

Reviews of Books

THE LETTERS OF MARTIN LUTHER, Selected and Translated by Margaret A. Currie. Pp. xxxv, 482. Med. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1908. 12s. nett.

ALMOST an hundred years have passed since Coleridge said that he could scarcely conceive a more delightful volume than could be made from Luther's letters if translated in the simple, idiomatic, hearty mother-tongue of the original; yet no one has attempted the task until now. Translations of the carelessly edited *Table Talk* abound, but only Zimmerman's collection of *Luther's Letters to Women*, admirably translated by Mrs. Malcolm, have appeared in English; and they are long out of print and hard to get. We must therefore welcome Miss Currie's book of selections and translations from the very voluminous correspondence of the great Reformer.

Perhaps such a book was needed more now than at any previous time; for our generation always seeks to pass behind opinions to the personality responsible for them, and there never was a more exuberant personality than Luther's. Of course the man was naturally sociable and anything but reticent. No great man, and Luther was one of the greatest, has ever revealed himself so frankly. His sermons, his commentaries, his tractates abound in little biographical details. Michelet's *Life of Luther* is a mosaic compiled from the reformer's own statements about himself, and more than one English edition, ignoring the name of the author, has been published under the title of *Luther's Autobiography*. But his *Table Talk* and his *Letters*, spoken and written without a thought of publication, reveal the man as nothing else does. Miss Currie has therefore made a distinct and notable contribution to our knowledge of the great German reformer, and deserves our gratitude for so doing.

Her book does not pretend to give us the whole of Luther's correspondence. It does not include a fourth part of the letters which have descended to us. Nor does it give us any of the letters addressed to him. Her principle of selection has been a sound one upon the whole. She has chosen for publication those letters which are referred to in the two most important lives of Luther—those of Köstlin and of Kolde—and has therefore selected those portions of the voluminous correspondence which are of most biographical value according to the ideas of these two eminent German experts. Such a principle of

selection has its limitations: it is apt to exclude everything which concerns the wider historical interest which surrounds such a man as Luther: and this is one of the chief faults of Miss Currie's selection. Two illustrations may be given. Among the benefits which Luther bestowed on his native land was the habit of writing books in the German language. It may almost be said that before Luther's time there was no such thing as a trade in German books printed in the mother-tongue; the eagerness to read what Luther wrote changed all that. We can assume somewhat surely that the first edition of any of Luther's books or tracts issued from the Wittenberg presses consisted of one thousand copies. If we had any means of knowing how long it took, as a rule, to exhaust this edition, we could have some idea of the extent of the circulation of his works. One or two of Luther's letters give us the information. As a rule the thousand copies were sold within two months. Miss Currie selects none of these letters. She gives us instead one addressed to the printers of Nürnberg which only tells us of the way in which Luther's writings were apt to be pirated, a thing too common to be of much interest.

Two very important letters which show the influence of Luther beyond Germany are not to be found in Miss Currie's selection. In one Luther tells that he has heard from Paris that his writings were known in that city as early as 1519. Another is his answer to Dr. Barnes, who had evidently been requested by Henry VIII. of England to solicit from Luther an approval of his suit for the nullity of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. It is on this letter that the late Lord Acton founds his ridiculous assertion that Luther valued the royal prerogative so highly that he made it include bigamy. It is a pity that this letter, one of the many proofs that where the Reformation of the sixteenth century was concerned Lord Acton's reputation for accuracy and for fairness is scarcely deserved, should not have been made accessible to English readers.

These are but instances of omissions, and important omissions, due to the principle of selection employed.

On the other hand, we must thank the authoress for selecting many letters which most writers have neglected and which are nevertheless of great importance. To give one instance—the collection includes Luther's letter to his wife written while attending the Marburg Colloquy (No. 197). It contains the one fair description Luther ever gave of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Sacrament of the Supper, and has been generally overlooked by theological critics.

If we are to judge the book by the standards which the authoress evidently set before herself her work deserves great praise and small censure. Her text is that of De Wette; her letters are those selected for her by Köstlin and Kolde; her notes and explanations are taken from De Wette. These things premised she has done her work with praiseworthy carefulness, and the result is a book which will certainly enable English readers to know Luther better than before. But we humbly submit that anyone who aimed at presenting Luther, through

his correspondence, to English readers ought to have overstepped these limitations. Every scholar recognises that De Wette's text is not always to be depended upon and frequently requires to be amended. In letter No. 410 Miss Currie translates: 'To the wealthy lady of Zulsdorf, Frau Doctress Katharine. Luther, wandering in spirit in Zulsdorf!' The true text and translation is: 'To the rich lady of Zulsdorf, Frau Doctor Katharine Luther, dwelling in the body at Wittenberg, and wandering in the spirit to Zulsdorf; to be delivered into the hands of my darling; if absent to be opened and read by D. Pömerau, pastor.' The sentence is one of the many instances in which Luther 'chaffs' his wife at her delight that she, disinherited and repudiated by her kinsfolk, had been able to acquire by purchase part of the old family estate. Miss Currie, here and elsewhere, is rather blind to Luther's humour. Then De Wette's notes are by no means sufficient for English readers. It would have been easy to have described in four lines of small print the recipients of the letters, and such descriptions would have been of great value. Why did not Miss Currie tell her readers who Christorf Scheurl was? why letters had to be addressed to King Ferdinand about King Christian, etc., etc.? But after all the great defect in the book results from the patent fact that Miss Currie does not seem to know as thoroughly as an editor of Luther ought to, the history of the times in which the letters she translates were written. Witness the naïve assertion in the preface that: 'It is interesting to note that Luther's unalterable opinion of the Turk coincides with that of the Sultan's greatest foes in this twentieth century, etc.' Does the authoress not know that the fear of the Turk was the by no means baseless terror of the peoples of Europe in the sixteenth century, and that fifty years before Luther's letters were written the church bells were tolled in almost every parish to call together the people to pray against a Turkish invasion? Witness how Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York, is concealed under the meaningless phrase 'Cardinal of Eborack'!

We trust that when a second edition of this book is called for, and may it be soon, the authoress will correct its many deficiencies and make it a presentation of Luther's correspondence to English readers worthy of the name. It ought not to be difficult to do this.

T. M. LINDSAY.

AN INDEX TO THE PAPERS RELATING TO SCOTLAND DESCRIBED OR CALENDARED IN THE HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION'S REPORTS. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. 62, Imp. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1908. 3s. nett.

STUDENTS of Scottish history owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Terry for having compiled this little volume, which cannot fail to be of use. It is the more creditable to him inasmuch as its preparation must have been a labour of love, the circle of persons to whom it will appeal

being necessarily a very limited one. He has gone over the fifteen reports which the Commissioners have issued, dealing with some 120 collections of Scottish MSS., together with the volumes which have been published independently of reports, though under the control of the Commissioners, to the number of upwards of fifty, and has given a succinct though of course a very condensed epitome of the contents of each so far as these relate to Scottish affairs. He also puts within brackets the names of Club and other books bearing on the subject noted. This is not the least useful feature in the volume, and, as might be expected from a writer of the author's learning, the range is a wide one, extending from the publications of the Camden and Spalding Clubs and the family histories of Sir William Fraser, down to the grotesque *Red and White Book of Menzies*. The volume may be described as the Calendar of a Calendar, but it is something more than this, and the subject-index at the end will facilitate reference to the actual contents of the book in a very convenient way. The author gives a list of some original records of Religious Houses which are deposited in the Advocates' Library, but which have not been examined by the Commissioners. Most of these have been published at one time or another, and Professor Terry notes in most cases (though his information is not altogether complete) the medium through which they have been given to the public. Some are still untouched and it is to be hoped that a book like the *Rentale S. Andreae* will be published before long by the Scottish History Society or similar body.

Some day too it may occur to a person of leisure with a taste for the drudgery of indexing, and with no ulterior object of gain, to prepare a detailed index, taken of course from the various indices to the volumes of the Commissioners, of the names of persons and places mentioned in the collection dealt with. But this would be ideal.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF INFANTRY. By E. M. Lloyd, Colonel late Royal Engineers. Pp. xi, 303. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

THIS is a most interesting and instructive work. It could not have been compiled without much research and earnest study. The author has succeeded within the limits of a reasonably sized volume in giving the reader an insight into the use of the foot soldier from the earliest times down to the present day. The work is necessarily technical in its character, but it is by no means dry, and is enlivened by historical touches and quotations from the sayings of great soldiers. And in so far as it is possible for an author to make himself intelligible to the ordinary reader when treating of a science which must be inexact, in as much as it has to do not with things only, but with the contests of beings with nerves and passions, both as individuals and as organised soldiers and as nations, he has succeeded well in giving instruction. It

has been well said that any military system which does not take account of national idiosyncrasies, and national historical tradition, cannot produce the most efficient national force. This book clearly illustrates how the great military nations of ancient times, by the genius of their great controlling warriors, adapted themselves to the circumstances in which they had to fight, and never kept themselves bound to any details of system which were no longer the best in a changed state of things. Napoleon the Great in his critical observations on war pointed out how the Romans always courageously abandoned any parts of their tactical system as soon as they discovered what was better, which they generally did by taking that proverbially excellent course of learning from the enemy. And no one followed this golden rule more than he did.

This book brings out, in its long tactical retrospect, how the work of the infantry and its formations changed as the power of weapons of offence were developed, and how it could not be otherwise. The infantry in early times could be of no use until the opposing forces were close together. The sling, the javelin and the bow were the only weapons effective at a distance, and that only over a couple of hundred yards at most. And when opposing forces were as close together as that, it could be only a question of a few minutes till they should meet hand to hand. Therefore the spear and the pike, the mace and the sword were the weapons that decided the conflict, both sides moving in dense masses, and endeavouring by hand to hand violence to break down resistance and drive the enemy to flight. Personal strength and brute courage were the most important qualifications in the foot soldier.

This mode of fighting continued until the introduction of firearms, but even these did not for a long period have any marked effect on the forms of fighting, or the decision of the combat by hand to hand engagement. The distances at which firearms were effective were so small and the comparatively feeble effects of fire from smooth bore muskets had so little deterrent effect on the advance that *l'arme blanche* was still the arbiter of the battle.

How different is it now, when even small-arm fire is effective at ranges formerly impossible even for artillery, and when the combat begins at distances measured by miles when formerly they were measured by hundreds of yards, and a battle may go on for many hours without the combatants seeing one another. The masses had to give way to lines, and the lines have had to give way to less close formations. The days when troops drew up in full view of one another as at Waterloo, or when, as at Fontenoy, the officers with the politeness of duellists could invite their adversaries to fire first, are gone.

This book brings out historically how, especially in the case of the infantry, there has always been a tendency to cling to stereotyped formations and movements, and how it is only when genius steps in that the obsolete and unsuitable are discarded, and dispositions and manoeuvres adapted to new conditions.

Colonel Lloyd's excellent book will be most valuable for the instruction of our officers who have to fight our battles. For while in the olden days the infantry officer was but an automaton to carry out orders by making the automatons under him obey, he must now be a tactician, having initiative in carrying out the general plans of his chief, and be able by his manifest knowledge to inspire his men with confidence, not only that he will lead them bravely, but skilfully. They must feel that they are learning from him how to work intelligently, and when isolated to be not like children bewildered because they have lost their nurse, but able to act in the spirit of well-imparted instruction. The study of this book will be helpful in a high degree to the infantry officer of to-day.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

ENGLISH SOCIETY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: Essays in English Medieval History. By Paul Vinogradoff, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Demy 8vo. Pp. 599 and xii. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908.

THIS book has been eagerly awaited by students of medieval history for more than a decade. It contains the fulfilment of a promise made by Professor Vinogradoff so long ago as 1892 in the preface to his *Villeinage in England*. In that earlier treatise, which has profoundly affected both the direction and the results of recent research into the structure of society in the middle ages, he confined himself to the period posterior to the Norman Conquest, and more particularly to the thirteenth century, when the manorial system had attained maturity. He was, however, careful to explain that all this was 'intended to open the way, by a careful study of the feudal age, for another work on the origins of English peasant life in the Norman and pre-Norman periods.' It was to this long-promised sequel that the late Professor Maitland alluded in the preface to his own masterly *Domesday Book and Beyond*, declaring in January, 1897, with characteristic modesty, that 'when that sequel comes (and may it come soon) my provisional answer can be forgotten. One, who by a few strokes of his pen, has deprived the English nation of its land, its folk-land, owes us some reparation.' That sequel has now appeared, dedicated appropriately enough, 'To the memory of F. W. Maitland.'

