

Reviews of Books

RECORDS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.
Volume I. : The Survey of the Honour of Denbigh (1334). Edited by
Paul Vinogradoff and Frank Morgan. Pp. cxxiv, 347, with two
Genealogical Tables. 8vo. Oxford : University Press. 1914.
16s. net.

THIS volume is notable from various points of view. It is notable as the first of what promises to be a series of extreme value to the student of manorial origins and of social economic history generally, published under the authority of the British Academy and with the aid of a grant from the Treasury. It is notable as a specimen of the fine and copious work that is being done by Professor Vinogradoff (who acts as director of publications for the Academy in the present series) and by others, his friends and pupils, inspired by him ; for the business-like preface is the outcome of work done by members of his seminar at Oxford.

It is notable also for its own contents. These include the text of a survey of the lands of a great Honour situated on the borders of Wales, remarkable, as the editors justly claim, for 'the value, exactitude and fulness of its contents,' and made at a date (1334) when the influence of English manorial arrangements was still at work in modifying the earlier Celtic tribal customs of the several districts embraced. The carefully prepared and beautifully printed text of this voluminous record of a period of transition forms a welcome addition to the available material for solving the problems that still surround 'the origin of the manor.' The text is introduced by a series of careful studies, in the preparation of which Prof. Vinogradoff has had the benefit of the collaboration of Mr. Morgan and of a band of able young scholars, formerly members of his class at Oxford. These contributions embrace a sketch of the history of the Honour, and studies, in the light thrown by the survey, on such subjects as kindreds and villages, wood, waste and pasture, agriculture, rents and services, officers and agents, the unfree population, English tenurial arrangements, and the urban population.

These essays should all prove interesting and useful to the student of manorial origins, although they contain few novelties for which readers of Prof. Vinogradoff's *Origin of the Manor* were not prepared. Indeed, the one criticism that seems called for is that readers who are tyros in the subjects discussed (a class who are surely to be encouraged) should have been warned to read Prof. Vinogradoff's well-known volume first. It must be disconcerting to the uninitiated to come upon such terms as 'trevgvrviv,' 'treweloge' and 'dadanhud' (e.g. on p. xx) and find no

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word of explanation (they are not even mentioned in the Index). *The Origin of the Manor*, indeed, forms an indispensable introduction to the *Survey of Denbigh*, which in turn contains a body of evidence confirmatory of opinions formulated in the former.

In welcoming this volume and the prospective series which it heralds, it is natural to regret that Scottish records seem to be regarded as entirely outside its scope. Highlands and Lowlands paid a heavy price for avoiding the fate of Wales in the thirteenth century; but the Union of 1707, by reversing the effects of the War of Independence, might not unreasonably have been interpreted as placing Scotland on as favourable a footing as Wales in meriting a share of the labours of the British Academy in an undertaking that is financed by the national Treasury and promises to be of national or more than national importance.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE SCOTTISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. A Critical Study. By Evan Macleod Barron. Pp. xxvi, 499. With Plans and Maps. Demy 8vo. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1914. 16s. net.

THIS is an able work, written in a popular style and exhibiting a careful study of the period. In these days all that relates to war past or present has a very special interest. The story of a brave and vigorous defence by a little people against a powerful invader has been told again within the last few weeks.

Mr. Barron, who writes as a Highlander, and from the capital of the Highlands, has a special object in writing this book. That object is to demonstrate the part which Celtic Scotland took in the national rising. 'I may claim,' he says, 'to have proved beyond the possibility of doubt that the War of Independence was the achievement of Celtic Scotland, and especially of the northern part of Celtic Scotland, and that Teutonic Scotland—Lothian—had neither lot nor part in the Scot's long struggle for freedom.' He admits that if he is right, this part of the history of Scotland must be rewritten. It is only fair to the author to study the evidence which he adduces. It is probable that the share which Celtic Scotland had in the conflict has been unduly minimized by other writers, and the impression may have prevailed that while the Lowlands were engaged against the invader, the Highland clans were occupied as usual with the endless disputes which were to them the very breath of their nostrils. It must be kept in mind that by Celtic Scotland Mr. Barron means practically the whole kingdom outside of Lothian, which, if not actually upon the English side, was at least half-hearted. The north of our country included the rich and lowland lands of Moray, 'which fought ardently and whole-heartedly for the freedom of Scotland.' Another object of this work is to bring into prominence the share taken by Andrew de Moray, 'the too long forgotten patriot,' in securing the success of the movement.

In contrast to Mr. Barron's contention, may be set that of Mr. Andrew Lang, who says in his history of Scotland 'the War of Independence was won by the Lowland Scots (in origin mainly of English descent) fighting under the standards of leaders more or less Norman by blood.'

The author ascribes the long struggle to the 'overmastering ambition of Edward I. of England.' Edward may have had his ambition, but compared to that recently exhibited by another ruler of men, it was modest and not so very unreasonable. At the risk of seeming unpatriotic, we may venture to say a word for the English monarch. He found himself the king of the greater and richer part of this little island. The English had obtained a certain degree of civilization. The most civilized part of Scotland was either upon his side or at least somewhat indifferent. The existence of a separate kingdom to the north meant a constant state of disturbance, and even war, upon the border. The independence of Scotland involved centuries of strife—a strife which would have existed although Edward had never sought to conquer our country. Several centuries later Scotland fell into the hands of another strong Englishman, and the result was a gain to Scotland. We had just judges, a firm administration, and the miserable ecclesiastical and civil quarrels, for the time, ceased. Scotland was foolish enough to look upon Cromwell as its enemy, and to crown Charles II., and it had its reward. Scotland's worst foes have been found amongst its own sons. Lauderdale and Claverhouse were Scots.

All the same, this War of Independence was a famous episode in our history, and the plucky resistance offered to the English host deserves all that poets and prose writers have said in its praise.

Mr. Barron's account of Bannockburn is an admirable one. Popular tradition has exaggerated the numbers engaged. But this fact remains—the English greatly outnumbered the Scots, and were much better equipped. Yet their defeat was overwhelming, and brought about most important results. It is a striking proof that there are other things besides the strength of an army, which make for success in war.

Whatever the reader's views as to the points raised, he cannot fail to be interested in this latest contribution to Scottish history.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

A HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee. Vol. X. The Parish of Corbridge. By H. H. E. Craster, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Pp. xiv, 560. With many Illustrations and Maps. 4to. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Co. Ltd. 1914. £1 11s. 6d. net.

THE monumental history of the great and famous county of Northumberland, previous volumes of which have been noticed in this *Review* (ii. 317-8, v. 214-6, vii. 185-6), has reached one of the most important districts in the whole of the county. The present volume is devoted to the parish of Corbridge, which comprises a tract of twenty square miles lying athwart the Tyne between Hexham and Newcastle. In addition to the historical interest attaching to the town and church of Corbridge, some of the townships like Dilston, Aydon, and Halton are found to have special characteristics which have amply repaid individual investigation.

It is not often that the story of a parish in the north of England can be linked up in its successive stages from the period of the Roman occupation to the present day, but this has been done to a great extent, notwithstanding the paucity of evidence for some of the earlier periods, in the history of Corbridge. Professor Haverfield has contributed an important and illuminating appendix (pp. 457-522) on the Roman remains, and though the evidences, reinforced by the discoveries of recent explorations, continue to be indecisive on the precise character of the Roman settlement in that portion of the Wall, his account is so full of fact and suggestion that it may very well serve as a model of clear-sighted investigation on what is under the best conditions an obscure subject.

It is not astonishing that a town, which carries in its modern name a reminiscence of the name of Corstopitum, under which it appears in the Antonine Itinerary, should show signs of municipal life in the pre-conquest period and figure in some of the stirring scenes of the Northumbrian kingdom. In our opinion the careful blending of the archæological and chronicle evidences, on which has been constructed a continuous history, is one of the most successful chapters in the volume. The story of a district, when situated within an area of great events, is comparatively easy for the period of the Norman kings, but it is not often that clear indications of organised administration are found in the misty period beyond them. It would seem, too, that the civil history is illustrated by the witness of the parish church which is said to have Saxon foundations, the experts even averring that some of the masonry still to the fore was laid before the twelfth century. 'To this period,' says Mr. Craster, 'belongs the tower of Corbridge church, raised up, like that of Monkwearmouth, upon the walls of an earlier western porch. No other pre-conquest building has survived: but in all probability the earls of Northumbria had a residence here as well as in their other boroughs. One of the few remaining charters of Earl Henry fitz David is dated from Corbridge and proves that he at least resided here upon occasion.' It may be so, but the dating of a charter at a place is very poor evidence of residence.

Several families of note have had their homes in this parish, but none can compare with those of Carnaby and Radcliffe, who belong to Northumberland more than to Corbridge. From that county the glamour of James, third earl of Derwentwater and the Jacobite rising of 1715 will never fade. Numerous original documents, including the Derwentwater deeds in the Greenwich Hospital archives and charters in the Durham Treasury relating to Dilston, have been printed in full or in abstract in this volume. There are many plates of seals, views, ground plans, maps and other furniture associated with topographical history. The volume as a whole will occupy an honoured place in the great series. With its production there is only one regret: it terminates the editorial services of Mr. Craster to the County Committee. A grateful acknowledgment of his contributions to Northumbrian history has been made and was clearly his due.

JAMES WILSON.

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THE MAKING OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE. By Thomas Lloyd. Pp. vii, 136. Demy 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 4s. 6d. net.

MR. LLOYD puts forward a new and somewhat startling theory to explain the existence among the non-Aryan populations of Italy of a conquering Aryan race differing in language and civilisation from all the other dwellers in Central and Southern Italy. He suggests that when the Celtic migration passed westward from what is now Bulgaria and subdued what was called later Gallia Cisalpina, a detachment made its way southward through the abode of the enigmatical Etrusci and conquered a district to the south of the Tiber, forming the Patricians of Rome. The brown descendants of neolithic man, the race now represented by the Basques and the Berbers, together with some Etrusci, became the Plebeians. That the Patricians and Plebeians were originally two peoples is shown by the different modes of disposing of the dead, the former burning and the latter burying them. Many religious rites of Rome came from the Etruscans.

The main argument rests on language, Mr. Lloyd contending that Latin and Gaelic are more closely allied than is either to any other Aryan tongue. He regards Latin not as a sister language like Greek or Sanscrit, but as a direct descendant of the Gaelic of three thousand years ago. Lists of words are given to prove this resemblance, but these, though striking, hardly prove more than that Gaelic is an Aryan tongue, the resemblances between Latin and German being scarcely less marked. Two strong points are the use in Gaelic of a form corresponding to *est mihi* for 'I have,' and the use of the conjunction 'and' for 'when,' 'even when' or 'while' corresponding to the Latin *et dona ferentes*.

But there are some obvious blunders, of which perhaps the most glaring is the derivation from Gaelic of *tyrannus*, *thesaurus*, *psyche*, when the spelling alone shows that these are loan-words from the Greek. *Nach*, not, is compared with Latin *nec*, as if the *c*, which represents the enclitic *que*, were part of the root. *Neamh*, 'sky,' is compared with *num-en* (sic), as if the root were *num*, whereas the *men*, as in *agmen*, *flumen*, is a particle added to the root *nu*, 'nod,' a deity having only to indicate a wish by a nod, whereas a man must carry it out himself or get others to do it for him. *Cog*, 'make war,' is referred to Latin *cogo*, which is simply *co-ago*, as shown by the perfect *co-egi*. *Teidh*, 'go,' is compared with *ite*, the *i* of which is the root, the *te* being the sign of the imperative plural. Perhaps the wildest is the suggestion that the Scotch Mac, 'son,' is related to *amicus*, where the root *ama*, cognate with Sanscrit *kam*, to love, takes an adjectival ending such as that in *Asiaticus*, *bucolicus*.

