

## Reviews of Books

THE ROMAN WALL IN SCOTLAND. By George Macdonald, M.A., LL.D.  
Pp. ix, 413. With Maps, Plans, and numerous Illustrations. Demy  
8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1911. 14s. net.

THE appearance within a few months of each other of this book and of Mr. Curle's account of the Roman station at Newstead is of good omen for the future of the study of Roman Scotland. It seems at last to be realised that antiquarian zeal is not by itself a sufficient qualification for the prosecution of archaeological research, and that such investigations can only be successfully conducted and interpreted by men who are provided with a sound knowledge of Roman History, and of the results of archaeological work in other parts of the Roman world. Dr. Macdonald is ideally fitted to interpret the Antonine Wall, since he has not only had practical experience of excavation, but possesses a wide knowledge of ancient life and ancient history.

Archaeologists are often, and not without reason, reproached for presenting the results of their investigations in a form which is practically unintelligible to the layman, and for being content simply to record their discoveries without explaining their significance, or attempting to distinguish the important from the unimportant. Such a charge could not possibly be brought against Dr. Macdonald's work, which admirably combines description and interpretation. He prefixes to his account of the actual remains several preliminary chapters, in which he describes the scanty literary authorities for the Roman occupation of Scotland, and provides the reader with a historical background by sketching the organisation of the Roman army and Roman methods of frontier defence.

In his account of the fortifications themselves Dr. Macdonald treats in separate chapters of the actual rampart with the ditch and military road which accompany it, and of the forts which were placed along the line of the rampart from sea to sea. The connection between the rampart and the forts is so close that this separate treatment seems at times a little unsatisfactory, but a careful reader will find no difficulty in bringing together the information given in different parts of the book. The author follows the line of the wall from west to east, and his book will prove an invaluable companion to those who are able to traverse any part of the ground on foot. The concluding chapters deal with the inscriptions, pottery, coins, etc., found in the course of excavations. We should like particularly to recommend Dr. Macdonald's discussion of the distance-slabs erected by the

legionaries who constructed the wall. He seems to us to have proved that the construction began at the eastern extremity, and that measurements were originally made in paces, while at the western end the shorter distances allotted to the various detachments were measured in feet. The chapter dealing with the subject contains a great deal of most careful research into the question of the sites in which the various slabs were discovered.

In spite of the almost complete absence of first-century remains in the forts already excavated, it is quite certain that a line of forts was constructed by Agricola between Forth and Clyde, that these were abandoned after a short occupation, and that some sixty years later under Antoninus Pius the line was reoccupied and connected by a rampart and ditch. It is a striking fact that the forts along the wall have yielded practically nothing which can be dated in the first century, apart from structural remains, while first-century objects appear in large numbers at Camelon and Newstead. Perhaps further excavation will supply the deficiency.

The wall was only occupied for about forty years from its construction in 140-3 A.D., but Dr. Macdonald has made out a strong case for the view that a rising of the Brigantes about 155 A.D. led to its temporary abandonment and to a reoccupation about three years later. Some of the forts show distinct signs of reconstruction, and here again it is to be hoped that future excavators will throw light on the problem. In any case there is no doubt that early in the reign of Commodus the Scottish wall was finally abandoned, and that the wall from Tyne to Solway was treated as the main bulwark against northern barbarians.

As has been already pointed out, the wall was constructed by legionaries sent for the purpose from the distant headquarters at York, Chester, and Caerleon-on-Usk, but the actual garrisons were composed of auxiliaries, who, in spite of the foreign names of their cohorts, were probably in Antonine times to a large extent men of British birth. The inscriptions provide us with the names of some of the deities worshipped by the soldiers. The list, as Dr. Macdonald says, 'illustrates the syncretism, or mixture of religious ideas, that permeated all strata of society in the Empire before the final victory of Christianity.' Among the divinities are the *Genius Terrae Britannicae*, the *Campestres*, and *Epona*. We may compare the goddess *Brigantia* worshipped at Birrens and Corbridge.

There is one point of detail about which Dr. Macdonald does not quite convince us. It seems to us doubtful whether the word *limes* ever denoted 'an offensive weapon pure and simple,' and whether the passage from Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 50, quoted on p. 68, can bear the meaning which Dr. Macdonald gives to it.

We have merely touched on a few of the interesting questions which are raised by this book. It will be of the greatest assistance to subsequent investigators. There are several problems about the wall which have not yet been solved, and it is to be hoped that the appeal for further excavation with which Dr. Macdonald concludes will not remain unanswered.

G. H. STEVENSON.



THE ROMAN WALL IN SCOTLAND.

LEGIONARY TABLETS.

## Raleigh: Six Essays on Johnson 407

SIX ESSAYS ON JOHNSON. By Sir Walter Raleigh. Pp. 184. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 5s. nett.

'I SPEAK unto paper as unto the first man I meet,' said Montaigne. Professor Raleigh has learnt the secret of Montaigne: he is a conversationalist turned writer. He entangles us in the charm of talk that comes from the pen with as natural a cadence as from the lips, with no more design upon us than a poem or a picture. Not many essayists in these days have the art in its perfection. They argue with us, they will have us of their opinion, they demand our assent to their cherished propositions. Talk to us they will not or cannot. And readers grow wary. For what man does not prefer to be addressed as a man than to be lectured as a school-boy? It is an age of dramas which are reform pamphlets, of novels with a purpose, of heaven knows what literary machinery for our conversion to world-regenerating schemes. We are encompassed with whole armies of instructors, and the marvel is that our docility has not long since given out. The uninstructable among us, who fancy we have made our souls, are michers from the schools, and take our comfort with the authors who give and ask nothing in return, who are content that we listen, and would not if they could examine us in the subject-matter of their works.

I do not know that there is any living writer who inspires a greater confidence in his readers than Professor Raleigh. The shyness of us will pick the seed out of his hand without misgiving that the other hand may be suddenly stretched out to effect our capture. He has given us more ambitious books, none more satisfying than this on Johnson, where he is concerned with an author whom he loves, many of whose qualities he himself possesses, whose tastes, even whose prejudices he in great measure shares. There is in Johnson a sanity so complete as to make men almost doubtful of their own, an honesty which convicts even those of us who are indifferent honest, a terrifying candour and a magnanimity wholly angelic. The real Johnson behind the disguises of his manner, the shield of his reserve has never been more convincingly sketched than here, because he has never been better understood. Nor is it altogether fanciful to say that something of Johnson has passed into the mind and style of his latest critic. I shall set down here some of Professor Raleigh's sentences and with them, indiscriminately, some of Johnson's:

'He thought of himself as a man not as an author, and of literature as a means not an end in itself.'

'He that claims either in himself or for another, the honours of perfection will surely injure the reputation which he desires to assist.'

'The true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction.'

'The promises of authors are like the vows of lovers; made in moments of careless rapture, and subject during the long process of fulfilment to all kinds of unforeseen dangers and difficulties.'

'The acclamation of his following is not so honourable a tribute to a prize-fighter as the respect of his antagonist.'

'When love or admiration possesses the mind, there is no room for

the thought of defect. A lover does not weigh faults against merits, and after striking a balance, proclaim his enthusiasm for the surplus.'

'What is good only because it pleases cannot be pronounced good till it has been found to please.'

'A man who is praised for his morality is praised not so much for himself as for his conformity to certain recognised standards.'

'If every human creature were provided with some separate and permanent memorial, we could not walk in the fields for tombstones.'

It will be a pleasant exercise for the perspicuous reader to determine the authorship of each of these sentences. I need not insist that they are all good sayings.

Johnson is first a great man, and second a great prose writer; he has never been ranked with the great poets. 'It may be suspected,' says Professor Raleigh, 'that he would have agreed with Sir Henry Savile, who, when asked his opinion of poetry, declared that he liked it best of all kinds of writing, next to prose.' It may also be suspected that Professor Raleigh would range himself with both. Certainly he is not so preoccupied with poets and poetry as the majority of our academic critics. Here is part of the case for prose, and I do not know where it has been put so well—'The best prose is rightly called pedestrian; at every step it must find a foothold on the ground of experience, firm enough to support its weight. It is more various than poetry, and richer in implied meaning; it assumes in the reader an old acquaintance with the facts of life, and keeps him in touch with them by a hundred quiet devices of irony, reminiscence, and allusion. It is a commentary on the world; not a completed exposition of it. The breadth of the vision of poetry can be attained by one who looks on human life from a distance; only the scarred veterans are fit to write a prose account of the battle.'

As Johnson's champion Professor Raleigh very properly and with all the courtesies breaks a lance with the Romantics. 'There is a taint of insincerity about romantic criticism, from which not even the great romantics are free. They are never in danger from the pitfalls that waylay the plodding critic; but they are always falling upward, as it were, into vacuity. They love to lose themselves in an *O altitudo*. From the most worthless material they will fashion an altar to the unknown God. When they are inspired by their divinity they say wonderful things; when the inspiration fails them their language is maintained at the same height, and they say more than they feel. You can never be sure of them.' There is no need to praise these essays on Johnson save for the mere delight of praising the delightful. Everywhere they sparkle with the salt of wit. If here or in some other place Professor Raleigh has written a dull page, I have not found it.

W. MACNEILE DIXON.

GROWTH OF ENGLISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE DURING THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES. By W. Cunningham, D.D. Pp. xxvi, 724. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE author's preface contains only the briefest allusion to a fact which the reviewer cannot fail to emphasize—that it was Dr. Cunningham who first

undertook to cover the whole field of English economic history nearly thirty years ago, and who has ever since been in the forefront of this particular study. To estimate the book fairly, we must compare this stout first volume of the fifth edition with the part of a crown octavo from which it has grown, and look at the list of authorities (with full references to the places on which they are quoted) which fills pp. 657-681. We shall then recognize how much this structure owes to Dr. Cunningham in the threefold rôle of pioneer, labourer, and architect.

It is a fine story worthily told; and for the scope of the book is wider than its title implies, and it contains much direct information concerning Irish and Scottish<sup>1</sup> conditions. The interest never flags, though we must confess that the book is not always easy reading: with his own ideas full in view, Dr. Cunningham strides on too fast for us sometimes, and forces us to crave a moment's pause before we can pick up the exact thread of his argument. To a certain extent, indeed, the book seems to show traces, even in this its latest form, of those various and often engrossing occupations which have beset the author throughout his working life, and have prevented him from always penetrating to the depths of the vast mass of evidence with which he grapples. Dr. Cunningham would probably have made very serious reservations in quoting from the Cole MS. on *The Fall of Religious Houses* (pp. 532, 539) if he had found leisure to submit other statements of that anonymous special pleader to the test of ascertained facts. Again, he seems occasionally to make too little allowance for the rhetoric of medieval Pleas to Parliament or Preambles. Lastly, his treatment of the question of usury seems hardly to go deep enough: he twice admits the validity of St. Thomas's argument that many loans involve no risk to the lender—an argument which would seem untenable (pp. 257, 367). Moreover, we dissent from his verdict that medieval usury preyed only upon the well-to-do. It would be easy to find other contemporaries who say as plainly as Caesarius of Heisterbach that 'usury devoureth the substance of the poor.' But such cases are exceptional; and readers who check his references will probably be most impressed by his sane and temperate deductions. This is very conspicuous in Appendix E, in which the author defended his own theory some twenty years ago against Professor Ashley's friendly criticisms. We are equally struck, on re-reading this, by the patience with which he has gleaned further afield for fresh evidence as to the immigration of alien workmen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the moderation with which he argues from these facts. The same may be said of the sections on the effects of the Black Death and the changes in Tudor times, to which many readers will turn first, and which Dr. Cunningham has entirely rewritten in the light of the latest research.

We can only conclude by expressing our gratitude to Dr. Cunningham for this latest edition of a book indispensable to all medieval students.

G. G. COULTON.

<sup>1</sup>A note on page 349 has a bearing on the story of the Prentice's Pillar at Roslyn. 'There was much laxity in Scotland,' writes Dr. Cunningham, 'about the terms of apprenticeship, and the *Essay* or *Masterpiece* was the chief test of fitness for the trade.'

## 410 Gougaud: Les Chrétientés Celtiques

LES CHRÉTIENTÉS CELTIQUES. By Dom Louis Gougaud. Pp. xxxv, 406.  
With 3 Maps. Crown 8vo. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1911. 3 fr. 50.