Now that the book has come, the question must be faced, how far it justifies the high anticipations with which its appearance has been awaited. The best answer lies in a plain statement alike of what its author has achieved and of what he has neither achieved nor tried to achieve. It must be admitted, to begin with, that Dr. Vinogradoff has not provided the definitive history of England in the eleventh century which is so much required—nor has he treated in a connected and exhaustive manner of the comparatively limited field of social phenomena in England during that period.

Even when discussing isolated problems, he arrives at few solutions

which theorists of rival schools will accept without demur. The first-hand evidence so copiously adduced is not always conclusive, for unfortunately it is possible for those who have facility in construing the crabbed text of *Domesday Book* to wring more than one meaning from its most straightforward entries. Directly, at least, this volume sets at rest few or none of the vexed problems—or even of the most fundamental and elementary among them—which still divide the investigators of our social and institutional origins. For this there is abundance of excuse, if any excuse were needed. Some of these problems may remain for ever unsolved, while dogmatism on any one of them would be dangerous and presumptuous. Dr. Vinogradoff's new book does not provide the inquirer with a short cut to knowledge, but rather adds a new stage to his journey, for he merely increases the formidable array of authorities which 'no serious student of the period can afford to neglect.' To those who 'heedless of far gain' demand rapid and perhaps cheap returns for every expenditure of labour, the results here arrived at may seem inadequate, bringing with them something of disappointment.

The value of the treatise, however, must be sought in an entirely different direction. It is not intended to furnish ready-made decisions on problems not yet ripe for solution, but rather to place a powerful new tool in the hands of future generations of workers.

The nature of Dr. Vinogradoff's new contribution to medieval history may be explained in a few words. He has produced a reliable and elaborate glossary of the terms in common use in *Domesday Book*. This is the sum and substance of his achievement; and only to the ignorant will this appear a result disproportionate to the learned researches and incessant brooding that have gone to the making of this treatise during fifteen years. The unique value of *Domesday Book*, a value by no means restricted to English problems, is well known. Among its bald statistics lurk the scattered clues to the deepest mysteries of medieval history. In Dr. Vinogradoff's own words: 'A thorough study of the record in its endless and exceedingly valuable details may be said to be a task set not merely to English historians and antiquarians, but to the students of the social development of feudal Europe in general. . . . There is, of course, a "beyond" even as to *Domesday*, but the safest way towards an apprehension of this "beyond" lies through the great Survey itself.' Professor Maitland was of the same opinion. 'The Beyond is still,' he was speaking in 1897, 'very dark; but the way to it lies through the Norman record.' And again, 'If English history is to be understood, the law of *Domesday Book* must be mastered.' The difficulties of interpreting the Record, however, are equally conspicuous. More than one generation of indefatigable workers toiled in vain before the Sphinx of *Domesday Book* was forced to speak with anything like clearness. Even yet no two interpreters expound its utterances alike. Students of *Domesday Book*, at the present day, are like Greek scholars in the early years of the Renaissance: they have not only to construe their texts, but to compile their own

dictionaries. Their task, in some respects, is even harder, for the most fundamental terms of the Norman Survey are ambiguous, varying from county to county and from year to year, from the Danish north-east to the Anglo-Saxon south and west, from T.R.E. to T.R.W. Not merely so; they vary also in the same place and age, according to the context or the special point of view. If Dr. Vinogradoff has not constructed a complete Domesday dictionary, he has at least made substantial progress in that direction. He does not merely provide one meaning for each important word, but traces the varying shades of connotation through the complex process of development. In doing this he has avoided all attempts to dogmatise, carefully noting evidence which might seem to contradict as well as what supports his own conclusions. The most valuable feature of a valuable book, indeed, lies in the mass of carefully sifted evidence, in the full and elaborate 'documentation' of the whole, furnishing his future opponents with the means, perhaps, of refuting some of his own arguments.

The sequel to *Villeinage in England* thus turns out to be mainly a lexicon or glossary for Domesday students; but it has in a high degree all the merits of such a work—a certain cold impersonality, comprehensiveness, absence of bias, and abundance of illustrative citations. It is also something more than this, for the author, even when most impartial, retains his own definite standpoint which he has consistently elaborated in his previously published writings. Dr. Vinogradoff is a firm, though open-minded, opponent of all theories which insist unduly on the unbroken continuity of Romano-Celtic institutions, or which would find an origin for the bulk of the English peasantry in serfdom. On every page of his new work he adduces evidence which is consistent with his well-known interpretation of legal phenomena.

So much for the general substance of a work a detailed criticism of which would require a volume rather than a few pages to itself. The manner of the execution calls for cordial approval, subject to slight reservations. That Dr. Vinogradoff lacks the trenchant lucidity of Professor Maitland forms no valid ground of complaint against him, since the peculiar qualities of a Maitland could not be expected twice in one generation. Some passages, however, are darkened by obscurities that do not seem entirely due to the difficulties inherent in the subject. The results of the separate chapters, again, are left somewhat in isolation from each other, so that the reader who desires a living picture of society has to rest content with a series of mosaics. Dr. Vinogradoff's efforts to frame comprehensive definitions show traces of the difficulty he has experienced in making them fit into the bewildering mass of apparently inconsistent particulars that sprinkle the pages of *Domesday Book*. A few verbal errors and misprints have crept in. The serviceable index is not complete. For example, almost the last page of the volume speaks of the 'dales and stikkas of the intermixed arable,' and yet both of these rarely-used technical terms are omitted from the Index. The footnotes and appendices contain matter of great value arranged in a

form convenient for reference. The entire book is a storehouse of information, tightly packed with the carefully sifted results of patient and fully-equipped research, and is certain to be more warmly appreciated the more intimately it is known.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

GERMANY IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 476-1250. By William Stubbs, D.D., formerly Bishop of Oxford, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford. With two maps. Pp. ix, 254. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

A COMPOSITE work of this kind makes the task of the reviewer so difficult that he may well shrink from it. The book before us is ascribed to the authorship of Bishop Stubbs and purports to be a series of lectures delivered at Oxford so long ago as 1868, but there are no indications that the manuscript has been reproduced in its integrity, and we are left in doubt how far the great master of history is responsible for the arrangement and proportion of the subject-matter. The book, we are vaguely told in a prefatory note, was originally composed in the form of lectures, and the only other information vouchsafed to us about the editor's work is expressed in such a way that it is permissible to infer that the lectures have been rewritten or at least rearranged so 'as to prove attractive to the general reader' and to form a manual for the student. Herein lies the difficulty. As the book is unprovided with specific references for the authentication of the leading facts and conclusions in the text, it is obvious that the reader should inquire whether it is on Bishop Stubbs or Mr. Hassall he is reposing his faith when he accepts the statements as authoritative. The list of authorities, mostly second-hand or of doubtful value, which follows the table of contents, does not inspire us with confidence.

There ought to be no uncertainty about the duty of the editor of a posthumous volume. The student should not be expected to determine whether a passage was the author's statement or the editor's gloss. If these lectures are reproduced as they were delivered forty years ago, it is odd that we have no explanatory notes by way of addition or revision in view of the vast strides that have been made in our knowledge of German history between then and now. Once only, so far as we have noticed, has there been any attempt at revision, viz., on p. 4, when Mr. Armstrong's *Charles V.* is recommended in a note instead of Robertson's in the text, but even here the initials of the editor have been omitted. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to say whether it is the opinion of Bishop Stubbs or that of Mr. Hassall that the story of the grand serjeanty of the four dukes (p. 130) to the bishop of the new see of Bamberg in Franconia is 'very apocryphal,' as we are informed in a brief note of nine words. It is probably editorial, as we have the story recited in the text as genuine history. In another place (p. 120) we read that Otto III. 'went to Aix-la-Chapelle and held a diet there, at which he opened the grave of the great Charles and took out the golden cup which was hung to his neck.'

Here is a statement that few editors would allow to pass without comment. As a matter of fact, the story is not universally accepted, and even if it be true, it was not a golden cup, but a golden cross, which was taken from the vault.

The want of proportion is even more serious than the neglect of detail. There are 133 pages devoted to the period before the death of Henry II. and less than 100 pages to the important period between 1024 and 1250. In consequence we look in vain for illumination at any great crisis or on any special incident. The battle of Bouvines, wrongly dated in 1211 among the 'important dates' (p. 231) to be remembered, is dismissed with the curt remark that it 'wrecked Otto' (p. 220), and we get no further knowledge of its political antecedents or consequences. The place of Canossa in German history is compressed into a dozen lines (p. 168), in which we are only told of the Emperor's humiliating visit in 1077 without a serious discussion of its effects on contemporary events. In fact the later portions of the book give evidence of haste, not to say scrappiness, as if the Regius Professor was in a hurry to cover the period in the time at his disposal. Sometimes, it is true, we get glimpses of the master's art when his brilliant powers reach their normal level. The account of the rise and growth of feudalism in Germany and France and the comparison with its adoption and development in England (pp. 54-64, 134-140) is equal to the author's best work. But making due allowance for the best passages in the book, one cannot truly say that these lectures should have been published in their present form. Great claims have been put forward to justify their issue, but the evidence of justification is not easy to discover.

JAMES WILSON.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN OF WORCESTER, 1118-1140, BEING THE CONTINUATION OF THE *Chronicon ex Chronicis* OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER. Edited by J. R. H. Weaver. 4to. Clarendon Press. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. 1908. Pp. 72.

OF high importance for the period of the Anarchy, the continuation by the monk, John of Worcester, fell no whit below the standard of historical accuracy and capacity reached by the monk, Florence of Worcester, to whom for his 'subtle science and industry of studious labour' John awarded the palm over all other chroniclers. Indeed, Florence's work, although a standard source for much Scottish as well as English history, was much more of a compilation from antecedent writers than that of John, who was concerned wholly with contemporary occurrences, and who, interspersing some passages of quotation, was in the main a writer at first hand registering the events of a disturbed day as it passed. Hence its great value not only for the later years of Henry I., but for the opening of the reign of Stephen. Hence also the need for this re-edition of a text which has suffered through misunderstandings and suppressions in its *editio princeps* of 1592, and in the later versions of 1601 and 1786, as well as in the principal modern edition by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe for the English Historical Society in 1848. The monk

The Chronicle of John of Worcester 81

John was a warm though critical sympathiser with King Stephen: he met with authoritative informants: his chronology is close, and stands rigorous scrutiny; and his matter includes great doings, such, for example, as the Battle of the Standard in 1138, on which this *Chronicle* is a primary document. Owing to eclectic methods of editing coming down from the sixteenth century, the text hitherto printed has been corrupt, thus occasioning not a few chronological and other confusions from which even the wariest writers on the Anarchy like Mr. Round could with difficulty escape. Most welcome, therefore, is Mr. Weaver's scrupulous modern editing of the codex in Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford, acknowledged, although incomplete, to carry the highest authority. Legendary stories and visions omitted in the earlier renderings embrace things whose subjective truth, may, so far, atone for their failure of actuality. Amongst these is the tale of Henry I's dreams, of which excellent medieval drawings were inserted in the *Chronicle*, and are now reproduced in facsimile. Each shows the king asleep while, in the first, three rustics with scythe, fork, and one-sided spade; in the second, three chain-armoured knights with helmet, shield, drawn sword and spear; and, in the third, three mitred and crosiered ecclesiastics—frown, expostulate, and threaten. The sequel-picture to this of the outraged three estates of commons, lords, and clergy, displays a storm-tossed ship with the king on board, evidently in the act of vowing to suspend the Danegeld for a septennium. Another omitted passage registers the clergy and baronage's oath of fealty in 1128 to the Empress Maud as heiress of Henry. King David's adhesion to the oath is included: 'Jurat rex Scottorum David.' The chronicler remarks that but for his fear 'that the head of John might be condemned for lese-majesty' he would affirm that all who took the oath incurred afterwards the note of perjury. Perhaps David might plead exception from the chronicler's dictum. A strange story of martyrdom is told of a knight refusing to abnegate Christianity being delivered to be devoured by a great serpent which winds itself round the victim, but is powerless to slay him, as he was (the figure is mysterious) 'a tree turning to the south,' whereas a weaker and yielding brother, a 'lignum vergens ad aquilonem,' was torn to pieces by the snake. Really beautiful is a vision of the Madonna and a multitude of attendant virgins carrying lamps and honouring the grave of the abbot Benedict of Tewkesbury, dead in 1137. They took their places in the chapter-house where he lay, the Virgin 'more splendid than the sun' occupying the abbot's chair, and as the rule of the monastery ordained silence after compline, 'not any voice nor any sound of music was heard among them.' The tribute of reverence was paid at the grave, and then, 'as we believe,' Our Lady betook herself once more to her starry throne. Thus our chronicler seasons his facts with pious marvel. A tag of verse shows that Walter Map—or his school—on 'Sir Penny' had already a riming precedent—

'Sepe facit reges
Nummus pervertere leges.'

