

Reviews of Books

THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN. A Study in Mediaeval Warfare. By W. M. Mackenzie, M.A. Pp. vii, 114. With two Plans. Crown 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1913. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS attractively got up and bright little book contains just the sort of popular history of the battle which won Scottish Independence that a patriotic Scot would be the better for reading to equip himself to take part in the sixth centenary of the fight which is to be celebrated next year. It is, however, a good deal more than this, for it is based upon the careful study of the sources, and embodies the novel and striking conclusions as to the tactics of the great battle which Mr. Mackenzie has already given to the world in his workmanlike edition of Barbour's *Bruce*, and in his paper on *The Real Bannockburn*. As the authoritative presentation of Mr. Mackenzie's views on the subject, the book is a real contribution to historical research. We need not stress a too eager acceptance of the 'hagiographic' side of Barbour's poem, nor a tendency to repeat details, vouched for by Barbour, which are contradicted, or at least unsupported, by other authorities. A writer sixty years after the event is, for example, no great expert on the weather, and we should hardly stress, as Mr. Mackenzie does, Barbour's statement that the season of June of 1314 was exceptionally dry, even if the contemporary testimony of Robert of Reading¹ and the Monk of Malmesbury² had not told us that the summer of 1314 was, in southern England at least, a period of extraordinary rain, flood and cold. More important than such trivialities as this is the circumstance that Mr. Mackenzie's decision to put his results in popular narrative form sometimes obscures a little his scientific purpose and method. It is a great pity, for instance, that he nowhere discusses in detail some of the critical problems on which his narrative rests. The expansion of the excellent paragraph on pp. 97-98, on the four chief authorities used by him for the battle, would have made all the difference in this respect. Perhaps Mr. Mackenzie would have a sufficient answer to this criticism in a reference to his earlier studies, and in the fact that his results are there to speak for themselves. It would have been better, however, to have had a glimpse into the workshop and seen the historian at his task. In one respect we are lucky in the authorities for the battle. What 'national bias' has come into the story is later than the fourteenth century. The harmony of English and Scottish authorities is specially

¹ *Flores Hist.* iii. 160.

² *Chron. Edw. I. and II.* ii. 214.

remarkable, and stands in contrast with the discordant French and Flemish versions of the battle of Courtrai, to which two of Mr. Mackenzie's chief sources compare this battle. Perhaps Barbour, though so late, is a more trustworthy poet than Lodewijk van Velthem.

I have already had occasion to declare myself as substantially on Mr. Mackenzie's side. And I do so none the less cheerfully, because the acceptance of his views will compel me to recast more than one version of the battle that I have already published. I entirely agree with him in the incredibility of the generally received accounts. The ordinary plan of the battle can hardly survive an inspection of the ground. I have reluctantly come with him to the conclusion that we must pay no attention to the brilliant but theoretical account of the battle given by Geoffrey the Baker. I cordially agree with him that the four accounts Mr. Mackenzie follows are essentially in harmony with each other, and that Barbour, despite his poetic form and patriotic purpose, is a serious and honest authority who uses materials that are inaccessible to us save through him. Very convincing is the stress laid by Mr. Mackenzie on the importance of the two fights on Sunday, 23rd June, and notably the scuffle between Randolph and Clifford in the 'Carse.' The result of these two English disasters was clearly a change of plan on the part of the relieving forces. Hence their removal from the approach to Stirling along the direct road which the Scots had blocked effectively, to their uncomfortable bivouac amidst the pools and bogs of the Carse, where they spent the night in hourly fear of an attack. Hence, too, their demoralized and dispirited condition, which, reported to Bruce, induced him also to leave his strong position among the woods and hills, and offer battle in the plain. The English were forced to fight in a most unfavourable position. Their right rested on the Forth, and was not far removed from Stirling, with which they were all through the two days in constant communication, and to which many retreated after the defeat on both days. Their left touched the lower Bannock, where it was subject to tidal influence, and was not an easy stream to cross. As they faced westwards to meet the enemy, their backs were turned to the broad Forth, and escape was almost impossible. The boldness of Bruce in challenging a battle is worthy of all praise, and is justified by his easy success. But it is the hardest of all Mr. Mackenzie's doctrines to believe that the Scottish foot was the attacking force; and here, perhaps, it is not wise to overstress such phrases as Malmesbury's 'Douglas . . . aciem comitis Gloucestriae acriter invasit' (p. 203), and even the more emphatic testimony of *Scalacronica*, to the point of supposing that the heavy infantry of Scotland actually charged the English horse. Mr. Mackenzie deserts his favourite *Scalacronica* when he rashly suggests (p. 48) that Bruce had abandoned the traditional array of a Scots host in 'schiltrons.' Neither can one accept his rather fantastic *obiter dictum* (p. 73) that the mounted English host could in any sense be arrayed in a schiltron formation.

