

Reviews of Books

THE BOOK OF ARRAN. Volume Second. History and Folklore. By W. M. Mackenzie. Pp. xii, 388. With Illustrations and Maps. 4to. Published for the Arran Society of Glasgow by Hugh Hopkins. Glasgow. 1914. £1 1s. net.

THE appearance of the second volume of *The Book of Arran* inevitably reawakens the general feeling of regret that was experienced on the death of the promising young archaeologist whose enthusiasm did so much to inspire the original enterprise, and whose intention it was to make himself personally responsible for the whole. The task that fell from Mr. J. A. Balfour's hands has been taken up by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, and one may cordially congratulate the Arran Society on the outcome of his work. It is an eminently readable narrative, well printed and well illustrated, and containing a great deal of matter that the many lovers of the island will welcome as at once fresh and interesting. The outstanding feature is the use made of documentary evidence, published and unpublished. At the best, what is available is episodic and fragmentary. But, as might have been expected, it is skilfully handled, with the result that in the end a consecutive and well-knit story emerges. By far the most noteworthy of the new documents is the *Journal* of John Burrel, who in 1776 was commissioned by the trustees of the seventh Duke of Hamilton to undertake the improvement of the island, and who was thus responsible for initiating the policy that culminated in the famous Sannox clearances. In writing of these clearances Mr. Mackenzie steers a very judicious course, regretting their necessity, but at the same time emphasizing the consideration shown in carrying them out. Incidentally he puts it beyond question that it was this emigration that directly prompted the famous 'Canadian Boat Song' about 'the lone shieling of the misty island.' And he has done well to draw freely on the little known *Annals of Megantic County, Quebec*, for a sketch of the fortunes of the emigrants in their home beyond the seas.

In spite of the many willing helpers whose services Mr. Mackenzie has enlisted, one misses here and there the note of personal recollection that was needed to make the picture of the nineteenth century complete. Who that knew Arran fifty years ago, for instance, could have believed it possible for its history to be written on this scale without mention of the Rev. Peter Davidson? And the Rev. Alex. Mackay of Sannox—the only man in the island who regularly wore a top hat—was a bigger personality than one would gather from the letter of the lady visitor quoted on p. 209. He was an immigrant from Kintyre. The picturesque Sunday evening service on the rocks at Corrie dates back to his time, and it was to provide a per-



LAMLASH, SHOWING DUCHESS ANNE'S HARBOUR.

From an old print.

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manent settlement for him that the little church and manse at Sannox were originally built. The staple of his congregation was native, and the majority of them were swept away by the clearances; but its peculiar denominational colour, in which Mr. Mackenzie is inclined to see a fruit of the visit of the Haldanes in 1800, was derived from some of the English workmen who had been imported in connection with the attempt to foster the barytes industry in the glen. Mr. Mackay was married to a sister of Daniel Macmillan, founder of the publishing-house. The true Arran cradle of the Macmillans, by the way, was not exactly Lochranza (p. 117). It was the Cock Farm, whose real connection was with the Sannox settlements. A minor detail that one misses in the historical account of communication with the mainland is any mention of the regular summer service from Ayr by the 'Earl of Arran' in the late sixties.

It is very satisfactory that it should have been possible to preserve such a comparatively numerous set of specimens of Arran Gaelic. It is a pity there was not space to record the gradual shrinkage of the area in which it is spoken. Within living memory it was freely used in the west. To-day it is but rarely heard even in the east; it has ceased to be the language of the playground and is therefore doomed to speedy extinction. It would have been interesting, too, if Mr. Bremner's appendix on the Norse place-names had been supplemented by a similar list of those of Celtic origin. If the book is reprinted, that can be easily added. Against the same contingency a few misprints may be noted—'dolicocephalic' (p. 7), 'a stycas' (p. 13), 'Doulgas' (p. 89), 'Corruna' (p. 128), 'Kenneil' (p. 174),—and surely there were more than 'a hundred men and twenty ships' (p. 21) in Hakon's great armada.

E. D.

THE EARLY DAYS OF ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH. By George Lorimer. Pp. ix, 222. With seven Illustrations. 4to. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1915. 7s. 6d. net.

SUCH is the title of Mr. Lorimer's book, but by the time he takes up the tale there had been a church on the site for centuries. Whatever building, however, had been there before Reformation times had been demolished in Hertford's invasion of 1544, and another had been erected. It is the latter edifice, therefore, whose early days are dealt with in this volume, the information about which is founded on the records of the Kirk Session from 1560 down to the revolution of 1688.

The author does not claim, indeed, to deal with the history of the church at all: his object is, he states, to give a description of the conditions existing in the congregation during the early times of Presbyterianism, and it may be stated at once that he has done this with a breadth of view and sanity of judgment, seasoned moreover with much quaint humour, which are worthy of the highest praise. He first takes up the early ministers, and traces the succession from the pious tailor Harlaw, who was the first Presbyterian incumbent of the church, and his successor the celebrated and able Thomas Pont, who united the position of a Judge of the Court of Session with that of minister of St. Cuthbert's.

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A chapter is devoted to 'Dainty Davie' Williamson, 'probably,' as Mr. Lorimer says, 'the most curious specimen of a Covenanter on the long roll of names which have come down to us.' His many marriages have perhaps contributed most to his celebrity, but apart from the seven ladies on whom he bestowed his hand and heart, there were other incidents in his career that made for reputation. He had adventures in 'the killing time'; he was an eloquent preacher and was Moderator in 1702.

The order of service in the St. Cuthbert's of the seventeenth century was no doubt very different from that of the St. Cuthbert's of the twentieth century, but we really know very little about it. Calamy is quoted as an authority for the statement that ministers in Edinburgh preached in 'neckcloths and coloured cloaks'; but, on the other hand, the portrait of David Williamson represents him as wearing the orthodox gown and bands. We are on surer ground when we come to the celebration of Holy Communion. Probably at first there was early celebration, as Knox certainly had it at St. Andrews. But latterly there was only Communion once a year in St. Cuthbert's: it was, however, a great 'occasion,' and at one time extended over four consecutive Sundays. The quantity of wine consumed at such services was perfectly prodigious, but Mr. Lorimer gives full corroboration for his statements; what he says, however, on p. 301, seems hardly to tally with the facsimile of the beadle's account reproduced opposite: perhaps he had been looking at a similar account for another year.

There are two interesting chapters on the relief of the poor, as to which St. Cuthbert's appears to have done very well: the beautiful latten alms-dishes belonging to the church, and which are still used, are an interesting relic of its care for its poor.

A book dealing with seventeenth century church records cannot fail to treat of the subject of discipline: and not the least interesting chapter in this volume is devoted to that subject. The ethics of the cutty stool are fully discussed: we are not bored with long extracts from the Session minutes, but enough is said, and said in a very bright and interesting way; this results in making the reader realise the circumstances of each case cited, and we should be surprised if he does not share the author's indignation at the barbarous and unfeeling way in which culprits were treated. Immorality, Sabbath breaking, witchcraft and fortune-telling were perhaps the offences dealt with most frequently. But nothing was too small for the sweep of the Session's net.

Lawsuits are not generally a very amusing subject, but Mr. Lorimer treats those of the Kirk Session with a light touch. Their principal litigant was one of themselves, Sir Patrick Nisbet of Dean, whom for many years they alternately honoured and threatened, until at last in his old age he fell under their serious displeasure for kissing the mature though still buxom wife of a tapster.

We have not mentioned several subjects treated of in this book in connection with St. Cuthbert's, but enough has been said to show that it is a readable and entertaining work, and much above the usual run of such compilations. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lorimer will try his

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hand at a history of the church from as far back as there is authentic record down to the present time. It would touch the history of Scotland at many points.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

THE INCENDIUM OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE. Edited by Margaret Deanesly. Pp. xxiv, 284. With plate. Demy 8vo. Manchester : University Press. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 10s. 6d. net.

ROLLE OF HAMPOLE (1300-1349), contemplative mystic and profuse author in prose and verse in English and in Latin, has already a large library devoted to editing and explaining him. His production was so extensive and is so hard to determine that the impression he leaves on a plain mind is that of some bewilderment, possibly accompanied by a feeling that his real merit and quality are overmastered and buried by the quantity of his elaborate and sermonized enthusiasm of piety. The *Incendium Amoris* glows with mystic fervour, but even Miss Deanesly's diligent zeal fails to draw much non-fatty solid out of the mass. It is good, however, to have a treatise so admirably presented, with a critical account of no fewer than twenty-five codices, so capably presented and with so many helpful notes of interpretation towards a text which, while exceptionally lucid even as an example of what an anti-Renaissance student called 'Christian Latinity,' yet presents a good many turns requiring exposition of the medieval mind, grammar, and vocabulary.