Mr. Weaver's ably executed task in the editing was made at some points easier to him by the work of Professor Liebermann, who thirty years ago

82 The Chronicle of John of Worcester

concluded that the Corpus Christi MS., if not the actual author's autograph, was a working copy revised by his own hand—an opinion which the studies for the present edition have confirmed. A closing word is due to the merits of the preface, almost as indispensable for the elucidation of the original work of Florence as for that of his continuator. Variant readings from the other versions and editions appear, along with occasional compact explanations, in footnotes. Marginal rubrics and a capital index equip the work with the final requisites of easy reference. Henceforward John of Worcester will hold a place of enhanced credit among the annalists of the twelfth century.

GEO. NEILSON.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ENGLISH MARTYRS, Vol. I. 1584–1603, collected and edited by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. Pp. xvi, 422. Demy 8vo. London. Privately printed for the Catholic Record Society. 1908.

THERE are persons and periods in history which get so strong a hold of the imagination that they are wont to be looked upon from any but the purely historical point of view. Such is the case in regard to the history of the English Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Their sufferings for the sake of the religion and their constancy in tribulation were exactly the material out of which to make devotional books, while the 'Jesuit in disguise' was a fascinating figure for novel writers. From Bishop Challoner, who wrote his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* nearly 170 years ago, down to Foley, S.J., and Morris, S.J., there are but a few, if indeed any, Catholic authors, who, when writing the lives of their forefathers or publishing extracts from their literary remains, successfully resisted the temptation to write in the devotional style. It is only recently, within the last thirty years, that a change has taken place in favour of serious history. Father T. F. Knox broke the ice with his *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*; but his work was only the first step towards collecting the widely scattered sources of English Catholic history since the reformation. This task was resumed some years ago by the Catholic Record Society. The number of five large volumes, published within five years, speaks for the activity of the Society; the name of the scholar who has done the bulk of the editorial work is in itself a guarantee of the scientific value of the publications. Everyone who realises the amount of sober critical research evidenced in the series of articles which Father Pollen has published in *The Month* during the last ten or twelve years, will acknowledge him as the foremost living authority in Elizabethan Catholic history.

The task which Father Pollen undertook in the present edition was in itself by no means an attractive one, consisting, as it did, in bringing to light what his predecessors, the devotional editors, had been pleased to omit. But it is surprising to see how many a gold mine their unmethodical working has left untouched. Considering merely the value of the documents dealt with, the present publication will compare

favourably with any previous contribution to our knowledge of Elizabethan Catholic history, while it far surpasses all by its technical solidity. The texts have been handled in the most conscientious and painstaking manner,¹ while the comments everywhere display the editor's command of bibliography and his knowledge of the personal career of the martyrs. It is by these intrinsic merits that this publication stands high above the level of all preceding Elizabethan martyrologies. That little notice was taken of these by historical writers implied a severe, yet not unjust censure: in relying on them one did not feel on safe ground. Pollen's edition, however, indispensable as it is to the specialist, will have to be studied as well by every student of general English history in the Elizabethan period.

By far the greater part of the documents has been drawn from the Public Record Office and other English archives, some few have been transcribed from Roman and Spanish records. The papers differ widely in character, but all tell the same tale. There are letters from missionary priests and from overseers of gaols, examinations and confessions of laymen and priests, reports of proceedings and executions, warrants to torture, carols and epigrams and odes—the note changes with almost every page, from the coldness of an official report to the fire of the poet and to the last smile of the dying who beholds his 'crown' in a vision before him. But different as these papers are in origin, purpose, and character, they are all more or less cogent proofs of the same two facts. The one fact is that the English missionary priests came into the forbidden country for purposes of religious propaganda and for nothing else; they were neither spies of the Spaniards, nor did they egg on the Catholics to revolt. The other fact is that the conflict between their church and their country was irreconcilable even to those most wishful for reconciliation. Perfect loyalty to England, *i.e.* a loyalty which might have been relied on in all possible future contingencies, was practically incompatible with a perfect obedience to the Catholic Church. The martyrs were not actual, but possible, traitors; they died not for a treason which they had committed, but for a treason they avowedly would have committed in circumstances which—never took place, but had to be reckoned with. These circumstances were a successful invasion, undertaken in order to reduce England into subjection to the Church of Rome. Any one who has retained a belief in the jesuitical hypocrisy of Rome's emissaries and adherents will be struck by the frankness with which, not all, it is true, but far the greater number of them answered the *bloody question*: 'Which side would you take in the case of an invasion, the Queen's or the Pope's?' The struggle, however, was not between a Queen and a Pope, but between the Church Universal and the national state, between medieval and modern thought. The men who fought the great struggle had got either to crush or to be crushed. All terms like

¹A slip of the pen or a misprint may be noted on p. 62, l. 18: *at Rome did conspire* ought to be *at Rheims*, etc. The alleged conspiracy was said to have been laid at Rheims. Cf. p. 55.

right or wrong, guilty or guiltless, whether taken in the moral or in the juridical sense, or even pronounced from a mere patriotic point of view, are inadequate summaries of a great subject. The play was a real tragedy, a conflict between the old and the new, and the leading actors were worthy of their parts: they knew that death was their lot, and they knew how to die. Their adversaries did not know half as well how to put them to death. The legal proceedings against the Catholics were constantly shifting between the forms of a criminal cause and of an inquisition of conscience. There can be little doubt that, before and after the period of religious fanaticism, the English judiciary stood on a higher level than the continental. Religious fanaticism, however, for a time made it sink even lower. Not to speak of the use of torture which was not at all reserved (as Lord Burleigh pleaded) for the purpose of wringing secrets from convicted traitors—the method of convicting by false evidence and fictitious conspiracies, the indifference to obvious inconsistencies in the indictment (Pollen, p. 51) make it sometimes very difficult to retain the belief in the *bona-fides* of a jury who almost never failed to condemn. The sole redeeming feature lies in the fact that this period of a justice warped by fanaticism was a comparatively short one in the history of English jurisdiction.

These few remarks must suffice to point out where the main importance of the publication lies. Considerations of space prevent me from entering into detail. I would only mention the two Jesuit poets, Southwell and Walpole, among the characteristic figures whose story is illuminated by documents of special interest. Sidelights, of course, are thrown on many prominent persons of that age, from Elizabeth, Burleigh, and Walsingham, down to the terrible Topcliffe and his assistants. The student of Elizabethan poetry (English, Welsh, and Latin) will be grateful for some contributions interesting in their way. Nobody will lay the volume aside without wishing that the author may be soon in a position to continue his valuable publication.

ARNOLD O. MEYER.

GENERAL HISTORY OF WESTERN NATIONS FROM 5000 B.C. TO 1900 A.D.
By Emil Reich, Doctor Juris. I. Antiquity. In three volumes.
Vol. I. pp. xxvi, 485; Vol. II. pp. x, 479, 8vo. London: Macmillan
& Co., Ltd. 1908. 15s. nett.

THE author announces at the outset the object of his work. It is 'to lift the magic veil of the true causes of history.' He proposes to raise this branch of learning, for the first time, to the rank of a science. The main part of classical history has, so far, been inquired into by 'a method utterly inadequate and dilettantic.' He intends, he says, 'to do for History what Bichat has done for Anatomy; Bopp and Pott for Linguistics; or Savigny for Roman Law.' This is to be done by the new or psychological method, to the exposition of which, directly and incidentally, the greater part of the book is devoted; and

especially a prolix Introduction, which Dr. Reich describes as intended to be a grammar of history. The reader, however, will look in vain in this 'grammar' for any orderly system of general principles and particular rules for historical composition.

The Introduction is followed by dissertations, first on 'the great inland empires,' Chaldea, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites and the Phrygians; and then on the Phoenicians and the Hebrews, which are called 'border states.' The remainder of Volume I. is assigned to the Greeks. Volume II. is appropriated to Rome, whose history, from the founding of the city down to the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century A.D., including an account of the Roman Constitution, occupies some 300 pages. Essays on the Roman Principate, on Roman Law, and on Roman Literature are added. The second volume is the more useful of the two, because it more often confines itself to narrative. But the greater part of both is occupied by the advancement and verbose discussion of theories and generalisations, in which it is frequently hard to keep hold of the thread of the argument.

Dr. Reich is not content to set forth his own method and leave it to stand or fall on its merits. Throughout he assails the methods of others, and that less with argument than vituperation. He is an Ishmael among historians.

The method of his work, Dr. Reich tells us, is based on the fact that the chief contents of history are either institutions, events, or persons. Of events or persons, he says, it is impossible to get at a complete knowledge. But in institutions history repeats itself, and can therefore be studied *sur le vif*. Illustrations of these propositions will be found throughout the volumes. His treatment of institutions, however, is seldom satisfactory, and often peculiarly inadequate.

In literary, as in historic judgments, Dr. Reich is unique. The *Punica* of Silius Italicus, hitherto considered the worst epic ever written, he classes with the *Aeneid* among the most noteworthy of the works of great merit in epic poetry which the Romans have left us. He says that nothing can be more evident than the inferiority of French lyrical poetry, and nothing more patent than the cause. The cause is that young girls, 'the main source of lyrical inspiration,' are kept in France in strict seclusion from young men. And yet, he declares (illustrating the incompetence of French, as of German, historians), no French writer has ever been aware of the manifest correlation of these facts. The countrymen of Alfred de Musset, Theophile Gautier, and Victor Hugo would probably disable Dr. Reich's judgment. But he points out on another page that in Rome also young girls of decent family were held in absolute seclusion from society, while he pronounces the lyrics of Catullus to be superior to those of Heine. Here the 'correlation' would seem to fail. But another category is introduced. Catullus, like Thucydides *teste* Dr. Reich, is a 'foreigner.' If we suggest that Catullus' 'source of inspiration' was actually a married lady of mature age, we shall no doubt be met with another category.

The reader will be impressed with the display of Dr. Reich's linguistic

accomplishment, his energy, his industry, and the wide field of his erudition. He will find much that is interesting, much that is suggestive, and some things of a certain value. But he will also find much of that kind of self-confidence which is the concomitant of superficiality, and his chief feeling after he has read the book will be distrust.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE EXILED BOURBONS IN SCOTLAND. By A. Francis Steuart, Advocate. Pp. 136. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: William Brown. 1908. 5s. nett.

IT will be readily believed that the task of collecting the 'little data' which make up this short monograph has been a difficult one, but the collector's searches have evidently been a labour of love carrying its own reward, and the outcome is a dainty volume which will be read with pleasure. The Comte d'Artois is the chief character towards which everything gravitates; yet somehow he fails to arouse our interest when he arrives for the first time at Leith in 1796, anxious above all things to escape from his creditors within the sanctuary of Holyrood. It was his misfortune, and partly his fault also, to be always unpopular, as the wild d'Artois before the Revolution, as an unheroic and narrow-minded mischief-maker in the days of exile, and as the embodiment of reaction during his short reign. Mr. Steuart skilfully, and rightly too, glides over those weak points. It is only when Charles X. returns to the now grudging hospitality of Holyrood that we begin to feel pity for the old king, broken down by misfortune and years. We are more interested in his miniature court, in his visitors from abroad, in his relations with the nobility of Scotland and Edinburgh Society. The friends of the fallen Stewarts made the most of the fallen Bourbons and their adherents, and Jacobitism was still a living faith in Scotland; indeed, in perusing these pages one feels a passing doubt whether that faith is quite dead yet. The monograph was not written to add much to our knowledge of French history; but as the closing chapter of the history of Holyrood, the abode of ill-fated royalties, it should be read and enjoyed by many.

The illustrations consist of seven portraits, two of which reproduced from originals in Dalkeith Palace call for special mention. The first is the Duchesse d'Angoulême, whom Napoléon called 'the only man in the family'; the other represents, as a boy of ten, the Comte de Chambord, whom his friends called Henry V., the last, and not the least, of the Bourbons of France, who upheld unswervingly till his death the divine right and the white flag of his ancestors.