THIS admirable study of Celtic Christianity which forms one of the volumes of a *Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique*, is the work of one of the monks of Farnborough Abbey, and bears witness to the renewed and growing activity of the Benedictine Order in the field of history. In his preface Dom Gougaud writes: 'Du moins, si je n'ai rien omis d'essentiel, si j'ai donné un aperçu des faits marquants, des faits ayant une véritable valeur historique, de leur degré d'originalité et de leur coordination, si, tout en disant ou en est aujourd'hui la science sur tel et tel point, j'ai facilité les recherches futures par une information nette et suffisamment abondante, mes efforts n'auront pas été stériles.' He has fulfilled this task with remarkable success, and his work will take its place as the most adequate introduction to a field of study which cannot be neglected by any student of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland. By a concise examination of the development of Celtic Christianity in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, and of its influence throughout Europe, Dom Gougaud has achieved a *reconstruction logique de la réalité historique* which a detailed study of one of these fields could not have afforded. The materials presently at the disposal of the historian show certain characteristics of the Celtic organization of Christianity prominently at work in Ireland, others in Great Britain, and others in France, though they were all doubtless present in each field, and it is only by an examination of all the sources that a balanced and fruitful general estimate can be formed. From this point of view Dom Gougaud's account of the Celtic church in Brittany is of particular value to English readers, as showing the Celtic organization in contact with the more articulated and efficient system of the Roman church. He gives an interesting reference to the theory of M. Paul Fournier that the condition of the Celtic church in Brittany is so faithfully reflected in the abuses which the authors of the False Decretals of Isidore sought to remedy, that the 'atelier pseudo-isidorien' must have been located in that region. Again he attributes to the influence of St. Columba and his disciples the remarkable progress made on the continent after his time in the development of the theory of the exemption of regulars from Episcopal jurisdiction.

Dom Gougaud has no hesitation in expressing his views on the many points of controversy which have always marked Celtic church history, but he makes no attempt to impose them on unsuspecting readers, and his work is notably fair and unpolemical. An invaluable bibliography and elaborate references to the current literature of his subject in French, German, and English add an additional value to a solid contribution to the workshop of the student of history.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By Charles Harding Firth, M.A. Pp. xii, 309. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is the most comprehensive of the studies which Professor Firth has contributed to the history of the period upon which he is the chief living

authority. It is an excellent example of the help which an expert can give by going over familiar ground from a fresh starting-point. In one sense there is nothing very new in Mr. Firth's book, if we except the characteristic and masterly use which he makes of forgotten pamphlet-literature ; yet in another sense all is new : the whole period from the death of Elizabeth to the Restoration is invested with new interest and fuller meaning ; and to say nothing of its value to advanced scholars, a student with an elementary knowledge of the main facts can find no more illuminating introduction to the constitutional history of the Civil War.

Professor Firth shows how, in the early years of the seventeenth century, the House of Lords still based its political power upon its unique position in the social fabric. Its functions were regarded, theoretically, not so much as a necessary element in a complicated system of government, as the natural exercise of power by the class especially fitted and trained to use it. In 1607 Northampton alleged the composition of the Lower House as a reason for not agreeing to a petition of the Commons. Their members had but 'a private and local wisdom,' 'and so not fit to examine or determine secrets of state'; while, on the other hand, the Commons, a little earlier, represented to the Lords that a certain question was 'a matter of state, so fitter to have beginning from the Upper House that is better acquainted with matters of state' (pp. 34-5). It is significant that, when Ireton elaborated his plan for securing the legislative supremacy of the Commons, he thought of safeguarding the position of the Lords as a separate order, by allowing them to be exempted from the operation of a law passed by the Commons, to which they had not consented (p. 185). Although before the Civil War the view that Lords and Commons were 'members of one body,' engaged in the harmonious work of statecraft, was appreciated, it was rather to their unique excellence that their apologists looked as the ground of their belief that the Lords should act judicially, as 'an excellent screen or bank between the prince and people, to assist each against any encroachments of the other, and by just judgments to present that law which ought to be the rule of every one of the three.'<sup>1</sup>

This attitude, of course, survived the Civil War, but it gave way before the social theorists who looked to the political service implied by the possession of land as to the division of powers as the main axiom of political science. The sectaries of the New Model broke down the tradition. 'What were the Lords of England but William the Conqueror's Colonels?' In the eyes of Bolingbroke, ninety years later, there was as much danger from 'little engrossers of delegated power' as from the Whig noblemen. The second Estate was still properly the mediator, but the safety of the Commonwealth at a time of crisis depended on the coalition of the 'senatorian' and 'equestrian' parties. And, quite apart from theory, the spirit of contract succeeded that of natural right, until Pitt began the practice of appealing to the people.

With great justice, then, Professor Firth lays stress upon the degradation of the peerage, chiefly through the sale of honours, as an important factor

<sup>1</sup> Declaration of Colepeper and Falkland in answer to the Nineteen Propositions, quoted p. 73.

in unsettling the minds of Englishmen before the Civil War. The Lords felt that their position in the social system was undermined. In addition, they were subjected to the dividing influences of religious and political opinion. The theme of the book is the controlling influence which the House of Lords on some critical occasions did exert, and upon others should or could have exerted, if the policy of the king had not destroyed their confidence. The failure of the Lords as mediators meant their destruction as an organ of State, until Cromwell, acting from practical motives, set up a second Chamber. 'Unless you have some such thing as a balance, we cannot be safe' (p. 246). In the last chapter the author traces the influence of the restored House of Lords—restored in spite of the opposition of Monck—and especially the influence of the younger generation, in bringing about the Restoration.

Professor Firth's unrivalled knowledge of the controversial literature of the period has enabled him to convey a clear impression of the pseudo-historical and pseudo-philosophical thought which found voice simultaneously with the legal arguments of Prynne, the logic of Hobbes, and the common sense of men like Ireton. To his extract from Clarendon on the use of 'protests,' he might have added the pungent remarks of Selden.<sup>1</sup> He omits, also, to refer to the observations upon the nobility to be found in Mrs. Hutchinson's historical survey of the events which preceded the Civil War; they are by no means the least valuable commentary upon the subject of the book:—

'The nobility of the realm having at first the great balance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honorable virtue, for which they were exalted above the vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence and curbed the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduced to moderation, and sometimes deposed for their misgovernments, till at length, the kings, eager to break their yoke, had insensibly worn out the interest of the nobility, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the great estate of some, others were destroyed by confiscations in divers civil wars, and others otherways mouldered with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had been such a check to their exorbitancies, they perceived not the growing of another more dangerous to them, and that when the nobility shrunk into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more than a little puff of wind to bear it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it.'

F. M. POWICKE.

#### AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

By John E. Morris, D.Litt., and Humfrey Jordan, B.A. With 64 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xvi, 399. London: Routledge. 4s. 6d.

THIS handbook to local history is a result of the circular by the Board of Education in 1908 on the teaching of history in schools, offers introductory explanations of typical antiquities and institutions, and wins sympathy at the outset by its object and its dedication to boys, present and future,

<sup>1</sup> *Table Talk*, s.v. Lords in the Parliament.

interested in history. It is a business-like performance, well-suited not only to help the upper forms towards intelligent standpoints of local interpretation, but also to imbue the fit soul with such an archaeological taste as may supply a life-long joy in the sympathetic study of the past. Each period is dealt with—pre-Celtic and Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, mediæval; and each phase also—ecclesiastical, political, commercial, industrial, and domestic. From the Stone Age to the England of Dickens, the distinctive features are sought out and set forth.

The illustrations, mainly photographs, are excellent, and are not the less useful in that they often show the entire landscape whence the Roman road, Danish Camp, or Cromwellian battlefield is to be picked out. It is well for youth to know that historic remains do not always stand up like the walls of Richborough or the mounds of Castle Rising. Altogether the book argues well for education. Its system is good, and its information adequate.

Of course there are numerous points open to criticism. One man will dislike 'antiquarian' as an inferior term to denote 'antiquary.' Another will grumble that the earlier 'pele' (of timber) is not explained, and that the somewhat parallel evolution of 'hall' is not traced, but he will recognise the value of the notices of mound and castle, albeit the contribution of Scotland to the determination of the Norman character of the *motte* in Britain is overlooked. The Glasgow man will smile at the attribution to St. Ninian of what belongs to St. Kentigern. Scotsmen will be amused to read that at Stirling Bridge, Wallace 'with his own hand hewed at the supports and cut off one half of the English force from the other half.' It is one of those things that could have been said better! Institutionalists may wish that the authors had devoted a chapter to the legal, fiscal, and parochial organisation, e.g. shire and parish, etc., and their connection with ancient military and ecclesiastical arrangements. Perhaps also there is room for complaint that the primal industry, agriculture, deserved more formal treatment, and that for the modern industrial epoch, iron certainly receives scant recognition.

But we must all welcome what we have as an admirable introduction to local antiquities. A clear and sensible sketch of the Roman occupation returns to all appearance independently (p. 87) to a certain theory of the English *Vallum* as possibly meant to protect the holders of the *Murus*. As regards the Antonine Wall and the Birrens, Bar Hill, and Newstead Forts, the information comes down to date except that the names of Macdonald and Curle do not receive the canonisation that is their due. The Antonine turf-wall by the way had a foundation of stone certainly, but not as stated of stone slabs. It is a hypercritical correction perhaps, but a students' book may see many editions. The authors are not cognisant of Mr. W. M. Mackenzie's re-study of Bannockburn, but they have the true perspective of the Scottish *schiltrum* as a form of the older historic shieldwall. Their account of the 'hoblers,' or Scottish light horse, shows the same shrewd insight. Shipping is well discussed in the text, and might surely have been spared some illustration. A good test of all such works as this is the attitude towards architecture and the evolution of ecclesiastical, military, and domestic buildings. Here the authors are on strong ground, and may fairly stake their credit on the skill

with which the long story of the dwelling, the evolution of the house, is traced. Throughout, the continuity of custom is scientifically appreciated. Fords and fairs are keenly noted, with a due sense of the persistence of past conditions in the altered present.

Chiefly, however, the authors must be credited with a thoroughgoing, and on the whole successful endeavour, not merely to expound their local antiquities as such, but still more to fit them into the whole, and set archaeology in its place as concrete history.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE THEORY OF TOLERATION UNDER THE LATER STUARTS. By A. A. Seaton, M.A. (*The Prince Consort Prize*, 1910). Pp. vii, 364. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1911.

THE present volume—*Cambridge Historical Essays*, No. xix.—is the latest of a series which has done so much to illuminate history on the side of political ideas. And it must always be remembered that the thoughts of men are factors in history of the first importance. The principle of divine hereditary right and the ecclesiastical conception of the State colour whole epochs, and are the keys to a maze of political thinking that may have ceased to direct party tactics, but cannot yet be said to be wholly without influence, even if less conscious, upon certain types of mind. Ideas rooted in primary instincts may, under the sheer pressure of circumstances, relax their hold almost to the point of vanishing or change their habit, but they never die. This comes out even in the case of Toleration, a principle which is now accepted as self-evident, and which, as a motive of political action, has, at least, taken precedence of that of Persecution, so long and in such high quarters just as confidently held unassailable.

Mr. Seaton's opening chapter is a most careful and thorough analysis on philosophical lines of the case for each of these rival concepts, and, as there reasoned, suggests the impossibility of ever fully realising the one or getting rid of the other. Fortunately the historian, limited to the past, can be more empirical and practical in his requirements. For his purpose Toleration has triumphed, and Chapter iii. is a rather saddening recital, on its own line, of how this came about. If argument could have done it Sir Charles Wolseley's pamphlets (1669) would have been enough, but if the tide of rational persuasion steadily rises against intolerance, it is in great measure because plain experience was pouring its stream into the current of reflection. Locke's *Letters on Toleration* (Chapter iv.) are the high-water mark, and yet 'There is little in them which had not been said before either by a writer of repute or by some obscure pamphleteer' (p. 272). What did really tell was the obvious failure of all efforts to force conformity and heal division, so that dissent had to be accepted as an integral part of the common life; the more certainly since the mass of the dissenters belonged to the trading class, who might otherwise be driven to leave the country.

But arguments, of course, took a wider sweep and the abundant literature on both sides is here admirably summarised, while a General Review (Chapter vi.) and some Appendices serve to throw the main points into

relief. The only Scottish writer included is Sir George Mackenzie, on his philosophical side as an advocate of a sort of Laudian Toleration (*Religio Stoici*). The style of the volume is rather compacted and a little heavy, but never obscure and of a right logical quality. W. M. MACKENZIE.

BRITISH FIRE-MARKS FROM 1680. By George A. Fothergill, M.B., C.M. Pp. xiv, 180. With sixty Illustrations. Crown 4to. Edinburgh: William Green & Sons. 1911. 7s. 6d. nett.

MANY readers will open this volume with curiosity, not knowing what to expect from the title. The comparatively few who are aware that there are such things as fire-marks will welcome the book. But there is matter of interest for all in these pages; for the author treats of the history, literature, poetry, and the collectors of fire-marks, and supplies sixty admirable illustrations.

