in those on the Welsh Border. The Anglian conquest was so complete that the vast majority of the names are of English origin. On the other hand, the evidence of Scandinavian occupation is very weak, which is certainly surprising in view of its preponderance on the opposite side of the island. The French element, in our thinking, may be regarded as negligible. A name like Bewley, for instance, is ecclesiastical all the world over, a corruption of *Bellus Locus*, later, *Beaulieu* in French. Sometimes the traditional or vernacular name of the place was discontinued to make way for the monastic description of the situation.

The author of this book may be congratulated on his performance. It is one of the best on the subject of place-name etymology that we have seen. It cannot help but be welcomed by all philological students, especially by those in the counties of which it treats. Northern antiquaries are not slow to appreciate good work.

JAMES WILSON.

BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN WESTERN INDIA, 1579-1657. An Account of the Early Days of the British Factory of Surat. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A. Pp. viii, 158. 8vo. With 10 illustrations. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1920. 10s. 6d.

It is opportune that at this time Mr. Rawlinson's *History of the British Beginnings in Western India, 1579-1657*, should appear. The history of British India begins, with most of us, with Lord Clive and Warren Hastings. We had a vague idea that the record of the East India Company went further back than that period, but few of us realised that it went

back to the spacious times of Great Elizabeth. The discovery of the New World beyond the Atlantic heralded a period of amazing intellectual and material development. Western Europe was all alive. Spain, Portugal, France, Holland and, last in the race, England were all striving to gain a footing in the great Eldorado of the West. Columbus had gone out to find a way to Asia, and had stumbled unexpectedly on America, but India was as interesting as of old, and so English adventurers, finding their way there by the overland route, and getting permission from the Mogul Emperor, set up their small warehouses in Surat, about 160 miles from Bombay, planting themselves for the first time in that India, which in process of time their successors, the East India Company, ruled and continued to rule until in 1858 India became an Imperial Dominion.

It is a fascinating story of the early beginnings which Mr. Rawlinson tells in the graphic narrative style of one who knows his subject thoroughly and is in love with it. The book itself is well printed in good clear type, and, illustrated as it is with engravings and outline maps, forms a mine of useful information to those interested, as all of us ought to be, in the India in which at the present moment our Imperial rule is passing through one of the critical testing periods in its history.

ANDREW LAW.

COLLECTED PAPERS : HISTORICAL, LITERARY, TRAVEL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

By Sir Adolphus W. Ward, Litt.D., Master of Peterhouse. 2 vols.

Pp. xii, 408 ; pp. viii, 398. 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1921. 48s.

In these two volumes the Master of Peterhouse has made a selection of his historical contributions to periodicals in the course of sixty years. Covering as they do such widely different subjects as Roman manners under the earlier Emperors, the 'Thirty Years' War, and Aims and Aspirations of European Politics in the Nineteenth Century, it is impossible to do justice to the erudition of the author.

Sir Adolphus has left the Papers as they originally appeared, and it is unlikely that later research has found much to criticise in them ; while the perfection of their style might well be taken as a model by most historical writers of to-day. Appearing as they do in 1921 it is to be regretted that the writer did not see his way to presenting an ampler postscript to the two papers which open the first, and conclude the second, volume. 'The Peace of Europe' and 'The New German Empire' will at once attract the attention of the reader distraught by the conflicting views of publicists on the question of how that peace is to be attained and maintained, but it must be admitted that from neither will he attain the guidance he looks for. In the first of these articles, written in 1873, it is shown that, when all possible allowance has been made for the beneficial effects of an International code, administered by a permanent International tribunal, 'only the dreamer will conclude that the peace of Europe . . . will be assured by such means.' The reason is obvious—none of these means remove or prevent 'the natural combativiness of man, the spirit of conquest, illegitimate ambition, desire for aggrandisement' which are among, if indeed they are not the principal, cause of war. If that was true in 1873 is it not equally so in 1921 ?



In his closing paper on the New German Empire Sir Adolphus adds a postscript. He refers to an article by Professor Hans Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* ascribing the blame for the agitation in favour of war, the U boat campaign, and the policy of annexation, to the Militarist Pan-Germanist tendency ; but, at the same time, charging the Social Democratic party with 'conjuring up the catastrophe in the very moment when everything depended upon keeping Germany's last forces together—the nation has followed false prophets ; but who is guilty, the false prophets, or the nation that put faith in them ?' Sir Adolphus answers the question with a quotation, 'Les peuples ne sont jamais coupables,' and leaves it at that. Can the peoples, conscious of their own innocence, be quite sure that their elected prophets will, in future, be as little 'coupables' as history shows them to have been in the past ?

BRUCE SETON.

#### THE CITY OF GLASGOW : ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND DEVELOPMENT.

With 8 Maps and 8 Plates. Pp. iv, 79. Royal 8vo. Edinburgh : The Royal Scottish Geographical Society. 1921. 8s. 6d.

IN 1919 the Royal Scottish Geographical Society published an Account of the City of Edinburgh, illustrated by a series of maps, plans, and old views. They have now issued a similar book on Glasgow, though on a somewhat different plan. It consists of a number of short articles, written by different contributors, with a short editorial introduction. A compilation of this sort has its drawbacks. There is of course a lack of continuity, and a certain amount of over-lapping is unavoidable, as will be easily understood when we find that three of the articles deal with 'The Rise of Trade and Industry,' 'The Port and its Development,' and 'Overseas Relations.' On the other hand it has enabled the Society to avail themselves of the assistance of such authorities as Professor Gregory, Professor Bryce, Sir John Lindsay, Dr. George Neilson, and Mr. D. M. McIntyre, of the Clyde Navigation Trust, whose co-operation could not well have been secured otherwise.