As the edition is limited, another may be, and indeed should be, needed; if so, some misprints in the French quotations will have to be amended. We may add also that 'Jules' Blanc should be Louis Blanc; and that it was at Nantes, and not at Rennes that the Duchesse de Berry was arrested. Thackeray is not a safe guide in historical points.

F. J. AMOURS.

ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS. XII. PONTIFICAL SERVICES. Vol IV.
 Illustrated from Woodcuts of the Sixteenth Century. With Descriptive Notes by Athelston Riley, M.A. Pp. viii, 150. Royal 8vo.
 London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s.

THE woodcuts form the second and third (concluding) parts of a series, of which the first part was edited in 1907, with notes by Mr. F. C. Eeles. They are taken from two Roman pontificals, printed at Venice in 1520 and 1572 respectively, and meant to show how the rubrics were to be carried out. As pictures they are rough, and at first sight one would think it hazardous to build much on their testimony, in regard at least to the object the Club has in publishing them—to determine the precise meaning of that rubric in the *Book of Common Prayer*, ‘the ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.’ These, moreover, are characteristically Venetian, and the editor admits that as they do not show the contemporary usage of the Roman Court, so neither could they be ‘mistaken for representations of ceremonies or churches in England, France, or Spain.’ But apart from the justification which, by this very circumstance, they afford to that statement of the Thirty-Nine Articles, ‘it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike,’ they bear valuable witness to the fact that so late as 1572, the ornaments of church and altar were, even in Italy and when a bishop was officiant, much plainer than they afterwards became. Here there is nothing tawdry—no multiplicity of lights, no gradines, no tabernacle behind the altar, no flowers at all, either natural or artificial. The dress of the clergy differs considerably in shape from that now in use in the Roman Church; and where the surplice is shown it is full and long, and much liker the old-fashioned Anglican pattern than the modern Roman cotta. It may be added that the Italian pictures illustrated by the Arundel Society yield similar testimony.

The fifty-two years between the two sets of woodcuts were years, one sees, of an architectural revolution—the churches of the earlier series may still be called Gothic; those of the latter are frankly Renaissance. But the change of architecture is not matched by any serious alteration in altar ornament or priestly dress. The altars of 1572 show sometimes a more richly embroidered frontal, but nothing new is set upon them, and the increased height of the mitre is almost the only indication of a later fashion discoverable in the shape of the vestments.

To a Scottish antiquary it is disappointing to find no illustration of the rubric in Bishop de Bernham (of St. Andrews’) pontifical requiring the lord of the manor to lay upon the altar, by the token of his staff or knife, the *dos* (endowment) of the new church—‘without which,’ says the canny Scot, ‘a church cannot be consecrated.’ A folding lectern, like one preserved in the Cathedral treasury at Rouen, is figured on page 107. In the earlier cut of the Blessing of a Sword, the altar has no rearedos, and does not stand against a wall: the clergy are on one side of it and the soldier, whose sword is being blessed, on the other (p. 71).

JAMES COOPER.

FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND. Two Lectures and a Bibliography. By A. L. Smith, Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. 71. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

THESE two lectures were delivered in order to bespeak public interest in a plan for the establishment in Oxford of a Maitland Memorial Library for students, and the bibliography is a first offering towards it. 'Does History advance?' is Mr. Smith's initial question, and his answer is a triumphant survey of Professor Maitland's work as evincing remarkable advances in the methods both of research and exposition. Mr. Smith has brilliances of his own and his enthusiasm of appreciation, well justified by the facts, and crisply supported by a multitude of clever quotations from the lost master, seems to find its centre as much in the extraordinary vivacity, colour and expressiveness of Maitland's writing as in his wonderful successes in research and his high achievement as scholar, lawyer and historian. The lectures are admirable interpretations of the charm of Maitland's style, its unfailing lightness of touch and grace of humour and its deeper power by a quaint phrase parallel to make an abstraction suddenly concrete. A general audience being obviously in view, the lecturer has sought rather to sketch popularly the literary, legal and historical quality of the man of genius than to trace technically the evolution of his thought in the succession of his discoveries or to distinguish comparatively the central and final elements of greatness in his work. It was excellent to explain Maitland's truly marvellous attraction and suggestiveness. Part of it came from his wideness of eye and heart, and from his generous interest in the tasks of others, whether critics, disciples or friends. There is before me as I write a glowing letter of his, written in 1899, about an article on 'Knight Service in Scotland' (*Juridical Review*, Jan. 1899, vol. xi.), in which on page 74 there is printed a clause of the Innes charter of 1160 by Malcolm IV. to Berowald the Fleming—very special by reason of its almost unique example of castle-ward and its tenurial implications. Maitland wrote—

'But what a lovely thing is that charter for Berowald the Fleming! I hardly can contain my joy. It falls so patly into my scheme of things. I suppose I ought to have known of it before, but did not. If I had another life I would spend much of it among your Scotch documents, and this for the sake of England.'

It was this eager spirit among the documents which carried him to his heights and gave him his power. It is worth while noting one omission from the bibliography—a textual article, 'Glanvill Revised,' in the *Harvard Law Review* for April 15, 1892.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST, INCLUDING THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Vincent A. Smith, M.A., M.R.A.S. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. xii, 461. Dy. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 14s. nett.

THE former edition of this valuable work, which appeared in the year 1904, was remarkable as being the first attempt to deal with the history of India before the Muhammadan conquest as a connected whole, for which the skeleton alone previously existed in Miss Duff's *Chronology of India*. Indeed, up to that date the materials for such a history were not available. The appearance of a new edition in so short a time shows that the first supplied a serious defect in Indian bibliography.

While the text of the present edition is in the main identical with that of the earlier, which, except in regard to trifling details, it has not been deemed advisable to alter, it contains also a large quantity of supplementary matter, amounting to some seventy additional pages. The chapters dealing with Alexander the Great, the Maurya, and the Greek, Parthian and Scythian dynasties remain practically unchanged, except for an appendix to Chapter X. on 'the so-called Chinese Hostages of Kanishka.' The sections dealing with the Gupta Empire and the reign of Harsha are also as in the earlier edition, whilst on the other hand chapter XIV. on 'the Mediaeval Kingdoms of the North' has been largely rewritten and expanded from twenty to fifty pages. Much of the additional matter is of the first importance, especially the incident recorded on p. 333 which determined the subsequent ecclesiastical history of Tibet, the sketch of the history of Nepāl and that of Assam, and the account of the kingdom of Kanauj, and the section on the Rājput clans.

Throughout Mr. Smith does not aim at giving a picture of Vedic society so much as a sketch of the political and dynastic history of India. Three outstanding facts which characterise that history are,—first, the extent to which India has been ruled by a foreign dominant race; secondly, that the alien master has made no permanent impression on the country. The third point to be noted is what Mr. Smith calls the assimilative power of Hinduism, that is, its power to transform or absorb any other faith which comes within its reach.

T. H. WEIR.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A Course of Lectures delivered by F. W. Maitland, LL.D., late Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. Pp. xxviii, 548. Demy 8vo. London: Cambridge University Press, 1908. 12s. 6d.

WHETHER it is ever wise to publish posthumously discarded papers which a writer of established fame forbore to publish in his lifetime is a problem of much delicacy. Where an author has deliberately decided against publication, the only course left open, under ordinary circumstances, would seem to be to give loyal effect to his decision. It is fairer, as it is more chivalrous, to judge a historian or a man of letters by the finished products

of his riper years. In spite of all such admirable reasons, numerous disciples of the late Professor Maitland, who known or unknown to him revered him as their master, will be grateful to his literary executors for having acted, in his case, on an opposite opinion. Historians in two hemispheres confidently looked forward to many brilliant contributions from the comparatively young Cambridge Professor who, when he died two years ago, held the first place among English medieval scholars. If the present text-book forms a poor substitute for the objects of these great expectations, it will yet prove of value to students of our national institutions for several distinct reasons, while there is assuredly nothing in its pages that can possibly lessen the esteem in which its author is universally held. It possesses, in the first place, a biographical interest—for it marks a stage in the development of a great historian. These rough notes—for they are little more—hurriedly compiled to form the basis of two terms' lectures to be delivered in 1887 and 1888, and thereafter thrown aside as of no permanent value, contain a record of Maitland's early impressions before he entered on his sustained researches; and it is instructive to compare these impressions with his more mature conclusions on such questions as the origin of trial by jury or the general purport and effects of Magna Carta. The book possesses a double interest for those who have lectured over the same ground, because of the indications it affords of what portions of a vast field Maitland considered it essential to place before students at the entrance to their legal curriculum, and what portions might safely be omitted. The preface informs us, however, that he had only six months to prepare these lectures. Less cramped for time, he might possibly have altered radically his entire scheme of instruction, together with the proportions of the various parts. It would be easy, indeed, to compile a formidable list of important topics omitted or inadequately treated, information upon which might yet be reasonably expected from the ordinary student of constitutional law and history.

A third merit of the book, however—and one which for some readers will more than compensate for all such omissions—is that it contains detailed information upon several topics entirely neglected by the ordinary text-books. Even the most threadbare themes again are here treated with freshness and vigour, and from an angle of observation peculiarly the author's own. Finally, although the volume (in marked contrast with Maitland's later works), shows little evidence of research among the primary authorities, and contains few strikingly original interpretations of constitutional phenomena, there is at least one subject on which an opinion is expressed at variance with those generally held. Maitland vigorously combats the received view that in Great Britain in the strict letter of legal theory—the effect of constitutional conventions is not in dispute—'the executive power is vested in the King alone, and consists of the royal prerogative.' His contention is that thousands of Acts of Parliament have little by little nibbled away fragments of the kingly attributes, have conferred new powers of a purely statutory nature upon the heads of administrative departments, and on local councils and committees, to be exercised in absolute independence of even the shadow of royal authority,

and have regulated the uses to which may still be put such shreds of their once ample prerogatives as are still left to the kings of England. This is not the place to criticise this theory in detail; but the suggestion may be hazarded that the monarch's right, still unimpaired in the strict letter of the law, to appoint Ministers in whom Parliament has vested certain powers, leaves the control of these powers still theoretically under the prerogative; and that Maitland has thus taken pains to elaborate a subtle distinction which has as little direct bearing on legal theory as it has, admittedly, on practical politics.

When the considerable merits of these lectures have thus been summed up, it must still be admitted that the book is not a great one. A great book, indeed, could hardly have been expected from the hasty labours of a young lecturer at the threshold of his career. It is incomplete, marred by notable omissions, sometimes crude in expression, and even incorrect at times. On p. 364, for instance, it seems to be implied that canvassers at parliamentary elections are disqualified from voting! The Analysis or Table of Contents does not always correspond accurately to the body of the book. Promises held out in the one are not always fulfilled in the other, while new themes seem to have been added after the Analysis had been completed. There is, however, an admirable Index. The book has been arranged on the analytical—not the chronological—method, and it has all the inherent defects of that method, as well as its merits; it lacks unity, necessitates repetition, and confronts the reader with an assortment of dissected limbs in place of a living organism. Further, it is not so much the history of continuous constitutional development suggested by its title, as a series of five isolated and incomplete studies of English constitutional law at five arbitrarily selected stages of its growth. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell on these defects, which are not only obvious, but were almost inevitable from the circumstances under which the lectures were composed.

No one was better fitted than Maitland, the mature Maitland of the early years of the twentieth century, to write a masterly, lucid, and trenchant Institutional History of England, finely proportioned and artistically compiled. These hasty lecture notes do not form such a history. They are too incomplete even to supersede existing text-books, such as those of Taswell-Langmead or Prof. Medley; to which, however, they form a valuable supplement. The student will here get clearer and better guidance on certain portions of his subject than in any of the existing authorities, whether class-books or standard treatises. In conclusion, it should be said that Mr. Fisher has performed his editorial work admirably and unobtrusively. A few additional notes on recent legal decisions and institutional developments might indeed have been profitably added for the convenience or warning of students; but the editor's desire not to obtrude his own opinions will be readily understood and appreciated.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

FRANCE ET ALLEMAGNE. By Edgar Quinet, edited by C. Cestre, Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Lyon. Pp. lxxv, 228. Fcap. 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume is one of a series intended 'to make the best French literature accessible to the higher forms of public schools, to University students, and to the general reader.' It will hardly appeal to the schoolboy, even in the highest forms, unless his attention is directed solely to the purple patches of an original style for which Quinet was famous; the general reader will find it hard to master; but it will repay the time spent on it by the historical student of the ever-actual problem concisely summed up on the title-page.

