Reviews of Books

GREGORY THE GREAT: HIS PLACE IN HISTORY AND THOUGHT. By F. Homes Dudden, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. With frontispiece. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xviii, 476; Vol. II. pp. viii, 474. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1905. 30s. nett.

THESE two handsome and portly volumes form very much more than a mere biographical sketch of the illustrious pontiff, doctor, and theologian, of whom they treat. Had the author called his work a history of the life and times of St. Gregory, the title would not have been misapplied. And Gregory was so much the most interesting and most important personage of his time, he stands out so dominating a figure in the political, social, and religious movements of his age, that a detailed history of his life and work cannot fail to be, as Mr. Dudden's indeed is, to all intents and purposes, a history of the latter half of the sixth century. That there is room and need for such a work, more especially for English students of ecclesiastical history, does not admit of doubt; for nothing is more remarkable than the neglect with which this period has been treated by nearly all recent English writers on theology and ecclesiastical history, who have, as a rule occupied themselves entirely either with the early councils or the Reformation, and seem to have passed over the intervening thousand years or so as hardly worth their notice.

Mr. Dudden, who is a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, would appear (though he does not tell us so in so many words) to have been attracted towards his task of writing St. Gregory's life by the fact that unpublished materials for such a life by a former fellow of the same college (Mr. T. H. Halcombe) are preserved in the college library, and were at his disposal for his present work. But it is clear that he has made use also of the best authorities, ancient and modern, at first hand, and with such good effect that these volumes really do present to the reader not only the best and fullest biography ever written, certainly in English, of Gregory, but also a very complete storehouse on the Gregorian age. The author anticipates unfavourable comment on the length of his volumes, which extend to nearly a thousand pages of type; and in truth the minute and detailed description of places, especially the streets, temples, and public buildings of Rome, as they existed in the sixth century, does tend, perhaps, somewhat to weary the reader, and undoubtedly delays the action of the story of St. Gregory's life. Mr. Dudden defends himself in this regard by saying that he did not wish to presume too much on the knowledge of his readers; but it might perhaps be said that he presumes a little too much on their ignorance, and of course there are many accessible sources from

which intelligent students of the early middle ages can, and do, derive a sufficiently accurate knowledge of the external aspect of Rome as it then was. Nevertheless Mr. Dudden's picture of the Rome of St. Gregory is in itself well and graphically drawn, and we do not recollect anywhere a more vivid description than he gives us of that wonderful period, when the Eternal City was in the very throes of transition from its old glory as the capital of a world-wide empire to the new glory of being the capital of the Universal Church; when from being the city of the Caesars it was becoming, as it was to remain for thirteen centuries, the city of the Popes.

As to the author's presentment of the great pontiff and doctor, it is certainly a striking, and we should say, on the whole, a true and a life-like one. The first two books of the work are taken up with the actual history of the saint, and with a general survey of the age in which he lived, while the third book is devoted to a detailed examination of Gregory as a theologian. The author justly claims for this latter portion that it is really the first systematic attempt which has been made by an English writer to set forth the dogmatic utterances of the fourth doctor of the Western Church. No one probably would maintain that St. Gregory was, as a theologian pure and simple, the greatest of the four; that he accomplished anything like the work done by Jerome, or that he was the founder of a great school of thought like Augustine. Yet his place in the history of Christian and Catholic theology is fully as important as theirs. He stands at the parting of the ways between the patristic and the medieval church. He is the pioneer, so to speak, of the Scholastics of the Middle Ages, the link which unites the dogmatic theology of the Fathers with the Scholastic speculations of later times. He sums up in himself the doctrinal development of Western Christianity, and in his teaching is contained, explicitly or implicitly, the whole Catholic system of succeeding centuries down to our own. If there is one fact which stands out clearly in Mr. Dudden's pages, it is that the creed of the Roman Church, as it is taught and held to-day, exists, implied or expressed, in the teaching of St. Gregory, as clearly as the supremacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff exist in the claims which he put forward and constantly maintained on behalf of the Roman See. It has been well said that the 'Appeal to the first Six Centuries,' which an Anglican Dean has proposed as a panacea to heal the dissensions, and reconcile the deep divergencies, of his distracted Church, seems absolutely amazing to anyone who knows what the chief Bishop of Christendom really did teach and believe and practise during the latter part of that period.

Mr. Dudden does full justice to Gregory's extraordinarily versatile genius, and to the many-sidedness of his character which enabled him to put forth his energies in so many directions, and to play so many parts, in the commanding position in which he found himself during the greater part of his life. Our author draws an elaborate contrast between the shrewd financier, the excellent man of business, the wise and prudent administrator of the patrimony of St. Peter on the one hand, and on the other the recluse scholar and scribe, tracing out the mystical sense of obscure passages of scripture, and laboriously compiling the fascinating series of pious stories

known as the 'Diologues.' One is glad to see that Mr. Dudden admits, practically without question, the authenticity of a collection of writings which charmed and fascinated the world for centuries, and endeared St. Gregory's name to countless generations of readers; but it is, perhaps, permissible to point out that his view that the whole of these naïve narratives of visions, prophecies, and miracles are a mere *olla podrida* of unsupported legend, collected by a man with 'no capacity of either weighing or testing evidence,' is hardly compatible with his estimate elsewhere of St. Gregory as a critic and a scholar. Turning to another point, it is too much, perhaps, to expect that the non-Catholic biographer of a Catholic Pope should take the trouble to ascertain exactly what Catholics believe to be the meaning, province, and scope of papal infallibility. Had Mr. Dudden studied, for example, the Catholic penny catechism as to this dogma, we should not find him triumphantly asserting that because Columban declined to give up at Gregory's bidding the Celtic usage of celebrating Easter, therefore he 'certainly knew nothing of the doctrine of papal infallibility.' We take leave to assure Mr. Dudden that in supposing papal infallibility to have any earthly connection with this question, he errs as fundamentally as, if less grotesquely than, the man who supposed that an infallible Pope had, or claimed, the power of predicting the winner of the Derby the year after next.

Mr. Dudden expressly disclaims the view which has been put forward by shallow and superficial students of Gregory's life and character, that in embracing the ecclesiastical state he was moved only or even mainly by ambition. It is evidently, however, our author's belief that the future Pope's choice of career was strongly influenced by the belief that the Church offered the likeliest field for the exercise of his talents. Mr. Dudden, however, seems to forget that if that had really been Gregory's chief motive, of which there is no evidence, he would certainly have elected to become a secular priest, an ecclesiastic living and working in the world, rather than a humble monk bound by the vows of religion, and leading an obscure and hidden life in his monastery on the Caelian hill. Gregory's genuine reluctance (graphically depicted in these pages) to accept the burden of the Pontificate, on the death of Pope Pelagius sixteen years later, proved how little ambition, even in the nobler sense of the word, had had to do with his original determination.

The foregoing criticisms on certain points of view which present themselves in Mr. Dudden's pages do not preclude the conclusion, which no impartial critic can withold, that his study of one of the greatest figures in the history of Christendom is worthy of its subject, and a really valuable contribution to ecclesiastical biography. If in certain respects the author may have to some extent misunderstood the motives, or failed to do justice to the character, of his hero, it is assuredly not from want of appreciation of the transcendent qualities which distinguished him. The perusal of these interesting volumes can only strengthen and confirm the reader in the truth of Mr. Dudden's closing estimate; and with him we may all 'gratefully reverence the name of Gregory, as that not only of a great man, but also of a great saint.'

D. O. Hunter-Blair, O.S.B.

How to Collect Books. By J. Herbert Slater. Pp. xii, 205. Post 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1905. 6s. net.

For the past eighteen years book-collectors have been indebted to Mr. Slater for his admirable and useful *Book Prices Current*. It was only natural that they should expect from his pen a serviceable work on book-collecting. This expectation has not been realised. A really good book on this subject has yet to be written.

It is only fair to say that criticism is disarmed to some extent, for the author in his preface writes: 'All that can be done within the limits of a single volume, dealing as this does with a variety of subjects, is to touch the fringe of each.' It is rather hard to say why some of the subjects of which he has touched the fringe have been introduced at all in such a work.

Mr. Slater begins his book with 'Hints to beginners,' dealing with generalities, most of which he repeats later on. This is followed by 'some practical hints,' in which the author should have warned the beginner that old books of folio size were invariably gathered to form quires of 4, 6, 8, or more leaves. The statement 'that there must necessarily be between each "signature" . . . two leaves . . . in every folio' is certainly not in accordance with facts. One would naturally have looked for guidance in collating books 'without any marks' by the quires, such as Mr. E. Gordon Duff gives in his *Early Printed Books*, pp. 208-210, but possibly Mr. Slater considered this method too advanced for the class of reader for whom he writes. His directions for removing stains by means of oxalide acid and chloride of lime should be carefully avoided by all who have any respect for an old book and desire its preservation.

Manuscripts, block-books, incunabula, such as the Mazarin Bible, Pfister's Bible, the Psalter of 1457, the earliest books from the presses of Sweynheym and Parnartz, Caxton, and the Schoolmaster of St. Albans, and metal and ivory bindings, all these have space allotted to them which might have been more profitably employed in an elementary work on book-collecting. Little can be said in commendation of this section of the book. It contains statements which one hoped would not again appear in a bibliographical work. Take, for example, the following: 'There is a great question whether a press was not established at Oxford in 1468.' This date is indefensible on Mr. Slater's own showing. In a previous chapter he informs us that printed signatures were first used in printed books by Antonius Zarotus, in Milan, about the year 1470. This assertion is probably based on the will-o'-the-wisp Terence of March 13, 1470, which has never been examined by any competent bibliographer, and is believed to be a copy of the edition of March 13, 1481, in which the last two numerals of the date xi have been erased. But allowing the second date which he names for the introduction of printed signatures, viz. 1472, it is strange that he did not warn his readers that the Oxford 'Exposicio sancti Hieronimi in simbolum apostolorum' has printed signatures, and that,

as Mr. Gordon Duff remarks, 'copies of this book have been found bound up in the original binding with books of 1478.'

The chapter on 'Great Collectors' deals chiefly with French private libraries of a by-gone age. No mention is made of the Duc d'Aumale, whose magnificent collection is now at the service of scholars. English collectors do not include the name of the Earl of Crawford. Although reduced by ten days' sale in 1887 and four days' sale in 1889, not to speak of the sale of the manuscripts at a later date, the Earl of Crawford's is believed to be still the largest private library in England.

In the two concluding chapters Mr. Slater is on ground with which he is more familiar. That on 'Auction Sales' contains some sound advice, and a useful list of the greatest book sales since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chapter on 'Early Editions and Strange Books' deals with classes of books more likely to find their way into the library of the young collector than manuscripts, block-books, Mazarin Bibles, and bindings in the 'Byzantine style.' J. P. Edmond.

The Age of Transition. By F. J. Snell, M.A. 2 vols. 1400-1450. Vol. 1, The Poets; Vol. 2, The Dramatists and Prose Writers. Vol. 1, pp. vi, 226; Vol. 2, pp. xxix, 167. Cr. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1905. 3s. 6d. nett each.

