

Reviews of Books

NAVAL OPERATIONS OF THE GREAT WAR, BASED ON OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS
BY THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE COMMITTEE
OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE. Vol. II. By Sir Julian S. Corbett. Pp. xii,
448, with 17 plans. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1921.
21s.

THE second volume of Sir Julian Corbett's official history raises anew and acutely the problem of historical method. On what scale is the account of any part of the late war to be attempted? Unlike all previous wars, it was without geographical limits; it was fought, one might say, everywhere: in the air, in many lands, on every sea. The historian's difficulty is not, however, the magnitude and extent of the operations included within its vast and dread circumference so much as the stupendous, the stupefying masses of detail at his disposal. They tower around him on every hand, these mountain heights, enormous, unscalable, paralysing. How to obtain sufficient and trustworthy information was the problem of the ancient historian, the modern is suffocated by its completeness. Millions of dispatches, decisions, orders, libraries of reports and findings, galleries of telegrams are open to him. But as well might the traveller attempt to wade a thousand miles through an ocean of glue as he to read, master and digest, without loss of mental balance, these minute and innumerable particulars.

Assume, however, that he has read and digested them, he has not yet shouldered his burden or entered upon his proper undertaking—to place before his readers a clear, bright, arresting picture of the events. Such a picture can only be secured by ruthless suppressions and omissions. Include everything and a heavy fog settles down upon the scene. The historian no longer sacrifices to the Muses, and it would appear that such history as we now look for, scientific history, is not within the reach of any writer, were he Gibbon himself.

Besides the embarrassment of his riches, beyond the dreams of any previous historian, Sir Julian seems to have been embarrassed by the two-fold character of his task. As official historian he felt himself bound to admit details for the sake of completeness, as well as for the sake of more popular writers who would draw from his volumes their material, and at the same time felt the necessity of providing for the ordinary reader a lucid and comprehensive view of the sea affair as a whole, a very different undertaking. It would be ungracious and untrue to say that he has not in great measure succeeded in both, but it will be no easy-going reader who, having

perused the chapters on the Dardanelles expedition, escapes bewilderment. The very names of the vessels of all types engaged, battleships, cruisers, trawlers, destroyers, submarines, their comings and goings from hour to hour, the names of their officers, the orders executed or attempted, the counter orders and abandonments of schemes found impossible, the enumeration of the forts and batteries attacked, the landings successful and unsuccessful, the difficulties associated with them, the number engaged on each, form a web of such intricacy that attention and interest fade in the attempt to unravel it. Sir Julian has, too, thought it necessary to give some account of the military aspects of the gigantic undertaking, which still further complicates his design. One cannot but think that, however accurate and complete his narrative, and it is both, it would, from the plain man's point of view, have gained by omissions.

The chapters dealing with the German raids on our coasts are easier reading. Most of us in the early days were puzzled by the comparative immunity with which these attacks were carried out. We suspected that, as by the ridiculous fable that in France the allies were constantly outnumbered, a fable imposed upon us till the very end, every excuse except the true one of incompetence somewhere, was offered us. But the explanation is simpler than we foresaw. The raids were expected, the day and the hour accurately determined, the preparations to meet them were complete, the dispositions for the interception of the raiders beyond criticism. Luck only was against us, and the German escapes from crippling injuries can only be ascribed to the chances, inseparable from all sea warfare, which from first to last, with curious persistence, favoured the enemy.

So wide is the field covered by it that to do justice to Sir Julian's admirable survey cannot here be attempted. Like his first, this volume is throughout charged with the highest interest, and supplies the final and satisfying answers to the many questions we all have asked. And one gladly bears witness that the author's judgment is as sure and restrained, his style as lucid and dignified as ever.

W. MACNEILE DIXON.

THE COLLECTED HISTORICAL WORKS OF SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE. Vols. V.-VII. The History of the Anglo-Saxons. Pp. xxviii, 302, with 16 illustrations and 5 maps. The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Anglo-Saxon Period. Parts I. and II. Pp. lxx, 631 ; xxxviii, 898, with 1 illustration. Large 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1921. 42s. each.

THREE more volumes of this sumptuous edition of Palgrave's historical works lie now before us, and excite the same mingled feelings which the earlier part of the reprint inspired in the reviewer. Perhaps the flowing and interesting short *History of the Anglo-Saxons* contained in Vol. V. will be found the more useful to the modern reader. Intended to follow the model of Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, it was 'composed, de-composed and recomposed,' until it took the shape in which it was given to the world as a number of the *Family Library*. Its popular scope spares the reader the tedium of half obsolete discussions of points of scholarship, and

makes a refreshing contrast to the technical fashion in which pre-conquest history is often served out nowadays. At the same time Professor Chadwick and his pupil, Mrs. Ronald Coutts, have provided a commentary which brings the narrative as well up to date as circumstances permit. There are, moreover, excellent illustrations, useful maps, and valuable genealogical tables, these last contributed by Professor Chadwick himself.

One is more doubtful as to the utility of reprinting the *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*. It shows Palgrave at his best as well as at his worst. Its incoherence, discursiveness and sublime disregard for the conditions of time and place permit him to wander at will over an enormous field. The acuteness, insight and learning of the writer enable him to state many things shrewdly, and all things agreeably, though at excessive length. But it largely belongs to the age of the emergence of criticism in old-English scholarship, and is now largely out of date. Though of interest and value to the scholar, and still more to the historian of historical method, it will often mislead the uninstructed, and there is real danger in it falling into the hands of the scholar in the making. No pains can bring such a work really abreast of our present knowledge, and the annotations given, useful as they generally are, cannot carry out an impossible task.

Perhaps the second part given in Vol. VII., with its copious 'Proofs and Illustrations,' will be more useful than the proper text contained in Vol. VI. In particular the lists of kings, under kings, aldermen and officials of the various 'heptarchic' kingdoms can still often save a scholar trouble, and frequently afford a good starting point for investigation, provided always that they be approached in a sufficiently critical spirit. The copious texts of charters, documents, and the extracts of chronicles and modern works—all when necessary with translations—will often be found useful, though the arrangement may well make it a little difficult to find any particular quotation. Yet it is hard to see the point gained in these days of dear printing of setting forth in type once more such documents as the Assize of Clarendon, or of giving, each with its translation, even in the case of French books, the words of wisdom of half-forgotten eighteenth century scholars. But many of the Anglo-Saxon charters quoted are, as the editors recognize, of more than doubtful authenticity, and Palgrave, though conscious of the unhistorical character of the pseudo-Ingulf, cannot always resist the temptation of quoting him and using him.

Yet side by side with very disputable doctrine, we are struck by the shrewdness with which Palgrave gets hold sometimes of the very root of the matter. His short dissertation on the use of Seals by the Anglo-Saxons could hardly be bettered, and is remarkable for the time at which it was written. Mr. Palgrave Barker, whose short notes usher in the various stages of the work, deserves commendation for the unostentatious piety with which he has carried out his grandfather, Sir Inglis Palgrave's, dispositions. If the work was to be done at all, it could hardly have been better done, or in a more right spirit.

T. F. TOUR.

LORD FULLERTON. By Lord Strathclyde. Pp. 129. With Portraits. 8vo. Glasgow : William Hodge and Company, Ltd. 1921. 7s. 6d.

TWENTY years ago Lord Strathclyde, then Mr. Ure, delivered an address to the Scots Law Society upon Lord Fullerton as a lawyer and judge, his attention having been attracted to the subject by the frequency with which Lord Fullerton's opinions were being still quoted in the daily practice of the Courts. The address we imagine forms Part III. of the present volume, and is an admirable and very able estimate of the judicial work of this eminent judge, 980 of whose opinions are to be found in the first fifteen volumes of *Dunlop's Reports*. These Lord Strathclyde has read, and read to advantage, bringing out from his study of them the peculiar merits of the author, his keen logical mind, his search for principles upon which to base his judgments, and the respect for authorities which always characterised him. But Lord Strathclyde realizes that Lord Fullerton was more than a lawyer, and he has put together the somewhat scanty materials for a biography—for the most part a few letters and a journal kept during a visit to Frankfort in 1839.

Lord Fullerton was one of a group of brilliant young men who, at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, joined the Scottish Bar. The majority of them were whigs, in spite of the fact that the opposite party, the holders of all legal patronage, had long been in office and seemed likely to continue there for an indefinite period. Cockburn has told us of the forlorn position in which he and his friend Jeffrey stood at the outset. They were keen politicians. Fullerton took little or no part in politics, but he seems to have been faithful to his party, and obtained his first step of promotion from the veteran Harry Erskine. The talent on the Liberal side in the Parliament House was indeed remarkable. Scott in his *Journal* writes, 'I do not know why it is that, when I am with a party of my opposition friends, the day is often merrier than when with our own set.' He partly attributes it to their superior talent, and doubtless this was in great measure the explanation. His 'own set,' with the exception of himself, have passed into oblivion. But the society of the Clerks, John and William, of Cranstoun, Cockburn and Jeffrey, of Fullerton and Murray could not fail to be enjoyable.

If Fullerton is now only remembered as a lawyer, and finds no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he is himself to a great extent the cause. 'The only material blunder of his life,' writes Cockburn, 'has consisted in allowing his fine powers to evaporate in his profession and in society.' For it seems that Fullerton had 'an ambition of publication and used to lament that he had never tried it.' We have abundant proof that he was a most industrious and painstaking man, but his industry seems to have been confined to his professional work.

Lord Fullerton was raised to the bench in 1829, and the appointment is to the credit of Sir Robert Peel, who gave judicial rank to more than one whig. Lord Strathclyde makes reference to several of Lord Fullerton's most important judgments, including that in the case of the *Presbytery of Strathbogie*, a case exhibiting the extraordinary muddle which had arisen out of the conflict between the civil and the ecclesiastical courts. It is only

fair to the Free Church party to keep in mind that the legality of its action was maintained by the most eminent Scottish judges of the day. The general reader will turn with more interest to the extracts from Fullerton's letters and journal, and only regret that they are so few. They exhibit a bright, cheery man of the world, a shrewd observer of men and manners, not unlike in character his brother-in-law, Cockburn.

The volume contains engravings of the Parliament House bust, and two striking portraits by Crabbe. Lord Strathclyde has performed his task so well that it is to be hoped he will follow it up by rescuing other Scottish lawyers from obscurity.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

ENGLAND UNDER THE LANCASTRIANS. By Jessie H. Fleming. Pp. xxi, 301. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1921. 12s. 6d.

THIS handy and closely printed book aims at a standard seldom or never reached before by the normal types of its class. Projected as one of the University of London Intermediate Source-books, it has a preface by Professor Pollard, who shows that much of the matter selected goes systematically back to other chronicles, etc., than those in the Rolls Series, and he adds the remarkable fact that 'not a little comes from MSS. not yet edited.' Extracts are classified in five series—political, constitutional, ecclesiastical, economic and social, and Irish. The war record is thus not a main branch, which surely is a wise departure from older ways. Scotland for once is neglected, and the picturesque James I. seems to escape notice. The observations on the sources would have gained by a tabular list, but the ten prefatorial pages of analysis manifest a sound conception of the mass of authorities surveyed. A curious result, in itself a notable feather in Miss Fleming's cap, is that in virtue of so many MS. passages, now woven into the fabric of Lancastrian annals of 1399-1460, what was written as a book of sources must now be looked at and examined as a text of record, so much of the contents not being elsewhere accessible. By its method this work lifts considerably the standing of the source-book.