The editor, who believes in his author, as every editor ought to do, has done his work with thoroughness. In an essay of seventy pages he gives an exhaustive presentment of the life and ideas of a remarkable writer, who after being unduly belauded in his generation, has been unduly neglected in ours. Copious notes, which will prove very useful, elucidate points, clear enough when the pamphlets and articles appeared, but dimmed now by the passing of years. A very striking portrait of the author adds to the interest of the book.

F. J. AMOURS.

THE LAST ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., Abbot President of the English Benedictines. Pp. viii, 330. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett.

STUDENTS of English medieval life in its ecclesiastical aspect will thank Dr. Gasquet for publishing under one cover the miscellaneous essays which this book contains. Though some of them are well known, they are hidden away in the pages of a magazine or out of print. In the first paper, 'The Last Abbot of Glastonbury,' reprinted here from the edition of 1895 and covering more than one-third of the volume, a sketch is given of the suppression of the great Benedictine Abbeys of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, with the execution of the abbots in the reign of Henry VIII. This is a subject on which the author of *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, noticed in this *Review* (*S.H.R.* iv. 102-103), is an eminent authority. Of the other papers, 'St. Gregory the Great and England,' 'English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century,' and 'English Biblical Criticism in the Thirteenth Century' appeared in the *Dublin Review* at various times in recent years. Dr. Gasquet does not claim much importance for the other essays, but he was well advised in including among them his reflections on family life, democracy, and the lay parishioner in pre-Reformation times. These papers are most attractively written, and deal with subjects not very generally discussed in the right spirit.

As Dr. Gasquet has been appointed, if report be true, on the papal commission recently entrusted by Pius X. with the preparation of a critical edition of the Vulgate, his paper on 'English Biblical Criticism' may be

regarded as of considerable interest at the present time. Biblical scholars of all shades of thought will look forward with confidence to the result. From the contents of this paper they may be sure that the work of English textual students of the Vulgate will be fully appraised by the learned Abbot who may be said to represent this country. In the history of the Vulgate text it is perhaps true that the critical work which characterised the Scriptural studies of the thirteenth century in England has not been fully recognised. It is to be feared that modern scholars do not set much value upon it. Roger Bacon may have anticipated in some measure our modern methods, but he was a voice crying in the wilderness, imploring help in vain from the court of Rome or pouring contempt on the degenerate texts produced in his time. When it is remembered that the text now officially recommended by the Roman Church embodies the results of medieval work, a fresh redaction has not been undertaken a moment too soon.

JAMES WILSON.

THE SHAKESPEARE APOCRYPHA. Being a collection of fourteen plays which have been ascribed to Shakespeare. Edited, with introduction, notes and bibliography, by C. F. Tucker Brooke, B.Litt. Pp. lvi, 456. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 5s. nett.

SUCH a collection as this forms a much-needed companion volume to Shakespeare and book of reference for the critic of the Elizabethan stage. Among the fourteen plays edited are *Arden of Feversham*, *Mucedorus*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton* and *Sir Thomas More*. There is thus made accessible almost a full set of the pieces on the frontier line or debateable land of Shakespeare. Mr. Brooke handles his introduction vigorously, expressing his opinions with a refreshing freedom of epithet. He has pronounced views on certain German literary judgments and on the prevailing poverty of German style: he speaks with pity of 'such vanities as parallel passages and identical archaisms': and he never mentions the name of Mr. Sidney Lee. There is robust good sense in his verdicts, though they are sometimes rather masterful and almost amount to this, that Heminge and Condell knew and edited all that Shakespeare ever wrote. Only in the very interesting case of that beautiful and too little known play *Sir Thomas More* does the editorial leading incline heavily for Shakespeare. The discussion of the singular evidence of MS. (supposed by, amongst others, a scholar of such eminence as Spedding to be in part Shakespeare's autograph) deepens the attraction of a powerful theme, dramatically and genially presented, and seen as it were in course of composition through the medium of the manuscript alterations in draft. Mr. Brooke's texts throughout are closely and laboriously annotated with the variants of the early editions, and his adherence to the older spelling is a further guarantee of soundness of method. His sketches of the plays as well as the dependent discussions of authorship and characteristics are workmanlike performances indicative of individual standpoints of literary appreciation. The notes though few and meagre

are good and the bibliography is practical and excellent. The *Apocrypha* contains so much material which no Shakespearean can do without that the best criticism may well be that which offers the warmest welcome. To Professor Raleigh is due the original inspiration for this most useful book.

THE OLD ENGLISH BIBLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D. New edition. Pp. ix, 347. Crown 8vo. London : George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett.

THE title of this volume is derived from the principal paper contained in it, 'The Pre-Reformation English Bible,' which appeared first in the *Dublin Review* of July, 1894. The startling position taken by the author was that the so-called Wyclifite Bible was not translated by Wyclif and his friends, but was a Catholic production. Such a bold paradox brought forth protests from writers recognized as authorities on the life and work of the early reformer, and when the article was reproduced, along with other essays, in the first edition in 1898, another paper was added to the first, as an answer to the criticisms. The main points taken up by Dom Gasquet may be readily admitted : first, that the medieval Church never objected to the translation of the Scriptures into the mother tongue ; that Wyclif's translation, as it stands, does not contain a single word savouring of heresy, being in fact a close and truthful version of the Vulgate ; lastly, that the Church allowed the version to be read, as numerous copies still in existence belonged once to kings, princes, monasteries and nunneries.

There is however one part of the argument that needs some strengthening. If the translation is not due to Wyclif and his followers, by whom and when was it undertaken and carried out ? The evidence as it stands is too vague in the meantime. It is tantalizing to be told in the first page of the reprint that the author entertained the design of adding a third essay on the Pre-Reformation English Bible, but that other occupations have prevented his making use of the material which has been growing under his hands. Let us hope this material will not long remain unused, as the problem is of sufficient importance, historically, to deserve exhaustive treatment. There are difficulties and obscurities on both sides of the solution.

The other essays deal also with the work of the Church in medieval England, monastic libraries and scriptoria, schools and scholars, and they are all full of fresh information gathered at first hand mostly from manuscript sources. Some of the methods of the O.S.B. have changed ; the old folios have been succeeded by crown octavos ; but so long as the name remains a synonym for labour and learning, readers will not complain of the 'old order yielding place to new.'

The Romanes Lecture for 1907, on *Frontiers*, by Lord Curzon (pp. 58, Clarendon Press, 1907, 2s. nett), is a survey full of suggestion of the part which frontiers play in the lives of nations. Perhaps the facts are strained a little when it is said that the majority of the

important wars of the last century were frontier wars. This is hardly a proper interpretation of wars of conquest, in which not the frontier but the territory within it is the object. But the enormous consequence of the frontier itself is admirably shewn by the historical sketch of the origins of frontiers, natural and artificial, their varieties, the systems of maintenance, the effect of improved modes of motion, and the changes in theory resulting from the altering conditions which make or unmake a scientific border line. Spartianus is cited for the palisades—like sleeper-fences *in excelsis*—introduced by Hadrian; and the *limes* between Rhine and Danube is placed in the evolution of the border rampart, as are our Roman Walls in Britain. All are regarded as designed for protection against the menacing barbarian, although it is hinted that they were rather more a line of trespass than a frontier—a view which remains doctrinaire despite the countenance it once received more ungrudgingly than it now does. The medieval Marks or Marches are very shortly noticed and our border Wardens, though not our *Leges Marchiarum*, are referred to with some haziness of geography but with an appreciation of the spirit which ‘interwove a woof of chivalry and high romance with a warp of merciless rapine and savage deeds.’ This of course is a very inadequate summary of a remarkable organisation which began as a military expedient and never lost that inherent character. No aspect of Lord Curzon’s outline treatise more arrests attention than the discussion of the reciprocal influence of fortifications on frontiers and of frontiers on fortifications. There is magnetism in the eloquence of his perorative sentences with their picture of the march of empire as it sweeps wide curving over space and carries the Frontier further and further along. And there is more than eloquence in the appeal for the maintenance of the great qualities of knowledge and strength and sympathy and justice needed to guard so vast a boundary line as ours. ‘The Frontiers of Empire,’ he reminds us in a fine phrase, ‘continue to beckon.’ We hope Lord Curzon may one day realize his hope and fill out this treatise with full historical and geographical circumstance and colour in a volume.

The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by George Cavendish, has been edited in Macmillan’s series of English Literature for Secondary Schools, by Miss Mary Tout, M.A. (pp. xv, 114, Macmillan, 1908, 1s.), with introduction, notes and glossary. The prefatorial sketch supplies the necessary notice of Cavendish (1500-1561), who was gentleman usher to the cardinal during the last three or four years of his life, from 1527 until 1530. The *Life* is marked by simplicity, eloquence and emotion. It has been described as the first separate biography in English, and possesses equal importance for its historical and its literary merits. The editor seems unaware of the Kelmscott edition of 1893, which contains what is believed to be the autograph and only authentic text. A comparison of the famous passage describing Wolsey’s death discloses deficiencies in the text Miss Tout has followed.

The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great. Under this title Professor Percy Gardner, in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. iii., has brought to focus the results of the most recent researches into the interesting questions connected with the early gold coinages of Asia,—Lydian, Greek, and Persian. His paper, which has been separately reprinted (pp. 32, with two collotype plates. Henry Froude. 2s. 6d. nett), contains some important new suggestions of his own, notably a proposed identification of the money of the great Ionic Revolt. It will be specially valuable to historians who have no expert knowledge of numismatics, for it sets out the main facts in a singularly lucid and intelligible fashion.

The Clarendon Press issues a school edition of Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, pp. xi, 232, having prefixed a clan map illustrative of Montrose's campaigns of 1644-45. A preface and notes by Mr. G. S. Gordon, fellow of Magdalen, set in historical frame Scott's pictures of the subordinate figures Montrose and Argyle and of the dominant personage Captain Dalgetty, though it requires more than an effort to accept—albeit *brevitatis causâ*—the sacrifice of Sir Walter's own explanations.

A book on *The Law of Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks*, containing an exhaustive exposition of that important subject, not only in Great Britain and its dependencies, but also in regard to foreign countries, has been issued by Messrs. Cruikshank & Fairweather, Glasgow.

Stoneywood Churchyard Epitaphs (pp. 8, Aberdeen, Thomson & Duncan), by Mr. R. Murdoch-Lawrance, contains a complete transcript of the tombstone inscriptions now in the churchyard of the old Chapel of Stoneywood in Newhills Parish, Aberdeenshire.

In the *English Historical Review* (July) Sir H. Howorth begins a close examination of the historical allusions to the Germans in early Latin writings, especially in the pages of Caesar, with whom the word German had no ethnological sense, but was a geographical expression for those who dwelt beyond the Rhine. The taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., the alleged interference with freedom of electors in Elizabeth's parliament of 1559, and the progress of inclosure in the seventeenth century, are other subjects dealt with. Very important is the textual paper of Professor Haskins on the Norman *Consuetudines et Justicie* of William the Conqueror, as appearing in a document of the year 1091. Its interest may be judged from the citation of part of the article on fortifications:

‘Nulli licuit in Normannia fossatum facere in planam terram nisi tale quod de fundo potuisset terram jactare superius sine scabello et ibi non licuit facere palicium nisi in una regula et illud sine propugnaculis et alatoriis.’

Mr. L. W. V. Harcourt explains the *Baga de Secretis* by reference to many varieties of official bags by the court of King's Bench, finding their prototype in the coroner's bag shown to be a solemnity as early as 30 Edward I.

The Antiquary for September has a suggestive survey of prehistoric Norfolk, grouping and tentatively arranging the archaeological remains of that shire. Many odd notices are unearthed in a serial article on London Signs.

Students of the 'French of Stratford' have a very singular passage set before them by Mr. A. T. Baker in the *Modern Language Review* for July. It is from an Anglo-Norman MS. poem on Edward the Confessor. Regarding his diction the writer says:

Qu'en Latin est nominatif
 Ço frai romanz acusatif.
 Ün faus franceis sai d'Angletere
 Ke nele alai ailurs quere
 Mais vus ki ailurs apris l'avez
 La u mester iert, l'amendez.

