

## Reviews of Books

LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY. By the late Rt. Hon. John Emerich, First Baron Acton, Regius Professor of Modern History to the University of Cambridge. Edited, with an Introduction, by John Neville Figgis, M.A., Rector of Marnhull, and Reginald Vere Laurence, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pp. xix, 362. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1906. 10s. nett.

THIS volume includes the Lectures on Modern History from the middle of the 15th century down to the American Revolution, which were read at Cambridge during 1899-1900 and 1900-1901. The editors have added the Inaugural Lecture delivered by Lord Acton on his appointment as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge in 1895. They have also added two appendices—one the letter addressed to the contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the other the mass of notes which illustrate the reading on which the Inaugural Lecture was based.

It is needless to say that no one but Lord Acton could have written such a book as this. The period covered is four and a half centuries, and yet every part is described with a fulness of detailed knowledge that seldom belongs to writers who have chosen a much more limited task. The unity of modern history is never forgotten, and yet every chapter is as full of details as a monograph. Each lecture describes, not an epoch, but a movement of history. Three men and three only are commanding enough to insist on a chapter to themselves. They are somewhat strange companions—Luther, Louis XIV., and Frederick the Great. Twice two men are bracketed together to fill one lecture—Henry VIII. and Calvin; Henry IV. and Richelieu. Philip II., Mary Stuart, and Elizabeth are placed together at the head of another. For the most part, however, the lectures deal with impulses which moved all Europe at once, or with periods in a country's history where the throb of general history made itself most visibly felt.

The lectures begin with one on the modern state, which is really a succinct description of the political condition of Europe at the close of the 15th century. Then follow lectures on the discovery of the New and the recovery of the Old World. The later of the two, which deals with the Renaissance, is specially good and suggestive. It is distinguished by a combination of breadth of treatment and an accuracy in details which do not often go together. Then follow lectures on various aspects of the Reformation movement, the rise and decay of absolute government, and the

creation by the development of the 'principle of federalism' of a community more powerful, more prosperous, more intelligent, and more free than any other which the world has seen—the American Commonwealth.

It is known that Lord Acton had a passion for impartiality, and this volume proves that he strove nobly, and in a very successful way, to be impartial. He would have succeeded even better than he has done had he remembered that while the intellect may be unimpassioned it is very apt to take sides. He was an omnivorous reader, and that is the reason perhaps why he invariably judges men by what they have said rather than by what they did; yet actions speak more clearly for character than the words that come from the mouth or the pen. John Knox said many truculent things, quite enough to justify the author's remark that he wished to exterminate Romanists; yet a contemporary Roman Catholic Scottish bishop bore witness that while his power was at its height 'few Catholics were exiled on score of religion, fewer imprisoned, and none put to death.' It is also well to remember in reading his descriptions of the great actors in the scenes he describes, that Lord Acton makes it a merit to 'ascertain their low-water mark, that praise and admiration may not be carried too far.'

Lord Acton's reputation for accurate knowledge is deservedly so great that it is the more necessary to say that some serious mistakes occasionally occur. They are probably due to the fact that the lectures did not receive his last corrections, and that his editors did not feel at liberty to alter the text.

It is strange to find the author saying that Catherine de' Medici became nominally Regent on the death of her husband Henry II., as her son Francis II. had not reached his majority (p. 157). It is true that Francis was not sixteen years old when his father died, that he was sickly in body and not very strong mentally, but he was old enough to govern according to French law. No Regent was needed in France until his death, when his brother Charles, a boy of ten, became king. On his accession the *Parlement* of Paris, as was customary, sent a deputation to congratulate the new king, and to learn from himself whom he had appointed to transact business for him and in his name. He informed them that 'his two uncles (by marriage) the Cardinal Lorraine and the Duc de Guise, had the entire charge of everything, and commanded them to obey them as himself.' Mary Stuart had succeeded in keeping her mother-in-law, Catherine de' Medici, in the obscurity she had lived in during the life of her husband Henry II. It was the beginning of that enmity between the two ladies which had for its consequence, that Mary Stuart got no help from France when she sorely needed it to aid her against the leaders of the Scottish Reformation.

Lord Acton rightly tells us that though the leaders of the Romanist party in France may have long contemplated a massacre of Protestants, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was quite unpremeditated, and was devised and executed within twenty-four hours. But he says that the slaughter at Vassy was a deliberate act meant by the Duc de Guise to arrest the policy of toleration begun by Catherine de' Medici. This does not agree with contemporary evidence. The actual facts are that

the Duc de Guise left Joinville for Paris on March 1st, 1562. With him were his brother, the Cardinal of Guise, his children and his wife, who was looking forward to her confinement. They resolved to rest and hear mass at Vassy. A stone's throw from the church was a barn in which Protestants were worshipping in defiance of the edict which prohibited Protestant worship within a walled town. Guise sent one of his following to order them to end their service. The Huguenots refused. The followers of Guise attempted to compel them. A riot began; stones were thrown; several of the followers of Guise, and the Duke himself were struck; then the massacre began. It was anything but purposely planned. A man does not ride forth with his children and his wife to execute a premeditated massacre. The slaughter was nevertheless the beginning of the religious wars in France.

Another instance of carelessness may be taken from the chapter on Luther. Lord Acton says that Luther 'valued the royal prerogative so highly that he made it include polygamy. He advised Henry VIII. that the right way out of his perplexity was to marry a second wife without repudiating the first' (p. 105). This is quite erroneous. Such counsel was given to Henry, not by Luther, but by Pope Clement VII., and that more than once (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, iv. iii. pp. 2987, 3023, 3189), and the Pontiff strengthened his advice by referring to precedents (*Spanish Papers*, ii. 379). No references to authorities are given in the Lectures; but Lord Acton's assertion is evidently based either on Luther's well-known private opinion that he himself would rather admit of bigamy than divorce, although he recognised that divorce is permitted in certain definite cases under the law of the New Testament, or more probably on the last sentence in a letter written by the German Reformer to Dr. Barnes (Sept. 5th, 1531). Barnes had written a long letter to Luther telling him that Henry was anxious for divorce, or rather for a declaration that his marriage with Catharine of Aragon had been invalid, because the state of the kingdom required that he should have a son to be his successor in order to save a disputed succession. Luther replied at length, and insisted that no repudiation of Catharine and liberty to take another wife was *certain* to secure the male heir the king so earnestly desired. He closed with the sentence: 'Antequam talem repudiam probarem potius Regi permitterem alteram Reginam quoque ducere et exemplo patrium et Regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere.' This taken by itself appears to bear out what Lord Acton has said; but the context renders such an interpretation impossible. Henry VIII., on the death of the ill-used Catharine, made many an attempt to win over the German Protestant theologians to express an opinion in his favour. His desire inspired the directions he gave to the half-political, half-theological embassy he dispatched to Smalcald and to Wittenberg (*Letters and Papers*, etc., ix. p. 69), in his dexterous attempts to win the confidence of Melancthon (*Ibid.* ix. pp. 70, 72, 74, 75, 166, 208, 311), and in many another way. But it was all in vain. Even in Padua the Lutheran residents did their best to prevent the University giving an opinion favourable to Henry (*Ibid.* iv. iii. 99, 2921, 2923).

Perhaps the strangest mistake in the volume occurs on p. 101 in the description of Melanchthon's theological position. Lord Acton declares that 'there was no question at issue (between Lutherans and Romanists) which was not afterwards abandoned or modified in a Catholic sense by the moderating hand of Melanchthon.' There is no doubt that Melanchthon was always conciliatory, that he would fain have prevented a final division in the Church, and that he was willing to give up many things provided the essential principles were retained. Lord Acton refers to his conduct at the Conference at Ratisbon. No better illustration could be given. At Ratisbon there was a sincere and whole-hearted attempt to reconcile the differences between Protestants and Romanists. It was made under the best auspices. The Emperor (Charles V.) had come to regard the Protestants much more favourably, and to believe that they held all the *fundamental* doctrines of the Christian faith. He was eager for a scheme of accommodation. The papal Legate was the Cardinal Contarini, one of the most learned, liberal, and conciliatory of the Italian prelates who yearned for a real reconciliation between the contending parties, and who had himself avowed a doctrine of justification not unlike that of Luther. The *Acta* of the Conference are full, and additional information from private letters enables us to know very thoroughly what passed. We can see how far 'Melanchthon's moderating hand' abandoned the articles of Protestant theology. The Romanists agreed to the marriage of the clergy and the cup to the laity: the Protestants agreed that the Pope might be called the Primate of the Church provided he was not allowed to interfere in the affairs of national Churches, and that the hierarchy might be retained, provided the right of oversight were shared by a learned layman appointed by the secular authority. Definitions of the doctrine of sin were agreed to, one of which was stated in terms which had been condemned in the papal Bull against Luther and another in a manner at variance with the decision of the future Council of Trent. Justification was defined in terms which satisfied the Protestants. The Church was defined without any reference to the Pope as its necessary and permanent head. The Romanists conceded many things about the sacraments; but no agreement could be come to on Transubstantiation; and the sacrificial character of the mass was not reached. Many things could be conceded on either side; but Protestants would never give up, and the Romanists would never concede the thought of a spiritual priesthood of all believers. That was the Conference to which Lord Acton appeals when he ventures the curious assertion that had not Luther got it into his head that the Pope was Anti-Christ, the Reformation need not have taken separate shape!

One more instance, showing a strange unacquaintance with the conditions which prevailed in Italy, may be referred to. Lord Acton says that it was Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., 'who brought forward the extraordinary man (Ignatius Loyola) in whom the spirit of the Catholic reaction is incorporated.' That is perhaps what might have been expected. Loyola and Caraffa had many things in common. But history is full of the unexpected. It was Contarini, the leader of the liberal party in Italy who admired Loyola in Venice, who introduced him and his companions

to the Pope, and who did his best to smooth the difficulties which lay in his path.

The above are only instances of ways in which Lord Acton's book teaches us that it is almost impossible to relate the history of a long period without falling into some mistakes.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

A HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION OF SPAIN. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Vol. I. pp. xii, 620; Vol. II. pp. xi, 608. New York: The Macmillan Coy. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1906. 10s. 6d. nett per vol.

AMONG the few living Americans whose works have become authorities on European history, and whose names worthily prolong the line of distinction from Washington Irving, Prescott, and Motley, one to whom honours of high grade are due is Dr. Henry Charles Lea. His books represent the utilisation of a vast mass of material, much of it in Spanish manuscripts. They cover an extraordinary field of enquiry, tracing the birth and growth of many religious institutions of Catholicism and their development under the diverse influences of medieval orthodoxy, renaissance questioning, and Reformation revolt. It is a tireless hand which has thus built up so great a fabric of Church history. The subjects Dr. Lea has successively dealt with include *Superstition and Force*, 1866 (fourth ed. 1892); *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 3 vols., 1867; *Studies in Church History*, 1870 (second ed. 1883); *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., 1888; *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, 1890; *Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 3 vols., 1896; *The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion*, 1901.

Already a man of forty when he began, the octogenarian still pursues his themes, not only with a vigour marvellous for his years, but with a ripeness of knowledge and judgment that enables him out of the immense store of record matter which he has accumulated from the archives of Spain to present in richly documented and orderly array the annals of persecution. What were the causes of the Inquisition of Spain, what its jurisdictions, organisation and finance, what the sum of the achievement of its Edicts of Faith, what its effects on the national life? These are great questions which merit, above all, dispassionate study, for denunciation does little to explain. Dr. Lea has schooled himself into calm: indeed his plea for the necessity of justice to some reputations by an appeal to contemporary, not modern, standards of virtue, could hardly have more crucial matter to work upon than the Inquisition, which Buckle described as 'the most barbarous institution which the wit of man has ever devised.' Dr. Lea's method is not to sit unnecessarily in judgment; he collects, arranges, and presents the facts, too often terrible; doubtless in the fourth, and final, volume there will be a masterly summing up, but in the first two he applies himself with exemplary patience to the annalist's task, although the critic cannot be always suppressed. We remember Buckle's statement that the Inquisition expressed a condition of the Spanish intellect, and was

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supported by public opinion. Dr. Lea shows that while it was supported in its anti-heretical function it excited otherwise a deep popular hostility. Not devised, as some have maintained, as a political engine for the conversion of Spain from a medieval feudalism to an absolute monarchy, it owed its introduction in 1480 to the fanatical, if in his own lifetime not immediately successful, agitation of Alonzo de Espina, whose strange work, the  *Fortalitium Fidei*, was first issued about 1460. He was a ruthless apostle of the arming of all Christian souls primarily for three great conflicts, *bellum haereticorum*, *bellum Judeorum*, and *bellum Sarracenorum*, leaving little room in his black letter tome for a fourth warfare, the *bellum demonum*. His demand, to bring in the Inquisition, carried the day in the zealot reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the first edict of faith, the 'auto de fé' of 1481, began the burnings. The tribunal, directed chiefly against the Jews and Moriscos, had a base half papal, half royal; to the fact that it combined sanctions secular as well as sacred was due the enormous power it soon acquired; its political and ecclesiastical relations soon revealed it as a disturbing factor in the body politic, and its financial privileges, as well as the abuse of its jurisdictions, earned for it from the beginning a detestation which only the ardour of Spanish Catholicism—a patriotism almost as much as a creed—sufficed to counteract.