GEO. NEILSON.

ENGLAND IN TRANSITION, 1789-1832. A Study of Movements. By William Law Mathieson, Hon. LL.D. Pp. xiv, 285. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. 15s.

HONESTY compels the reviewer to preface his comments upon this book with the confession that the delay in the publication of the review is his fault. Mr. Mathieson here opens fresh ground, for his reputation has been gained by his able and suggestive commentaries upon the development of post-Reformation Scotland. The present work has not been received with the unanimous verdict of approval which welcomed his other books, and such dissent as has been expressed is, we think, due to a misconception of his aim and his subject. He calls his book *A Study of Movements*, and he has made his individual selection of the movements with which he deals. *England in Transition* has been described as 'an inadequate survey,' and it would be obviously and hopelessly inadequate if it professed

to be an appreciation of all the currents of thought and opinion which influenced this country during more than forty momentous years. It is, in fact, an acute analysis of certain aspects of some of the great movements which left their mark upon our history, and the method and the treatment are analogous to the author's 'studies' of selected aspects of the political, ecclesiastical and intellectual history of seventeenth and eighteenth century Scotland.

The Reform Act of 1832 closed an era of British, and especially of English, history. The era itself and the moderate and partial revolt symbolised by the Reform Act, were closely related to the intellectual and the political results of the French Revolution. The years from 1793 to 1815 may be regarded, from one point of view, as a mere marking of time. The country was almost ready for great changes in 1789; it was no more, and perhaps definitely less, ready in 1815; the changes became actual or possible in 1832. Mr. Mathieson has set himself the task of estimating the contending factors in the intellectual and moral life of the nation at the beginning of the period, and of showing how the more liberal and humane ideas survived the immediate check produced by the Reign of Terror in France and the war with the French Republic; how they recovered a large proportion of their lost influence when the character of the war changed with the growth of the Napoleonic regime in Europe; how they met with a second check in the disillusionment which followed the return of peace; and how they finally triumphed over the forces of reaction.

This thesis Mr. Mathieson illustrates in five suggestive chapters. He introduces many topics, both of intellectual and of political history, and pursues them just as far as they are useful for his purpose.

The reader will find here neither a complete history of the anti-slavery agitation or the reform of the penal laws or the growth of Trade Unions, nor a systematic account of the tenets of Burke or Paine in the earlier part of the period or of Cobbett, Place, or Russell in the later. But he will find each of these subjects, and many others, cleverly employed to give life and force to a remarkable and always interesting essay on a topic which has been, to some extent, neglected.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

A HISTORY OF THE DOUGLAS FAMILY OF MORTON IN NITHSDALE, DUMFRIESHIRE, AND FINGLAND, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS. By Percy W. L. Adams. Pp. xxiii, 925. 4to. Bedford: the Sidney Press. 1921. 42s.

THE worst feature in this book is the physical difficulty in reading it. It is a substantial quarto of nearly a thousand pages and four inches and a half thick, and of proportionate weight: but it is a carefully compiled history of a branch of the great family of Douglas, a branch which has never before been treated in detail, and of which the origin has always remained obscure.

It is now shown that they were descended from the Drumlanrig family through Patrick Douglas, bailie of Morton, who died circa 1570. He was one of the many illegitimate sons of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and received letters of legitimation along with his brothers on 16th August,

1546. The author struggles gallantly to indicate that he may not have been base-born. But his great-great-grandson Colonel James Douglas, when he recorded arms in 1696, got the Drumlanrig coat with the bordure compony as the brisure of bastardy, which proves that at that date at all events Patrick was evidently understood to have been illegitimate. The Lyon Office, however, has been rather inconsistent in its acts, for the Colonel's son, Archibald, a surgeon in Moffat, was assigned the undifferenced arms of Douglas of Whittinghame in 1772, thereby indicating, quite erroneously, the Dalkeith line of Douglasses as his ancestors. This Archibald Douglas was the progenitor of two families well known at one time in Edinburgh. The Torrie Douglasses distinguished themselves as searchers of Public Records, while the Brown Douglasses gave to the City of Edinburgh in 1859 a Lord Provost of dignity and efficiency.

Another branch of the family to which particular attention is paid is that of Fingland. Archibald Douglas, Chamberlain to his kinsman the Duke of Queensberry, was the son of James Douglas of Morton, and through family arrangements Fingland became his property. He in his turn became the progenitor of the Douglasses of Witham, co. Essex, and of Salwarpe, Worcestershire, both of which families are discussed at length.

Apart from the strictly Douglas family, there is a wealth of 'confused feeding' in the book. There are what are modestly called 'Notes' on many families intermarried with the Douglasses; these take the form in most instances of separate pedigrees. Some twenty Scottish families are thus treated, most of them of Dumfriesshire origin; and these are written by Mr. Robert C. Reid of Mouswald, whose name is a guarantee of the care and accuracy with which they have been compiled. Their value is that they contain information which it is difficult to find elsewhere, such as about the families of Macmath of Dalpedder, Gordon of Troquhain, Murray or Drumcrieff, and Johnston of Clauchrie. About a dozen English families are dealt with in the same way. There is a specially interesting account of William Van Mildert, the last Prince Bishop and Count Palatine of Durham. Indeed he overflows into other parts of the book, as he had many Douglas relations to whom he was kind and helpful. As Bishop he kept up great state. He had two large houses to maintain and entertained largely. At a dinner during a visit the Duke of Wellington paid him, there were a hundred and twenty guests, including Sir Walter Scott, who gives a pleasant account of it. In addition to all this the Bishop kept, according to custom, a pack of hounds, a pack with which he probably never hunted. It is to his honour that he was the founder of Durham University, and gave up Durham Castle, one of his houses, to its use.

There are more than a hundred and fifty illustrations in the volume. Some, like that of Morton Churchyard, are of high artistic excellence, and the rest are delightful in other ways. Specially to be noted is the fascinating sketch by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, of Sara, Hyde and Clerk Douglas, three of the daughters of the Laird of Holmhill. Of the last of these old ladies there is another portrait taken in extreme old age; she died in 1859 within a few weeks of completing her hundredth year. Some representations, such as that by Sharpe, are more grotesque than otherwise;

but if the reader wishes to study a pure type of English beauty, let him turn to the portrait of Augusta Douglas, Lady Castletown. The artist has managed to catch the singular sweetness of expression of his sitter, and she was no mere professional beauty, but a woman of remarkably able mind. Among other portraits may be mentioned that of Lady Gertrude Fitzpatrick as a little Colleen by Reynolds, but the author has spread his net very wide to be able to include her in a Douglas history.

There are several useful pedigree charts, and an excellent and full index. A hundred and sixty-seven pages of Appendices contain abstracts of nearly seven hundred documents, which support the statements in the text. It is ungracious to criticise a book like this, which has been produced with so much loving care, expenditure of money and ability of execution, but there is a good deal that might have been drastically abridged, or omitted altogether. This, however, does not prevent the book from being one of the most valuable and interesting contributions to Scottish family history that we have had for a long time.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

ON SOME ANTIQUITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF DUNECHT HOUSE, ABERDEENSHIRE. By the Right Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., formerly Bishop of Bristol. Pp. xiv, 170. With 63 plates and 5 figures in text. 4to. Cambridge: The University Press. 1921. 63s.

THIS handsome volume is the outcome of a suggestion to provide a sort of guide book for the sake of visitors at Dunecht, 'giving some simple description of the objects of antiquarian interest in the immediate neighbourhood, and their meanings and uses.' In pursuit of his object, the author has travelled far from this original conception, and has produced a volume full of information and of learning not, we venture to suggest, very happily applied to his subject. It must be borne in mind, however, that the work 'does not profess to be scientific.'

Too much cannot be said in favour of a regional survey of prehistoric and other ancient remains such as this is. It brings together for comparison the particular monuments of each class, and directs attention to local peculiarities, and, in so far as this book performs these offices, it serves an excellent purpose. Moreover, as the author wisely remarks, 'to quicken interest is to effect an insurance against neglect or destruction.' It is when Bishop Browne undertakes to explain the meanings and uses of the monuments he treats of that his book is more likely to mislead than to educate.

Stone circles, Early Christian sculptured monoliths and cup-marked stones form almost entirely the subject of the survey, and about these the author has woven his theories of origin and use. Stone circles in his view were temples of the Druids. We are told that it is out of the question to imagine that someone had set to work to invent the idea of Druids' Temples, and he quotes in support of this, the frequent occurrence of the term in the *Statistical Account*. Why should this 'traditionary' attribution be any more reliable than that, also having the authority of the *Statistical Account*, connecting the Romans with numerous earthworks, which we now know have had no connection whatever with these invaders? If, as Bishop Browne suggests, the designation 'Druid's

Temple' is far too general in its occurrence to have been a comparatively late invention, it is strange that Professor Garden, writing about these very Aberdeenshire stone circles in 1692, had found 'nothing either in the names of these monuments, or the tradition that goes about them which doth particularly relate to the Druids or point them out,' and perhaps it is even more remarkable that the term does not appear as a place-name in any of the indexes to the published volumes of the Register of the Great Seal. The author has gathered together much information regarding the cult of the Druids, very interesting in itself, but it does not suffice to connect it indubitably with the Aberdeenshire stone circles. He quotes at length the well-known passage from the *de Bello Gallico*. But surely if the great stone circles in Gaul had been the Druids' Temples, Caesar would not have omitted to record such a notable fact.

Generalisation from the external features of a small and peculiar group of stone circles in the neighbourhood of Dunecht, without any systematic excavation, is not a sound method of arriving at the meaning and use of this mysterious class of monument.

Though we are told much about Druidism and human sacrifices, Bishop Browne almost overlooks one outstanding fact connected with stone circles, viz. their intimate association with burial in Bronze Age times. There are numerous instances of circles actually surrounding burial cairns; there are cases in which circles are placed immediately in front of cairns; and, lastly, there are many records of the finding of burials within circles which no longer contain cairns, and all such burials belong to the Bronze Age. If, as Bishop Browne suggests, Druidical rites were practised in these monuments till the dawn of Christianity, how comes it that no Iron Age relics are ever found in them? A plain statement of ascertained facts connected with such monuments would have been of much greater value, especially to the uninitiated, for whom seemingly this book was written, than pages of unsubstantiated theories.

Turning to the consideration of the one hill fort dealt with, the 'Barmekyn of Echt,' we are informed that we have here an Oriental name brought back by the Crusaders of 1096 or 1147, and as if to unite the Barmekyn more intimately with the Crusaders, we are told that in 1823 a coin of Islam, struck at Marakash (Morocco) in A.D. 1097, the year of the arrival of the Crusade, was found at Moneymusk about six miles away. The author has an ingenious suggestion to make in regard to the symbols on the Early Christian monuments, and offers as the simplest theory of their origin that when the first Christian teachers told the Picts, said to have been painted or tattooed with elaborate devices, that they must clothe themselves decently, the latter obtained permission to transfer their patterns to the stones.

The theory that cup and ring markings are, in some cases at least, star charts meets with the Bishop's approval. This subject also demands a wider field of study. 'If the Druid priests had the habit of using indelible cup marks on stones of their edifices as registers of recurrent events, as it would appear they had—they could not fail to see how like the grouping of cups was to the heavenly bodies.' If this was so, it is strange that only in the Northern

circles are stones found marked in this fashion. Why then did these superstitious Druids only in this part of Scotland register events on their edifices? Was Druidism only applicable to the stone circles around Dunecht with their recumbent stones and pillars?