Such solecisms prevent us from placing great confidence in the really ingenious suggestions that Gaelic *ban*, white, is cognate with *bonus*; *mael*, bare, with *malus*; *cota*, coat, with *toga*; *baile*, town (Ballyshannon), with *villa*; and *am*, time, with *im* (in *interim*). *Coinin*, rabbit, and *asain* or *asal*, ass, are from the Latin *cuniculus*, *asinus*, and *asellus*.

The main contention is lucidly set forth, and it may be true, and the book is eminently readable, but if it be so the proof must lie in the hands of a more practised philologist than the author.

H. A. NESBITT.

THE FALL OF CANADA. A Chapter in the History of the Seven Years' War. By George M. Wrong. Pp. 272, with seven Maps and five other Plates. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1914. 8s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to express the pleasure given to one by reading this account of one year of Canada's history. A 'chapter in the history of the Seven Years' War,' it deals with the final conquest of Canada in 1759-60 by the British, and could not have been better written. The writer has a thorough grasp of the difficult position of the French; their bravery, the corruption of the agents sent by the Court to the colony, their social qualities and their courtesy. He gives equal recognition for the good behaviour of the British, the dash of Wolfe, the firm but just rule of Murray, and the slow security of Amherst guided by the master hand of Pitt. The manner in which the war was conducted on both sides, and the easy terms given by the conquerors to the French, ought to have taught something to future conquering peoples. The book is altogether admirable.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

YUSUF KHAN. The Rebel Commandant. By S. C. Hill. Pp. xii, 320, with Plans and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS study of one who was, according to Sir John Malcolm, 'the bravest and ablest of all the native soldiers that ever served the English in India,' will fill a special niche in history hitherto empty. It is concerned with the life of a brilliant Hindu of Ramuad, originally named Maruthanyagaur Pittai, whose military career began after his conversion to Islam as Yusuf Khan. At his time it was still possible to carve out kingdoms in Southern India, where the French and British were struggling for supremacy, as it was quite uncertain which influence would prevail. Yusuf Khan entered the English service about 1748, rose rapidly by his ability to a wonderful height, and (after many struggles between the British and the French, detailed in this work) was made Governor of Madura and Tinnevely in 1759, and proved an excellent ruler. It was not until 1763 that he became 'The Rebel Commandant' by hoisting the French colours. The sieges of Madura followed, and after its reduction in 1764 Yusuf Khan was executed, by order of the Nawab of the Carnatic. The author has done full justice to his subject, illustrated it with many newly discovered documents, and has unravelled the complicated political dealings of the French and British, and of the rulers of the Carnatic and Mysore, in a masterly manner.

COLLECTANEA FRANCISCANA I. Ediderunt A. G. Little, M. R. James, H. M. Bannister. Pp. vii, 163, with four illustrations. Demy 8vo. Aberdeen: University Press. 1914.

THIS book contains three articles by Professor Little, one by Dr. Montague Rhodes James, and one by the Rev. H. M. Bannister. The first describes and illustrates certain early marginal drawings upon the copy of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris in Corpus Christi College (MS. xvi). These sketches occur upon the original fair copy of the Chronicle, and one

of them—the figure of a Minorite in his habit—may be intended for a portrait, although Mr. Little does not think so. Above is the legend : *Frater Willelmus nacione Anglicus socius Sancti Francisci*. This, along with other indications, points to the possibility of these drawings being the work of, or inspired by, William the Englishman, companion of St. Francis. At all events they are, as Mr. Little points out, ‘the earliest pictorial representations of the Preaching to the Birds and the Reception of the Stigmata now in existence.’ The artist, whoever he was, was a capable draughtsman.

The second paper deals with a Franciscan manuscript formerly in the Phillips Library, now in the possession of Professor Little. It belongs to the early fifteenth century, and is valuable not only for its contents, but also in that it contains the complete Latin text of six chapters of the *Actus Beati Francisci et sociorum ejus*, hitherto only found in more or less inadequate and abbreviated versions.

Dr. James gives an account of certain books which belonged to the convent of the Grey Friars at Hereford. Eight of these MS. volumes are ‘in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, three are in the British Museum, three in the Bodleian, four at Cambridge.’ The list does not claim to be exhaustive by any means, and in an *Addendum* two additional items are described.

Following Dr. James, Mr. Bannister treats of the numerous MSS. of English provenance in the Ottoboni collection in the Vatican Library, especially of those which indicate that they belonged to the Franciscans or Dominicans of Cambridge, and in the last paper Professor Little prints and annotates the Records of the Franciscan Province of England contained in Cotton Charter xxx, 40, in the British Museum, and also supplies us with a list of Provincial Chapters of the Grey Friars in England compiled from various authorities. To the student of Franciscan history this volume is of undoubted value.

JOHN EDWARDS.

MASTER-CLUES IN WORLD-HISTORY. By Andrew Reid Cowan. Pp. vii, 331. Crown 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 5s. net.

At the outset the author explains that he has read ‘in the end of the day’ the history of every country that has a history, and also the literature devoted to the historical reconstruction of the ancient civilisations. This is much, but not all. After learning’s crabbed text, still there’s the comment. He has read the comment too, including all the classic books that attempt to ascertain the Science of History, from Montesquieu to Miss Semple. Having, he says, ‘mastered all the best authorities,’ he found much unexplained or erroneously presented, and has had to work out ‘master-clues’ for himself. Hence this book.

A chief master-clue is the antithesis between pastoralism and agriculture ; another, the immemorial subjection of woman.

In the opening chapters, man, for the author’s purpose, is described as a tool-using animal, and mechanical efficiency in tool-using as the groundwork of the test of civilisation. In the next chapter various ‘determinants of civilisation’ are discussed, and the statement is emphasised (by italics)

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that agriculture could flourish most where best protected from predatoryness. Chapter IV. sketches the primary civilisations and the predatory mongols. The three following chapters are devoted chiefly to nomadism, its influence in Europe and America, and its passing, as firearms and wealth and numbers gave increased powers of resistance to agricultural peoples. It is suggested that Greece and Rome have been over-rated, and the author remarks that 'a master-clue in world-history is to keep the Romans and Greeks in their place.' After a brief recapitulation, he proceeds to deal with subsidiary features of his subject under the titles, 'The Highlander,' 'The Sea,' 'Sex,' and 'Tillage Civilisation.' The two final chapters are entitled respectively 'The Drift,' and 'The Future,' of Civilisation.

Mr. Cowan can evidently observe keenly and set down clearly. His book contains much that is interesting, and gives proof of no small industry and ability. It is, however, not free from superficiality and inaccuracy. It does not justify the author's claim to have mastered the vast regions into which he has made his evening excursions, and sometimes he seems more concerned to void the stuffing of his travel-scrip than to digest or co-ordinate it. While he makes many round assertions, he has much vague speculation, and seldom attempts to establish a proposition by definite argument and ordered evidence. Repeatedly, and justly, he himself describes his work as ideas outlined, propounded, or suggested, as if he meant little more than to hazard hypotheses for others to prove or disprove. He makes numerous quotations without supplying references for their verification. He calls his book condensed, but it is often diffuse, and it is not without redundancies, irrelevancies and repetitions. It is unequally written. Many pages are free from affectation, simple and clear. Others are disfigured by literary solecisms.

Reading maketh a full man, and Mr. Cowan is full to running over. But writing has not yet made him an exact man. His writing is often careless, and his statements are not wholly to be relied on. He writes, for example (p. 164) of Russia, that her 'lack of ethnic variety' and her 'racial homogeneity' 'favour that despotism under which the country still continues.' This is the opposite of the fact. There are few countries in the world with so much ethnic variety and so little homogeneity. Russia has, says Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, 'a variety of foreign tongues sufficient to test the polyglot acquirements of a Mezzofanti.' It is rather her ethnic variety and lack of racial homogeneity which have favoured, and perhaps made almost unavoidable, her despotic government.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE FINANCING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, 1337-1360. By Schuyler B. Terry. Pp. xx, 197. Demy 8vo. London: Constable & Co. 1914. 6s. net.

THE period of the great war with which this very careful and detailed study deals saw the rise of England to the rank of a first class Power. This great development was partly due to her new sense of national unity and purpose, which showed itself not only in the efficiency of her small and well-trained army but also in the increasing wealth and prosperity of the

country. This was shown by the increase of that part of the Crown revenue which came from the taxation of the wealth of the people, and also by the rise of a class of English capitalists who, as the campaign progressed, became rich enough and skilful enough to take into their own hands the task of financing the war. Until 1343 the king had had to depend on the Florentine and Hanseatic merchants and bankers who made loans to him and manipulated the revenue which came from the wool trade. The Black Death had a disastrous effect on the financial position, but the English merchants managed to maintain their control of the national finances until the end of this period of the war.

Mr. Terry has gone with great care into the details of these financial operations. His book also gives much valuable information about the regulation of the wool trade and its effect on English relations with Flanders, and he shows how the need of revenue for the war influenced the growth of Parliamentary control over taxation.

THEODORA KEITH.

THE PURITANS IN POWER : A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM 1640 TO 1660. By G. B. Tatham, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pp. viii, 282. Demy 8vo. Cambridge : University Press. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THE Puritan Revolution does not lose its hold on English scholars. Mr. Tatham has followed up his careful study of Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* by the present volume, which has as its object the collection of 'evidence descriptive of the methods by means of which the revolution was accomplished, and generally illustrative of the outward aspects of the Puritan regime.' Except in a short introduction there is no attempt made to analyse the inner development of the Puritan movement, and the author has denied himself the interesting task of tracing its influence either on the religious thought of its day, or on the history of ecclesiastical parties, or on the relation of the Church to Nonconformity.

The matters of discussion, then, are narrowed down to five ; and these, in their order, are the ejection of Episcopal clergy from their parishes by the Puritans, the 'regulation' of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the treatment of ejected clergy, religious freedom under the Puritans, and the disposal of Church property.

Two chapters are devoted to the discussion of the parochial clergy, their social standing, ecclesiastical sympathies, and ejection. In regard of the first, he qualifies Macaulay's estimate, but he is more influenced by it than by Churchill Babington's criticisms to which he rightly refers. We are not disposed to accept all of Mr. Tatham's generalizations regarding social gradations in the seventeenth century, as to which the evidence of contemporary writers is varied and even contradictory. In an interesting fashion the author tries to find out the proportion of Laudian and Puritan clergy, and estimates that out of more than eight thousand livings, about four thousand were held by the former and about one thousand by the latter, the balance being held by men averse to extreme views. Mr. Tatham also treats at some length the significance of Puritan 'lecturers,' and points

out their political influence. A considerable mass of evidence from contemporary sources has been brought to the discussion of the motives, means, and justice of ejection; and this leads to the conclusion that in the majority of cases the chief reason for dispossession was political rather than religious. The number of the ejected clergy, in the author's opinion, was between three and three and a half thousand.

The chapters on the 'fate' of these clergymen and of Church property supplement Mr. Tatham's previous studies on the *Sufferings of the Clergy*. He mentions several cases of cruel dealing and flagrant injustice, and, though he dispenses even-handed justice on the ecclesiastical parties in opposition, there are times when the balances swing somewhat against the Puritans. But nothing better could be said than his words regarding religious freedom: 'In spite of the popular cant about liberty for tender consciences, of which that age heard so much and understood so little, true tolerance was as foreign to the mind of the Puritan as it was to the Anglo-Catholic.'