Not long after the Great Fire of London an insurance business was started, which later became 'The Fire Office.' This company supported its own fire-brigade, and issued fire-marks to be placed on the houses of its insurers, so that on the outbreak of a conflagration the brigade would know whether it was its duty to assist or not. Other companies likewise issued marks, and soon a great variety of devices appeared on the fronts of London houses. The earliest known Scottish fire-mark, dating from 1767, is owned by Lord Rosebery, and was formerly affixed to Lady Stair's House, in the 'old town' of Edinburgh. Dr. Fothergill points out the distinction between fire-marks and fire-plates. The former name is usually applied to the leaden devices which were intended to be of assistance to the different fire-brigades; the latter is used of the later copper or tin imitations, which were made for advertisement purposes. In connection with the poetry of fire-marks the author quotes a stanza from Cowper's 'Friendship,' in which a reference is made to 'hand-in-hand insurance plates'; and he gives a number of lines from 'Rejected Addresses,' written on the occasion of the reopening of the Old Drury Lane Theatre after the fire of 1809. These lines, which refer by name to several old fire offices, are written in the iambic tetrameter and trimeter metre of Scott, a form of verse very popular at the time owing to Sir Walter's metrical romances.

E. STAIR-KERR.

A HISTORY OF WALES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE EDWARDIAN CONQUEST. By John Edward Lloyd, M.A. Two Volumes. Vol. I. xxiv, 356, Vol. II. vii, 414. With genealogical tables, indices, and map. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. 21s. nett.

IN a history of ancient and medieval Wales, much, especially in the earlier periods, must be a matter of conjecture. It has been Professor Lloyd's object in this work to collect and weave into a continuous narrative what may be fairly regarded as the ascertained facts. This task has not been attempted in English for more than a generation. Much has in the meantime been established, and much is better understood. Professor Lloyd has made the subject his own by conquest of all the hitherto discovered

territory, and, with wide and minute learning, laborious and patient investigation, and sober judgement, he has faithfully mapped it out, bringing many a new ray of light to the illumination of its dark places.

Professor Lloyd believes that three races have chiefly gone to the making of the Welsh people. The first of these, the neolithic men, are now represented, he suggests, not only in form and feature, but possibly in soul and mind, by the short, dark Eisteddfodwr and collier of South Wales, wayward and impulsive, but moved by music and religion. The second race, the Goidelic, arrived with the age of bronze. The third, the Brythonic, came about the third century B.C. The most important contribution of the first race was to the national physique and character. The second contributed the nation's early political and social institutions. The gift of the third was, beyond a doubt, the Welsh language. But in this tongue, Aryan in the bulk of its vocabulary and inflexions, there has been preserved the pre-Aryan syntax of the language of the earlier settlers, a language of the so-called Hamitic family—a non-Aryan people adopting an Aryan speech, having mastered it imperfectly.

The author goes on to tell what is known and conjectured of the introduction of Christianity, of 'The Age of the Saints,' the age of Gildas, of Saint David and King Arthur, during which the Welsh tribes cast off all traces of heathenism, and became organised Christian communities with powerful rulers and a learned clergy. Then came the long struggle with the English invaders of Britain. Under Alfred, Wales came formally under the supremacy of Wessex, and ever after paid homage to England.

The second volume finds the Welsh with a new foe on their marches. The heroic Gruffydd ap Llywellyn, conquered and slain by Harold in 1063, left his countrymen a priceless legacy in their revived national spirit. But three years later the Normans began their conquest of England, and the Welsh had soon to face an influx of adventurers, busy pioneers, 'the flower of a people pre-eminently gifted as colonists,' and overwhelmingly powerful in resources and organisation. During the next two centuries the Normans had many other calls on their energies—French wars, crusades, domestic dissensions, while on the other side no Welsh leader was ever followed by all his nation. Chiefs could always be found to betray the common cause and make private peace with the English. The last Prince of Wales of the native line fell in 1282. With him Welsh independence came to an end. Welsh nationality was too deeply fixed not to endure.

In the critical discussion of his materials, as in his admirable narrative, Professor Lloyd has made a very valuable, original, and attractive contribution to history.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

GILBERT CRISPIN, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Pp. xi, 180. With Illustration. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1911. 5s. nett.

DR. ARMITAGE ROBINSON has signalled his departure from Westminster to Wells by the publication of this scholarly tribute to his learned and gentle

predecessor of the eleventh century. He has given us a clearly drawn picture, not only of the Abbot himself (so far as possible from the documents) but also of his surroundings and administration, and thus has made an extremely valuable addition to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of the generation immediately succeeding the Conquest.

Gilbert Crispin (Abbot of Westminster, 1085-1117) came of a distinguished Norman family, named *Crispini* from the characteristic standing-on-end of the hair. His father, mother and brother were benefactors of the great Norman Abbey of Bec, where the future Abbot of Westminster spent the first twenty-five years of his monastic career. Dean Robinson accordingly gives, first of all, details of Gilbert's home at Bec, and then treats of the family of the Crispins. Following this, Abbot Gilbert's rule at Westminster comes under review. He contributed by his zeal and prudence to the growing importance of his Abbey, and appears to have well deserved the encomium of his epitaph, preserved by Flete, but long since obliterated from his monument by the tread of the thousands who passed over it before it was removed in the eighteenth century to a place of greater safety—'mitis eras justus prudens fortis moderatus, doctus quadrivio, nec minus in trivio.'

Gilbert's administration is carefully and sympathetically considered under several heads; these being domestic rule, foundation of priories, building, exemption and sanctuary, knight service and domestic economy. His literary remains obtain critical and appreciative treatment.

In the second part of the book, which is devoted to documents, the author has published for the first time in complete form Gilbert's life of Abbot Herluin, founder of Bec. This is followed by the *Liber de Simoniaciis* and selected Charters, with notes.

The volume, forming No. 3 of the series of *Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey*, contains as frontispiece a reproduction of the time-worn effigy of Abbot Gilbert, 'the oldest sculptured monument of the Abbey.' Dean Robinson has rescued from undeserved oblivion a blameless, earnest, and learned early ecclesiastic, the friend of Anselm of Canterbury, and a wise monastic ruler.

JOHN EDWARDS.

THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY TAXATION IN ENGLAND. By Shepard Ashman Morgan, M.A. Pp. xvii, 317. Printed for the Department of Political Science of Williams College by Moffat, Pard & Company, New York. 1911.

THIS volume was awarded the David A. Wells prize open to students and graduates of three years' standing at Williams College. The author has based his work on original authorities, and, although he has not come to any new conclusions, he has succeeded in producing a readable and lucid account of a difficult subject, and one which will be of great use to students of constitutional history.

The period dealt with extends from Saxon times to the Bill of Rights. The subjects considered are,—taxation, *i.e.* 'any contribution levied by the government for its own support,' and the authority by which taxation was levied. The reigns of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings are not

important from this point of view. The Great Charter was, of course, the first great step in taking the control of taxation away from the king. Edwards I.'s reign was of very great importance, both because the Model Parliament furnished a machine through which the people could assent to taxation, and because *Confirmatio Cartarum* provided that certain taxes were only to be taken 'by the common assent of all the realm.'

At the end of Edward's reign, therefore, much had been gained, but still the consent of Parliament was not required for every tax ; and the questions of the initiation of taxation by the House of Commons and of the relationship of the redress of grievances to the granting of supplies were still unsettled. Acts were wrung from Edward III. making Parliament the sole authority for levying taxation ; but the principle, though declared, was not really established. The Tudor period was not a time of growth of Parliamentary powers, but the principles enunciated survived, and were again asserted under the Stewarts. Mr. Morgan ignores the taxation during the Interregnum, though the financial embarrassment of the Protectorate was considerable, and helped to make it unpopular. The Bill of Rights finally asserts the principle of the power of Parliament rather than the Crown to tax. The essay was written before the rejection of the Budget by the House of Lords, and therefore that question is not considered.

THEODORA KEITH.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume XII. THE LATEST AGE. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., and Stanley Leathes, M.A. Pp. xxxiv, 1033. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 16s. nett.

THIS monumental volume of contemporary history is, on account of the proximity of its publication to the period it describes, perhaps the most difficult to review of all the portions of the great work of which it is the culmination. The scope has in a manner changed. The history has become by natural expansion not only the history of the European States and Colonies but that of the whole world.

Since 1871, Western Europe, this volume points out, has enjoyed peace. It has been an armed peace however, and has been by no means without vast political changes. The commercial rise of Germany is one of the most important and far-reaching of these. France has become a settled republic and a rising African power. Britain has had her Boer War, Parliamentary crises, and the perennial question of Ireland to solve. Austria-Hungary has, race conflicts notwithstanding, increased her territory, and Italy is recovering from the folly of the Abyssinian War. Spain has lost her colonies, and suffers from anti-clerical unrest, while Portugal has (unforeseen in the Iberian chapter before us) become the youngest European republic. Norway never (as 'Mr. Fudge' said) 'on a bed of roses' in her forced union with Sweden, has by a bloodless revolution separated herself. The uninitiated will find much food for thought in the two valuable chapters on reaction and reform in Russia, while the chapter on Turkey shows that the 'sick man' has not been so fortunate as Western

Europe, and in consequence continues to lose province after province, and is now a mere shadow of his former self.

Africa *infelix* has endured many wars, in which France, Germany and Britain have all figured, and Asia has also been a prey to strife. India has, in spite of, or because of, reforms, undergone a period of unrest. China has endured puppet emperors and the Boxer rising. The territory of the reformed empire of Japan has been increased by her unexpected successes against Russia, and Europe is now confronted with an Asiatic state among the Great Powers. Australia has become federated, so has South Africa—since the war—and Canada is in a position of great interest, America having her own policy of expansion, and still encircling with the Monroe doctrine the rising Latin republics of the South.

We mention all these items only to show with how much this great work is concerned in detail, but it contains far more. It gives admirable chapters on the modern exploration, which has unveiled practically the whole world; on the spread of Science, the growth of History, and the desire for Peace. It has also a fine chapter (by Mr. Sidney Webb) on 'Social Movements' dealing with 'the waste of human life,' 'insurance against unemployment,' that topic of the hour, and the tangled tale of 'feminism,' among its many varied contents. It will be easily seen, therefore, how great are the possibilities of this volume, and when one says that the history is excellently conceived and carried out one is congratulating in the most sincere manner its painstaking editors and co-authors.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE CHAMPIONS OF THE CROWN. By Lucy Sealy. Pp. 329. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1911. 7s. 6d. nett.

This book contains biographies of ten notable supporters of Charles I., but the authoress has set herself to do far more than merely retail familiar facts. There exists to this day, she rightly declares, a 'popular misconception' to the effect that the royalist army in the Civil War was made up of 'Godless, roystering soldiers, fighting solely for the retention of power, wealth, or license'; and her volume has been compiled with a view to destroying this idea, and to pointing out that, in reality, the cavaliers were prompted by noble and lofty ideals.

A book written with such a purpose naturally commands sympathy, and it is therefore pleasing to find that, in the main, Miss Sealy has acquitted herself remarkably well. It must be conceded that her style is often mediocre, and it is true that the romance and glamour encircling the Stuarts and their partisans have appealed to her strongly, and that, by all her own predilections and affinities, she is frankly in favour of the king. Yet she is by no means bigoted in this devotion, and, while she never misses an opportunity of noting the unscrupulousness which frequently characterised the methods of the parliamentary leaders, she is withal perfectly honest and straightforward in her manner of defending her cavalier heroes. It is never easy, of course, to precisely analyse and determine the motives which begot a momentous action; but Miss Sealy shows herself throughout to be

thoroughly alive to this difficulty, and, far from ever trusting to conjecture, in each instance proves her contention by the citation of documentary evidence. As regards Prince Rupert, for example, she gives his own words, 'I know my cause to be so just that I do not fear'; with reference to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, again, she brings forward a letter in which he mentions his desire to 'gain the King his right forth of the usurper's hand'; while, in dealing with the Marquis of Hertford, she quotes words of his which clearly show that he eagerly desired peace, and only drew his sword because he considered it his bounden duty.

It may reasonably be said that Miss Sealy's book contains nothing likely to prove novel to the average scholar of the Civil War. It is valuable, nevertheless, inasmuch as it lays stress on an interesting and important point, and because it brings into bold relief a beautiful and pathetic phase in our English annals—a phase, moreover, which both Gardiner and Carlyle were prone to neglect, if not actually to avoid.

W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH.

VENICE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES. A Sketch of Venetian History from the Conquest of Constantinople to the Accession of Michele Steno, A.D. 1204-1400. By F. C. Hodgson, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. xiv, 648, with Illustrations. Crown 8vo. London: George Allen & Sons. 1910. 10s. 6d. nett.