The introduction exemplifies a rather odd conflict of editorial leanings, in consequence of which what begins as a search after and statement of the subject and sources of the work (with special reference to mystics, of whom St. Bonaventura and Hugh of St. Victor may have been the chief), then diverges at a tangent, quite intelligible but not wholly relevant, into a discussion of the foundation of Sion Abbey in 1415. It is true there was a connection in the surmise that John Newton, a transcriber of the *Incendium*, might have been a kinsman of Matilda Newton, Abbess of Sion, and in the fact that Sion itself was a foundation reflecting the cult which the *Incendium* preached. Still, this blood relation of themes seems nearly as thin and distant as some forms of Scots 'far-out friendship.' The biographical notes on Sir Henry Fitzhugh, Ambassador to Sweden in 1406, have a hardly less slender connection with the work of an author who died in the middle of the preceding century. But these by-products of research which are substantive pieces of history are justified in the particular place they occupy as evidences of the influence which Rolle of Hampole left behind him, and they demonstrate the bifurcation of the force of fourteenth century thought in conducting towards the changes of the Reformation on the one hand and in intensifying monasticism by recluses on the other. Miss Deanesly's study, and the hortatory and ecstatic treatise she expounds, have the merit of definite contribution of new and good matter to monastic history.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE LIFE OF BARNAVE. By E. D. Bradby. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. Pp. 389. Vol. II. Pp. 410. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1915. 18s. net.

ALTHOUGH much has been written about the French Revolution and its leaders, Mr. Bradby found, when his curiosity was aroused as to the part played therein by Antoine-Pierre-Joseph-Marie Barnave, that he was practically up against a blank wall. A short account of his life and works had been prepared and published in 1843 by M. Berenger de la Drome, and M. Aulard had included him in his account of *Les Orateurs de l'Assemblée Constituante*, but Mr. Bradby felt that scant justice had been paid to one who occupied a foremost place forensically in that never-to-be-forgotten scene of French history. So he has ransacked all the literature of the Revolution, and books written about it, and exhumed all the speeches and all the motions made in the Assembly of the Constitution by Barnave, who was one of its most powerful leaders and distinguished ornaments, and in the two volumes here noticed he has presented us not only with an interesting life of this politician, but also a most readable and instructive account of what took place in the parliamentary attempt to frame a new constitution for France before the advent of the 'Terror.'

A change in the condition of things had to be. Under the old regime, says Mr. Bradby, Frenchmen lived at best like children under a parent who sometimes lets them make a noise over their games and stops it when he thinks they have made noise enough; who chooses for them their books, and allows them to read a paper when he is satisfied that there is nothing in it that will hurt them. For all but the privileged classes oppression and burdensome taxation was the rule, and justice was hard to be obtained. Barnave, who was born at Grenoble in 1761, the son of a 'juge seigneurial' in the province of Dauphiné, and was himself trained to the bar, was filled with resentment against this state of matters, and not only vigorously wielded his pen as a pamphleteer, but with his rare gift of oratory aroused, as few others could do, the latent interest of his fellows in the cause he had at heart. And yet he was not thirty years of age, and he bore so fresh and youthful an appearance that his own friends spoke of him as 'Young Barnave' and his opponents nicknamed him 'Little Barnave' and 'The Child.' A portrait of him is given as a frontispiece to vol. i. He only lived till he was thirty-one, and then was sent to the guillotine. At first he was a strenuous opponent of the royal prerogative, but as time advanced he felt that the welfare of France required the retention of the monarchy, and he laboured to secure its continuance. When Louis XVI. and his queen and the dauphin attempted to make their escape from France, but were stopped at Varennes, Barnave was one of the deputies sent from Parliament to escort them back to Paris; and this he did with a courtesy and consideration that was later objected against him and made the occasion of his death. On the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly he had returned to private life at Grenoble, but in August 1792 he was arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treasonably conspiring with the King against the constitution. His trial and condemnation followed, with the result already

stated. Mr. Bradby gives a lengthy list of Barnave's speeches in the Assembly, and another useful list of books and authorities consulted by him for his interesting work. There is also a copious index.

HENRY PATON.

FORNVÄNNEN. MEDDELANDEN FRÅN K. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH ANTIKVVITETS AKADEMIEN. 8vo. Pp. 298. Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand. 1914.

THE opening article of the ninth yearly issue of the *Transactions* of the Royal Swedish Academy is by Herr Oscar Almgren, and discusses the anthropological and ethnographic problems which arise in connection with his inquiry as to the first peopling of Sweden. Other papers deal with a variety of sepulchral relics and other prehistoric antiquities. Scandinavian art is considered, in its historic bearings, in contributions on Gothland sculpture work in North Germany; on an ancient door of elaborate artistic designs in iron work, with examples of a group of curious Romano-Gothic smith work; and a study of Western European influence on Gothic painting in the North.

Several papers are devoted to Runic inscriptions in Sweden proper and elsewhere. One of these is an important disquisition by Dr. Oscar Montelius on Swedish rune-stones in the East in relation to the history of the Viking time, Swedes having found their way to Constantinople as early as the beginning of the eighth century. The most interesting illustration and demonstration of this is the case of the two marble lions formerly at the Piraeus, and now at Venice, one of which bears an inscription in Swedish runes attributed to about the year 1070, the work, no doubt, of one of the 'Vaeringi' of Swedish nationality, some of whom formed part of the bodyguard of the Byzantine emperors in the Viking age. In this paper Dr. Montelius not unnaturally claims a remote antiquity for Swedish civilization, which so early penetrated in warlike fashion to Mediterranean and Far East regions. Even so far back as the close of the Stone Age, in his view more than two thousand years before the commencement of the Christian era, the influence of this early art and constructive effort, says Dr. Montelius, can be distinctly traced in neighbouring countries.

Excellent illustrations of the principal types of the antiquities dealt with add to the interest and attractiveness of the volume. An abbreviated version of the papers is given at the end, as usual, in German.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

PRISONERS OF WAR IN BRITAIN, 1756 TO 1815: A RECORD OF THEIR LIVES, THEIR ROMANCES, AND THEIR SUFFERINGS. By Francis Abell. Pp. viii, 464. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Oxford: University Press. 1914. 15s. net.

THIS is a most interesting study and the first book dealing exhaustively with the subject of the war prisoners in England and Scotland during the French and American wars, and it will be read with the keener interest at this time when so many prisoners are suffering in different lands a dreary

and uncertain incarceration. The writer thinks that the British of the time he treats of were not so humane to their French prisoners (and the captives were mainly French) as the French were (on paper) to their British captives; but it was a callous and venal age, and any amelioration intended for the prisoner was often rendered ineffective and nugatory through the cheating of the officials and the rascally behaviour of the contractors.

We are told of the awful privations endured by the prisoners in the hulks (a form of hideous punitive captivity rare abroad) and in the inland prisons, of which the chief were Sissinghurst, Norman Cross, Perth, Porchester, Greenlaw, Liverpool, Stapleton, Forton, Dartmoor, Winchester and Edinburgh. Some of these were better than others, but all were uncomfortable and wearisome. In almost all the food and clothing was bad, and the harsh punishment for attempted escape was the only thing a prisoner had to expect on recapture. The decent French prisoners showed wonderful adaptability, however. They plaited straw, carved bone and wood, drew and taught, and so occupied their time; made friends of their customers and often grew comparatively rich. Their cleverness turned many minds to regard them with favour in spite of the inevitable prejudice against them.

Some chapters in this book deal with the marvellous escapes the lucky ones made, and these are exciting reading enough. One hero, Tom Souville, who escaped very frequently, became a gallant privateer and yet assisted shipwrecked English ships, has a street in Calais called after him.

The author has neglected nothing to make his work complete. He has collected illustrations showing the work of the prisoners, and beautiful work it was, as well as pictures of their unwelcome habitats. He gives many extracts from their memoirs and from the records of those of their visitors—like Howard—who went to see how they fared. He has also some interesting chapters on the life of the prisoners on parole (it is strange to see how many paroles were broken), who in a certain measure adapted themselves as far as was possible to the life of their free neighbours.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY. SELECT DOCUMENTS. Compiled and Edited by A. E. Bland, B.A., P. A. Brown, M.A., and R. H. Tawney, B.A. Pp. xx, 730. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1914. 6s. net.