It is not perhaps the function of histories of literature to inspire their readers, their office is to create respect for its dimensions and its wilderness of detail. Certainly Mr. Snell's volumes cannot be accurately described as 'the adventures of a soul among masterpieces.' Nor though he moves through an age of mighty preparations does he permit himself to think of it as anywhere an age of achievements. Mr. Snell denies himself the transports of the discoverer; we have from him no revised judgments nor any exhilarating panegyrics on men hitherto but meagrely appreciated. He tells his story with sobriety, and at least we owe him gratitude for the absence of any strained or affected estimates. And if we say that he has carried through his task in a workmanlike fashion, that may be the sentence he anticipated and most of all desired. He writes of an *interregnum*, a period when there was no king in Israel, between the reigns of Chaucer and of Spenser, and argues that it was not an age of poetical excitement. Adapting Cicero, he tells us *inter arma silent musae*, 'and if we use the term *arma* in the widest sense, so as to include every variety of conflict, not only military and material, but intellectual and spiritual, the adaptation of Cicero's saying is eminently applicable to long years of profound outer and inner revolution.' There is here no imposing array of literary figures, but we would willingly have welcomed a note of enthusiasm at the mention of Wyclif, or Caxton, or Malory. We think Mr. Snell's book would have reached a higher kind of success had he suppressed insignificant facts and persons and dwelt at length upon significant things: for a book which includes among its subjects the origins of the Romantic drama, the early Reformation movement and its leaders, Renaissance influences upon English literature, and the Golden

Age of Scottish Poetry, must not be set down as traversing barren country. Such books as this cannot serve general readers, for these decline to be choked with names and dates; they cannot serve the advanced student, for the information conveyed is insufficient for his needs; theirs seems to be the lot of an undistinguished and precarious existence in the suburbs of learning, where they receive occasional visitors from the middle classes. What, for example, can a serious enquirer glean from a chapter on 'Ballads and Songs' which gives no hint of a theory of communal authorship, no reference to such authorities as Professor Child, no discussion of origins, no mention of the metrical characteristics of primitive poetry? The world of scholarship is wide, and many are the necessities of the student: far be it from us to write down Mr. Snell's work as superfluous. Within the compass permitted him he has done most of what could be done, but we suspect that he would have been vastly happier had he written *con amore*. A man may profit in discipline from such a task as he has here performed, but he cannot tell us that he enjoyed it, and we will not believe that it represents him or his powers. We wish for him a broader canvas, and we promise him a heartier appreciation of an essay projected on a nobler scale.

W. Macneile Dixon.

Three Chronicles of London, 1189-1509. Edited from the Cotton MSS. by C. L. Kingsford. Pp. xlviii, 368. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. 10s. 6d. nett.

The publication of three hitherto unprinted versions of the English chronicles, which were being compiled for the use of London citizens in the fifteenth century and later, is a welcome addition to historical knowledge. What are commonly called 'London' chronicles are those which head the entry of the annals of each year with the names of the chief municipal officers elected for that year, with the names of the London Mayor and Sheriffs. For want of a better criterion, this may be taken to divide the 'London' chronicles from those other continuations of the 'Brut' series (such, for instance, as that published by Mr. J. S. Davies for the Camden Society), which in other respects resemble the series edited by Mr. Kingsford. The printing of the present group of London chronicles is a step forward to the analysis of the sources used by Fabian and his successors; and the chronicles are valuable in themselves for their many life-like touches of description, adding new material to the narrative, the main features of which may be sufficiently familiar. We have been too long content with uncritical reproductions of the texts of Fabian, Hall, and Grafton, though Nicolas and Tyrrell in their *Chronicle of London* (1827), and Gairdner in the London Chronicles, which he issued for the Camden Society, pointed the way to more knowledge. The texts which Mr. Kingsford has edited with every care, with glossary, notes, and an elaborate and useful index, are even more serviceable than these forerunners. Similar to them in scope and method, they are often independent sources of considerable interest, sometimes for the history of London in

particular, sometimes for the general history of England. The Scottish materials are inconsiderable. A Londoner's feelings towards the Earl of Angus and his countrymen (1516) find vent in the entry, 'The said yerle, lyke unto the nature of his cuntre, went howme agen into Schotland, takyng no love.' Scottish disaster on different occasions called forth the comment:

> 'In the croke of the mone went they thedirward,
> And in the wilde wanyng went thei homeward.'

A few outbursts of versification in the chronicle are obscured by being printed as prose.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Brie's researches into the sources of the English versions of the Brut will carry the enquiry begun by Mr. Kingsford a stage further in tracking the sources of the portions of chronicle which these London writers have in common. It is unfortunate that the interesting London chronicle now at Trinity College, Dublin, very similar in quality but different in detail as regards the reign of Henry VI., has not been included side by side with these Cottonian MSS.; probably a good deal more MS. material awaits examination before we can know all that there is to know of the London school of chronicle. A version of part of the *Annales Londonenses*, which Stubbs printed from a modern transcript, reposes in the Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, and deserves at least collation with the printed text. A small selection of entries in these *Annales* forms part of the common groundwork used in all the fifteenth century chronicles to fill up the annals of times long past: the writer's interest is concentrated on the times with which he was contemporary, and what he palms off as an epitome of the historical facts of earlier ages is for the most part an absurd list of useless memoranda.

Students of language will find here much of value. The verses of Lydgate written for the pageant in 1432 are carefully re-edited by Mr. Kingsford from these texts: he has omitted to notice that besides Nicolas's text, we have the version in *Cleop.* CIV. edited by Halliwell for the Percy Society.

MARY BATESON.

THE MATRICULATION ROLL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, 1747-1897. Edited, with Introduction and Index, by James Maitland Anderson, Librarian to the University. Pp. lxxxix, 455. Dy. 8vo. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1905. 18s. nett.

IT is gratifying to see that the oldest of our Scottish universities has at last made a beginning in the way of publishing its matriculation rolls. The present volume deals with the latest of the three periods into which the history of the University can be divided. It embraces the years from 1747, the date at which the two ancient colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard were united, till the final incorporation of an entirely new one in 1897. Mr. Anderson in his introduction takes up the story of the University in 1747, and tells it with admirable succinctness down to modern times. There is much interesting information in it: it will

surprise many, for instance, to learn that while the election of a Rector was formally placed in the hands of the students by the Universities Act of 1858, they actually did elect an 'extraneous' rector in that very year before the passing of the Act, and the election was held to be valid notwithstanding that two previous attempts, one so early as 1825 when Sir Walter Scott was elected, had ended in failure, the Senatus holding that only four persons were eligible to be nominated for the office, viz., the Principals of the United College and St. Mary's, the Professor of Divinity and the Professor of Church History. The story of the uniting of the two colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard forms interesting reading. The University could not at the time really afford to keep up the two colleges, but it is curious that when it became necessary to decide which of the two was to be the home of the United College, the choice fell upon St. Salvator, the most ruinous and dilapidated. Up to 1829 about £5500 were expended on the buildings and repair of the College, but even then its condition was far from satisfactory. The immediately succeeding years were spent in struggling with the Government for money to secure better accommodation, and it was not till 1851 that, partly by Government grants and partly by private effort, the present buildings of the College were ultimately completed. St. Mary's College underwent very much the same experience so far as building was concerned: it was in a miserable state in 1827, but re-building and improvements have gone on from that date till 1890.

The matriculation roll itself is of much interest; and it is evident that the editor has spent a great deal of time and care in analysing it. Down to 1829 the method of matriculation was that noblemen's sons matriculated first as Primers; then followed Secondars or gentlemen-commoners; and to these succeeded the Ternars or ordinary folks: in more ancient days (though there is one example of it in this volume) the Luminator of a class matriculated last: his duty was to furnish fire and light to his class in return for certain perquisites and privileges. The attempts of the students, who entered their own names in the roll, to give not only their names but the places of their origin in Latin, are sometimes productive of curious results. Perthensis and Fifensis are easy enough, but when it became necessary to latinize Lanarkshire, the Isle of Skye and Boulogne, the invention of the ingenuous youth failed them.

While welcoming this volume with all cordiality, it is a pity that the University did not put its best foot foremost and give us the earliest and not the latest rolls first. Gwendolen Jones or Catherine Robertson may be most excellent girls, and may perhaps make a name for themselves in future, but in the meantime one's interest in them is but faint, and the fact that they or similar young women (for these actual names do not occur) matriculated in St. Andrews in the year 1896 is one the announcement of which could be waited for indefinitely with equanimity. Again, it is a pity that some attempt was not made to identify a few at least out of the many names which occur in these lists. Of course to have dealt with even the majority would have cost more time and labour than it was possible to bestow on such a task. But in many instances a note could

easily have been supplied which would have been of the utmost service to future generations of investigators. For instance, it would have been simple to have added a note to the name of 'Robertus Herbert Story,' who was a student in St. Mary's in 1857, to the effect that that name now represents the Principal of the University of Glasgow. In the same year too and at the same College, the name 'Edwardus Caird' appears: future inquirers would like to know if this was the Master of Balliol: as a matter of fact we believe it was, but the information that he studied theology at St. Andrews may be looked for in vain in any modern book of reference. So few Peers' sons occur within the period embraced by this volume that it might have been worth identifying the 'Doune,' who matriculated in 1753, with the person who afterwards had a long and honourable career as Francis, eighth Earl of Moray. A few references like those suggested would have given additional value to the book. It should not, however, be taken leave of in anything but words of praise, and the old University is to be congratulated on the first step towards the completion of so important an undertaking, and the editor for the careful and accurate manner in which he has carried it out.

J. Balfour Paul.

A History of England, in six volumes: General Editor, C. W. C. Oman, M.A. Vol ii. England under the Normans and Angevins, 1066-1272. By H. W. C. Davis, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. With 11 maps. Pp. xxii, 578. London: Methuen and Co., 1905. 10s. 6d. nett.

This book is the second of a series of six volumes on the History of England edited by Professor Oman, and intended to meet a demand for a standard history which will occupy a place between the dry annals of the school manual on the one hand and the laborious monographs of specialists on the other. With the vast accumulation of historical materials brought to light during the past twenty years, it is almost beyond the capacity of a single student to assimilate the new information as rapidly as it is thrown into the common stock, and few men can be found to undertake a complete history with any prospect of success. In order that the work may be done to the best advantage, the history of the nation has been divided into well-defined periods that are neither too long to be dealt with by competent scholars nor too short to force the writer into a discussion of uninteresting and unimportant details. As the volumes will be written on a definite plan, there will be uniformity in the method of treatment throughout, but it will be possible for each contributor to preserve his individuality without affecting the general continuity of the narrative. By this system of co-operation the best results may be obtained without running the danger of making the history a mere compilation like an encyclopaedia or a collection of treatises on historical subjects. There is little doubt that there is ample room for such an undertaking, and we shall be much disappointed if the present attempt to fill it does not command approval.

The section assigned to Mr. Davis embraces the epoch of Norman and Angevin, 1066-1272, with the history of which are associated the names of some of the most brilliant specialists that England has ever produced, historians like Bishop Stubbs, Mr. Freeman, Miss Norgate, Mr. J. R. Green, Professor Maitland, Mr. J. H. Round and Sir James Ramsay, to whose researches the author very properly acknowledges himself under many obligations. It is a period of sufficient complexity to tax the resources of the most skilful scholar, full of surprises and bristling with problems not always capable of convincing exposition. The Norman Conquest marks the commencement of a new era, when foreign ideas, secular and ecclesiastical, began to germinate on English soil and to mould English politics. Not that the consequences of the catastrophe are at once visible as we follow the course of events from year to year, but after the lapse of time, when we look back on the progress of national development, we begin to see that under the new conditions the nation has been in a state of transition in which the native element is gradually becoming absorbed in the upward trend of French traditions and influences. It is not, however, the ethnical question alone that appears as the most conspicuous feature of the national movement. Other forces were at work to weld together the loose aggregation of kingdoms and peoples and to give stability to England as a homogeneous state. Not the least of these was the idea of kingship which the Normans had established from the Tweed to the Channel. The unification of sovereign power in the person of the King, which disputed successions could not impair, was one of the distinctive elements instrumental in consolidating the promiscuous aspirations which governed the acts of the conquerors and the conquered. Around the prerogatives of the kingship the keenest controversies were waged. The introduction of feudalism, the King as the source of tenure and the fountain of justice, the relation of the English Crown to the English Church, the vacillation of the Bishops between national and catholic ideals, the struggles of the commonalty to share in the responsibilities of government, difficulties like these were often in evidence as the national genius for self-government was slowly crystallising into definite shape. The period with which this volume deals closes appropriately with the death of Henry III., for by that time many of the domestic troubles in Church and State had been provisionally settled.