Mr. Baker assigns the manuscript to the last third of the thirteenth century.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (June) reprints an oddity—the bill of James Medhurst, of Weymouth, regarding his Museum of Antiquities, illustrating the Celtic, Roman, and Saxon Eras in Britain. It also describes and figures a medal, presented by the Duke of Cumberland to Ralph Allen, of Bath, in recognition of his loyal service during the Jacobite rising. Allen raised a company of troops at his own charges when Prince Charlie was marching south.

The Reliquary for July has illustrations of the church of Neufchâtel-en-Bray, Normandy, of several pre-Norman cross fragments from Kildwick-in-Craven, Yorkshire, of representative pages from the *Heures a l'usage de Amiens* printed about 1500, of certain Dene-holes of Kent and Essex, and of sundry relics—an alms box, a group of stone stoups, several font covers, and early chairs. The mystery of the dene-holes is not yet solved either as regards their date or purpose. Mr. A. J. Philip's article leans to the very unhopeful theory that these 'extraordinary shafts and caves in the chalk were underground granaries.

Orkney and Shetland Old Lore for July prints abstracts of a number of Orkney and Shetland sasines, edited by the Rev. Henry Paton. Miss Jessie Saxby collects some Shetland phrases. Mr. A. W. Johnston assembles the evidences, chiefly negative, regarding the Romans in Orkney and Shetland. From the late George Petrie's notebook there is taken an account, written about 1836, of the New-Year Song sung in the island of Sanday with the music and text.

The Genealogist (July) starts its twenty-fifth volume with its accustomed fulness of record in pedigrees and armorials. On a list of licenses to pass from England beyond sea appears the following of date 13th May, 1624: 'YOUNG, Andrew, 33; resident at Sterli . . . in Scotland to Middleb . . . about certen his . . .' The *lacunae* are not hard to supply: 'Sterling,' 'Middleburg,' 'affaires.' Middleburg in the Netherlands was for centuries a great centre of Scots trade.

The Rutland Magazine for July, among its pictures of monuments at Exton, includes the recumbent effigy of Anne, wife of Thomas, Lord Bruce of Kinloss. She died in 1627.

In the *Revue Historique* (July-August) a stirring and spirited paper by E. Rodocanachi displays the rôle of the Castle of St. Angelo in the history of Rome and the Papacy from the thirteenth century down to 1420. At the close of the twelfth century the inaugural oath bound the Capitoline senators to defend the Holy See's possessions, 'especially the Castle of Crescentius.' Nicholas III. transformed both the castle and the Vatican, and restored the chapel of St. Michael on the summit of the castle. Completely dominating the Vatican, the castle was vital to the security of the popes, and loyalty in the castellan was the object of ceaseless anxiety. Equally it was the objective of every ambition, whether imperial, municipal, or domestic, which was hostile to the pope. Hence the variety of its fortunes, with episodes like the death of bishop Theobald de Bar in the attack by the emperor Henry VII. in 1312, the coronation of the emperor Louis at St. Peter's, in consequence of the capture of the castle by the Romans; its giving shelter to Rienzi in 1347, because the Orsini who kept it was the born enemy of the Colonnas; and the long battle that raged round it from 1370, when Gregory XI. shifted the see to Avignon, until 1379, when, at the commencement of the great schism, the Breton mercenaries, who had held it against Urban VI., were defeated, and the captured castle was dismantled. Not for long, however; before the century was out its reconstruction was in rapid progress, aided by the goods of an Englishman falling to the pope in default of legatees. In the alternations of fortune subsequently the steadfastness of Vituccio, master of the castle during the struggle between Gregory XII. and Alexander V., was a fine episode—not unlike the story of Geoffrey de Mandeville and the Tower of London during the Anarchy, except that Vituccio displayed a good faith, which bettered his antecedents. The crowning event, however, of the medieval history of St. Angelo was its marking the end of the great schism, when the new pope, Martin V., recognised by the whole Church and restored to the Vatican, took possession of the fortress, which had so often turned the scale of the destinies of the See.

Another paper of high interest is by M. Henri Sée on the political ideas of Voltaire, whose standpoints it summarises very clearly, with frequent reference to the influences which moulded his opinions. His debt to Bayle is specially pointed out, and in his dominant tenet of tolerance the effect of English ideas is shown as a continuous force in his whole manner of thought. His concept of history, however imperfectly he realised it himself, was essentially scientific—to search out the radical vice and dominating virtue of any nation, to ascertain whether it was powerful or feeble on the sea, to note its growth and wealth and exports, as well as its arts and manufactures and their transmission to other lands, and finally, as the grand object, to observe the change in manners and in laws. Strong in his definitions of the rights of man, he was curiously hostile to Parliaments, believing more in a constitutional monarchy than in republican or

democratic governments. An eager and practical opponent of serfage and seigniorial rights, he yet showed little inclination for popular education. Throughout all he was no mere doctrinaire or 'creator of abstractions': his genius enlisted itself entirely in the service of practical causes, so that, in M. Sée's phrase, 'no writer exercised an influence more decisive on the movement of ideas from which the Revolution of '89 was to spring.' A brisk discussion has arisen over M. Bédier's thesis on *Raoul de Cambrai* (see *S.H.R.* v. 365), especially as regards the identification of 'Comte Ybert de Vermandois' and the verity of Bertolais, the alleged warrior-troubadour.

M. Gabriel Monod writes a long criticism of M. Anatole France's *Jeanne d'Arc*, which has, he thinks, brought into her history a precision and probability which it never had before. At the same time, M. Monod, like Mr. Lang (*S.H.R.* v. 411), regards as quite unwarranted the conclusion that the Maid was primed by her clerical entourage, and considers that although the life 'is and will remain one of the finest books of our historical literature,' the brilliant author has yet failed to recognise the real grandeur of Jeanne—her superiority in intelligence as much as in heart.

Contents of the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Jul.-Aug.) include notably interesting papers on Montesquieu, Beaumarchais, and Napoleon. One hardly expects now to get behind the *Esprit des Lois* or the *Grandeur et Décadence*, but the author's papers exist and are being brought to light. They reveal a Montesquieu a little different from our thought of him—more anxious after literary form on the one hand, and much more of a sentimentalist in his philosophy on the other. Beaumarchais, seen not as wit and man of letters, but as a secret agent of the French Government, utilising for the purposes of political information the opportunities of diplomatic missions to London in 1775-76, when the American question was at its height. Beaumarchais believed that the success of the revolution was assured; in 1775 he wrote advising that France should at all hazards keep out of the conflict: early in 1776, fatefully changing his views, he advised that France should make herself the undisclosed ally of the Americans, and give them secret support. The *secours secrets* of France took first shape in a million livres, put into the hands of Beaumarchais for the purpose, a month before the American declaration of independence. He had reported that it was the secret wish of King George to abandon America. The essay, which is by M. Villette des Prugnes, reflects a different standpoint from that of Sir George Trevelyan, who has described the extraordinary influence over French policy which Beaumarchais exercised. The Napoleon article tells the story of an attempt, or rather of two attempts, on Napoleon's life by a half-crazed Saxon student, La Sahla, who was caught and imprisoned in 1811, was sent home in 1814, but returned in 1815 to try again. His first attempt was to have been made by pistol shot; his second was by explosives, which, accidentally discharged, nearly killed himself, though he survived Waterloo to offer to Admiral Sidney Smith the secret of manufacturing fire-ships for use against the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean. But the Admiral drily replied that he 'wanted nothing to do with a chemist of that sort.'

In the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July subjects include the apocryphal Acts of Peter, the literature of the Great Schism, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The *Annales de Bretagne* is a quarterly publication issuing under University auspices from the Faculty of Letters at Rennes with the collaboration of the archivists of Bretagne. Such publications as this make one wonder what similar work—indeed what public work in history—is being done by or through our Scottish Universities. In these annals (Nov. 1907, Jan., April, 1908) there is a fine variety of history in papers on Breton parishes as partly autonomous communities, on the rural and agricultural grievances prior to the Revolution, on antique monuments like the Venus of Quinipily (with its forged dedication by Caius Julius Caesar), on mediæval inland navigation, on the songs of Bretagne and on the lives of saints such as Saint Malo, best known to us as Machutus, and Saint Gildes, best known to us as our oldest British historian. A periodical section gives text of documents. One set consists of protestant abjurations in which the granters at dates from 1685 to 1705 give up 'all the errors of Calvin and all his heresies' and promise to live and die in the old faith. There is in the current paragraphs of news some discussion of the St. Ninian chapel at Roscoff and of the question as to the precise landing of Queen Mary in 1548 (*S.H.R.* iv. 360), shewn by Mr. Moir Bryce to have been reported by the Seigneur de Brézé in his letter to the Dowager Queen Marie as taking place at St. Pol de Leon. But a writer in the *Annales* quotes another letter of De Brézé of the same date (18th Aug. 1548) as that founded on by Mr. Bryce. 'Estant les gallères arrivées en ce lieu de Rossecou'—these are De Brézé's words: and on the 24th the French King Henry II. wrote to his ambassador in London, 'J'ay eu certaines nouvelles de l'arrivée en bonne santé de ma fille la royne d'Escoce au havre de Roscou près Leon.' The contributor to the *Annales*, whose initials are H. B. R., explains that at the time in question Roscoff was only an insignificant hamlet in the parish of St. Pol de Leon, which as a cathedral town was more likely to be known to Marie of Lorraine, the widowed Scottish queen.

In the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (April-July) M. Petit-Dutaillis in the continuations of his articles already noticed (*S.H.R.* v. 515) maintains the great interest for historical purposes to be found in the pardons granted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century. He illustrates by curiously instructive examples the existence of family feud side by side with public prosecution which slowly made its way until the methods of private war, not legislatively abolished but superseded by degrees, fell into disuse, and came to be no more than a barbaric memory. In the process whereby public repression of crime took the place of private action, and the principles of monarchy and centralisation triumphed over the old law of vengeance, it is shown that the victorious growth of 'la justice comtale' in Flanders was chiefly due to

lawyers (les gens de robe) and officials zealous in promotion of the central jurisdiction. It was a tough battle they had to fight against traditional public sentiment, sympathetic towards the 'mandement de beau fait,' the prompt declaration that a homicide had been committed in open hostility, for a sufficient cause, and without foul play. In such circumstances the 'rigour of justice' was not popular, and not until the fifteenth century did it clearly establish itself as the true way of law. The châtelainie of Cassel affords the typical instance of the tenacity of the right of vengeance in the public heart. When the high bailiff, Colard de la Clyte, interfered with previous custom by raising the penalties for private war there was a revolt: the inhabitants reckoned the change an invasion of their franchises, and took up arms in 1427 in defence of their old law of revenge. When the rising was suppressed in 1431, the revised *Coûtume* provided that any person tried and found innocent should be 'quit and absolved of war,' and that any one doing violence to him should incur the pains of murder (*i.e.* of secret homicide). It also provided that where a criminal was banished his relatives and friends were to be 'quit and absolved of war.' The old mode, the preference of citizens to achieve their own justice, lingered longest in Hainault. A classical episode there was the duel of Mahuot Coquel and Jacotin Plouvier at Valenciennes in 1455, brought about under the customs of that city, which conjoined with the law of vengeance the usage of single combat. Where a fugitive claimed protection for a homicide which he declared to have been a 'beau fait' the custom of Valenciennes was to grant it, subject to the reservation that if an accuser came forward the accused must fight him in the lists—liable if vanquished to be executed on the spot. Coquel was accused of murder; he fled and claimed the privilege of Valenciennes; Plouvier denounced and challenged him; reluctantly Duke Philip awarded combat. An atrociously savage encounter took place between the two—armed with shield and baton. Coquel, battered almost to death, had his eyes torn out and, vanquished, was trailed to the gallows. Olivier de la Marche, no bad judge of a duel, thought it a battle 'more shameful than honourable,' and it hastened the end of the ancient custom of Valenciennes. M. Petit-Dutaillis, quoting with admiration the note of a jurist of the time of Charles the Bold, that vengeance belonged to none but God and the judges, claims for his array of texts of remissions that they show private vengeance disappearing from the laws. It is a modest summary of a remarkably able and splendidly documented chapter in the history of crime.

The *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* for 1907, published at the society's headquarters in Poitiers, contain a paper by the President, M. Tornezy, on 'Les Epreuves de Madame de Lucé,' giving glimpses of Rousseau and Diderot, as well as dealing directly with Grimm and Madame d'Épinay.