Bishop Browne's theories are not such, we fear, as to commend themselves generally to archaeologists, but the book will no doubt admirably serve its main purpose, that of interesting the visitors to Dunecht. The illustrations are admirable.

A. O. CURLE.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. By Ramsay Muir. 2 vols. Vol. I. Pp. xvi, 824. London: Geo. Philip & Son. 1920. M. 8vo. 17s. 6d.

PROFESSOR MUIR'S guiding motive in the world of history, like Sir Henry Newbolt's in the realm of poetry, is 'faith in all the island race.' He has set himself to write, as he says, 'the noble and stirring story of the development of the British Commonwealth,' never forgetting that that immense fellowship of peoples in every quarter of the world has been built up from two small islands in which, century by century, four nations learnt the 'difficult lesson of living together in peace as members of a single great State.' His interest in the world as it was is drawn from his enthusiasm for the world as it is.

No one can read Mr. Muir's book without seeing how forcibly this central idea has shaped it. The whole proportion of treatment is novel. Less than one quarter of this first volume is assigned to the period from the Ice Age to the end of the Wars of the Roses. The remaining three-quarters carry on the tale to 1763. A second volume of the same size will be devoted to the history of the following 150 years. By deliberate choice, that is to say, Mr. Muir has carried to extreme lengths that disparity of treatment between the medieval and modern world to which all historians are partially compelled by necessity. To his way of thinking, much of what happened to the British Islands in the Middle Ages is irrelevant, since it was in the fifteenth century only that 'the great age of their history began, for which all the earlier ages were but a long preparation.'

It may be admitted at once that this outlook has its advantages even for the medieval portion of the book. It has enabled the author to string the contradictions and perplexities of those amazing centuries on a single thread. It has enriched his narrative with many an illuminating analogy and vivid illustration. It has supplied him with an inducement wherewith to tempt the utilitarian reader into at any rate a nodding acquaintance with ages concerning which he might otherwise be totally incurious. Nevertheless, most medievalists are likely to feel that the world they know demands either lengthier treatment or frank omission. Mr. Muir's scale is quite big enough to make an uninstructed reader think that he is being told all he need know, whereas in reality it is so small that it hampers the author at every turn, and often suggests a false perspective. Thus, for example, to dismiss in two lines the Treaty of Paris of 1259 as 'a treaty with France whereby all claims to Normandy were abandoned' (p. 99) is to do scant justice to a great diplomatic turning-point, which ended a struggle that had lasted fifty years,

and determined Anglo-French relations for another hundred. Moreover, the haste with which the author bestrides the centuries leads him into some slips of detail. The eldest son of Henry III. was not 'Prince' Edward (p. 98), in 1290 there was no 'infant Prince of Wales' (p. 115) and that title has not been borne since 1301 by every heir to the throne (p. 112), for Edward III. never received it. It seems strange to say that Edward I. 'cared little for his French lands' (p. 124), when we know that he would not come to England to be crowned until he had settled certain affairs in Gascony, and that later in his reign he lived there for more than three years without a single visit to England. Any traveller who has sought in the Somme estuary for Blanchetaque ford, and who also has made his way through Crécy forest to the famous field, will feel that the vague description of that battle as taking place 'on the northern side' of the Somme (p. 126) wipes out of existence many miles of historic ground. Neither Savonarola (p. 247) nor Luther (p. 249) was a monk.

Even in the medieval section, however, the reader will find much to admire, and as soon as, with Book III., he reaches the period of which a Professor of Modern History is rightly a master, he may beat his swords into ploughshares. In a clear and often eloquent narrative, with a refreshing novelty of arrangement and illustration, Mr. Muir guides his readers through the intricacies of three crowded centuries. Much that has been staled by text-book repetition he is able to revivify, throwing aside hackneyed comment and well worn anecdote. His vivid realisation of the unity of the British Commonwealth enables him to write of the fortunes of its more distant members with the same intimate concern as when dealing with matters nearer home, and to make his spacious chapters on the navy, the colonies, overseas trade, and kindred subjects, no mere appendages, but essential parts of his main story. Moreover, though there is no such crowding of trees that the wood cannot be seen, Mr. Muir is willing to give his readers sufficient detail to make explicable events which are too often treated as isolated phenomena. Half the explanation of the catastrophic view of history, which has won too wide acceptance, lies in the tendency of historians to begin to give reasons for a crisis only at the point in their story when the crisis occurs. Some of Mr. Muir's most absorbing pages deal, for example, with the nominally peaceful years which preceded the Seven Years' War, and he prefaces his account of the establishment of British power in India by an admirable survey of the main factors in Indian politics.

It would be impossible to enumerate here all the distinctive features of Mr. Muir's book. Among them are his full and sympathetic treatment of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish affairs; his lucid explanations of Continental politics, due to his lively realisation of the interdependence of English and European history; his exposure of the weakness of the foundations for many popular misconceptions; his eye for telling illustrations to drive home his generalisations. He writes primarily for the general reader, and that at a time when there are many such readers seeking for a clear, full and impartial restatement of British history. For such an audience Mr. Muir has provided a masterly first volume, and his second will be eagerly awaited.

HILDA JOHNSTONE.

THE NORSE DISCOVERERS OF AMERICA: THE WINELAND SAGAS, translated and discussed by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. pp. 304. 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1921. 14s.

THIS is an admirable work. The voyages of Icelandic and Norse adventurers to the coasts of North America are one of those dramatic episodes which stir the imagination of us all, yet their record is so beset by technical difficulties, so clouded by learned prepossessions, that even historical students, if they have not given very special attention to the matter, find it hard to form a clear idea. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy has removed these preliminary difficulties and written a clear, impartial guide to the extensive literature which has been devoted to the casual discoveries of Bjarni Herjulfson and the deliberate voyages from Greenland of Leif and Thorvald, the sons of Eric the Red, and Thorfin Karlsefni. It is a scholarly book and the author has definite opinions which he expresses with force as well as with patience; but the various views are set out with such candour and Mr. Gathorne-Hardy writes so lucidly, that his work should bring the subject once and for all out of the 'northern mists' of technical controversy. He begins with a translation of the few pages from the Norwegian and Icelandic sources which, with the exception of a few references by Adam of Bremen and others, are the sole source of information. He goes on to discuss the value of the stories, and especially of the version to which he definitely ascribes a Greenland origin, in the Flatey Book, a composite work compiled at the end of the fourteenth century. His next task is to establish the historical accuracy of the traditions as here given and to show that they cannot be (as Dr. Nansen has urged) imaginative exercises suggested by passages in Isidore of Seville and other late Latin references to the Fortunate Isles. This part of the book is important as a study in the canons of historical criticism, and should be read by all who are interested in Scandinavian literature. Finally, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy discusses the voyages in detail and expounds his theory that the various parts of Wineland lay between Cape Cod and the Hudson River.

Only a geographer and navigator with a working knowledge of Norwegian philology and North American ethnology, a geographer, also, who does not lose his head when he breathes the atmosphere of the schools, could succeed in such a task as Mr. Gathorne-Hardy has attempted. He has succeeded. If he has not solved to general satisfaction the problem of the exact locality of Wineland, he has established the 'fixed points' and shown where the real difficulties lie.

F. M. POWICKE.

COLLECTED PAPERS: HISTORICAL, LITERARY, TRAVEL AND MISCELLANEOUS. Vol. V. Travel and Miscellaneous. By Sir Adolphus Wm. Ward. Pp. x, 507. 8vo. With one illustration. Cambridge: The University Press. 1921. 36s.

THE fifth and concluding volume of the *Collected Papers* of the Master of Peterhouse consists of twenty-seven sections, many of which are studies of towns visited by him and of the part they have played in European history. Delphi, Treves, Marienburg, Cracow and others have given him an opportunity of dealing with episodes which belong to the past, and of

throwing light, in his delightful style, on matters which usually escape the attention of any but students of history; and all are worthy of close perusal. Several sections deal with university matters—the teaching of history, the tripos at Cambridge, and the question of increasing the number of universities in England. Settled though these have been since the publication of the original articles the arguments employed there are still of great interest.

The last part of the volume is devoted to brief notices of eminent men and students—Jacob Grimm, Karl Ritter, Ernst Curtius, Alfred Aingu and others.

BRUCE SETON.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS. Domestic Series, September 1st, 1680, to December 31st, 1681, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by F. H. Blackburne Daniell, M.A. Pp. lx, 805. Imp. 8vo. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1921. 25s.

THE appearance of another calendar of the Domestic State Papers of Charles II.'s reign is a particularly welcome event, for the new volume covers a period, many of the events of which are confused and difficult to understand, and which witnessed alike the high water mark of Whig fervour and anti-Catholic frenzy, and the sudden Tory reaction in Charles' favour. The scarcity of papers dealing with the two last parliaments of the reign is very disappointing, but on the other hand the calendar renders accessible much interesting information as to the numerous political trials of the period, including that of Fitzharris, and the many disturbances at civic elections in London and elsewhere.

Mr. Daniell in his concise and efficient introduction has summarised the main points of interest in the volume under various headings, such as 'The King and the Royal Family,' 'Parliament and Public Affairs,' etc., without indicating to any extent the bearing of these events upon the general trend of politics. No doubt restrictions of space made any such attempt impossible, although it would have added considerably to the interest of the volume.

The majority of the papers here calendared belonged to the active and 'faithful drudge,' Secretary Jenkins. A valuable complement to his letter and entry-books among the State Papers is to be found at the British Museum among the manuscripts of William Blathwayt, chief clerk to the Earl of Conway, the other Secretary of State. An interesting indication of the growth of the Secretariat at the expense of the Privy Council during this reign is provided by the dispute (calendared on p. 493) as to the Secretary's right of keeping his 'intelligences' from the knowledge of the Council as a whole.

A notable feature of the volume is the large number of interesting papers bearing upon Irish questions, while Scottish news and facts relating to foreign affairs generally are contained in two very useful series of news-letters to Roger Garstell (or Gastrell) and John Squier of Newcastle. The numerous points of minor interest, which arise range from vivid descriptions of the persecution of Protestants in Poitou, to such warrants as that granting the right of holding three markets of straw and hay a week in the Haymarket

to certain individuals who are to be responsible for the cleansing, paving and maintenance of the street.

The chief interest of the volume, however, remains political, and its appearance causes one to look forward eagerly to the publication of the companion volumes dealing with the close of the reign. It should then be possible, from a study of these secretarial records and miscellaneous correspondence, to understand far more clearly than has hitherto been the case both the temper of the people and the policy of the crown and its executive during the years of crisis and strangely peaceful anti-climax in which the reign of Charles II. closed.

F. M. GREIR EVANS.

THREE ACCOUNTS OF PETERLOO BY EYEWITNESSES. Edited by F. A. Bruton, M.A., Litt.D. (Publication of the University of Manchester : Historical Series No. xxxix). Pp. viii, 91. With 14 illustrations. Crown 8vo. Manchester University Press. 1921. 6s. net.