One great reason why the Inquisition maintained such a hold over Spain was its complete incorporation of the double authority of Church and Crown. Its jurisdictions and privileges encroached on public liberties, civil as well as religious; it had benefit of clergy and right of sanctuary; it fought for its own hand against both Pope and King; it established its authority after long struggle over the regular clergy and even the bishops; it did a vast business in the sale of offices, and its own organisation alone employed an extraordinary number of persons; but the headship of all this secret and terrible machine lay in the hands of the Crown from beginning to end of the chapter. Its remarkable regulation of *limpieza*, that no one could be an official in its service who was not an Old Christian, *i.e.* descended from Christian ancestry, harmonised with the national hatred of Jew and Morisco. Its financial mainstay for centuries was its power of confiscation, which, having been an invariable penalty of heresy under the Canon law naturally fell to this favoured organisation. A conviction for heresy involved the confiscation of the property of the heretic. How this dangerous power reacted on the tribunal scarcely needs explanation: its exercise was iniquitous to a cruel degree, but as time went on its worse features were relaxed. This confiscation was used even against the dead, a feature of ecclesiastical law which Scotland borrowed for its procedure against a traitor although deceased. Dr. Lea's first volume is a great repertory of fact on the origin and establishment in Spain of the tribunal whose very name became a word of terror in Europe, and on its relations with the Crown, the Church, and the people. His second volume follows the course of its widening jurisdictions, the solemn denunciations of its Edicts of Faith, and the long-drawn-out duel of the

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'Suprema' of the Inquisition with the Papal Curia over the competency of appeal to Rome. From this, after describing the constitution of the body and its financial methods, Dr. Lea turns to the practice of the inquisitorial process, with its features of secret denunciation, solitary imprisonment, peculiar laws of evidence, and the use of innumerable judicial expedients, including torture, to bring the victim to repentance even on his way to the stake. These two massive volumes show the mechanism, other two to follow will record the work the tremendous engine did, and round off the great task of the venerable and illustrious historian with a summation of the studies of his life.

GEO. NEILSON.

FREDERICK YORK POWELL. *A Life and a Selection from His Letters and Occasional Writings.* By Oliver Elton. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Vol. I., pp. xvi, 461. Vol. II., xvi, 464. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. 21s. nett.

THE first thing which is due to be said, is that the Clarendon Press have done themselves honour, and done honour to the memory of their great colleague, by the material qualities of a book which would have delighted that fastidious fancier of good craftsmanship whose life's record it enshrines. The second, is to congratulate Mr. Elton upon the skill and good-feeling of his treatment. Rigidly modest and self-concealing, so that a stranger would hardly guess that Mr. Elton's name was constantly on York Powell's lips, the portrayer nevertheless conciliates the reader's interest to himself as well as to his portrait. It is a masterpiece in a difficult kind of biography, written in a fine dry close-grained style, in which the little facets sparkle naturally every now and then, but never solicit the flash for display. A generous sympathy in expounding those sides in Powell's character or phases in his life (his life is his thoughts and feelings—there are no events) which command his approval, and no egoistical 'explaining my position' towards tastes which his biographer finds eccentric, or developments of opinion which to many seemed like disloyalties: alike in both gestures, the affectionate salutation and the respectful reserve, Mr. Elton is exemplary. It argues a winning humility in the author who can make so much of his work an *eranos*, lifelike in its very genial motley, of diverse homages, appreciations and regrets. This is not a 'one man show': the editor is both actor and impresario.

But, in the third place, it must be confessed that it is a terrible book to review. Frankly prescind from vol. ii., which contains the collected writings (and, by the way, a splendid index), and striking to the life, how is a reviewer to treat his material? Powell as University reformer, as inspirer of the Modern History School at Oxford—not the annual 200 examinees, whom he sadly cited to me, when I last spoke with him, as an example how 'Englishmen will do anything rather than think,' and whose still swelling numbers caused him no pride or satisfaction—but of the few who read and reason and utter

nothing shoddy: these would be one theme for a paper. Powell the man of letters would furnish another; the exquisite maker of verses, and of a prose which puts you in mind perhaps more of Fromentin than of anybody else, by its technical tact and unaffected individuality. Or you might follow Powell the Socialist to ground in Powell the Imperialist and Tariff Reformer: or take up the clue of this avowed Pagan's relations towards Christianity. A hazardous ground, and yet alive with interest. Twelve years ago he said 'It's all playing a game, but Catholicism is at least worth playing at'; and in his last years he grew hotter and hotter against Catholicism and Calvinism, while he more and more easily tolerated the Elizabethan settlement which he held to be obsolescent and harmless. Canon Liddon in a Tacitean phrase called him 'the best Christian in Oxford if he had only known it'; and he was full of suppressed Christianity. In this matter, his sharp, sometimes outrageous, but nearly always humorously expressed outbursts of irritation in talk or letter, make a rather disconcerting contrast with his deliberate writing *e.g.* in his paper on S. Ignatius of Loyola. He once said he thought S. Francis of Assisi and Napoleon the two greatest men in history; but I remember him saying, 'I hate saints!' and then bursting into a roar of laughter. It was probably the experience of many other young men who knew him, loved him, and admired him, that they sought, not malignantly, but in self-protection, to find some flaws in his philosophy (he would never own to a philosophy) which might save them from being not merely impressed but swamped under so enormous a bulk of knowledge animated by so enormous a geniality. At first the point of view appeared so commandingly high and central. But one soon perceived that he was only human in having the bias of an epoch and the caprices of a partisan. His censures indeed were reserved for those they could not damage, for the successful . . . the successful impostors, he would say. He disliked the *arriviste*, but he was too charitable to harm him till he was *arrivé*. His prejudices were often conceived in generosity, and his malice flew high like the malice of the Greek gods. It might surprise one to hear him praise Mallarmé for genuine and allow no merit at all to Rostand; but Mallarmé was not popular, and was Powell's private friend; his feelings against Rostand had other than aesthetic grounds, for the Dreyfus case deflected the needle in many of his later judgments. He jeered at Brunetière. To read his deliberate verdict on Newman is to think of Marsyas criticising Apollo.

His admiration for Carlyle seemed like a survival of a schoolboy's idolatry, strange in one who so clearly foresaw the rapid abatement of stature in the Victorian demigods. His view of Tennyson was Fitzgerald's view; his weakness for eccentricity in poetry sometimes coincided with the common prejudice in favour of one's own 'discoveries,' especially discoveries made in one's golden age: to a man born in 1850 Meredith might well seem not only great but far the greatest poet of the century.

But one might write for ever in this vein; for almost every page of Mr. Elton's arouses visions of the top-hatted, pea-jacketed, book-laden figure



coasting round Tom Quad, or as he sat in his chair, huge, twinkling, sonorous and eager; and I have not found a single page where my recollection quarrels with the presentment of the man in his biography. Strangers will thank the biographer for a most readable book on a most interesting subject, and (they will surely recognize) a most illuminating guide to a great underground force in the intellectual history of the later nineteenth century—a force incalculably far from spent in the present generation; but any friend or colleague of Powell's will thank Mr. Elton for what many felt and wished to see recorded 'but none so well exprest.' The book has evoked so many incidents, phrases, and characteristics that I will not beg leave to conclude with an anecdote which I treasure as most typical of 'the Yorker.' I was sitting in his rooms one night when an undergraduate entered. No introduction. Presently Powell and the stranger began to talk on minute details of — history. I listened, much edified, for an hour. When the visitor went away I asked Powell, Who was that? And he answered, 'I can't remember his name, but he often comes. An awfully keen little chap—knows a lot about the history of —!'

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

HISTORY OF SCOTTISH SEALS FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, with upwards of two hundred illustrations derived from the finest and most interesting examples extant. By Walter de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., late of the British Museum. Vol. I. The Royal Seals of Scotland. Pp. 201. 4to. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, and London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. 12s. 6d. nett. Edition de luxe, 21s. nett.

AMONG Dr. Birch's learned works on the various subjects which have employed his pen, the most important, to our mind, is the great Catalogue of the British Museum Collection of Seals. In the fourth volume of that Catalogue, he deals with the Seals of Scotland; thus he approaches his History of Scottish Seals, now before us, with the advantages of a wide general study, as well as a special acquaintance of long standing with those particular seals themselves.

So large a proportion of the letterpress of the volume with which he opens his disquisition is devoted to the consideration of the Great Seals of the Kingdom, and so little to the Privy Seals and Signets, and the Seals of Queens Consort and of the Great Officers of the Realm, that the volume might almost have been entitled—The Great Seals with some notes on the other Royal Seals. But as it is, it is a gratifying addition to our literature on its subject.

The fifty-three illustrations, all, with the exception of the interesting but irrelevant exception of the seal of Maud of Scotland, being Great Seals, are a most important and valuable feature of the book. They afford us for the first time an accessible series of photographic reproductions of approximately the whole of these seals on the actual scale of the originals: and though, in a few cases, it is difficult to discern in them some of the details attributed to them in the letter-

press, they are in all other instances probably as good as their originals for the purposes of identification. We take it that they are reproduced from the British Museum collection of casts; but it is a matter of regret that they are in so many instances described without any mention of the credentials of their originals or where these originals are to be found. Some years ago Messrs. Mansell of London produced a set of photographs of that collection, which are generally clearer; but they have the artistic advantage, which at the same time is a scientific disadvantage, of being reductions from the originals in scale.

One of the few Great Seals of which no illustration is given is the seal used in and about A.D. 1301-2 by Sir John de Soulis, or Saulys, as guardian of the Kingdom after John Baliol's departure from Scotland. Writers have differed in their opinion of the King meant to be represented on the seal, John of Scotland, or Edward of England. But there can be little doubt that the effigy is meant for King John, as de Soulis's charters ran in his name.

The seal purporting to be a Great Seal of David II., which is found attached to one of the notorious John Harding's forgeries, is duly noticed. The seal is not at all like those which precede and succeed it. But it is almost a pity that in spite of the author's condemnation of it, and of its inferior workmanship, he has not given a representation of it. He presents us, however, with another doubtful seal—a so-called Great Seal of Robert III. (so in the letter-press, but Robert II. in the illustration). Like the David seal forgery, it is quite out of keeping with the seals nearest it in time, and it hails from the Chapter House of Westminster, where the most, at least, of the Harding charter frauds find their resting place. Its obverse, however, in which the King is seated in his majesty, very strongly resembles the earlier forged seal of David. The earlier forgery, it has been suggested, may have been founded on a seal of some Royal Burgh, and may be compared with that of Haddington, to be seen in Laing's *Seals*, which it certainly is like. But it is much more nearly resembled by the seal of Robert. The question seems to be, whether it is a copy of the Robert seal, or whether they are both copies of some common original. And in this context it is to be remembered that there is a presumably genuine seal of Robert III. appended to a charter, belonging to the Earl of Rothes, given in Anderson's *Diplomata*, which, in the designs of both its sides, is practically the Robert III. Seal found in the Chapter House.

Of the four Great Seals successively used by Queen Mary, Dr. Birch includes three, the first, second, and last as Scottish. The third, which bears the effigies of Francis and Mary seated together, he excludes, as Mary's seal as Queen of France, and not belonging to the Scots series. The seal, however, is found in Anderson appended to a renunciation of the rights of the Crown affecting the lands of Kirkbutho.

Apart from the instances just mentioned, the series as illustrated by Dr. Birch is practically complete. Beginning with the seal of Duncan II. and ending with the seals of Charles I., he pronounces

the whole to belong to a school of art of a national character, though influenced, no doubt, at different times by the arts of England, France, and Italy. Scotland, he finds, is no exception to the rule that the history of a nation is reflected on its seals and its coins. He sees in them, in their turns, the archaic period of simplicity and severity of manners, then the gradual awakening of the sense of beauty which he has found in so many wonderful examples of architecture throughout the kingdom; 'the culminating era of so-called Gothic styles found a ready response in the seal to the challenge which the ecclesiastical or monastic edifice offered to it; then came the rejection of the Gothic, and preference of Italian and Renaissance designs, which in turn were adopted by the national art workers; and finally the post-Palladian—which practically crushed all native creative talent in order to make room for incongruous piecemeal imitations, called at haphazard from the ruin of multifarious styles—invasion of the domain of the seal designers, and strangled, we fear, for ever the native Caledonian feeling and taste which might, under more favourable conditions, have found a congenial medium on the seals of the country. We shall observe the same influences affecting in turn the seals of churches and monasteries, cities and towns, nobles and arms-bearing families, and in this way it is shown to be true that the glory of Scotland is inscribed on the seals of her rulers and her children.'

The patient discussion of each seal in its turn, which precedes this generalization, so appreciative in its terms, deals in its course with many curious items of interest. One of these is the appearance of the slipped trefoil or shamrock in the background of Great Seals of this country as early as the seal of Alexander III. Dr. Birch suggests varying meanings for this symbol on its several reappearances. Among them is this, that the flower may have been the national emblem, 'brought from Ireland,' before the adoption of the thistle, which appears on later seals. But may it not have been that the trefoil was in use in Scotland before its adoption in Ireland?

Again, it is well known that, like the eastern basha of literature, heraldic lions may be distinguished by their tails. Though none probably are so well furnished in that respect as the 'three-tail basha,' still some lions actually have two. The Scottish lion has always preserved this much of his early simplicity as to restrict himself to one tail; but, nevertheless, even that tail has, or, through some ages, had its distinctive character, in that, if it curved at all at the point, it curved inward towards the animal's head, not outward like the letter S. Dr. Birch's views on this point, coinciding as they do with the practice of the most pattern animal on the cover of the *Scottish Historical Review*, are worthy of note by all heraldic draughtsmen, painters, and embroiderers, and the like. In describing the unique seal of the Guardians who governed the Scottish realm between the death of the Maid of Norway and the coronation of John Baliol, he calls attention to the 'well-designed lion rampant, the principal charge, with,' he continues, 'the tail incurved or bent inwards towards the neck of the animal,—a detail which belongs rightly to the

Scottish lion, and is found constantly recurrent from the day of the making of this seal until the present time, with exceptions arising from ignorance, carelessness, or indifference, on the part of those who have taken upon themselves the task of reproducing the arms.'

Such a judgment is, perhaps, all the more to be noted by Scotsmen on account of the fact that its author is not himself a Scot. It is perhaps on the same account that, to adorn the attractive cover in which the publisher has placed the volume, there has been selected the great seal of John Baliol. The lion on the shield on the sinister side of the figure of the King is, however, clearly not the national lion, for his tail points the other way.