Mr. Tatham has done good work in his chapters on the effects of Puritan rule on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Both are exceedingly good. Like other students, Mr. Tatham has the advantage of entering into the labours of Cooper's painstaking and erudite *Annals of Cambridge*, but he has added much material from other stores. The volume is specially valuable to those who tend to exaggerate the claims of the Puritans.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

NEWS OF A COUNTRY TOWN. Being Extracts from *Jackson's Oxford Journal* relating to Abingdon, 1753-1835 A.D., taken by James Townsend. Pp. 208. 8vo. Oxford University Press. 1914. 5s. net.

THE extracts which form the material of this book have been selected from a weekly local journal. They have been chosen with the object of placing before the reader various aspects of the life of Abingdon and neighbourhood during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century, and an excellent introduction serves to bring into focus the main points of the picture presented.

In the general condition of world politics much of the period lies in close analogy with the present day, when the trumpet note of war is in the air. In 1759 an attempted invasion is not regarded as beyond the bounds of possibility. 'Nov. 17, 1759.—The cavalry quartered in the Inland Parts of the Kingdom are marched towards the Sea Coasts, to oppose any attempts from the French; as they will be able to make more speedy marches on an alarm.' It is interesting to see how the difficulties of the recruiting problem were met. The press-gangs are hard at work. 'April 3, 1756.—They write from Marlborough that the Press was so hot last week at that Place, that People were taken out of their Beds, and strangers stopt upon the Roads;' and later, in 1777, 'they procure so few men that the Expense of each is esteemed at no less than Fifty Pounds a man to the Government.' French prisoners escape, but in these khaki-tinted times one imagines that liberty would be hard to win for the runaway clad, so we are

told, in a cinnamon or a claret-coloured coat, green breeches, gold garters, etc.

If the population of Abingdon then lacked the excitement provided by local football and the picture-house, a fair equivalent was furnished by the prize fight, cock-fighting, and fairs, where they 'grew excited by the beauty of the Grand Turk's Palace,' or at the 'wonderful feats of The Little Strong Woman,' to say nothing of an occasional public execution. On the whole the life of the country town was probably less hum-drum than it is to-day. For a native of Abingdon this book will, of course, have a peculiar interest, but even for a stranger it is a pleasant volume to dip into.

A. O. CURLE.

BARTOLUS OF SASSOFERRATO. HIS POSITION IN THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Cecil N. Sidney Woolf. Pp. xxiv, 414. Crown 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

THE Thirlwall Prize Essay of 1913 was this notable exposition of the political concepts adopted rather than independently formed by Bartolus, a mighty commentator and 'Postglossator,' born 1314, died almost certainly 1357. Empire and Papacy, Empire and Kingdoms and States, Empire and Jurisdiction—these sections of discussions contained in the voluminous works of Bartolus are propositions which Mr. Woolf sets himself to analyse. The middle ages had an insufficient appreciation of the difference between the Empire as it was when the Code was under formation and the Empire which maintained a very unstable and fluctuating existence and authority in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its universality of dominion, the extent of its jurisdiction, the rivalry if not the superiority of the Papacy to the Empire, also the rights of kings and sovereign states, supplied abundant matter of debate in which consistent political theory was apt to go to pieces against anomalous political and ecclesiastical fact. Elements of these problems are eternal. The old Rome had its solutions; the Holy Roman Empire had a variety; the Napoleonic system did not last long enough to make them necessary; the new German world-grasp with a Pan-Germanic world-code remains a merely impious imagination. Mr. Woolf supplements the group of special studies by Gierke and Maitland and Dr. Neville Figgis through which the opposition and interaction of imperial and papal aspirations, and of national kingships are exhibited, producing unceasing changes in European relationships and ecclesiastical and diplomatic standpoints. Chief problem of all was that of Empire and Papacy. On this Bartolus in terms adopts the papal side, that finally the papacy was the higher universal power. His modern critics appear to consider his conclusion rather a pious acquiescence than an intellectual conviction; but his clear-headed recognition that the Emperor, although *de jure* and theoretically 'dominus omnium' was far from being such *de facto*, tends to support literal acceptance of what he said as truly his final view overriding all anomalies and exceptions. Similar elements enter into the relation of kingship to the empire, with the difference that Bartolus regards royal independence as implying a grant from the emperor or 'rex universalis.' We cannot wonder that authorities dealing with inferences so profound and

complex, differ as to the originality and value of Bartolus. So much that is 'common form' permeates medieval writings that it is possible to doubt the independence assigned to him by Dr. Figgis and the essayist; but be that as it may, Mr. Woolf, by his excellently lucid and comprehensive exposition, has well earned his right of judgment. He also has won for himself a place of distinction among the interpreters of the medieval mind in certain grooves of high politics.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1646-1650: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By William Foster, C.I.E. Pp. xxxii, 362, with Illustration. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1914. 12s. 6d. net.

ONE of the side-lights on the details of English commerce with the East is to be found in the frequent references to the losses or delays of ships, and an incident connected with the preparation of the present volume brings home to the reader the perils and chances of the sea, even for modern ships. A number of the documents abstracted came from Surat Factory Inward Letter Book, which was preserved at the Bombay Record Office. The volume was sent home, and after being used was consigned to the *Oceana* for return to Bombay, only to be lost in the wreck of that vessel.

The period covered by this volume is one during which the activities of the company continued to be contracted by the doubtful situation at home, while affairs in India were depressed. Thus the burden of the factors' letters is the want of money and financial pressure. Perhaps the grim determination of the servants of the company to stick to their posts in the face of many discouragements is a greater testimony to the national character than the successes won during easier times. Like its predecessors, this volume gives us many glimpses of human nature. As for instance when President Breton writes that the circulation of base money by the agents of Courteen's Association was a national disgrace; or the indignation of the staff at 'the damned apostasy' of a factor who turned Muhammadan; or again when the *Farewell* arrived with the company's letters 'but not one dropp refreshing in this time of missery, when the least would have bine very acceptable and comfortable unto us to have washed our heavie harts.'

W. R. SCOTT.

THE ROYAL STEWARTS. By T. F. Henderson. Pp. x, 590. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1914. 16s. net.

ALTHOUGH an oft told tale, we have here a reliable account of the Stewart line of Kings of Scotland, England and Ireland. Rightly casting aside the legendary descent from Banquo, the writer follows Dr. Round in tracing their origin to Dol in Brittany before their elevation to the office of High Steward (ought this not to be the Scottish word Stewart, whence 'Stewartry,' e.g. Kirkcudbright and Orkney and Zetland?) of Scotland. The crux of the marriage of Robert II. to Elizabeth Muir is explained, and the writer

holds that it was a real marriage and that her children's title to the crown was not parliamentary alone. That it was doubtful is however shown by his enumeration of the constant intrigues of her successor's descendants.

Mr. Henderson's account of the early Jameses is good, and that of Mary Queen of Scots is, as one would expect, but little biassed in favour of that Queen's innocence. Her thralldom under Bothwell he considers the result of her passion for him, and he uses 'the casket letters' as proof. He makes a strong statement when, in summing up her career, he writes, 'Except indirectly, she exerted absolutely no influence on the events of her times,' which is strange when descriptive of this 'daughter of debate.' Her son James VI. is on the other hand more favourably regarded by him, and the death of Charles I. is characterised as 'a mere assassination.' The political ability of Charles II. is adequately dealt with, and a naturally pathetic account of the later Stewarts after their fall ends the book. It is noted that Henry IX., the king *de jure* only, and known as Cardinal of York, the last of his line, attained a far greater age than any of the kings *de facto* who were his ancestors.

The book bears some traces of hasty compilation. To mention a few instances of this. Lady Anne de la Pole is misnamed Lady Anne Suffolk. On page 111 we read that Francis, 5th Earl of Bothwell, was son of King James V., instead of grandson, a mistake repeated (though there he is called 'James') in the tabular pedigree at the end. 'Salm-Kynberg' on page 531 should read Salm-Kyrbourg.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

ROMAN BRITAIN IN 1913. The British Academy Supplemental Papers II. By Professor F. Haverfield. Pp. 58. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. Oxford: University Press. 1914. 2s. 6d. net.

STUDENTS of Roman Britain will welcome Professor Haverfield's promise to publish each year a review of the work done in this subject. The first instalment has appeared and is of the greatest interest.

Two things in it are the more important for being new. Professor Haverfield edits the Roman inscriptions found in Britain during the year, providing a valuable continuation to the last number of the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, in which he brought the record of our inscriptions down to the end of 1912. He also gives a list for 1913 of books and articles that relate to Roman Britain, indicating their value as well as their scope.

A sketch is added of the year's excavations, including his own explorations (with Dr. George Macdonald) at Ythan Wells in Aberdeenshire, Dr. Macdonald's skilful work along the Antonine Wall, the Glasgow Society's excavations at Balmuildy and the recent find of coins in Galloway. Summaries of this kind are already given by other writers, but none employs the critical method of Professor Haverfield, or uses the new material for historical reconstruction with the same authority. It is, of course, inevitable that such a sketch, since it is history in the making, should provoke questions which it has no room to anticipate and answer within its narrow compass. Thus, one wonders what is the very definite evidence Professor Haverfield has to go upon when he presents the view

that 'the Romans did not advance seriously north of lat. 54° till Agricola' as so certain that it enables us 'to revise our dating of Samian' and override the analogy of German sites. And Professor Haverfield, by the way, is not just in ascribing to Déchelette the view that the carinated bowl had disappeared before A.D. 70.

This publication, besides presenting new documents important for the history of the province, is itself an interesting document for the history of Romano-British studies. The history of such studies in recent years, when it is written, will be largely a record of the activity of Professor Haverfield. Of the work that is now being done in Britain in this subject most is more or less directly originated by him, much of it he assists to organize and direct, and all of it he periodically reviews, coordinates and (one must add) sits in judgment upon, castigating what he disapproves in trenchant English or Latin. It might perhaps be said that Professor Haverfield's preoccupation with this corrective function tends a little to warp the form in which he presents his own historical reconstructions, but there is no doubt that his criticism has been salutary for other people; he has disencumbered the subject of a mass of ineptitude with which it was long overlaid. In his present review Professor Haverfield uses the lash but little—a sign, let us hope, that he is raising Roman studies in this country to the level of his own approval. Yet he might well have taken more severely to task a book recently published with the authority of the Cambridge Press.

S. N. MILLER.

DET ARNAMAGNÆANSKE HAANDSKRIFT. 81A fol. (Skalholtsbok yngsta). Edited by A. Kjær. Pp. 223. 8vo. Kristiania: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri. 1911.

EIRSPENNILL. AM. 47 fol. Edited by Finnur Jonsson. Pp. 128. 8vo. Kristiania: Julius Thomtes Boktrykkeri. 1913.

ÆLDRE NORSKE SPROGMINDER. Edited by Torleiv Hannaas. Pp. viii, 70. 8vo. Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søn. 1911.

THESE are further issues by the Norwegian Historical Manuscript Commission, and fully sustain the reputation of the series for the scrupulous care with which the original sources of Norwegian history in the Old Northern (or 'Icelandic') tongue are now being collated and revised by competent scholars, Norwegian and Icelandic. The first of these publications contains the continuation of the *Boglunga Sagas* and the *Saga of Hakon Hakonson*, with A. Kjær as editor. The second gives the *Sagas of several Norwegian kings*, edited by Finn Jonsson; while the third is a collection of old words, interesting to the student of comparative philology, from *Robyggjelaget* district, compiled and edited by Torleiv Hannaas.