A more recent paper on the Garde d'honneur at Poitiers under Napoleon I. has noteworthy citations in prose and verse of the enthusiasm for the Emperor and his arms. 'L'Anglais ose menacer nos côtes' writes a commandant of the Garde in 1809, and he offers to raise a squadron of

horse, while another patriot deploring his proscription from service in the fleet—

Ces nefs aux flancs d'airain, ces mobiles palais
 Qui poussés par les vents font écumer les ondes
 Protègent le commerce et rapprochent les mondes—

assures the Emperor that his look alone will vanquish the foe. The imperial guard of honour of Poitiers however, produced more than effervescence, and had its share in the glories of the cavalry of France.

The *Annuaire de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* (Tome xix. Pp. 178. 1908), gives us a pleasant peep at the antiquaries of Brussels actively prosecuting study. It is not a volume of transactions, but a collective report on papers read, excursions, and the Society's library and archaeological collection, besides rather full minutes of meetings. Subjects discussed include the sense of the place-name *Hosté*, common in Belgium, and sometimes associated with the sites of Gallo-Roman villas. Considerable debate has arisen over the use of the patois *taque* (for a plaque of cast iron) instead of *contre-cœur*. The record of proceedings becomes quite stirring when it records the *rires et applaudissement*, which followed one speaker's patriotic denunciation of *contre-cœur* as a 'precieux' vocable, indefinite in itself and known to few, while *taque* is as definite as it is familiar to everybody in Belgium. We note with approbation the intervention of the Society to preserve from demolition part of the curtain of the twelfth century ramparts of Brussels.

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (August), besides a complete analysis of the great *Legendarium* of Bodike in Paderborn, contains an article by Dom Hippolyte Delehaye on a version of the legend of St. George, a *Passio Sancti Georgii martyris*, which, by its unaccountable differences from other forms, had puzzled the latest students of the legend. It now proves to be neither more nor less than a *Passio Sancti Gregorii Spoletani*, probably mistranscribed from an original in which the name of Gregory in some contracted form made the error easy. Other articles ranging over the entire field of saint-lore make this double number an uncommonly rich storehouse of critical learning in hagiology.

Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Études Coloniales for June devotes many pages to an expository study of Lord Cromer's *Egypt*.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (July) deals fully with the liquor legislation of the state from 1861 until 1878, when it was made unlawful to sell 'malt or vinous liquor within two miles of the corporate limits of any municipal corporation.' The *Journal* also deals elaborately with the establishment of the 99 counties of Iowa. The Mississippi Department of Archives and History proposes to collect and publish the letters of Jefferson Davis.

Queries and Replies

WOOLLEN AND LINEN TRADE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. When the quarrel between the cloth workers of the Netherlands and of England reached its height about 1497, and English cloth was refused entry into the Netherlands, the poor people there made such a clamour to be allowed still to buy the cheap cloth from Ireland and Scotland, that the Archduke Philip in consequence gave orders that these cloths from Ireland and Scotland and elsewhere should be freely sold as before by the strangers frequenting the country (*v. Green's Making of Ireland*, 35, n. 3).

In the fifteenth century the Scotch had a depôt in Zeeland for their merchandise with a 'Conservator' in charge of it (*v. Green's Town Life*, i. 98, n. 5). At what period was the woollen industry at its height in Scotland, and in what districts of the country were the chief weaving centres?

At the same time there was both a cloth and linen trade from Ireland to the Netherlands. Is there any record of interchange of woollen or linen goods between Ireland and Scotland? Or are there any indications of Irish merchants being the carriers of wool from the west of Scotland?

Alice Stopford Green.

ST. GREGORY'S, PARIS (*S.H.R.* v. 501), was more commonly known as the 'Séminaire Anglois.' It was a small but somewhat important institution belonging to the English Catholic secular clergy, and may be considered as a branch of Douai College. Its purpose was to enable a certain number of clergy to pursue a higher course of studies than was possible in the other seminaries, and especially to support a number of writers engaged in controversy. The establishment was an answer on the part of the English Catholics to the Protestant foundation (for a like purpose) of Chelsea College, an institution which lasted from 1609 to 1668. The foundation was to have been placed at Douai, but this fell through, and a beginning was eventually made in August, 1611, at Paris in a small hired house belonging to Philip Caverel, Abbot of St. Vaast at Arras, and founder of the English Benedictine monastery of St. Gregory at Douai. Through the Prior of this latter house, Dom Augustine White *alias* Bradshaw, the preliminary arrangements were now made. The founder was Mr. Thomas Sackville, who gave 'as good as eighty pounds, for to

furnish our house withal, besides one hundred and fifty pounds in England yearly, for the maintenance of our company.'¹

This early foundation had little success owing to lack of funds and opposition. The Seminary was first set on a permanent footing in 1668, when Mr. Thomas Carre *alias* Miles Pinkney, who had long been chaplain of the English Augustinian Canonesses in Paris, bought a house in the Rue des Boulangers adjoining the convent for this purpose. Letters Patent for the establishment of a 'Communauté d'Ecclésiastiques Anglois' were granted by Louis XIV. in 1684,² and the College was at last incorporated in the University as the English Seminary of St. Gregory. The superior was chosen by the Archbishop of Paris from three priests presented by the English Vicars Apostolic, and was appointed for a period of six years; the President of Douai College was *Provisor* and auditor of the accounts.

The first President of St. Gregory's was Dr. John Betham, who in 1685 finally established the Seminary in its permanent home, purchasing a 'handsome' house and garden in the Rue des Postes (not far from Ste. Gèneviève) in the Faubourg St. Marceau. The community seldom numbered more than six or seven, including the President and the Procurator; but a few boarders were sometimes admitted, who paid for their keep, and so helped to swell the scanty funds of the establishment. The term of residence and study required for graduation in the Paris faculty of Divinity was ten years, or, including philosophy, twelve years; but, during the century which elapsed between the final establishment of the College and its suppression at the Revolution, about thirty of its students were made Doctors of the Sorbonne, while it is said that nearly all the learned among the English priests of the period were its alumni. In its later years the English Seminary fell upon evil days owing to the incapacity of one or two of its Presidents. The last superior was Dr. John Bew, formally appointed by the Archbishop in 1786. He succeeded in paying off all the debts by dismissing the students and living alone for some years, but the Revolution swept away the fruits of his labours soon after the College was reopened. In 1833 the house was still nominally British property.

The Rules for the Foundation drawn up in 1612 may be found in the Appendices to vol. iv. of Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church History*. I append a list of Presidents.

- 1668-1685. John Betham, D.D.
- 1685-1698. Anthony Meynell, D.D.
- 1699-1717. Thomas Witham, D.D.
- 1717-1739. John Ingleton, D.D.
- 1739-1743. Matthew Beare, D.D.
- 1743-1755. Joseph Holden, D.D.
- 1756-1782. Charles Howard, D.D.
- 1783-1784. John Rigby, B.D. (provisional superior).
- 1786. John Bew, D.D.

¹ Letter from Dr. Richard Smith to More, agent of the secular clergy at Rome.

² Jaillot, *Recherches sur la ville de Paris*, Quartier xviii. p. 200.

Further details may be found in an article in the *Catholic Magazine* for February, 1833 (the writer of which gives as his authorities the *Douai Diary*, the *Register of St. Gregory's Seminary*, and the *Obituary of the London Clergy*), and in Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*.

RAYMUND WEBSTER.

Downside Abbey, near Bath.

LOWLAND TARTANS (*S.H.R.* v. 367). Mr. H. A. Cockburn asked in your columns whether any Lowland tartans appear in 'the old collection of tartans' which is at Moy Hall, and I took steps to inquire.

The Mackintosh kindly sent me the list, and as—though undertaken much nearer our own time than Mr. Cockburn probably imagined—it was a genuine attempt on the part of a Highland chieftain to get to the bottom of the tartan question, it is well worth placing on record.

On the first page is written :

SCOTTISH TARTANS collected through the agency of MR. MACDOUGALL of Inverness in the year 1848. They are believed to be the only authentic tartans, and are bound by me ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH, 1873, with a view to their preservation as the only authentic tartans.

The list is as follows :

Mackintosh : the Chief's or Clan	Macquarrie.
Chattan Tartan.	Mackinnon.
Mackintosh.	Maclean or Wallace.
MacGillivray.	Macneil.
Farquharson.	Maclauchlan.
Davidson.	Maclaren.
Macpherson : Hunting.	Macnaughton.
Macpherson.	Macallum.
Macpherson of Cluny.	Macintyre.
Rose.	Macfarlane.
Royal Stuart.	Mackinroy.
Stuart : Dress.	Macduff.
Stuart : Hunting.	{ Macnab.
Lovat-Fraser.	{ Macnab.
Macleod	Clan Alpin Macgregor.
Macdonald	Cumming.
Macdonald of the Isles.	Mackenzie.
Macdonald of Glengarry and	Macrae.
Clanranald.	Matheson.
Macdonald : Staffa.	Ross.
Lochiel : Cameron.	Munro.
79th : Cameron.	42nd Tartan
Chisholm.	Grant : green } the same.

Queries and Replies

Grant : red dress.	Ferguson.
Mackay.	Hay.
Gunn.	Crawford or Lindsay.
Caithness : Sinclair or Mactavish.	Melville.
Campbell : Cawdor.	Kintore : Keith.
Campbell : Argyll.	Roths : Leslie.
Macdougall.	Royal 'Bruce.'
Malcolm.	Airlie : Ogilvie.
Colquhoun.	Ogilvies of Inverquharitie.
Lamont.	Douglas.
Urquhart.	Dundas.
Rob Roy : Macgregor.	Cockburn.
Atholl : Murray.	Glenorchy.
Drummond : Murray or Tullibardine.	Logan.
Campbell : Breadalbane.	Buchanan.
Menzies.	Priests' Tartan.
Robertson.	Drummond.
Montrose : Graham or Abercromby.	Perth : Drummond.
Gordon.	Strathallan : Drummond.
Ramsay.	Border or Shepherd's Plaid.
Forbes.	

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A. MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH.

Now when dealing with this list we must remember that we are considering tartans only, and not the origin of Highland families and names. The Norman-born Stewarts held dominion over Highland and Lowland, and so in a lesser degree did many a Southern brood. Their following was of their territory, not of their blood. Frasers, Hays, and Gordons, and a score of others, at some period took the tartan from their environment, and to a certain extent gave their name to a district and lost their distinctive Lowland character. When Mr. Cockburn wishes to know whether there is any proof of the antiquity of Lowland tartans, we must confine ourselves to those families which had no connection with the Highlands. In this list we will see that his own Berwickshire patronymic has to back it only Douglas and Dundas. For the rest of us on the Border there is only shepherd's plaid; I believe quite rightly.

If Sir Walter Scott, steeped in historic lore, keen to rake up traditions, and born nearly a century and a half ago—in the days before the dividing lines were smudged over by frequent intercommunications—had no faith in Lowland tartans, it would be rash of us to think otherwise to-day.

It is possible also to propound an argument in favour of this contention.

He would be a bold man who would dogmatise as to the evolution of a Highland clan and as to the period at which certain combinations of colour were acknowledged as the joint property of a certain territory or sept, but we do know that from early days the old Highlanders were fond of bright hues, that they were cunning with the dye-pot, and that

they remembered the Celtic tradition of many interlacing lines. When it came to fighting they wanted to travel light, and on foot. Coat armour and closed helmets were almost unknown among them. The true Highland chieftain was only *primus inter pares*, and he and his followers alike snatched their badges from the hillside, and the plaid became their uniform.

In the low country, where the steel-clad mounted man was everything, matters were quite different. From the first dawn of heraldry the shield, the crest, the banner of the knight were the sign and the rallying point in battle. It is hardly too much to say that heraldry dominated medieval warfare. But, unless they were of his male kin, the knight's followers could not bear his arms save as a badge of his service.

Hence we have it that, whereas the armorial coat is a claim to a definite aristocracy of blood, the tartan is a sign of the mysterious democracy of clan feeling. For both, their origin and their history were for the purposes of war, that, where every stranger was a possible enemy, friend should be known from foe.

Personally I believe that the rigid rules of heraldry kept their grip on Lowland warfare until the nation settled down to peace, and that, so far as historical accuracy is concerned, one of the Douglas breed has no more right to tartan than a Macdonald would have to the 'Bloody Heart.'