It must be said in justice to Mr. Davis that he has spared no pains to make his narrative both interesting and trustworthy. He has brought to the task the results of wide reading and accurate scholarship. A slight acquaintance with the book will convince the student, whether he agrees with the author's conclusions or not, that he is in contact with a writer who has kept himself abreast of the latest theories on obscure points of medieval history and who is capable of handling them with an independent and discriminating judgment. It is pleasing to notice that he does not confine himself wholly to such high themes as national events and national development. He often turns aside from the discussion of the larger issues and wanders along the banks of the smaller tributaries which feed the main stream. To many persons these minor but important studies will prove of

special value. When one mentions such subjects as the reforms of Henry II. in matters of finance, taxation, the Jews, the reorganisation of the Curia Regis, the forests, the towns, local justice, itinerant justice, juries, feudal jurisdictions and inquests of sheriffs at one period, and the condition of the masses of the people, intellectual revival, English scholars, lawyers, centres of learning, and the monastic movement at another, there can be little complaint on the score of scope and variety. In all the departments of art, literature, or social life, Mr. Davis traces the same manifestations of progress which he points out in the political and ecclesiastical development of the nation as a whole. It is perhaps in this abundance of detail that the critic will find the greatest occasion for cavil. But it cannot be too often insisted on that the author of a book, which covers a wide field and demands broad treatment, challenges and deserves liberal consideration.

With every disposition to act on this maxim, it must be confessed that there is one section of 'England under the Normans and Angevins' which will cause the student of northern history some disappointment. Too little attention has been given to the Scottish borderland. The omission cannot be excused on the ground of irrelevancy. The familiar commonplaces of international relations at certain periods have been expounded with adequate fulness. On the other hand, we look in vain for some account of the part borne by the Border districts in the history of the nation, or for illumination of the peculiar institutions which to a large extent withstood the advance of feudalism during the epoch under review. There are discussions on the Marches of Wales, the affairs of Gascony, and the conquest of Ireland, but we get no guidance on Border tenure, Border law, Border courts, the exemption of the Border baronage from foreign service in the national host, the freedom from scutage of cornage tenants, and other peculiarities characteristic of northern history. At one time the lawyers of Westminster disowned all knowledge of the *leges marchiarum*, but a similar unconsciousness of northern characteristics admits of no defence at the present day.

With this reservation, apart from minor details, we have nothing but admiration for Mr. Davis's performance. His style is scholarly and attractive, often eloquent, never dull. Some of his idiosyncracies are harmless, for example, when he insists on the quaint orthography of 'complection' and 'connection,' but 'ascendancy' (p. 17) must be a slip. The bibliography at the end of the book is useful, the index is good and the maps indispensable. It must also be said to the credit of the publishers that the turn out of the volume is everything that could be desired.

JAMES WILSON.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Vol. viii. The French Revolution. Pp. xxviii, 875. Ry. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1904. 16s. nett.

IN point of definite years, this volume may be said to cover the very small period, 1774–1800, from the accession of Louis XVI. to the Coup

d'état of Brumaire which abolished the Directory. But the necessary preliminary chapters take us a long way back. The philosophical bases of the revolutionary movement are dealt with in a masterly article by Mr. P. F. Willert, who shows that 'the negative and destructive part' of the eighteenth century doctrine was to be found in existence at least a century before the French Revolution broke out, while 'the positive conceptions of popular sovereignty and natural rights' were in their origin older still. This volume is the most thorough study of the whole revolutionary movement which we have in the English language. It is a distinct advantage to its unity that the services of a comparatively small number of writers have been called into requisition. Twenty-five chapters have been distributed among thirteen authors. Professor Montague, of University College, London, after a useful *resumé* of the French Government of the *Ancien Régime*, narrates the history of France in four more chapters, down to the Constitution of 1791. Mr. J. R. Moreton Macdonald of Largie, in four carefully-written sections, carries on the story to the end of the Convention, and picks his way with considerable skill through the confusing and contradictory detail of those terrible four years. It is by no means always easy to follow the precise march of events, and there is a tendency to give too many names of comparatively unimportant people, but the material is intractable, and at times every moment had its importance. The French History in this volume is concluded by a singularly brilliant article by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on Brumaire. His character sketch of Sieyès with an intelligence 'narrow, intermittent and original,' and the summary of the results of Bonaparte's act are written with a sense of style which is not found in many pages of this or any other historical work of recent date. An interesting chapter on French Law in the Age of the Revolution is contributed by Professor Paul Viollet of the École des Chartes. The review of the financial situation, both before and during the Revolution, has been entrusted to the capable pen of Mr. Henry Higgs of the Treasury. British Foreign policy before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War falls to Mr. Oscar Browning. Professor Lodge, with his accustomed lucidity, deals with the Eastern Question generally, and Poland in particular—a chapter of even more importance in the development of the revolutionary force. Mr. Dunn Pattison, like Mr. Moreton Macdonald a young writer, takes the thankless task of sketching the early Revolutionary War. With the advent of Napoleon, the services of Dr. J. H. Rose are not unnaturally called into requisition. Mr. H. W. Wilson very appropriately deals with the Naval aspects of the war, which Admiral Mahan has emphasised in his books, and last, but certainly in interest not least, comes a chapter by Mr. G. P. Gooch, who uses to the utmost the few pages at his disposal for drawing out the effect of the French Revolution on contemporary thought and literature. It will be a real boon to many students here, as elsewhere in these volumes, to see foreign and British developments treated side by side. The British public is not, it must be confessed, interested in any foreign history except of the most recent period. Hence the history of our own land

is apt to assume a disproportionate importance in our minds. It is instructive to number the pages assigned to British history in Universal Histories written in foreign tongues. One great value of this Cambridge History consists in its careful allotment of space to countries and subjects, with some reference to their respective importance in the larger history of the civilised world.

DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.

KELTIC RESEARCHES: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENT GOIDELIC LANGUAGE AND PEOPLES. By E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian, Oxford. Pp. xx, 212. London: Henry Frowde. 1904. 21s.

MR. NICHOLSON is already known to Celtic scholars as the author of *The Vernacular Inscriptions of the Ancient Kingdom of Alban* (1896), and a gossipy book on Golspie and its folklore. In the former work he tried to read the riddle of the so-called Pictish inscriptions, with the help of a modern Gaelic grammar and dictionary, and with a result that astonished, if it did not amuse, Celtic scholars. Since then, however, Mr. Nicholson has been pursuing the study of Pictish on a wider scale over the area of Gaul and the British Isles, and his results—some of which have appeared in the form of articles in the *Athenaeum* and elsewhere—are given in the present volume. Mr. Nicholson writes with an engaging candour, which greatly disarms criticism. Thus his great study on the 'Sequanian Language' only cost him a fortnight for the first draft: he had only seen his materials—the Calendar of Coligny practically—sixteen days before the article was finished. The larger half of the work discusses the Celtic ethnology of northern Gaul and of Great Britain and Ireland; the other half is composed of appendices, dealing mainly with the language of the Coligny Calendar, discovered in 1897, and of the Rom Tablet, discovered ten years earlier, but deciphered only in 1898. The languages of the Gaulish tribes known as the Pictavi or Pictones and the Sequani thus form the main portion of the appendices. Mr. Nicholson's great discovery is that Indo-European initial *p* was preserved in these and some British languages, and this is the main contention of his book. It is needless to say that Mr. Nicholson here runs counter to the leading canon of Celtic philology—that Indo-European *p*, initial at least, was lost entirely. The claim of a Celtic language to be such has been usually tested by this rule. Thus Latin *pater* appears in Gaelic as *athair*, which stands for a Celtic *ater*. Hitherto Celtists smiled at Mr. Nicholson's attempts, and felt no inclination to take him seriously. Lately, however, Prof. Rhys astonished the Celtic world by accepting Mr. Nicholson's views on the *p* question, at least as far as the Continental Celts are concerned (see *Celtae and Galli*, a paper read before the British Academy, May 1905). The three words in the Coligny Calendar showing *p* are Petiux, Pogdedortonin, and Prinnos. The last Prof. Rhys refers to the Indo-European stem *perna*, Irish *renim*, I sell, and considers it to mean 'market'; but there is

an equally good Celtic and Indo-European root *kren*, or *cren*, of like meaning, Welsh *prynnu*, buy. No doubt Prof. Rhys rejects this, because it would make the Calendar a Brittonic document, whereas he maintains, as does Mr. Nicholson, that the language of the Calendar is early Gadelic. The month name Equos, 'Horse' (compare Gaelic Gearran, the four weeks from 15th March to 15th April), shows Celtic *qu*, which in Gadelic becomes *c*, in Brittonic *p*. In fact, Equos does not necessarily imply a Gadelic tongue; it can be explained as a survival. The word Petiux is allowed by Prof. Rhys to be the Pictish *pet*; but the *po* of the third word is regarded as the preposition *po*, from. Irish and Gaelic *ua* or *o* is from *au*, as in Latin, *au*-fero; whence does the Professor get the *po*? Besides, might it not be the prep. *cos*, *co*, Welsh *pw* or *bw*? The Rom Tablet shows more words in *p*, especially *compriato*, which looks as if it were from the Indo-European root *pri*, love. Both Prof. Rhys and Mr. Nicholson agree on this. The word *pura* seems borrowed, but surely we do not require to revolutionise Celtic philology for two or three *p*'s on a tablet which presents so much difficulty in decipherment. The translations offered by our two authors differ *toto caelo*; but this is not to be wondered at. The whole matter is as yet pure guess work, dear to the heart of a solar mythologist, but scarcely yet worth serious consideration from the science of philology. What is most needed in regard to these inscriptions, be they insular or continental Pictish, is time and patience. One is sorry to see our authors bring forward again Dr. Marcellus' (circ. 400) Bordeaux Charms; but the word *prosag* (come forth) is too tempting to a believer in the possibility of Indo-European *p* surviving in Celtic to leave it in its deserved obscurity. It is also surely bad phonetics to compare Gaulish *ciallos* with Irish *ciall*; does the month name Giamon convey no lesson?

Mr. Nicholson's ethnological results are briefly these: the Belgae were a *p*-preserving Gadelic people; they overran Britain and formed the Firbolg colony of Ireland. The other two leading Irish tribes were the Fir Galeon or Irish Picts, and the Fir Domnan or Dumnonii or Devonians. They all spoke early Gaelic. The Scots do not appear on the map at all, and are only incidentally mentioned as coming from Spain! Where the Cymry, or predecessors of the modern Welsh come in, one hardly knows. Both Cymry and Scots—in real fact the leading tribal names—appear to have no place in Mr. Nicholson's scheme. He agrees with Skene in wiping out the Dalriad Scots in 741; he forgets Aed Finn (747-777), his laws and victories; and the ultimate name of the combined nation—Scot and Scotland—receives no explanation save that the Highlanders do not call themselves Scots, but Albanaich. In this Mr. Nicholson is mistaken, the Highlanders call themselves still—as they always did—Gàidheil. Like Skene, he does not believe in the old Gaelic Annals, where the Picts are represented as being overthrown by the Scots. But really a study of these same Annals and of the verification of them by subsequent facts ought to convince Mr. Nicholson that a huge error has been committed by Pinkerton and Skene in rejecting them. Modern Celtic scholars are very conservative on this and other points in regard to the Annals, which were treated very

cavalierly by Skene whenever they did not agree with his theories. He treated the various clan histories and genealogies in a similar fashion with consequent confusion.

Mr. Nicholson's numerous derivations invite criticism, but only one or two can be noticed. On the idea that Pictish preserved Indo-European *p*, he conjoins Pictish *pett* (the Coligny *petiux*), farm, with Gaelic *àit*, place! This last he finds in many Pictish inscriptions. Now curiously *àit* is never used in any Gaelic place name. This may be news to the non-Gaelic etymologist of place names. The Pictish inscriptions anyway were no doubt the work of the South Ireland clergy introduced into Pictland over the Easter question. Ogam inscriptions were invented in South Ireland, and spread thence to Cornwall, Wales, and Pictland. The name Argyle comes from old Gaelic Airer or Oirer Gaidheal, the 'Coastland of the Gael,' and surely the Latin Ergadia is a 'ghost' name founded thereon. Mr. Nicholson does not require to derive it from *àirghe* or *àirigh*, a shieling; the initial vowels will not suit. Still less does Airchartdan (Urquhart) come from the same word. The initial *air* is the preposition, which is common in the place names of the district (Ur-ray, Ur-chany, Er-cles, etc.). The river Duglas means 'black stream (dub-glais).' Kenneth is not a Pictish name; a glance at the index of (say) the *Four Masters* would dispel this notion. The book bristles with doubtful and wrong etymologies; the work is full of perversities as well. Why should the author derive the name of the heretic Pelagius from Indo-European *pel*, fill, when his name is a Graeco-Roman adjective translating a Celtic Morgan, 'Sea-born'? Palladius is a similar word doing duty for Sucat, 'warlike,' St. Patrick's first name. The Gaulish and early Celtic Church was closely connected with the Eastern Church.