J. H. STEVENSON.

THE TRON KIRK OF EDINBURGH, OR CHRIST'S KIRK AT THE TRON ;  
A History. By the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., Minister of the Tron  
Parish. Pp. 382. 4to. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.  
1906. 21s. nett.

'ONE of the blackest spots on earth.' Such is the character given to the Tron parish by one of its clergy not so many years ago. It is no doubt better now than it was when these words were penned, thanks to the self-denying labours of several excellent ministers, of whom Mr. Butler is the latest and not the least worthy. But it is strange to think that in the days of the grandfathers of many men still living it was the habitation of the bluest in blood and best in intellect of the Edinburgh of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Butler starts his book well: in a very interesting first chapter he goes over the streets and wynds which are included in the Tron, or as it was formerly called the South East parish. Much of it—indeed nearly a quarter—is now swept away by the hands of the sanitary reformer, to the loss of many historical associations and much picturesque architecture; but there is a good deal left, though of course considerably changed from the old days. The parish itself was an offshoot from St. Giles, being one of the few original city parishes formed in 1598, and having one of the portions—and that the principal one—into which St. Giles was divided assigned to it as a place of worship. When Episcopacy was temporarily in the ascendant, from 1633 to 1638, St. Giles was once more restored to something of its original appearance, and the partition walls disappeared for a time. It became necessary to build a new church for the South East parish, and after long delay the foundation stone of the Tron Kirk was laid on the 4th of March, 1637, but it was not completed till nearly ten years afterwards. It was apparently saved from the desecration, by Cromwell's soldiers in 1653, from which the other churches in the town suffered. As the Town Council was, till the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, responsible for the upkeep of the church, there is much about it to be found in the minutes of that body.

The author has with praiseworthy diligence ransacked the minute books and has apparently given every entry relating to it *verbatim*. This is

useful and important from a strictly historical point of view, even if the consideration of estimates, architects' reports, and the price of slates and timber do not make particularly interesting reading. The narrative portions of the volume are done so well as to make one regret that Mr. Butler did not weave those minutes into more connected form. But apart from them there is a great deal of information both about persons and places in the book, and it will well repay study by the student of the ecclesiastical and social life of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. There is a most interesting copy of the accounts of the collector of seat rents from 1650 to 1653, and many biographical notes are added which throw light on the identity and careers of the persons mentioned. It might indeed have been better if these notes had been shorter and there had been more of them. Many persons have been left without remark who might have been run to earth with a little more search. But it is pleasant to be able to identify even such as have been given. The names of Lord Hay of Yester, General Leslie, The Foulis family of Ravelston, the Countess of Hartfell, and many others testify to the aristocratic nature of the congregation of the Tron in those days. And again there is a delightful chapter on the prominent members of the Tron Kirk from 1744 to 1822. To go over them is to read a list of those who made Edinburgh famous, and its society sought after within the period mentioned.

With so much biographical information contained in the notes to this book, it is not surprising that there should be a few slips, some of which may be pointed out with a view to their correction in a future edition. On page 36, Janet, the widow of George Lord Seton, was the daughter, not of the Earl of Hepburn (a title which never existed), but of Sir Patrick Hepburn, first Earl of Bothwell: the Cathcarts were not ancestors of the Dukes of Queensberry as stated on page 55; and the first Lord Elibank, the judge, was not the son but the grandson of John Murray of Blackbarony. On page 65 the laird of Ogle has been misprinted for the laird of Edzel in the account of the 'tulzie' in the streets of Edinburgh between him and Wishart of Pitarrow in 1605. On p. 154 the 'relict of my Lord Ellibank' could hardly have been the widow of Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank. She was Margaret Pentland who had entered into a union with him under promise of marriage so far back as 1587, and was probably not alive in 1650: it was more likely Katherine Weir, the fifth wife of Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank, the first Peer of that title, who married her in 1636. He died in 1649, and she survived till 1655. The John Erskine of Carnock mentioned on p. 227, was not the grandson of Henry Erskine, third Lord Cardross, but his nephew—his father, Sir John Erskine, being not the third son of the third Lord, but the fifth son of the second Lord. On p. 231 the territorial designation of the father of the second Lord Belhaven should be of Presmennan, not of Barncluith.

Such slips however do not materially detract from the value of a very interesting book. The author has done a valuable piece of work, and much curious information may be gathered from its pages as to the

ecclesiastical state of Edinburgh in the period dealt with. It is, for instance, interesting to note that in 1757 a local journal says, 'In one of our churches in this city they have now begun to sing every Sunday without reading a line.' The custom of 'lining the Psalms' no doubt died out as a general practice long ago, but it was kept up in some churches on Communion Sundays till quite a recent date: even the present generation may have heard it; certainly the writer of this article has. A quaint illustration of the social restrictions of the period is given in an extract from a Committee of the Town Council, which states that 'in order to prevent giving offence and encouraging the taking of the back seats in the galleries, it will be proper that the Council resolve that no seats shall be set to liverymen and gentlemen's servants, except those that are furthest back and nearest the walls! This is rather curious, for it was undoubtedly as common for servants to sit, if not in the same pew as their master and his family, at least immediately behind them.

Not the least interesting item in the history of the Tron Kirk was the institution of 'Makcall's Morning Lectureship.' David Makcall, an Edinburgh merchant, 'mortified' in 1639, 3500 merks scots, the interest of which was to be paid to a preacher who was to preach in the church every Sunday morning at six o'clock 'conforme to the trewe religioun establischt . . . without any alteratioun, additioun or diminishing therfra in any sort but onlie to be doone as it is now usit without adding of any unnecessar ceremonie thereto.' The interest on this sum seems to have amounted to 1800 (not 18,000 as stated on p. 236) merks yearly, and preachers were appointed in terms of the bequest down to 1866. The revenue is now apparently paid over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and we are afraid that no person has any longer a chance of hearing the Word expounded 'conforme to the trewe religioun' in the Tron Kirk at 6 A.M. on a Sunday morning!

Attention may be directed to the thirty-four admirable illustrations which adorn this handsome volume. Some of them are after well-known pictures, but others, such as the view of the High Street, with the Commissioner's procession, probably about 1780, are rare and curious.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

A SKETCH OF SCOTTISH INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES. By Amelia Hutchison Stirling, M.A. Pp. ix, 225. Demy 8vo. London: Blackie & Son, Ltd. 1906. 6s. nett.

MISS STIRLING is to be heartily congratulated on making a first step towards supplying a complete history of Scottish commerce. This volume covers the development during the last two centuries with an introduction giving a summary of previous events. The exposition is very clear, the book is well written and is illustrated by eight portraits. Owing to the compact nature of the narrative and the lucidity of style the book is admirably adapted for use in schools—indeed the search for

simplicity is perhaps carried too far, as for instance possibly in the division of the work into paragraphs with large type headings, and certainly when it is carefully explained why the Rebellions of 'Fifteen' and 'Forty-five' were so named.

As a 'sketch' the work is valuable, but such value is subject to limitations beyond the control of the author. It may well be doubted whether a really satisfactory epitome can be written unless it has been preceded by a fuller history which can be condensed. Obviously a really satisfactory short history of a subject, not previously dealt with, would involve as much labour in research as the complete work, and if this labour were undertaken it would naturally result in the greater, not the lesser, publication. Where a short history is written without this extensive preparation errors on matters of principle and of detail are almost unavoidable. The writer must depend for the former largely on the results of the general historian, who is seldom a safe guide as to the real meaning of economic phenomena. Several instances may be noted where the general historian has adopted the judgment of some prejudiced contemporary writer on certain industrial events and where he has been followed by Miss Stirling. For instance, there is something narrow in the prominence given to the idea of the 'commercial jealousy' of England towards Scotland, as if Scotland were entirely blameless. As a matter of fact, Scotland, in her effort to found new industries, totally excluded many English commodities, and there was necessarily friction and retaliation. At the same time it is to be recognised that such commercial bickerings were the rule and not the exception during the 17th century between countries producing somewhat similar goods for export.

A few points of detail may be noted. There were several cloth manufactories *before* 1693. The statement as to trade with English colonies requires modification. Scotsmen were excluded from *direct* trade with these places; it seems probable they were little worse off than Englishmen outside London and Bristol. At the date of the flotation of the Darien Company there were not *two* English India companies: the second was not founded till 1698. It is not true that before the Union 'almost the only manufactures were those of linen and *coarse* cloth.' As a matter of fact there were over a dozen *fine* cloth factories. Before the Union Glasgow had several 'sugaries.' I believe that these were rather rum distilleries than 'sugar refineries.' There are several documents at the Register House and Acts of Parliament which point to this conclusion. The reference to the use of water-power in connection with cotton-spinning in 1769 conveys the idea that the use of such power was a new departure, but water-wheels were used in a Scottish cloth factory in 1681, and early in the reign of Elizabeth the Society of Mineral and Battery Works drew wire by water-power. These points of detail are not mentioned as impairing the general utility of the book.

W. R. SCOTT.

## Paul : A History of Modern England 333

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. In five volumes. Vol. V. pp. vi, 408. 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1906. 8s. 6d. nett.

THE fifth volume completes Mr. Herbert Paul's history of the fifty years beginning with the accession of the last Whig Government under Lord John Russell, upon Sir Robert Peel's resignation in 1846, and ending with the 'dire and disastrous rout' of the Liberal Party at the General Election of 1895.

Of this volume, rather more than a fourth part is occupied by a general index to all five. Some three hundred pages remain, and in these we have the story of the ten years from 1885 till 1895, with the author's critical commentary on events and the actors in them. Short as the volume is, it is the most interesting in the work. The actors are our contemporaries, the events are described by an eyewitness and, in some degree, a participator.

The story is skilfully and sometimes dramatically told. The hand of a strong and experienced writer is manifest throughout. The words and phrases are apt and vivid, the narrative is terse, the criticism pointed and decisive. Doubt is invisible. Frankness and courage are conspicuous.

Mr. Paul is an avowed partisan. He scoffs at impartiality in a historian, but he writes fairly. In his portraits of men his method suggests a process of levelling down, and he is impartial in detraction. He displays his fairness less as a generous foe than as a 'candid' friend. And thus, like *Vanity Fair*, his story is without a hero. The chief theme of this volume being Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone is, of course, the protagonist of the tale. He is here an old man, of unparalleled energy and dauntless heart, but of diminished vitality and elasticity, sometimes astonishing the country with his vigour, and remaining in Parliament chiefly, and in the end wholly, to try to settle Irish affairs. His great qualities are set forth, and his flaws are not forgotten. Sophistical paradox, inaccuracies, fallacies, criticism without substance, the taking up of nostrums which do not represent his deliberate opinion,—these are some of the dues to impartiality which balance Mr. Paul's tribute to the aged statesman's high character, fortitude and genius.

Lord Salisbury is arraigned with equal freedom. He is credited with all the virtues of private life and many great services to the state. But he is charged with having two standards, and the balance seems to lean against him. The 'master of flouts and jeers,' is described as rash and headlong on the platform, but prudent to timidity in Downing Street. His trumpet-note of defiance to Russia was the prelude to a private arrangement which gave her everything she really wanted. He could not hold his tongue or cease from blazing indiscretions. He made odious charges against an opponent whose life was as stainless as his own, and when they turned out to rest on forgeries made no apology. He behaved meanly to most faithful colleagues. He slighted Lord Carnarvon. He slighted Sir John Gorst, 'with important consequences.' He slighted Lord Iddesleigh who was suffering from heart disease, and the shock



brought about his sudden death. He forgot in office what he had loudly asserted in opposition—when votes were to be gained by it. And in office too he varied his principles from the same motive. He declared in the House of Lords that to touch judicial rent in Ireland would be ‘laying your axe at the root of the fabric of civilised society.’ But presently he found that if he did not allow these rents to be revised Ulster would be lost to the Unionist cause, and he consented. Out of office he angled for the Irish votes by making the nearest approach to a moral defence for boycotting, and by speaking of Home Rule with respect if not with concurrence. He did that in public, but he did more in private. On the eve of the General Election of 1885 he secretly offered Mr. Parnell an Irish Parliament in Dublin with power of protecting native industries. When Parnell told this to the House of Commons in the debate on the first Home Rule Bill, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach denied it. He did so in all innocence, for the offer had not been made known to the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury held his peace. But ten days after, at the next sitting of the House of Lords, Lord Carnarvon rose and admitted that it was true. He, as Viceroy, had made the offer with Lord Salisbury’s concurrence. Lord Salisbury preserved ‘a rather ignoble silence,’ but when he constructed his Cabinet a month later Lord Carnarvon was left out.

Mr. Parnell, the frigid and disdainful chief, who neither sought the company of his followers nor shared their religion, is a prominent figure in the book. Mr. Paul relates with dramatic effect the story of the Piggott letters, published by the *Times*, and purporting to show that Parnell connived at the Phoenix Park murders. He describes the tremendous sensation; Parnell’s public denial; Lord Salisbury’s assumption of his guilt notwithstanding, and instant attack on Gladstone as his associate; the curious way in which it was shown that the letters were forgeries, and the amazing exposure of the *Times*. Parnell received an ovation in the House of Commons. But his credit was shortlived. The stars in their courses fought against Home Rule. The trial in the Divorce Court in 1890 ruined the Irish Leader with his own countrymen as well as with the British public. The Catholic Church found a weapon placed in its grasp with which to strike down the heretic, and the political authority which Parnell had for a time compelled them to forego passed again into the hands of the Irish priests.

Lord Salisbury’s simple plan for the solution of the Irish problem had broken down. Mr. Gladstone gave ten years of his life to his, and soon after its rejection Liberalism was more nearly dead in Great Britain than it had been since 1874. Liberal projects of reform had melted away. In Mr. Paul’s words, ‘The threatened campaign against the Lords was a laughing-stock. The Welsh Bishops were triumphant. The Church of Scotland trampled on her enemies. The Church of England seemed to have none. “The trade” with their tied houses laughed at the Local Veto Bill.’