The *Sagas* here rendered contain not only passing references to the Norwegian colonies of Shetland and Orkney, but also present picturesque accounts of well-known events in English and Scottish history. Such are the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066, when King Harald Hadrada was defeated and lost his life in his struggle with Harald Godwinson, the last of the Saxon kings of England, on behalf of Earl Tostig, the rebel brother of the

latter ; the conquest of England by William the Bastard ; and the expedition of King Magnus Barefoot to Scotland in 1093 (or 1098), when he secured for Norway the promontory of Cantyre by the device of having his ship dragged across the isthmus at Tarbert. These independent narrations have been recognised as possessing a significance and value which cannot be ignored by British historians.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

HISTOIRE DE L'HISTORIOGRAPHIE MODERNE. Traduit de l'Allemand par Emile Jeanmaire (avec notes et additions de l'Auteur). Par Ed. Fueter. Pp. vii, 785. 8vo. Paris : Librairie Félix Alcan. 1914. 18 fr.

FOR a general view of 'the history of written histories,' there is no better book than this. The author has kept himself within limits which preclude the notice of writers not expressly historians, and the result is an incompleteness which deteriorates from the value of a work of this kind ; the volume cannot be regarded as final. The opening chapters on the Italian Humanists, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and their successors, are excellent, so also the account of the romantic narrative and the doctrine of local colour ; though Sir Walter Scott's contributions to this phase of historical writing should have received more attention. In most cases the criticisms are just, but not the summary of Carlyle's achievements as an historian. His faith in hero-worship is condemned as leading to concentration on the individual and neglect of political and social phenomena. To state that Carlyle failed in biography through lack of insight into personality is as much in discordance with facts as to say that 'he has enriched historiography with scarcely a single new idea.' The work, however, is full of interest and suggestion, while the translation itself is of an unusually high standard.

J. G. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

SOME ACCOUNTS OF THE BEWCASTLE CROSS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1607 AND 1861. Reprinted and annotated by Albert Stanburrough Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. Yale Studies in English, No. 50. Pp. vi, 148, with numerous Illustrations. 8vo. New York : Henry Holt and Company, 1914. \$1.50.

FOR the past three centuries the monolith in the churchyard of Bewcastle on the English Border has been a source of curiosity and speculation not only to native antiquaries but to scholars in many lands. In recent years, chiefly by reason of the studies of Professor Cook, much attention has been bestowed on this and the kindred monument at Ruthwell, and quite a little crop of literature is springing up in discussion of their antiquity and object. Professor Cook has been long interested in the two Border crosses, his first publication thereon dating so far back as 1890. When his book on 'The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses' (Yale University Press, 1912) appeared two years ago, in which he maintains that both monuments had their origin in the twelfth century, his conclusions were not generally accepted, and several champions went into the arena to contend with him. In furtherance of his views he has, in the volume before us, reprinted in

chronological order the accounts of all his predecessors who have discussed the Bewcastle Cross from 1607 to 1861. The supplementary note on p. 148 is clearly an afterthought, for the account of Reginald Bainbrigg, the Appleby schoolmaster, there printed as made to Camden about 1601, should have taken first place. It appears to be the first reference to the famous monument.

We are informed by the author that the general tendency of these old accounts goes to support his own views. But does the support of these old writers amount to much? Great names are of less consequence to us at the present day than convincing arguments. It is doubtful whether the present generation will be much influenced in favour of a twelfth century origin of the Bewcastle Cross from the mere fact that the earliest commentators ascribed the monument to that period. The author's contention will have to be judged by the arguments he uses and not by the *obiter dicta* of his predecessors. Indeed, if an estimation of authorities be allowed, our prejudices go with the later writers, for the opinions of those who preceded them must have been weighed and rejected by them. For this reason the views of Haigh or Maughan of the past generation seem more worthy of consideration than those of Roscarrock and Camden some centuries before. On the other hand the publication has a distinct usefulness: those of us who have not ready access to a good library are enabled by Professor Cook's industry to trace the history of antiquarian speculation on the date and intention of the monument.

The most valuable part of the compilation is, in our opinion, an appendix of notes (pp. 127-148) in which the author displays his well-known learning and critical judgment. The student will probably give more heed to these notes than either to the letterpress of the old accounts or to the fanciful pictures of the monument by which they are embellished.

JAMES WILSON.

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY. Second Series. Vol. I. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, Secretary. Pp. vi, 158. Demy 8vo. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. 12s. 6d.

THIS small volume is a reprint of the report and papers of the first and second meetings of the society in its reorganized form. These cover only two years of its history, 1906 and 1907, but they prove that much good work in ecclesiastical research has been done.

The President, Dr. Williston Walker of Yale University, contributes two papers. The first is a careful and well-informed address on *The Current Outlook in Church History*, which deals with ecclesiastical events and literature during the year 1907; while the second is an account of the forms of worship used in certain American Churches. Perhaps the most interesting of the remaining papers is Mr. Corwin's *Recent Researches in Holland and the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*.

Mr. Preble's translation of Einhard's Letters, which is added to this reprint, increases its interest for the ordinary reader.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND GREATER BRITAIN. By Arthur Lyon Cross, Ph.D. Pp. xiv, 1165. With 13 Maps. Demy 8vo. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

THE compression of the history of two thousand years into little more than one thousand pages leaves scant room for brilliant disquisition or vivid narrative, but it would be difficult to give the mere facts of history more completely, or in more pregnant and telling sentences, than is done by Professor Cross. As a guide to the student in a course of history it could hardly be surpassed. It is eminently impartial. In the account of Charles I. there is nothing to which Clarendon could take exception, while Milton could maintain that it fully justified the case of the Roundheads. No Englishman could be hurt by the accounts of the War of Independence, of the War of 1812, or of the Alabama dispute. A follower of Mr. Gladstone may think that his foreign policy is unduly depreciated, no mention being made of the treaty by which Great Britain prevented the invasion of Belgium by either France or Prussia in 1870, but he will be consoled by the analysis of the career of his brilliant antagonist.

Again, the Boers are said to have been arming ever since the Jameson Raid. They had in fact been arming ever since Majuba Hill. A great deal is made, apparently in a most friendly spirit, of the rise of Imperialism in these latter years, but no distinction is drawn between the Imperialism which strives to make the Empire one by community of feeling, by the consciousness of blood relationship, by the joint inheritance of British liberty, and that Imperialism which would create factitious bonds of self-interest in order to increase the power of the Mother Country over its dependencies. However, a partisan is always apt to complain of the attitude of an impartial writer, and to that character Dr. Cross is so far entitled that he does not indicate his own sentiments on such burning questions as the Home Rule Bill and the House of Lords. Neither side could complain of his statement of the case, and yet this is not colourless, but gives tersely and forcibly the views of both sides. The book also treats in a masterly fashion the growth of the Common Law in England. The lists of authors to be read in connection with the several chapters are full and discriminative, and we welcome this work as one of the most valuable books of reference on English history from the earliest times to May of the present year.

H. A. NESBITT.

GEORGE THE THIRD AND CHARLES FOX, THE CONCLUDING PART OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., O.M. Vol. II. Pp. xii, 473. With Map. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 7s. 6d. net.

AFTER an interval of two years, Sir George Trevelyan has produced the second volume of his George III. and Charles Fox. It is quite worthy of its predecessor, and forms most interesting reading from beginning to end. As in the former part of this work noticed in this *Review* (*S.H.R.* ix. 313), the reader flits between England and America, and from the luxury of Brook's Club to the hardships of the Carolina campaign. The War itself drags its

weary way throughout the volume. It would appear that Lord North's Government adopted the methods more recently followed by the Germans, concealing the true state of affairs from the public, and publishing all manner of false news. But this is not a policy which can be successful for long. We note as of particular interest the account of the state of Ireland, and that of the English and Scottish Parliamentary representation towards the end of the eighteenth century.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

ESSAI SUR LES ORIGINES DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES. Par D. Pasquet. Pp. 271. 8vo. Paris : Armand Colin. 1914.

IN constitutional history as elsewhere the present age insists on a revaluation of hitherto accepted values. The well-known series of dates from 1213 to 1295 stressed by Bishop Stubbs as of prime importance in the application of the representative principle to the composition of the national Parliament and accepted by historians without question for half a century, has recently been submitted to searching examination by critics, American, French, and German, as well as English. The value of the stages represented by some of these dates has been markedly lowered, while new stages and dates, particularly the Parliament of 1275, have been allowed to share honours previously monopolised. No final concord is yet in sight ; but one main result of the trend of recent discussions as to the origin of our representative chamber, as in other cases of institutional genesis, would seem to point to lengthened periods of slow, unconscious development, rather than to the calculated action of individual statesmen, deliberately moulding the future at specified dates that may be singled out and reckoned as crucial stages of development.

The exact year when the House of Commons first came into existence, and the exact purpose for which town and county representatives were first invited to Parliament, are subjects of debates that may well prove endless, for the ambiguous language of such questions suggests widely differing problems to different minds. Do we mean by the 'origin' the first appearance of representatives of one isolated shire or borough at a central Council for one occasion only ? or do we mean rather the assembling together of representatives of all counties and towns on a permanent basis ? Does the 'origin' date from the first moment when such representatives shared in any one function, however humble, of the central Parliament ? or does it imply a full and equal participation in every one of its varied forms of activity ? Further complications arise from any attempt to define what extent of delegated powers entitle the recipients to the name of 'representatives,' or what essentials a council must have to warrant its claim to be reckoned as a full Parliament. In passing from the question of date to the object of the earliest summons, all these difficulties reappear in a form only more acute.

Interest in these subtleties has been stimulated by the recent discovery by Mr. Jenkinson of important writs of 1275, while notable contributions have been made to the discussion of the whole subject by, among others, Dr. Riess of Berlin and Prof. G. B. Adams of Yale. The time seems ripe

for a full, temperate, and well-informed treatise on the whole subject; and this task has now been performed by Mons. Pasquet in a book of admirable tone and temper, worthy of all praise. While there is nothing in his conclusions that is actually of startling originality, he has displayed, in covering the familiar ground anew, all the fine qualities that we confidently expect from the highest type of French historical scholarship—exhaustive examination of available evidence, impartiality and balanced judgment in drawing conclusions, and a literary presentment that makes reading a pleasure.

It would be an injustice to Mons. Pasquet to attempt an analysis of his conclusions in the limited space at our disposal; and this is the less necessary, as the book is one which every person interested in the subject will be wise to read for himself. There are likely to be differences of opinion as to the extent to which our author's researches compel a revised estimate of Dr. Stubbs' widely accepted theories regarding the aims and motives of Edward I. in broadening the basis of Parliament, and of the relations of that King's later to his earlier Parliaments; but there seems no room for doubt that Mons. Pasquet has made possible a substantial advance towards a better understanding of the important problems connected with the origin of the House of Commons.

Some of Mons. Pasquet's readers may be disappointed that he has not discussed the question of the origin of the franchise or the effect of the series of Lancastrian statutes upon the procedure to be followed at the county courts for the appointment of representatives; but perhaps that may follow in due course as a sequel to the present treatise. WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

ELIZABETH AND HENRY IV. Being a Short Study in Anglo-French Relations, 1589-1603. (Arnold Prize Essay, 1914.) By J. B. Black, B.A., Lecturer in History, University of Glasgow. Pp. viii, 202. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1914.