The articles, being written by experts, are both interesting and informative, while they afford ample food for reflection. The rise and progress of Glasgow, which are described succinctly but adequately, are attributed largely to the following causes : its Geographical position, the protection and influence of the Church, the opportunities afforded by the Union of the Crowns, and especially by the Union of the Countries in 1707. These, however, only gave the opportunity, and it was owing to the character of the people that they were able to avail themselves of these advantages, and to adapt themselves to the chances and changes that from time to time affected the commerce and industry of the place. We hope Professor Bryce, who contributes an article on 'The People of Glasgow,' will not think us frivolous if we say that it does not much matter whether the people of a city are dolichocephalic or brachycephalic so long as they are sufficiently hard-headed, and can avoid the malady of 'swelled head.' We hope, however, that the successors of the men to whose enterprise and exertions Glasgow owes its present position will lay to heart the warning contained in Sir Halford Mackinder's 'L'Envoi.' He there points out that our city owes its

greatness 'mainly to momentum from the past,' and that unless the workers of to-day recognise this fact they may find that they cannot continue to depend as at present on the 'running organisation and world wide good will which have come down to them from their predecessors.'

A feature of the book is the Maps by which it is illustrated. These are described in the article on 'The Cartography of Glasgow,' by Mr. J. Arthur Brown, to which is appended a very useful chronological list of Maps of Glasgow prior to the Geological Survey of 1857-62. A good map is often worth half a volume of description, and the growth of Glasgow can be studied by an intelligent use of the maps. The improvement of the Clyde, for instance, and the consequent development of the Port, can be understood better by a comparison of the Map of 1920, which accompanies Mr. McIntyre's article, with the Maps of Timothy Pont, 1595, and John Watt, 1734, than by any amount of letterpress.

T. F. DONALD.

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. By Cardinal Gasquet. Seventh edition. Pp. xlviii, 495. With 3 Maps. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1920. 16s. net.

THIS appears to be a reprint of the last edition of this well-known treatise, with a new preface added. The author has made no attempt to deal with the trenchant and detailed criticisms of Mr. G. G. Coulton, which are collected in his *Medieval Studies* (ii. ed. London, 1915). The failure to acknowledge errors in statement which Mr. Coulton has demonstrated, has the unfortunate effect of rendering suspect a study of an important question which has undoubted merits. The reader of the book in its present form is bound to verify the facts for himself before accepting the Cardinal's version. A candid admission of errors would not have been fatal to the Cardinal's thesis, and would have given the book an historical value which it cannot claim.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

Sir Geoffrey Butler has written a *Guide to an Exhibition of Historical Authorities Illustrative of British History compiled from the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (8vo, pp. 16; Cambridge University Press, 1920; price 1s.). It is drawn up for the convenience of visitors only, but will gratify a wider 'audience' by its kindly and well-founded enthusiasm over Archbishop Parker's splendid collection bequeathed to Corpus Christi College in 1574. The contents of twenty-four items are popularly sketched.

Among recent additions to the series of 'Helps for Students of History' is *A Short Guide to some MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, by Robert H. Murray (8vo, pp. 63; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; 1920, price 1s. 9d. net). It furnishes general accounts of the glories of Trinity College Library, such as the noble and ancient Book of Kells, Book of Mulling, Book of Durrow, and Book of Armagh, which are the priceless and unique inheritance from Ireland's golden age of culture. Other documents described include sixty-six volumes of original record of the Inquisition at Rome (dealt with in a single confused paragraph,



very far from illuminating) and a series of depositions on the massacres and atrocities during the Irish revolt of 1641. These depositions are sketched by Dr. Murray with equal sympathy and critical insight. It is noted that the library includes the original draft of Archbishop Spotiswoode's *History*.

From the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace we have received Publication No. 17, entitled *American Foreign Policy*. (Pp. viii, 128. 8vo. Washington, D.C. 1920.) An introduction by the acting director, N. M. Butler, emphasises the need of the time for exact information as to the principles of American administration. This by way of preface to a collection of extracts, beginning with George Washington's farewell address in 1796, including President Monroe's 'message' in 1823, various papers on the Hague tribunal and the act of August 29, 1916, declaring it to be the policy of the United States to settle international disputes by mediation or arbitration, and authorising the President to invite a conference for that end of 'all the great Governments of the world.' This last academic production was, of course, before events determined the United States to come into the war.

Probably a long and possibly a great future lies before *The Antiquaries' Journal*, 'Being the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London,' of which the first number has just been published by the Oxford University Press. It is introduced to the world of archaeology by Sir Hercules Read, President of the Society. The plan is an extension of the former system of *Proceedings*, and the substituted periodical will contain all the matter of the older form, besides not only an adequate record of general archaeological discovery but also a review of current antiquarian literature. With this expanded commission accordingly the new magazine enters the lists—a royal octavo periodical of 80 pages, of which 57 are devoted to substantive communications by the Fellows, and the remainder to notes, reviews and obituaries. These initial contributions are worthy to mark the new departure equally with authority, distinction and variety.