NINE years ago, as the author reminds us in his Preface, he published a volume on the Early History of Venice, which 'some of the English reviews found very dry,' but which was welcomed by more than one German scholar as a valuable contribution to serious history. We ourselves are on the German side in this matter, and are very glad to welcome Mr. Hodgson's second volume. Moreover, we trust that he will yet find a sufficient public among those who prefer that their history, like their wine, should err rather on the dry than on the luscious side. For, although Mr. Hodgson does undoubtedly forego of set purpose many opportunities for picturesque writing, yet we find much fine stuff in his book. He does not exploit this vein to the utmost; that is evidently no part of his plan; but he records many facts and many scenes which must conjure up vivid pictures of the past in the mind of any reader of imagination. He realises, for instance, what a mine of interest there is in Marco Polo; and his summary of Polo's Travels with Yule's comments (chap. xiii.) is a piece of admirable *précis*-writing. Again, his description of the intricate regulations governing the election of the Doges is most interesting; and still more interesting is the moral he draws from it. He shows how strongly on the one hand this system resembles that of the papal elections; while on the other hand the American system of presidential elections, by neglecting some of the elaborate precautions invented by Venetian patricians and Roman cardinals in the thirteenth century, has left unnecessary room for party spirit.

Many more are the picturesque glimpses which open before a reader who is not afraid of working through precise facts to get at them. We see the brilliant procession of all the *Arti* to do homage to the new Doge 'in 1310,

in the middle of the month of the cherries'—which may remind some readers of the social license hinted at 'in cherry-time' by a gossip in *Piers Plowman*, and of the wistful old English line 'our life is but a cherry-fair.' Very interesting, again, is the tale of the Ducal election of 1311. Among the forty-one patricians chosen as electors by successive ballots, and then strictly enclosed in the palace hall under oath to vote for the man who should appear 'most catholic and best,' some at least happened to look out of the window, and took what they saw as a providential hint. Marino Giorgi 'was seen to pass through the court of the palace going towards Castello, and was made Doge.' A later chronicler adds that he was seen passing with a sack of bread to distribute to poor prisoners. 'He was called the Saint, so good and catholic a person was he; and he was rich'; moreover, he lived but a short time to justify or belie the electors' hopes. But the authorities promptly decreed that all openings towards the street should be blocked up during future elections, lest the palace court should be crowded with too visibly charitable candidates for Ducal honours.

Mr. Hodgson need not have queried his interpretation of 'Cistellum' as 'Cîteaux' (p. 98): there are French forms *Cistiaus* and *Cisteus* which point definitely to the existence of such a Latin cognate. Again, there is no reason for supposing Gillott to have been an Englishman (p. 317); the name was common in many countries during the Middle Ages. The quotation on p. 157, in which Mr. Hodgson rightly suspects corruption of the text, would be distinctly improved by reading the perfect tense *colaphisaverunt*, for the unintelligible *colaphis erunt* printed in Pertz. But these are very small things, and we congratulate Mr. Hodgson on having added much to our real knowledge of Venetian history. If there is madness in his slow and conscientious method (as indolent reviewers of the first volume seem to have thought) then we can only wish that he may bite one or two antiquaries of the sentimental school, who give us more smooth words than trustworthy references.

G. G. COULTON.

THE LORD CHANCELLORS OF SCOTLAND. By Samuel Cowan. Vol. I, pp. ix, 307; Vol. II, pp. viii, 299. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London. 1911.

MR. COWAN'S opening advertisement of 'scientific research' suggests reflections which are fully borne out by what follows. In the 'fairly accurate' Kalendar of the Lord Chancellors no place is found for the Thomas Charteris who was Chancellor in 1288-1290. Sir Thomas Charteris held office two years before the date given. James, Duke of Ross, became Chancellor in 1502 not in 1501, and having died in January 1503, could not have occupied the place in 1504. For these facts one need go no further than the *Exchequer Rolls* and *Treasurer's Accounts*. It was no part of the Chancellor's duties to preside either at a General Assembly or in the Court of High Commission (i. p. 12). Surely so much is obvious. On Bishop Bernard of Arbroath the remark runs that 'it is recorded' he wrote a poem on Bannockburn, and the reference is to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (i. 156). The source is the

*Scotichronicon*, where part of the poem is given. An account of the affair at Lauder Bridge is paraphrased from Pitscottie, with the usual error that Hommyl was hanged on that occasion (i. 239).

Similarly inadequate is the account of Mary of Guise's intentions as to the Scottish fortresses. Huntly was not present at the Parliament of 1560 (ii. p. 37); he was absent, sick. At Craigmillar it was not the nobles who asked Mary 'to agree to a divorce from her husband,' which she refused (ii. p. 81); the suggestion was her own, the dissuasion came from the nobles. The remark of Chancellor Seafield on touching the Act of Union is misquoted in the usual popular fashion (ii. p. 282). These few commonplace things are selected to exemplify broadly the author's general methods. A further contribution is 'Alan, Bishop of Dumfries' (!) (i. 148) as a transformation of 'Alan de Dunfres, Parson of Dunbarton,' which again illustrates the way in which Crawford's *Officers of State* has been put to scantily acknowledged use. Many pages are but abbreviations of that text; p. 178 in volume i. exhibiting in a curious way the dangers of mechanical compression. Another stand-by is Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, 'a work which possesses some authority' by 'a well-informed writer.' Mr. Cowan succeeds in disproving his own initial postulate: a work like this can be produced on much easier terms than he assumes.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

ETYMOLOGISK ORDBOG OVER DET NORRÖNE SPROG PÅ SHETLAND, af Jakob Jakobsen. II. Hefte. Copenhagen. 1909.

THIS is the second volume of Dr. Jakobsen's exhaustive dictionary of Norse words, or of kindred equivalents of Norse words, which he has found still preserved in the old Norwegian colony of the Shetland Isles. The place-names of Norse origin in Shetland had engaged the attention of Professor Munch of Christiania so far back as in 1838 in the *Samlinger til det Norske Folks Sprog og Historie*, and in a publication by him at a later date (1857); but, with the exception of a few minor attempts by native enquirers, notably the *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, by Thomas Edmonston of Bunes (1866), and by scholars in Denmark and Norway, this is the only scientific and comprehensive grappling with the subject of the survival of the Norse language and idiom in the islands since that time.

Dr. Jakobsen, a native of the neighbouring isles of Faroe, which inherited the same language and traditions from Norway as did Shetland, is eminently qualified for such an investigation, and he has pursued it for years with assiduous and enthusiastic personal effort, in the islands in the first instance. The result is the important work now before us, in which a vast number of words, it is understood not less than 10,000 in all, common at one time, but many of them now known only to some of the older inhabitants, are rescued from oblivion and carefully explained, with examples of their use in expressive and often amusing colloquial illustrations.

The present portion comprises from *Gopn* to *Liver*; and the work can be commended as the most learned and successful effort ever made, or ever likely to be made, for the preservation of a knowledge of the old language of the

northern isles. Issued in the Danish language, and primarily for Scandinavian students, its use is limited to a restricted area of scholarship, but its intrinsic value as a contribution to northern philology is none the less on that account.

It is fortunate that the means exist in Denmark, by way of a special fund, for the production of such a work; and it is interesting to students on this side to see that competent men are ready to undertake such work, among whom may be named, besides Dr. Jakobsen, Professors Haegstad and Daae of Christiania, whose important contributions on the language and history of the islands are too little known. The elucidation by the former of these scholars, published in 1900, of the Hildina ballad (*Hildina kvadet*), which lingered in the island of Foula till late in the eighteenth century, is of quite exceptional interest. It is to be regretted that investigations in the same direction in our own country have been so fitful and so single-handed. The concluding volumes of Dr. Jakobsen's *Ordbog* will be anxiously waited for.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

**A SCOTS DIALECT DICTIONARY.** Comprising the words in use from the latter part of the Seventeenth Century to the present day. Compiled by Alexander Warrack, M.A. Pp. xxiii, 717. With Map. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd. 1911. 7s. 6d. nett.

THE aim of this book is to give a vocabulary of distinctively Scottish words in use from about 1650 to the present day. It does not profess to specify the localities in which particular words are used nor to give etymologies or pronunciations, but general information on these points is supplied in an introduction. This contains a short history of the language, showing its English origin and how it was influenced by the political relations of Scotland with France and England, and by English literature, especially the authorised version of the Bible. The separation into dialects is noted, and a map shows the chief geographical dialect divisions of the lowlands. There are also general rules for the pronunciation of Scottish words. Finally the introduction records the present state of studies in the language and the efforts which are being made to collect and preserve further words and meanings.

The vocabulary of words is very extensive. In addition to words in ordinary literary use, the book also contains legal and economic terms of a technical character, such as 'interlocutor,' 'run-rig,' 'kindlie tenant.' The scope of the work does not permit the inclusion of words which did not continue in use after the sixteenth century, but for the modern period it will be found a most convenient book of reference.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

**THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB.** Vol. II. Pp. xvi, 246, 26. With 58 Illustrations. Edinburgh: Printed by T. & A. Constable for the Members of the Club. Issued 1910.

THE Old Edinburgh Club began its career with a successful first volume, but the second more than fulfils the promise then held out. The first and

most important paper in the volume is Mr. W. B. Laikie's charming description of Edinburgh at the time of the occupation of Prince Charles. It is a vivid picture of the city, its people, and their customs in 1745. The temptation to stray into the many attractive by-paths, by which such a subject is surrounded, has been resisted, but no side of Edinburgh life has been omitted in this entertaining and scholarly contribution to history. Other articles in the volume include two valuable papers by Mr. W. Moir Bryce on the 'Flodden Wall of Edinburgh' and the 'Covenanters' Prison in the Inner Grey-Friars' Yard, Edinburgh'; 'The Cannon-Ball House,' by Mr. Bruce J. Home; another instalment of Mr. John Geddie's paper on the 'Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh'; and an amusing account of 'An Eighteenth Century Edinburgh Betting Club.' The volume is well illustrated.

Local historical clubs have many opportunities of doing useful work, but we have not seen any such publications which have more successfully fulfilled the true objects of such clubs, than the first and second volumes of the Old Edinburgh Club.

IRISH NATIONALITY. By ALICE STOPFORD GREEN. Pp. 256. Fcap. 8vo. Williams & Norgate. 1911. 1s.

MRS. GREEN'S new volume is full of interest. It sketches the history of Irish social life, commerce, literature, art, and politics for the last two thousand years. Necessarily it is only an outline of the subject, but here and there we have brilliant pictures filling in details.

Writing of Irish art in the first six centuries, Mrs. Green says: 'The gold and enamel work of the Irish craftsmen has never been surpassed, and in writing and illumination they went beyond the imperial artists of Constantinople.' Of their church at the same period, 'there was scarcely a boundary felt between the divine country and the earthly, so entirely was the spiritual life commingled with the national.'

Of their literature, Mrs. Green writes: 'Probably in the seventh and eighth centuries no one in Western Europe spoke Greek who was not Irish or taught by an Irishman.' 'For the first time also Ireland became known to Englishmen. Fleets of ships bore students and pilgrims, who forsook their native land for the sake of divine studies. The Irish most willingly received them all, supplying to them without charge food and books and teaching, welcoming them in every school from Derry to Lismore.' 'Every English missionary from the seventh to the ninth century had been trained under Irish teachers or had been for years in Ireland, enveloped by the ardour of their fiery enthusiasm'; and later 'the Irish clergy still remained unequalled in culture, even in Italy. One of them in 868 was the most learned of the Latinists of all Europe.'

Happiness seemed to lie before the land, but all this fair prospect was ruined by the later work of the English. 'We may ask whether in the history of the world there was cast out of any country such genius, learning, and industry, as the English flung, as it were, into the sea.' 'The great object of the government was to destroy the whole tradition,

wipe out the Gaelic memories, and begin a new English life.' 'At a prodigious price, at inconceivable cost of human woe, the purging of the soil from the Irish race was begun.' 'Torturers and hangmen went out with the soldiers. There was no protection for any soul: the old, the sick, infants, women, scholars.' 'Slave-dealers were let loose over the country, and the Bristol merchants did good business.' These wrongs and misfortunes of an earlier day were continued in the last century, for 'in the whole of Irish history no time brought such calamity to Ireland as the Victorian age.'

Of the Home Rule question Mrs. Green says: 'Earl Gerald of Desmond led a demand for home rule in 1341,' and from that time till now the people of Ireland have never ceased to 'claim a government of their own in their native land.' 'Ever since Irish members helped to carry the Reform Acts, they have been on the side of liberty, humanity, peace, and justice. They have been the most steadfast believers in constitutional law against privilege, and its most unswerving defenders. At Westminster they have always stood for human rights, as nobler even than rights of property.'

We have formerly, in dealing with Irish history, stated that neither our standpoint nor our interpretation of history is the same as Mrs. Green's. The above quotations are intended to show her point of view, but we would advise all readers to study the book for themselves. Whether they may agree or not agree with what they read, they will find that the volume, like all that Mrs. Green writes, deserves the most careful consideration.

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH. By James Bryce. New edition, in two volumes. Vol. I. pp. xiii, 742; Vol. II. pp. vii, 960. Demy 8vo. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1910. 21s. nett.