But it may be conceded that there was substantially an attack when the Scots ranged themselves facing eastwards on the plain of the Carse, and provoked the English to battle. The battle itself, however, must surely have been of the usual sort, when horsemen strove to penetrate the dense

Scottish squares. The direct offensive could only be assumed by the Scots when the English were becoming broken and scattered. There was, therefore, a little more of the Waterloo in it than Mr. Mackenzie admits, but it was a Waterloo in which the weaker force compelled the enemy to fight by going so near him that any other course was impossible. Baker, who described the battle with a head full of the story of Crecy and Poitiers, did not realize how different in kind Bannockburn was from the purely defensive battles of the English in the Hundred Years' War. Halidon Hill, where nineteen years later the Scottish columns boldly marched up the hill to attack the dismounted English men-at-arms on the higher ground, is the further development of Bruce's tactics, and failed not only because by 1333 the English had learnt to dismount and to support their men-at-arms by archers, but because the Scots on the later occasion offered battle on unfavourable conditions and to a well-equipped and self-confident army. Moral rather than tactical reasons play the largest part in Bruce's crowning triumph, and the Scottish king's genius was in discerning when he could dare to be rash. All who accept the general drift of Mr. Mackenzie's studies will thank him for revealing the full originality of his hero's tactics, and for giving Bannockburn its true place in British military history. It is much to be desired that so keen and promising a scholar as Mr. Mackenzie should carry on still further his shrewd and original studies of medieval Scottish history.

T. F. Tout.

BRITISH BOROUGH CHARTERS, 1042-1216. Edited by Adolphus Ballard. Pp. cxlvii, 266. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1913. 15s. net.

It was a common complaint not many years ago that there were no reliable books upon the origin and history of the borough. Then came Mr Gross's *Gild Merchant*, the pages upon the borough in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, Maitland's lectures upon the relation between the township and the borough, Miss Bateson's papers upon the custom of Breteuil and upon some early London documents, and Mr. Round's essay on the commune of London. Later still, came Professor Tait's *Medieval Manchester*, Miss Bateson's great collection of Borough Customs, edited by her for the Selden Society, and quite recently an important essay by Mr. Hemmeon upon burgage tenure in the *Law Quarterly Review*. During the same period scholarly collections of borough charters and documents have appeared, so that it is possible to study the history of Leicester, Nottingham, Norwich and a few other places.

The activity upon the Continent has been still greater, and although its results are somewhat obscured by the dust of conflict roused by the passion for origins, they are by no means altogether uncertain or inaccessible. A classical essay by M. Pirenne may easily make us acquainted with the general contents of the most important books upon the subject. A new edition of Luchaire's book on the French communes has recently appeared. There is Giry's great work upon the *Etablissements* of Rouen and their affiliations, and there is a growing literature upon the early history of the

other Norman towns, which are of especial interest to us in England, Scotland and Ireland. Surely few institutions have been so favoured by learning as the medieval borough, and especially the British borough.

Yet all this time there has been no handy collection of the most important documents of all, of the charters by which king and lord conveyed or recognised burghal rights and privileges. The student in search of them had to go from one collection of documents to another, or to be content with the few which are contained in Stubbs's *Select Charters* and with the extracts in the second volume of Gross's *Gild Merchant*. Mr. Ballard, who has been known to scholars for some time by his work upon the Domesday boroughs, has filled this gap. He has taken all the charters which he could find belonging to the period before the death of King John. Following the method adopted by Miss Bateson in her edition of the customals, he has grouped and translated their clauses under a variety of heads, so that the reader may see, almost at a glance, how any mark or privilege of the borough was modified and distributed in the British Isles. He has prefixed a long introduction to this analysis, in which *inter alia* he tells us where all the charters are to be found and reconstructs in elaborate tables the contents of each. There is, of course, a great deal to be said in favour of a collection of charters in which each document is given as a whole; and Mr. Ballard might doubtless have given us the results of his present arrangement by means of tables. But this plan would have involved a very long and elaborate introduction, and a great deal of repetition in the text.