First comes an elaborate study by Mr. A. W. Clapham of the Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, with a large coloured plan of the church and priory as well as smaller *diagrammes de restauration*. Second in place, though not second in importance, is an interim report on the Exploration of Stonehenge, by Lt.-Col. W. Hawley, with a capital photographic plate of the whole stonecircle, thirteen sectional drawings, and four photographic plates of the actual processes adopted to readjust lintels and to straighten leaning upright stones by means of jacks. The discussion at the close is luminous, and the full significance of the investigation is brought out by the sketch-sections registering with precision the findspots of pottery, glass, flint implements and deerhorn picks. Evidently the Bronze Age, probably in its later phases, will make considerable claim to the authorship of the giant circle, but there will remain distinctions between the structure itself and the use made of its enclosures for cremation burials, so that much will depend on calculations of the lapse of time since first these imposing masses of stone were set in their place of wonder and mystery on Salisbury Plain. Th

third paper brings us to a Scottish theme : it is Mr. A. C. Curle's brief but lucid description of the discoveries at Traprain Law, with five illustrations of the hoard of silver now so famous in the annals of Scottish archaeological science. Essentially cognate to this is the next article by Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong on the beautiful although imperfect Irish Shrine of Killua, recently purchased by the Royal Irish Academy. It is made up of cast bronze plates with settings of amber and is semicircular. Its interlaced and spiral and zoomorphic ornamentation, the curious conventionalised male figure and face in the design, and the looped handles for carriage or suspension of the shrine have combined to sanction the provisional suggestion of an eighth century date. As yet the saint in whose honour it was made is unidentified, the place whence it originally came being unfortunately unknown.

Reviews and annotations come from competent hands. Among them is an informative notice of Prof. Tout's recent study of 'the Wardrobe' in the administration of England, and there is an important anonymous comment on a study by Hr. Lindqvist, calling in question Snorre Sturlason's dictum *circa* 1240 regarding the order of succession of types in Scandinavian funerals.

The new Journal makes a vigorous beginning, augury we hope of high service to research on antiquities for this century and perhaps the next.

*History* for January is chiefly noticeable for Commandant Weil's article on 'Guizot and the Entente Cordiale,' which prints for the first time two very elaborate and important letters exchanged in 1844 between Guizot, then Minister of France, and the Comte de Flahaut, French ambassador at Vienna. The relations between England and France had been dangerously sensitive for some time, and the object of the correspondence was to bring about a better understanding with Metternich, the great minister of Austria.

*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* contains in the number for September an important note on the 'Iron Grille over the grave of Mary Queen of Scots.' Mr. James Cross gives a reference to *The Times* of 29th July, 1920, recording the restoration to Westminster Abbey of the grille which James I. had put over his mother's grave. It was bought in 1826 by John Bridge, and installed at his residence, the Manor House, Piddletrenthide, near Dorchester. Purchased by the National Art Collections Fund, it has now been returned to its rightful place. To Mr. Cross's note the Rev. C. H. Mayo, one of the two editors of the magazine under notice, appends the following valuable corroborative extract :

'In the Catalogue of the Sale of the Collections of the late John Bridge and John Gawler Bridge at Piddletrenthide, on 20th Sept., 1911, and the two following days, the subjoined entry occurs in the second day's sale list, p. 32, lot 357 :—'An interesting 'Stuart' relic, in the form of the wrought iron railings, with scroll hanging for tomb lamp which formed the grave surround of Mary Queen of Scots, and was removed from Peterborough Cathedral, on the occasion of the body of Mary Queen of Scots being conveyed to Westminster Abbey by command of her son, James I.'

'This was purchased by Mr. John Bridge, July, 1826.'



*Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe.* A Select Series of Maps, illustrative of the recent history of the Chief European States and their Dependencies, is an extremely useful collection of maps in colours, showing mainly the political and ethnographical features of European countries up to 1914, with a provisional Map of Europe after the Peace Treaty of 1919-20.

Professor Hearnshaw has written a full and careful introduction to each of the maps; the volume (London: Macmillan & Co., price 6s.) is one which should be of great use to students and to all who are interested in nineteenth century European History.

Dr. George Macdonald has written for the British Academy, *F. Haverfield, 1860-1919*, an admirably sympathetic and finely turned biographical notice and critical estimate. The dimensions of Professor Haverfield have been made much more perceptible by his death, which on many grounds was a disaster to Roman studies in the United Kingdom. Dr. Macdonald pays eloquent tribute not merely to the scholar but to the man.

In the *Juridical Review* (December) Mr. W. Roughead completes his 'familiar survey' of Poisoning as revealed in the Justiciary records of Scotland. One is glad to infer that the crime is not characteristic, and to welcome Mr. Roughead's release for happier themes. Mr. W. G. M. Dobie, writing on 'Law and Lawyers in the 'Waverley Novels,' has naturally no profound novelties for our entertainment, but by his many citations he abundantly justifies the profession's rather overweening belief that even wizards may owe much to the dark art and craft of the law.

*Fraser's Scottish Annual, 1920*, presents in popular form varied articles with a flavour thoroughly Scottish. A short sketch of Earl Haig of Bemer-syde with illustrations is followed by 'The Kilt and Bagpipes.' R. L. Stevenson's association with Burns through his great-grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Smith of Galston, is the subject of the last paper. There are contributions in verse, including 'Tir Nam Bean: Toast,' by Principal Sir Donald MacAlister.

*The Iowa Journal* for October devotes seventy pages to a full study and statement by Jacob Van der Zee of the work of the Iowa Code Commission created by the State Legislature in 1919. It is a somewhat instructive chapter of legal codification, being a record of discussion and drafting, which closes with a 'Compiled Code,' fully indexed, and now awaiting adoption, if fortune favours it, as the official code of the State in 1921.

*The Caledonian* (New York) for November reprints articles on 'Old World St. Andrews' and the 'House of Douglas.'

## Notes and Communications

THE PASSAGES OF ST. MALACHY THROUGH SCOTLAND. Arising out of my notes on this subject (*S.H.R.* vol. xviii, 69-82), I should like with your permission to add by way of supplement some new impressions I have gained by correspondence with Professor Lawlor on some obscure points in my narrative. Though my statements for the most part have his approval, I have not always succeeded in convincing him. The correspondence of course was private, but he has readily given me leave to use it.