STUDENTS of English constitutional history have for a considerable time had the advantage of being able to consult collections of illustrative documents. But, although the materials for English economic history are widely scattered and often difficult of access, its students have had no similar guidance until the publication of this volume. The editors found, when teaching in the University Tutorial Classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association, how useful such a collection would be, and have compiled a book which will be of great value both to teachers and to students of economic history. They have brought together from many

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sources an excellent selection of documents illustrating the economic development of England from the Norman Conquest to the Repeal of the Corn Laws. This material is arranged in three periods, 1000 to 1485, 1485 to 1660, 1660 to 1846, and in different sections. In these industrial and agricultural development, organisation and regulation and social conditions are more fully represented than foreign trade and its organisation, taxation, and colonisation. Short explanatory introductions and bibliographies to each section, as well as a full index, increase the students' great debt to the editors.

THEODORA KEITH.

RECORDS OF THE EARLDOM OF ORKNEY, 1299-1614. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. Storer Clouston. Pp. xcv, 515. 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society. 1914.

THIS volume of the Scottish History Society is a gallant effort to fill in the almost complete blank in our knowledge of affairs in the Islands during the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and, if the result is rather disappointing, that must be ascribed to the niggardliness of fate for begrudging the materials. Nevertheless, we cannot be too grateful to Mr. Clouston for the pains he has taken to bring together such a mass of records. At present, their actual informative value may not be very great; as corroborative or counter evidence on fresh material or future hypotheses they may be of great value.

In the Introduction, Mr. Clouston makes a survey of the whole ground, and students will be struck by the considerable difference between his conclusions and those of Mr. A. W. Johnston in the latter's Introduction to *Orkney and Shetland Records* (see *S.H.R.* xii. 203). That such different conclusions are possible is clear proof of the inconclusive nature of the record evidence as a whole, and while one hesitates to differ from an authority like Mr. Johnston, yet one is inclined to agree with Mr. Clouston on some of the points at issue.

It may be said that Mr. Clouston's Introduction is not sufficiently self-contained. Before writing his own Introduction he seems to have read Mr. Johnston's, and thus his work assumes an argumentative tone to such an extent that some parts are almost unintelligible without a knowledge of the positions taken up by Mr. Johnston.

One of the main questions in dispute is whether the governing officials in Orkney and those in Shetland during the Norse period were of the same type or not. Mr. Johnston holds the former view; Mr. Clouston the latter. The evidence available does not warrant dogmatism on either side. It is probable that both were originally alike, but that, by the end of the Norse period, several modifications had occurred seems proved by the appearance of the 'roithmen' in Orkney alone.

The real character of the 'roithman' is also obscure. Mr. Clouston argues, and apparently conclusively, that the word is used in two senses; a man possessing the 'roith' or redemption rights of land; and a councilman or member of the law-thing. Nothing is said of the pronunciation of

the word, but having regard to the original Old Norse form *rǫð*, and the usual vowel progression in the Orkney dialect, it must certainly have been the same as the English word *wroth*. Whether these roithmen were all the lineal descendants of the old Norse Earls' *gæðingar* or bodyguard is not so clear. The roithmen were necessarily odallers, for otherwise they would have been ineligible for the law-thing. If the *gæðingar* were their ancestors, then they too must have been odallers, for odal rights came only by birth. According to Mr. Clouston, all the *gæðingar* held some form of *gæði* or emoluments from the earl—generally in the form either of earl's bordland or of escheated land. Some also of these *gæðingar* we know to have been odallers as well, but there is nothing to show that they all, or even the majority of them, were. Hence, at most, only some of the *gæðingar* can be said to have been possible ancestors of roithmen, and before we believe that any of them were, we have to assume that one of the 'chief landed men' in, say, 1100 A.D. would leave a descendant in the same property who would be one of the 'chief landed men' in, say, 1400 A.D.

Perhaps Mr. Clouston is most suggestive and penetrating where he develops Hibbert's theory that Orkney, like Iceland, Man, and Shetland, was divided into political quarters. Mr. Johnston calls this theory 'antiquated,' but one would have thought that if such a system existed in the other Norse colonies, its non-existence in Orkney would require much demonstration. Mr. Clouston argues that six of the thirty-six delegates to the Orkney thing came from Caithness (following the analogy of the Hebridean delegates to the Isle of Man thing). Nor is this improbable even when we find in the Sagas that Caithness had a lawman and thing of its own. These may have been instituted considerably later than the Orkney thing, at a time when Caithness became more developed. In the earlier days, when the Orkney thing was being established, it is quite likely that the relative importance of the Caithness settlements was not such as to warrant an independent thing of their own, and delegates would appear before their overlord the Earl—at the Orkney courts. And it is regrettable that Mr. Clouston has been unable to find any matter dealing with the original site of the Orkney thing—Tingwall in Rendall.

Mr. Clouston makes an acute and far-reaching speculation when he suggests a Pre-Norse origin for the old Orkney townships. There is no doubt that the old encircling walls are still in some places termed 'Pickie-dykes' *i.e.* Pict Dikes. They are, too, in some places far more massive than the keeping in of animals would demand, and seem to belong to the age of the giant-work to be seen at the Standing Stones of Stenness and at Maeshowe.

Mr. Clouston's Introduction so bristles with debateable points that full discussion is here impossible. Whether correct or not, Mr. Clouston is invariably suggestive and incisive in his reasoning, and has made a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the period. And the records have a value that cannot yet be fully estimated.

HUGH MARWICK.

THE ROMANIZATION OF ROMAN BRITAIN. By F. Haverfield. Third edition, further enlarged, with twenty-seven illustrations. Pp. 92. Med. 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1915. 3s. 6d. net.

EVIDENTLY the merits of this admirable little book are being generally recognized. The author has taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by a third edition to add considerably to the text and also to increase the number of the illustrations. In its new dress the volume is more than ever indispensable to specialists, while the ordinary reader will find it full of stimulating and interesting material set forth in a style that is at once luminous and convincing. There is no better monograph on any period of British history.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND THE PRACTICAL STUDY OF COURT HAND. By Hilary Jenkinson. Pp. x, 37. With thirteen plates. 4to. Cambridge : University Press. 1915. 8s. net.

THE author is the F. W. Maitland Memorial lecturer at Cambridge, and the essay was a paper read to the Historical Congress of April 1913. It is illustrated by thirteen plates of documents, all (except two forgeries) much contracted, technical in matter, and difficult to read. A plain man's criticism starts with some wonder why transliteration did not accompany each document, and perhaps the critic ends waiting for the answer. Scientific palaeography, which deals with minute and exact things of penmanship in the records, is perhaps a little intolerant of the craving for assistance which animates the external self-taught student. If Mr. Jenkinson's answer were that the only royal road is by individual adventure, which he styles 'rule of thumb,' it might be necessary to bow to the view of an experienced master and teacher of record, but he disclaims as absurd the proposition that rule of thumb is the best method of learning the medieval handwriting. His point is that at present the importance of palaeography is overrated, while that of the History of Administration is dangerously undervalued. This may well be so, without the slightest prejudice to the conclusion that ninety-five per cent. of Mr. Jenkinson's readers, and with them that combined study of Palaeography and Administration which he desiderates, would have profited by editorial transliteration, thrown in as a sop to the uninitiated.

This preliminary grumble of protest must be followed by grateful acknowledgment of the skill and value of the selection. The eleven genuine documents belong to the year 1225, are from one roll, come from one Lincolnshire district, concern an assessment for a tax of a fifteenth, and represent in the handwritings of men in humble position as tax-collectors the most marked differences. They exhibit very clearly the fact that at any given time the scribal hands current must be of various age and style, although the note of the whole series of eleven writs is the general predominance of an Enrolment hand, inclining to the narrow and angular lettering of the type familiar to us in Scotland in the charters of William the Lion. Collation of these returns of the possessions in cows, calves, horses, mares, pigs, bullocks, and plough-oxen of many

tax-payers, as well as in the oats, barley, and wheat they kept in stock, reveals much diversity in the clerical detail of very uneventful sums in agricultural arithmetic.

The lesson in the elements of palaeography is excellent (especially if proposed as examination matter for advanced students), but the book is not nearly so helpful as a coordination of a transcript with some directly-applied notes on both scribal and administrative methods in the documents would have made it—without the least discomposure to the savants, superior to such needs.

GEO. NEILSON.