Mr. Paul finds room for an account of the reform of local government, which he calls a social revolution; of Lord Salisbury’s Foreign Policy;

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of the introduction of Free Education into English and Welsh Schools, which he says was first brought within the range of practical politics by Mr. Chamberlain; and of Sir William Harcourt's changes in the succession duties, which have been such a boon to succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer. There is a chapter on 'The New Unionism,' that is, Trade Unionism, and another entitled 'The Triumph of Ritualism'—in the 'use of lighted candles unnecessary for illumination,' and other momentous matters.

This volume, like its predecessors, is embellished with Mr. Paul's epigrams, always sparkling, though not invariably relevant. He says of Mr. W. H. Smith, Leader of the House of Commons in 1886, 'Mr. Smith's speeches were intelligible to careful listeners who understood the subject.' He describes the French Ambassador in 1892 as 'M. Waddington, who had been at Rugby and Cambridge, but was nevertheless a scholar of European reputation.' (Mr. Paul is understood to be an Eton and Oxford man.) His illustrations are generally very happy, and he is fond of drawing them from scripture.

Mr. Paul's final chapter is a brief and interesting judgment on the tendency and signification of the events recorded in his history. He concludes with a moral. It is that these events 'have tested the English character, and it has rung true.' He dilates on this fortunate conclusion in words which one seems to have heard before. It will be a comfort to readers born north of the Tweed to be assured in the last sentence of the book that England is synonymous with the British Empire.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE ROMAN FORTS ON THE BAR HILL, DUMBARTONSHIRE. By George Macdonald, LL.D., and Alexander Park, F.S.A.Scot. With a note on the architectural details by Thomas Ross, F.S.A.Scot. Pp. xii, 150. Fcap. 4to. Glasgow: MacLehose. 1906. 5s. nett.

A FRONTIER Outpost of the Roman Empire in the second century—these words might have been an alternative title to this well illustrated, well written, and learned volume, in which a wealth of archaeological material is collected in such a manner as to bring alongside of each fact and 'find' the brief but clear information afforded by the rapidly advancing knowledge of modern research. Bar Hill, a height of 495 feet near midway of the course of the Antonine Vallum, illustrates the maxim of Roman warfare, that position may often serve better than valour. What may be termed the romantic side of archaeology is seen in the wonderful process of analytic spadework and reconstructive criticism—the element of imagination always necessary for historical interpretations—whereby in and under the fort built by the soldiers of Lollius Urbicus circa 140-142 A.D. there are traced the ditched outlines of the original fort of Agricola, circa 81 A.D. These are achievements rendered possible only by the public spirit of Mr. Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore, proprietor of the site, the laborious care of the excavators under the direction of his factor Mr. Park, and the skilful presentment

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of the results in the work of Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Park together. It is hard to say who are most entitled to congratulation—Mr. Whitelaw and Mr. Park for the trophies they have recovered, or Mr. Macdonald,

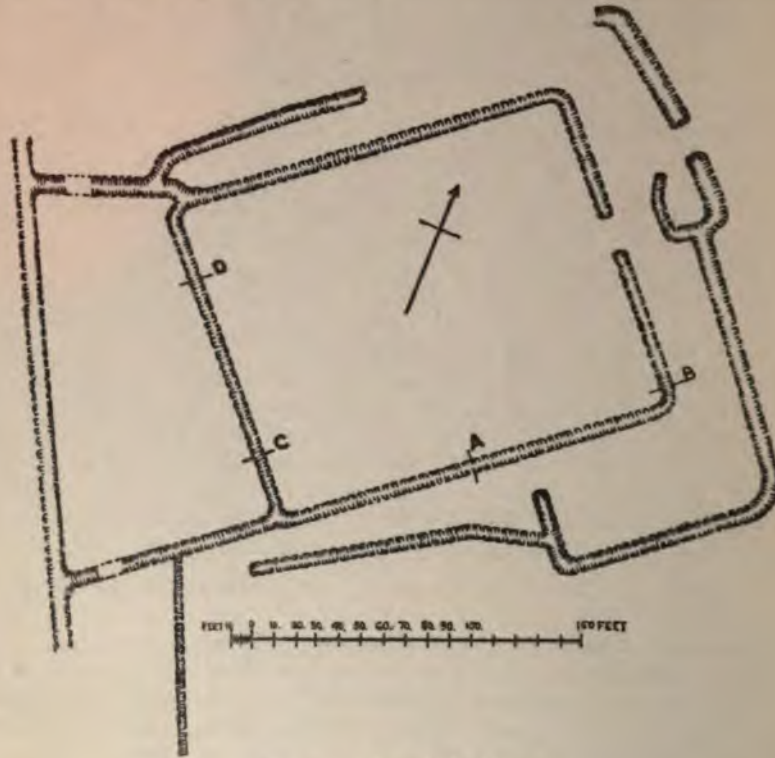


FIG. 2. The Early Fort.

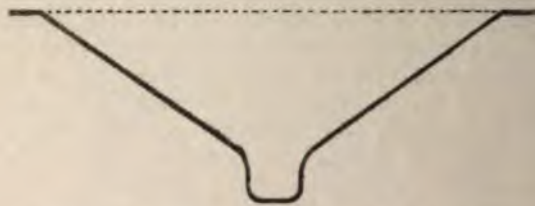


FIG. 9. Section showing shape of Ditches.

and with him Mr. Haverfield, for the archaeological and classical erudition so conspicuous in the expositions.

Roman garrison life in Britain steadily grows better known; recent explorations have revealed much both of military method and of the



FIG. 46. CARVED CAPITAL AT BAR HILL.



FIG. 26. PLATE OF BLACK WARE, COPPER POT, AND FRAGMENTS OF COARSE WARE FROM BAR HILL.

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affairs of the household; and one might now out of the relics of Bar Hill alone supplement considerably the lore of Vegetius concerning camps and forts, the duties of officers in charge, and the stores and equipment of the force. Agricola, we know from Tacitus, built across the isthmus a chain of forts. Bar Hill, on evidence which though circumstantial makes certainly a beautiful piece of historical inference, may be taken as one of them. The ditches of this early fort are shown in the accompanying cut (Fig. 2). When the Vallum of Antonine was raised sixty years after Agricola's campaign of conquest, the fort was reconstructed and enlarged, the new site completely including but overlapping the original. The ditches of Agricola's fort were therefore filled up. The rampart of the new station, constituting its principal defence was, like the Vallum, a wall of sod on a base of stone. The ditches were uniform, with the scarp and counterscarp sloping inwards almost to the point of a V, but becoming perpendicular at about 18 inches from the narrow flat bottom, as shown in section (Fig. 9). On the supposition that the Antonine fort was for the accommodation of a recognised military unit, our authors conclude that 'common sense would suggest that its normal garrison was a single cohort 480 strong.'

The Praetorium, more correctly Principia, stood in the centre facing north. The building was of stone. Other buildings, indicated by the remains of wooden uprights, were of timber. The garrison consisted of Baetasii, who were Belgic auxiliaries, and Hamii, who were Syrian bowmen. Little could these men have dreamed that after seventeen centuries their relics would brighten the page of history, and that their very ashpits would be a mine of domestic information. The mock epitaph which Teufelsdröckh framed, 'Si monumentum quaeris, fimetum adspice,' was evidently the prophecy of an unconscious archaeologist. For the refuse pits of Bar Hill have contributed not less notably than its well to the long array of articles found during these excavations. Pottery of all kinds, red, black, and 'Samian' ware, mortaria, dolia, amphorae, pelves, pieces of glass, bits of barrels, combs, bradawls, coins, discs for some quoit-like game, ballista balls, nails, hoops, tools, buckles, bridle-bits, daggers, arrowheads, bronze ornaments, cups, a mason's plumb-ball, articles of bone and horn, infinite store of worn footwear—the list is almost an inventory of military household plenishing.

Many of the things are illustrated in the volume, such as the plate, copper pot, and coarse ware shown in Fig. 26. The major honours, however, belong to the well, as the receptacle not only of the fine altar by the Baetasii (Fig. 28), but also of the extraordinarily interesting architectural fragments—pillars, capitals, and bases, with mouldings often more suggestive, as Mr. Ross hints, of the eleventh century than of classic art. Some, he says, 'are exactly of the same type as those developed in Western Europe some centuries later.' This remark is very exactly applicable, for instance, to the carved capital (Fig. 46), in which upright leaves are cut in the concave bell between the circular neck moulding and the square abacus. It might well have provoked a discussion, by one so able to discuss it as Mr. Ross, on the indication

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such a fragment affords of the development of Gothic architecture. How this collection of large and weighty sculptured stone—the *debris* of a colonnade—came to be in the well is a problem of great attractiveness, on which Mr. Macdonald is a shrewd and cautious guide.

The book is a model of exposition. While the excavations owed much of their fruitfulness to the intelligent zeal of Mr. John McIntosh, forester on Gartshore, the register of the results as constantly reflects the scrupulous accuracy of Mr. Park's observation as it does the classical learning of Mr. Macdonald. Their conjunction has been indeed fortunate, for the result is a volume not only of prime archaeological importance but of high general interest.

The place of Bar Hill in the Roman military system is shown with a directness and lucidity that intensify the hope of future studies as well as future excavations. The first fort of Agricola was succeeded by the Antonine station, which as a part of the Vallum marked the definite inclusion of Southern Scotland within the sphere of organised frontier defence. The strength of the Roman army lay in headquarters at York. Bar Hill, far north of that base, was held as an outpost until the district between the Walls was abandoned, probably in the reign of Commodus (180-192 A.D.).

GEO. NEILSON.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, WITH PICTURES IN COLOUR. By James Orrock, R.I., and Sir James Linton, R.I. The story by Walter Wood. Edited by W. Shaw Sparrow. Pp. 133. Cr. 4to. With many illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1906. 15s. nett.

THIS sumptuous volume forms part of a series called on the fly-leaf 'Popular Books on Art.' In such works the literary part has often to be a subsidiary element in the whole scheme. Here it takes the form of a short biography of Mary. As there is no room to discuss difficult points, the writer narrates his story in his own way, which is at times hard on the hapless Queen. The sketch is very readable, and skilfully conceals the fact that its main purpose is to guide the reader through the illustrations. The artistic part is composed of twenty-six pictures beautifully printed in colours, nearly half of which are portraits, or represent historical scenes. Old-fashioned students of history will be startled when they read at the very beginning of the Preface that 'the oldest supposed portraits of Mary do not bear out the historical testimony as to her loveliness; indeed, they are stiff and formal works with as much seduction about them, perhaps, as the income-tax possesses.' Whether this is true or not, many will prefer to let their own imagination reconstruct the past from the old portraits rather than accept these new imaginings, which, however clever they may be, have also one characteristic of the income-tax, their modernity. There should be no difference of opinion as to the other fourteen illustrations, which are described as 'outside sketches,' or landscapes. They will be appreciated,

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some even admired, by all; they form a very attractive series of the principal stations in the long *Via Dolorosa* which starts from Linlithgow Palace to terminate in the cathedral of Peterborough.

F. J. AMOURS.

PEACHAM'S COMPLEAT GENTLEMAN, 1634, with an Introduction by G. S. Gordon. Pp. xxiii, 261. Small 4to. With two facsimile title-pages. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. 5s. nett.

THIS book is worthy of being reprinted in the tasteful form in which it has been issued from the Clarendon Press.

Henry Peacham, Master of Arts, sometime of Trinity College in Cambridge, as he styles himself on the title-page, was a remarkable man. His versatility is evidenced by a mere list of subjects upon which he published treatises. From drawing and painting to Latin verse, from *The Worth of a peny, or a caution to keep money* to the *Art of Blazoury*, he is ever ready to instruct and often amuse, and his moderation and sanity are conspicuous all through. *The Compleat Gentleman, Fashioning him absolute in the most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman*, was first published in 1622, a second impression, considerably enlarged, in 1626, and in 1627 the last chapter, *Concerning Fishing*, was added. In 1634 a new edition appeared, and the last, until the present edition, was issued in 1661. The book was evidently popular, and deservedly so. Its twenty chapters cover a large variety of subjects, as 'The dutie of Parents in their Children's Education,' 'Of stile in speaking, writing and reading History,' 'Of Poetry,' 'Of Musicke,' 'Of Drawing and Painting in Oyle,' 'Of Exercise of Body,' 'Of Travaile,' 'Of Warre,' 'Of Fishing.' On all these and many other topics Peacham discourses in a quaint and often admirable way. Our author refers in the chapter on Poetry to George Buchanan, 'who, albeit in his person, behaviour and fashion, hee was rough-hewen, slovenly and rude, seldome caring for a better outside than a Ruggeworne girt close about him, yet his inside and conceipt in Poesie was most rich, and his sweetnesse and facilitie in a verse unimitably excellent, as appeareth by that Master-peece his *Psalmes*.' The passage is too long for quotation in full, but it will be found that discrimination in praising Buchanan is a feature of Peacham's notice.

Many of our author's counsels would not come amiss, if taken to heart by both gentle and simple to-day, as this: 'Before you travaile into a strange Countrey, I wish you to be wel acquainted with your owne.' In fact, this old-world schoolmaster's book is brimful of sayings of permanent value, and he is almost never dull. His fault is want of method, if fault it be in a work such as this.

It has been carefully edited, with a sufficient introductory sketch of the author's life and works. An index would have been of great service to the reader who wishes to pull out the numerous plums scattered through the book.

JOHN EDWARDS.