I am glad to find, touching St. Malachy's visit to Annan, that Dr. Lawlor is inclined to agree with me 'that Malachy learned there something of the state of England which he had not known; and that in consequence (possibly by the advice of his host), he avoided the south, and went to Guisborough in the hope that he might get a passage from that district, with the help of the canons there, in spite of Stephen's tactics regarding bishops.'

In my recital of Malachy's passage through Yorkshire (p. 81), I regret that by a heedless statement my meaning is not so clear as it should be. 'You represent him,' writes Dr. Lawlor, 'to have made a detour, which would seem to imply that he returned westward. But would not the word *divertit* mean that he left the beaten track without any such implication? Of course it would not indicate that he did *not* return to his intended route: see § 37, p. 71.' My translation of *divertit* in the text is so clumsy that it does not convey the impression the narrative gave me. Though St. Bernard does not say so, I believe that from the outset York was the objective on the second journey outward as well as on the first. But after the Annan experience, instead of going direct to the metropolitan city, Malachy turned aside after passing the gap of Stainmore that he might visit the canons of Guisborough on the way. According to the map given by J. R. Green (*Making of England*, ii. 128), which shows the direct road from Carlisle to York, the *divertit* would naturally take place at Catterick. If I rightly apprehend Dr. Lawlor's meaning that Malachy went to Guisborough to avoid the King's officials at York or elsewhere, I can raise no objection to the inference. The mouth of the Tees, in which the canons had interests, could supply a sea passage as well as the Humber.

Another interesting remark by Dr. Lawlor may be mentioned. When he said that 'Malachy had a prosperous journey *through* Scotland' (§ 40, p. 76), he was using the Bollandist text which gives 'prosperare Scociam pervenit,' whereas the Benedictine text, on which I relied, has 'prosperare *in* Scociam pervenit.' The textual discrepancy in my opinion is of no



consequence. A preposition after *pervenit*, so far as I can find, is always expressed or understood in classical as well as ecclesiastical prose. The Vulgate of Acts xvj<sup>1</sup> may be taken as an example of the latter usage. In the Clementine text of that verse, 'pervenit Derben et Lystram—he came to Derbe and Lystra,' the preposition *in* is omitted, but it has been restored to its proper place by Wordsworth and White in their great edition. It is precisely the same in the Bollandist and Benedictine texts of the *Vita S. Malachiae*: the absence or presence of the preposition makes no difference to the meaning of the passage. It is quite true that St. Bernard wrote 'pervenit ad Viride Stagnum—he passed through (the country) till he came to Viride Stagnum.' In like manner, I may use a paraphrase of either the Bollandist or Benedictine text—'he passed through (the distance from Clairvaux) till he came to Scotland.' I may be rash in saying so, but I still think that Carlisle is the inevitable identification of the place where St. Malachy is alleged to have healed the prince of Scotland.

I may call attention here to a curious blunder on pp. 75-6 of my narrative in twice using 'Downpatrick' for 'Portpatrick.' Fortunately the substitution would be detected by the reader at once as a mental vagary, caused by the similarity of the name-sounds, one being in Ireland and the other in Galloway.

Dr. Lawlor furnishes me with authoritative evidence of the correct form of *Portus Lapasperi* from which St. Malachy sailed to Ireland. 'By the way,' he says, 'I deserve no credit for the conjecture of *Lapasperi*: it is in three of the Bollandist MSS., and I think in my A and K. The fourth MS. has *Laspasperi*. The three readings in MSS. would be Lapaspi, Laspaspi, and Lapaspi—the two latter being very easy misreadings of the first.' It may be explained that the MSS., which he designates A and K, are in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the former being a cent. xij text of the *Vita S. Malachiae*, and the latter a cent. xv text: they have been so designated by him for the sake of reference in the list of authorities prefixed to his book published by the S.P.C.K. One may venture to express satisfaction that the true reading of this ancient Scottish place-name has been so happily determined.

JAMES WILSON.

ST. MALACHI IN SCOTLAND (*S.H.R.* xviii. p. 69). While I do not venture either to criticise or endorse Dr. Lawlor's equation of *Portus Lapasperi* with one of the places named Cairngarroch (not Cairngarrock as rendered by Canon Wilson) on the western seaboard of Wigtownshire, I cannot but think it probable that he prudently preferred to embark for Ireland at one of them, rather than at Portyerrock. The proximity of Cruggleton certainly favours Canon Wilson's interpretation; and the fact that the name is given as 'Portcarryk' in a MS. rental of Whithorn Priory, 1550-1585, and 'Porterack' in the *Inquisitiones ad Capellam*, 1647, suggests analogy with the adjectival syllables in Cairngarroch.

On the other hand the configuration of the district weighs against Canon Wilson's view. To reach the Irish coast from Portyerrock involves a long voyage round the Burrow Head and the Mull of Galloway. Off each of these headlands the tide races strongly, causing a nasty sea. Indeed, the

neck of the Mull still bears the name of Tarbet (*tarruing bada*, boat draught), where boats were drawn across from sea to sea to avoid the rough water round the headland.