Whether Mr. Ballard's book will be the best introduction to the records and literature which I have mentioned, is not easy to say. In some respects the reader who comes new to the subject will find the book rather perplexing. He will not get a perfectly clear idea of the course which Mr. Ballard supposes the development of the borough to have followed, and he will get a very incomplete idea of the foreign boroughs to which Mr. Ballard gives a good deal of attention. This is, I think, unfortunate and unnecessary, for the essay upon the essentials of the borough (pp. lxxxviii-xcv) is by far the best piece of writing in the book. It is so good and so clear that if the author had rearranged his introduction, put this essay first, and then inserted next to it another essay upon burghal history and development, one feels that he might have produced a book which would not only be invaluable to more advanced scholars, as this book will be, but also the best guide to the beginner. If Mr. Ballard had been a teacher as well as a 'researcher,' I think he would have done this.

Mr. Ballard might reply that, whereas the privileges of boroughs are clear and certain, their history is by no means clear; but a brief comparison of documents contained in this book, taken from different periods, would soon show that the significance of borough privileges can only be seized in the light of their development; also, that some points in their history are now so clear that they may be regarded as beyond dispute. Mr. Ballard, for example, brings together enough material to show that the *burgus* is not the same as the *liber burgus* (a term which seems to date from John's reign), and he also shows quite conclusively that, in Anglo-Saxon times and later, the

burgus was the direct or indirect result of artifice. In the passage from this first act of creation to the grant by charter that a borough should be a free borough, with such privileges as other boroughs—in all the king's lands, in the county, or in some neighbouring place—already held, the significance of many privileges gradually becomes clear. In the case of foreign towns this method of treatment is equally necessary. Mr. Ballard's introduction is least satisfactory here. It is worth while to trace parallels between different countries, and to point out differences; it is still more worth while to explain them. Take, for example, his account of the boroughs in Spain and in the kingdom of Jerusalem. He rightly points out that in certain respects the boroughs in these countries are in a class by themselves. He does not point out that in both cases they were established in crusading countries. An examination of the towns erected in north-east Germany might throw further light on this point. Was not the class distinction between burgesses and nobles peculiarly rigid in all these lands? This is, of course, only a random suggestion, but it may emphasise the fact that differences of origin and development are all-important—a fact, by the way, of especial importance in Germany.

The significance of this method of approach seems to me to become clear if we consider the Norman towns in their relation to the English. The privilege of alienation is a case in point. Mr. Ballard does not seem to be acquainted with the writings of M. Génestal on burgage tenure and of M. Legras on Caen. These scholars, especially the latter, have shown that the right of alienation varies with the general nature of the *burgus*. It may be practised without legal justification as a result of economic change, but from the legal point of view some towns, in spite of the Norman custumal's generalisations, were less privileged than others. The burgesses of Verneuil or Breteuil were freer than those of Caen. Now in each case we have tenure by burgage artificially created; but in one case the *burgus* or its inhabitants had outgrown or been put outside the economy of the rural seigneurie, in the other case it had not. Mr. Ballard makes a proper distinction between boroughs which were artificially created and village communities which had acquired a burghal status, but he suggests it in a misleading way. Whether the town was a sudden or a gradual creation, its germ was burgage tenure; its privileges depended upon its development, or upon the stage reached by the model upon which its charter was based. May not this explain the fact that, just as we find communities especially endowed with privileges, so we find them curiously unendowed—places where there are burgesses but no *burgus*, places where a *burgus* has not been able to survive? As Mr. Ballard points out, the growth of a corporate sense was a very slow thing. It was sometimes more than normal; but it was occasionally sub-normal. He points out also that in the twelfth century boroughs may be divided into three classes, according to their relation to shire and hundred (pp. xcii-xciii). In this section his description of the borough at Eynsham and his use of the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 are delightful.

Mr. Ballard's book is very suggestive, and I had noticed a few other points for comment—on p. cvii, for example, the fact that a continental

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charter was often a recital of customs, whereas the British charter is a short document, does not seem to be given sufficient weight. But it is a much more important, as it is a more congenial duty, to thank Mr. Ballard for the invaluable service which he has rendered to students of medieval history.

F. M. POWICKE.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION. By William Sharp McKechnie, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., Lecturer on Constitutional Law and History in Glasgow University. Pp. xii, 211. Demy 8vo. London: John Murray. 1912. 6s. net.

DR. MCKECHNIE is one of many people in Great Britain to whom the present political tendencies are a source of grave anxiety, and in this work he explains the reasons for alarm, suggesting a few devices for reducing the danger. Briefly stated, the case from his point of view is that a numerical majority of the people has been acquiring despotic power which it tends to use in gratifying its appetites rather than in following principles.