THE HAMMERMEN OF EDINBURGH AND THEIR ALTAR IN ST. GILES' CHURCH, being extracts from the Records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, 1494 to 1558. With Introductory Notes by John Smith. Pp. xciii, 201. Demy 8vo, with 3 illustrations. Edinburgh: William J. Hay. 1906. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE craft guild of the Hammermen, comprising as it did the eight divisions of metal workers, viz., blacksmiths, goldsmiths, pewterers, lorimers, saddlers, cutlers, bucklemakers and armourers, was one of the most potent of those exclusive corporations which caused so much trouble in the Scottish burghs throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Originally conceived for the furtherance of religion, each guild paid special reverence to its own particular saint, that of the Hammermen being St. Eligius or Eloi, originally a French goldsmith, afterwards bishop of Noyon in A.D. 640. To him an altar was dedicated in St. Giles' and endowed by a certain John Dalrymple towards the end of the fifteenth century. From the records the author locates the position of this altar in the North transept of that church, and gives his reasons for considering the site hitherto accepted in the area known as St. Eloi's Chapel as erroneous. He discourses also at length on the furnishing of the altar, the mass book, and the service, and tells something of the religious plays and processions which added colour to the strenuous life of the mediaeval citizen. The craft procured its first grant of Incorporation in 1483, though it was doubtless in existence for a long period anterior to that date. In considering the long struggle between the craftsmen and merchants for recognition and right of representation in the town councils, the sympathies of the author are very markedly with the craftsmen, and he rather disregards the fact that the regulations of the crafts were not framed entirely for the benefit of the community. Though the introductory chapters afford evidence of a painstaking endeavour to interpret the record picturesquely, the editing shows a regrettable lack of care. The transcription is frequently at fault. A glossary would have been a useful addition, while the practice of giving in brackets in the text the obvious meanings of occasional words is not to be commended.

ALEX. O. CURLE.

THE HERALDRY OF THE DOUGLASES, WITH NOTES ON ALL THE MALES OF THE FAMILY, DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ARMS, PLATES AND PEDIGREES. By G. Harvey Johnston, author of "Heraldry Made Easy," etc. Pp. xii, 84. With eight illustrations. Cr. 4to. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston. 1907. 10s. 6d. nett.

MR. JOHNSTON has marked out a useful line for himself in his series of armorial ordinaries in which he groups the arms of our leading Scottish families, devoting a volume to each surname of which he treats; and not the least valuable feature of his method is the plates of arms emblazoned in their proper colours, with which he illustrates his successive subjects.



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*The Heraldry of the Douglasses* compares well with the previous volumes—*The Heraldry of the Johnstons*, and *The Heraldry of the Stewarts*, none the less that the compiler has abandoned in it his attempt to describe heraldic bearings without the use of heraldic terms.

Mr. Johnston naturally does not set out to produce a work entirely from original sources; he has in some cases, however, made considerable search in the Records when pedigrees were not to be found ready to his hand. His book is the result of much diligent labour, and to say that one may discover some slips in it, is to say only what may be said of most books. It is also superfluous to observe that, as there are different schools of heraldry as a decorative art, the execution of the shields in the plates may not please everybody; but, as an assistant in the study of the history and science of heraldry, Mr. Johnston's work will, like its predecessors already mentioned, have its share of popularity. The statement in the title, that the book contains notes on 'all the males' of the family, cannot, of course, be meant as accurate literally.

J. H. STEVENSON.

### A HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF CAIRNES OR CAIRNS, AND ITS CONNECTIONS.

By H. C. Lawtor, Pp. xiii, 292. Cr. 4to. London: Elliot Stock. 1906. 21s.

THIS somewhat lengthy volume shows, in spite of a few misprints, much careful genealogical work, dealing with a family which has not already boasted a Family History, and which had as its cradle in early times Cairns Castle, in the parish of Mid-Calder, Midlothian. In 1349 the lands of Cairns were held by William de Carnys, and in 1363 he and his son received the Baronies of East and West Whitburn by a charter, which is reproduced in this work. The original lands passed by an heiress to the Crichtons, Earls of Caithness, in the fifteenth century, and they quartered on their coat the arms of 'Carnys of that Ilk' in recognition. A Cadet, John de Cairnis, or Cairns, however, born about 1385, became heir to his uncle, an ecclesiastic and Provost of Lincluden, and founded a line in Galloway. From this are traced the families of Cairns of Orchardton, Cults, Kipp, Barnbachill, and others, whose pedigrees are given with pious care. From the family of Cults issued Alexander Cairnes, who, in 1610, secured a grant of land in Ulster, and was progenitor of the families of Cairnes, who have intermarried with many distinguished families in Ireland, such as the Lords Blaney and Rossmore, the Bellinghams, and the Moores of Moore Hall. One member of the family played an important part at the siege of Derry also. Among the less known descents we find that of Earl Cairns, which is traced back to William Cairns in 1716, who also crossed over to Ireland. The book is valuable as a contribution to the literature of the Scottish plantation of Ulster, and it is elaborately illustrated with portraits of members of the Cairns family and their connections (among whom we find Burns's friend, Willie Nicol), which will be found interesting by their descendants.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND OLD-LORE. No. 1, January. London:  
Printed for the Viking Club. 1907.

THE series of which this volume is the first issued is a praiseworthy side effort by the Viking Club, London, whose labours in the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the North, especially of Orkney and Shetland, are well known. The series promises to be an Omnium-gatherum of all things rich and rare bearing upon the islands in the olden time, and of this the first instalment now before us is a very creditable example. Apart from the miscellaneous matter which is of much local interest, the commencement of a *DIPLOMATARIUM ORCADENSE ET HÆMELANDENSE*, consisting of reprints, with translations, of state papers and other documents relating to the islands from early times, is a feature of lasting importance which no one interested in the history of the islands can afford to ignore.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

A JACOBITE STRONGHOLD OF THE CHURCH. By Mary E. Ingram. Cr. 8vo.  
Pp. xi, 124. Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son. 1907. 3s. 6d. nett.

IN this little history of the Episcopal Church of Old St. Paul's, Edinburgh, Miss Ingram shows us very well how closely Jacobitism and Episcopacy were allied in Scotland. On the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in 1688, Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh, when he was forced to relinquish St. Giles', is believed to have ministered in a house in 'Corridor Close,' which afterwards became known as St. Paul's Chapel and which was the centre of Jacobite thought. Oppressed after the '15 as they were, the Episcopalians remained steadfast to their Church, and in 1741 this meeting house, which had never lacked congregations in spite of persecution, was formally purchased from the trustees of a staunch supporter, Thomas Kinkaid 'of blessed memory,' and after that its history becomes more certain. Its early ministers included Bishop Cant, who died 'dosed with age' in 1730; and Bishop Gillan; and in 1735, Mr. William Harper, 'a discreet young gentleman,' was inducted. He, like Bishop Rose, married into the Jacobite family of Threipland of Fingask, and was so staunch in the same political faith that the Chevalier nominated him for a Bishopric. The Jacobites flocked to his chapel. Thomas Ruddiman, Lady Margaret Montgomery (who assisted Prince Charlie's escape in Skye), the Murrays of Broughton, to name but a few, are mentioned in his registers, and on Sept. 21, 1745, he was able to give thanks for the 'Compleat victory obtained this morning at Gladsmuir by the Prince's army,' on the information of Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne. The opinions of his flock are shown in the baptisms of children by the name of Charles, 'after the Prince of Wales, then at Holyrood House.' The author has collected much information from the 'Lyon in Mourning' and other sources about Mr. Harper's congregation, who were mostly 'out' in the '45 or had near relatives with Prince Charles. She is able to give the prayers they used for their friends under sentence of death, and many other details of interest about their political and social vicissitudes. Though St. Paul's suffered severely from the Penal Laws

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after 1745, the congregation did not disperse. Mr. Harper (whose portrait, engraved by Sir Robert Strange, after De Nune, is given as frontispiece) died in 1765, and his cousin was his successor. In 1786 the remnant were able to extend their premises. In 1789, on the news of Prince Charlie's death, the clergyman, Dr. Webster, was permitted to read prayers for the reigning dynasty, and, in 1792, the Penal Statutes against the Episcopal Church were repealed. The history of the church is continued down to the present day, a handsome church having been erected in 1905 to commemorate the older building, which had so many Royalist associations. We must congratulate the writer on the amount of interesting information she has got together about the history of this 'Jacobite chapel.'

HISTORY OF THE BURGH OF DUMFRIES, WITH NOTES OF NITHSDALE, ANNANDALE, AND THE WESTERN BORDER. By William M'Dowall. Third edition, with Additional Notes. Pp. xii, 878. Demy 8vo. Dumfries: Thomas Hunter & Co., *Standard Office*. 1906. 7s. 6d.

M'DOWALL'S history, on its first appearance in 1867, was welcomed as an unusually capable burgh chronicle, and a second edition was called for in 1873. Dumfries, county town of a border shire, with stirring and varied annals, and with memories not only of Bruces and Balliols, but of Maxwells and the Covenant, Prince Charlie and Robert Burns, merited just such a chronicler of miscellaneous tastes—historic, picturesque, and poetic—as it found in M'Dowall. In his flowing narrative the military and burghal elements, the national and local, historic and literary, were blended with a skill and grace denied to less experienced pens. Full of enthusiasms, without jealousies, generous in owning assistance, cordial in welcoming co-workers and even critics in his field, M'Dowall (born, Maxwelltown, 1815; died, Dumfries, 1888), editor for forty years of the *Dumfries Standard*, earned no mean reputation in the role of historian. His history made its mark at once as a burghal and county chronicle, and holds its own after forty years, keeping still its high relative place of honour among such works. Probably no better record of a county town has been written. The task of re-editing could not have fallen into better hands than those of Mr. Thomas Watson, inheritor also of M'Dowall's editorial chair in Dumfries. The text is faithfully reproduced, including the large body of footnotes with references to authorities and illustrative extracts. These are now amplified by Mr. Watson, who has made good use of the more recent studies of local antiquaries. It is not only an admirable volume of south-country history, but a worthy memorial, such as the author would himself have most desired, of a diligent and genial Nithsdale historian, poet, and man of letters.

DROMANA: THE MEMOIRS OF AN IRISH FAMILY. By Thérèse Muir Mackenzie. Pp. xv, 213. 8vo. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1906. 5s. nett.

THIS winningly written chapter of national and family history traces the Geraldine fortunes from fabulous Trojan origins down through the

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authentic annals of Irish conquest and the long memories of tribal strife. Many landscapes and portraits brighten pages which in their light and readable way carry no small load of fact and legend about the old fortress of Dromana, its owners, and their fortunes from the Fitzgeralds to the Villiers line. Especially curious are the stories about the 'Old Countess' of Desmond, whose preternatural longevity, discussed by Raleigh, Bacon, and Fynes Moryson, appears not unnaturally to have expanded still more after she was dead. There are fine faces in the gallery of portraits, but none such as that of the old countess, which has intensity and force enough almost to explain the myth of her 140 years, and of her fantastic folklore death 'by a fall from a cherry tree then.'

THE SAFETY OF THE HONOURS. By Allan M'Aulay. Pp. x, 351. 8vo. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1906. 1s. 6d.

READERS of Mr. Keith Murray's documentary article in this number on *Saving the Regalia in 1652* will turn with interest to a work which in a setting of fiction tells the story partly from the narrative of William Meston, a tutor in the Earl Marischall's household early in the eighteenth century. The facts, well combined with patriotism and emotion, have supplied to Mr. M'Aulay the matter for a good local novel, a romance of Dunnottar.

MEMOIRS OF THE VERNEY FAMILY DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, compiled from the papers and illustrated by the portraits at Claydon House. By Frances Parthenope Verney and Margaret M. Verney. Vol. I. pp. xxvi, 582; Vol. II. pp. x, 574. Cr. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. 7s. nett.

THIS is a reissue in popular form in the Silver Library Series of the second edition (1904), abridged and corrected by the present Lady Verney. It brings within the reach of the many a work which sheds, as is well known, much light of a personal and intimate character upon the period of English history in the 17th century before and during the Civil War. Since 1845, when the late Mr. Bruce began editing for the Camden Society a selection of Letters and Papers of the Verney Family, the value of these has been recognised. The compression into two volumes from the four of the original edition (1892-9) is a distinct advantage.

THE LAND OF PARDONS. By Anatole le Braz. Translated by Frances M. Gostling, with illustrations in colour by T. C. Gotch. Pp. xxx, 290. Dy. 8vo. London: Methuen. 1906. 7s. 6d. nett.

To estimate justly the significance of the religious ceremonies described in this masterpiece of literature—that has been well translated in the present edition, and supplemented by good illustrations—it is necessary to be in thorough touch with the Bretons of what is well named La Bretagne Bretonnante, who retain, unaffected by the scepticism of their French neighbours, the child-like faith of their ancestors in an ever-present power higher than themselves, whose influence permeates their whole existence.

There is, perhaps, no living man better fitted to interpret the people of the ancient province, which has for centuries retained its own individuality, than M. Le Braz, who is himself a Breton of the Bretons, has lived amongst them all his life, and has the secret shared by few of winning the confidence of the peasants, whose reserve it is impossible for an outsider to break through. There is scarcely a corner of his native land that M. Le Braz has not visited, scarcely a pardon he has not attended. With unerring instinct he fathoms the sources of their hopes and fears, feeling with and for them, and moreover, combining with his deep insight into Breton human nature of to-day, so intimate a knowledge of the past, that he is able to unravel the tangled web of superstition, to which his fellow-countrymen cling with a devotion as pathetic as it is indestructible.

In his Introduction he goes to the root of the meaning to the Breton peasant of the Pardon of his Parish, and his accounts of the five typical ceremonies to which he gives the poetic names of the Pardons of the Poor, of the Singers, the Fire, the Mountain and the Sea, are full of vivid word pictures of scenes actually witnessed. Specially fine is the description of the Pardon of Fire that takes place at St. Jean du Doigt at the summer solstice, to which, though it is essentially a feast of light, many blind repair in the hope of receiving their sight.

THE two-hundredth anniversary of the merging of Scottish independence in the wider nation that came into being on 1st May, 1707, has not excited on either side of the Border the enthusiasm that so momentous an event demanded. (*The Early History of the Scottish Union Question*. By G. W. T. Omond. Pp. 194. 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1906. 2s. 6d.) Mr. Omond, however, has done well to seize the occasion to issue a second or Bi-Centenary edition of his unpretentious little sketch of the earlier attempts to unite England and Scotland into one whole. The general reader who desires to obtain reliable information within a brief compass will here find himself under safe guidance.