Again, the parish church of Mochrum, bearing the only dedication to St. Michael within the county of Wigtown, lies  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles as the crow flies W.N.W. of Cruggleton and Portyerrock, on the direct route for the Cairngarrochs. It is hardly likely that Malachi would have travelled thither and returned to embark at Portyerrock. 'There is no real evidence,' says Canon Wilson, 'that either of the three Cairngarrochs' (I know of only two) 'was ever a port of passage to Ireland or elsewhere, . . . there is no good ground for attributing to early travellers a disinclination for sea voyages, or a desire to cross the sea by the shortest passage.' I submit that human stomachs were of much the same stability in the twelfth century as they are in the twentieth, and that, then as now, a sail of twenty miles is more attractive to the average landsman than one of fifty or sixty miles. There can be no reasonable doubt that intercourse by sea was easy and frequent between the west coast of Wigtownshire and Ulster. Twenty-five miles of rock-bound coast between Corsewall light and the Mull of Galloway lie in full sight of Ireland. The cliffs are seamed with numerous inlets bearing names denoting their use as landing places—Portavaddie, Slouchavaddie, the port and *slochd* or gully of the boats (*bhada*), Portlong, the ship (*long*) port, etc. It is to be noted that Portyerrock is no more than an inlet in an iron-bound coast, no whit more commodious than those in the neighbourhood of the hill called Cairngarroch.

Life-long acquaintance with every part of the coast of this county and the seafaring habits of its people leads me to think it very probable that Malachi would prefer riding thirty miles to Cairngarroch rather than beat a long passage to Ireland round the two promontories. And if the visit to St. Michael's of Mochrum be assumed, the case for Cairngarroch is strengthened.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

Monreith.

EARLY ORKNEY RENTALS IN SCOTS MONEY OR IN STERLING (*S.H.R.* xviii. 99). Some years ago I expressed the opinion in *Old-Lore Miscellany*, viii. 56, and more fully in the *Orkney Herald*, that the money in Peterkin's *Rentals*, No. 1, 1502, and in Orkney and Shetland 'payment' was sterling, because (1) an instance had been found in the *Rental* in which the 'price' of malt amounted to four times its rental value or Orkney 'payment'; (2) the Orkney 'payment' price of produce was less than a quarter of that of similar produce in Scotland; and (3) the ratio of sterling to Scots money was 3.5 : 1 in 1500 (the English *Tower pound* of 350 grammes was coined into £1 17s. 6d., and the Scots *troy pound* of 374 grammes was coined into £7). It dawned upon me afterwards that, as the normal rent of a mark of land in Orkney and Shetland is 10d. 'payment,' it followed that the purchase price must be twenty-four times that amount, *viz.* 240d., the Norse mark. This is supported by the fact that the uniform tithe charge in Shetland is 2d. per mark, or one-fifth of the rent. This rule still holds good in Scotland in the valuation of tithe, *viz.* the actual rent



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is assumed to be a half of the produce, so that one-fifth of the rent is equal to one-tenth of the produce. But the most important proof is the fact that, in 1500, one Norse penny of 240 to the mark of 216 grammes was equivalent to one depreciated sterling penny or 4 depreciated Scots pennies.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the old tithe charge of Orkney has not been preserved, but I have found sufficient evidence to shew that tithe had also been charged in Orkney at 2d. per mark.

Orkney and Shetland produce was appraised in Norse pennies of 240 to the weighed mark of pure silver. The meil of malt in Orkney and Shetland was valued at 6d. Orkney and Shetland 'payment' or 'gild,' shewing the antiquity and common origin of the appraisement. In the beginning of the 15th century, Norse *weighed* and Scots *depreciated* pennies were about equal in weight, and possibly *forcop*, a money payment, was paid in Scots money from that time. At any rate, in 1500 and after, *forcop* was paid in Scots money.

By 1595 Orkney 'payment' in money had been converted into Scots in the following manner, *e.g.*, in the case of Foubister, St. Andrews. 1502 Rental: 'Butter-scat 1 span (20d.) . . . *inde* stent 1 leispund (= 4d., leaving a balance of 16d. of butter-scat, which is entered in the summation as 'butter-scat *preter* the stent') . . . malt-scat 2 meils . . . *forcop* 7d.' 1595 Rental: 'Butter-scat 1 lispund, in scat-silver 3s. 3d. (= the balance of the butter-scat in 1502, *viz.* 16d.  $\times$  2 = 32d. + 7d. *forcop* = 3s. 3d.) . . . scat-malt 2 meils.'

So that between 1502 and 1595, one item of Orkney 'payment' had been commuted into Scots money at only double its face value. In the above entry the span of butter has been priced at 20d. instead of the correct 21d. Where *forcop* has been carried over by itself from 1502 to 1595, it is of the original amount and in Scots money.

Captain Thomas read the *d.* in '21d. span of butter' as *mark*, although *d.*, *denarius*, is used throughout for *penny*, and *mk* and *merk* for mark; and he took 'butter-scat *inde* stent butter' to mean that 'stent butter' was an additional tax to butter-scat, whereas *inde* is used throughout to indicate the medium of payment. Butter-scat had to be paid partly in kind (butter) and the remainder in any appraised produce of the same value; the remainder is entered in the summations as 'butter-scat *preter* the stent,' and this Thomas took to be the total value of the butter-scat. Fortunately the weight of the Orkney and Shetland span is known to be equal to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Norse spans or 126 marks. The value of the span of butter was 21d., and of the Orkney lispund 4d., so that the latter would weigh 24 marks or  $\frac{4}{21}$  span; and therefore originally it was probably a bismar-pund of 24 marks, and not a lispund of 32 marks. In 1500 20 lispunds = 1 barrel of butter, which is suggestive of the Danish skippund of 20 lispunds of 32 marks or 16 lbs. each.

Captain Thomas explains the 101 contiguous *meilis-coppis* and *uris-coppis* in Westrey, extending to  $16\frac{5}{8}$  pennylands or approximately 113 acres, as being '*cuppes*' or 'old quarries.' Whereas *coppis*, singular *cop*, is O.N. *Kaup* as in *forcop*; and 6 meils, or 6 uris, per pennyland, represent the scat

<sup>1</sup> The exact ratio of value is 4.047 Norse : 3.5 stg. : 1 Scots, of which the equivalents are 1 Norse = 1.156 stg. = 4.047 Scots.

which, it is declared, should have been paid in 1502, and which was paid in 1595. In 1347 6 Norse aurar of depreciated coins were equal to 36d. Orkney payment, when the ratio of weighed to counted was 5 : 1. This payment, or its equivalent in Norse *coins* must, therefore, be dated from 1347 or after.