IN his admirable essay Mr. Black relates freshly and originally, and with delightful clearness, the course of Anglo-French diplomacy in the last fifteen years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the causes which prepared the way for the reversal of her statecraft by her successor. His book is chiefly the fruit of personal research in the State Papers in the archives of this country and of France. There he has found material hitherto little examined. Mr. Black and Professor Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania (whose name, by the way, Mr. Black inadvertently misspells), appear to have been simultaneously attracted to this hitherto comparatively neglected moment in English history. Mr. Black's essay was completed before the publication, a few months ago, of Professor Cheyney's brilliant first volume, and the two volumes, alike engaging, are by no means competitive, but complementary. Mr. Black's work is devoted to Anglo-French affairs, and to the diplomatic rather than the military aspect of these, the personal conflict of wits between Henry and Elizabeth, each professing affection but moved by interest only—Henry in sore need, Elizabeth giving grudgingly, haltingly, with meanness and vacillation, but with the intensest determination for England's safety.

Johnston : Orkney and Shetland Records 203

A brief introduction sketches the situation at the beginning of the period : France, reduced to bankruptcy and impotence by her wars of religion ; Spain, powerful and aggressive ; the defence of English and European liberty falling to England and Elizabeth. Chapter II. deals with the expeditions to Brittany and Normandy, Henry IV. having succeeded to a kingdom a great part of which he had still to conquer, Elizabeth helping him sparingly, her main object to drive and keep the Spaniards from a footing on the French coasts, whence they could menace England, and ever desiring to hold a French seaport as a doorway for her troops and a security for Henry's debt to her. In Chapter III. Henry has found Paris to be 'worth a mass,' has abjured Protestantism, and rules an almost united France. He makes peace with Spain, and Elizabeth accuses him of that ingratitude which men, she writes, have justly named the sin against the Holy Ghost. England was in danger of isolation. The final chapter shows her holding the command of the sea and arresting the designs of Spain ; and, in Mr. Black's words, 'the principles of maritime law being hammered out anew.'

His work is an original, solid and important contribution to English historical study.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND RECORDS. Collected and edited by Alfred W. Johnston and Amy Johnston, with Introduction and Index by Alfred W. Johnston. Vol. I. 8vo. Pp. lxx, 389. London : Printed for the Viking Society, University of London, King's College. 1907-1913. 31s. 6d. net.

WHAT was found part by part worthy of warm welcome (*S.H.R.* iv. 342, vi. 434, vii. 204, viii. 316, xi. 329) merits equal commendation when assembled—if not commendation greater rather than equal in the sense that the whole is in virtue of its new unity so much better than the unassembled parts. Students of the Viking time (and the epoch is not yet ended), whether attracted by its ever fresh breath of the isles and the sea and its memories of galleys and jarls and shipboard and seaboard battles, or by its interest in the annals of peaceful penetration and Norse settlement east and north and west, will be right glad to have this dumpy book of charters, extracts from chronicle, documents of law-process, conveyancing deeds and sasines, *et hoc genus omne*, ranging in date from 1056 until 1634. It is sure of its place as a work of reference not merely for the texts it presents but also for its apparatus of commentary, comprising a very considerable introduction, classified and dated abstracts of the contents, an elaborate index of words and subjects rich in explanations of obscure words of law and local custom, and finally a complete index of places, persons (with each reference dated), and saints' days.

Thus one of the very best equipped collections of documents ever put together stands to the credit of Mr. and Mrs. Johnston and the Viking Society. A most cordial tribute is paid at the end of the introduction to the late David Balfour, to Archdeacon Craven, and to Gilbert Goudie, whose antecedent studies so well prepared the ground for the Orcadian cartulary, of which this is the first, but self-contained, independent, and

complete volume. 'To these three scholars, in grateful acknowledgment of their inspiration and leading, this Introduction is dedicated.' A handsome spirit reveals itself in this loyal expression of fellowship and solidarity in study among the modern vikings. More direct acknowledgments are made to Absolon Taranger for suggestions and criticisms, to Ión Stefánsson for translations and notes, and to the Rev. Henry Paton for text and translations of numerous documents. The Viking Society deserves every encouragement towards that second volume, in which a continuing series of writs may be accompanied by further introductory studies of the sociological evidence in which the material abounds.

Alongside this Viking landmark of charter-lore there must now be placed the—just issued—Scottish History Society publication, the *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, edited by Mr. J. Storer Clouston. The introduction calls for separate review hereafter as the enunciation of a most important proposition for the reconstruction of Orkney constitutional history based on the quartering of the islands and the grouped triples of parishes—features of far reach in their parallel to the data of Iceland and the Isle of Man. These very attractive new lines of inductive synthesis on Norse colonial method appear to have sprung in part from the discussion of the much-vexed 'roithman,' whose significance has made him the parent of fruitful interpretations of institutional evolution. Mr. Johnston and Mr. Clouston are instructive critics of each other at many opposing points, but their conjunction for the true purposes of history is only one degree less marked when they agree than when they differ. They have advanced the Isles into the front of historical progress.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE WHIG PARTY IN THE SOUTH. By Arthur Charles Cole, Ph.D. Pp. xii, 392, with seven Maps. Crown 8vo. Washington: American Historical Association. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. 6s. 6d. net.

THIS book was the Justin Winsor Prize Essay in American History for 1912. The National Whig party rose from 1830 to 1835, and, the writer says, can truly be regarded as the logical successor of the old Federalist and National Republican parties. The book is very well written, and its data, down to 1861, are vouched for in an exhaustive bibliography.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES: ITS HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS. By Gaillard Hunt, Litt.D., LL.D. Pp. x, 459. Demy 8vo. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. 10s. net.

In this monograph the author leads up well to the creation of the Department in 1789, its formation, development, and functions, and recounts the history of its constitution, law, diplomatic and consular service, as well as its treaties, of which, of course, extradition is one. This well-constructed book arose from a series of articles in the *American Journal of International Law*.

MacKay : History of Province of Cat 205

STUDIES IN TAXATION UNDER JOHN AND HENRY III. Yale Historical Publications. By Sidney Knox Mitchell. Pp. xv, 407. Demy 8vo. New Haven : Yale University Press. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. 8s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR MITCHELL has collected a great deal of material which students of the thirteenth century will find useful. His method of presenting his facts has made it impossible for him to write a distinguished or even a significant book. An exhaustive chronological study of the various forms of taxation is followed by a chapter of conclusions which are by no means novel. Mr. Mitchell follows his colleague and adviser, Professor Adams, in regarding all taxation as feudal, and in emphasising the importance of the great Council, but the body of his researches is only indirectly concerned with these views. His main conclusion, that later taxation developed from the taxes on property as a whole and not from the feudal taxes proper, has been accepted by all historians. Mr. Mitchell, however, unlike his predecessors, pays very little attention to what is called indirect taxation, which was by no means negligible in the thirteenth century, and deserves elucidation.

The main interest of the book lies in the careful discussion of the scutage and the fine paid for a dispensation from military service ; unfortunately, though the author gives much information, and shows the kind of material which we may expect from the unpublished Exchequer Memoranda Rolls and the Scutage Rolls, he is unable to reach very definite conclusions upon the distinction between scutage and the fine. In spite of the frequent summaries and suggestions, the book will be of most value as a storehouse of facts.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF CAT (CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND) FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1615. By the late Angus MacKay, M.A. Edited by the Rev. D. Beaton, Wick. Pp. xvi, 231. With Frontispiece of Author. 4to. Wick : Peter Reid & Co. Ltd. 1914. 10s. 6d. net.

THE author of this book unfortunately died before it was published and it was Mr. Beaton who saw it through the press. He, however, incorporated in it some notes by other antiquaries from whom Mr. MacKay had sought information, and we thus get a pretty complete history of the province, which includes the counties of Caithness and Sutherland. A chapter which describes the early Celtic saints in this Pictish northland and their superseding by the Roman Church gives food for thought. Lord Reid in his short foreword draws our attention to the chapters on the Norse conquest and the clan feuds. The Northmen spread over the northern and flat part of the province and gradually cut it off from the mountainous and Celtic south. We read of many fights with the Islanders both in Orkney and in the West. There was also much internecine fighting between M'Kays, Sinclairs, Gordons, Keiths, Gunns, and Sutherlands, and these feuds are recorded with much care. The author brings his work down to 1615, and those who read it will find it an addition to our historical knowledge of the extreme north.

THE PARTITION OF EUROPE. A Textbook of European History. 1715-1815. By Philip Guedalla. Pp. vii, 311, with seven Maps. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1914. 4s. 6d.

THE Peace of Utrecht gave a new basis of settlement to Western Europe by terminating the war of the Spanish succession. The signatories were France, Spain, England, Holland, the Empire, Prussia, Savoy, and Portugal. England, now Hanoverian, gained much by it. The settlement, however, was ended by the Spanish war with England in 1738, by which time the rise of Russia under Peter the Great had introduced a new great Power, not a signatory, into the European family. To trace the rise and fall of the Powers and the changes of their boundaries during the next hundred years is the scope of this book. The words describing the policy of Frederick the Great of Prussia during his invasion of Austria and Saxony might *mutatis mutandis* be applied to the present situation between Germany and Belgium, which shows the inspiration of the German *welt-politik*, and the Rise of Prussia is singularly well described. The decay of France under Louis XV. and the awakening under the Revolution is also exhibited in an excellent manner, in contrast to the British loss of the American colonies and with the recovery of power, particularly on the sea, under George III. *Finis Poloniae* comes in this book. So does the degradation of Italy until the rise of Napoleon—the spiritual son of the French Revolution—again gave it an ideal. The work deals with the period of monarchy in Europe, and is exceedingly well constructed and well written. One misprint should be corrected. On page 70 Peter II. of Russia should not be described as son of Catherine I., but as her step-grandson, a mistake which does not occur, however, in the tabular pedigree at the end.

LIFE OF REVERDY JOHNSON. By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph.D., LL.B. Pp. v, 284, with Portrait. Demy 8vo. Baltimore: The Norman Remington Co. 1914. \$2.50 net.

REVERDY JOHNSON was born in 1796, and was admitted to the American Bar in 1816 at the age of twenty. He was in the Senate during the War (1863-65), was Minister to England (1868-69), and died in 1876, the undisputed head of the American Bar and leading lawyer of the United States. His life, chiefly in its political aspects, is well told here, and there are many excellent extracts from his brilliant speeches. He opposed Woman Suffrage on the ground that woman 'is intended to be delicate. She is intended to soften the asperities and roughness of the male sex.' A sentiment surely of Victorian wording.