MUCH has been written about the United States since the first preface to the first edition of this book was written in 1888, and still more has happened than could be chronicled. Yet, in spite of careful revision, the addition of some notes and four new chapters, and the substitution of a new chapter by Mr. Seth Low for his earlier chapter on Municipal Government, the book is the same. The important fact is that Mr. Bryce, with all his new and intimate experiences, finds no reason to change his earlier attitude of confidence. Under the impulse of the same traditions and institutions, the people and government of the United States are gradually dealing with new problems. 'The reserve of force and patriotism' is more than sufficient to sweep away all the evils which are now tolerated. The type remains the same (cf. ii. 488).

No book of such importance has been so free from 'that attitude of impartial cynicism which sours and perverts the historical mind as much as prejudice itself' (i. 7). Mr. Bryce writes as one of the great school of Anglo-American jurists, whose studies in the slow and stately evolution of the Common Law have imparted a quality of certainty to their work which is as imperturbable as optimism. This quality gives strength to

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Anglo-American politics, and is the despair of foreign critics. The emancipated, (Mr. Henry James, for example,) find in it an inexhaustible source of interest. Without pessimism they wonder whether this spirit of safety, running through two thousand pages, is justified. Are these carefully balanced summaries and judgments really true? How will they look in the light of other work? In the great universities—and the Political Science Faculty of Columbia deserves honourable mention—the analysis of state institutions, state law and custom is going on as in a laboratory. Social observers are building their observations upon the scientific study of geographical and economic fact with a precision not to be found in Mr. Bryce's generalisations. For example, in his interesting chapter on Woman Suffrage (ii. 600-613) Mr. Bryce does not disentangle the broad difference between East and West, and the effect of the almost absolute social equality of the sexes in the Western States upon political ambition. His rather confusing note upon the legislation regarding Primaries (ii. 89) does not mention La Follette, the governor of Wisconsin, and the National Association which is agitating for the direct preparatory election.<sup>1</sup> The subject is merged in a general discussion; the sharp, personal, non-juristic motive is missed. Yet when all is told, or told as fully as it can ever be told, we think that Mr. Bryce will be justified: the innumerable crudities of American life may, after all, reproduce in the result something of the old Bostonian flavour.

In the meanwhile, his book stands for a tradition; it is a great corrective, like an old guildhall in a chattering market-place.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS. Vol. III. By John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay. Pp. viii, 270. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1910. 7s. 6d. nett.

JAMES BEATON, the sixth archbishop, has this volume all to himself, and the features of its predecessors, which Bishop Dowden marked with discriminating praise, continue to display themselves in this. The same painstaking assemblage of detail in the biography, the same use of the *Formulare*, and the same patient exposition of the political outlook characterise this biography of a prelate as worldly as any occupant of the see, and certainly less the favourite of fortune than some.

Upon the occupant of the see from 1523 until 1539 there devolved a historic responsibility for the course of ecclesiastic evolution which is of the gravest character, and from which it is vain to attempt to dissociate the individual influence. Beaton lives as inquisitor; as such he met with his contemporary John Major's praise of the *herba Betonia*; as such he faces the more critical verdict of posterity, which for three and a half centuries has made but grudging allowance for the tremendous cogency of the canonised tradition and administrative system. His biographers soberly acknowledge his excuses; for his patriotism and his national policy of French alliance to ward off the designs of Henry VIII. they ascribe to his early

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. C. Meyer, *Wahlamt und Vorwahl in der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika* (Leipzig, 1908).

chancellorship the honours of vital success, achieved by 'steadfast purpose and incorruptible devotion,' notwithstanding a king who loved him little, and a dowager and court that loved him less, and used him and imprisoned him by turns. His reputation for profound intrigue matched him with Wolsey, but the times he lived through were enough to tax his diplomacy to its extreme.

Legend grows fast about some men : this is the archbishop whose 'clattering conscience,' unsuspected of legend, has long stood among historic proverbs, but that story too is now under challenge, and Pitscottie's breezy narrative of the whole 'Clenze calsay' episode stands in need of a vindicator. A useful revise is given of the Latin text of a citation relative to the 'heresy' of Patrick Hamilton.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS. Volume xxvi, 1904-7. Pp. xix, 518. Demy 8vo. Inverness Gaelic Society of Inverness. 1910.

THE Jacobite movements of the eighteenth century are the episodes in Highland history which always command the most widespread interest, and the present volume brings forward some new papers dealing with these events. The most interesting is a translation from the French of the log of the 'Dutillet,' or 'Doutelle,' the ship which brought Prince Charles Edward to Scotland in 1745. This authority differs in some minor points from the account given in the *Lyon in Mourning*. An interesting paper relative to 1715 is a record by John Cameron of Lochiel of his own share in the rising ; this clearly brings out the difficulties in which he was on account of the proximity of Fort-William and the failure of the Campbells of Lochnell to come out. The Camerons' experience at Sheriffmuir graphically illustrates the confusion of the Highland army under Mar's incompetent leadership.

Two papers dealing with ancient times discuss the civilisation of the Britons before the Roman conquest, and give an account of the deities of Celtic peoples. A number of old Highland legends and traditions are also recorded. Of a more purely historical character are some notes upon Kiltarlity families, and on the religious and economic condition of Sutherland in the eighteenth century. There is also an account of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment.

The more immediate purpose of the Society in the study and preservation of Gaelic is well served by the printing of several collections of Gaelic poems, and of a MS. treatise on penitence from the old Benedictine college at Ratisbon. The peculiarities of the Gaelic of Lewis are also the subject of notice.

ABERDEEN STREET NAMES : THEIR HISTORY, MEANING, AND PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS. By G. M. Fraser. Pp. 164. With eighteen Illustrations. Post 8vo. Aberdeen : William Smith & Sons. 1911. 3s. 6d. nett.

THE origin and meaning of the place-names of Scotland have been the subject of a number of books in recent years, but the study of street nomen-

clature has received very little attention. Mr. Fraser's book shows how interesting and instructive this subject can be made.

The first chapter deals with the origin of street names in Scottish towns, explaining why Castlegates, Cowgates, Vennels, etc., occur in most of the older burghs, and mentioning that the formal naming of streets is comparatively recent—in Aberdeen dating from the middle of the eighteenth century. The succeeding chapters discuss such interesting topics as 'The French element in Aberdeen Street Names, 'The Guestrow'—a corruption of 'Ghaistrow,' so called on account of its proximity to St. Nicholas Churchyard, and 'Kittybrewster,' a word found in almost its present form as early as 1615.

The streets of the West End, though mostly new, are not without historical associations. Carden Place derives its name from a well near by, which was formerly one of the sources of the Aberdeen water supply, and which was visited in 1552 by the famous Italian physician, Jerome Cardan, who came to Scotland to cure John Hamilton, the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews. It is amusing to read that when Gladstone Place and Beaconsfield Place were laid out simultaneously, Conservatives refused to reside in the one, while Liberals would not take feus in the other. About twenty illustrations from photographs and sketches add to the value of the book.

OLD ROSS-SHIRE AND SCOTLAND: Supplementary Volume. By W. MacGill, B.A. (Lond.) Pp. vii, 145. Royal 8vo. Inverness: The Northern Counties Publishing Company, Ltd. 1911.

THE earlier volume of documents, to which this is a supplement, was reviewed at length in these columns January, 1910, pp. 177-9, and the present one continues the notes of excellence there characterised. Some more Balnagown papers add to the details of family history, and illustrate the local attitude during the great times between the Covenant and the Revolution. A batch of Lowland documents (Lanark, Edinburgh, etc.) intervene for reasons which Mr. MacGill might have made clearer. But the main interest of the volume centres on the seventeenth and eighteenth century records of the Baron Courts of Balnagown and the Burgh Books of Tain, which furnish so much material for a reconstruction of local life in its more intimate aspects. There is an interesting note on the vexed question of ancient valuations (pp. 66-7), and, to wind up with (pp. 134-6), a carefully detailed claim for Tain as 'the oldest burgh in Scotland,' a conclusion patriotic but scarcely plausible. Burghs existed before formal charter recognition. Mr. MacGill is to be congratulated on his finished work, and Tain and Ross-shire upon a remarkable contribution to local history.

SECOND REPORT AND INVENTORY OF MONUMENTS AND CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE COUNTY OF SUTHERLAND. La. 8vo. Pp. xlvi, 195. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office. 1911. Price 6s.

DIRECTLY attributing this remarkable catalogue to Mr. A. O. Curle, the report of the Royal Commissioners on ancient and historical monuments

prefaces his work with an account of the method adopted by their Secretary in the survey he made, and the instructive inventory he has compiled. No argument is needed to convince the reader about the amount of personal exertion involved in the task of dealing with monuments, 548 in number, scattered over a large county with huge areas of almost inaccessible waste, for the most part mountainous. Its archaeology is dominantly of northern types: there are 67 brochs; hut-circles and earth-houses are the most numerous class of remains; cairns and mounds are largely represented; standing-stones are almost as few as stone circles; not one specific *motte* is recorded. On the origin and affinities of the Celtic races the report offers no light; the broch we know reveals Celtic influence and the impress of late Celtic art; singularly enough no one structure is accredited to the Norsemen. Scandinavian influence, except in the blood of the inhabitants and the place-names of the county, is denied in the structural effects of three centuries of historical Norse occupation. These are bold and far inferences, and the conclusion that the Celtic predominance was so slightly interrupted and so complete after the Norse raids were over is one that invites challenge. To say that no construction has been found 'whose origin or occupation is assignable to these invaders' is probably an over-statement of the case, until exhaustive digging settles it. In any case the proposition will be all the better of a note of interrogation.

As regards the descriptions of the structures it need only be said that they are, with the accompanying occasional ground plans and photographs of typical remains, models of compressed characterisation. At the end there are inset three large folding maps reduced to the half-inch scale from the Ordnance Survey and converted by an ingenious system of red and green ink additions into an excellent antiquarian chart of the vast territory of the shire.

Such work as this will make the Royal Commission an epoch in systematic archaeology.

THE PERSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905-1909. By Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., F.B.A. Pp. xxvi, 470. With many Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 10s. nett.

REVOLUTIONS and the causes which, openly or secretly, lead to them are always the most complex phases of a nation's history. It is particularly difficult for a foreigner to understand them, and in the case of an Oriental state they are complicated further by the differences of the religion and thought, and particularly, in the case of Persia, by an exotic system of nomenclature. Notwithstanding these hard facts before him, Professor Browne has attempted to show his readers the chief causes and events of the Persian Revolution of 1905-1909. The causes were of course many, some patent some latent. They included the Panislamic Wave, National Rivalry between the British and the Russians, the Tobacco Concession (1890) and the subsequent riots until its withdrawal. The assassination of Naseru'd Din Sháh in May 1896, and the accession of his son Muza'ffaru'd Din Sháh who loved foreign travel though it cost his subjects £240 a day when he was in Paris, added fuel to the flame. A second Russian

loan was raised and new tariffs imposed. Rioting began and petitions for reform were presented in April 1906. The idea of 'Reform' grew and filled the air, the priests, for once, finding themselves on the side of the reformers. A constitution was granted and the election of the first majlis (laughed at by the British press) commenced. Journalism quickened with the tumult, and the constitution was signed a week before the Shah's death in January 1907. The national assembly had to face the hostility of the new Shah backed by Russian support open and secret, and a reactionary movement. An abortive *coup d'État* was attempted in December 1907, but riots continued and another bloody *coup d'État* (23rd June, 1908) for a time quieted matters, the Russian in the Shah's service, Liakhoff, seeming to be supreme. Insurrection and rioting continued, and when later the Nationalists entered Tihrán, the new Shah, Muhammad 'Ali Mirza, fled to the Russian Legation, his little son Ahmad was placed on the vacant throne and the second majlis convoked on 15th November. The author strives against the persistent British belief that the government of the Constitutionalists is a 'Comic Opera Government,' and thinks the movement that called it into being was a national struggle for existence. He has put his facts and narratives into a form valuable to students who will read his somewhat bewildering book in spite of its many difficulties.

The *History of Kirkintilloch* by Select Contributors (*Kirkintilloch Herald* Office, 3s. 6d. net) amplifies but slightly the parochial history given by Watson in his *Kirkintilloch Town and Parish* (J. Smith & Sons, 1894). It is free from the gossip into which the older volume frequently lapses, and it is marked—especially in the essays under Mr. T. Dalrymple Duncan's name—by an obvious historical equipment. But there is frequent overlapping and repetition, and no continuous thread binds the various essays together; important periods in the history of the parish are almost completely overlooked while valuable space is devoted to unimportant details. From Pastor Horne's monograph on the general expansion of the town we learn that so late as 1720, the Kirk-Session was investigating charges against individuals of buying and selling wives 'for a month.' Mr. T. Dalrymple Duncan makes a scholarly presentation of the results of recent archaeological research, showing that the Peel dominating Kirkintilloch, is as it stands, not Roman but feudal. Originally trenched by Agricola and reconstructed by Lollius Urbicus, A.D. 143, it became in the early years of the twelfth century the site of a stronghold of the powerful Comyn family; and razed to the ground by the Bruce after the War of Independence, its stones were finally quarried for the walls of the eighteenth century built Parish Church, and for neighbouring dykes. Mr. Andrew Stewart, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, and the late Dr. Whitelaw are respectively responsible for painstaking contributions on Scholastic history and literary remains.