At last I have succeeded in ascertaining the whole of the eyrislands in Shetland, on the basis of the record of the actual scat of three of them. There are about 232 eyrislands in Shetland as compared with a possible 201 in Orkney, allowing approximate amounts for places like Edey and Cava of which the record is unknown. In Shetland, while many are valued at 72 marks, corresponding with the normal eyrisland in Orkney, the average value is 58 marks.

The rent of a normal eyrisland of 72 marks was 3 marks, and the Old Extent of a Scottish ploughland or hide was also 3 marks—the normal eyrisland and ploughland contained 120 acres each, and the similar rent in both cases may be more than a coincidence. Old Extent can be traced back to the same time as the mark valuation was made, *viz.* 1137.

In Shetland they grouped their marks of land into blocks of 72, each of which was called 'a piece of corn-teind,' and corresponded with the normal eyrisland in Orkney and the normal ploughland of 3 marks, or 40s. land, in Scotland.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

**EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP IN THE DYEING TRADE AT HADDINGTON.** The Indenture of which a transcript follows is in itself evidence that the Union of 1707 and the Acts of the Scottish Parliament in 1703 and 1704 in favour of the export of wool, although a very serious blow to native manufacture, had not killed Haddington industry. Dyeing had been long established in the town and neighbourhood. The New Mills Cloth Manufactory was started in 1681, and thirty years earlier a similar industry was in existence. Professor Scott's valuable introduction to *The Records of the Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills* contains much information not only on the spinning and weaving, but also the dyeing of wool, woollen yarn and cloth.

The Indenture provides for an apprenticeship for five years, the fee payable by the father, Thomas Burnet, being £60 Scots or £5 sterling. The master, Patrick Begbie, dyer, burgess of Haddington, is bound to 'teach learn and instruct' the apprentice, James Burnet, 'in the hail heads points passages and circumstances of his said trad and occupation of litster.' There is careful provision against breaches of moral conduct on the part of the apprentice, who was to be an inmate apparently of the master's house during the term of his apprenticeship. JOHN EDWARDS.

THIS Indentors<sup>1</sup> maid at Hadingtoun the twentie third day of May Jm vij c<sup>t</sup> and twelve years It is apointed agried and finally Indented betuixt Patrick Begbie litster burges of Hadingtoun on the on pairt and

<sup>1</sup> Indenture, dated 3rd May, 1712. It is the property of Mr. John R. W. Burnet, advocate, Edinburgh, by whose permission this transcript appears.



James Burnet third lawfull son to Thomas Burnet tenent in balgon<sup>1</sup> with advice and consent of the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Burnet and taken burden in and upon him for his s<sup>d</sup> son on the other pairt That is to say the s<sup>d</sup> James Burnet hes become and be thir pñts with consent fors<sup>d</sup> becomes prentice and servant for all the dayes space and years of five years to be outroun nixt and immediatly follouing his entry therto q̄ch is heirby declared to be and begin upon the day and dait of thir pnts, And from thencefurth and therafter shall continue remain with and be faithfull trew good leal thankfull and diligent prentice and servant to the s<sup>d</sup> Patrick Begbie, and shall wait upon his master's service bath holy day and work day during the space fors<sup>d</sup>, and shall give his exact dilligence and travell to learn the s<sup>d</sup> trad and occupation to be teachd to him and that he shall not hear nor conceall his s<sup>d</sup> masters hurt skeith nor prejudice but shall tymously reveall it and stop the samen to the outermost of his pouer and the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Burnet becomes cāutr for the s<sup>d</sup> James Burnet his son his lauteth and remaining with his s<sup>d</sup> master and that he shall nowayes during that tyme depairt from nor leave his s<sup>d</sup> masters service without his speall licence had and obtained therto, Whilk if he do in the contraire In that caice efter the expyryng of his s<sup>d</sup> prenticeship the s<sup>d</sup> prentice shall remain with and serve his s<sup>d</sup> master two dayes for ilk dayes absence And farder the s<sup>d</sup> James Burnet and Thomas Burnet his s<sup>d</sup> father obleadgs them cōnly and sēally that the s<sup>d</sup> James Burnet shall not at ony tyme during his prenticeship defyle nor abuse his bodie in furnication nor Adultery with any person nor persons qtsomever nather be anywayes ane carder dycer drinker nor night waker nor haunt nor bear company with any such vitious persons And the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Burnet binds and obleadgs him his airs, successors to him and intrometers with his goods and gear qtsomever To content pay and delyver to the s<sup>d</sup> Patrick Begbie his airs exērs or assignees in name of prenticefee with his s<sup>d</sup> son all and haill the soume of threescore of ponds Scots money And that Aget the feast and terme of mertinmes nixt to come with ten ponds money forsds of liquidat expenses in caice of faillizie and çents (*consequents*) of the s<sup>d</sup> prfll some efter the terme of pay<sup>t</sup> above written durng the not pay<sup>t</sup> therof, For the Ilks causes the s<sup>d</sup> Patrick Begbie obleadgs him his airs and successors that he shall teach learn and instruct the s<sup>d</sup> James Burnet prentice in the haill heads points passadges and circumstances of his s<sup>d</sup> trad and occupation of litster qlk he presently uses or shall happen be his mozian or engyne<sup>2</sup> to attain to during the space fors<sup>d</sup> and shall not hyd nor conceall from him any pairt or point therof, but shall use his exact dilligence and travell to cause the s<sup>d</sup> prentice learne and conceive the samen and shall entertain sustain and mentain his s<sup>d</sup> prentice honestly in meat drink bedding work and labour during the years abovspēt And the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Burnet obleadgs him and his forsds to furnish his s<sup>d</sup> son clathes and others necessar to his body the haill tyme of his prenticeship, and both parties binds and

<sup>1</sup> 'Balgon, Sir George Sutton in North Berwick' (*Macfarlane's Geograph. Collections*, iii. 114). Sir James Suttie, Bart., of Balgone, County Haddington, married 1715 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Bart., of North Berwick (*Scots Peerage*, viii. 142).