EIRSPENNILL. NÓREG'S KONUNGA SÖGUR. Pp. 168. 8vo. Kristiania : Julius Thömtes Boktrykkeri. 1914.

A CONTINUATION of the issue, carefully collated and annotated by Norwegian and Icelandic scholars, at the instance of the Norwegian Historical Manuscripts Commission (Finnur Jónsson, editor), of the Sagas, or histories of the kings of Norway, in the Icelandic, or more properly the old Northern tongue.

The first part was noticed in this *Review* recently (*S.H.R.* xii. 197, 198), when attention was directed to interesting narratives of incidents in English and Scottish history contained in the Sagas of Kings Harald Hardrada and Magnus Barelegs. In the present issue we have the Sagas of the sons of Magnus and of King Harald Gilli (or Gillichrist, whose mother was a native of the Hebrides) and their immediate successors, with a commencement of the twelfth century Saga of King Sverri. The later stages of this Saga contain numerous references to Orkney and Shetland, which will call for notice when the continuation of the Saga is issued.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANÆ : The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. By Hew Scott, D.D. New Edition revised and continued to the Present Time under the Superintendence of a Committee appointed by the General Assembly. Volume I. Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, with portrait of Hew Scott. Pp. xviii, 450. Royal 8vo. Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd. 1915. 20s. net.

DR. HEW SCOTT'S monumental work is of such value that a new edition amplified and brought down to date is very welcome.

In addition to biographies of the parochial incumbents of the Church of Scotland this new edition contains a list of the Scottish University Theological Professors, of the ministers of the Church of Scotland in England, and of the Missionaries and Army Chaplains of the Church.

We hope at a later date to refer again to this work, but meantime we are glad to record the issue of the first volume.

WHY WE ARE AT WAR : GREAT BRITAIN'S CASE. By Members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History. Pp. 206. With one Map. Demy 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1914. 2s. net.

THE ocean cannot all be drained into even an Oxford mill-pond, but the authors did well to track so faithfully the rills of connexion converging in

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the lade which started the European mill-wheels in August last. Belgium bulks too large for a true perspective of the Case as we see it now. Indeed the Case has steadily broadened, till the diplomatics which appeared to count for so much in August now dwindle into fourth-rate importance. Since the war began we have learned many things and suffered a few, but the Case stands to-day only the stronger by the demonstration of the evil spirit of German policy, fitly enough having its corollary in methods of arrogant barbarism.

THE ABERDONIANS AND OTHER LOWLAND SCOTS : THEIR ORIGIN AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE HISTORY OF ABERDEEN. By G. M. Fraser. Pp. vii, 51. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. Aberdeen : Wm. Smith & Sons. 1914. 1s. net.

THIS essay by the librarian of Aberdeen insists on the Lowland or English character of the people and the institutions of Aberdeen, and is suggestive of broad questions as to the capacity for burghal and other collective organizations manifested by peoples of Erse speech as compared with the speakers of English.

GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. (Second Series.) By A. S. Peake, B. Bosanquet and F. Bonavia. Pp. xvi, 254. 8vo. Manchester University Press. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 3s. 6d. net.

THIS review of German theology, philosophy and music in the nineteenth century—which was before the Flood—does credit to the British conscience in the determination to give fair play to German achievement.

SANCT ANDROIS AND OTHER SCOTTISH BALLADS. By Harry Alexander Wood. Pp. 44. Foolscap 8vo. Aberdeen : W. Jolly & Sons. 1914.

THESE ballads about George Wishart, James III. and Knox's story of the Downfall of Dagon require a good deal of the indulgence the author bespeaks from his critics, but they have ambition and glimpses of spirit. The preface is called *Praeludio*, an affected title hardly suited to the ballad cult.

LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE FATHER OF MODERN DEMOCRACY. By Very Revd. James O'Boyle. Pp. xxii, 362. With several Illustrations. Crown 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1915. 6s.

IT is difficult to praise this book (though it is by no means a bad one) on account of its style, hasty construction, and constant misprints. Still, as a life of Washington—it does not mention the cherry tree—it is not without merit. The writer gives considerable attention to the Irish (of both kinds) who fought under Washington, and points out the flourishing position of the Catholic Church in America, although this has little to do with the subject of his biography.

430 Sturges : American Chambers of Commerce

AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE. By Kenneth Sturges, M.A. Pp. xiii, 278. Med. 8vo. New York : Printed for the Department of Political Science of Williams' College by Moffat, Yard & Co. 1915. \$2.00.

THE fourth David A. Wells's prize essay takes this form, and is a very clear exposition of the origin of the Chambers of Commerce (the first founded in New York City in 1768) and of the boards of trade in the United States.

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. Parts I. and II. By James Henry Brenstead and James Harvey Robinson. Part I. Pp. xi, 729. With many Illustrations and Maps. Part II. Pp. ix, 555. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. Crown 8vo. Boston, New York, Chicago, London : Ginn & Co. 1915. 2 vols. 6s. 6d. each.

THESE excellently illustrated volumes are too short for the enormous period they attempt to cover. Still they exhibit much good work, and one wishes the authors had not been forced to compress it into a space that is really too small for it. They can, however, be read with much profit.

EINHARD'S LIFE OF CHARLEMAGNE. The Latin Text edited by H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat. With a Plate and a Map. 8vo. Pp. lix, 82. Oxford : Clarendon Press, Humphrey Milford. Price 2s. 6d. net.

WRITTEN between the years 814 and 821 by a member of the great Emperor's household—a little man, as some chance allusions by contemporaries show—the *Vita Karoli* is a book of inestimable significance as a document of Europe. The editors preface it with a remarkably able introduction in which the discreet silences of the biographer about certain crooked and harsh aspects of Charlemagne's career are considered in weighing up what is interrogatively styled 'the good faith of Einhard.' But a court biographer's frankness is a circumscribed virtue, and the editors have done their duty with a rather severe fidelity towards certain bland general passages which slide easily over some difficult doings. Empires appear to require rough things in the making of them : it is perhaps enough that the result is a boon to mankind sufficient to outweigh the cost and the wrong. Was that the case with the re-founded empire ? Are we not even now in the nightmare of its dream ? The map of Charlemagne's dominions inevitably suggests a modern aspiration. The text of Einhard has been well worked over by several generations of scholars, and the Oxford editions have been admirably successful in equipping the little Einhard with all necessary annotation to fit him for the company not only of students of history (to whom he is primarily introduced) but of historians. The introducers have done well by him : he needs nothing more to make him hold his own.

GEO. NEILSON.

SELECT TREATIES AND DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN EUROPEAN STATE-SYSTEM. By R. B. Mowat. 8vo. Pp. lxiii, 127. 1s. 6d. net.

WHAT has been called 'the Map of Europe by treaty' was a more definite thing to lay down than it was to indicate the ligatures formed by ententes

and alliances, agreements, guarantees, conventions, protocols, protests and declarations between the principalities and powers of Europe. This latter task Mr. Mowat has accomplished, giving the English *ipsissima verba* of the chief documents of the many concords of Europe, and, in addition, the terms of the Hay-Pauncefoot convention with the U.S.A. about the Panama Canal. A most valuable accompaniment is a clear and orderly introduction concisely indicating the general international connections and obligations, in spite of which the continent is such a lurid and sorry spectacle to-day, but in virtue of parts of which our confidence is steadfast. The pamphlet is in small a portfolio of papers of state invaluable for the political history of this marvellous time.

The Study of Nineteenth Century Diplomacy. By C. K. Webster. 8vo. Pp. 40. London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd. 1915. 1s. net. This inaugural lecture of the Professor of Modern History in Liverpool University emphasises the quality of special history contained in the Foreign Office archives. Some instances are given wherein the sphinx-like reserve of a Foreign Secretary gave way in a draft despatch but was restored in the issued document. Deliberate use of forgery is alleged, on Dr. Seton Watson's demonstration, to have been made by Austrian diplomats to prejudice Serbia in the crisis which provoked our great war. A notable suggestion is the need for 'a catalogue of handwritings,' in facsimiles, for the identification and verification so often necessary of political manuscripts and signatures.

In Memoriam—Bertram Dobell, 1842-1914. Mr. Percy J. Dobell in half-a-dozen pages offers a modest and graceful obituary estimate of his father, the interesting and talented old book dealer in Charing Cross Road, London. Bertram Dobell was a personality known to many bibliographical and historical students and collectors, to whom he was a centre of supply. He was himself an able member of the cult. He had luck in his own literary discoveries, which often brought new treasure out of old manuscript to the ken of readers of the *Athenaeum*. He was a poet, publisher, and editor too, with distinct successes in each capacity.