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

PROVINCIAL ORTHOGRAPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*S.H.R.* iv. 402). In Mr. Firth's interesting fore-note to the Border Ballad contributed to the July number of the *S.H.R.*, he comments on the peculiar spelling of certain words, and quotes Mr. G. M. Stevenson's observation that it is a philological puzzle how it arises. May I submit that the puzzle may be solved by remembering that the old (and true) value of the vowels survived longer in Northern English and Lowland Scots than in the southern dialects. This affected the symbols *i* and *u* in a peculiar manner. In modern literary English these symbols represent a variety of sounds, some of them pure vowels as in 'pit' and 'put.' But they also represent sounds which can only be rightly expressed as diphthongs, as in 'life' and 'unit.' That the *i* and *u* here represent a sound which is not a single vowel can easily be proved if one attempts to prolong the sound. There is no difficulty in prolonging the sound of the modern English *a*, *e* or *o* because they are single vowels; but the *i* sound in 'life' cannot be prolonged, because it is a compound of the sounds *a* and *ee*, neither can the *u* in 'unit,' because the proper *oo* sound is prefixed by the sound of an unwritten consonantal *y*. The ballad spellings of 'fayting' for 'fighting,' 'thayne' for 'thine,' etc., appear to be an attempt at phonetic writing, to express a sound which the symbol *i* did not convey to the speakers of Northern English, for in that dialect that symbol expressed the sound of the modern *ee*. It was a device to convey through the eye the impression of a diphthongal sound altogether different from that suggested by the vowels *i* and *y*.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

PROVINCIAL ORTHOGRAPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*S.H.R.* iv. 402). It is seldom satisfactory to discuss questions of phonetics briefly. Recourse should rather be had to books that deal specifically with the subject, especially the works by Ellis and Sweet. They have established the point that the long *i* in such a word as *thine* was usually pronounced like the *ei* in *vein* in the time of Shakespeare, and we have a large number of examples of the graphic confusion between *ei* (or *ey*) and *ai* (or *ay*); as in the modern English *grey* or *gray*. Hence such a spelling as *thayne* can easily be explained, if we suppose it to mean that the *ay* meant the *ei* in *vein*, which was, in fact and of necessity, the chief of the very numerous intermediate sounds between the sound of *i* in *wine* in Chaucer's time (when it was pronounced as *ween*), and *i* in the modern sound of the same. The three modern words *ween*, *wain*, *wine* exhibit, respectively, the pronunciations of *wine* in the times of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Tennyson. The second of these is very well expressed by the Ballad spellings *faytinge* (fighting), *may* (my), and the like, if we suppose that *ay* was pronounced then as it is pronounced now; and this seems to have been the fact.

Readers may profitably consult Sir James Murray's standard *Essay on the Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. There is a passage at p. 81 which is so much to the point that I venture to reproduce a part of it here, premising that by the symbol *ey* he intends the *ey* in *prey* (the same as *ay* in *pray*).

'As regards the pronunciation, the most striking peculiarity of this dialect consists in its using (like the Northern English counties) the diphthongs *ey*, *uw* (palæotype *ei*, *au*), for the simple vowels *ee*, *oo*—that is, where a native of the centre, west, or north-east of Scotland says *he*, *me*, *see*, *free*, *lee*, *dee*, a Borderer says *hey*, *mey*, *sey*, *frey*, *ley*, *dey*, etc. The whole passage, and indeed the whole of the book, should be carefully read. Cf. p. 147.

Note, in particular, the last two examples, which refer to the modern English *lie* and *die*. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* gives *lee* and *dee* for North and Mid Scotland, *lay* and *day* for South Scotland, and *lie* and *die* for the standard speech. Here we have Barbour's *lee* and Shakespeare's *lay* preserved in modern times as dialectal forms.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

Notes and Comments

A FRESHNESS as of a northern sea breeze pervades the work of the Viking Club, which bids fair, by the initial vitality it displays as well as by the variety of research from new standpoints which it fosters, to build up a body of Norse history for Great Britain of no slight significance. The evidence gains so enormously from collective treatment, which gives volume to what, apart, might have remained of small account. The Club's *Saga Book* (April) reflects both the broad outlooks of literary, social and political history and the closer view of archaeology. Professor W. P. Ker is felicitous in his inaugural address, as President, on 'Iceland and the Humanities.' Incidentally he breaks down another barrier and virtually ranks the Norse saga-histories as literature of the first plane of the Icelandic achievement, repenting himself handsomely, by the way, of a disparaging judgment on the *Hákonar Saga*. Perhaps the sum of the whole matter of criticism of the saga as history lies in the observation: 'It is a high order of intelligence that sees life as it is seen by these historians.' This is a very moderate statement of the case, for in the mingling of domestic and personal drama with public history the saga men are unsurpassed. We might take a single instance; the story of Hacon's Scottish expedition in 1263 is fuller of real fact, richer in its colour of its time, and more vitally readable to this day than any other chapter of Scottish story, whether by an ancient or a modern hand.

Mr. St. George Gray tempts disputation by his 'Notes on Danes' Skins,' which group a large number of examples of such gruesome memorials on church doors, but which lack a very necessary element of criticism for what is accredited sometimes by tradition and oftener to it. Science as usual displays an obliging readiness to fall in with the current idea, and the authorities with a charming unanimity declare that sundry and divers pieces of human hide from English church doors came from the backs of a fair-haired race, although in some instances the specimen was admittedly from some part of the body 'where little hair grows.' Had Mr. St. George Gray been a little sceptical about his Danes he might perhaps have remembered some things. (1) After the supposed period of these skins being removed from their owners and adhibited to church doors, was there not a Danish king of England? Does this make more likely or less likely the persistence of such memorials under Danish sovereignty? (2) How many church doors are there in England which reasonable evidence carries back to days antecedent to King Knut? (3) Is there not so much absolute evidence of later resort to flaying as a punishment (probably

enough for sacrilege) as to discredit the popular name of 'Danes' Skins' altogether, associated as the stories almost invariably are with medieval doors for which the fourteenth century is a generous date to concede as the extreme of antiquity? (4) What is the proof for any single example being really Danish? And when did the Danish tradition first find itself on record? (5) Does not the type indicate a time when the offender was—not, as in the Danes' time, a public enemy in heavy force,—but a criminal whose punishment in this respect, akin to gibbeting, was a public ignominy and a public warning, like the fates of evasive ticketless passengers which used to be recorded in wayside railway stations? In the ninth and tenth centuries were heathen Danes in their thousands to be deterred from their raids, their slaughters of saints and destruction of shrines by plastering the doors of churches—sometimes not yet built—with Danish hides? (6) In a word, is the thing itself not eloquent of a time when the church has become not only a sanctuary according to its lights, but a universally recognized centre of the legal peace of the land?

Mr. Gray tells us he cannot trace any English enactment which inflicts the penalty of flaying on any offender. He will find an instance in the *Leges Henrici Primi*; (lxxv. § 1). It was one of the humanities akin to some countenanced by Roman law (Cod. lib. ix. tit. xviii. leg. 7); it was practised in the East, and Europe followed suit. Notorious on the list of cases was that of the knights flayed alive by Philippe le Bel in 1307—*eschorchez tontz vifes* as the *Scalacronica* phrases it. In Scotland the murderer of James I. in 1437 was subjected to much the same torture in a form which suggests a Roman precedent. But it will readily be owned that it is difficult to establish a chain of medieval instances. Meantime it may serve a useful purpose to doubt and scout some picturesque stories and to set the modern Vikings upon their enquiry, lest too many of their ancestors have been discredited by alleged tradition which may well happen to be little more than a folk-word of no antique origin.

WHEN, in 1904, Professor A. G. Little, to whom Franciscan Studies *British Society of Franciscan Studies* in this country owe so much, published his *Initia* of writings ascribed to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries¹ he stated in the preface that the compilation was originally undertaken as a preliminary to the drawing up of a catalogue of Franciscan MSS. in Great Britain. That work discloses the great extent of Franciscan early literary effort in Britain—a field still largely unexplored. Thus we welcome the recent formation of the *British Society of Franciscan Studies*, one of many indications of this growing interest with which the life of St. Francis and the history of the Order founded by him is at present viewed. Among other good things, the Society promises the early publication of a *Liber Exemplorum* preserved at Durham described as 'compiled in the thirteenth century by an English Franciscan, who knew Roger Bacon at Paris and passed much of his life in Ireland.'

¹ *Initia Operum Latinorum quae saeculis xiii, xiv, xv attribuuntur.* Manchester: At the University Press. 1904.

A hitherto unknown fragment of Roger Bacon's *Opus Tertium* has recently been discovered by a French savant in the *Bibliothèque nationale* when making researches into the history of Astronomy. The erroneous title of the manuscript—*Liber Tertius Alpetragii* (having been ascribed to the Arab astronomer Al Bitrogi), has up till now misled scholars and students of Bacon's works. The discoverer, Professor Duhem of Bordeaux, contemplates an early publication of an annotated edition. Among other points of interest for the history of physical science, he mentions in a paper contributed to the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (fasc. ii. and iii. p. 238) that it sets at rest the oft-debated question whether Roger Bacon was really acquainted with the composition of gunpowder. In the fragment now discovered the words occur '*Exemplum est puerile de sono et igne, qui fiunt in mundi partibus diversis per pulverem salis petrae, et sulphuris, et carbonum salicis.*'

THE *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*,¹ a quarterly publication issued by the Fathers of the College of Saint Bonaventure, near *Archivum* Florence, and devoted to Franciscan documents and history, *Franciscanum* of which the first three numbers have appeared, contains various attractive items from a Scottish standpoint. We note from an *Historicum* article on the Series of Provinces of the Friars Minors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the statement of the independent position of Scotland as a distinct 'province' during the years 1232-39 when Brother Elias was Minister-general of the entire Order, and John de Kethene was provincial minister of Scotland. Its re-union with England in 1239 did not meet with royal approval, for at the instance of the Scottish King, Pope Alexander IV. wrote to the Minister-general and General Chapter held at Narbonne in 1260 enjoining them to institute a Provincial Minister in Scotland. This, however, was not done. In a catalogue of Provinces, Custodies and Vicariates of approximately the year 1340 the Vicariate of Scotland is set down as having six convents. We know that (Berwick being excluded) these were Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lanark, Haddington, Inverkeithing, and Dundee.

In the same number (fasc. i. p. 94) among the *Documenta* a transcript appears of a letter of date thirteenth December, 1449, addressed from Rome by Brother James de Marchia to Brother John de Capistrano, Vicar-general of the Cismontane Observantine Franciscans. The editor's estimate of its value—'*pretiosissima epistola*'—as throwing light upon the pangs attending the birth of the Observantines is not greatly exaggerated. Jacobus de Marchia was evidently in a mood for unburdening his soul to his friend and correspondent, and he gives a vivid picture of his trials in the defence of the '*familia et Bullae*,' dwelling upon his four journeys to Rome '*in frigore, pluviis, caloribus, sitibus per vias insuperabiles et lutas*' and upon his successful demands for audiences of the Supreme Pontiff and Cardinals, which were so long protracted that frequently he did not return to the Convent until the hour of night '*sine cibo et potu.*' He declares

¹ *Typographia, Directio et Administratio ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam* (Quaracchi, near Florence), 1908.

'et tot labores, et angustias, et angarias, et molestias innumerabiles passus sum, quas certe calamo explicare et lingua fari non sufficeret. Quid lucratus sum, Pater, mecum particeps, nisi a falsis fratribus, in quibus est perditio magna, infamationes multas? Truly a zealous Saint and a racy correspondent!

We have space to notice only very shortly the paper upon the *Leggenda Versificata* of St. Francis (fasc. ii. and iii. p. 209). This, one of the oldest legends of the Saint, is probably the work of Henry de Burford, an early English Friar and precentor at Paris, whose verses beginning

Qui Minor es, noli ridere, tibi quia soli
Convenit ut plores; jungas cum nomine mores

are well known. It is claimed that a collation of this legend with the other lives would be very useful, as it supplies omissions, and gives variants of facts handled in a different manner elsewhere.

THE Scottish Text Society may be congratulated on the completion of the text of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* in volume vi. *Wyntoun's Chronicle.* of the work just issued. Mr. Amours has pursued his editorial course with a fidelity and zeal which not only the society but all students of history will gratefully appreciate as a high service to our historical literature. His exemplary industry and his business-like method are guarantees that the general Introduction and the Notes, Glossary and Index will ere long furnish a great medieval chronicle, alike for historical and philological purposes, with a full equipment of annotation on the highest modern plane. The editorial commentary on Wyntoun offers fine scope for the unique learning of Mr. Amours, and we offer him our word of cheer as he now approaches the close of his long but splendid task.