<sup>2</sup> *Mozian*, means, resources. *Engyne*, ingenuity, scientific knowledge.

obleadgs them to perform the premisses ilk ane to others and the party faillizier to pay to the party observer the some of twenty ponds money forsd for ilk faillize in the premisses by and attour the fulfilling yrof wher ther is not ane alreadie modifed penalty And for the more security bath parties consents to the regretion heiroy in the books of counsell and session or any other judges books competent within this Kingdom to have the strenth of ane decreit interponed heirto, that lērs of horining on ane charge of six dayes only and other Extolls neidfull may pass heiron, And for that effect Constituts

Ther Prōrs, In witnes qrof written be William Shiel notar at Hadingtoŭn both the s<sup>d</sup> parties have sub<sup>t</sup> thir pñts with ther hands place day moneth, and year of God above wñ befor thes witnesses William Houden Schoolmaster in Bouhouses and the s<sup>d</sup> William Shiel writter heiroy and Androw and George Yowlls tennents in Haltfentoun

W<sup>m</sup> Shiel witnes

Pat Begbie  
James Burnet  
Thomas Burnet  
Androŭ Yŭle witnes  
Geo: Yool witnes  
W<sup>m</sup> Houden witnefs

THE ENTICEMENT OF SCOTTISH ARTIFICERS TO RUSSIA AND DENMARK IN 1784 AND 1786. The following notes have been made from documents in the Public Record Office in London : <sup>1</sup>

The first is in the form of a letter from Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, of the British Embassy at St. Petersburg, to Lord Carmarthen, dated 8th June, 1784, and expresses his regret at having to record the recent arrival of ships from Leith carrying a considerable number of stonemasons, bricklayers and other artificers, all from Edinburgh and district, who had been sent for by a Mr. Cameron, a British architect in the employ of the Empress Catherine, to complete some extensive buildings at Tsarkoezelo, her residence outside St. Petersburg. Many of these men brought their wives and families, the whole party numbering 140 persons, and employed for the most part on a yearly engagement. The diplomat hopes that at the expiry of this term these useful artificers will return home to Scotland, and thus not be lost to their own country.

The letter concludes with the request that Lord Carmarthen will take steps to prevent further traffic in artificers from Great Britain, and expresses surprise that the magistrates of Edinburgh should allow these men to depart, not stealthily but publicly, in response to public advertisements in defiance of recent laws passed to prevent emigration of manufacturers.

Mr. Fitzherbert wrote another letter to Lord Carmarthen on 16th June, 1786, informing him of the arrival at Cronstadt of an Englishman, one Gascoyne, a former principal member of the Carron Company of Ironworkers, who had been engaged at a high salary to erect a foundry

<sup>1</sup> H.O. 32/1. (Correspondence to the Home Office from the Foreign Office.)



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for making cannon for the Russian navy, and had brought over with him an assortment of all the principal machines in use at the Carron Works, and, of still greater importance, he had seduced from these works a considerable number of skilful artificers, some of whom had already arrived in Russia and others were due to embark at Leith. Gascoyne had announced that he had come to Russia with the approbation of His Majesty's Ministers.

The document relating to Scotsmen in Denmark is in the form of a letter from Mr. John Mitchell, dated from Copenhagen, 12th December, 1786, and announces that a certain Scotsman and noted smuggler, one William Moir, had sailed from Copenhagen on that day for Great Britain with a commission from the Danish Government to engage a number of able hands from the hardware, plated ware, cotton and woollen manufactures of England and Scotland, and to provide a sufficient quantity of machinery and utensils for establishing branches of those trades in Denmark. If successful in his errand, Moir was promised a reward of £6000 sterling. An Irishman, Hamilton Moor, had embarked a few days earlier for Dublin, presumably on a similar errand. He returned from Ireland in July, 1787,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by five millwrights.

Many attempts were made to entice artificers from England and Scotland at this time. For example, a Prussian subject, Frederick Baden, was imprisoned and fined £500 for enticing artificers to leave the kingdom in 1785.<sup>2</sup>

A young lieutenant in the Danish navy, named Kaas, aged 24 and 6 ft. high, was sent to Hull in 1787 to engage instructors in the art of making steel, an art which is said to have been unknown in Denmark and Norway at that time.<sup>3</sup>

E. ALFRED JONES.

THE DALKEITH PORTRAIT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (*S.H.R.* xviii. 32, 152). Being in Rome and having with me only some rough notes on the subject of Queen Mary's Portrait, I can only reply shortly to Mr. Seton's letter.

To begin with a small point. Mr. Seton states that in Mr. Cust's book on the pictures of the Queen 'No portrait appears to show a cross, but most show a crucifix.' But in Mr. Foster's great work on the same subject one finds several portraits of Mary wearing a cross, both in miniatures and also in the large pictures. Among the latter are the Ailsa portrait, that at Trinity House, Leith, and the Buchan-Hepburn portrait—the cross in the last being of a curious and rare shape. It is true that in the portraits of Mary in later life and as a prisoner in England, she generally is pictured with a crucifix.