THE three eyewitnesses of the unhappy incident at Manchester on Monday, 16th August, 1819, whose accounts of what they saw are given in this little volume, were Edward Stanley, rector of Alderley and afterwards bishop of Norwich, father of Dean Stanley; the first Lord Hylton, then a young lieutenant who took part in the charge of the 15th Hussars, and John Benjamin Smith, first chairman of the Anti-Corn Law League and for many years member of Parliament for Stockport.

It was a curious accident which brought together three men of their calibre as spectators of an encounter which lasted only a few minutes but made history. One of them was present in the execution of his duty, but Smith was only there at the instance of a relative who wished to see the meeting, and Stanley had ridden in from Alderley on business with the tenant of the house overlooking it, in which he found the magistrates in session. From an upper room Stanley obtained the best general view of the scene that was possible, and both his narrative and his evidence at the subsequent trial (reprinted here) show the keenness of observation and caution in statement characteristic of one who was more man of science than theologian. Yet in an affair which passed so quickly the best human eyesight had its limitations, and he does not seem to have noticed that the forty or fifty Manchester Yeomanry whose charge was directed only to the arrest of the leaders got into difficulties which led the magistrates to order the Hussars to disperse the meeting.

As Dr. Bruton has pointed out in his admirable handling of the whole story in the 1919 volume of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, the disaster seems to have flowed directly from the action of the magistrates in launching a small body of ill-trained local Yeomanry, inflamed by class feeling, upon a thickly packed mass of people. They had in their minds probably the successful arrest of the leaders of the Blanketeers on nearly the same spot two years before, but that was accomplished by regular troops and the crowd was smaller. Their action was not only ill-advised but illegal, for in the interval the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Acts had been repealed and Hunt and the other leaders of the Reformers were holding a perfectly lawful assembly. The impartial evidence of Stanley and Hylton

is quite decisive as to the peaceable character of the meeting and the absence of any provocative acts on the part of the crowd at the critical juncture.

As to the numbers present, Dr. Bruton very rightly rejects Hunt's absurd figure of 150,000, but we have some doubts whether the estimate of 60,000, which he accepts from Smith's account, does not contain a large exaggeration. Would it have been possible to pack so many in the circle of about a hundred yards diameter shown on his excellent plan?

All three narratives were used by their editor in his article in the *Rylands Bulletin*, but those of Stanley and Smith now appear in print for the first time, while Hylton's was buried away in Pellew's *Life of Lord Sidmouth*. Dr. Bruton has supplied all needful explanations and an interesting selection of portraits, views and plans. The report of Stanley's evidence at the trial in 1822 contains one passage difficult to understand, where he is made to say: 'he (Hunt) was speaking before I arrived' (p. 28). He had already told the Court (as he wrote in his narrative) that from the magistrates' room he saw Hunt arrive on the ground (p. 26).

JAMES TAIT.

WAR GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS. By Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. Pp. xvi, 354. Large 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS volume forms one of the series on the *Economic and Social History of the World War* projected by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which will create a valuable record. 'Half-way between memoirs and blue books' is the apt definition of these monographs given by Professor Shotwell, the general editor, and Professor Keith's volume is far more than a book of reference. In effect it is an able continuation of the study of the growth of Responsible Government within the British Empire which he has already made in his former books. As is natural from the plan of the work, economic problems are given a less detailed study, while the main interest is concentrated on the constitutional development of the Dominions, and their relations with the mother country and with the new formed League of Nations. Here Professor Keith has performed yeoman service, for the changing status of the Dominions has led to much loose thinking and loose speaking: in pages that are admirably clear the precise legal effects of the recent changes are explained, and the speeches of leading statesmen acutely analysed and discussed. But while he insists on the accurate use of terms, and shows the problems which have already arisen in the interpretation of the Covenant of the League, Professor Keith does not lose sight of the broader aspects of the question, both the law and the custom of the constitution have fair weight. We see the varying forms of Coalition forced on the Dominions by war conditions, the growing opposition from racial, economic or particularist causes, and the ultimate breakdown of the unstable governments when peace had removed the very cause of their being; we see the straining of the various written constitutions of the Dominions, tested to their limit by the war, and the quieter but even more fundamental change which creeps over the Empire as a whole. Lastly we face the greatest of all racial problems, the question of the treatment by the Dominions of Indians and of the native races within their own borders, and

we are left with a feeling of the complexity and number of the problems to be solved.

The book is written in a studiously impersonal spirit, and private judgments, when they are implied, are all the more refreshing for their unexpected appearance.

C. S. S. HIGHAM.

TUDOR IDEALS. By Lewis Einstein. Pp. xiii, 366. 8vo. London : G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1921. 14s.

THIS is a thoughtful and able work, the result of much research in what may be called the by-ways of history. The ordinary historian is only able to touch upon the subjects here dealt with. The student, say of Froude, will do well to examine at the same time the material which the industry of Mr. Einstein has supplied him with. The title seems to us somewhat misleading. The popular meaning of an ideal is something which is to be aimed at, and possibly in the future realised. What one acts upon are ideas not ideals. The period dealt with exhibited ideals, for it was the period of More and the publication of *Utopia*, but the views which then prevailed concerning the crown or the individual, or concerning religion, toleration, or persecution, were ideas upon which men's conduct was based. It is to be feared that those who indulged in ideals were then, as now, few in number.

The age of the Tudors, or in other words the sixteenth century, presents the most interesting chapter in English history. We have here presented in the persons of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth the most powerful sovereigns who ever held the sceptre in England, rulers who acted without a constitutional government, and yet, on the whole, maintained the hearty support of their subjects. The extraordinary changes brought about in the religious conditions of the country, always mainly through the actions of the crown, would alone render this period one of fascinating interest. The king asserted a divine right and acted as if he possessed it, but, as Mr. Einstein points out, it was not based, as in the following century, upon a hereditary claim: 'Henry VII.'s authority was won by the sword.' His grandfather may have been butler to a bishop, but 'the nation had traversed too violent a crisis to care.' The king *de facto* was the king *de jure*. An Italian 'who travelled in England in 1500 remarked that if the succession was at all in dispute the question was settled by recourse to arms.' Our author holds that 'hereditary right was secondary to forceful ability.' In this age royalty obtained an omnipotence such as it had never before possessed, and Elizabeth declared that kings were not bound to 'render the reason for their actions to any other but to God.'

The chapters dealing with The Training for Authority, Office and Corruption, and Political Morality will be found very interesting. Of still greater interest, it seems to us, are those which relate to Religion in the State, Tolerance and Persecution, Puritanism and Free Thought. The fifteenth century witnessed England successively anti-papal, reformed, catholic, and finally again reformed. No other country went through such rapid changes. As regards persecution, Mr. Einstein does not sufficiently allow for the political character of the intolerance shown to

Catholics. We question if they were ever put to death merely because of their theological views, as were Protestants under Mary Tudor. Even the friar Forest, who had a peculiarly cruel fate, suffered under a perverted construction of the law of high treason. The priests, who in the reign of Elizabeth were put to death, were dealt with as agents of a foreign power, acting against the peace of the realm. No doubt there were many Protestants who would have welcomed the persecution of Catholics; Knox held that a priest should be put to death for saying mass. But they had to content themselves with sending to the stake mere Brownists and Anabaptists. As to Free Thought, we must remember that in these days free thinkers had to be very cautious. The term infidel or even atheist was applied to those who were broad minded enough to think little of the distinctions between the different sects. Elizabeth herself did not escape suspicion; she was described as an atheist because 'of her reluctance to go to extremes.' In much later times the saintly Mr. Erskine of Linlathen was pointed out as an infidel. As for Toleration it is essentially a modern sentiment, which some even now would attribute to a decline of faith. But Mr. Einstein says 'Moderation was generally the rule among the upper classes, and Essex said openly that in his opinion no one should suffer death because of religion.' As to morality the opinion is expressed that Englishmen in the sixteenth century were little better or worse than at other times. 'The violent outbursts of Puritans were largely partisan, and John Knox's private life proves that even in his circle men were susceptible to feminine charm.'

Nationalism and Internationalism are dealt with separately. 'The new nationalism,' we are told, 'by an odd paradox, was born of foreign origin.' When England saw men upon the Continent exalting their origins and magnifying their achievements it followed the example. The Church and the intercourse of scholars made for Internationalism. 'The Church alone during the Middle Ages reminded men of their brotherhood.' 'When the rift of creed split Europe in two, the fragments of the more civilizing aspects of internationalism were preserved by a universal scholarship.'

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

MATTHEW LEISHMAN OF GOVAN AND THE MIDDLE PARTY OF 1843 :
a page from Scottish Church Life and History in the Nineteenth
Century. By James Fleming Leishman, M.A. Pp. 259. 8vo.
With 21 Illustrations. Paisley : Alexander Gardner. 1921. 10s. 6d.

BORN at Paisley in 1794 Matthew Leishman, son of Thomas Leishman, an honourable and ultimately successful merchant, went to Edinburgh to study divinity in 1812. After being licensed in 1816 he spent four years before being presented to a parish, but four years of the kind were probably never better spent, both in learning the details of pastoral work and in making the acquaintance of many interesting and influential people. He made also a tour abroad, visiting the field of Waterloo, hardly then cleared of the relics of the great battle of three years before, and spending a considerable time in Paris. It was apparently the only time he ever crossed the channel, but even as it was it was an unusual experience for a young

Scots probationer of the period, and it had the effect not only of enlarging his mind and giving him a wider outlook on affairs in general, but of imbuing in him a taste for literature of a kind he could not find in the arid fields of Scots theology. It is curious to read of him returning home laden with thirty volumes of Voltaire's works which he had purchased at the sale of Marshal Ney's library, twenty volumes of Bossuet, and a considerable collection of the masters of post-medieval eloquence. He may have seen and read some of Voltaire in Scotland before he went abroad, as that author was a favourite with some of the better read moderate clergy of the eighteenth century, but it is interesting to note his acquisition of the works of so many French preachers.

After an abortive attempt by his father to purchase from the University of Glasgow the living of Govan for £2100 the matter settled itself by his being appointed by the University, who were the patrons, to that parish, then a pleasant rural retreat for the wealthy Glasgow tobacco lords of the day. When he first went to Govan it did not contain a thousand inhabitants; before he left it (for it was his only and life-long charge) the population had increased to upwards of 26,000.

Good and energetic parish minister though he proved himself to be, it was principally as a Church statesman that Matthew Leishman will be remembered, and a great part of this biography, admirably written and judiciously brief, is devoted to an account of his actings as the leader of that Middle Party whose efforts were directed to a reconciliation between the opposing parties in the Church, and an endeavour to find out a *modus vivendi*, which, if successful, would have obviated the schism which ultimately took place. And indeed these efforts fell not far short of success, but there was by this time too much bitterness of feeling evolved in the contest to render it likely that the matter could be settled calmly by a compromise. The Government, whether misled or supine, did not, with the exception of Lord Aberdeen, grasp the gravity of the situation, and what might have been prevented by judicious legislation became an accomplished fact.

The account of what happened nearly eighty years ago in respect of this great schism in the Scottish Church is but melancholy reading. With a little more give and take and a little more Christian charity how different might have been the result. Fortunately the lapse of years has brought calmer judgment, and there seems every probability of the mother and daughter church sheltering under the same roof once more.

Leishman was an old-fashioned conservative in matters ecclesiastical, and no doubt many present-day 'innovations' would have filled him with horror. He had, notwithstanding, far too much good sense to be bigoted or illiberal; he was brought into family connections with some of the Anglican clergy, and he was a welcome and honoured guest in more than one English rectory, and even towards dissent his attitude was tolerant and conciliatory.