Mr. Omond, while founding his readable narrative on the original authorities, has kept a keen outlook for points of human interest, without neglecting the more weighty matters of the law. The book is one of sustained interest, well-proportioned and eminently readable. If the narrative suddenly stops short, precisely at the point when the plot becomes most interesting, and before the appointment of the commissioners who at last succeeded in arranging terms of Union, Mr. Omond would probably seek to justify himself by referring his readers for a continuation to his earlier work on *Fletcher of Saltoun*, which forms one of "The Famous Scots Series."

MR. PROTHERO'S *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 10s. 6d.) has established itself as one of the most indispensable of the source books which every teacher and student of history must

keep beside him ready for consultation. A third edition, therefore, stands in no need of an introduction, and calls for little comment, as the additions made to it consist merely of four new documents added to the Appendix (forming pp. 261-472), while only one small correction has been found necessary. It is an additional advantage in a book that has become a recognized text-book that the numbering of the pages should be preserved absolutely identical with that of earlier editions. That this has been done is apparent from a glance at the Table of Contents, which is, word for word, a repetition of that which appeared in 1894, even to the reference on p. xv, to 'Letters from Archbishop Whitgift,' where Archbishop Bancroft is meant, a strange mistake to have lived into the third edition of a book in which scholarly accuracy forms a leading feature. The Introduction is as valuable as are the extracts. In the luminous section on the Star Chamber, Mr. Prothero makes no mention or use of the admirable volume edited for the Selden Society by Mr. Leadam, published since the last edition of the *Select Statutes*.

We have to acknowledge another instalment of the World's Classics from the Oxford University Press, including: Sir Walter Scott's *Lives of the Novelists* (342 pages, 1s. net). Oliver Wendell Holmes' *Poet at the Breakfast Table* (307 pages, 1s. net); *Professor at the Breakfast Table* (273 pages, 1s. net). *Sheridan's Plays* (494 pages, 1s. net). *Thackeray's Pendennis*, 2 vols. (472, 496 pages, 2s. net).

Mr. Frowde is to be congratulated upon the excellent value which he gives in these reproductions of the Classics.

Mr. William Stewart has sent us a reprint of *The Rae Press at Kirkbride and Dumfries*, a paper contributed by him to the sixth volume of the publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. Son of a Dumfries clockmaker, a student of Glasgow University, ordained parish minister of Kirkbride, Dumfriesshire, in 1703, Rae marked himself off from all his fellow clergymen by starting a printing press. It was a hobby that brought him graver troubles than satire in doggerel against his blending of callings sacred and profane:

'The Printing Trade he does now try,  
The Minister Trade he should lay by;  
Is this agreeable to his Station?  
No: he should not have that Occupation.  
What Way will his poor Sheep be fed  
When he is at the Printing Trade?'

Was it a worse charge that was made against him in 1715—that of 'his printing the obscene ballad of "Maggie Lauder"'? He personally proved an alibi, but his press did the deed. Rae well deserves Mr. Stewart's careful gathering of facts about him and the trial-bibliography of the products of his press. History gratefully remembers him in particular for *The History of the late Rebellion*, published by him in 1718, a volume of unusual value as a local chronicle of the '15.

A little pamphlet, by Mr. D. Murray Rose, on King Duncan II., discusses the problem of Murray origins in the course of an attempt to prove that Duncan was Earl of Moray—the 'Duncan Comite' of the discredited Dunfermline charter of Malcolm III.—before his accession to the throne in 1094. Other personalities debated are 'Alexander nepos regis Alexandri' in the Scone charter, William fitz-Duncan, and Freskin whose Flemish origin is denied. Mr. Rose thus offers a variety of genealogical heterodoxies.

Papers in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Dec.) include a very valuable statement of evidences on the subject of 'Earthworks of the Moated Mound Type' from the pen of Mr. T. Davies Pryce. The position of Mr. Pryce may best be stated in the words of his own concluding sentence: 'Paradoxical as the statement may seem, I venture to predict that the fuller our knowledge of this subject becomes, the more complete will be the proof of Norman parentage, and the clearer will be the evidence of an earlier origin.' Discussing the Scottish motes, he acknowledges that there have been definitely established the claims of the Normans to the construction and occupation of some of the earthworks, but urges that there has been a failure to show that they were of exclusively Norman origin. Another article in that *Journal* for December last is by Mr. R. O. Heslop on 'The Roman Wall Pilgrimage of June, 1906.' A pleasant narrative of that archaeological excursion, it brings forward most of the issues current about the Wall and the Vallum, such as the doubtful camp at Portgate, the 'orientation' of the praetorium in certain of the stations, the object of the turrets (suggested to have been for watch and signal purposes), the inferences of Mr. Haverfield and rival theorists, especially Mr. J. P. Gibson, on the turf fragment at Appletree, and the long-drawn-out general question, Who built the Wall? One wonders how many of them will be solved before the next pilgrimage. These excursions, which so instructively focus opinion and probe evidence and argument by a sea to sea journey along the line of the Wall, are held once every ten years. Hadrian or Severus—when shall we have made up our minds whose Wall it was? And the Vallum—is its mystery only to be unravelled, as Dr. Hodgkin declares, at the same time as the problem of evil?

The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society issues, in its fifty-second volume, its *Proceedings during the year 1906*, a solid octavo of 200 pages. English societies of this kind always show in their transactions, as compared with those of Scottish societies, a marked preponderance of ecclesiastical material—the natural consequence of the larger mass of ancient churches and relics in the south. Somerset is no exception, and its antiquaries have much to say of their abbeys and sacred edifices. The Norman Conquest of the shire is surveyed, with special references to its castles. Continuing previous reports, an account is given of excavations during 1905-1906 of the lake village at Glastonbury. There are plans, sections, and photographs of the excavations. Finds illustrated

include objects of bone, iron, lead, flint, and baked clay; antlers, some with saw-marks, some perforated, one probably a cheek-piece of a bridle bit; spindle wheels of stone and pottery; bronze fibulae and link-shaped objects; mortised beams of oak; and an annulet of shale.

*The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record* goes stoutly forward as a register of the story of the shire. The October number showed some fine monuments of the Digby family: Jaqueta (1496), Everard (1540), and Kenelm (1590). Horse-shoe folklore is attractively dealt with by the editor, Mr. G. Phillips, whose camera is as skilful as his pen. The Kelso horse-shoe 'fixed in one of the streets,' is discussed as probably an anti-witchcraft charm. Some curious horse-shoe customs are still kept up, for example at Oakham, the Rutlandshire capital: 'Every baron of the realm the first time he comes through the town shall give a horse-shoe to nail upon the castle gate, which if he refuses the Bayliff of that manour has power to stop his coach and take one off his horse's foot.' So the custom is stated in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*. 'Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, April, 1895,' the inscription of one of the shoes at Oakham Castle, shows modern royalty imitating the example of Queen Elizabeth in paying this curious archaeological toll to the castle of the Norman Walkelin de Ferrariis.

*The Reliquary* for January has a bunch of illustrations showing jugglers, urns, ornaments, beads, and other spoil from a bronze age barrow, a bull ring, a tithe barn, fibulae, knitting-sticks, etc., besides a full-plate of the stone-circle at Croft Moraig, about two miles from Kenmore, on the high road to Aberfeldy. Mr. Arthur Watson's article on jugglers collects much odd matter on juggling with balls, and is drawn from both classical and medieval sources.

No contemporary journal lives better up to its motto of love for 'everything that's old' than does *The Antiquary*, now starting its forty-third volume. Contents of the January number include Eton College Songs, inscribed Roman fibulae, hill forts, low side windows, brasses, and inscriptions, and a historical will—that of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, taken prisoner and beheaded by the Lancastrians in 1469.

*Scottish Notes and Queries* (Oct.) serviceably reprints some poems of John Leyden, not edited in the collected works. The *Song of Wallace* is among the number—a conventional performance, but animated by patriotic spirit, and an occasional touch of Leyden's fire. The first verse may be quoted:

Farewell each dun heath and each green Scottish plain,  
Which Wallace shall never revisit again;  
Where the flower of my heroes lie mouldering below—  
But their graves have been steeped with the blood of their foe.



Mr. P. J. Anderson, Librarian, Aberdeen University, contributes (Dec.) a transcript of a tract printed in 1707, containing verses on the Wells of Aberdeen, by John Alexander, a physician. The lines were suggested by Cardan's visit to Aberdeen and commendation of its eight wells. Here are the praises of two:

*Of the Well in the Broad-gate.*

On Neighbouring Well Cardan did praise bestow  
Hither convey'd, may't ever healthfull flow.

*Of the Well at the Colledge.*

From Helicon a Muse doth here retyre  
With its pure Streams, which Citizens inspyre.

Probably the waters had all the virtues Cardan assigned, but the Wells failed to inspire Alexander's Muse, which can never have dwelt on the slopes of Helicon.

*Scotia*, a new shilling quarterly, the journal of the St. Andrew Society, enters the lists to rectify misconceptions about the position of Scotland in British History. Mr. MacRitchie contributes a curious disclaimer. While 'qua editor' he agrees to his committee's determination to use, editorially, only 'Scottish' and 'Scots,' he reserves to himself his right, if he chooses, to give effect to his individual preference for 'Scotch.' While we ourselves confess to preferring 'Scots' and 'Scottish,' we see no wisdom in imposing it on contributors, and thereby canonising a decision on a mere matter of taste as if it were an article of patriotic faith. But *Scotia's* extreme standpoints are not ours.

*The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* (Jan.) has local epitaphs, memoirs, and descriptions. Extracts from Sonning church register show penance done in 1608 by parents for withholding a base child from baptism—'the wilful detayninge of this childe from holie baptisme, for which mye offence and contempt of Christe's holie mysteries I am right hartly sorry.'

What the United States achieve archaeologically is remarkably shown in a supplement to volume X. (1906) of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The supplement is a series of annual reports of various archaeological institutes, schools, and committees working not at home only, but also in Athens, Rome, and Palestine. Subjects of research are naturally very varied, embracing classical studies, epigraphy, palaeography, art, and exploration. The mechanism for special investigations afforded by so many active antiquarian organisations is an excellent indication of the catholicity of the transatlantic spirit.

*The American Historical Review* (Jan.) opens with a rather elusive proposition that religion is still the key to history, describes and quotes reports of seventeenth and eighteenth century parliamentary debates at Westminster from the records of the French Foreign Office, and prints documents that prove at last, beyond fear of cavil, that Columbus was

born in 1451. An article of high interest is a critique signed 'A British Officer,' on the literature of the war in South Africa.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (Jan.) contains a violent protest against the *Journal* of Robert Lucas (noticed supra, *S.H.R.* iv. 105), treating it as a treacherous and untrue narrative designed to subvert General William Hull. The protest, however, is fuller of indignation than of the justification for it.

The last number of the *Revue Historique* (Jan.-Feb.) contains an article of exceptional British interest, being a well-documented account of the descent on Ireland, made under the command of Napper Tandy in the *Anacreon* in 1798, his arrest and extradition in 1799, his sentence of death in Ireland in 1801 but final release in 1802 by virtue of the Treaty of Amiens, and his death in 1803 at Bordeaux. He was accorded a military and popular funeral, and Citizen Partarrieu composed an apology for his life, doubtless finding it both easy and glorious to justify liberty and the wearing of the green. But the police authorities of the city forbade its publication, and mortified the indignant author, who was an important legal authority of the district, 'premier juge au tribunal criminel,' in the Gironde, the province of which Bordeaux is capital.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain) contains from time to time chapters of dissertation and criticism which touch on insular history. Its elaborate bibliographical appendix is a most comprehensive and useful compilation. Continued attention has recently been given by M. Willaert, S.J., to the politico-religious negotiations between England and the Netherland Catholics between 1598 and 1625, involving many notices of movements in Scotland. A notable critique in the July issue was that of M. Bellet on Canon Chevalier's *Notre Dame de Lorette*. The book reviewed is a historical study of the 'Santa Casa' of Loreto in the March of Ancona, Italy, alleged to have been the dwelling of the Virgin at Nazareth, miraculously translated by angels through the air to Loreto in the year 1291. Naturally, in consequence, it was not only the object of many pilgrimages, but the occasion of a cult of which the Musselburgh chapel founded circa 1533 was a well-known if also much criticised example. The learned French canon and his critic are agreed that the Loreto story was wholly false. The conclusion drawn from all the documents is to establish five points: (1) that before 1291 the house at Nazareth had been destroyed, (2) that at Nazareth itself nothing was heard of the alleged translation of the house until the sixteenth century, (3) that before 1291 there was at Loreto a church of St. Mary, (4) that close scrutiny of documents proves that there was no word of the translation at Loreto before 1472, and (5) that the first bull recognising it was in 1507. A curiosity in the story is the fact that it was Erasmus who first composed a mass with 'prose' or rimed chant in honour of the Virgin of Loreto. The legend had first appeared in 1472, but

towards 1525-1531 Jerome Angelita gave the story in all its pomp and circumstance, a story—say the iconoclastic canon and his critic—‘où quantité de faits de noms et de dates dérivent de sa propre imagination.’ The critic closes with a warm tribute to Canon Chevalier as the Mabillon of the legend of Loreto, acknowledging his exceptional competence as a scholar, archivist and bibliographer, and concluding that he has consecrated to the subject a veritable monument of loyal and penetrating historical examination. The tale of Loreto, he says, ‘est, historiquement parlant, dénuée de toute vérité. Le livre de M. Ulysses Chevalier le démontre péremptoirement.’ The fasting hermit, who founded the Musselburgh Loreto, was held in somewhat dubious repute; the parent establishment now suffers a weighty attack: it will be curious to see what ‘Our Lady of Loretto’ has to say in answer to the Frenchman’s peremptory thesis, which affords interesting comparison with the scaring comments upon Loreto passed by that very disrespectful pilgrim William Lithgow, who visited the place in 1609, as he records in his *Rare Adventures*, i. 27-32. Another leading Roman Catholic publication, the very learned *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, tome xxv. fasc. iv.) has a full review, coming to the conclusion not only that Canon Chevalier is right, but that his study is a fine performance in the criticism of hagiological legend, both as regards method and matter. The writer says that so far the learned Catholic reviews are in this of one accord. ‘They regard Chevalier’s book as a definitive work, the solid bases of which cannot be shaken by any discovery of documents as yet unknown.’ A curious point is touched by Monsieur Ph. Lauer (*Revue Historique*, Jan., p. 108), as to the phrase *per manus Angelorum*, in discussing the suggestion that it springs from a misinterpreted reference to the Ἄγγελοι, a branch of the Imperial family driven out of Epirus by the Venetians, perhaps to become the benefactors of Loreto.