The Submerged Nationalities of the German Empire. By Ernest Barker. (Pp. 66. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8d.) This useful tractate shows the manner of the absorption by Prussia of Prussian Poland, North Schleswig and Alsace-Lorraine, and explains why they remain unreconciled to 'compulsory nationalization.'

European Entanglements since 1748, chronologically arranged by Howard Chambers. (Pp. 56. Crown 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1s. net.) This is a confused tabulation of the chief alliances, treaties, wars and transferences of territory out of which have come the international difficulties of the last century and a half. When one has found the entry about anything one wonders what it means.

The *Annual Burns Chronicle* (January, 1915), besides its matter about the bard himself, has notices of David Sillar and John Lapraik, his poetical correspondents.

Historical 'Bulletins' of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, now include No. 12, *Life of the Settler in Western Canada before the War of 1812*, by Adam Shortt. It is a circumstantial record of the farming operations of Benjamin Smith, a native of New Jersey, who passed over into Canada, and in 1794 settled on a farm and started a diary. 'The original,' says Mr. Shortt, 'it is understood, is now deposited with the Ontario Archives at Toronto.' This is a nebulous mode of vouching the authority, but the facts summarised throw a clear if prosaic enough light on a settler's life between 1799 and 1812. Other recent additions to the series include *The Financial Power of the Empire*, by W. W. Swanson, and *Modern British Foreign Policy*, by Prof. J. L. Morison. The complex imperial resources of Britain are critically examined by Mr. Manson as contributing responsibilities equally with power. A 'regular alternation of diplomatic ideals'—Elizabethan energy, Jacobean pacificism, Cromwellian audacity, Stuart decadence, William III.'s 'Europeanism,' succeeding like waves—exhibiting extremes in the present generation, gives Dr. Morison historical approach to his eloquent plea for Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Asquith's 'idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics,' in spite of all untoward tendencies in mid-Europe.

The Union Flag, its History and Design. By John A. Stewart. (Pp. 27. 8vo. The St. Andrew Society, Glasgow. 1s. net.) This essay, perhaps not free of minor controversial tenets, exhibits with gratifying clearness and with exact and well-coloured heraldic drawings the British national flag. The antecedents—English, Scottish, and Irish—are well traced, showing the flag to be indeed a historical symbolic combination. Sometimes one regrets that what the Union joined, rampant nationalism has seemed to put asunder. Our patriotisms are surely united enough to need no separate emblems when we have this one noble flag.

In *The English Historical Review* for January Professor Haverfield minimises the Roman importance of Old Sarum. Miss Skeel shows the rather feeble survivance of the Council of the Welsh Marches in the seventeenth century. Professor Haskins adduces proof, dating back to *circa* 1112, of the reception of Arabic science in England. Walcher, a Lorrainer, who was prior of Malvern, describes the use of the astrolabe, and a Cambridge treatise contains a reference to 'Petrus Amphulsus,' a twelfth-century writer on astronomy, as having been Henry I.'s physician, *Henrici primi regis Anglorum medicus*. Professor Firth edits from MS. the first Lord Lonsdale's autobiographical letter to his son.

In the April number Professor Lapsley completes his discussion of Edward III.'s dispute with Archbishop Stratford and the crisis over the king's proposal to try him otherwise than by his peers in the Parliament of 1341. Mr. S. A. Peyton, dealing with the lay subsidy rolls under the Tudors as regards their bearing on the village population, has found himself surprised by the evidence emerging that the rural population, *e.g.* of Nottinghamshire, was undergoing repeated and extensive change. He goes so far as to say that 'it seems permissible to infer that the rural population, contrary to the general conception, was not permanently rooted in its native

soil.' Rev. R. M. Woolley edits a valuable document, a set of Constitutions for the Diocese of London, *circa* 1215-1222, believed to have been issued in accordance with canon 27 of the Lateran Council. He suggests that the canons of the '*Concilium Provinciale Scoticanum*' of 1242 were probably reissues of some such diocesan Constitutions as those now edited or those of Bishop Richard Poore.

The Political Quarterly for February, in its first article, states that 'the present war has, above all things, shown the need for a new development in international control,' and other articles enforce various subordinate aspects of that great central fact. Definitions of 'Nation' and 'State' are discussed, but the bell has not yet been found for the cat.

In *The Modern Language Review* for January the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses are discussed as regards the linguistic indications of date by M. D. Forbes and Bruce Dickens, who conclude very firmly for a date anterior to A.D. 867. They are therefore as much against Dr. Hewison as against Professor Cook.

Professor W. R. Halliday sends an offprint of an article in the *Annals of Archaeology* examining the legend of 'St. Basil and Julian the Apostate.' He gives an account of an early Byzantine carol recording, of course with distortions—and piously rejoicing over—the overthrow and death of Julian. The Christian feud with Julian is apparently implacable, and was still surviving half a century ago as a popular tradition in Cappadocia.

In the *Old Lore Miscellany* for January interest attaches to Mr. A. W. Johnston's friendly but critical examination of Mr. W. P. Drever's important article on 'Udal Law' in *Green's Encyclopedia*. In the April number Mr. Johnston replies to what he considers misstatements of his contentions by Mr. Storer Clouston concerning odallers and the constitution of the Thing. An anonymous paper gathers the record data for the place, function and influence of the medieval Church in Caithness and Sutherland.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (March) continues printing quitclaims, concords, etc., of Sherborne tenants in 1377. In one concord the legal phrase *ad lucrandum vel perdendum* may have a connection with the Scottish law phrase 'to win and tyne,' *i.e.* to take the chances of a proof. A curiosity noted from a Rowbarrow Register is 'Anon' as a Christian name.

Recent numbers of the *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* present a continuous body of antiquarian information, criticism, and research whereof the churches are oftenest the nucleus. Some notice is given in the January issue to the 'heath dwellers' of Sandhurst, Berkshire, who are credited with 'a strain of the gipsy race' and who exercised a kind of pagan worship. 'This pagan worship consisted of great erections which looked like altars with little bits of broken china on them; and the people used to say prayers to these bits of broken plates and jugs with figures on

them.' The April issue inaugurates the twenty-first volume of the magazine, and the Editor, the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, a versatile antiquary of wide reputation, remarks with some satisfaction mingled with some anxieties upon the coming of age, in this 'time of especial difficulty, amid the sounds of the booming of guns and the cries of distress of nations.' Needless to say, we wish him editorial prosperity long-continued after the guns have gone silent.

Aberdeen University Library Bulletin for January opens with a note by Mr. J. M. Bulloch, in which he tentatively classifies the War Office materials, estimated at 47,000 bundles and volumes, to be found at the Record Office. They embrace official data for the history of the British Army from 1794 until 1865.

The Aberdeen Book-lover for May sketches the lives of an Aberdeen bookseller, Archibald Courage (1804-1871), and of Professor A. B. Davidson (1831-1902). A war ballad by 'Hamewith' thrills in the opening page.

The American Historical Review for January reaches a standard hard to attain when it overtops in value and interest the average of the *English Historical Review*. This is a true compliment to both of these periodicals. The opening paper, the presidential address of 1914 to the American Historical Association, by Professor A. C. M'Laughlin, on 'American History and American Democracy,' is of far reach and high purport as a question set to the Republic whether the vision of 'the genius of American history' is being realised. Comments made on the great formative events of the United States point out (1) that the Revolution was not so much an episode in itself as it was a chapter of the colonial evolution of the world, (2) that its 'chiefest movement' was not the severance with Britain, but the unifying change in the colony itself, and (3) that the great Civil War, in spite of its significance on the slave question, falls into a wider generalisation as 'only one of the wars of segregation and integration in the nineteenth century.' The country, he concludes, has 'not yet come to a full realization of the tremendous effect of a conflict for integral existence.' Observations like these not only give us pause: they are much-needed touchstones of judgment for Europe in the world-storm of nations to-day. Professor M'Laughlin, without flamboyancy, has faith in his country, and we of the motherland can well understand the unfaltering yet grave spirit in which by implication he puts to his compatriots the problem of their attainment and maintenance of that noble model of nationhood formulated by Mazzini: 'A body of people united in a common duty towards the world.'