ALEXANDER MACBAIN.

THE RECORDS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICIARY COURT, EDINBURGH, 1661-1678. Edited with an introduction and notes from a manuscript by W. G. Scott Moncrieff, F.S.H., Advocate. Vol. i., 1661-1669. Pp. xxxiii, 349. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press for the Scottish Historical Society, 1905.

THE title is somewhat misleading, because this is not an official record but is a copy of minutes with comments by an anonymous writer in the year 1683 (p. 105). It is obvious that he was a lawyer who was present at, at least, some of the trials, and who was especially interested in the procedure, he criticised the forms of the judgments rather than their merits; he showed little sympathy for suffering, and no indignation at cruelty.

In an admirable introduction the editor, Mr. Scott Moncrieff, has drawn attention to all that is valuable and noteworthy in the volume.

These criminal trials during the eight years from 1661 to 1669 are for the most part for common crimes, murders, assaults, thefts, and forgeries; as a rule, which were committed with more cruelty and more openly than in modern days. There are many charges which are no longer tried,

witchcraft, adultery, usury, 'depraving the law and traducing the government of Scotland,' etc. The crimes, the rank of the persons accused, the procedure, the acquittals, convictions, and punishments, all show that in the first years of the reign of Charles II. Scotland was in a wretched state of lawlessness and misgovernment.

We read of a mob in Edinburgh in 1664 which had to be dispersed by soldiers from the Castle, for which only one man was arrested, and the prosecution was dropped for want of witnesses. In 1665 MacDonald of Keppoch and his brother were killed, and so powerless were the ordinary courts that a Commission of fire and sword was granted to Sir James Macdonald of Slate, against the murderers and their associates, 'by virtue whereof he killed and destroyed many, and besieged others in a house, and having forced them out by firing, he cut off their heads and presented them to the Privy Council to be set in public places.'

The Highlands were almost beyond the reach of law. Sixty oxen and seventeen cows belonging to Lyon of Muiresk were carried off by Patrick Roy Macgregor and others, who murdered and robbed, and exacted blackmail. The writer says 'this Patrick Roy Macgregor was a most notorious and villainous person, but of a most courageous and resolute mind. He was a little thick short man, red haired, and from thence called Roy Roy. He had red eyes like a hawk, and a fierce countenance which was remarked by every person. He endured the torture of the boots, in the Privy Council, with great obstinacy, and suffered many strokes at the cutting of his hands, with wonderful patience, to the great admiration of the spectators, the executioner having done his duty so ill that next day he was deposed for it.' In 1668 the Earl of Caithness and his friends to the number of six or seven hundred men harried the Shire of Sutherland, but actions by and against the Earl of Sutherland were compromised and withdrawn (pp. 255, 295). The most interesting trials in this volume are those of the unfortunate Covenanters, who after the fight at Rullion Green were taken prisoners. Notwithstanding the quarter granted to them on the field, forty-one men were brought to trial within a month, and on their own confession (extorted, in at least some cases, by torture) were found guilty. Ten were hanged in Edinburgh on the 7th December, 1666, six on the 14th, and nine on the 22nd, and in the same month, four were hanged in Glasgow, and twelve in Ayr and Dumfries. In the following August there was a mock trial of nearly sixty absent men, who were found guilty of taking part in the rising, and were sentenced to be hanged whenever they were found, and all their property was confiscated.

In many of the trials the pleadings and arguments of counsel are of great length. A long libel was read, then answers for the defence, then the Lord Advocate replies, the accused's Counsel 'duplys,' the Lord Advocate 'tryplys,' the Counsel 'quadruplys,' the Lord Advocate 'quintuplys,' and the Counsel 'sextuplys' (pp. 315, 318). Many of these arguments are foolish. Mr. Birnie, afterwards Lord Saline, had

a great practice in those days. In a trial for witchcraft he argued: 'It is an undoubted ground of law in the subject of witches that in *commutationibus et translationibus semper lucratur Demon*, and therefore the Demon does never loose a disease from one, but by transmitting it as from a person more significant, as from an elder to a younger, and from a beast to a man, whereas this lybelt bears the disease to have been translated from Katherine Wardlaw to the catt' (p. 12). If it were not for the horrible ending when women were strangled and burned, one would think the accusation and the defence to be fantastic nonsense.

The writer says of one trial, 'there is nothing remarkable in this process, for the libel is upon the common ground of compact with the Devil, renouncing of Baptism, keeping meetings with the Devil, and accepting his mark' (p. 4). A woman who was sentenced to death is said to have 'conversed with the Devil, and received a sixpence from him, the Devil saying how God had given her that, and had asked her how the minister was' (p. 9).

For one poor gentleman pity may be felt. Four men of rank, the eldest son of the Earl of Dalhousie, Douglas of Spott, Sir James Hume of Eccles, and Mr. William Douglas, son of the Laird of Whittingham, quarrelled over their cups at John Brown's, Vintner in Leith. They repaired to the Black Rocks on Leith Sands and fought with swords. William Douglas mortally wounded Sir James Hume; he did his best for the dying man, and asked his pardon; he and Douglas of Spott were arrested and imprisoned. Spott escaped from Edinburgh Castle. He never returned to Scotland. He sold his estate and became a Captain in the Scots regiment in France. Mr. William Douglas was less fortunate. He had 'almost escaped from the Tolbooth, having cut the stenchers of the window with aqua fortis, being ready to go away, he was taken.'

He was beheaded, but before he suffered 'he took the sole guilt upon him.'

ARCH. C. LAWRIE.

VESTERLANDENES INDFLYDELSE PAA NORDBOERNES OG SÆRLIG NORDMÆNDENES YDRE KULTUR, LEVESÆT OG SAMFUNDSFORHOLD I VIKINGETIDEN. Af Alexander Bugge. 403 pp. Christiania, 1905.

FOR a lengthened period it was a recognised principle among students of the history and antiquities of the North to regard the Northern mythology, literature, and culture generally as of native origin and growth—as Carlyle has it, 'kindled in the great dark vortex of the Norse mind,' and gradually developed therefrom, on their own lines, in warfare, freedom, religion, and literature. It was on this assumption that the learned treatises of Munch, Steenstrup, and other Norse scholars were produced, notably the great work of Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, published in 1852. Similarly, we in the British isles have regarded Runic inscrip-

tions, Viking swords, and other relics of the Norsemen, from time to time brought to light, as evidents of the far-reaching influence of their power and civilisation in our own area; while place-names and racial characteristics among ourselves and elsewhere have been recognised as testifying to the same effect.

But the learned world, so far as interested in Northern studies and resting complacently on this assumption, received a rude shock when in 1881 Dr. Sophus Bugge of Christiania published his *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse* (first series). In this work Professor Bugge propounded the theory that, whatever the earlier stages of the Norse mythology may have been, it was to a large extent reinforced by accretions and imitations from Classical and Christian lore acquired by Viking adventurers and Norse traders of the ninth and tenth centuries in their intercourse with Western peoples in England, Ireland, and France, the fragments so gathered being afterwards gradually elaborated in their colonies in Orkney, Shetland, the Faroe Isles, and Iceland; while their manners of life and civilisation generally were effectively moulded in all departments by influences from the same quarter. This view was naturally not appreciated from the native and patriotic point of view, and it was at once vigorously combated by, among others, the late Professor George Stephens of Copenhagen, who devoted eight public lectures in the University of that city to its condemnation.

From that time to the present opinions among Northern scholars have varied, some acquiescing in the new theory, others abiding by the traditional view. But the whole question is now summed up in an elaborate enquiry by Professor Alexander Bugge, the son of the promulgator of the new theory, in the important volume which is the subject of this notice. In his Preface (*Fororđ*) the author explains the origin of the book, namely, that it is a response to an enquiry propounded at a meeting of the Scientific Society of Christiania on 3rd May, 1900, as to how far the external culture of the people of the North, and especially of the Norwegians, and their modes of life and social economy, have been influenced from Western countries? A committee of learned Professors sat to adjudicate upon the communications received in reply, and by them the Fridtjof Nansen prize was awarded to Professor Bugge, the result of whose laborious investigation is before us.

The author disclaims philological or archæological skill in dealing with his subject, but there is abundant evidence throughout of wide acquaintance with French and German authorities and with the ancient Celtic remains of Ireland which bear upon the times and the events in question, as well as with the extensive field of Icelandic literature which must ever remain the groundwork of such investigations.

After a long and learned introduction, the author, in working out the argument, treats the enquiry under the following and other subsidiary heads, in all of which it may be said, in a word, that the alleged moulding influences of the West upon the life and culture of ancient Scandinavia are very fully explained and enforced.

1. *Government.*—The sovereign power, embracing under this head the

royal bodyguard, the external symbols of sovereignty, the state under King Harald Haarfagr, with his revenue regulations and administration generally; all described as having been based upon the model of Charlemagne.

2. *Apparel, Ornaments, Furniture, and Domestic arrangements.*—These are all considered to have been imitations of the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon. When the Vikings went out they were not barbarians, but had their own special characteristics and a tolerably high culture. Many of them became nominally Christians, but while professing to believe in Christ they invoked the aid of Thor for safety at sea and success in fight. They went out clad in their *Wadmal* (coarse native woollen cloth) and in garments of skin, but they came back in rich and variegated apparel, with the decorous manners of men of the West, while their inner culture received a marked development at the same time. Their views became wider, their contemplation of life deeper.

3. *Commerce, Shipbuilding, Shipping, Laying out of Towns.*—Great results came in these departments from the residence of Danes in London and their privileges there from the time of Knut (Canute) the Great, a steady commercial intercourse being kept up between England and the Scandinavian countries. The anchor, previously unknown, was then adopted by the Norsemen, and other improvements made. Towns were also laid out by them, not only at home in Norway but also in England.

4. *Warfare, Weapons, Accoutrements, Organisation and Equipment of the Army, Military Tactics, the Construction and Siege of Fortresses.*—The Norsemen had no cavalry until they adopted that arm in imitation of the French, from whom also the art of building castles and fortresses was derived. The so-called 'Viking' sword is attributed to a Frankish origin. Their buildings were all in rectangular form.[1]

5. *Agriculture and Grazings.*—Turnip, cabbage, and other vegetables introduced. The Orcadians and Shetlanders were taught by 'Torf' Einar to use turf (peats), but the people of Norway always used wood for fuel. He must therefore have learned this from Ireland, for it is an old Gaelic custom.

6. *Coinage, Weights, and Measures.*—The impulse for minting was derived from the West, but the first coins struck in Ireland were by the Norsemen, and they were the first who carried on trade to any considerable extent between Ireland and foreign countries.

7. *Art.*—The Sculptured Stones of Gotland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway are described, with numerous illustrations, exhibiting a close resemblance to Celtic and Anglo-Saxon monuments of the same class, though possessing a distinctly Norse feeling at the same time.

8. *The Norse Settlements in the Faroe Isles and Iceland* in their relation to Western and especially to Celtic culture.—Here the first settlers, though of Norse origin, are presumed to have come mainly from the previous settlements in the British isles, a view which has been accepted also by

[1] There is no hint here of any knowledge in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden of the building of round structures like the 'Brochs' of Orkney, Shetland, and Scotland (the *Duns* of Pictland), as some writers have vainly supposed.

Munch, by Sars, and by Finn Jónsson. Many personal names are clearly Celtic, *e.g.* Donaldur, Donach, Gilli the Lawman, Ketil, Kolman, Konall, Kormak, Njall, etc., while such place-names as Dungansvik, Dungansnes (Duncan's wick, ness), Patriksfjordr, Brjanslækr, etc., tell unmistakably the same tale: the Irish monks being commemorated in Papey, Paplyli, Papatjordr, etc.