THOMAS JOHNSTON.

*Un Cavalier Léger.* Le Colonel Clère, 1791-1866. Par Alfred Marquiset. (Pp. 63. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911.) A huzzar whose service began in 1807, who fought in Holland, in the Peninsular War, and at Waterloo,

and who, so late as 1846, saw good service in Africa, Pierre-Gaspard Clère merited his memoir. His adventures were not few, and some of them, in his youth, characteristic of 'une gauloiserie bien soldatesque' in the homage of Mars to Venus, are recorded in his own notes. His description of exploits by Cossacks in 1813 is a lively and curious tribute to their horsemanship. In that year Clère was made sub-lieutenant. 'Toute epaulette,' says his kinsman-biographer, 'doit être arrosée,' and his was graced by the gallant rescue of his general, still memorialised by the silver-mounted 'pipe of honour,' which the grateful general inscribed and gave.

A well-timed publication is *The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology at the Period of the Reformation*, at the University of St. Andrews, edited with an introduction and notes by Robert Kerr Hannay (8vo, pp. 135. St. Andrews: W. C. Henderson & Son, 1910). It quotes not only the chief early arts statutes, dated 1416, but also the theology statutes of 1560 as well as the arts statutes of 1561-2 and 1570. Besides, the introduction is an excellently clear editorial notice and exposition, and an apt and serviceable essay on university education, method and government from the advent of the 'grammar student,' until the much longed for 'dies aule' when the Chancellor dubbed him 'Magister' by setting the 'birretum' on his head.

*The Fortunes of Nigel*, edited, with introduction, notes and glossary, by Stanley V. Makower (8vo. Pp. xii, 640. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1911. Price, 2s.), must be welcomed by others than quite young students for its full annotations, even if, as remarked of previous volumes in this series of the Waverley novels, it seems a trifle oppressive to explain the scriptural allusions. Notes and glossary alike reveal the extraordinary width and adroitness of Scott's citations and phrases, and show with how much learning a great master's imagination set itself to play. Mr. Makower has on the whole been happy in his task of equipping a classic for what will soon be its second century.

*British Museum Bible Exhibition, 1911. Guide to the Manuscripts and Printed Books.* Exhibited in celebration of the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version. Printed by Order of the Trustees. 1911. 4to. Pp. 64, with 8 plates. Price, 6d.

*Our English Bible. The History of its Development.* By Rev. J. O. Bevan. 8vo. Pp. xiii, 93. London: George Allen & Sons. Price, 6d.

*Glasgow University Library. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Bibles in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Authorised Version, 1611-1911,* with a prefatory sketch and notes by George Milligan, D.D. Pp. 39. Glasgow: MacLehose. 1911. Price, 3d.

The tercentenary has left an abundant tide-mark in reprints, studies, and minor bibliographies. *The British Museum Guide* has excellent plates of the MS. Lindisfarne Gospels and the Wyclifite Bible, and of early printed versions—Tyndale's New Testament 1525, Coverdale's Bible 1535, and the Great Bible of 1541, while for frontispiece we have the ornate title-page

of the first edition of the version of 1611. Among the documents enumerated is a draft Act of Elizabeth 'for the reducing of diversities of Bibles now extant in the Englishe tongue to one setled vulgar translated from the originall.'

Mr. Bevan's popular sketch concludes with a handy synopsis of dates and a list of archaic words. Professor Milligan equips the hundred or so of books exhibited in Glasgow—including a number printed in Scotland—with a short and clear historical introduction.

South Africa being now well within holiday range for the favoured few, we are not surprised to receive a *Guide to Khami Ruins near Bulawayo*, by R. N. Hall. (8vo. Pp. 83. Bulawayo: Philpott & Collins. 1910. Price, 2s.) Numerous plans of the ruins and photographs of the ancient masonry supply material to check Mr. Hall's conclusions regarding the various structures and their connection with pre-Islamite, Persian and Portuguese mining operations.

The troop of serial Viking Club publications includes the *Old Lore Miscellany* for April, which has good descriptions and illustrations of old Orkney farmhouses, and a valuable letter from Rev. Alex. Pope, translator of Torfæus, dated 1763, and stoutly corroborating the verity of the Ossianic remains. A fasciculus of *Caithness and Sutherland Records* (vol. i. part v.) consists of documents from 1276 to 1342.

*The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* for January describes Berkshire churches and begins a history of Bisham Abbey, an Augustine priory founded in 1336. Its foundation stone, laid by Edward III., was covered with a brass incidentally commemorating the battle of Halidon Hill (see *S.H.R.* ii. 483). Epitaphs, fines and entries from parish registers diversify the number which contains a note on trials for riot in Harley village in 1340 and 1342. One of the judges was 'William de Shareshull' (the 'Scharshull' of an alliterative poem) not yet Chief Justice.

In the issue for April some extracts are printed from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Amongst them is this: '1586, Item, paid for ringing at the beheading of the Queen of Scots.' As regards the date, of course, February 1586-7 was by the then current computation 1586.

In *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* (Dec.) we remark an account of a Memorial unveiled last year to that English worthy, Thomas Fuller, D.D.; also a curious MS. description of Somerton in 1579.

The *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* continues to enjoy a vigorous life. To judge from the 150 odd pages that go to make up the part now before us (vol. xvi. Feb.—Nov., 1910), the interests of contributors and readers are historical rather than archaeological. The story of Ulster is so recent, and the cleavage of parties there so acute, that the temptation to prejudice is unduly severe. It is therefore particularly pleasant to acknowledge the impartial spirit of the *Journal*, and to note the evidence which it affords of

the existence of a strong body of serious opinion prepared to encourage every honest endeavour to ascertain fundamental facts and put them duly on record. Several of the articles touch on points in which Scotsmen are concerned, notably the full and complete account of the Battle of Benburb.

*The Proceedings during the year 1910 of the Somersetshire Archaeological Natural History Society* (3rd series, vol. xvi.), besides reports and addresses, contains Mr. St. George Gray's paper on archaeological remains at Ham Hill, with illustrations (including the scales of a Roman *lorica*) of numerous capital finds from the stone age downwards. Mr. A. Bulleid and Mr. Gray together describe the lake village at Meare, three miles west of that at Glastonbury. Articles of bronze exceed those of iron, but tools of bone (including 21 weaving combs) are most numerous of all. A date from 200 B.C. is definitely suggested. Mr. J. H. Spencer gives an architectural account of Taunton Castle with plans and mouldings, while Mr. F. B. Bond does the like for Glastonbury Abbey.

Documentary study is well represented by the Rev. J. F. Chanter's translation of the Court Rolls of the Manor of Curry Rivel during the Black Death, 1348-49. This admirable examination shows the deaths of 63 tenants out of an estimated total of 150, between October, 1348, and March, 1349—a death-rate of two-fifths of the population in six months. There is wisdom in his hint that the much higher mortality alleged for other places by Dr. Jessop and Dom Gasquet, may probably be an over-estimate. Always, one may make a proverb of it, the miracle grows less.

In the *Modern Languages Review* (April), Prof. Grierson of Aberdeen edits and discusses, with fresh MS. sources, a curious poem, *The World's a bubble*, by Bacon. It was adapted directly or indirectly from a Greek epigram, and Prof. Grierson makes it the key to an interesting poetical correspondence between Bacon, Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton. The poet Drummond's sources continue to receive attention. Dr. Kastner now shows much subtlety, not to say insidious transference of phrase and idea from Sir Philip Sidney. It was a fashion, and not of that age only; Mr. H. Littledale tracks in Spenser (*Amoretti*, xv.) the clearest of debts to Desportes; M. Berthon similarly tracks Suckling's *Proffered Love Rejected* to a poem assigned to Desportes; and Mr. J. L. Lowes is only a little less convincing in his proposition that in *L'Allegro* a fine passage, descriptive of a morning walk, with a hunt and a ploughed field, owed both inspiration and music to five and twenty lines of charming lyric in Nicholas Breton's *Passionate Shepherd*. Our contemporary literary quarterly is rendering distinguished service to scientific criticism.

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated 1843, publishes quarterly the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. In the December number is a note of the last death in battle in the War of American Independence. In November, 1872, Captain William Wilmot in an enterprise against James Island, Charleston, made by suggestion of Kosciuszko, then serving with him under Washington, was shot,—‘the last bloodshed in the American War.’ He had made his will in June, 1781. ‘Being at this time called

to the defence of my Country,' as he says, he bequeathes various tracts of land and other legacies, among which is that to his brother Robert of 'one negro boy named Will and also one negro Woman named Judah, she and her Increase.' The last phrase reminds us of the medieval *sequela* for the offspring of the serf. Memories of later warfare appear also in a series of extracts from a Federalist surgeon's diary during the earlier campaigns of the Army of the Potomac in 1861-62. A paper on Quit Rent in Maryland has the double interest of studying colonial economics and feudalism overseas. Lord Baltimore under his charter was proprietor and his grants to settlers began in 1633, with rents of 20 lbs. wheat per 50 acres. In 1635 the rate was 2s. per 100 acres, reduced in 1641 to 1s., restored in 1649 to 2s., and finally fixed at 4s. from 1671, until the Revolution swept the institution away. Various schemes for commutation into a colonial tax were temporarily operative, including that of an export duty of 2s. per hogshead of tobacco in compensation for all quit-rents and alienation fines, but jealousies as to the advantage of the bargain prevented success. Modifications in the rent show adaptations to the situation. Choptank Indians paid six beaver skins, and some other chiefs paid 24 bows and arrows yearly, and there was no friction. To settle the frontier between the Susquehanna and the Potomac, rents were waived for three years in 1733, and again in 1749 to encourage immigrants and erect a barrier against the French and the Indians beyond. Politically the occasion of minor grievances and economically a retarding factor, the quit-rent seems to have chiefly had the historical effect of keeping out intending settlers.

The March number of this periodical prints a secret letter of July, 1814, from Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn to Admiral Sir Alex. Cochrane, then commander-in-chief on the American Station, with a plan of attack on Washington by a landing at Benedict and a march thence.

*The American Journal of Psychology* (January) has a study by Mr. H. L. Hollingworth on the Psychology of Drowsiness. It is perhaps cheerful to find that one's lapse of interest can be scientifically accounted for, even if the technology be sesquipedalian. 'Hypnagogic hallucination,' however, should not be trifled with.

Professor Jacob H. Hollander has contributed to the Johns Hopkins University Studies a biographical and economic essay *David Ricardo, a Centenary Estimate* (8vo, pp. 137. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1910. Price, \$1.00). It sketches the great economist's life, reviews his work, and attempts an appreciation of his influence. Much attention is paid to the share in the evolution, both of his theory of value and of his more general principles, due to his Jewish birth; his practical experience as a stockbroker; and his intimate relations with James Mill, Malthus, and M'Culloch. In form he would seem to have so far followed Rousseau in phrasemaking designed to impress by an arresting antithesis, primarily suggesting paradox, but really condensing theory into a series of epigrammatic tabloids. Professor Hollander attributes the successes of Ricardo to his business equipment, coupled with a persistent quest after universal laws or tendencies. His propositions, although 'enunciated in unsystematic

elliptical form,' remain 'the corner stone of economic science.' The estimate has the merits of clearness, balance, and sympathy. If the last quality is the most evident, there is abundant justification in the fact that Ricardo entered last year into his second century as a power in economics.

*The American Historical Review* (April), besides a survey of Russo-Japanese War literature, contains an account by Mr. R. B. Merriman of the Cortes of the various Spanish Kingdoms, cent. xiii-xvi, comparing their divergent powers and functions. Highly developed in Castile and Aragon the authority of the Cortes in Catalonia was even higher, and their theoretical restraints on the kings are as instructive as their legislative control. Mr. Carl Becker, estimating Walpole's *Memoirs*, suggests that Walpole, revising his manuscript in 1784 after the American War, altered his original standpoint and inserted new conclusions that the reign of George III. was primarily a struggle against the despotic tendencies of the crown.