The cross of seven diamonds which I suggested as possibly the same as the cross in the Dalkeith Portrait, only altered later by the addition of rubies and a pendant pearl, was not given back with the *carcan* to the

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell's letter of 10th July, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office: H.O. 32/1; letter dated 7th March, 1787.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 10th July, 1787.

Crown of France. It was not part of the French Crown Jewels, as can be seen by the Inventories of the Queen's Jewels, later, in Scotland, where there is a note of the pearl being added from some loose ones in Mary's possession. It was a cross of nine diamonds, as I pointed out, which was returned to France.

With regard to Mr. Seton's statement that the ruff was of a date not earlier than 1576, it has been carefully compared with that worn by Mary as Dauphine, in the sketch attributed to Clouet about 1559, and it is almost identical; and the Clouet sketch is admitted to be a contemporary and authentic portrait. It is also very similar to that worn by her immediate successor, the wife of Charles the Ninth of France.

Mr. Seton dismisses in a couple of lines what I regard as the most important piece of evidence, namely the *carcan* of table diamonds and *entredeux* of pearls set in clusters of five. Yet he does not explain how someone, not the Queen Consort of France, was painted wearing a necklace of such value, identical with that (described with such care in the Queen's Inventories) which belonged to, and had been given back to, the Crown of France before Mary returned to Scotland in 1561.

The *carcan* as I pointed out agrees in every particular with the description in the Inventories, and it is on this very important piece of evidence that I state that the Dalkeith Portrait must have been painted before Mary left France in 1661 or copied from an original of that date. No private person could have been painted wearing a portion of the French Crown Jewels—a set of such magnificence that it was valued at something like 800,000 crowns—and Mary herself had only a very brief period, as Queen Consort, when she had the power to wear it.

With regard to likeness that, like beauty, is very much 'in the eye of the beholder,' but with regard to the age of the person in the portrait, one has to remember that Mary dressed in rich robes and wearing the splendid crown jewels would naturally look older than the girl-dauphine of 1559. As for the pedigree of the picture it is at least as good as that of many of the portraits accepted as authentic, or quasi-authentic.

It has been the fate of Mary Queen of Scots, that living or dead, every subject connected with her should have been a source of controversy, and the Dalkeith Portrait cannot be expected to be an exception to the rule.

MARIA STEUART.

By the Editor's courtesy I have seen Miss Steuart's reply. I do not feel able to modify my view that the Dalkeith portrait is not genuine. It is dangerous for a mere man to argue with ladies about the date of ruffs; but I fail to understand how any one can put the Dalkeith ruff and the Clouet one side by side and then say they are 'almost identical.'

WALTER SETON.

MANDATE TO THE BURGH COMMISSARIES OF KINGHORN FOR PARLIAMENT IN 1475. One of the earliest documents preserved among the Supplementary Parliamentary Papers at the Register house (vol. i. no.2) is the following mandate to commissioners of the burgh of Kinghorn for a Parliament in the spring of 1475-6. The writ is badly



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mutilated ; but enough is left to be an important addition to the *Reliquiae Parliamentariae* in the first volume of the *Acts* (p. 102). We have transcribed as much as can be read with any certainty, without attempting to fill up gaps by comparison with other forms of procuratory.

Omnibus ad quorum noticias presentes . . . Salutem. Sciatis nos unanimi consilio et consensu . . . habito comburgen . . . Johannem de Balglali et Andream Quhitbrow . . . nostros deputatos commissarios ac nuncios speciales coniunctim ad comparendum [pro nobis et] nomine nostro ad parliamentum domini nostri regis coram eo vel deputatis suis pluribus vel uno . . . [inc]hoandum et tenendum videlicet die lune xi<sup>mo</sup> die mensis marcii proximo futuro cum continuacione [dierum sub]sequencium : dantes et concedentes . . . procuratoribus nostris et commissariis commissionem nostram . . . [g]eneralem et specialem ac mandatum generale et speciale comparendi seu conveniendi pro [nobis] . . . et loco cum continuacione dierum ut premittitur subsequencium ac consulendi . . . d[eliberan]di concordandi et determinandi una cum aliis communitatibus regni . . . negotiis domini nostri regis et regni in dicto parlamento . . . determinandis ac perficiendis omnia alia et singula que . . . [auctori]tate communi domini nostri regis et regni facere potuerimus si presencia . . . gratum et firmum pro perpetuo habituri quicquid per procuratores . . . coniunctim nomine nostro et ex parte tractatum concordatum et determinatum . . . quolibet premissorum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum commune nostri burgi . . . est appensum apud Kyngorn in tolloneo nostro tertio die mensis marcii anno domini millesimo [quadringentesimo] LXXV<sup>o</sup>.

A. B. CALDERWOOD.  
R. K. HANNAY.

MACBETH, MACHETH (*S.H.R.* xvii. 155, 378, xviii. 154, 155). Although Macbeth and Macheth have been shewn to be English variants of the Gaelic name McBheatha, there is not a single instance (excluding the faked name Beth of 1120-24) of a Gaelic name *Beatha* in Scottish or Irish documents. There are, however, a multitude of instances of the Gaelic and Irish name *Aoidh*, in the form *Aedh* of which the name of earl Heth, Ed or Head is obviously the English form. If Angus McHeth was a son of earl Heth or Ed (Gaelic *Aoidh*) it is reasonable to believe that the name MacHeth, in his case, is the Gaelic patronymic MacAoidh, which is also found in an aspirated form in Irish, e.g. in O', and *Ua hAeadh*, and so possibly a Gaelic form *Mac hAoidh*, i.e. Mackay.

A. W. JOHNSTON.