After the foregoing survey of the main aspects of the life and civilisation of the Norsemen, the detailed illustrations of which we have been able only to glance at, the book is concluded by an important Postscript (*Efterskrift*), in which the whole is summed up in a resumé of the argument which has been indicated under our abstract of the different heads. The author observes that in Norway itself the impression of Western influences was naturally slow and not so deep, many of the home-dwellers living well into the middle ages very much as they did in the Viking time. It was upon the men who had travelled and mixed with Anglo-Saxon, French, and Irish men that the foreign culture and manners made an impress which in the course of time resolved itself into the characteristic type of Northern civilisation as it is historically understood. But it was in Orkney and Shetland, according to the author, that the influences of the West went deepest, so that these islands 'could be called the Cyprus and Crete of Northern culture,' a flattering unction never previously applied to them.

While Professor Bugge accentuates so pointedly the influences of the West, he does not, however, do so without some reservations. On certain points he is not without doubts, and some of his conclusions he acknowledges to have since modified. Notwithstanding all that had been advanced in favour of the new view, he still claims that much that is best among the Norsemen had its roots in the home ground; that in shipbuilding and seamanship they themselves taught other nations, that by their example they gave an impulse to aspirations for law, freedom, social independence, in the foreign countries with which they came in contact; in short, that the foundations of life, spirit, and manners in the North were essentially Norse,—which is to a considerable extent what is contended for by his opponents.

In view of these admissions by the accomplished exponent of Western influences, some of his conclusions may possibly be regarded as open to question. It might be denied, for instance, that the Irish or other Celts had mythological stories in any way closely akin to those of the Norsemen. Runes, which Professor Bugge is inclined to treat as an adaptation from the Roman alphabet, are regarded by some as having had their origin far back in the ages before the Norsemen came in contact with Roman civilisation from the West, dating rather from the time when traders from the Grecian colonies in Scythia introduced their wares, with somewhat of their culture, among the Goths of Gotland and of Scandinavia. It may also be permissible to suppose that the northern mythology, in its earlier forms, may have been current for centuries prior not only to the Viking age of the ninth and tenth centuries, but also to the beginning of the 'Wanderings' of the Northmen, which Professor Bugge

with good reason would assign to the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. These myths are not likely to have had their origin in other lands and, after transplantation, to have grown to maturity in so short a space of time in Scandinavia. Certain it is that with the increase of intercourse between nations the influences of civilisation act and react, and it would indeed have been strange if, in the stirring periods of the Norsemen's 'Wanderings' and of the Viking age, the Scandinavian peninsula should not have been responsive to the strong currents of Western influence which were then everywhere encountered.

But while opinions may vary as to the wide and comprehensive scope of the author's conclusions, there can be no doubt as to the importance of the great series of facts bearing upon the subject which he has so laboriously accumulated, and which he has expounded with so much care and skill. The book must remain a monumental contribution to our knowledge of the development of civilisation in the north in an interesting and imperfectly understood period of European history.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the book is written in what professes to be modern Norse, or Norwegian, a kind of phonetic variation of the standard Dano-Norwegian hitherto commonly in use as the written language in both countries. As familiar examples may be cited 'Far' for *fader* (father), 'mor' for *moder* (mother), 'ha' for *have* (to have), 'gi' for *give* (to give), 'blir' for *bliver* (becomes), 'tusen' for *tusind* (thousand), and so on. Now this may have the merit of being an approximation to the local pronunciation, and it may be supposed to have some flavour of a distinct national tongue; but it is not beautiful, and if largely persisted in it can scarcely fail prejudicially to affect the etymological significance of the language.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. By W. J. Courthope, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. V. pp. xxviii, 464. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1905. 10s. nett.

MR. COURTHOPE makes steady progress with his *History of English Poetry*. Twelve months ago we reviewed the third and fourth volumes. In this fifth volume, which deals with the eighteenth century, we have the mature and unified treatment of a period of literature, on which the author has long been a recognised authority. We do not think that Mr. Courthope's method of regarding poetry as the imaginative expression of the national life has ever appeared to better advantage. Perhaps its greatest merit is that it emphasises the continuity of our literature, and disproves any sudden revolution in taste. If the volume shows anything, it shows the error of the old opinion that, 'after the Restoration, England naturalised French principles of art and criticism.' Another merit of the method is that it attends to contemporary reputation. Accordingly, we find that such men as Granville, Walsh, and Pomfret are treated at greater length than in any other account of eighteenth-century literature, and we are more

struck than we should have been with the novelty of the special chapters on the translations of the Classics, religious lyrical poetry, and the poetical drama from Southerne to Brooke.

D. Nichol Smith.

A History of Modern England. By Herbert Paul. In five volumes. Vol. IV. pp. vi, 411. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1905. 8s. 6d. nett.

The first three volumes of Mr. Paul's history, which give an account of the period from 1846 to 1875, have already been reviewed in these pages (*S.H.R.*, vol. ii. p. 445). The fourth, now published, tells the story of the next ten years with the same vigour and brilliance which were exhibited in its predecessors. These ten years include political events of peculiar interest at the present time, when the Christian Powers are once more intervening in Turkey, and with perhaps as little success, in behalf of a subject Province, and the question of Home Rule for Ireland is again rising above the political horizon at home. In this volume the narrative is resumed at what Mr. Paul calls 'The Storm in the East,' marked by the agitation in this country over the 'Bulgarian Atrocities,' and culminating in the Russian invasion of Turkey in 1876. It is continued to the fall of Mr. Gladstone's government in 1885, 'a critical year in the history of England.'

As the history reaches times within recent memory its interest increases, and a sense of the author's force and skill, his wide knowledge and his firm grasp, grows upon his readers. He is still a partisan, but not a blind one, and he reads his own party many a candid and salutary lesson.

This volume, like the others, is provided with an admirable index.

Andrew Marshall.

The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the Years 1536-1539. Extracted from his MSS. Arranged and edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Pp. xi, 152. Small 4to. London: George Bell & Sons, 1906. 10s. 6d. nett.

As a man of learning and of indefatigable industry in the collection of information and notes during his six years' travels in England and Wales, John Leland, the earliest of our antiquaries (1506-1522), has always held weight. There are few topographers, indeed, who have not consulted his pages or felt the impetus given by his patriotic labours. The material of the present volume was printed by Thomas Hearne so long ago as 1774, but it was worth presenting in its present form, furnished out, as it now is, with editorial notes, appendices, a map, and a good index. Leland's journeyings were made in stirring times, when the dissolution of the monasteries was in progress, and the Welsh and English territorial divisions were being rearranged and reconstructed. It was in 1535-36 that the important Act 'for lawes and justice to be ministered in Wales in like fourme as it is in England' was passed—the Act, in short, by

which the Principality was united to England; and in these records of the antiquary's (Miss Toulmin Smith must not say 'antiquarian's') travels the new order of things is constantly being reflected. It is this which gives the book its chief value. The editor explains that the sequence of notes and narrative is so broken in the original MS. that she has 'pieced together what appear the personal and quite possible lines of travel.' The result is that we have Leland's material in a very much more satisfactory form than he left it.

J. Cuthbert Hadden.

The Far East. By Archibald Little. Pp. vii, 334. Large 8vo. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1905. Price 7s. 6d. nett.

This is one of the excellent series of books on 'The Regions of the World,' edited by Mr. H. J. MacKinder. The author informs us in his preface that not being a geographer or geologist by profession, he undertook the task with much diffidence; that he did so in the hope that his long personal acquaintance with most of the countries described, would make amends for the lack of expert knowledge, and that the power acquired by a life-long residence in the East, of imparting a 'local atmosphere' to his descriptions would atone for deficiencies which he is the first to recognise. He further explains that the book was written at a distance from the great literary centres, and thus it therefore lacks some of the wealth of detail and plethora of accurate information that distinguished the other volumes in the series.

These statements somewhat disarm criticism. While it is evident that the book is somewhat deficient in scientific method and arrangement, it contains a vast amount of information, much of which has been derived from the author's observation during a long residence in China, and his extended travels in the neighbouring countries. Mr. Little is well known as a writer on China, and as he is now one of the oldest foreign residents, he has had ample opportunities for the collection of information, and time for the formation of opinions. These latter, in some cases, are occasionally tinged with the results of his own environments and experience, like those of many others engaged in commerce in China. The introductory chapters are the most generally interesting, and give an account of what is included under the name of the Far East. Naturally, the chapters on China proper are the most complete, and they contain a great deal of useful information, not only on the physical conditions of the country, but also incidentally on other matters affecting the future of industry and commerce. Those on the dependencies, Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet, and on the whilom dependencies, Indo-China and Corea, and the buffer-state of Siam, are reliable accounts of these countries, chiefly compiled from well-known authorities. Regarding Mongolia, he says that when by means of railways it has been brought into contact with the Western world, and its resources have been developed, it will be found that there is more in it than the desert of Gobi. It and Manchuria are destined to become important industrial and commercial countries. The mineral sources of Corea appear to be

fully as great, in proportion to her size, as are those of the neighbouring mainland, and probably greater than those of volcanic Japan. If Mr. Little had availed himself of the information contained in the new German edition of Dr. Rein's book on Japan (which has not yet been translated into English), he could have brought the part on the Island Empire more up-to-date. The book was written before the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia, and the results of this have modified some of the conclusions arrived at. Mr. Little hopes that his work may serve as a modest introduction to a more complete study of the countries of the Far East, and as such, we have no hesitation in recommending it.

HENRY DYER.

MICHEL DE L'HOSPITAL AND HIS POLICY. By A. E. Shaw, M.A. London: Frowde, 1905.

CET ouvrage sera lu avec fruit par ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire politique, religieuse et même littéraire du XVI^e. siècle. La figure de l'illustre chancelier de France est difficile à saisir. Cette étude en précise nettement et définitivement les traits. La vie et l'œuvre de Michel de l'Hospital s'y trouve habilement et méthodiquement reconstituée. On sent que l'auteur aime son sujet, le peintre son modèle, et les nombreuses indications bibliographiques, si utiles aux chercheurs, démontrent que Mr. Shaw a puisé aux meilleures sources.

L'époque frivole et tumultueuse où veint l'Hospital rend son caractère encore plus sympathique et il y a lieu de féliciter sans réserve Mr. Shaw d'avoir évoqué cette belle figure qui non seulement commande le respect et l'admiration, mais encore 'demands affectionate regards.' Les érudits trouveront avec plaisir un 'Appendix' qui met en lumière des faits importants.

ETIENNE DUPONT.

OLD MAPS AND MAP MAKERS OF SCOTLAND. By John E. Shearer. Pp. vi, 86. Cr. 4to. Stirling: R. S. Shearer & Son, 1905.

MR. SHEARER'S chosen task of republishing old maps of Scotland has found interesting variant in the issue of this attractive quarto sketch of the progress of cartography as applied to Scotland. Brief biographical notes on the map makers, from Strabo downward, and bibliographic data of the maps, are unpretentiously compiled, and convey a great deal of widely gathered information. The interest is heightened not a little by effective renderings in fac-simile of such beautiful maps as those of Ortelius published in 1570, Darfeville in 1583, and Gordon of Straloch in 1653.

CHURCH PROPERTY. The Benefice Lectures. By Thomas Burns, F.R.S.E., F.S.A. (Scot). Pp. xv, 275. 4to. Edinburgh: George A. Morton, 1905. 6s. nett.

THESE lectures, to which the Rev. Dr. Macgregor, D.D., contributes a very eulogistic preface, were delivered for the benefit of intrants to the

ministry in the four Scottish Universities. They are divided into 'Church Records,' 'The Benefice,' and 'Sacramental Vessels and Church Furniture.' The first is the most interesting to the historian as the author recounts how the Scottish Church has become dispossessed of many of its MSS. 'Outed' incumbents removed many of the parish records during ecclesiastical changes. The Restoration Parliament deliberately burned others; the earliest Records of the General Assembly from 1560, after being mutilated by Archbishop Adamson, were removed to London from the Bass and finally lost on the way north by shipwreck. Other duplicates were transferred by Bishop Archibald Campbell, whose 'craze' took the form of 'collecting rare books,' to Zion College, and were eventually destroyed by fire in 1834. The author urges more care to be taken of the MSS. and all church property in the future, and gives what is exceedingly valuable, a detailed list of the Scottish Church Records which still are known to exist.