Dr. C. H. Haskins, in an article loaded with footnote citations of original sources, discusses the intercrossing influences of England and Normandy on the judicial and fiscal organization of Normandy under Henry II., especially as regards justice, with the seneschal as its chief and the criminal jurisdiction of the duke as a formidably extensive tribunal in spite of the considerable list of royal reservations. Mr. Conyers Read, under the two-

edged title 'The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford,' collects a weighty body of proofs that his 'fame,' dubious in the England of Queen Elizabeth in Armada times, is now (in spite of Professor Pollard to the contrary) that of a traitor who, while English Ambassador in France, was receiving the bribes of Spain and betraying the counsels of his mistress. An American pen-portrait is drawn by Mr. G. Bradford; it is that of General G. G. Meade, the victor of Gettysburg. Professor Baldwin discusses the, sometimes interchangeable, senses and spellings of *concilium* and *consilium*. A capital textual contribution of documents is the editing of twenty-eight letters of Lafayette in 1780 to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister to the United States. Their interest is not wholly military.

The April number starts with a good report of the series of conferences and important papers at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Chicago in December last. An elaborate programme, with attractive propositions of debate and criticism, in addition to the striking presidential address already noticed, included themes so far apart as the Earliest Assyrian Period, the reign of Hadrian, Roger Bacon, the King's Council, parliamentary privilege and royal prerogative in England, Napoleon in several phases, and various aspects of research and use of historical materials, besides, as became such an Association, many essays concerned with purely American subjects. A noteworthy feature of previous years—the presence of European scholars—was this time impossible owing to 'the condition of Europe, oppressed by warfare of the most appalling magnitude,' but to compensate for this the attendance of the membership itself was 'unusually large,' *i.e.* it was 400, a figure surpassed only twice before.

Articles include Professor Guy S. Ford's timely account of Boyen's Military Law of 1814, which established universal military service in Prussia, and prepared the way for the war of 1870 and the crime of 1914, and which (the professor suggests) challenges place as 'the most important statute of the nineteenth century.' Mr. C. M. Andrews puts forward a heavily documented account of the western phase of 'Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700-1750'—fisheries, tobacco, furs and sugar being the commodities round which the trading competition and its political corollaries waxed keenest. A note by Mr. G. L. Kittredge cites a passage from a sermon of 1624 ascribing a special aptitude in cases of pretended bewitching to 'his Maiestie, who hath a happy gift in discovery of such Impostures.'

Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January traces the beginnings of lead mining in Iowa to a bushranger, Nicholas Perrot, who in 1694 got a present of ore from Miami Indians, and started lead mines on both sides of the Mississippi. The most striking chapter of the story, however, concerns Julien Dubuque (whom the Fox Indians called 'La Petite Nuit') and his successes as grantee and exploiter of mines and his failure to find any great fortune in his strenuous enterprises from 1788 until his death in 1810. The modern phase began with the 'rush of whites' to the Dubuque mines in 1830. In the April number the autobiography of an early resident of Des Moines, John A. Nash, a schoolmaster and Baptist preacher, is printed in part, the present section covering eleven years

(1850-1861) of rather dreary although informing experiences. A more interesting article is a reprint giving accounts of the Indians of Iowa in 1842, when the Friends established curious but benevolent relations with the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattamies, visits to whom thus came to be described in a periodical of 1843-1844.

Maryland Historical Magazine for March still goes on with Rev. Jonathan Boucher's letters. Boucher writes in December 1777, in collapse after 'the News of Burgoyne's Disaster.' In November 1779 he makes the acquaintance of Dr. John Moore, 'the Author of two very entertaining Vols. of Travels lately published,' and profits by that genial Scotsman's friendly interest. 'It is to his Recommendation I owe the having two Sons of a Sir Jas. Maxwell near Glasgow who come next month.'—*i.e.* as pupils. Writing about the American War, Boucher feels himself utterly confounded. 'It is all a Paradox and a Dream: and I have never been able to see an Inch before my Nose through the whole Progress of it. Thirteen Colonies the Majority of whose Inhabitants wished not to be so lost yet have been lost: and this without a single decisive Battle; and when too every Action such as they have been has been in favour of the Losers. Happy for the World perhaps Mankind are no longer warlike; and wars must hereafter be determined by long Purses rather than Guns or Swords. . . . My private Affairs in America are in perfect Unison with the publick. Everything there is turned topsy-turvy: Mankind have lost all Principles of Religion and every Thing else by which Societies are held together; and except that They are not so fierce they really are every whit as savage as the Aborigines; who now have ample Revenge on their European Invaders.'

In the *Revue Historique* (November-December) M. Bémont's 'Bulletin' on British history glances impartially at the Bannockburn monographs. In the January-February issue the French Revolution is the chief theme, but M. Emile Hammant's paper on the origins of Serbian liberty, according to the memoirs of the Protopope Matia Nénadovitch, touches the antecedents of the modern problem by its description of the situation at the close of the eighteenth century. The March-April issue has a long monograph by Abbé A. Degert on 'Le chapeau du Cardinal de Richelieu,' in which are narrated the intrigues, policies, controversies, and circumstances attendant on the bestowal in 1622 of the long-retarded cardinalate.

In the *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* (Poitiers) for April-September last M. Charles Tranchant gives an account of the Castle of Touffu, an ancient donjon on the left bank of the Vienne.

Communications

LIBER DE CALCHOU, No. 21.

Malcolmus Rex Scottorum Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus
Justiciis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris cunctisque aliis probis homin-
ibus tocius terre sue

Salutem.

Sciant clerici et laici presentes et posteri me in liberam et permanentem elemosinam dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Kalchou et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus Ecclesiam de Inuerlethan cum omnibus rectitudinibus suis et pertinenciis. Tenendam ita libere et quiete sicut aliqua Ecclesia in Regno meo liberius et quocius tenetur et possidetur. Precipio etiam ut predicta de Inuerlethan Ecclesia in qua prima nocte corpus filii mei post obitum suum quievit ut tantum refugium habeat in omni territorio suo quantum habet Wedale aut Tynningham, et ne aliquis ita sit temerarius ut pacem predictae Ecclesie et meam super Vitam et Membra sua audeat violare.

TRANSLATION.

Malcolm King of the Scots to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, officers, and all other liegemen of his whole land

Greeting.

Know ye, clerics and laymen, present and future, that I have granted in free and permanent alms, and that I by this charter have confirmed to God and to the Church of Saint Mary of Kelso and to the monks there serving God the church of Inverlethan with all its rights and pertinents. To hold as freely and quietly as any church in my kingdom is freely and quietly possessed. And I order that the church of Inverlethan (in which the body of my son rested the first night after his death) shall have as great a sanctuary in all its territory as Wedale or Tynningham has, and that no one dare to violate the peace of the said church and my peace on penalty of life and limb.

Date later than 1159: the grant of the church of Innerleithen is not mentioned in the Great Charter (Nat. MSS. i. No. xxxii.). The first part of this charter is genuine, though I doubt whether it has been carefully copied. The transcriber has written *permanentem elemosinam* instead of *perpetuam*. King William confirmed the donation *pie memorie regis Malcolmi fratris mei ecclesiam de Innerlethan* (*Lib. de Cal.* pp. 16, 316). It was also confirmed by Joceline and Walter, Bishops of Glasgow (*ib.* pp. 229, 329, 332), and by Pope Innocent IV. (*ib.* p. 321).

The confirmations do not mention this sanctuary.

The charter bears that the territory of the church of Inverlethan was to be as great a *refugium* as Wedale or Tynningham. There is no evidence that any territory was attached to Inverlethan. In the old rental it is stated that the monks had *juxta ecclesiam de Ennirlethan unam acram terre que solebat reddere per ann. xii denarios* (*ib.* p. 460). Nowhere else is there any reference to a sanctuary there. Nor is there any record of a sanctuary at Tynningham. Cosmo Innes (*Sketches*, p. 198) says, 'We have little further information.' As to Wedale, Mr. Innes says (*ib.* p. 196), 'The most celebrated and probably the most ancient of these Sanctuaries was that of the church of Wedale. . . . There is a very ancient tradition that King Arthur brought with him from Palestine an image of the Virgin, 'fragments of which' (says a writer in the eleventh century) 'are still preserved at Wedale in great veneration.' The reference is to Nennius (*Historia Britonum*, ed. Stevenson, tome III. p. 49 n.), 'Artur Hierosolymam perexit et ibi crucem ad quantitatem salutiferæ crucis fecit et ibi consecrata est et per tres continuos dies jejunavit et vigilavit et oravit coram cruce dominica ut ei Deus victoriam daret per hoc signum de paganis: quod et factum est: atque secum imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ detulit: cujus fracturæ adhuc apud Wedale servantur in magna veneratione.'