An important problem—that of the origin of certain phases of the story of St. Francis—falls under treatment in the January number of the Louvain organ (*Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique*). Monsieur A. Fierens commences a study of ‘la question Franciscaine’ by opening a discussion of a Belgian manuscript crucially important towards settling a vexed point. How came it that Thomas of Celano’s anecdotes of the Saint are so often found in identical terms in the *Vitae Patrum* that authorities have concluded that he took the stories thence to attribute to St. Francis doings which were not his own? M. Fierens, zealous for the saint of Assisi, hints that although the long series of parallel passages makes a relationship incontestable, it is possible to explain it as the result of the current use of the *Vitae* and the adoption of its phraseology as a literary model by Thomas of Celano. He maintains that there is no need to doubt the good faith of that biographer, notwithstanding the repetitions. It will be interesting to follow the future course of this discussion, involving as it does the problem of authenticity of many more lives of saints than that of St. Francis. Our Scottish legends frequently exhibit analogous recurrences.

In the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (Paris et Nancy) for January, there is described the siege of Nancy in 1633 by Louis XIII. A contemporary siege plan is reproduced showing the profiles of redoubts and lines of circumvallation. One curious episode was the vow of the besieged to transmit as an offering to the Santa Casa of Loreto in Italy 'their town in silver worth a hundred crowns,' by way of imploring the protection of the Virgin. The vow was fulfilled: the completed model in silver, the work of three successive artists, reached its destined Italian shrine five and twenty years after Nancy had surrendered. A memoir on the economic position of French Flanders in 1699 is in course of being edited in this very readable periodical. Mere mention is made of traffic by sea with England, Scotland, and Ireland. Herring stands first in the imports from these ports, Dunkirk being the landing-place.

Among periodicals received is the *Bulletin de l'Union des anciens Étudiants de l'École Commerciale et Consulaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, a quarterly magazine (pp. 52) in which attention is paid to matters, mainly of foreign countries, in finance and commerce.

Professor Brandl's students in their doctorate theses do much useful work in the way of philological analysis and dissection of early literature. Dr. Willy Hörnung's dissertation thus deals thoroughly with one of the MSS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, and Dr. Otto Sprotte similarly presents a heaped measure of minute collations and comparisons of the diction, spelling and grammar of John Knox. The last—*Zum Sprachgebrauch bei John Knox*—will be invaluable in the determination of the pretty problem of the English quality of Knox's writing of Scots. May Germany send us many such evidences of laborious study of our vernacular literature.

British subjects in the January number of the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* include Scandinavian influence on English, some O.E. insect names, the *Narratiunculae anglice conscriptae* and the M.E. *A B C of Arystotle*. There are besides many reviews of works on English themes, among them one of W. D. Brie's *Geschichte und Quellen* volume on the medieval prose chronicle, *The Brute of England*.

*Il Rinascimento* (Milano, Via Bigli 15), in its inaugural number (Jan.), as a 'critical review of ideas and facts,' contains, translated, a chapter of the Master of Baliol's *Evolution of Religion*—the chapter regarding a definition of Religion.

## Queries

**THE FAMILY OF COCKBURN OF BERWICK AND AYTON.** According to Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1865 ed., p. 241, William, second son of Sir Alexander Cockburn, fourth Baronet of Langton, resided at Ayton. He is stated to have married Frances, daughter of James Cockburn of Jamaica, and to have had a son James, who succeeded as sixth Baronet, on the death of his kinsman, Sir Alexander, at Fontenoy in 1745. There was a branch of the Cockburn family long resident at Ayton. John Cockburn (a widower) of that place, married at Berwick, 29th November, 1761, Eleanor Weatherly. In March, 1803, Mark Cockburn of Ayton Law died, aged 23, and in September, 1807, the wife of John Cockburn of Ayton Law died at Whiterigg, aged 67; she was followed two years later by Mrs. Elizabeth Cockburn, wife of Mr. Cockburn, 'late tenant of Ayton mains.'

Two branches of the family were resident in Berwick-upon-Tweed during the eighteenth century. One deriving from Alexander Cockburn, who, in his will, dated 14th November, 1772, proved at Durham in 1774, names his brother, Thomas Cockburn, of the City of Edinburgh, gentleman; his sister-in-law, Isabella Bryden; and his children, David, Elizabeth, wife of James Williamson, Helen, Isabell, and Margaret. The son David married at Ayton, 4th September, 1788, Eleanor, widow of — Brown, and had issue.

The second family derives from Adam Cockburn, born somewhere about 1705, who married first, 9th December, 1731, Barbara, daughter of John Steel, burgess of Berwick, by whom he had issue seven daughters and two sons, John and Alexander, the latter of whom died an infant. He remarried Elizabeth, daughter of John Johnson, merchant, and widow of Andrew Renwick, of Berwick; and died in 1772. His son John succeeded to his father's business as a carpenter, and, like him, married twice. On his death the administration of his estate was granted at Durham, October, 1786, to his widow Rebecca, who survived him until 1805. He left by his first wife a number of children.

I will be glad of any assistance in elucidating the connection between these families, or in tracing out their present representatives.

East Boldon, Durham.

H. R. LEIGHTON.

**JARDINE, RANNIE, BAYLEY, DUNDAS.** In his *Autobiography* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1860), Dr. Alex. Carlyle ('Jupiter

Carlyle') mentions the sudden death, in June 1766, of Dr. John Jardine, minister of the Tron Church. He says that he and 'a party of us had been engaged to dine with Mr. Henry Dundas (p. 468) the same evening, but that it was put off,' as 'Dr. Jardine was a near relation of his lady,' meaning Mrs. Henry Dundas.

In what way were they related? Mrs. Dundas was Elizabeth, daughter of Captain David Rannie of Melville Castle and Elizabeth Bayley his wife. Captain David Rannie seems to have been son of one John Rannie and Janet Stark; and of Elizabeth Bayley I only know that she had a brother Edward Bayley.

Were the Bayleys and Jardines related? or what was the connection?

H. A. COCKBURN.

92 Eaton Terrace, London, S.W.

CAMPBELLS OF STRACHUR (*S.H.R.* iv. 232). Is there any evidence that the first wife of John Campbell of Murthly (1525-1567) was the daughter of a Campbell of Strachur (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1906, p. 260; cited by A. W. G. B.)?

Marjorie Menzies was his wife, 28th October, 1550, and 22nd May, 1552. She died before 31st July, 1562. Margaret, daughter of William Drummond of Balloch, was his wife when he died in July, 1567.

J. H. M. C.

HOWITSON. What is the derivation of the name Howitson? We are border people from Dumfriesshire. The name is spelt by us Howitson, Howatson and formerly Hoatson.

GEORGE HOWITSON.

4 Ranelagh Place, Liverpool.

## Communications and Replies

THE DEATH OF KEPPOCH. Recent investigations have discovered the true details of the death of Keppoch at Culloden, and prove that the fact was for a considerable time disbelieved in parts of the Highlands. The documents, containing evidence on oath, are to appear in the fourth volume of my *History of Scotland*. Meanwhile, Miss Josephine MacDonell of Keppoch kindly furnishes the Gaelic words, and a literal translation, of the Lament composed by the bard of the clan. Though little detail is given, the story in *Young Juba* (1748) that Keppoch survived for some days, and was buried in his own country, is disproved.

A. LANG.

### LAMENT FOR MACRONALD,<sup>1</sup>

*Who fell the day of Culloden,*

BY ALEXANDER CAMERON, HIS OWN BARD.

[*Literal Translation.*]

1. A fortnight before May day  
Misfortune fell on us sorely,  
Being marshalled in rank  
In the face of an enemy on a height,  
We left the chief of the Braes  
On the field of battle without breath of life,  
And none of his friends  
To staunch the blood from his wound.
2. Pitiful news to the Kingdom,  
How thy country is in distress,  
Worthy son of Coll of the pikes [or battle-axes],  
Who won his rights against the southerners,  
Thou falcon with the fearless gaze,  
Keen, commanding, full of pity,  
Possessing fortitude and endurance,  
Gifted thou wert beyond the others.

<sup>1</sup> The Patronymic of the Chief of Keppoch.

3. Thou wert the meteor among clouds,  
Thou wert the eagle on the crag,  
Thou wert a lion 'neath the banner,  
And shone as a fiercely blazing beacon.  
As the tree that bears the wine fruit,  
That storms decay not its growth  
With the sap of its kindness [or hospitality]  
Coming from all parts of its trunk.
4. For the blood-red royal lion  
Thou hast stood unflinching for his rights,  
Heroic leader in the host,  
Bold intrepid warrior.  
When thy banner was unfurled,  
Decked with heather purple and clustering,  
As it fluttered in the conflict  
MacGlaisridh<sup>1</sup> would be close on its track.
5. And in the train of thy red banner  
Would be warriors eager in the forward march,  
Coming from the slopes of Glen Spean  
And the two passes of Glen Roy.  
When marshalled on the plain  
These swift, high-spirited men,  
Few could be victors in face of them,  
As they rush forward to the fray.
6. I have seen thy clansmen  
In each struggle that has been,  
And they seemed not like striplings  
These Glensmen so leal.  
Though dragoons were before them  
In close double ranks,  
Their long line would be scattered  
Once thou shouted the advance.
7. Grievous to me the scattering  
That befell the army of the North ;  
Not the least cause of my sorrow  
In the losses we sustained,  
That MacRonald of Keppoch  
Who was no weakling in his harness of steel,  
Most intrepid leader of men,—  
Cause of the blow [or the shock] to me—is in the grave.

<sup>1</sup> A sept of Campbells who were hereditary pipers to Keppoch.



CUMHA MAC-IE-RAONUILL,

*A thuit latha Chuilfhodair,*

LE ALASDAIR CHAMSHROIN, A BHÒRDA FHEIN.

1. Ceithir-là-deug roimh latha Bealtuinn,  
Bhuail an t-earchall sinn goirt :  
'Bhi 'gartarruing an 'rang'  
Ri aighaidh naimhdean air cnoc.  
Dh'fhàg sinn ceannard a' Bhràigh  
Anns an àraich gun phlog !  
Gun aon duine dheth chàirdean  
A bhi càramh a lot.
2. 'S bochd an naigheachd 's an rìoghachd  
Ma thà do thlr-sa 'n a càs,  
Dheadh Mhic Cholla nam picean,  
'Bhuidhinn cis 'amaneasg Ghall.  
Sheobhag fìorghlan 'n a d'shealtainn,  
Guineach, smachdail, làn bàigh ;  
'G an robh misneach 'us cruadal—  
B foma buaidh' bh'ort thar chàch.
3. Bu tu an dréagan 's an niallan  
Bu tu am fireun 's a chàrn  
Bu tu an leòghann fo'n bhrataich  
Bu tu an fhaloisge gharg ;  
Craobh thu dh'abhull an fhiona  
Nach meath siantan à fàs  
Gheibhteadh snodhach 'san Fhaoilleach  
Air gach taobh de na chrann.
4. An leòghann fuileachdach rìoghail,  
'Sheas gu dian anns a chòir  
Ceannard mìleant an fheachd thu  
Cuiridh macanta borb  
'Nuair a thogtadh do bhratach  
Le fraoch gaganach, gorm  
'Nam dh'i gluasad gu carraid,  
Bhiodh Mac a Ghlasraidh 'n à lorg.
5. 'N lorg do bhrataiche deirg  
Bhiodh suinn nach mairbh s'an dol suas  
Thig o thaobh Ghlinne-Spiathain  
'So dhà bhealach Ghlinne Ruaidh.  
'Nuair a thàirngt 'air an fhaich iad,  
Na fir aigeannach luath  
'Smairg a thàrladh 'nan aodann  
'Nam aomadh do'n ruaig.

6. Chunnaić mise do chinneadh  
 Anns gach iomart a bh'ann  
 'S cha bu choltach ri giullan  
 Na fir ghlinneah gun mbeang  
 Gef bhiodh an 'dragoon' ann  
 'S an rang dubailte thall  
 Chite sgapadh 's a charnaig  
 'Nuair dh'eigheadh tu'n 'advance.'
7. Gur h-oil leam an sgapadh  
 Chaidh 'air feachd an 'Taoibh Tuath ;  
 Cha lugh 'mo chuis airteil  
 De na creachan tha 'uainn  
 Mac'ie Raonuill ón Cheapaich  
 'Nach robh tais am beairt chruaidh—  
 Ceannard sluaigh 'bu mhór misneach  
 Falh mo chlisgidh, 's an uaigh !

LAST OF THE ROYAL STUARTS (*S.H.R.* iv. 223). The Rev. W. H. Hutton, St. John's College, Oxford, writes: May I be allowed to point out that the letter of Mr. Samuel Crisp which gives an interesting description of Charles Edward and his brother as boys, was not printed for the first time by Mr. Vaughan, but (as he gracefully acknowledges in his book) by me in the *Cornhill Magazine*, and reprinted in my *Burford Papers*.