Somehow Bannockburn suddenly receded into a past almost inconceivably archaic, negligible and inconsequent. The living crisis which came upon us just after our Midsummer celebrations of the sixcentenary, killed for the time the battle of long ago. The intense world-grapple, with ourselves in the thick of it, has so engrossed our minds that it will be difficult to bring them back to the previous pitch. Nevertheless the contributions of 1914 to the historical problems of Bannockburn are a register of the

keenness with which the minor patriotism, Scots or English, concerned itself with an ancient international episode, until the major patriotism of Britain's hour of need and danger made even mimic strife out of keeping with a united imperial spirit. When, however, we hang the trumpet on the wall again, we shall gladly take down from the shelf the 'Centenary Monograph' which an accomplished student of the medieval army system has devoted to the subject—*Bannockburn*, by John E. Morris. (Pp. viii 107. 4to. Cambridge University Press, 1914, price 5s. net.) Recent disquisitions turn on two main questions, both of them raised by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie's essay; first, whether the site was on the high ground above St. Ninians or on the Carse below, and second, whether the Scots did not take the offensive in the battle. The counsel of the critics is divided on these matters and the site has been discussed with some animation. It may be useful to refer specifically to Sir Herbert Maxwell's reply to the case for the Carse (*S.H.R.* xi. 233), as well as to mention the article in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 18 June, the series of special 'Saturday' papers in the *Glasgow Herald* during May and June, and the article by the Rev. Thomas Miller on the Site of the New Park in relation to the Battle (*S.H.R.* xii. 60). Professor Tout (*S.H.R.* xi. 93) reviewing Mr. Mackenzie may be regarded as accepting his main contention, and the same may be said of Dr. Morris who (1) by skilful analysis reduces the English army to 17,500, (2) shews the part that the Lord Ordainers had in Bruce's victory, (3) lays emphasis on the 'mud' prominent in chronicle as a concomitant of the field of battle, and (4) accredits the issue to 'the clever handling of the whole army of foot and light horse by a great tactician.' Dr. Morris has by this excursion across the border earned hearty welcome here. His plates shewing the landscape are beautifully distinct and faithful.

A handbook for the sexcentenary is Mr. John E. Shearer's *The Site of the Battle of Bannockburn; the Reputed Sites and the Mythical Carse Site Renewed*. (Pp. 30, 8vo, with plans and illustrations. Stirling: R. S. Shearer & Son, 1914, 1s. net.) The title page is enough to reveal the fact that the author vehemently disagrees with Mr. Mackenzie.

Mr. Hugh E. Seebohm has performed a service to historians in publishing a series of unfinished essays by his father, the late Mr. Frederic Seebohm (*Customary Acres and their Historical Importance*. Pp. xiii, 274. With Maps and Diagrams. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 12s. 6d. net). These studies are valuable mainly in their bearing on early systems of land measurement and agriculture, and on the growth of the manorial system; and they form a sequel to the author's earlier and now classical works. Keen regrets will be felt that Mr. Frederic Seebohm did not live to formulate his own conclusions from the mass of evidence here embodied; for his theories have invariably proved stimulating in a high degree—not least to those who disagreed with them most completely. It is hardly too much to say that his epoch-making work on *The Early English Community* (which might be described, not without an element of truth, as 'completely right in its facts and completely wrong in its theories') was the cause of a complete restatement of the entire problem of manorial

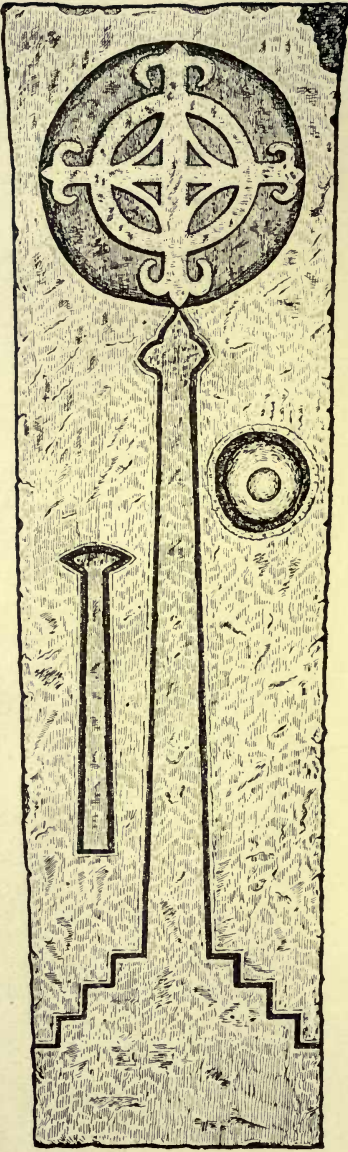
origins, and is responsible, through the opposition called forth by its carefully reasoned arguments, for the remarkable advance in the knowledge of institutional and economic origins that has been made in the last twenty years. Point and direction were given to the researches of Professor Maitland and Professor Vinogradoff by the bold challenge thrown out by Mr. Seebohm. These posthumous studies will be gratefully welcomed.

Commercial Politics (1837-1856), by R. H. Gretton (pp. viii, 119. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914, 1s. net) adds to Bell's English History Source Books a most interesting representative collection of extracts from political literature and correspondence, covering among its themes Ireland, the Chartists, the Palmerston crisis, and the Crimea. On the last-named subject there is a telling exposure of defective transport and commissariat in the British contingent.

A Constitutional History of England, by George Guest (pp. xii, 240, with many illustrations. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1914, 1s 6d.) is a clearly written history for younger students with many well-chosen illustrations and portraits.

Ideas of Political Representation in Parliament, 1660-1832, by Philip Arnold Gibbons (pp. vi, 56. Crown 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1914, 1s. 6d. net), being the Gladstone Essay, 1914, may be noted for its collocation of interpretations of the position of a member of parliament. Triton among the minnows is the Whig rendering, for which Burke made his famous stand, that the M.P. was not a mere mandatory or delegate, but a member for the nation. Mr. Gibbons appends a short list of authorities, which his promising and judicious essay shows to be well worth expansion by future studies.

In his *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (Pp. 380. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. 15s. net) Professor Roland J. Usher has produced an original and truly admirable contribution to ecclesiastical and constitutional history. The skill with which he threads his way through delicate and tangled problems of development and unravels subtle changes and undercurrents of political thought and emphasis is worthy of high praise. The space at our disposal does not allow of a detailed estimate, and therefore we must content ourselves with an emphatic commendation. The only reservation (and even that is made with hesitation) is that Professor Usher to some extent holds a brief for the High Commission; but his treatment is always fair and large-minded, and he takes care to furnish the evidence on which each reader may found conclusions for himself. The present reviewer's strongest feeling on perusal of this treatise was that as the interest in this long-neglected subject was likely to be confined to a limited circle of readers, the author might not reap the reward to which his fine scholarship made so strong a claim. Professor Usher is not likely, however, to complain of the fortunes of war, and may take consolation, on the principle of averages, that since the volume under review appeared, his earlier work on *Pan-Germanism* has made his name familiar to readers throughout the civilised world.



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INCHES



'+ SIGILL' BERNARDI PVGILIS'

GRAVE-SLAB AT KILBURN, YORKSHIRE

Mr. David Jayne Hill, formerly Ambassador at Berlin for the United States of America, deserves to be heartily congratulated on his *Diplomacy of the Age of Absolutism* (pp. xxvi, 706, with Maps and Tables. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1914. 21s. net). This appears, after an interval of eight years, as a third volume of *A History of European Diplomacy*, the ambitious scheme of which is thus advanced substantially towards completion. The new volume, covering the crowded century and a quarter that separate the Peace of Westphalia from the year 1775, fully maintains the author's reputation for thoroughness, accuracy, and good judgment, and adheres strictly to the scheme originally outlined in the first volume, and favourably commented on in this *Review* in a notice of the second volume (*S.H.R.* v. 123, 4). As in former volumes, the apparatus is excellent, and consists of maps, tables, and a comprehensive index.

English History in Contemporary Poetry: No. V. *The Eighteenth Century*, by Miss C. L. Thomson (pp. 68. Demy 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1914, 1s. net), begins with Prior, goes on with Swift and Pope, and ends with Burns, illustrating, the while, the unstated proposition that contemporary political verse requires something little short of miracle to make it poetry. But the fact is that for even master poets, after they are a century dead, the historical aspect of their poetry has almost invariably become its chief interest. There are few pleasanter ways of studying history than in reviewing its literary reflection in such an anthological series as that of which the work under notice is the latest instalment.

Mr. William Brown, well known among antiquaries of North England as secretary of the Surtees Society, sends a reprint of an article on 'Trial by Combat,' contributed by him to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxiii. It adds to the vouchers of the duel as a juristic institution the seal of one Bernard, a miller of Thirsk, Yorkshire, circa A.D. 1190, inscribed SIGILL' BERNARDI PUGILIS, and bearing as his cognizance a pick-headed baton and an oblong buckler, the ensigns of his business as a champion. Also there is given a sketch of an anonymous grave slab at Kilburn, near Thirsk, showing a similar baton on one side of a foliated cross and on the other a circular buckler. Besides, Mr. Brown prints the contract, dated 1293, by which Roger de Meauton was engaged as champion for the Chapter of Southwell, in Yorkshire. This valuable little essay contains good matter for details of the duel in law. We are enabled by favour of Mr. Brown and his editor to reproduce the pictures of the seal and the grave slab.

The Study of Modern History in Great Britain, from the Proceedings of the British Academy, by Professor C. H. Firth (pp. 11, 8vo. Oxford University Press, 6d. net), reviews the position of the history schools, and suggests an improved organisation of archives, with amended plans of calendaring.

Africa in Transformation, by Rev. Norman Maclean (pp. xii, 263, with Illustrations and Plan. Demy 8vo. London: James Nisbet & Co., 5s. net), gives a most interesting descriptive and historical account of Africa as seen from the mission fields. The illustrations are numerous and good.

Mr. Geoffrey A. Dunlop has privately reprinted (from *Modern Philology*, July, 1914) a paper on 'The Sources of the Idyls of Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye' (fl. 1535-1607), in which, besides evidence of the debt of the whole period to Tasso, there are incidental indications of hitherto undiscovered further borrowings by Drummond. In that gorgeous epoch there was a sort of capital of translations with a currency, gradually getting debased, of poetical conceits.

In *Oxford Pamphlets*, 1914, the Oxford Press has issued, at the price of a penny to threepence each, a series of some twenty or more short papers on aspects of the war, including its political and social relations. The authors include Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Valentine Chirol, Professor Egerton, and Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher. These papers are of unusual interest and value.

In his *Burgage Tenure in Mediaeval England*, Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XX. (pp. ix, 234. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford: University Press. 1914. 8s. 6d. net), Dr. Morley de Wolf Hemmeon has given us a business-like and useful little book on the feudal incidents, characteristics, and accompaniments of burgage tenure in England, and an appendix treating (by way of comparison) of urban tenure in Germany. This book, which forms a helpful complement to Mr. Ballard's recent work on *English Borough Charters*, is fortified by copious footnotes, which vouch for its accuracy and witness to the author's patient scholarship. He rightly, in spite of high authority, refuses to accept burgage tenure as a mere variety of socage: knowledge of the Scottish evidence would fortify him in this opinion. He seems, however, on less sure ground in refusing the description of 'escheat' to the return of a tenant's holding to his lord on conviction of felony; while he is unduly, indeed absurdly, contemptuous of some of the previous writers from whom he happens to differ, in particular of the late Miss Bateson, whose opinions he seems not to have fully understood. There is a good bibliography and index, and the volume does no discredit to the important series to which it belongs.

Mr. A. M. Mackintosh, continuing the work noticed in *S.H.R.* xi. 443, has issued *Farquharson Genealogies, No. II., Inverey Branch*. (Pp. vi, 91. Post 8vo. Nairn: George Bain, 1914, 7s.) Printing the Brouchdearg MS., Mr. Mackintosh adds extensive genealogical and topographical notes. The principal residence of Farquharson of Inverey was for a time Balmoral, and the frontispiece appropriately reproduces from an old print a view of the old castle which was demolished when Queen Victoria's Balmoral was built.

Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. Archaeological Journal (October) is concerned almost wholly with churches.

Chief contents of the *Old Lore Miscellany* of the Viking Society (October) are extracts from Tongue Presbytery Records (1744-1776), a Memorial on rents of Zetland in 1743, and the conclusion of Mr. W. Johnston's notes

on names and terms in use among the Orkney and Shetland folk. A point which emerges is the large strain of non-Norse people in both groups of islands.