A. F. S.

There is an excess of disputation on method in inaugural lectures on history. The professors—a plague on their conflict of schools!—prolong debate about how they are best to teach. Mr. Oman, Chichele Professor of Modern History, in his *Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History* (Clarendon Press, 1906, pp. 30, 1s. nett) is the latest contributor to the discussion of the true province of history in the University curriculum. Is it to educate the plain man, or is it also to equip the 'researcher'? Sketching the introductory professorial deliverances of Stubbs, Freeman, Froude, and York-Powell, and treating Acton as a somewhat painful illustration of unfocussed studies, Professor Oman replies to Professor Firth's plea for historical teaching of history (see *S.H.R.* vol. ii. p. 339) by the contention that the University is a place much more of education than of research, seeing that so small a percentage of graduates can ever be destined to take up the burden of original research. A warm advocate of discovery as essential to real effort in history, Professor Oman urges the necessity of definiteness of studies, the importance of modern languages as compulsory subjects, and the wisdom of not waiting until the eleventh hour in putting forth a thesis of new conclusions. The risks of contradiction and qualification are as inevitable at the end of the day as at noon. Timidity and diffidence at times deprive us of good work. 'Knowledge not committed to paper is knowledge lost.' Mr. Oman raises a shrewd question when he asks why we have no real history of medieval Scotland.

We have received from Mr. C. Poyntz Stewart a reprint from *The Genealogist*, of his critical essay, *The Red and White Book of Menzies: a review* (Exeter: Pollard & Co., 1906. Pp. 20. 1s.). Of course Scottish antiquaries have known that the foolish *Red and White Book* was beneath serious attention. Mr. Poyntz Stewart's detailed scarification and exposure of its ignorance and ineptitude will, notwithstanding, be useful.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have added to their 'Who's who?' Series *The Writers' and Artists' Year Book*, 1906, *a Directory for Writers, Artists, and Photographers* (88 pages. Crown, 8vo. cloth. 1s. nett). This little volume contains lists of Papers and Magazines and many details of British and American Publishers, and other information which may be of interest to writers or artists. The usefulness of 'Who's who' is already so widely known that this supplement to the series will be welcomed.

A History of the Tron Church and Congregation is promised for the autumn by the Rev. D. Butler. It is to contain much biographical and topographical information about old Edinburgh from record sources, including interesting seat-lists of the church under Cromwell in 1650 and Prince Charlie in 1745.

In the *English Historical Review* (Jan.) there is discussed once more the alleged notarial 'Will' of James V. Mr. Morland Simpson, who maintains that it was no 'forgery,' misconstrues the well-known docquet *Schir Henry Balfour instrument that was never notar*, reading the last word as a reference to the instrument. That it refers to the man is self-evident. It seems pertinent to ask the disputants here, Mr. Lang, Prof. Hay Fleming, and Mr. Simpson, if Balfour really was an apostolic Notary as he styled himself.

Magazines old and new come regularly to us from home and foreign parts. Among foreign periodicals we note in the *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Feb.) an essay on the ordeal in Greece. The *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* (December) contains a text edited with collations from twenty-nine manuscripts and incunabula of the *Disticha Catonis* paraphrased in English by Benedict Burgh. The *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (Berger-Levrault, Nancy) is a new quarterly of Belgic history with, notably, burghal and battle studies. Its first year's work is both learned and attractive. Another new quarterly promising good service within our own seas is *Northern Notes and Queries* (Dodds, Quayside, Newcastle), the columns of which open with a historical note on 'Clerical Celibacy in Carlisle Diocese,' by Rev. James Wilson. In the *American Historical Review* Dr. H. C. Lea has a study of Italian mysticism as exhibited in the career and condemnation of Miguel de Molinos (1630-96). The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Nov.-Dec.) has a lively and curious article on the dance in fifteenth to eighteenth century Italy, including the *gaillarde*, the *branle*, and the *giga*.

Only a general acknowledgment is possible for *The Iowa Journal*, *Kritische Blaetter*, *Review of Reviews*, etc., and numerous smaller periodicals on local antiquities, etc., such as *The Rutland Magazine*, *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archæological Journal*, *Scottish Notes and Queries*. *The Reliquary* (Jan.) has pictures of the East Wemyss caves and a survey of recent Roman research spade-work.

Queries

A DISPUTED PASSAGE IN KNOX'S HISTORY. Knox is not usually an obscure writer, but the following passage (*History*, i. 92) has caused searchings of heart. I give it with the interpolation of Calderwood, and with the marginal note of David Buchanan (1644), both printed in italics. Knox writes: 'This finissed,' (the Cardinal's doings with the dying James V.,) 'the Cardinall posted to the Quene, laitly befoir delivered, as said is. At the first sight of the Cardinall, sche said, "Welcome, my lord; is nott the King dead?" What moved hir so to conjecture, diverse men ar of diverse judgementis. Many whisper that of old his parte was in the pott, and that the suspition thairof caused him to be inhibite the Quenis company. . . .' Here Calderwood, who has been transcribing Knox, interpolates, '*It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindly medicine.*' David Buchanan (Knox's *History*, p. 34, 1644) has not Calderwood's interpolation, of course, but adds a marginal note of his own: '*Others stick not to say that the King was hastened away by a potion.*'

Knox's own narrative runs on from 'inhibite the Quenis company' thus, 'Howsoever it was befoir, it is plane that after the Kingis death, and during the Cardinallis lyif, whosoever guydit the Court he got his secreat besynes sped of that gratiouse Lady, eyther by day or by nycht.'

The question arises, who is the subject of the sentence beginning 'Many whisper that of old his part was in the pott. . . .' I have never had any doubt that the subject is the King. The Queen says: 'Is not the King dead?' Knox's next sentence reports suspicions as to how the Queen could come 'so to conjecture' as to the King's death. For three or four days the King had been very near death, and the guess, whether made or not, was natural. Knox's next sentence begins: 'Many whisper that of old his part was in the pott,' that the King's part, death, was in the pot,—so I read it, and 'whisper' that this suspicion 'caused him to be inhibite the Quenis company.' This is mere tattle. If the whisperers thought that the King was too little with the Queen, they would say that he was 'inhibite'—by his doctor, perhaps.

That Calderwood understood the passage as I do, I gather from his interpolation, immediately following, 'causit him to be inhibite the Quenis company,'—'it was reported that he' (the same subject) 'was disquieted by some unkindly medicine.' Had Calderwood understood that not the King, but some one else, had his 'part in the pott,' and was 'inhibite the Quenis company,' he ought to have written: 'It was reported that the *King* was disquieted with some unkindly medicine.'

I take David Buchanan to have also read the passage as I do, because, as I read it, Knox asserted that many whispered that the King's part 'of old was in the pot,' that is, there was a design of long standing to poison the King. Buchanan, I think, in his note, means that others go even further than Knox's whisperers, 'others stick not to say that the King was hastened away by a potion.' There was not only an old design to poison the King, 'others say,' but it was actually carried out, and, as usual, there were murmurs to that absurd effect.

Knox then goes on: 'Howsoever it was befoir,' that is, as I read it, whether the Cardinal and the Queen were, before James's death, in such close relations that they conspired to poison him;—or, if you please, whatever their relations were *before—after* the King's death, the Queen was the Cardinal's mistress. For that, of course, is the insinuation under 'the Cardinall got his secreat besyness sped of that gratiouse Lady, eyther by day or by nycht.'

Before I became aware of the interpolation of Calderwood, and the marginal note of David Buchanan, I had supposed, and stated in my *History of Scotland* (1902) and my *John Knox and the Reformation*, that Knox reported rumours of a design, between the Cardinal and the Queen, to poison the King. After reading Calderwood and Buchanan, I believe firmly that they interpreted the Reformer's words as I do. But it has been objected that the person whose 'part was of old in the pot,' and who was 'inhibite,' or suspected to have been 'inhibite the Quenis company' is—Cardinal Beaton. What the phrase, 'part in the pot,' may mean, on that showing, is, I guess, that the Cardinal was, of old, the Queen's lover. It would be interesting to learn whether any other example of the use of 'the pot' in that sense occurs. That James was rumoured to be jealous of the Cardinal is certain (Sadley reports the tattle among others). Such rumours are always current about kings and queens. That the Cardinal would be supposed to be 'inhibite the Quenis company,' if he chanced seldom to be in it, (which nobody proves), is also certain, given human nature, especially in Scotland at that period. That the sentence beginning 'Howsoever it was befoir' makes perfectly good sense, if the Cardinal is the subject suspected of having been 'inhibite the Quenis company,' is also obvious. But I do not see that it makes worse sense if the passage is understood as I understand it; while if the King could 'inhibit' the Cardinal: the King's medical and other advisers, if suspicious, (and many of them, like Michael Durham, *were* suspicious, being Protestants), could 'inhibit' the King.

If Calderwood did not agree with me, he understood the subject of 'Is not the King dead?' to be, of course, the King. The 'he' in the very next sentence, Calderwood understood to be the Cardinal. The 'he' in his own interpolated sentence which follows 'it was reported that *he* was disquieted with unkindly medicine,' Calderwood, on this showing, meant to go back to the King *again*! This appears to me to be an impossible hypothesis. Again, if Buchanan did not understand that 'the part in the pot' was poison, meant for the King, why should he note that 'others stick not to say' that the King was actually poisoned?

If I am wrong, I can plead that the Reformer expressed his insinuation with appropriate obscurity. If I am right, he is only adding old 'whispers' of others about a design of murder, to his own often repeated broad hint at adultery on the part of Mary of Guise, 'that noble lady,' as George Buchanan calls her.

ANDREW LANG.

LAST DAYS OF JAMES V. After writing the last note it occurred to me to find out how James V. passed the fortnight between the defeat of Solway Moss (November 24) and his arrival at Falkland to die there (December 6-7). Not one of our historians, I think, mentions that James, out of this fortnight, passed nearly a week with his Queen at Linlithgow. Knox says nothing of that, but mentions a visit by James to one of his mistresses, 'houres' is the Reformer's word.

From entries in the MS. *Liber Emptorum* and Treasurer's Accounts, and in the *Register of the Great Seal*, I find that James was—

Nov. 24. At Lochmaben.
Nov. 25-26. At Peebles.
Nov. 26-30. At Edinburgh.
Nov. 29. He received a letter from the Queen at Linlithgow.
Nov. 30. He went to Linlithgow to the Queen.
Nov. 30—Dec. 5. He was at Linlithgow.
Dec. 6-7. He appears to have been at Linlithgow (uncertain).
Dec. 7. He took to his bed at Falkland. '*Aegrotat.*'
He died at midnight on Dec. 14, or Dec. 15.

The *Liber Emptorum* gives each date on different pages.

ANDREW LANG.

ST. GILES AND CHILDREN. When describing Pont-Audemer in Normandy, Mrs. Katharine S. Macquoid in her *Through Normandy* (p. 303) says: 'We had been told that there was to be a special service for children on the fête of St. Gilles, and that all timid children were brought to church by their mothers on this day to cure them of fear of being left in the dark. Very early indeed, even before we went out, we saw a mother carrying a smartly dressed child to church; but by ten o'clock the children's service was over, and only a few of the little ones stayed for *la grande messe*.' Husenbeth in his *Emblems of Saints* (pp. 356-7) assigns as the patrons of children St. Nicholas and St. Ursula, and as the patron of infants St. Verena. In Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints* there is nothing to connect her with infants; but what is of interest is the fact that her day in the Calendar is 1st September—the festival of St. Giles. The hind is a familiar attribute of the latter saint in allusion to its having sought refuge at his side when pursued by hunters. In her *Sacred and Legendary Art* (vol. ii. p. 769) Mrs. Jamieson says: 'He (St. Giles) was the patron saint of the woodland, of lepers, beggars, cripples; and of those struck by some sudden misery, and driven into solitude like the wounded hart or hind.' Is there any incident in the saint's history connecting him with children?