In the end of the twelfth century, Wedale claimed a right of sanctuary which was not recognised by King William, for he issued a precept (*Lib. de Calcho*, No. 410) to the ministers of the church of Wedale and to the guardians of its peace, enjoining them not to detain the men of the Abbot of Kelso, who had taken refuge there, nor their goods, because the Abbot was willing to do to them all reason and justice. See *Scotichronicon*, x, 25, for infringement of the peace of Wedale in 1269.

This part of the charter has excited interest ever since Lord Hailes quoted it to prove that King Malcolm was not a 'Maiden.'

There was no reason for the contemporary historians to allege that he had remained chaste, unless that was the common report and belief. No one would have thought any the worse if the young unmarried King, not yet twenty-four years of age, had been the father of an illegitimate child; if the King made no secret of his fault and made no pretence to virtue, but stated in a charter to a Religious House that he had had a son, it is extraordinary that there should have been a constant tradition of his chastity. See the passage of William of Newbury and the statement of Fordoun, quoted in *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 102-105.

For these reasons I doubt the genuineness of this addition to the charter.

If, however, the grant of sanctuary to the church of Innerleithen be genuine, the transcriber in the chartulary may have written *filium* instead of *patrem* or *avum*.

It is probable that Earl Henry died at Peebles, and he may have rested at Innerleithen before his burial at Kelso. King David died at Carlisle and was buried at Dunfermline, and his body may have rested at Innerleithen on the first night after his death. In Chambers' *History of Peeblesshire* (p. 367) it is said that the natural son of Malcolm IV. was drowned in a

pool near the foot of the Leithen. But this is not an old tradition: it appears long after Lord Hailes had drawn attention to this charter.

ARCHIBALD C. LAWRIE.

The extensive collections found among Sir Archibald Lawrie's papers include materials for a volume of Charters of the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, in continuation of his 'Early Scottish Charters,' and for a volume of Annals of the reign of Alexander II. in continuation of his 'Annals of the reigns of Malcolm and William.' The former of these, which was to be arranged not chronologically like its predecessor, but by subjects, could not be published in anything like its present shape—one section only, relating to the Abbey of Dryburgh, being marked by the Author 'almost ready.' But the MS., which would be invaluable to future students as a quarry, will I hope be made accessible to them in some public library.

The other work, including not only extracts from the chroniclers but also a collection of the royal charters of the period, is so far advanced that it may be given to the world subject only to the drawbacks incident to all posthumous publications. At the request of the author's representatives, I have undertaken to see it through the press.

The above note is from the Kelso section of the 'Charters' volume. With regard to the account of the Cross of Wedale, the 'author of the eleventh century' is not Nennius, whose history is now ascribed to the end of the eighth century, but an unknown continuator whose work is preserved on the margin of a MS. of Nennius.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

BRIDGES AT DUNKELD. In the *Rentale Dunkeldense*, published by the Scottish History Society (1915, Second Series, volume 10), there are particulars of Bishop Brown's stone bridge of 1510 and references to a 'trene brig' in the Reformation period. The following deed gives particulars of a later bridge: At Dunkeld, January 29, 1585-6, a contract was signed between John, Earl of Athoill (with Sir Thomas Stewart of Garnetullie, Knight, William Chalmer of Drumlochie, Andrew Blair of Ardblair, and Mr. Andrew Abircrumbie, elder, as cautioners) and David Mar, wright, burgess of Perth, that 'the said David Mar sall mak and big ane sufficient brig and passage of tymmer ower the watter of Tay at the cite of Dunkeld direct foiranent the vennell callit baxteris vennell on the north and the barngabill of Robert Boyid in litill Dunkeld on the south, and sall mak the said passage of sufficient heicht and of the breid of tuelf futtis abone witht reulis and leggantes thairto and tymmerwerk of the landstellis to the samin; and to that effect the said David sall upoun his awin expenss furneis all irnewerk and wirkmanschip requisite to the said passage and sall begin and enter therto upoun the tent day of Aprile nixtocum, and sall mak compleit and end of the samin befor the first day of August nixt thairefter in anno etc. fourscoir sex at the sicht and be the avise of the saidis cautioneris or ony ane or twa of thame being present for the tyme.' The cautioners are to pay Mar 800 merks Scots, viz. 300 at entry, 250 'howsonne the trestis of the said passage beis sett on fute in the said watter,' and 250

440 Cession of Isle of Man to Scotland in 1266

'howsone the said passage beis reddie for the planking and befoir that the said David entre to plank the samin': they are also to deliver 'alsmekill of the tymmer presentlie growand in the wod callit the Tor as will sufficientlie serve to the accomplisment of the said hail wark, of sic sort as the said David sall pleis to chuis, and sall cut sell (? fell or saw) and lay the samin on the syde; and being dicht and skugrit be the said David in the said wod they sall carie and draw the said tymmer thairfra on ther expens and lay the samin at the watter syde besyde the south entrie of the said passage; and during the hail tyme of the bigging and maiking of the said passage the saidis cautioneris at the leist ane or twa of thame sall continewalie await and remane witht the said David for owersycht of the said work, and upoun ther awin expens they sall caus ane sufficient number of men as the said David sall require be reddie and cume at all tymes requisite upoun twenty foure houris warning of befoir to draw the said tymmer, help to sett up the pilleris and rekis of the said brig, red the places quher the piller feitt sould stand in the watter and lay stanes about the samin; and the said work being endit the saidis cautioneris sall gif ane bountay and reward to the said David at the said nobill lordis discretioun and thair awin.' The witnesses are George Stewart of Arnetullie, Colene Eviott of Balhousse, Archibald Butter of Gormok, Thomas Nicoll, writer in Perth, Thomas Creichtoun, Thomas Gaw, and William Andersoun (? Robertsou), notaries. (*Register of Deeds*, xxiv (1), 240: recorded Jan. 12, 1586-7.)

R. K. HANNAY.

CESSION OF THE ISLE OF MAN TO SCOTLAND IN 1266. The acquisition of the Isle of Man by Scotland, after the death of King Magnus in 1265, is ascribed by the chronicles to a treaty between the kings of Scotland and Norway in the following year, whereby Alexander III. agreed to pay an indemnity for the cession of the island. This arrangement could scarcely have been effectual in view of English policy previous to that date. In the disturbed condition of the inhabitants, Henry III. extended his protection to the Manx sovereign and exacted homage and service from King Reginald in 1218 and 1219 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 150, 205). It was by the power of King Henry that the heir to the throne of Man and the Isles went to Norway in 1253; and the same king decorated King Magnus of Man with the belt of knighthood in 1256, and shielded him against the murderers of his brother, King Reginald: on both occasions a request was sent to King Alexander of Scotland to further the English projects (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1247-58, pp. 190, 469; *Close Roll*, 37 Hen. III. m. 13). In these circumstances it is difficult to believe that the so-called cession of 1266 should have been accepted without demur. As a matter of fact the Scottish settlement was resisted from the outset. In 1267 King Alexander was obliged to quell an insurrection in the island, and Henry III. advised him not to go there till the times were more propitious, as fortune had not favoured such expeditions by his ancestors in the past (A. W. Moore, *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, p. 182). There was another rebellion in 1275, which resulted in

David Deuchar, Seal Engraver, Edinburgh 441

the complete overthrow of the Manx at Ronaldsway, near Castletown, where 'a conflict took place, and the wretched Manxmen, turning their backs, were terribly routed' (*Chronicle of Lanercost*, ed. Maxwell, p. 11). The treaty with Norway appears to have had no securer foundation than a modern 'scrap of paper.'

In the Register of the Priory of St. Bees (p. 489), about to be issued by the Surtees Society, there is independent corroboration of the insecurity of King Alexander's hold on the island after the settlement of 1266. It is stated in depositions *de quo warranto*, taken at the church of St. Lupus in Rushen on 16 January, 1302, before the justices and coroners of Man, under the authority of Bishop Bek of Durham, at that time ruler of the island, that Alexander the late king of Scotland, *qui Insulam de Manne per ensem conquestabatur*, had enfeoffed one of the parties with the tenements in dispute, and that the matter had been already determined by writ of the said Alexander before Maurice Acarsan, the justice who heard the plea: this Maurice was probably identical with Maurice Okarefair, said by the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (Bann. Club, p. 64) to have been third in the succession of the bailiffs of Man appointed by that king. From this statement it would appear that acquisition by conquest, not by treaty, was the feature of the transaction which dwelt in the minds of the witnesses and was acknowledged by the courts: that the Scottish title was *per ensem*, not *per compositionem* as stated in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, nor yet *per conventionem* according to the *Chronicle of Lanercost*. Two of the justices, Walter de Huntercomb and Gilbert Maschaskel, who tried the suit, could not have been unaware of the means by which the little kingdom had been annexed to Scotland, for they had a long previous connection with Manx affairs. There is little doubt that the Battle of Ronaldsway was the determining factor of King Alexander's hegemony in the island.