The same society also publishes a further fasciculus (October) of *Caithness and Sutherland Records*, dating from 1422 till 1445. A royal charter to Neil Neleson in 1430 is for the capture of his brother Thomas, the King's rebel.

The Juridical Review for May contained a paper by Mr. W. Roughead on 'The Real Braxfield,' in which good use is made of a contemporary MS. Memoir defensive of that much abused judge. Mr. J. O. Taylor notes some seventeenth century trials for Duelling. In the September issue Sheriff Ferguson sketches the career of James Ferguson, the 'amiable and able' Lord Balfour, born 1700, died 1777. Mr. Roughead tells the story of the literary forgeries of 'Antique' Smith and of his conviction for them in 1893.

The Aberdeen Booklover (vol. i. No. 4. D. Wyllie & Son, Aberdeen) traces the story of its publishers' firm. A fine portrait of David Wyllie (1777-1844), who founded the business, is reproduced from an oil painting.

In the *American Historical Review* for July Mr. A. B. White traces from the early thirteenth century the process of royal remits to local bodies for enquiry, action or conference, from which the parliamentary representative system was in part derivative. The expedient had high possibilities, was favourable to concentration, and indubitably made for correct information and government. Mr. Arthur L. Cross convincingly arrays examples of the manifold illustrations of social and legal history to be found in English law reports, more especially in the records of the proceedings of courts of minor criminal jurisdiction. The justice of peace is clearly the great centre of light for information upon the ways that were dark of our predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed the volume of such information is surprising even to one familiar with it in Scotland where, although under different names than Quarter Sessions, corresponding sources of knowledge are fairly enough known and are still far from being exhaustively exploited for historical ends. Mr. E. R. Turner returns to his studies of the Cabinet in England with much new matter, showing how (as the way of things English has usually been) the Cabinet was intimately related to, and yet apart from, ordinary committees of the Privy Council. A collection of letters is printed showing the estimated value of slaves in the United States in 1815, resulting in averages of from about 200 to 300 dollars per head. In some cases a male slave would bring \$550 and a female \$400.

In the October number Dr. C. H. Haskins brings the archives both of England and France under heavy requisition for his valuable work of educing the governmental conditions of England and Normandy respectively under Henry II. in respect of matters such as the administration of justice, feudal practices, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Mr. C. M. Andrews discusses

the history of colonial commerce, and specially American shipping prior to the Declaration of Independence. Mr. E. B. Green dealing with the 'Anglican Outlook' on the colonies in the early eighteenth century exhibits the indecision of the English Church in its double policy of converting the heathen and winning back the dissenters, and its consequent ill-success.

The Caledonian (New York, October) naturally reflects the war; the words, deeds, and portraits of soldiers and sailors are prominent.

In the *Iowa Journal* (October) Mr. Jacob Van der Zee collects a mass of data of interest about the fur trading with the Indians in the Iowa country during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The historical *Bulletin* of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada (October), consists of *The Grange in Canada*, by H. Mitchell. The Grange, founded in 1867, was a somewhat abortive secret society of agriculturists, which has taken deeper root when transplanted to the United States than in Canada.

The *Revue Historique* (Sept.-Oct.), a little behind time because of its printers 'ayant été appelés sous les drapeaux,' devotes a preliminary article to a reply to the German appeal to the civilized world that Germany was the victim of a war imposed upon her by the jealousy of the Triple Entente. The editors of the *Revue* point out that all the known diplomatic texts—English, Russian, Belgian, and French—prove the German statement to be a monstrous perversion, and show that 'the war was wished by Germany, was prepared by her with a perseverance and an absence of scruple truly stupefying, and was declared by her at her own time: it is she who has impressed upon it that character of ferocity which astounds her friends and arouses the indignation of all the world.' In its section devoted to current chronicle a couple of pages are given to notices of several 'young historians who have already fallen for France.'

Articles in this number deal with artisan life in Hesiod's Greece (showing the increased specialization of occupations named by Hesiod as compared with Homer), describe recent publications on Byzantine history, and edit unpublished letters of Sismondi, among them one of some length and of great interest written to Sir James Mackintosh during the Hundred Days. It is dated 29th April, 1815, and endeavours to enlist the sympathies of Mackintosh, as a man of large influence in Great Britain, on the side of Napoleon, in view of the liberal constitutional pledges offered by him after his return from Elba. It maintains that the revolution made by the return was the work of the people and not of the army. Sismondi's wary utterance issued from Paris is obviously inspired by the hope of eliciting certain forces of political opinion in Britain favourable to peace, and bringing them to bear on the counsels of the allied princes then assembled at Vienna.

Communications and Notes

ARCHAIC ENGLISH IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. In my 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross' (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, vol. 17), published in 1901, I referred (pp. 385-7) to the glossator of the St. John in the Lindisfarne Gospels as exhibiting in the closing chapters an archaizing tendency, such as I believed might also be detected in the runic inscription on the Ruthwell Cross. In 'The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses' (published in 1912), a couple of pages (30-32) were devoted to the question of late inscriptions containing early forms. At the close of a paper on 'Layamon's Knowledge of Runic Inscriptions' (*Scottish Hist. Rev.* xi. 375), I spoke of its being 'well known that old English works were still copied and studied in the twelfth century,' referring to Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 11. Here I wish to present certain considerations touching both these points—the transcription of Old English documents as late as the twelfth century and beyond, and the tendency to archaize displayed in certain of these late documents; my references throughout being to Professor John Earle's *Hand-Book to the Land Charters, and other Saxon Documents*, published by the Clarendon Press in 1888.

Various Old English works were continued or copied in the twelfth century, such as the West Saxon Gospels (one a manuscript of the time of Stephen, and another *temp.* Henry II.), a charter of Henry II., 1155 (Earle, pp. 346-8), and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the last entry in which bears date 1154. These works (cf. Paul, *Grundriss der Ger. Philologie*, 1893, 2. 614 ff.) begin to show a resemblance, in various degrees, to Middle English, but a large proportion of the forms are still distinctly recognizable as Old English.

Side by side with these, however, there were documents written in the twelfth, and apparently even as late as the fifteenth century, which retain with considerable exactness the Old English forms. Perhaps the most remarkable of these, if Earle is right in ascribing it to the fifteenth century, is a deed of William the Conqueror's, dated 1068, found in Liber Albus ii. of the Dean and Chapter of Wells (cf. Earle, pp. 430-4). Such a late copy, however, might owe its faithful rendering of the old text merely to extreme carefulness on the part of the scribe, without any real understanding by him of the early language. In a different class seem to be, if Earle is right, the manuscripts of the twelfth century or later which show a sustained effort on the part of the compiler to master the earlier English, and to adhere to its archaic forms, or even introduce forms which seem to him especially archaic, though they may, in fact, be without precedent. On this subject Earle says (pp. cvii-cix):

'The twelfth century offers some remarkable features. . . . Priority of attention to Latin, with a growing neglect of the mother tongue, was the prevailing tendency in the first half of the twelfth century ; but then came a reaction, perhaps only partial and local, of which our best specimens are in a book from Winchester. . . . Here we see that the studious reviser and compiler of the old native muniments has become awake to the significance and characterizing value of the ancient grammar, and he has become a student of Old English composition, which he pursues as diligently as ever he strove to compose sentences in Latin. Consequently we observe all the tokens of a Renaissance of the Mother tongue. . . . The study has manifestly engendered a real taste for the royal style of the old language and a sincere passion to master the charm of it. Moved though we sometimes are to smile at the imagined strength and learned security of this school, there is nevertheless an æsthetic grasp and a conscious magnificence about it which compels admiration. But this recondite scholarship brings with it the ability and the temptation of imposture. . . . The reader who has taken the trouble to acquire an exact grammatical knowledge of the old mother tongue, will find a curious interest in the genuine early forms that here and there peep out through the scholastic text, proving that the elaborator had really originals before him. The Dative case in -a, for example, æfter þære læna. . . . It must not be supposed that the proof of such a revival rests upon the sole evidence of a single book. The same influence is seen, at least so far as orthography is concerned, in a Harley Charter ; . . . for another example of the same school contributed by another manuscript, I would instance K 715, . . . from the manuscript Cotton Claudius A. III. In the next two groups, . . . the standard of the old language is kept up and bears marks of Renaissance ;—and this brings us to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.'

Again, Earle says of the same group of charters (p. 348) :

'It belongs to the latter end of the 12th century. Though varying much in quality, it may be characterized generally as exhibiting a scholastic attention to the ancient forms of the language. The study of old models is sometimes overdone ; there are features in the orthography that can only have been derived from examples older even than the originals themselves. Especially is this to be observed in the frequent substitution of *æ* for plain *e* ; as if the compilers were anxious to be as archaic as possible, and as if they had old Kentish specimens before them. The whole effect of this book is to impress us with the idea (which other writings support) of an Anglosaxon Renaissance at the close of the twelfth century.'

Of a still later set of charters he remarks (pp. 378-9) :

'The eighth group (which largely concerns Berkshire) is from the Chartularies of Abingdon, namely Cott. Claud. B. vi. of the latter part of the twelfth century, and Cott. Claud. C. ix. of the thirteenth. Still some feeble tokens of that scholarly taste which we noticed in the sixth group. Such form at this date affects us somewhat as when we first learn that the staircase to the Hall in Christ Church is a work of the seventeenth century.'

One of these charters, of the sixth group, purporting to date from about

856-8 (Earle, pp. 349-350), has been thus characterized by Kemble, *Saxons in England*, 2. 487: 'It bears marks of forgery in every line, and seems to have been made up out of some history of Æthelwulf's sojourn at Rome.'¹ In another charter, purporting to be of Æthelstan (934), the Latin, 'Ego Æðelstanus, rex et rector totius huius Britanniaë insulæ' (Earle, pp. 355-8), is translated, 'Ic Æþelstan, Ongol-Saxna cyning, and brytænwalda eallæs þyses iglandæs,' the last four words of which are characterized by Green (*Conquest of England*, quoted by Earle, p. 360) as 'an instance of the literary archaism and affectation of time.' Note also the ending *-æs* for *-es*, and compare *-æ* in the following sentence (Earle, p. 367; charter purporting to date from before 991): 'Ic gean Ælfþ[r]æðe minæs hlauordæs medder wuduhamæs æfter minum dæge, and æfter hiræ dege gange hit into Sca Marian stowæ.'

The whole subject is in need of further investigation. Perhaps some reader will take it up, and determine the precise extent and character of this archaizing movement.

Yale University.

ALBERT S. COOK.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND GOLF. The history of the Scottish game which has conquered the world is obscure; the origin of some of the terms used is already lost, and references in literature cannot be called common. I am not aware that any one has collected the references to golf in the works of the greatest man of letters that Scotland produced, Walter Scott. They include one baffling account which to the modern golfer is unintelligible.

Scott shares with Shakespeare a rare eminence in the appreciation of field sports. Shakespeare knew the points of a dog, and was accomplished in the details of hunting the deer and coursing the hare. Dr. Madden has explained this with spirit and admirable humour in *The Diary of Master William Silence*. Scott no less was, on the authority of his little son, the first to see the hare sitting. In these two master minds one finds an unequalled breadth of knowledge concerning alike the cheerful, open-air life of the country, and the learning which makes the sedentary man.

We might expect, then, that Scott, in spite of his lameness, would be familiar with the game of golf and those details of it which are obscure to the outsider. The game, as played some hundred years since, was not a thing to be taken lightly. Its spirit is recalled by the later story of the Greek professor, struggling on the links, who was told that it was all very well to teach Greek, but it took a head to play golf.