Not only is there an adequate account of Leishman's life in this volume, but there are many appreciative notices of his friends and fellow-workers in the party of which he was the leader. And a fine set of men they were.

Laurence Lockhart of Inchinnan, brother of John Gibson Lockhart and father of Col. Laurence Lockhart the novelist ; Lewis Balfour of Colinton, the grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson ; Robert Story the elder ; Dr. William Muir, whose looks in themselves were sufficient to attract attention. It is strange to read of one who became in later years almost the symbol of all that was conservative in Scottish churchmanship that he was so sick of disruption affairs (as who indeed with a mind like his could fail to be) that had it not been for the difficulty of re-ordination he would have joined the Anglican communion.

Leishman died in August, 1874, just as Church Patronage in Scotland was abolished, a proceeding with which he would have had little sympathy, and the effects of which have rather been to accentuate than to allay ferments in congregations on the settlement of a minister. He had out-lived almost all his contemporaries, and had led a full and useful life. There could be no more suitable memorial of him than this discriminating biography by his grandson.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

A CENTURY OF PERSECUTION UNDER TUDOR AND STUART SOVEREIGNS, FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS. By the Rev. St. George Kieran Hyland, D.D., Ph.D. Pp. xvi, 494, with Frontispiece. 8vo. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. 1920. 21s.

THE muniments at Loxley Hall, near Guildford, in Surrey, have not been neglected by historical students. As far back as 1835 a selection of documents from it was published by A. J. Kempe, an antiquary of some note, and the collection has been calendared, seemingly with considerable fullness, in the *Appendix to the Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.* (Part I. 1879). It still contains, however, unpublished material of some historical value. The Elizabethan Sir William More of Loxley was an active man of affairs in his day—Deputy Lieutenant, twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, Knight of the shire, and a Justice of the Peace, busily engaged, among other things, in the execution of the laws against Recusancy ; and the Loxley manuscripts are consequently rich in matter relating to what Dr. Hyland calls ‘that travesty of Reform wherein with hypocritical effrontery the sovereigns and their minions made pious zeal a cloak for wholesale robbery and murder.’ He has set himself to construct from them a picture of English Catholic life in the days of the penal laws : and as the Loxley records contain much that illustrate the hapless lot of the Elizabethan recusants, he has given us some things that were well worth printing—the letters of Thomas Copley, for example, a Surrey neighbour of Sir William’s, who went into exile for his faith (pp. 128-131), and a curious correspondence relating to the ‘internment’ at Loxley in 1570-73 of the Earl of Southampton, the father of Shakespere’s patron (pp. 136-149).

Unfortunately it cannot be said that the interest or importance of the material now for the first time printed compensates for Dr. Hyland’s manifest editorial deficiencies. His picture is far from historically faithful ; largely owing to the inadequacy of the editor’s historical equipment it is

in fact sadly out of perspective. He makes the most extraordinary mistakes in commenting upon his documents, as may be exemplified by his remarks on a letter from the Italian merchant, Horazio Pallavicino, printed (pp. 175-176) from the *Calendar of State Papers*. Pallavicino writes that letters from Rome announce that his brother had been tortured in prison. 'The malignity and perfidious disposition [of that Government]' he says—to Walsingham, be it noted—'has (*sic*) easily broken all bounds of law and justice.' It would seem fairly obvious that the Government which tortured people in Rome was the Papal Government, and that Pallavicino's brother had been tortured in Rome. Dr. Hyland might have discovered from another letter in the same volume of State Papers.¹ But to describe a Government (even to a leading member of it) as malignant and perfidious is sufficient to identify it in Dr. Hyland's eyes with Elizabeth's; so he ingenuously remarks that the brother was probably tortured to make Pallavicino more amenable to her will.

The transcribers of the manuscripts printed were obviously little acquainted with sixteenth century handwriting, and the texts bristle in consequence with palpable misreadings. Some are distinctly amusing. One wonders what the copyist can possibly have imagined the Vicar of Epsom to have meant when inscribing a letter to the Sheriff with the mysterious legend—'To the Right Worshipful Sir William Moore Knight . . . Deliver chfo' (p. 327). Blunders of this kind cannot be misleading, but they indicate what is abundantly confirmed by other and more serious errors—that one can place little reliance on the verbal accuracy of the transcriptions which appear in *A Century of Persecution*.

J. W. WILLIAMS.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. By Alice Drayton Greenwood. Vol. I. 55 B.C. to A.D. 1485. Pp. xii, 388, with 15 maps and genealogical tables. 8vo. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1921. 8s. 6d.

HISTORY has always been a field cultivated, not without considerable success, by the S.P.C.K., and in this project of 'Bede Histories' the enterprise pushes forward on lines of novelty and promise. Aiming to meet the needs of a senior course of school students, and certainly achieving the first necessity of plain but interesting narrative, the book shortens the military and constitutional space usually allotted, and expands the allowance for the religious and intellectual development, and for the growth of town life, with its political and social activity. The note of insistence in the preface on the work of the Church is perhaps excessive, but can be understood.

Miss Greenwood covers the whole ground of a survey which coordinates historical politics and the changing public and national mentality as major interests of its outlook, and the popular elements have been woven into the grimmer structure of facts with a fairly successful art of hiding the blend. This new history carries a very great load of detail, yet so diversifies

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, Eliz. May-Dec. 1582, p. 104.

the material by domestic incident as to give a certain liveliness. Vigorous sketches are thus effected, for example, ch. xxxviii., which swiftly sums up the Anglo-Irish annals. If we miss a discussion of Peter's pence, if we feel that the military side of the English conquest of Ireland is inadequately treated, and the subsequent centralised administration and boroughs and shires and parliament reduced to insignificance in the chronicle, the spirit of the description of English rule in Ireland is not amiss.

As regards Scotland, which was in closer contact, the points of successive crisis are fairly put. One notes, however, that arbitration is a misnomer for the great law plea for the Crown in 1291-1292, that Edward I.'s mode of military usurpation is not well characterised, and that the contrast of the medieval Scottish parliament from that of England has failed to secure the attention it claims.

On certain phases of debate there is evidence of moderate alertness. The date of the Antonine wall (p. 10) need have been no mystery. The shield wall of Hastings in 1066 is ill described, the mote is little more than visible, and the significance of Wallace's formation at Falkirk in 1296 is equally lost. On the other hand Brunanburh (937 A.D.) is brought to the Solway, the place of the Borders from 1328 onward is well set down, and the beginnings of trade between the two countries sufficiently indicated. Generally the commercial themes, town life, cloth industry, fisheries, and the story of the sea are diligently assembled. There are pedigree tables, schedules of contemporary monarchs and events, and a reasonably adequate index. The map of Roman Britain is hardly up to date: that of Plantagenet England is better. Pictures of old English life mainly come from coeval sources, and are at once pleasing and helpful. The religious label is not obtrusive, and the chapters on Wyclif and Wat Tyler show the authoress at her best. Volume I. bids fair for its sequel.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES—THE CONFERENCE OF 1907. Vol. II.: Meetings of the First Commission. Pp. lxxxii, 1086. 4to. Humphry Milford. 1921.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS WITH AND CONCERNING CHINA, 1894-1919. Compiled and edited by John V. A. MacMurray. Vol. I.: Manchu Period, 1894-1911. Pp. xlvi, 928. London: Humphry Milford. 1921.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS (completing the preceding work). Vol. II.: Republican Period, 1912-1919. Pp. 929-1729. London: Humphry Milford. 1921.

PUBLICATIONS of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace come with a massiveness of format and a profusion of issue which attest the energy and comprehensive spirit and capacity of an institution surely prophetic of the League of Nations. The Hague Minutes are an immense medley of international law and history, with a vast detail of negotiation and discussion, showing the various proposals, declarations and agreements, chiefly regarding prize courts and other expedients of pacific settlement. The great Chinese treaty-book embraces in its 1700 pages seven maps,

Earle : An Outline of Modern History 145

upwards of 500 diplomatic agreements, letters and documents, 24 pages of chronological classification of the contents, and 200 pages of a positively alluring general index to an amazing complex of international relationships, and an encyclopedic variety of eastern places, peoples and characteristics, trades, products and institutions coming within the ken of merchants, ambassadors and consuls. An allusion to the Great Wall in a treaty of 1902 is a circumstantial assurance that, despite the manifold exploitation of China, antiquity serenely survives.

COMMONS DEBATES FOR 1629 CRITICALLY EDITED, AND AN INTRODUCTION DEALING WITH PARLIAMENTARY SOURCES FOR THE EARLY STUARTS. Edited by Wallace Notestein and Frances Helen Relf. Pp. lxxvii, 304. Large 8vo. With one illustration. Minneapolis : the University of Minnesota. 1921. 4 dollars.

THE University of Minnesota has done well to publish this careful result of scholarship and research. The editors were faced with the fact that, except perhaps that of 1614, there is no Parliament between James I. and the Long Parliament, where the material for its history is all printed. They have, however, collected all the available sources for the proceedings of the House of Commons of 1629, and have compiled and compared them so that they can be read by the student as a narrative, and thus have given a much-needed help to Parliamentary history. "Mr. Pym," Arminians, Recusants and Jesuits flit through these interesting pages, which are most characteristic of the contemporary religious thought.

A. F. S.

AN OUTLINE OF MODERN HISTORY : A SYLLABUS WITH MAP STUDIES. By Edward Mead Earle, M.A. Pp. x, 166. 8vo. New York : The Macmillan Co. 1921. 9s.

THIS book is intended to accompany Carlton J. H. Hayes' *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, and attempts to be a guide to the study of modern history. It fulfils its mission very well, and gives much food for thought. It is not an easy thing to make a syllabus of this kind cover and throw light upon so long a period equally, but here we can congratulate the author.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES—CALENDAR OF DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS. Vol. I. The Coleman Deeds. Compiled by Francis Green. Pp. xii, 466. 8vo. Aberystwyth. 1921. 15s.

RIGHTLY conceiving the function of a library as inclusive of manuscript, the authorities of the newly founded institution began early with a purchase from the representatives of James Colman. A distant reviewer may be permitted to wonder who he was and why half a sentence could not be spared in the prefatory note or the introduction to give the information. It is, however, a great pleasure to recognise in Wales the activity of the historical spirit indicated by so prompt an issue of an adequate and informative

calendar of the collection. Generally speaking, the documents are somewhat modern: there is a sprinkling of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the bulk of dates lies in the eighteenth. Arranged mainly by counties, the deeds number 1535, and Mr. Green presents a succinct analysis of each, giving some thousands of personal and place-names and briefly characterising the purport. This leaves a mere Scot deploring his ignorance of even enough Welsh to translate the vernacular words which stud these abstracts of title much more lavishly than happens in normal Highland conveyances and sasines. Legal elements abound which parallel the expedients of conveyancers equally within the Welsh marches and in our northern feudal domains. Deeds of Hawarden go back to 1384. A place-name like Llanerch recalls the connection of St. Kentigern with St. Asaph's. Tenures are rarely given, but a peppercorn rent is recurrent. In 1675 'heriot' is stipulated for in Glamorgan. Types of document include verdicts of coroners' inquests, indentures of all sorts, probates, concords, inventories, mortgages. Interesting terms like 'comot' (one remembers it in the Irish annals) occur, and there are several cases of 'mote' in suggestive connection with lordship lands. The mill repeatedly appears as an economic centre. The present critic notes gratefully the care with which Mr. Green has explained the conditions of reversion and the like attached to many security writings. Was it in relation to these back-letter clauses that Shakespeare was twitted with picking up stray knowledge of *Noverint*? It is the customary opening of these declarations of conditions on mortgages. One cannot hope for a legal expositor, but one welcomes the intelligent abstracts of Mr. Green. He is a practised hand at such calendaring, and we trust that his promised full index in a future volume will include a grouping of the legal specialities. This calendar is suggestive and of value far beyond its local bounds.

THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD-PEACE. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Pp. 190. 8vo. London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. 9s. 6d.

THIS enquiry is specially intended for those 'who are determined to do their best to make the League of Nations a success.' The Editor and Professor Arnold Toynbee contribute a chapter on the conquests of Alexander the Great and the Hellenism that spread through it over a wide area of the world. Sir Paul Vinogradoff gives a brilliant essay on the world-empire of Rome. Mr. H. W. C. Davies adds an account of the attempt of the medieval Church to unify the world. The later writers, including G. N. Clark, G. R. Gooch, Professor Beazley and Frederick Whelen, treat of the period when International Law came to be used as the link between nations, interrupted as it was by the French Revolution, by the Napoleonic wars, and by the Congress of Vienna, which had very definite results in the nineteenth century. Mr. H. G. Wells gives 'An Apology for a World Utopia,' and Miss Power a final chapter on the teaching of History in regard to 'World Peace.'

Terry : A Short History of Scotland 147

A SHORT HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By Charles Sanford Terry, University of Aberdeen. Pp. xv, 266. With 3 maps. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge : The University Press. 1921. 8s.

THERE is always room for a short history of a country and this is what the book before us designs to be. It commences with useful genealogical tables and ends with the period of 'revival and reform' in the eighteenth century which followed the collapse of the last Jacobite attempt. The writer points out that at this period Scotland 'gave a Lord Chief Justice to the United Kingdom in 1756, an Archbishop of York in 1761, a Prime Minister in 1762, and Governor General to India in 1785.'

But the struggle had been a long one before Scotland and England had become united to the benefit of the former. Professor Terry mentions a forced attempt at union in the Treaty of Falaise in 1174, which, King William of Scotland being a prisoner, fettered humiliating terms of English suzerainty on him. But he does not point out that although this forced treaty had a certain effect, it could have been disavowed at any moment as made under duress. Perhaps rather too much space is taken in this work with the early kings, and the Stewarts before Queen Mary, which gives somewhat too little for the reign of that unfortunate Queen and her successors; and the writer hardly emphasises the immense and tyrannous power of the Kirk, which lasted well into the eighteenth century. We note, however, he does not omit the sad plight of the non-juring Episcopalians down to 1792, which is so often forgotten. There are many points on which the writer does not always see eye to eye with older historians; but we heartily welcome his point of view as shown in this volume.

GLIMPSES OF MEN AND MANNERS ABOUT THE MUIRSIDE. By D. H. Edwards. Pp. xvi, 288. With Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. Brechin : The Advertiser Office. 1920.

WE have here a collection of local history and story which must interest anyone who knows Forfarshire and the Parish of Kinnell. Put together without much method we find much lore of the past, Jacobitism, School and Kirk life, Sabbath breaking (in one case a man taking his dinner—a hot one, most likely—on the Sabbath was spied on and denounced to the Kirk Session), poor relief, and in fact all that appertained to the work of the parish as well as 'the clash of the country.' The writer obviously loves the 'neuk' he writes of, and he has enriched his book from much delving into local records, with verses of Lord Southesk and Miss Violet Jacob, who, luckily for him, wrote in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as from the works of that charming writer of prose, the author of 'Rob Lindsay and His School.'

A HISTORY OF THE MAHARATTAS. By James Cunningham Grant Duff. Revised Annotated Edition, with an Introduction by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I. 2 vols. Pp. xcii, 581; xxi, 573. With Portrait and Maps. Cr. 8vo. Oxford : The University Press. 1921. 36s.

THE Maharattas and their history have had an attraction for many more readers than Colonel Newcome, and in these two volumes, excellently

edited with a learned and valuable introduction, we have their story from the fall of the Moghul Empire down to 1818, told by their best historian. We are still left a little in doubt about the origin of the Maharattas, in whom there seems to be a little more Dravidian and aboriginal descent than has been hitherto allowed; but here we read the account of the rise of Sivajee, the struggles of the Peshwas against the Portuguese and British and their intrigues with the French. We read of the rise also of Holkar and Sindia, the continual wars and conflicts in which the unfortunate peasant always suffered at the hands of his warlike superiors, until the complete mastery of the British led to the settlement of the country in 1819 by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Second Series.
Vol. VI. Pp. xxxvi, 240. 8vo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
1921.

THESE include an account of the mission work among the North American Indians during the eighteenth century, which narrates among many tales of bloodshed many of Christian self-sacrifice. A paper also by D. S. Schaff on the 'Fame and Failure' of the Council of Constance, the 'failure' being the mistake of making martyrs of Huss and Jerome. The third contribution is 'The Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States . . . before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries,' which is interesting historically on account of its Anglo-Dutch origin and American Development. The fourth paper is an exhaustive one by P. J. Healy on 'Recent Activities of Catholic Historians.'

A SHORT FISCAL AND FINANCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1815-1918.
By J. F. Rees, M.A. Pp. viii, 246. Cr. 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 1921.

IT is a special power of this author to enthral his reader whether the latter is a student of finance or not. In the present case the reviewer has read the book with great interest and has noted the importance of the comparisons of the financial situations in England after the two great Wars, the Napoleonic War and the late World War. In both cases the aftermath has convulsed the markets and thrown all finance, already unsteady with war legislation and altered money values, entirely out of gear. Mr. Rees gives a complete history of the intervening periods which abounded in economic changes, down to 1892-1914, years which were famous for 'Armaments and Social Reform,' and ends with a chapter on 'War Finance,' 1914-1918. This contains the pregnant phrase 'A hundred years ago the States had to face internal economic problems; now they have to grapple with international ones,' showing in a few words how the financial position of the world has changed. We must congratulate Mr. Rees on the amount of detail placed in a readable form in so short a space.

Clark and Gray : Old Plans of Cambridge 149

OLD PLANS OF CAMBRIDGE, 1574 TO 1798. By J. Willis Clark and Arthur Gray. Part I. Text with numerous illustrations. Pp. xxxvii, 154. 8vo. Part II. Plans in Portfolio. Cambridge : Bowes and Bowes. 1921. 84s. net.

ALL lovers of Cambridge, and indeed all students of old town growth, will hail this archaeological legacy from a long distinguished historical and architectural scholar.

Part I. is a topographical and cartographical essay with armorial cuts and segments of old plans, which reproduce in the bird's-eye-view method of the old mapmakers snatches of sundry corners of the ancient city. Hamond's plan of 1592 is the source of these instructive reminiscences.

Brief preliminary introductory sketches deal with the river (that is, the alleged 'river'), the castle, and the King's ditch, each a compact historical memorandum of deep interest. Many of us who knew little of Cambridge learned the significance of its Roman *castrum*, its Norman mote, and its Edwardian castle, after Professor Maitland had made the evolution a typical illustration of manorial and civic development. The entire course of that pregnant evolution is now finely footnoted by Mr. Gray, who tracks the decline of the castle into the county bridewell, on which Maitland made smiling commentary.

The late Mr. Clark himself wrote the note on the arms of the University and the town. The writer of this notice has before him in the penmanship of Jeremy Taylor a passage which perhaps Mr. Gray will accept as a purple patch of additional quotation. Under the head 'Universities,' Jeremy wrote thus: 'Chemnitius termed them *ecclesiae plantariae*, being like the Persian tree w^{ch} at the same time doth bud and blossome and beare fruite. My deare nurse the Vniversitie of Camb: hath hir armes hath for hir armes (sic) the booke clasped betwene fower lyons and her worthy sister Oxenford the booke open betwene thre crownes hereby signifying (as I conjecture) that Englishmen maye study the liberall Arts closely and quietly as also professe them openly and [plainly (delete)] publikely being guarded with a Lyon and the Crowne. That is, encouraged thereto by Royall Charract^r and princely priveledg : The Vniversity of Heidelberg giveth a Lyon holding a booke for her armes : Insinuating that princes ought to be favourers of good literature. B 8 sund. after Trin. 192.' Jeremy's note begins in the beautiful post-Elizabethan or modern hand he chiefly used, but where the text now printed here is in italics he reverted, as was not infrequently his practice, to the court or 'Secretary' hand, the still lingering descendant of the so-called Gothic script.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH DIALECTS COMMITTEE. No. IV. Editor, William Grant, Ashfield. Cults, Aberdeen. Pp. 90. La. 8vo. 1921. 2s. 6d.

THIS surprising publication, which had its cost defrayed by a Carnegie grant, contains mainly unrecorded modern Scots words, and unconfirmed, doubtful or untraced words needing investigation. The number and variety of these supplements to the accepted vocabulary ought to satisfy anybody that the Scots tongue has not ceased to live and grow. The

present reviewer found himself 'stumped' in about 95 per cent. of the 1200 words or thereby scheduled in this valuable and convincing pamphlet, which does the editor and his committee no small credit. They have made good their authority.

OFFICIAL HISTORY, NAVAL AND MILITARY, OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.
Vol. III. San-de-Pu, Mukden, The Sea of Japan. Pp. xx, 904. With case of Maps. Large 8vo. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1920.
70s.

THE publication of the third and completing volume of the *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, which has just been issued by H.M.'s Stationery Office, may seem to come to some extent 'after the fair.' The Russo-Japanese war no longer represents the latest developments in the spheres of strategy and tactics: indeed to read of as recent a war in which neither side made any use of air-craft seems quite curious to-day. The compilers of this volume writing in 1914—the whole volume was practically complete and all but ready for issue when the war broke out—speculate on the influence which air-craft might have exercised, for example at the beginning of the battle of Mukden, where the whole plan of the Japanese largely depended on their keeping their Third Army hid from the Russians in the opening stages. Ludendorff did no doubt succeed to some extent in concealing the exact place of his attack of March 21st, 1918, and the exact force he meant to employ, but Oyama's scheme would probably have been detected had his enemy had aeroplanes.

The battle of Mukden fills the greater part of this most substantial volume, 460 pages out of 850, the remainder being occupied with comments on the defence and capture of Port Arthur, with an account of Kuropatkin's abortive offensive at San-de-pu in January, 1905, and with what will perhaps prove the most interesting and attractive to most readers who do not study the book for professional purposes, a full and lucid narrative of Admiral Rozhstvenski's ill-fated voyage and of the destruction of the Russian Baltic Fleet at Tsushima. This is elucidated by plans and diagrams and is an excellent piece of work, doing full justice to the devotion and gallantry of the Russians as well as to the skill both in strategy and in tactics of the Japanese.

The maps need special commendation: there is a portfolio full of them, larger even than the volume itself. Like the text they give an amount of detail which is almost beyond the non-professional reader, but their execution is excellent, and they are a great help in elucidating the detail with which the story is told. A.