Of the highest general interest is Miss Violet Barbour's paper on the 'Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies.' It is packed with facts on the exploits of the buccaneers, those desperate naval gentlemen whose name she in common with Carlyle and the *Oxford Dictionary* derives from *boucan*, the smoke-cured beef used by them in their expeditions. As a chapter in the wars of England and Spain, the story enters upon its great era only after Cromwell's capture of Jamaica by the expedition under Sir William Penn in 1655. The buccaneer colony of Tortuga, mainly French, was long the base for attacks on the Spanish shipping and settlements almost as deadly as those inflicted by the English terrors of the sea. Greatest of all exploits in that pirate-haunted ocean was Henry Morgan's feat in 1668, the sack of Portobello, which was, next to Panama and Carthagena, the most important town and market in Spanish America. Piracy, like border freebooting, was hard to put down and maintained itself in the West Indies till towards the close of the eighteenth century. Miss Barbour has dredged deep in state papers and narrative memoirs, and has brought to the surface no small treasure of lawless memories.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (Jan.) is an interesting account of Lieutenant Albert M. Lea's reports on the Des Moines river, made in 1835, and on Wisconsin with reference to Iowa, made in 1836, after campaigns in which the young engineer took part. They give pioneer information on the virgin Iowa prairies. A painful story of the war of Secession is given by Gen. J. H. Stibbs in his article on 'Andersonville and the trial of Henry Wirz.' It describes the horrible treatment of federal prisoners in 1864-5 in the stockade built for them at Andersonville, Georgia. The general denounces Wirz, and maintains that his death sentence after a trial lasting fifty days was abundantly justified by his needless brutality, causing infinite suffering and the deaths of hundreds of men.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April has a long article by K. W. Colgrove on the relations between the pioneers and the Indians from 1820, specially tracing the changing attitude of Congress towards the unresting westward movement of the United States frontier line until 1850

when it had reached far beyond the Mississippi. The policy, so well expressed by the Scottish phrase to 'birse yont,' was doubtless inevitable. Its course, as reflected in the records of the Legislature, parallels the expansion of British territory in India and South Africa.

The January number of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* opens with a concise and elaborately-documented article by Canon Callewaert on 'La méthode dans la recherche de la base juridique des premières persécutions,' in which the writer, after dealing with the three treatments which the subject has received at the hands of the schools represented by Mommsen, Le Blant and Allard, lays down the lines which he proposes to follow in a subsequent article. The articles which follow on 'Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède,' by L. Bril, and 'La transformation du culte anglican sous Edouard VI.,' by G. Constant, are equally worthy of study, and are marked by sobriety and erudition. The latter article, which is of particular interest to students of English Church history, deals with the 'Order of Communion' of 1548 and the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., and lays emphasis on the Lutheran influences which affected their compilers. Attention may be drawn to interesting reviews of Weber's 'Simony in the Christian Church,' the second volume of Allen's edition of the 'Letters of Erasmus,' and MacChaffrey's 'History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century.' The number closes with an invaluable Bibliography of recent works on church history.

In the *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* (Troisième série. Tome I. Octobre-Décembre, 1909) there is a study of the religious guilds, *frairies* or confraternities of trades of Poitiers by M. Rambaud. It will repay close examination, and a comparison with Scottish usage could hardly fail to yield profit. Most of the *frairies* are of relatively late origin, there being no document for any of them till the end of the fifteenth century. Their creation was under similar conditions to those here; it was a matter of local police, and the assent of the Maire and the Echevins was necessary to their constitution and to the statutes they proposed for themselves. These included regulations as to admission of apprentices and dues of various kinds, seldom or never omitting the offerings and celebrations due to the particular patron saints.

'The saints chosen,' says M. Rambaud, 'are little varied. The same one is often adopted by a group of similar corporations. Thus the Bakers, Pastrymen, and Restaurateurs celebrate the feast of St. Honoré. Goldsmiths, Farriers, Smiths, and Locksmiths, celebrate that of St. Eloi. Certain liberal professions have the same saints as those of the trades. The Advocates, like the Printers, honour St. John-Porte-Latine. The Faculty of Medicine along with the Painters and Glaziers prefers St. Luke. Then the learned University of Poitiers, on the same day as the Apothecaries, celebrates mass at the convent of the Cordeliers, in honour of St. Mary Magdalen. Once adopted the saint changes no more and remains almost always the same for each craft (*maîtrise*) not only at Poitiers but in all France.' He remarks that generally the churches chosen for their ceremonies and masses were the monasteries of the Friars Mendicant.

Change was infrequent, but occurred sometimes, as when in 1629 the Surgeons, being *la confrairie de Messieurs Saint Cosme et Saint Damien*, gave up the church of the Carmelites (with whom they had quarrelled), agreed to accept instead 'the office of the Jacobins,' and transferred their services to the church of the latter accordingly where they continued until the Revolution. M. Rambaud's researches merit being made a note of by the growing body of gild-students in our midst.

In tome II. (Janvier-Mars, 1910) General Papuchon sketches the origin and development of the Commune of La Puye formed *circa* 1102 as a convent of Fontevrist nuns, owning an extensive tract not far from Poitiers. The tenancies are described as invariably including a rental in fowls, which will surprise no student of medieval tenures, and about which the gallant general creates amusing difficulty by accounting for as peculiarly appropriate to feminine recipients. M. De la Croix describes explorations made at the abbey of Nouaillé, whither the relics of St. Junien were carried in A.D. 830. Much the most interesting discovery was that of the crypt found below the choir. It proved to be in form an eleventh century apse 8 m. 40 long; 5 m. 30 broad. Of the foundation for carrying the shrine, four flagstones (*carreaux*) remain—*restes de quatre piles sur lesquelles reposait la châsse de Saint Junien*. The *châsse* has the dimensions of a sarcophagus but is not one. It is not original, as it has the characteristics not of the sixth but of the ninth century, and M. De la Croix points out as singular the fact that it was not oriented, but had the head turned north and the foot south.

In the *Revue Historique* (Mars-Avril) M. G. Bloch commences a study of the Roman Plebs, with especial regard to the recent work of Prof. Julius Binder on the subject. He re-examines proposed explanations, the religious and the religious-political, to account for the ulterior developments in the ethnographic connection. His progress towards a formal enunciation of his own position carries him through many phases of legend, law, and worship, and gives promise of illuminating results. M. Saulnier discusses the proposal of Henry IV. to marry his famous mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, balked by her sudden death.

M. Valentin finds an entertaining subject in a literary vagabond at the end of the eighteenth century, viz. F. C. Laukhard, born 1758, son of a pastor in the Palatinate, died 1822, after the life of a rolling stone. He went first as a spy from the Germans to the French Army of the Rhine, then he threw in his lot with the French, and saw much of the movement of 1792-3, returning to Germany subsequently to write and drink with equal energy. His reminiscences are very interesting for the testimony they bear to the spirit of the Revolution. In sympathy with the Republic, he foretold the success of its arms, recognising from the first that the army only wanted a chief.

## Communications and Replies

THE COURT OF LOVE. It is suggested (*S.H.R.* viii. 326) that a certain number of 'fifteenth century poems,' including *The Court of Love*, should be studied together, as being closely related.

I think it would be far simpler to put *The Court of Love* out of court at once. Beyond the fact that, coming last, the author could quote from anything preceding it, it does not really belong to the set at all. Its false grammar is not the same kind of false grammar as is found in the rest; and I deny that it belongs to the fifteenth century at all; nor is it Scottish.

I have stated the case against its early date in vol. vii. of my edition of *Chaucer and Chaucerian Pieces*; and I suggest there the high probability that it was inspired by the appearance of Thynne's edition of Chaucer's Works in 1532.

The case against its early date grows stronger with the appearance of every new part of the New English Dictionary. It was natural enough that the editors should at first put it as early as 'about 1450.' See, for example, the verb *bedrench*, whence the p.p. *bedreint*, noted as appearing in *The Court of Love*, l. 577. But it was soon discovered that this would never do, as it would credit the author with using words long before they were known to any one else. With regard to this very word, for example, the *second* instance of its use is in 1563, or more than a century later! Experience showed that this approximate date of 'about 1450' would have to be shifted down; and it steadily began to move accordingly, so that, by the time the N.E.D. arrived at the word *Linnet*, its supposed date was later by *eighty years*, which is a good deal. It is there marked as being 'about 1530,' remarkably near to my conjectural date of about 1533.

Where did the author of *The Court of Love* find the name of *Rosiall* for a young lady in l. 741? Either he invented it (which I doubt) or he simply copied from some one else. Now the earliest known quotation for it is duly given in the N.E.D. from Elyot's *Governour*, bk. ii. c. 12: 'the *rosiall* colour which was wont to be in his visage.' And what is the date of that? It is known to be 1531! Not merely so, but Elyot's form is incorrect, as the N.E.D. points out; it should have been *roseal*, with *e* before *a*, and only one *l*. But Elyot wrongly has *rosiall*, which is, accordingly, the very spelling in *The Court of Love*; and that, not only in l. 741, as above, but again, in ll. 767, 1019, 1327. There is thus strong proof that the date 'about 1530,' which has been suggested against all preconceived notions by the simple logic of necessity, should rather be

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'after 1531.' And, having got as far as that, I believe a time will come when the critics will accept, as still more likely, 'after 1532.'

Cambridge.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

**ROBERT DE PREBENDA, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.** [Mr. William Brown, Secretary of the Surtees Society, has kindly communicated the following note regarding a thirteenth century Bishop of Dunblane, Robert 'de Prebenda' or 'de la Provendir' *circa* 1256-1283. His connection with Ruddington, near Nottingham, was known previously, but the abstract from MS. Assize Rolls of Nottinghamshire is particularly valuable for the definite data it supplies confirming very explicitly the conjecture of Thoroton, whose book was published in 1677, that Bishop Robert was a scion of the Ruddington family.]

Robert Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (Throsby's edition), i. 126. John, son of Sigerus de Clifton, remised to Richard, called Martell, of Rodington, lands 'sometime the bishop of Dunblane's. The witnesses, Sir John de Leke, Sir Geoffrey de Stapleford, Knts., Richard de Pavelli of Rodington, Henry Poutrell of Thurmeton, etc., in the time of Edward I. It is like the bishop was of this family and that Rodingtons were afterwards called Martells,<sup>1</sup> p. 127. A chantry was founded in Flawforth church, 37 H. 6, by William Babington, supposed to represent the Martells, and amongst the souls to be prayed for besides certain members of the Martell family was Mr. Robert Prebend, sometime bishop of Dunblane.

Assize Roll (Notts.), No. 671, m. 4. 'Morrow of St. Mary Magdalen, 15 E. 1 (23 July, 1287). An assize was taken to ascertain whether Robert son of Geoffrey, bishop of Dunblane (deceased), and others were seised in demesne as of fee in two messuages, etc., in Clyfton, Slapton, and Hokenale. He is also called Robert son of Geoffrey de Rotyngton, and was brother of Adam son of Geoffrey de Rotyngton. The bishop had a nephew, Richard Martel of Rutyngton, who on Thursday, the eve of St. James the Apostle, 15 Edw. I. (24 July, 1287), granted the manor of Hokenale Torkard, which he had received from his uncle, to Walter de Wynkeburne. The bishop also had property in Chyllewelle.'

Clifton, Slapton and Chilwell, like Ruddington, are to the south and south-west of Nottingham near the Trent. Hucknall-Torkard is about eight miles north of Nottingham. It belonged to Lord Byron who is buried in the church there.

WILLIAM BROWN.

**JENNY CAMERON.** I desire to discover as much as can be discovered about the famous Jenny Cameron of the '45, apart from the accounts in the catchpenny books called her *Life*, which were published after Culloden. That she existed is certain. That she was famous all over Britain is shown by a remark in *Tom Jones*. That she was popularly supposed to have a personal influence over Prince Charlie is demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the print of his head between portraits of herself and of Flora

<sup>1</sup> Autog. apud Clifton.

## Jenny Cameron

MacDonald with the legend beneath the three :

‘How happy could I be with either  
Were t’other dear charmer away.’

Bishop Forbes mentions her in *The Lyon in Mourning* as being, on the authority of Æneas MacDonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart, at the raising of Prince Charlie’s standard at Glenfinnan. He calls her ‘the famous Miss Jeanie Cameron (as she is commonly though very improperly called, for she is a widow nearer 50 than 40 years of age). . . . She was so far from accompanying the Prince’s army that she went off with the rest of the spectators, as soon as the army marched, neither did she ever follow the camp nor was ever with the Prince but in public when he had his court in Edinburgh.’ The printed *Lives* I discard just now except that they sometimes mention that she was of the Glendessera family. The details they give of her career are unworthy of belief. The rumour was, however, that she followed the Jacobite army, and fought both at Prestonpans and Culloden. The latter is impossible, as we know<sup>1</sup> that she was captured by the Hanoverian troops near Stirling early in February, 1746. She, called ‘Ye Lady,’ was brought thence and put in ward in the castle of Edinburgh until November, and then ‘upon her petition to the governor setting forth her bad state of health,’ she was admitted to bail upon 15th November. The next certain information we have of her hitherto was from the ‘intelligence sent to Col: Napier from Scotland about seven casks of money for the Rebels’<sup>2</sup> [circa March, 1749]. There we find ‘that one Samuel Cameron (brother to the above-mentioned Cameron of Gleneavis), major in the regiment which was Lochiel’s in the French service, was at Edinburgh, and came in a chaise with the famous Mrs. Jean Cameron to Stirling, where they parted, and she came to her house in Morvern about the middle of March, and he took some different route. It is supposed that he came over on a message with regard to that money. . . .’