JAMES WILSON.

DAVID DEUCHAR, SEAL ENGRAVER, EDINBURGH. (*S.H.R.* xii. 332.) It has been my good fortune to find a very good notice of Deuchar in *Caledonian Jottings*, a privately printed periodical which appeared (under the editorship of R. J. Niven) 1st January, 1900. His chief glory was that he was the patron and teacher of the future Sir Henry Raeburn, then an apprentice to Mr. James Gilliland, goldsmith, Parliament Close, Edinburgh. Deuchar, finding out his talent, gave him some lessons in drawing and got him introduced to David Martin, whose pupil he became. Raeburn painted (*circa* 1773) Deuchar's miniature.

David Deuchar was born at Kinnell in Forfarshire in 1743, and died at Morningside House in 1808. His father became a lapidary, after his farm had been raided in 1745, at Croft an righ, and he succeeded him and was made seal engraver and lapidary to the Prince of Wales. For his amusement he also became a fine etcher. In 1788 he brought out a series of etchings of the 'Dances of Death,' after Holbein; in 1803 he published collections of etchings of the greater Dutch and Flemish masters, Rembrandt, Ostade, Bega, and Van Vliët. He painted also on thin boards, and modelled in clay, and was a known connoisseur in art and antiquarian

matters. In 1801 he became a member of the Royal Company of Archers, King's Bodyguard of Scotland. His first wife was Marion Skail, but by her he had no issue. By his second wife (married 27th September, 1776), Christian, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Robertson, minister of Eddlestone, and a descendant of John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms, he had six sons and one daughter, who grew up. His eldest son, Alexander Deuchar (born 1777), was seal engraver and lapidary to the Queen, and was better known as a genealogist. It was on his death, in 1844, that his library (inherited partly from his father and grandfather) of genealogical books was dispersed. His books, including many MSS., found their way into many unexpected places.

JOHN CROSSE.

DUTCH PRIZES OF 1667. The following lists of goods taken from Dutch ships captured in Shetland are copied from the original in the charter chest of the present Marquess of Tweeddale, whose ancestor, the first Marquess, was virtual head of the administration at this period. Unfortunately it is undated, but was found tied up in a bundle of papers dated 1667.

C. CLELAND HARVEY.

Inventory of the goods taken in the Dutch prize at Zetland Called the
Inbrough Rowped and sold at Leith

| | li. | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Off Broun sugar—51½ tuns sold at 312 li. p. tun Js | 16068 | 00 | 0 |
| off Leaf and Roll tobacco 24940 pound sold at 6li 6s. each 100 weyt - - - - | 01572 | 00 | 0 |
| off Cottoun—7311 p ^d weyt at 36li. p. 100 Is | 02632 | 14 | 0 |
| of Jndico 300 p ^d weyt at 48 s. each pound weyt - | 00720 | 00 | 0 |
| off lymewatter 54 gallouns at 48 s. p. gallon - | 00129 | 12 | 0 |
| off Tortishell 25 p ^d weyt at 24s. p. p ^d - | 00030 | 00 | 0 |
| off Gumalenny 119 p ^d weyt at 6 s. 8 d. p. pund - | 00039 | 12 | 0 |
| The ship sold for - - - - - | 06180 | 00 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 27371 | 18 | 0 |

Inventory of the goods sent from Zetland in the prize called the
Milkmaid.

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Off Sugar—803 pd. weyt sold at 15 li. 12s. p. 100. | 00124 | 16 | 0 |
| of Cinamon 300 weyt at 4 li. 16 s. p. pund - | 01440 | 00 | 0 |
| off Indico 709 at 48 s. p. pund Is - - - | 01680 | 00 | 0 |
| of Roll tobacco 188 pund at 6li. 6s. p. 100 Is - | 00011 | 16 | 3 |
| of Leaf tobacco—1550 pund sold at 36li. p. 100 - | 00558 | 00 | 0 |
| of Eliphant teeth 170 pd at 11s. scotts p. pund is | 00093 | 10 | 0 |
| 19 dry hydys at 4 merks p. peice - - - | 00045 | 6 | 8 |
| of Rielitt 120 pd. weyt 6s. 6d. p. pund - | 00039 | 00 | 0 |
| Ship sold for - - - - - | 03360 | 00 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 7352 | 06 | 11 |

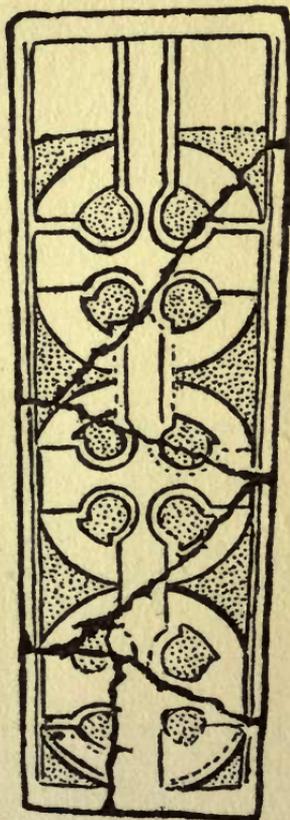
Totall—34724 4 11.

M. TOMPSON. After the death of his wife, Agrippa d'Aubigné, the great Huguenot warrior and poet, devoted himself to the education of his children, and selected M. Tompson as their tutor. M. Rocheblave (*Agrippa d'Aubigné*, Paris, 1913) observes that Tompson was probably a Scottish refugee. One of the most characteristic letters of d'Aubigné is addressed to him (*Œuvres*, i. 420). Is anything known of him?

D. B. S.

CELTIC CROSS-SLAB FOUND AT ST. ANDREWS. Dr. Hay Fleming calls attention to a Celtic cross-slab discovered by Mr. Mackie on the 20th of May, in digging a grave a few yards beyond the east end of the Cathedral, St. Andrews. It was lying east and west, apparently *in situ*, fully four feet below the present surface of the ground. This slab seems to be unique. The accompanying sketch is by Mr. Hardie.

In the Cathedral Museum there are a number of specimens on which a nimbus or circle, divided into quadrants, connects the arms of the cross; but the chief peculiarity of this most recently discovered slab is the triplication of the cross and the nimbus. The nimbus at the east or narrow end is not a true circle, the measurement from east to west being more than an inch greater than from north to south. This is probably due to the artist having worked by rule of thumb. The crosses, circles and back-ground are not decorated. There is no trace of interlaced or zig-zag or spiral ornament. The two panels at the west end may have been intended for decoration or for an inscription; but, if so, the intention has not been carried into effect. The slab is four feet eleven inches in length, nineteen inches in breadth at the head, and fifteen at the foot. The thickness varies from four to six inches. The back is rough and unequal, the broad end looks as if it had been finished by a pick, the narrow end is not so rough, and the sides are smoother. The incising of the crosses, the circles, and border lines has been done by a small pick-like implement, which was commonly used for Celtic work on stones. One of the sides at least bears traces of a tool of the nature of a narrow-pointed chisel. The shape of the slab is also noteworthy; tapering as it does, it resembles in this respect the medieval slabs, not the Celtic. Unfortunately it was in six pieces when found, although the pieces were lying in their proper positions.



BANNOCKBURN MEDAL. The St. Andrew Society of Glasgow has had prepared a design by Mr. Graham Johnston, Herald Painter to the

Bannockburn Medal

Lyon Court of Scotland (from sketches by Mr. John A. Stewart), for a medal commemorative of the Bannockburn celebration last year. On the obverse is shown King Robert on horseback with the rampant lion and double tressure. Inscription: Robertus Deo Rectore Rex Scottorum. On the reverse appears the national cross of St. Andrew between four shields charged with the arms of Moray, Stewart, Bruce and Douglas. Inscription: Sexcentenary of Bannockburn 1314-1914. The obverse is an effective and spirited piece of heraldic drawing in the style of the royal effigy familiar in the Scottish great seal of the Bruce period.