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Communications and Replies

THE ANDREAS AND ST. ANDREW. The article on this subject in the *Scottish Antiquary* for January, 1906, contains much that is interesting. But it is distressing to see the unhappy misstatements as to the connexion of *Andreas* with the *Fata Apostolorum*, owing to the repetition of the old misleading guesses upon this subject.

The writer has obviously never seen my article at p. 408 of *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1901. I there show that these poems have never yet, to this day, been printed as they exist in the Vercelli MS.; but rather, on the contrary, all kinds of fictions have been published by the editors, who wholly ignore the true division of the poem (for it is all *one* poem in the MS.) into fits or cantos. It was possible for them to do so in former days, because the MS. was so inaccessible. But the beautiful facsimile of this Vercelli MS., issued by Wülker in 1894, renders a repetition of the old fictions deplorable.

Every possible mystification has been perpetrated. The poem (though it ends with FINIT, followed by a blank quarter of a page) has been cut into two parts, each of which has been called by an inappropriate name. There is no such poem as *Andreas*, if we are to judge by its actual contents. There is no title in the MS., but the author himself (who presumably knew his own intention) announces, in ll. 2-11, that his subject is *The Twelve Apostles*. Having said this, he first singles out, *not* St. Andrew, but St. Matthew, as his principal subject; and St. Andrew is afterwards introduced incidentally, because it was he who came to the rescue of St. Matthew when he got into trouble. The fact that St. Andrew's adventures on this occasion are treated of at great length does not alter the fact that St. Matthew is first considered. The poem consists of 16 fits or cantos. The subject (says the author) is *The Twelve Apostles* (as above). The first 15 fits give, at great length, the story of St. Matthew, and his rescue by St. Andrew. In the 16th, the author reverts to the theme he had at first announced; but, finding that the whole story would be too long, accounts for the rest of the Apostles by merely mentioning their ultimate fates.

The facts which have been misrepresented are these:

1. The poem is divided into 16 cantos; these are not numbered, but are distinguished by capital letters at the beginning, and by the occurrence of a space of *one* line only between them.

But Thorpe shows this in a most meagre way, by using just a short line, about a third of an inch long. And when he comes to the 16th canto, or epilogue, instead of marking the end of the 15th canto as usual,

he draws a double line, ends the page, and starts a new page, with the heading: 'The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, a Fragment'; and makes it a fragment (!) sure enough, by calmly ignoring the last page of the MS. on account of its dirty state, though most of it is clearly legible.

2. Next Grein, who never saw the MS., divides the poem into *twelve* cantos, out of his own head, wrongly; separates the last canto from the rest, wrongly; and actually places it at the *beginning*! That is how the epilogue came to be separated from the rest still more effectually than before, viz. by sheer force.

3. Kemble omits the epilogue altogether.

4. Baskerville divides the poem (*i.e.* 15 fits of it) into 29 fits; all out of his own head, and all in the wrong places.

5. Because Thorpe omitted the last 27 lines, Grein omits them also.

6. Professor Napier printed the last 27 lines in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. xxxiii. But he is not our only witness; for Sievers discusses them in *Anglia*, vol. xiii. And again, Wülker (independently) prints them so as to show exactly how much is legible, at p. viii of the Introduction to his *Facsimile of the MS.* The statement that 'Professor Napier came upon a set of lines containing the runes of the name of Cynewulf' is due to a complete misapprehension; for every one who consults the MS. will see that no one can miss the lines in question. They are simply the very lines which Thorpe so coolly ignored! And to say that there is doubt as to the incorporation in the *Fates* of these runic lines is a direct ignoring of the MS. itself. Even in the parts that are legible any one can see the runes U and L; and Professor Wülker could read the statement that 'F thær on ende standath,' *i.e.* that 'F stands at the end thereof,' which is true for Cynewulf, surely. We need not all shut our eyes in order to support needless paradoxes.

I cannot give all my arguments all over again. My former article occupied thirteen pages, tightly packed, for the most part, with solid facts that cannot be ignored. Briefly, even the facsimile of the MS., which ought to be accessible, fully proves that the poem wrongly called *The Fates* is part and parcel of the poem wrongly called *Andreas* instead of *The Twelve Apostles*. It is a mere epilogue, never even to this day printed in full; and it contains the letters F, W, U, L (*i.e.* WULF, for we are told that F comes last), followed by CYN. The scribe seems to have omitted the line involving E; but we have in any case, the letters CYNWULF (F is at the *end*); and it is mere perversity to ignore this, and to pretend that there is no evidence!

But all experience shows that when a matter has been misunderstood to such an extent as this unlucky poem has been, preconceived ideas are sure to arise against which the direct testimony of a manuscript is powerless. I do not write to convince others, but rather to point out a method whereby they may convince themselves. If Thorpe had printed the poem *in full*, all subsequent trouble might have been saved. And he never ought to have cut away the epilogue from the rest, in contradiction of the evidence.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH MILITANT OF 1640-3. That the great national uprising against the Crown which took place in Scotland in 1639, was indirectly due to the Church, is a matter of notoriety; the direct part played by Kirk Sessions in the struggle, in regard to the enrolment of forces and supply of their necessary equipment, is not so well known.

A few references to the matter are found in the Minutes of the Kirk Session of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh—probably the most perfect series of parish records now extant—which throw some light on the subject.

The first notice appears in the minute of the meeting of 2nd July, 1640, in the shape of a memorandum for pulpit use on the following Sunday. It runs thus:

'To admonish the people to be at the Sands in Leith on Monday at five hours in the morning the cheist men in the paroch to be at the Committee on Monday at ane efternone.'

This evidently refers to the gathering of forces for the approaching invasion of England, and the muster at Dunglass, where, by the middle of the month, Leslie found himself at the head of a force of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Conscription in this high-handed fashion was a disagreeable novelty, and even though the injunction came from the pulpit, apparently no attention was paid to it, as may be inferred from the next reference to military matters appearing.

July 23. 'The haill heritors to be at the Committee on Fryday 24th July and in special, Mr. Samuel Johnston and James Duncan. Captain Inglis appeared before the Session and showed ane warrand fra the Committee for taking up the names and desirit ye ministers to choose with him quilk they promised, the number in this paroch extending to sixty-five men.'

In the minute of the next meeting the following entry is interpolated in an irregular fashion: 'Durie his discharge of the voluntarie contrabutione resaved ye 24th July 1640, fra Mr. William Arthur and Mr. James Reid ministers at the West Church, and Mr. Neper thesaurer the soum of acht hundreth threescore nyne punds fifteine, and that for the voluntar contributione of the paroch of St. Cuthberts—sindit wt his hand foresaid.'

Mr. Arthur was a man of some note in the Church. With his colleague, Mr. Dickson, he gave offence in 1619 to the Episcopal party in power at the time, by their refusal to comply with the Royal command that in the celebration of the Lord's Supper the elements should be dispensed to the communicants only when in a kneeling posture. Dickson was specially obnoxious—his wife's sister, it may be mentioned, was Mrs. Mein or Mean, who, according to Woodrow, played the part popularly ascribed to Jenny Geddes—and he was ordered to enter himself in ward in Dumbarton Castle; but Arthur, owing to his friendship with some of the bishops, was more leniently treated. At this time (1640) he was an old man, having been inducted to the parish in 1607. Mr. Neper was William Neper or Napier of Wrichtishouses.[1] The voluntary con-

[1] The demolition of this picturesque old mansion, to make room for Gillespie's Hospital, Wilson much regrets in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*.

tribution, if gauged by the difficulty the Kirk Session had in raising smaller sums for the maintenance of the church fabric, was a liberal one, but nevertheless, it suggests, in a striking manner, the extreme poverty of the country. According to douce Davy Deans: 'In those days folk did see men deliver up their siller to the State's use as if it had been as muckle sclate stanes,' but yet the contribution actually amounted to only £72 10s. sterling. Three years later, when money was being raised in England for the purpose of putting down the Irish Rebellion and relieving the afflicted Protestants, John Hampden's individual subscription was £1000.

'1641. Sept. 10. Memorandum to remember in the Sermone the happie success of the Arms at Newcastle.'

This refers to the capture of Newcastle by Alexander Leslie on the 30th August.

'Sept. 2. Memorandum that a solemn feast for praising god be keipit on Tuesday the 7th September for the happie and safe returne of our armie from England.'

On 25th August Leslie had re-crossed the Tweed. It was immediately before this—on the 14th of the same month—that Charles entered Edinburgh, in the vain hope of winning the affections of his northern subjects.

In the end of 1643 the Scottish Estates resolved to join the forces of the Parliament in their revolt against the Crown, and dispatched the army which played such an important part at Marston Moor and other places. The following entries with regard to this second expedition occur:

'1643. Sept. 7. Memorandum—that all the noblemen, heritors, and freeholders meitt on Tuesday next in the Parliament House, to reccave orders for taking up of the fencible men in the paroch.'

'Sept. 14. Innerleith, Coattes, Brouchton, Deane, and the ministers to go through the paroche to tak up the names of the fencible men within the paroche according to the book of examination as the Committee has ordained.'

'Sept. 21. To advertise the heritors gentilmen to be on Fryday next at the Committee and everie Tuesday following during the sitting of yr off.'

'Dec. 28. Ane general faste appoynted to be keipit on Sunday cam 8 dayes and the Wednesday following.'[1]

'1644. Jany. 18. No Sessioun keiped the preceeding Thursday in respect the presbitrie did meit concerning sundrie necessarie affaires for furthering the present expeditioune for England.'

'Jany. 25. The Committee of the schyre desires two gentilmen of the paroche to attend everie Monday the Committee for the public affaires.'

'Novr. 21. Richard Hendersone be ordinance of the Sessione gave in to James Riddell, Collector for the soldiers clothes, two hundreth fiftie merk twelf shillings and of clothes 23 pair hose, 23 pair shone.'

Though not quite germane to the subject, it is perhaps worth while noting, as showing the domineering way in which the regnant faction

[1] This was in view of the approaching departure of the Scottish Army, which, on the 19th of January, for the second time crossed the Tweed.

in the Church then acted, that after the defeat of the Scottish Army under the command of the Duke of Hamilton at Preston, all those of the parish who had taken part in it, were called to account. This expedition was styled 'The Unlawful Engagement,' and several references to it occur in the minutes. Sir William Nisbet of Dean, a leading heritor, was one of the officers in command, and apparently quite a large contingent from St. Cuthbert's had marched under him.

The first notice regarding this is in reference to a William Wilsone, who had given in his name to the session clerk in order that the proclamation of the banns of his intended marriage might be made: but he was one of the offenders, and before the proclamation of banns was allowed, his brother had to become his surety under a penalty of forty pounds that the said William would satisfy the Church for being a party to 'the engagement.' This seems a very shabby way of getting at a man, but not many of those who fought at Preston were in Wilson's position, and in order to reach the rank and file of those who had disobeyed their injunctions, the Church apparently had recourse to a very ingenious plan. The following entries would lead us to infer that a resolution was passed, that in the then critical position of affairs, it was desirable that the Solemn League and Covenant should be again sworn to and subscribed. There is nothing to show that this was the result of any general ordinance by the Church; indeed, there was no specific reason for such action, for it had been generally sworn to and subscribed at the time—August 1643—of its being passed, and regulations were then issued as to those who must sign it in the future. Peterkin says nothing on the subject, and I am inclined to think that it was the action merely of individual presbyteries; unfortunately, the records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh are no longer in existence, so that the matter cannot certainly be determined; but by whomsoever devised, the measure was one potent for the purpose in view. To those who refused to sign it in 1643, no mercy was shown, their goods might be confiscated for public use, and they themselves banished from the kingdom; the spirit of the Church was now even more rampant. For residents in Rome it is a dangerous thing to quarrel with the Pope—there were many Popes in Scotland then—and practically all who had offended were willing to sign. But a question arose, Could such as were under the Church's censure be allowed to take part in such a solemnity without, in the first place, acknowledging their fault, and undergoing a public rebuke; and, if they declined to submit to this humiliation, was it not tantamount to refusing to subscribe? The entries which refer to the matter are as follows:

'1648. Nov. 14. The present day being the fasting day before the subscryving and renewing of the Leag and Covenant the names of them that had beine in the Unlawful Engagement quho upon their repentance was received follows.' Here are appended no fewer that 50 names, beginning with those of 'William Neper, Robert Thomsone, etc.'