I have been able to identify to what family this ‘famous Mrs. Jean Cameron’ belonged. I have kindly been permitted to examine the Manuscripts of Lord Justice Clerk Erskine (Tinwald),<sup>3</sup> among whose papers are many pieces of ‘intelligence’ from the Highlands relating to the Jacobite ‘Rebels.’ One headed ‘Intelligence Dr. Cameron’ is undated, but runs, ‘That Doctor Cameron broy’ to the late Locheil attainted, and one Cameron, who in the year 1745 deserted from Captain Campbell of Inverawe his company, now an officer in the french service, were about the middle of 7 f<sup>re</sup> last in Mrs. Jean Cameron, sister to Glendesery her house in Morvern, and from thence they went to Lawdale in that country, and by appointment met there with Alex: M’Lachlane aid de camp to the young Pretender in time of the late unnatural rebellion. Where the said Doctor told M’Lachlane that he, the Doctor, had not seen the person called by that party Prince Charles for four years past till harvest last. That the said Prince told the Doctor, then [and this is interesting also] that he had been in England and thrice at London within the preceding

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Magazine*.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lang’s *Companions of Pickle*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *The Erskine Murray Papers*.

twelve month, where he met with all encouragement, and that he was determined to make ane other Attempt to recover (as he terms it) his right. And further that he told the Doctor that 16,000 foreigners composed of Swedes, Prussians, Dens & French were engaged for that purpose. The Doctor added that the Swedes had already embarked or were soon to do it.'

This identifies Jenny Cameron as a sister of Cameron of Glendesseray, and—sweeping away all spurious identifications or personations—as the person the Rev. David Ure wrote of in his *History of the Parish of Rutherglen*. He wrote: 'In mentioning the places of note in this parish, Mount Cameron should by no means be omitted. . . .

'This place, formerly called Blacklaw, takes its present name from Mrs. Jean Cameron, a lady of a distinguished family, character, and beauty. Her zealous attachment to the house of Stuart, and the active part she took to support its interest in the year 1745, made her well known throughout Britain. Her enemies, indeed, took unjust freedom with her good name; but what can the unfortunate expect from a fickle and misjudging world? The revengeful and malicious, especially if good fortune is on their side, seldom fail to put the worst constructions on the purest and most disinterested motives.' After a eulogy on her maligned character and her 'becoming devotion,' he mentions that 'Her brother and his family, of all her friends, paid her the greatest attention. She died in the year 1773 (really 1772), and was buried at Mount Cameron among a clump of trees adjoining to the house. Her grave is distinguished by nothing but a turf of grass, which is now almost equal to the ground.'

This is the next clue. On turning up the Records of the Commissariat of Hamilton and Campsie one finds the Testament-Testamentar of 'Mrs. Jean Cameron of Mount Cameron in the parish of Kilbride,' who died in 1772, dated 24th April, 1772, and registered on the 5th October. It mentions that she was sister-german to Captain Allan Cameron of Glendesseray,<sup>1</sup> who had one son, Donald, and three daughters, Katherine [she married, I believe, Alexander MacLean, 14<sup>th</sup> of Coll, and was grandmother to Lady Vere Hobart, who in 1832 married Donald Cameron 23<sup>rd</sup> of Lochiel], Christian, and Jean, the last three legatees. The testatrix left money to other relatives also. She bequeathed to 'ye poor of ye parish of Morvern ye sum of

<sup>1</sup> The Glendesseray pedigree needs amplification.

The first of the family (*pace* Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Camerons*) seems to have been Donald Cameron of Glendesseray and Dungallon, son of Allan Cameron 16<sup>th</sup> of Lochiel. He was, it is said, tutor to his nephew, the famous Sir Ewen of Lochiel. The latter's two daughters are (in the same book) said to have been married to kinsmen, Christian having married Allan Cameron of Glendesseray, and Isobel, Archibald Cameron of Dungallon. It will be remembered that the wife of the Jacobite martyr, Dr. Archibald Cameron, was also, it is stated, Jean Cameron of Dungallon.

Donald Cameron of Glendesseray's Testament was recorded on 29th November, 1687, that of John Cameron of Glendesseray on 28th October, 1720, and that of Allan Cameron of Glendesseray on 25th January, 1732. It was to the last that his son, John Cameron, was served heir on 18th January, 1732. The grandson of John Cameron of Glendesseray, Captain Allan Cameron, was served heir to his grandfather 18th May, 1762, and to his cousin, Captain Alexander Cameron of Dun-

## Jenny Cameron

Twenty pound S<sup>terl</sup>,' and although, as we have seen, she was, it is said, buried in Kilbride, she left fifty pounds for the erection of a tombstone in 'ye Family Burial place in ye Churchyard of Kilcolumkill in Morvern.'

I have come also upon a curious item from another source about the succession to her property. Elizabeth (Gunning) Duchess of Argyll wrote to her friend, Baron Mure, from Inverary, 1st April, 1773, about her son, the Duke of Hamilton's political interests. She says that among the voters 'there is a Mr. Cameron, who got an estate sometime ago by his sister, Miss J. Cameron, in Clydesdale. He told me that it gave him a vote, and that it was at my commands, but I don't see his name in the List; perhaps he does not choose to qualify. I wish you could enquire about it.'<sup>1</sup> Could this be the last Jacobite scruple of Jenny Cameron's brother?

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

[See also paper by Mr. Joseph Bain in *Scots Lore* (1895), p. 112, as to the identity of Jenny Cameron with the Lady of Mount Cameron, referred to in Ure's *Rutherglen*; and also further discussion on pp. 157, 224. *Ed. S.H.R.*]

THE FINN-MEN. 'Sometime about this country [*i.e.* Orkney] are seen these men which are called Finnmen: In the year 1682, one was seen sometime sailing, sometime rowing up and down in his little boat at the south end of the Isle of Eda. Most of the people of the isle flocked to see him, and when they adventured to put out a boat with men to see if they could apprehend him, he presently fled away most swiftly. And in the year 1684, another was seen from Westra, and for a while after they got few or no fishes; for they have this remark here, that these Finnmen drive away the fishes from the place to which they come.'

Such is the report given by the Rev. James Wallace, minister of Kirkwall from 16th November, 1672, till his death in September, 1688.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that he regarded the Finnmen as very casual visitors to the Orkney group, since he gives the impression that during the period 1682-1684, there were only two occasions on which they were observed.

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gallon (imprisoned and attainted in the '45), 18th April, 1762. It is he who could easily have been younger brother to Jenny Cameron. The *Scots Magazine* records the death on 27th June, 1809, at Ranachan, Strone, near Strontian, Argyllshire, of Captain John Cameron, late of the 70th Regiment, only surviving heir of the Glendessera family.

<sup>1</sup> Horace Bleachley's *Story of a Beautiful Duchess*, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Before coming to Kirkwall, he had been minister for a few years of the parish of Ladykirk, in the Presbytery of North Isles. His presentation to Kirkwall illustrates the complex position of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland at that period. For, although he was called to the parish by the Magistrates and Town Council of Kirkwall, with the concurrence of the Kirk-Session, he had been presented in the previous September by Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney. Moreover, as minutely chronicled in the Presbytery records, the communion service in the following April was carried through by the bishop and the parish minister conjointly. There were, it seems, 'eleven full tables, the bishop serving the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth, and the minister the other six.' On the like

On the other hand, the Rev. John Brand, who visited Orkney twelve years after Wallace's death, asserts that the Finnmen 'frequently' came at that period, and specifies two instances in 1699-1700. Moreover, Orkney tradition testifies to such visits as far from infrequent. That Wallace's knowledge of them was not intimate may be inferred, however, from the paragraph which follows his first reference to them. 'These Finnmen,' he observes, 'seem to be some of these people that dwell about the Fretum Davis, a full account of whom may be seen in the natural and moral *History of the Antilles*, Chap. 18. One of their boats,' he adds, 'sent from Orkney to Edinburgh is in the Physicians' Hall, with the oar and the dart he makes use of for killing fish.'

The people of Davis Straits with whom he identifies the Finnmen are of course the Eskimos, and the book to which he refers his readers is by a certain Louis de Poincy, and contains, oddly sandwiched into an account of the Antilles, a very admirable chapter descriptive of the Greenland Eskimos of the seventeenth century. De Poincy's book was published at Rotterdam in 1658, and a second edition appeared in 1681. Wallace may therefore have seen either of these editions.

Dr. James Wallace, in annotating his father's remarks on the Finnmen, adds the information that 'there is another of their boats in the Church of Burra, in Orkney.' He, moreover, gives such a description of the nature of a Finnman's boat as to leave no doubt that it was the same as an Eskimo kayak. Like his father, he regarded the Finnmen as strangers, whose occasional presence in Orkney it was difficult to explain. 'I must acknowledge,' he remarks, 'it seems a little unaccountable how these Finnmen should come on this coast, but they must probably be driven by storms from home, and cannot tell, when they are any way at sea, how to make their way home again.' The presumption is that neither the minister nor his son had ever a personal interview with any of these Finnmen, knowing them to be such. Nevertheless, they may have encountered them on shore without realising who they were. For the Finnman was not indissolubly linked to his canoe, and he frequently associated with the ordinary population.

To the educated class, however, he seems to have been, at the period in question, a puzzle. The minister of Kirkwall and his son apparently agreed

occasions in April, 1682, and April, 1683, Presbyterian and Episcopalian co-operated again in the same friendly way.

In September, 1688, Wallace was 'unfortunatelie taken away in a Fever, in the flower of his Age, to the regrate of all that knew him.' By his marriage with Elizabeth Cuthbert, he had three sons, James, Andrew, and Alexander, and a daughter, Jean. He graduated A.M. at the University and King's College, Aberdeen, 27th April, 1659, and his writings testify to his wide mental culture. 'He was a man remarkable for his Ingenuitie and Veracitie; And in what is now published wrote nothing but what he had seen himself or had the testimonie of undoubted Witnesses, who either saw or were well informed of the particulars, so that Credit may be given to what is adduced.' These words occur in the address to the Reader which is prefixed to Wallace's *Description of the Isles of Orkney*, published after his death by his son, James Wallace, M.D. The original edition of 1693 was re-printed in 1883 by William Brown, Edinburgh.

## The Finn-Men

in thinking that straggling members of the Eskimo community in Davis Straits occasionally crossed the North Atlantic in their skiffs, and came to fish in Orkney waters. A very different opinion was held by the Rev. John Brand, who visited Orkney and Shetland in the early summer of 1700, as one of a Special Commission dispatched thither by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Brand says :

‘There are frequently Fin-men seen here upon the coasts, as one about a year ago [1699] on Stronsa, and another within these few months on Westra, a gentleman with many others in the isle looking on him nigh to the shore, but when any endeavour to apprehend them, they flee away most swiftly ; which is very strange that one man sitting in his little boat should come some hundreds of leagues from their own coasts, as they reckon Finland to be from Orkney. It may be thought wonderful how they live all that time, and are able to keep the sea so long. His boat is made of seal skins, or some kind of leather ; he also hath a coat of leather upon him, and he sitteth in the middle of his boat, with a little oar in his hand, fishing with his lines. And when in a storm he seeth the high surge of a wave approaching, he hath a way of sinking his boat, till the wave pass over, lest thereby he should be overturned. The fishers here observe that these Fin-men or Finland-Men by their coming drive away the fishes from the coasts. One of their boats is kept as a rarity in the Physicians’ Hall at Edinburgh.’

These last two statements are reminiscent of Wallace, whose book, published in 1693, had probably been read by Brand. The latter writer was unaware, however, that the Finnman’s boat once preserved in the hall of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh had been handed over by that body to the College of Edinburgh in 1696.<sup>1</sup> As for the term ‘Finland-Men,’ that appears to have been his own invention, proceeding from his assumption that Finland was the home of these kayak-men. It will be seen that the Wallaces and Brand were equally ignorant as to the home of the Finnmen. Davis Straits is suggested on the one hand, and Finland on the other ; and there is little to be said for the soundness of either theory.

Undoubtedly the kayak-using people, who still occupy a large area in the Arctic regions, are capable of making voyages of great length in a very short space of time. Taking the precaution to place a jar of fresh water and a store of salted or frozen fish in the hold of his tiny craft, an Eskimo kayaker will set out on a voyage of several hundred miles. His store of provisions is seldom called into requisition, as he is generally able to catch as much fresh fish as he wants, and he eats his fish raw from choice.

It is therefore not impossible that an Eskimo from Davis Straits, or from East Greenland, could make his way by Iceland and the Faroes to Orkney. But if not impossible, it is extremely unlikely. Still less tenable is the assumption that this daring feat was of frequent occurrence during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century. The objections to Finland as the place of origin are less strong. The simplest explanation is furnished by the history and the traditions of the Orkney and Shetland archipelagoes.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

<sup>1</sup> This is testified to by an entry of 24th September, 1696, in the minute-book of the Physicians’ College.