In accordance with this principle Scott's golfers are people of worth and standing, not the young men who win championships nowadays, and are called veterans when they are in their forties. Thus, when in *The Heart of Midlothian* the sitting magistrate of the day, one of the bailies of Edinburgh, was about to begin the examination of Butler after the Porteous riot, we read: 'Mr. Middleburgh had taken his seat, and was debating in

¹ Birch (*Carb. Sax.* 2. 96) prints it as genuine, but Stevenson (*Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 146) calls it spurious.

an animated manner, with one of his colleagues, the doubtful chances of a game of golf which they had played the day before.'

Again in *Redgauntlet* it is the elder Fairford, a severe man of the law, who plays golf, not his flighty son Alan or his wild companion, Darsie Latimer. The letters of which this delightful romance is largely composed include this report of the elder Fairford's conversation, sent by his son to Darsie Latimer (Letter XIII.): 'All that is managed for you like a tee'd ball (my father sometimes draws his similes from his own favourite game of golf).'

Later (Chapter I., narrative), when the crazy Peter Peebles was to be lured away from the Court so that Alan might plead his case, and not be pestered by his ridiculous behaviour, the elder Fairford says to his son: 'Alan, my darling, hae patience; I'll get him off on the instant like a gowff ba.'

Letter III. from Darsie Latimer to Alan describes ground which would evidently be suitable for golf, though the word implying this is regarded by the Englishman as unfamiliar: Darsie has 'a pleasant walk over sandy knolls, covered with short herbage, which you call links, and we English, Downs.'

Letter X., from the same hand, has a pleasing description of a 'bunker.' Darsie hears music, but cannot see the performers: 'At length I came within sight of them, three in number, where they sat cosily niched, into what you might call a *bunker*, a little sandpit, dry and snug, and surrounded by its banks, and a screen of whins in full bloom.' The use of italics shows that the word is regarded as unfamiliar. Letter XI. from Darsie refers to the same spot as a 'sand-bunker upon the links.' The words 'surrounded by its banks' give a correct clue to the derivation of 'bunker.'

The elder Fairford was notoriously modelled on Scott's own father; but that fact affords no proof that he played golf. A gentleman like Scott never took an entire character over into his fiction. That proceeding is neither good art nor good manners, and we hardly need Lockhart's warning in the *Life* that all the details of the character did not belong to the original.

So far the references to the game are easily understood, but now I come to a later one, which is most puzzling. *The Surgeon's Daughter* includes some elaborate matter entitled 'Prefatory,' in which Mr. Croftangry, the supposed author of the book, consults his man of business, Mr. Fairscribe, as to the chances of its success. The latter is described as preparing for the interview in the following terms:

'He had been taking a turn at golf. . . . And wherefore not? since the game, with its variety of odds, lengths, bunkers, tee'd balls, and so on, may be no inadequate representation of the hazards attending literary pursuits. In particular, those formidable buffets, which make one ball spin through the air like a rifle-shot, and strike another down into the very earth it is placed upon, by the maladroitness or the malicious purpose of the player—what are they but parallels to the favourable or depreciating notices of the reviewers, who play at golf with the publications of the season, even as

Altisidora, in her approach to the gates of the infernal regions, saw the devils playing at racket with the new books of Cervantes' days ?'

In this passage notice the description of the ball banged down into the very earth by 'the maladroitness or the malicious purpose of the player.' Malice in the ordinary sense of the word is aimed at somebody else, and the comparison with reviewers seems to make this sense clear. But a golfer who plays with his own ball cannot do anybody else any harm by 'foozling' a shot, since he himself has to get it out of its awkward position. There is no suggestion in the passage of a foursome, and, even if there was, it would be odd to conceive of a man deliberately putting his ball into a position difficult for his partner to retrieve, since he would handicap their joint chances of success. The reference to reviewers makes it certain that the golfer in this case is treating his ball in a manner which will handicap somebody else. As golf is played this is an impossible situation.

What is the explanation then of this strange reference? *The Surgeon's Daughter* was written in 1827, when the crash of Scott's fortunes was still recent, and when his powers were waning. The other works quoted belong to the full tide of his genius; here he may have slipped in a detail which escaped a disordered mind.

It is possible also, and seems likely, that Scott never had more than a nodding acquaintance with golf. Busy with his dogs and his forays on the Border for ballads, he may have seen one ball hit off from the tee and another buried in the ground, and little more. He may have thought of the game as played with a single ball by one man who hit it forward and another who hit it back. He was not keen on games; he thought chess a waste of time which might be spent on more serious matters. A friend, who is a first-rate golfer as well as a first-rate scholar, sends me the following comment:

'Perhaps Scott may have argued thus: There is much digging in golf: digging produces graves; why should golfers dig graves unless they intend to bury golf-balls? *Ergo*, the interment of balls is malicious, and must obviously be part of the game. This explanation would convince any German professor, but you will tell me the sheriff wasn't such a fool.'

Yet Dickens was just the same sort of fool when he described a cricket match in *Pickwick*. Ordinarily a great observer, he had not taken the trouble to grasp the rules of cricket.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that Scott never mastered the principles of golf, just as he never mastered Latin properly, leaving 'howlers' such as any schoolboy can correct—*e.g.* a hexameter with seven feet—in his text. He is with Shakespeare in this respect. Both had so extraordinary a range of knowledge that they could not be expert in every corner of it. Both show in their writings that appreciation of everyday life, of common men and things, which, tempered with humour and philosophy, is one of the high signs of genius.

VERNON RENDALL.

CONCERNING MARIE STUART. I am not aware of the following letter having been published. It shows something of the *entourage* of the Captive Queen; the feelings of Elizabeth, and her

control over her servants. But it is very unlike Elizabeth's usual style of addressing her servants.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

Dublin Trinity College, MS: E., I. 10 (802).

Coppie of a letter sente from Queene Elizabeth to Sir Amyas Paulette, Guardian of the Scottishe Queene, whoe was prisoner in Fotheringay Castle.

AMIAS,

My most carefull and faithfull servante, God reward thee treblefold in ye double for thye most troublesome charge soe well discharged. If you knewe (my Amias) howe kindlie besides duetifullie my gratefull hearte acceptes yor double labors and faithfull accons, yor wise orders and safe regardes perfourmed in soe dangerous & craftie a charge, it woulde ease yor travaile, and reioce yor hearte, in which I charge you carrie this most iust thought that I cannot ballance in anie weight of my iudgement, the valewe that I prise you at, and suppose noe treasure to countervaille such faithe, and shall condempne myself in that faulte which I never yet committed, if I reward not such desertes as yors let mee lacke when I have most neede, if I acknowledge not such a merritte with a reward (non omnibus datum).

But let your wicked murtheress knowe howe that with heartie sorrowe her vile desertes compelled these orders, and bid her from mee aske God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saver of her life manie yeares to the intollerable perill of our owne. And yet not content with soe many forgivenesses must fall againe soe horrible farre surpassing a woman's thought, much lesse a Princesse. Insteade of excusing whereof, none can serve it, being soe plainlie confessed to be the author of my guiltlesse death. Let repentance take place, and let not the feinde possesse her soe as her better parte be lost, which I praye with handes lifted up to him that may both save and spill. With my most loveinge ade in and prayer for thy long life, yor most assured and loveing Soueraigne in hearte by good desertes and meedes.

ELIZABETH.

1664: OVERTOUR FOR SETLING YE HIGHLANDS. Seing all the principall theevs & recetters in the Highlands of Scotland does ather actualle duell or constantly haunts & ar harboured in Glencoa, Ranoch, Brae lochaber, Glengarie & Lochaber & adjacent Glens, uher all depredations ar caried to & ther disposed of & all Murtherers & persons guiltie of atrocious Cryms ar sheltered securly w^t ther relations which plaices ar very remoatt from The head brughs of the shyres to which they belong.

1^t Therfor y^t a Garison consisting of tuo hundred men at least be plaiced at Innerlochay uher it shall be undertaiken by laying out 60 lib. ster: they may be conveniently lodged, & shall be easily provyded of all provisions at y^e Cuntree vaitts.

2^d The sojours would consist of highland men ay^r to be levied or put in plaice of such as are most of their bussines being to goe out on pairties & to

travell in the night for apprehending of theevs & recettors through deserts & Muntans & crossing rivers which ar utterly unknowen & rocks Inpracticable for such forces as ar now a foot.

3^d That ye governor be a person of respect & Estait & Credit so as his reputation will oblige him to tack no base means to connive or transact w^t any offenders But that his deutie to his Ma^{tie} & his Cuntrie will oblige him to mack it his uork to Crush the thift & oppression which if authorised he may doe in a short tym If he but will understand uher the Intric of it lyes.

4^d Seing The reverence that is dew & reallie given to ye law is knouen to begett mor obedience then the force of such a number of men is able to doe Its overturd That the Governor be apoynted to be a Justice of Peace in the severall shyr^s the forsd^s bounds belongs to, & lykwayes that the shyriffs of these shyr^s viz. Pearth Argyll & Innernes be appoynted to give the Governor a Deputaⁿ from them uherby their power he may act legallie w^t out Incroaching on y^r priviledges but ray^r comptible to ym for his respective decreets, so that he being armed w^t these Legall pouers togay^r w^t his Comission its not to be in the least doubted but will ever keep the Highlands from thifts & depridations, nor is ther any plaice in the Highlands that can so pirvaine any open rebellion uold be ther attempted lying equall be sea & land for all places & most of them in less then a nights merch or sailling to him.

5. That seing The Governours trouble & Chairges will be considerable for Intelligence & oy^r Incident expenses, Its overturd that he have duple Cap^s pay The Companies to be only comanded by Livetennents under him. And Thus The King is at no more Chairge yⁿ presently The Cuntree will not be opprest u^t projects and the Highlands made peacable.

6. The Lau & Acts of Parl^t ar still to be in force in order to Cheefs & Landlords, & this person allowd to persew them be lau upon all occasions.

7. That the Governor be by his Comission appoynted to mack severall circuitts to keep Courts which will contribut much uhen they see law brought to ther dors w^t a force able to put it in execution, I mean shyriff Courts) & if a greater latitude be allowd its best.

8. That The Governor be appoynted to gett lists of all the Theevs & broaken men in the Highlands which he may easily gett & That his Ma^{ties} Advocatt sumone them all to find Cation which many will doe Especiallie If it be thought fitt to Indemnifie them for bypast transgressions (except Murder) such as will not compear to be denounced fugitivs & a Comission to the forsd^d Governor to aprehend or destroy y^m which he may doe if they keep Scotland.

9. That the severall shyriffs be appoynted (togay^r u^t the Magistrats of Brughs) to receive his prisoners & grant him recetts for them.

10. That ye forsd^d Governor shall by himself & give up the nams of such as he knowes to be cited to give in evidences ag^t such prissoners to be tryed befor the Justices & ther deputts.

The above is copied from the original (in the handwriting of the first Marquess) in the charter chest of the Marquess of Tweeddale. From

Setling ye Highlands

1662 to 1674 John Hay, second Earl, afterwards first Marquess, of Tweeddale occupied a very prominent place in Scottish politics, when he was distinguished for the moderation of his views. This paper is undated, but was found with papers dated about 1668, and there is little doubt that it must have been written just before an Act of Privy Council (of which Tweeddale was President) dated 22nd Dec., 1664, dealing with disorders in the Highlands.

C. CLELAND HARVEY.