THE WARS OF MARLBOROUGH, 1702-1709. By Frank Taylor. Edited by G. Winifred Taylor. Two volumes. Pp. xxiv, 466; viii, 555. With 10 Maps. 8vo. Oxford; Basil Blackwell. 1921.

MR. FRANK TAYLOR, who died in 1913 at the age of forty, had before his death completed the larger portion of a life of the Duke of Marlborough on which he had been for some years engaged. The chapters dealing with the years 1702-1709 have now been edited by his sister. Though

necessarily suffering from lack of the author's revision these volumes supply a better account of Marlborough's chief campaigns than is to be found anywhere else. Mr. Taylor was an enthusiastic student and a writer of real distinction, and his volumes are both valuable and readable. His account of the political situation throws much light on Marlborough's difficulties at home, and his narratives of the different campaigns and battles bring out well the Duke's merits as a far-sighted and daring strategist and as a resourceful and brilliant tactician. The new sources of information which have become available of late years have been carefully studied and utilised, and the book is one which no student of military history or of the age of Anne can neglect. Mr. Taylor's chapters on Marlborough's earlier years (which are given as appendices) do not seem to have been worked up to the same standard of completeness and add but little to the account given by Lord Wolsey, whose biography stops where Mr. Taylor's completed portion begins, but it is fortunate that these two attempts to write the great Duke's life should supplement each other so exactly. A.

The reprint from *The American Angler of The Walton Memorial Window : its Story as related by various hands* gives a pleasing account of the window placed in memory of 'The Chief of Fishermen,' Izaak Walton, in Winchester Cathedral. There the great angler was buried in 1683, as he was a friend of Bishop George Morley and father-in-law of one of the Winchester prebendaries. Sir Herbert Maxwell's address at the unveiling ceremony, June 8, 1914, is interesting and instructive, pointing out the beautiful traits in Izaak Walton's character, his gentleness, his patience, his loyalty to the Stuart line, and his religious toleration in the 'angry and distracted' time in which he lived. This volume is due to Mr. Harry Worcester Smith of Lordvale, whose interest in this window has been unremitting. A. F. S.

Dr. David Murray has reprinted from the *Scottish Historical Review* his article on *Ninian Campbell* (4to, pp. 32) and from the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* his paper on *Some Old Scots Authors whose works were printed abroad* (4to, pp. 41). Each of these reprints is enriched by a series of old title pages reproduced in facsimile, eminently fit illustrations of these valuable and characteristic blendings of bibliography, history and criticism. They express a unity of research in their dedication to Scotsmen, whose scholarly activities found vent through continental printing presses.

Archaeologia Aeliana (Third Series, vol. xvii. 1920, pp. xxxiv, 358, with many plates, 4to) has two papers which dwarf the others equally by their size and importance. The first, in 135 pages and with about 200 illustrations, is the text of a now much-needed new edition of the *Catalogue of the inscribed and sculptured stones of the Roman era in possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. The first edition of 1857 by Dr. Collingwood Bruce was followed in 1887 by the second edition, in preparing which he was assisted by Mr. Robert Blair; this new or third edition is brought out by Mr. Blair incorporating numerous additions to

the Society's magnificent collection during the last third of a century. It is in itself a *Lapidarium*; perhaps no such compendium of Romano-British history is to be found in any other collection in Great Britain. Wherever possible a plate is given in the text. Mr. Blair, from his position for so many years as secretary and editor of the society, had intimate connection with the recovery of the additional remains, besides being master of the interminable discussion, long drawn out, which has pursued its course parallel with the finding of these new items of the great Northumbrian reliquary.

Not by accident, nor inappropriately, the catalogue has as its next article in the *Archaeologia Aeliana* a capital, life-like and wholly artistic portrait of the late Professor Haverfield, and a concise obituary notice and bibliography of 'the great scholar who for five and twenty years put his learning and enthusiasm simply and unselfishly' at the service of the antiquaries of Newcastle and of the world.

After papers on Thomas Slack, a Newcastle printer, 1723-1784, on Uthred of Boldon, 1315-1396, prior of Finchale and a voluminous author, on John Hodgson Hinde's ancestry, and on the chartulary of Clervaux near Darlington, we come to the second large performance in the present part.

It is Mr. C. H. Blair's terminal contribution but introductory section to that catalogue of Durham Seals, about which the *Scottish Historical Review* has so often had occasion to offer its congratulations to the Newcastle Society. The last part is, of course, to come first in the completed series, to which it is an expository foreword in 70 pages of general heraldic and sigillary description, classification and historical criticism, accompanied by well executed photographic renderings of about a hundred seals, besides gems and other accessories typically illustrative of the art, craft and evolution of medieval seals. Mr. Blair's analysis of the seal as a customary and legal institution is a mine of lore which at once adds his name to the list of historical authorities on the subject. It is a readable and curious miscellany, touching off with rapid characterisations the distinctive types, the variations and the fashions they represent, the strange menagerie and museum of animals, arms, utensils and plants commandeered by heraldry and embodied in seals and their devices, the alphabets of the inscriptions, and the medley of pious, jocular or rimed mottoes which brighten the story of the medieval seal. Mr. Blair has made out of Dr. Greenwell's wonderful collection not so much a catalogue as a full-bodied historical treatise on British seals.

An important notice tells of the disposal of the collection since Dr. Greenwell's death. By the generosity of Mr. W. Parker Brewis the local seals have become the property of the city of Newcastle, and are now housed in the Public Library. Those having no local connection now belong to Mr. Hunter Blair himself. They could hardly be in fitter hands.

The final contribution to this notable volume of *Aeliana* is a well illustrated account of the Black Friars' monastery at Newcastle, by Mr. W. H. Knowles, who adds a lucid plan with elevations. Edward I., Edward II.

and Edward III. in turn were repeated visitants as paying guests in the Dominican house founded prior to 1239.

The Newcastle antiquaries are to be commended for the proof this volume affords of their various accomplishment and energy.

The *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (3rd series, vol. x. No. 10) contain an excellent description of the society's visit on 15th October to Tynemouth and Seaton Delaval. The plan of Tynemouth Priory by Mr. W. H. Knowles is excellent, and has the more illumination from its being accompanied by a capital sketch of a conjectural restoration of both the priory and the castle as supposed to stand *circa* 1500. It will be remembered that Malcolm Canmore, falling in battle at Alnwick in 1093, was buried at Tynemouth, where, according to Matthew Paris, the bones of both Malcolm and his son Edward were discovered in 1257 when foundations for a building at the priory were being dug. Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, whom Paris styles founder of the priory, was the leader of the king's force which defeated Malcolm, and it was on his order that Malcolm's body was sent from Alnwick to the recently constructed priory of Tynemouth for interment. A monk of Kelso (who curiously cites a 'Historia Danorum' for some of his particulars), writing not long after the finding of the bones, mentions that the remains were those of 'a man of great stature and of another of less stature' (see Simeon of Durham, *anno* 1093; Matthew Paris, *anno* 1257; *Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Society), I., illustrative documents No. xi.). This matter is dealt with at some length in our pages now as Scotland has an obvious interest at Tynemouth in the grave of Malcolm Canmore.

But there is always a problem, even if the averments come from the Danes. William of Malmesbury says that Alexander I. got his father's body removed to Dunfermline, of course for interment beside Queen Margaret. This transference more than 130 years before 1257 is fatal to the prior of Tynemouth's picturesque identification of the two taller and shorter skeletons. They could not have been Malcolm Canmore and his son. Besides it seems to be most improbable that the son in question, who died in Jedwood forest, could ever have been buried at Tynemouth. We are therefore in no haste to claim those bones, notwithstanding the uncomfortable fact that a sort of postscript to the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris (vi. 372) declares that when the Scots begged for the return of the royal corpse the monks fobbed off on them the body of a plebeian nobody—*cujusdam hominis plebei de Sethtune*—so that for once the Scots were deluded. It is a story which not even Matthew Paris can readily persuade one to believe.

Opportunely reprinted in this part is Mr. F. G. Simpson's note on the *Vallum Romanum*, in which he adventures a chronology and sequence of the structure, including the 'crossings' and 'gaps' which are the most recent complication of the perplexity of the wall.

Mr. Parker Brewis prints a very observant itinerary of 1829, which diversely describes a coal mine in operation, a 'sight of the branks' or scold's bridle, and an impression of 'the Old Picts Wall' at Denton 'built by the Emperor Hadrian.' The segment seen was 'little more than a low

mound of earth ' overgrown with grass, although ' three courses of large square hewn stones ' were traceable.

A recent acquisition by the Museum at Black Gate is ' a goat of the second coinage of David II. ' dug up by the donor at the Grainger park allotments, Newcastle.

History for October begins with the Rt. Hon. Herbert Fisher's addresses at the opening of the Research Institute and at the Historical Conference in London in July last, followed by two papers on the study of legal records by Sir F. Pollock and Dr. W. S. Holdsworth. Other articles deal with evidences of occasional failure in medieval commercial morality, with a revised critical interpretation of English place-names, and with notices of current literature. Miss Jeffries Davis sets agoing her readership in the records of London by an effort to define London and determine what are its records. Her paper is not finished, but she has of course succeeded in showing forth the immense complexity of what is to be her province. ' What are the records ? ' she pauses to ask, and we wait till next number for the answer. Professor Pollard has it out with the editor of the *Barbellion Diaries*, whose indignation was provoked by a criticism in *History* for April. But we fear Professor Pollard in his answering footnote has justified his original objections to the editorial method used in presenting a slightly ' garbled ' text of Barbellion's pathetic introspections.

Reprinted from the *Journal of Roman Studies* of 1919, a paper by Dr. George Macdonald, *The Agricolan Occupation of North Britain* (foolscap, pp. 111-138), stands in the first class of historical proposals, and must be reckoned as a motion which archaeology must promptly consider and tentatively approve or reject. When an important general inference or opinion is surrendered and a new conclusion set up in its place, there is a greater readiness to accept the revised version when the reviser is going back on himself. The short and insecure hold of the Caledonian posts left behind at Agricola's departure was the orthodoxy of the earlier Haverfield period of investigation. Dr. Macdonald concurred, at least he more than countenanced, e.g. in 1906, the view that Agricola's ' conquest ' of Caledonia would seem to have reduced itself to the level of a brilliant raid, followed by a brief and precarious tenure of a few advanced positions.

Much spade-work since then has revealed not in single instances, but in almost all, an unexpected complexity of the stations, visible in changes of plan and in signs of successive constructions, and—most important of the whole phenomena—the singular fact that even earthwork forts have been found to manifest indications of continued occupation. It is when these data are incorporated in the evidence to be sifted that the revised version is tabled.

Inchtuthil is now thought to be a semi-permanent camp designed for a stay of some duration, its equipment including a cold bath of solid masonry in wonderful preservation. But still more significant are two rows of stone buildings, clearly recognisable as *centuriae* or permanent barracks. At Ardoch too, along with the remains of temporary work, there are again *centuriae*, to say nothing of the immense entrenchments which surely denote

exceptional and scarcely temporary precautions. There are besides other direct evidences of successive periods in the occupancy. And the same thing came under notice as the puzzle of Camelon, now better guessed at than it was at its excavation. Ardoch accords with Inchtuthil, which again Camelon confirms.

Out of all which emerges what Dr. Macdonald styles 'a glimpse of an unexpected picture—a large portion of Scotland garrisoned by the Romans at a period long after that at which we have been taught to believe that they had withdrawn behind the Cheviots.' There are obstacles, but the facts prompt one to second Dr. Macdonald's guarded motion to expand the Agricolan hold upon the north.