## Notes and Comments

WE are glad to print the following petition of the Scottish Record Society to the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, which has been signed by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon *Historical Manuscript Commission.* King of Arms, as Chairman:

"That your Petitioners, a Society whose members include most of those persons in Scotland interested in the publication of the ancient Records of the Country, have heard with much concern that instructions have been issued by His Majesty's Commissioners to their reporters on Historical MSS. in Scotland that in future, as a general rule, no Charters or other ancient documents of a kindred nature are to be reported on or calendared in their Reports.

"That your Petitioners are of opinion, in view of the fragmentary nature of all records in Scotland previous to the seventeenth century, that much very valuable information which can only be obtained from the private Charter chests of our landed families will thus not be made available to the student of general and family history, and that one of the principal purposes for which the Commission was appointed, namely to supplement the national records which have been lost, will not be attained.

"That the space occupied by such calendars (as may be seen from previous reports) would not materially increase the length of any report. Their value, as regards genealogy, topography, local and general history, the origin and formation of place names, the nature of land tenures and persons holding offices in church and state, is inestimable."

It is a matter for much regret that it should have been necessary for the Scottish Record Society to make such a petition.

In a former number (*S.H.R.* i. 224) we called attention to the Earl of Rosebery's remarks at an annual meeting of the Scottish History Society, where he urged strongly the importance of keeping in view the human aspect of Scottish historical literature, and advocated that the Society should pay special attention to family papers, diaries, account books, and such like, which might serve to throw light on the domestic history of the people. This advice the Scottish History Society has doubtless borne in mind, but we little expected that the expression of such views was to be followed by an order from the Earl of Rosebery and his colleagues on the Royal Commission for Historical Manuscripts, which seems to be at variance with the

historical objects of the Commission. Charters sometimes make dry reading, and there is much to be said for the publication of other Manuscript materials throwing light on the various phases of the life of our ancestors. But it seems really absurd that the Commission should issue instructions which will have the effect of depriving scholars of the material which has been found most useful in the past, and which is made readily available in the English reports.

We trust soon to hear either that the instructions have been misinterpreted or that they have been withdrawn.

SCOTTISH interest in the *English Historical Review* for January centres in Mr. W. Moir Bryce's account of Queen Mary's voyage to France in 1548, drawn up, in part, from the hitherto unused actual journal of the voyage preserved among the Balcarres papers in the Advocates' Library. The French galley, under the command of the Sieur de Brézé, took the girl queen on board on 29th July, but the winds were strong and contrary, and on 6th August the vessel was still in the Firth of Clyde, off Lamlash. When fairly out to sea the ship continued to encounter rough weather. Off Land's End the rudder was broken by seas so wild that De Brézé says he never saw waves so large in all his life. Meanwhile the little queen, according to De Brézé, bore herself with splendid spirit, making fun of those who were more sea sick than herself, and standing the tempest-tossing well. On 15th August 'after a stormy passage of eighteen days on the sea,' the galley arrived at St. Pol de Léon in Brittany, and soon they were saying of Mary that 'our little Scottish queen has but to smile to turn all the French heads.' Mr. Bryce closes his paper with an effective touch when he says: 'The shadow of the woman was forecast in the behaviour of the child during the storm in the story of De Brézé. Her high spirit and courage never failed her, and the attractive personality which so charmed the courtiers of Henry II. still maintains its glamour, after centuries of intervening years, over the people of western Europe.'

A SECOND Scottish note of importance in the same issue of our contemporary is the text of a hitherto unpublished political paper by Daniel Defoe, probably drawn up in the summer of 1704, to inform and advise Robert Harley, then just appointed Secretary of State. The document, as Mr. G. F. Warner in editing it observes, 'lays special stress upon the necessity for a regular system of collecting intelligence from all quarters in order that the government might be kept informed of the state of feeling in the country, and steps might be taken to counteract adverse influences: and his own employment for the purpose, for which his restless energy and quick wit admirably qualified him, was no doubt a direct consequence of his advice.' Defoe's own words relative to Scotland, however, are well worth quoting: 'A settl'd intelligence in Scotland,

a thing strangely neglected there, is without doubt the principall occasion of the present misunderstandings between the two kingdomes: in the last reign it caus'd the King to have many ill things put upon him and worse are very likely to follow.' Presumably these ill things included matter of Glencoe as well as of Darien. Defoe's advice bore fruit, for his political journey into Scotland in 1705 on a Government mission, and his diplomatic employment there during the Union proceedings, are inevitably to be interpreted as the consequences of the counsel he gave. 'Intelligence,' he wrote in the document under discussion, 'is the soul of all publick bussiness.' He was himself a born 'intelligencer.'

MR. JOHN EDWARDS, in his paper contributed to the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow last year, *The Religious Orders in Scotland under our early Kings*, evidently begins to sum up conclusions drawn from a steady course of special studies in ecclesiastical history. For ten years he has been at work keeping himself always to his single line of constructive research among the annals of Scotland, and producing at sundry times and in divers places detailed monographs now enough to require a little bibliography. His course was definitely started with his paper in 1897 on *Torphichen and the Hospitallers*. In 1900 he surveyed the career of the Templars in a short essay on *Maryculter on Deeside* where that Order had a foundation from the Bisset family in the thirteenth century. The suppression of the Templars he discussed in the *Scottish Antiquary* (xvii. 83) in 1902. In 1904 he issued a fuller tractate than any of these, *The Gilbertines in Scotland*, in which, applying himself to the regular monastic institutions of Scotland, he dealt in particular with the somewhat abortive settlement of the Order of Sempringham by Walter Fitz-Alan, the third Steward of Scotland at Dalmulin on the Water of Ayr, in or about 1221. Gilbertine monasteries were double, constructed to house separately nuns and canons, a conjunction which, despite the statutory safeguard between—*muro interposito*,—provoked the sarcasms of Walter Map about the power of Venus to pierce the walls of Minerva, and which later gave occasion to a well-known satirical song against 'le Ordre de Bel-Eyse.' The Ayrshire branch of the Order did not flourish, and about 1238, whether because the climate of these uplands did not suit the English brother- and sister-hood, or because of political reasons, they took their departure, leaving in Scotland, by a firmer tenure, the Greyfriars and Dominicans who had arrived not long before. To the former of these two, the Franciscans, Mr. Edwards next turned for a biographical theme of difficulty, the life and time of *Duns Scotus*, the Franciscan pillar of philosophy. Thence he passed to a more general study of that Order, which appeared in our own columns (*S.H.R.* iii. 179), on *The Greyfriars in Glasgow*. These particulars shew the road by which Mr. Edwards has reached his standpoint for reviewing the effect on Scottish life of all the Orders of monks and knights and friars, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Benedictines, Templars, Hospitallers, and

Friars both grey and black. His large task only opens with this paper, for in the period it covers these bodies are passing through their golden age, serving sound purpose not only as apostolic forces of religion and civilisation, but also as providing centres of learning and trade. Their day of decadence was not yet, except perhaps in the case of the Templars, whose fall was not far off when the survey ends. In 1300 there seemed few omens of the crash that was to come in the sixteenth century, though the eye of posterity can always see many causes in action which were hidden from contemporary sight.

DR. WILLIAM J. D. CROKE sends us a reprint from the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale die Scienze Storiche*, a paper on the Hospital of the English at Rome—*The National English Institutions of Rome during the fourteenth century: A Guild and its popular initiative* (Roma Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1906). The subject is the hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas, usually alleged to be identical in site with the Schola Saxonum referred to by early historians as existing in King Alfred's day. Such evidence as exists, however, does not favour this belief, and now Dr. Croke brings forward what seems to be conclusive proof that the site was in 1361 purchased by John Shepherd, an Englishman, who was a rosary seller (*paternostrarius*) in Rome, and that for 40 golden florins he made it over, in 1362, to the Community and Corporation (*nomine Communitatis et Universitatis*) of the English in the City and coming thereto. In all the deeds now first transcribed by Dr. Croke there is mention neither of St. Thomas a Beket, nor of the Trinity, nor of any church on the ground. The interest of the documents lies in their evidence of a regular English guild which, like native organisations in Rome at this period, was in all probability a creation of the fourteenth century, to which such national hospitals and guilds characteristically belong. These British gleanings encourage us to hope that Dr. Croke may at times in his researches come upon Scottish items of medieval history.

FEW elements of medieval religious life are more pitiful than the crusades and pilgrimages of children. M. Etienne Dupont has been studying the peculiar cult of St. Michael the Archangel which, particularly in the fifteenth century, sent so many children from Germany and Belgium to Mont Saint-Michel. His essay, *Les Pèlerinages d'Enfants Allemands au Mont Saint-Michel (XV<sup>me</sup> Siècle) Le Récit de Baudry Archevêque de Dol* (Paris, Lechevalier, 1907, pp. 44), tells how children of 8 to 12 years of age travelled as pilgrims in troops sometimes so numerous that the countryside they passed through could scarce feed them; how they marched behind pictorial banners of St. Michael, singing songs of Christ and the saint; how they went very often in spite of their parents, and how some good people of the fifteenth century wondered (as well they might) whether this was the work of God or a wile of the devil. M. Dupont's dis-

cussion of the legend of the Dragon of Ireland, as told by Baudry, is of the more interest because of its early date—between 1107 and 1130, probably towards 1114. Visiting Mont St. Michel he saw among the relics in the monastery there a tiny buckler and sword, more like children's toys than objects of Christian veneration, and the prior explained to him that when, in the distant land beyond England, the people were dismayed by the ravages of a vast and venomous serpent, they sought counsel of the Pope, and after three days' fast mustered courage to attack the huge reptile in force. They saw him afar off, apparently asleep, lying like a mountain, and they hurled themselves upon him, only to find to their surprise that he was already dead, while beside his carcase lay the tiny shield and blade. A vision soon solved the mystery of the slayer of this Irish dragon. It was St. Michael who bade the Pope give orders to the Irish to have those trophies of victory carried to the mount which is called by Michael's name: which was done, and Baudry concluded his narrative by saying that he told the tale as he received it in order to preserve it from perishing through the jealousy of time, and that he wished eternal happiness to every one who should read it and should not laugh thereat. That believers were not few may be inferred not only from the repetitions of the story of the Dragon and the settlement of Irish monks at Mont St. Michel under Abbot Maynard, but perhaps also from these saddening pilgrimages of St. Michael's children, *les enfants de saint Michel*, as the victims were called.

MR. A. H. MILLAR has called our attention to the description (in a recently issued part of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society's Transactions), of a book now in the University Library, *A Book-relic of the Dundee Black Friars.* Cambridge, which contains certain inscriptions. One of the earliest showed that the book, which was printed at Louvain in 1474, had been presented to the Blackfriars Monastery in Dundee by Henry Barry, Rector of Collace. Another note declares that the book was purchased '21 April 147—.' The last figure has been partly torn away, but apparently the date had been 1475, which shows that the book must have been acquired by Henry Barry a few months after it was printed.

The volume consists of three separate works—the *Liber Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonie*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and the *Consolatio Peccatorum*, to which is prefixed a letter from Gervinus Cruse, dated 7th August, 1474, addressed to Veldener of Louvain, the printer of the volume.

The most interesting of the later entries, however, is that which declares 'This Buik perteinis to ane noble man, Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugus, Knyt,' followed by the addition 'and now to his Sone, George Ogilvy.' At the bottom of the last page the statement is more emphatic:—'Iste liber pertinet ad dominum galterum ogilvy de dunlugus, Milite. Cum gaudio absque dolore, he yat stelis yis Buyk fra Me, god gif he be hangit one ane tre, Amen for me, amen for

the, amen for all good company. *Teste manu propria.* Sir Walter Ogilvy of Dunlugus succeeded his father in 1621, and his son, Sir George, was created a Baronet in 1627, took a leading part in the wars under Montrose, and died in 1603.

SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY publications recently include volume iv. of *Wyntoun's Chronicle* and volume ii. of *Henryson's Poems*. Mr. Amours has now brought his weighty task of presenting a double text with all the variants down to the death of King Malcolm IV. in 1165. The work is of course a fundamental chronicle, and it is good for history, for philosophy, and for literature that it is under such sure and thorough editorship. Mr. Amours, we notice, is evidently preparing himself for the ultimate editorial duty of introduction and annotation by such preliminary studies as that on 'St. Serf's priory in Lochleven,' which he not long ago contributed to the *Glasgow Philosophical Society's Transactions*, vol. xxxvii. Wyntoun was prior of St. Serf's, and there his invaluable chronicle was penned. A fact about the library is there established—that when the Culdee possessions were, in 1144, made over to the canons regular, one of the books, titled obscurely 'Origine' in the inventory, was probably the *Origo Mundi* of Honorius of Autun, who died about 1140. Mr. Amours points out that as the greater part of book i. of *Wyntoun's Chronicle* is literally translated from the last-named work, it may be inferred that the codex he used was this very inheritance from the Culdee establishment. Professor Gregory Smith, late general editor of the Society, begins the issue of his text of Henryson after he has, owing to his Belfast appointment, resigned his general editorship. He also presents a double text, with prefatory note, on the black-letter and manuscript originals, and with facsimiles. All the early versions of the Fables are in the present part. The editor of Henryson has a happy task: no other of the 'makars' had either his felicity of sketching from nature or his peculiar quality of gentle humour.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has issued an appeal for funds for the completion of the exploration of the Roman Station at Newstead (see *S.H.R.* iii. 126, 471). We hope that this appeal will be liberally responded to, not only on account of the extraordinary success which has already been achieved in the earlier diggings, but because of the good fortune of the Society in having them carried on under the personal supervision of Mr. James Curle, F.S.A., of Priorwood, Melrose, to whose care and expert knowledge the success already attained is in large part due. As we go to press we hear that some bronze shoulderpieces, shoes, dishes, mountings of a belt, and other objects have been recently found in the pits which have been dug on the south side of the railway. We hope in our next number to have Notes from Mr. Curle of the recent diggings, and illustrations of some of the most interesting relics found.