'1649. June 10. James Somervell and Hew M'Lene for being in the Unlawful Engagement under the Duke of Hamilton professed their sorrow

therefor, disclaimed the lawfulness thereof, and were rescaved and therefor admitted to the subscryving of the Covenant.'

'Oct. 18. Intimation to be made the next Sabbath that all these quho are refused the Church benefits, etc., for being in the Ingagement that they address themselves to the presbitrie and offer satisfactione afterwards, otherwaiwes the censures of the Church to passe against them.'

It would appear from the way in which the matter drags on, that although the most of those who had offended saw fit to make their submission at once, others stood out until forced by pressure of circumstances to bow the knee. One of the last to do this was Sir William Nisbet of Dean, who had been the leader; he seems to have made his peace in 1650. After this date nothing more is heard of the matter. Four months later the battle of Dunbar was fought, when the reign of priestcraft may be said to have come to an end.

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THE CAMPBELL ARMS. In his article on *The Scottish Peerage*, in the number of this Review for October 1904, Mr. J. H. Stevenson puts the question (vol. ii. p. 13): 'If the Campbells are Normans, are their well-known arms—*gyronny of eight*—anything other than the four limbs and four spaces of a cross, such as a Norman might have drawn?' The objectons to this are: (1) If a cross was meant, it might as well have been drawn; for it would have been easier to draw a cross than eight gyrons; and (2) Among the eight gyrons it would be impossible to tell which was the cross and which the field. Indeed the first thing to be remarked about the arms is that they consist entirely of field, and that the arrangement of this field is of great beauty, presenting now four black gyrons on a gold ground, now four gold gyrons on a black. The beauty of this arrangement may have occurred to Menestrier, who, in giving the similar arms of Berenger,—*parti, tranché, taillé, coupé*,—adds *qui est bien rangé* (*L'Usage des Armoiries* 1673, p. 50) showing that he considered them an example of *armoiries parlantes*. May not a similar allusion to the bearer's name be found in the arms of the surname Campbell? No doubt the most approved derivation of that surname is from *cam beul*, making it signify *wry mouth*; but its resemblance to *campum bellum* must have been early recognised; just as Beauchamp, the surname of the earlier Earls of Warwick, was rendered by *de Bello Campo;* and as the title of Montrose was translated *Montis rosarum*, although derived from the lands of Munross, a Celtic name of totally different meaning. The analogy in this latter case is carried a step further; for the arms of the Duke of Montrose have in the second and third quarters, *argent, three roses gules*, in fanciful allusion to the title. The surname Campbell would thus come to have the meaning of *fair field*, which could not be more appropriately expressed in heraldry than by *gyronny* of *eight or and sable.*

GEO. WILL. CAMPBELL.

The Spinney, Coundon.

ADDER'S HEAD AND PEACOCK'S TAIL. In answer to Dr. J. A. H. Murray's note on this point in the *S.H.R.* of January, I give the line which contains the simile:

Le ceann nathrach bidh (bithidh) earbull pencaig air.

The word *nathair* here used does not specifically distinguish the adder from others of the serpent order, but is used indiscriminately to indicate both snake and viper, and of the former several varieties are common in the Highlands. In the west coast of Ross-shire the adder is known as *nathair-nimhe* (nimh = poison) and although that compound word does not appear in the Gaelic-English Dictionaries of MacLeod and Dewar, Mac-Alpine, or MacEachen, the translators of the Bible have it in Gen. xlix. 17, *Bithidh Dan 'n a nathair air an ròd, 'n a nathair-nimhe air an t-slighe*; = 'Dan shall be a serpent in the way, and an adder in the path.'

MacKenzie's *English-Gaelic Dictionary* has the following equivalents:

Adder = *Aithir; Beithir.*
Snake = *Righinn; Nathair-shuairc.* (*suairc* = mild.)
Viper = *Nathair-nimhe; Baobh.*

MacLeod and Dewar also render *Nathair-nimhe* and *Baobh* as viper. In the West Lowlands the local pronunciation of adder is (phonetically) èth-air.

In Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* there are several examples of early references to the peacock under the Scottish equivalents of Pown and Pownie, evident corruptions of the Latin, *pavo*, or the French, *paon*. Jamieson quotes a passage from Gawain Douglas's 'Virgil's Æneid.' A stately dance of the sixteenth century was called the 'Pavane,' apparently derived from the name of the peacock. A curious passage in the unpublished MSS. of Zachary Boyd, now in Glasgow University Library, enumerates the dances which the Daughter of Herodias purposed performing before Herod. Among these are 'the Pavane,' 'the Drunken Dance,' and 'Stravetespy.' Possibly this passage is the last in which the pavane is mentioned, and the first to allude to the strathspey.

A. H. Millar.

THE FIRST HIGHLAND REGIMENT. (*S.H.R.* vol. iii. p. 29, n. 8.) With reference to the statement in the note that 'the estate [of Barbreck, Craignish] passed to the Duke of Argyll in 1732,' the following facts may be of interest:

In 1662 heavy fines were imposed upon those gentlemen, who had made themselves obnoxious to the Government by taking up the Presbyterian cause, and Donald Campbell of Barbreck was called upon to pay for his indemnity the sum of £2666 3s. The estate was thus permanently impoverished. Debts increased upon the family, until 1732, when the creditors interfered, and tried to sell part of the estate. John, 1st Duke of Argyll, however, as Feudal Superior, claimed his ancient rights over the property, and asserted that the Charter 'secures to the Feudal Superior against creditors.' And he contended that, in consequence of the attempt of Archd. Campbell of Barbreck, the proprietor, to sell a portion for

payment of his debts, the estate reverted to himself. The Court of Session decided several times against the Duke, but the House of Lords (after the interlocutor of the Court of Session had been twice adhered to) finally decided in his favour. On the 10th May, 1732, it passed into his hands, until 1754, when it was bought from the Duke by Capt. Archd. Campbell, aide-de-camp to General Bland, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Capt. Archd. Campbell was a nephew to the late proprietor, and it seems probable that the Duke's main reason for asserting his claim was to preserve the estate to the family. (See a pamphlet by Frederick William Campbell of Barbreck, containing an account of his family, printed at Ipswich in 1830.)

In 1767 Capt. Archd. Campbell sold Barbreck to Major-General John Campbell of Ballimore, whose father was the second son of Alexander Campbell, sixth of Lochnell. This Major-General John Campbell commanded Fraser's Highlanders at Quebec in 1759. And in a letter referring to this action, General Duncan Campbell of Lochnell says, 'He went into the action a junior Major, and he came out of it commanding the regiment.'

Major-General John Campbell subsequently raised the old 74th, or Argyllshire regiment, the men being drawn chiefly from Lochnell and Barbreck. The present proprietor of Barbreck—James A. Campbell of Achanduin and Barbreck—is the General's direct representative.

W. H. Macleod.

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE AND THE SWINTON CHARTERS. Last July I was permitted (*S.H.R.* vol. ii. p. 475) to reply to Sir Archibald's condemnation, in his *Early Scottish Charters prior to* 1153, of King David's charters of Swinton to his knight Hernulf, and I am loath to trouble you again on the subject. But I think it right to put on record in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review* that I have since printed, in the *Athenæum* of February 3rd, a lengthy note in which Doctors Warner and Kenyon and Mr. Ellis of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, Mr. Maitland Thomson of the Scottish Historical Department in Edinburgh, and Canon Greenwell of Durham, writing as experts and from their different points of view, allowed me to quote them severally as having carefully examined the original documents and as having no doubt of their authenticity.

George S. C. Swinton.

MABON. In reference to the observations of Sir Herbert Maxwell as to the residence of 'Mabon' or 'Maben' (*S.H.R.* vol. iii. p. 243), it is perhaps not generally known that there is a small hill in the Parish of Dolphinton in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire called Carmaben, which was, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the seat of the Browns of Carmaben, afterwards known as the Browns of Dolphinton. I have been informed by the tenant of the ground that in ploughing the land traces of the foundations of an early building on the summit of the hill were quite apparent. Is this not more likely to have been the residence of Mabon than the other place suggested?

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JAMES, MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

1589-1624.

Notes and Comments

James, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton.

James VI. and I. in 1621 witnessed, at Burley-on-the-Hill, the *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*, written in honour of the Court by Ben Jonson. The outline and bearings of this topical and rather third-rate piece are interestingly shown by Mr. Vere Hodge in the October number of *The Rutland Magazine* (Oakham: G. Phillips). Among the characters is James, Marquis of Hamilton (born 1589, died 1624), whose likeness, painted by Van Somers, was engraved for *Lodge's Portraits*. Mr. Phillips has kindly allowed us the use of his reproduction. In the Masque, the Marquis has his fortune told by one of the gipsies, who reads his palm:

> Only your hand, sir! and welcome to Court!
> Here is a man both for earnest and sport
> You were lately employ'd,
> And your master has joy'd
> To have such in his train,
> So well can sustain
> His person abroad,
> And not shrink for the load.

The allusion apparently is to the diplomatic success of the Marquis as the King's Commissioner at the Scots Parliament of 1621, when delicate business over the Articles of Perth was on the carpet. The portrait confirms contemporary accounts, that he was a goodly gentleman.

Robert the Bruce.

On 10th February, 1306, Robert the Bruce, after the slaying of Sir John Comyn at the Greyfriars' Church of Dumfries, mounted Comyn's charger, rode to the castle of Dumfries and took it. And thus, according to the chronicler Hemingburgh, Bruce began the campaign which was to be maintained through many an adverse fate until the independence of the kingdom of Scotland was established. There was, therefore, good ground for celebrating so important a sexcentenary anniversary by the function at Dumfries on 10th February, 1906, when a memorial foundation stone was laid at Castledykes, on the Nith, a little below the town, within the moated enclosure which, in 1306, was the castle of Dumfries. The memorial stone is suitably inscribed with reference to the capture of the castle, as the inauguration of a fresh and finally successful effort towards the liberation of the country.

There were eloquent speeches fitting the occasion by Mr. William Murray of Murraythwaite, and Provost Glover of Dumfries, and in the evening Sir George Douglas delivered a stirring patriotic oration.

Separation of Church and State in France.

We would draw the attention of those of our readers interested in the separation of Church and State in France to a short pamphlet, *Après la Séparation, suivi du Texte de la Loi concernant la Séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat*, par le Comte d'Haussonville (Perrin et Cie. Paris. Pp. 92. Prix 0·50), published in January last. M. d'Haussonville approaches the subject from the liberal lay Catholic point of view, but the special value of his *brochure* consists in the light it throws on the possibilities for working of the new act, particularly on the significance and probable constitution of the *Associations Cultuelles*, to which the law proposes to entrust the administering of the goods of the churches and the providing for all necessary expenses. M. d'Haussonville's paper is followed by the text of the law.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

In his excellent presidential address to the Royal Historical Society, which appears in the last number of the *Transactions* of that Society, Dr. Prothero, on retiring from the office of President, draws attention to the comparatively narrow scope of the papers published in its *Transactions*. He points out that during the four years of his office only two out of twenty-four papers are on foreign subjects, and only two or three more 'while primarily concerned with English affairs, have touched Continental history. Nearly half the papers—eleven out of twenty-four—have dealt with the medieval period. There have been only two on the history of the nineteenth century. There have been no papers on Greek or Roman history, none, in fact, on any period before the Norman Conquest.'

The present volume bears out these remarks. All its papers deal with medieval or sixteenth and seventeenth century history, and none is devoted to Continental history as such. Mr. Mason's interesting 'Beginnings of the Cistercian Order' can hardly be strictly classed under foreign history, since its subject is one which influenced English medieval life and thought in common with those of other Catholic countries, while Miss Edith Routh's careful study on the English occupation of Tangier (1661-1683), only touches on Continental history in connection with that of England. Irish, Welsh, and Scotch history are untouched. There is nothing in the title of the Society to preclude a wider scope, and its Fellows are therefore free to avail themselves of their ex-President's suggestions, and thus increase the interest of the good work done by their Society.