Dr. George Macdonald has sent us a reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle* of his important article on 'A Hoard of Coins found at Perth' (pp. 24), with a fine plate of ten specimen coins. The hoard, which was discovered near the Guild Hall Close, consisted of 1128 pieces, and must have been deposited shortly after the accession of James IV. to the throne.

Every coin was identifiable, comprising Scottish gold, Burgundian gold, and English silver specimens, besides 499 placks and half placks of billon. The silver showed a remarkable contrast: of the groats only 15 per cent. were English, but less than 10 per cent. of the half groats were Scottish. The absence of a type of three-quarter-face groats with thistle heads and alternate mullets is ingeniously used as negative proof that these were erroneously ascribed to James III. The new facts go to brand them as coins of James V. As this hoard was in every sense of considerable consequence, and was when found in a deplorable condition of corrosion and decay, it is gratifying to note Dr. Macdonald's compliment to the skill of Mr. A. J. H. Edwards, assistant keeper of the National Museum at Edinburgh, in the treatment and perfect preservation of the hoard, which when dug up seemed only a weltering lump of soil. The article is numismatically fuller than the parallel paper appearing in the *Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries*.

The *Antiquaries Journal* for October has papers on Relic-holders, on a fifteenth century panel-painting of the Annunciation (with a friar in the foreground), on a neolithic bowl from the Thames, on a hoard of iron currency-bars from Winchester, and on a bronze polycandelon found in Spain. Other communications include a description of a polygonal type of settlement in Britain, suggesting on rather indefinite grounds a connection with the *bannum leucae* familiar in French customs.

A section devoted to a miscellany of archaeological notes is crowded with records of discovery in which the description of a coin-find at Abbeyland, Navan, county Meath, is perhaps the chief attraction.

In the *Juridical Review* Mr. W. Roughead in 'The Hard Case of Mr. James Oliphant' deals with the strange and stupid, albeit intelligible, case of legal oppression in 1764 by a Durham coroner. 'The Ballad of the Twa Courts' by B. R. M. shows that neither the wit of Outram and Bird nor the tradition of happy legal verse has deserted the bar. Ex-Sheriff Scott Moncrieff recounts pleasant memories of sheriffdom forty years ago in Banff.

The *Law Quarterly Review* for July has good medieval and early jurist matter, 'Sir Matthew Hale on Hobbes,' by Sir F. Pollock and Dr. Holdsworth, a fourteenth century lawyer's commonplaces (including a most uncommon burlesque or pseudo-Arthurian letter about Piers Gavestone, circa 1315), by Mr. W. C. Bolland, and a learned classification of old authors on maritime law, by Mr. W. Senior.

An obituary notice, *Robert Munro, M.A., M.D., LL.D.*, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, is from the sympathetic pen of Dr. George Macdonald. Dr. Munro's life-story, his antiquarian evolution and his controversies are well outlined. His masterly work on *Lake Dwellings* appropriately dominates the record of his singularly fruitful archaeological career.

The *Revue Historique* for July-August, 1921, contains the first instalment of M. Léon Homo's study of the administrative privileges of the Senate of Rome under the Empire, and their gradual disappearance in the third century, and an important article by M. de Labriolle on 'Spiritual Marriage' in Christian antiquity. The *bulletin historique* is devoted to works on paleography and other auxiliary historical sciences which have appeared from 1912 to 1920. The number for September-October contains the conclusion of M. Homo's study. The *bulletin historique* contains a survey by M. Petit-Dutaillis of recent publications on French history from 1378 to 1498, and an account of works on the history of Islam, which appeared between 1914 and 1920. These excellent surveys of the different fields of historical study during the years of the war are of great value to students.

D. B. S.

The *Iowa Journal* for April has economic papers on immigration to Iowa and on the internal grain trade between 1860 and 1890. These are followed by a set of letters in May, June and July, 1845, relative to the Indians in Iowa. They are from John Chambers then Governor of the Territory of Iowa and Superintendent of Indian affairs there. On the whole the incidents of trouble recorded, though numerous, are trivial.

Notes and Communications

DICTIONARY OF EARLY SCOTTISH. Dr. W. A. Craigie, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, intends before long to begin the preparation and publication of a dictionary of the older Scottish tongue from the fourteenth century down to the close of the seventeenth, *i.e.* approximately from 1300 to 1700 A.D. It is now nearly a hundred years since Dr. Jamieson completed his dictionary, and since that time an immense amount of new material has been made accessible. This has not yet been fully utilized, although the older Scottish vocabulary has not been neglected in the Oxford English Dictionary. It is Prof. Craigie's intention to bring this material together in a work which may take its place with the dictionaries covering the middle period of such related languages as Dutch, Danish, and Swedish.

To this end a considerable collection of material has already been made by a few voluntary workers, but much more help is required if the dictionary is to make any approach to completeness and to proceed rapidly when the actual work of preparation has begun. An appeal is therefore made to all who are interested in the national tongue to give whatever assistance they can towards the collecting of the material which is still required. More particularly it is desirable that all records and documents (whether published collectively in volumes and series, or scattered in works on local and family history) should be fully excerpted for that purpose, as these contain a large number of words rarely found in the literary works of the period.

Anyone who is prepared to make some contribution, however slight, is requested to communicate with Miss Hutchen, 16 Pitt Street, Edinburgh, who will furnish information regarding the work which could be most usefully undertaken and the method to be observed in carrying it out.

COURTS OF JUSTICE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Amongst the treasures of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum are many documents relating to Scotland. Of these many are being, or have been, embodied in the *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, begun under the editorship of Joseph Bain, but others seem to have escaped notice. Indeed it is quite certain that a student of Scottish history, with time at his disposal, could unearth from the Cottonian mine, material of the greatest value, although constant care would be required if time was not to be wasted in the copying of manuscripts already in print. For many of these documents are themselves copies; others have already been copied by contemporary hands and are found in other collections. It is, for example, very hard to

158 Courts of Justice in the Sixteenth Century

be sure that any given manuscript of the Elizabethan period does not occur also in the series *Scotland, Elizabeth* in the Record Office, among the Hatfield MSS. or in some other part of the Cottonian collection; and as transcripts from these vast hoards abound in all sorts of forms, it is always possible that a 'find' may turn out to have been printed before.

The document here presented appears in the catalogue as *Caligula B. VIII* f. 212, but in the more recent pagination it is really f. 200. It is written by an Englishman, who contrasts the justice that he knows with that administered in Scotland. It is not dated, but the hand, which is clear, is of the close of the sixteenth century. The spelling is arbitrary. My thanks are due to Mr. D. T. B. Wood of the British Museum for his ready help in deciphering obscure passages.

J. D. MACKIE.

The Manner of holding Justice Courtes in Scotland

viz.

ffirst the prisoners are called for by name.

Next the assizers and prisoners to oppone against them (if they have any cause) whie they shall not passe upon their assize.

Then the assizers sworne, viz :

That they lelelie soothsaie and nay sooth conceale, for naything that be may, in so far as they are charged to passe upon the said assize so helpe them God, by their own hands, by God himself, and by their parte of Paradise, as they shall answer to God upon the day of Judgment.

And they answer Wee shall.

Then they reade the dittie (or inditement) against the prisoners in forme as followeth, viz :

The coppie of the dittie

Ye and ill ane of you are indited for commeing under scilence and cloude of night to the dwelling house of G. H. and brack up his dores and theftouslie stole, reft and awaie took his whole insight and goodes being therein, estimate wourth the summ of 500 mkes., had and convaied the same away and disposed therof in theftuous manner. This ye did in sick a minut of sick a yeare of God, which ye cannot denye

Item for common theft, common resett of theft, both old and new, and a fugitive to the Kinges lawes.

Then take his graunt or deniall of his dittie

Thereafter the assizers removes out of court and choisis a chauncelor amongst them by most of their elections, which chauncelor hath 2 votes and demaundes everie man of the assize in particular whether he will file or cleane, and as most votes declares, so the chauncelor of the assize comes in alone and gives verdict of guiltie or not guiltie. And if he be guilty the judge causeth the Dempster of court to pronounce Doome in manner following, Viz :

The court shewes for lawe that the prisoner A.B. is foule, culpable and convict of sick and sick crimes; viz. etc.

and contayned in his dittie whereof he was accused. Therefore the said A.B. is ordeyned to be taken to sick a gallows and ther to be hanged by the head untill he be dead, and all his moveables to escheat and imbrought to our soveraigne lordes use. And that I give for doome. And so God have mercie on him

Observations

The cousen germane or cosen removed of the prisoner is not *idoneus testis* against a ffelon.

No evidence against a ffelon is geven in open court nor in the hearing of the ffelon accused ; but the assizers being in a chamber apart as our (?) grand juries might be.

An oath is exacted of the pursuer of a ffelon to verefie the dittie (that is the Inditement) ; if he refuse to swear the prisoner is acquitt.

After the assize is impannelled they returne no more into the court, but send their foreman alone, whom they call their chancellor, who pronounceth the verdict in all their names.

The judge doth not pronounce the sentence after verdict, but a poore ignorant old beggarlie ffellowe

This ffellowe all the tyme of the Session sitteth mute in some corner of the house, wher the court is helde, and is called Dampster of the courte, is called for, and following the wourdes of the clerke pronounceth sentence

Before sentence pronounced the judge may appoint the dampster to give sentence of death either by hanging or drowning at their choise.

The prisoner is convicted or cleered by pluralitie of voices, the foreman having twoe voices.

The chancellor or foreman is not chosen by the judge in courte, but after the assize is empannelled and retyred into a chamber he is chosen by pluralitie of voices. The number of the jury is 15.

They use noe grande jurye.

They putt diverse ffellonies against one ffelon in one inditement

A fugitive from the lawes that hath been sought for as a ffelon and ffound guiltie thereof by the assize hath judgment as a ffelon.

A man indited for common theft, or to be a common theif, without nayming any speciall felonie, and convicted thereof, hath judgment as a ffelon.

‘THE BRILL’ AND ‘THE BASS.’ ‘The other town before us is the corporation of Haddington ; and this is the Brill ; but the Bass you may see is a prodigious rock, that makes an island on the skirts of the ocean.’ So Richard Franck’s *Northern Memoirs*, penned in 1658. The passage is to be found on page 216 of the late Dr. Hume-Brown’s *Early Travellers* ; and to it Dr. Brown has added the footnote : ‘I cannot discover what Franck meant by the Brill.’

A lead, however, to a possible meaning is furnished to us by a recollection that Franck’s particular hobby was angling, and that in literary style he delighted in the allusive. ‘Franck,’ says Dr. Brown, ‘was an enthusiastic angler, and in his own fantastic manner a lover of nature as keen as Izaak Walton himself,—there could hardly be a greater contrast between the sim-

plicity of Walton and the grandiloquence of Franck.'—*Early Travellers*, 182. To this enthusiastic angler from the South, then, the strange rock had a familiar name, the name—no less—of the 'daynteuous fysshe and passinge holsom,' the perch, or a variety of it. The brill, on the other hand, was a flat fish—of the turbot kind, perhaps, but inferior to it, it is said, in flavour. In comparison with the rock, then, Haddington in the estimation real or affected of Richard Franck was in some respect or other flat. That was all.

J. H. STEVENSON.