He begins by stating the theoretical postulates of democracy, and discussing to what extent the action of party organisations and of trade unions, and the relation of the House of Commons and the Cabinet to each other and to the electorate, have caused a divergence between those theories and the actual practice of popular government in England. He goes on to describe how the ancient landmarks of the British constitution have been modified, how the checks and balances have been swept away, and how different the working of the government is to-day from that portrayed by Bagehot forty years ago. Then he dwells upon the recent tendencies of legislation, the abandonment of *laissez faire*, the policy of doles and the helplessness of the minority. Although he admits that the reign of *laissez faire* too often led to economic slavery, he deplores the evils of the present system which he believes fraught with danger to the economic future of the nation and to the character of its people.

In his statement of the changes that have occurred in politics and legislation he deals with facts that are not in dispute; and his comments upon them, if not very novel, deserve profound consideration, for the perils, if unavoidable, are real. But his argument is essentially partisan, and he seems to be led at times into exaggeration. In speaking of the Cabinet, for example, when he says (p. 55) 'The machinery that once checked despotic power is now at the despot's disposal,' he fails to take into account the unseen forces that limit arbitrary action by the Ministry. No doubt the concentration of power in the hands of the Cabinet has been the most notable change in British institutions during the last half century; but the relation between the Treasury Bench and the majority in the House is to some extent reciprocal, and the tale of the French politician who felt obliged to follow the crowd to the barricades because he was their leader is not wholly without application in England. The surrender to their supporters in Parliament on the Trades Disputes Bill is an illustration that the ministers are not omnipotent, and anyone familiar with the interior life of the government would cite other instances.

Again, in his indignation over the pledge asked from King George about the creation of peers, Dr. McKechnie appears to go too far. The king was of necessity asked to sanction the dissolution, and it is at least possible that the Cabinet was in duty bound to lay the whole situation before him. The condition was such that if the new election resulted in a victory for the Liberals he could hardly refuse to create peers without placing himself in opposition to the will of the nation; and if any other method of solving the question were to be tried, the king ought to have an opportunity to try it before a dissolution took place on the precise point of the enactment of the Parliament Bill; or at least it would seem proper that the full consequences of the election, and the entire views of the ministry, should be laid before him.

When it comes to the measures suggested for reducing the perils of democracy, and providing safeguards for the minority, the book is disappointing. The first of them is a proposal that the more moderate Liberals should so define their policy as to exclude socialistic doctrines; but it is not probable that the leaders of the party would be willing to condemn themselves to impotence by driving off the radical wing of the party. Then the writer urges the advantages of the American constitutional restraints on legislation, unaware, apparently, of their present unpopularity among the radicals in the United States. He recognises, however, that such restraints are impracticable in England. He thinks that a federal government for the British Isles might help to protect minorities, but he sees that for this also public opinion is not ripe. The referendum and proportional representation are in turn examined, but found wanting; and as definite suggestions he comes down to a powerful second chamber with real authority over taxation, and a non-political advisory council of financial experts. A second chamber with such powers would certainly not be pleasing to the people who passed the Parliament Act, and the report of the commission on Irish finances points to the amount of authority a council of experts would be likely to attain.

The fundamental difficulty with the writer of the book consists in the fact that his ideal of British government lies in the past to which he feels the impossibility of returning.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN,
WITH 'A CYPRESSE GROVE.' Edited by L. E. Kastner, M.A., Pro-
fessor of French Language and Literature. 2 vols. Manchester:
At the University Press. 1913.

THE SAME. Published for the Scottish Text Society. Printed by William
Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1913.

IN the preface to this scholarly edition of Drummond of Hawthornden, Professor Kastner informs us that his task has been (1) to present a trustworthy text according to the original editions, (2) to complete and extend the work so ably begun by W. C. Ward of tracing the poet's indebtedness to foreign models, and (3) to draw up a full and complete critical bibliography of the early editions of the poetical works. Let us see how it has been

performed. Comparison with Ward's excellent edition of the Scottish poet can scarcely be avoided. There surely should not be much difficulty in presenting an almost immaculate text considering that Drummond prepared his volumes of verse for the press, evincing more than ordinary care in their publication. No poet was ever more fastidious. He was rich enough to be able to indulge in the luxury of having many of his poems printed privately as broadsheets, on which, before actual issue to the public, he worked with patience and concentration, striving to attain the best. The lines addressed to Jonson by a contemporary might have been written as truly of Drummond and his poetry—

'Twas not thy care that it might pass and sell
 But that it might endure and be done well;
 Nor wouldst thou venture it into the ear
 Until the file had made it smooth and clear.

Between 1613 and 1638 he published six volumes of verse, not reckoning 'second impressions' or editions. *Mausoleum*, a collection of pieces written on the death of Prince Henry, four by Drummond, was probably issued under his patronage. An editor has only to collate these volumes with care to obtain a perfect text. But Drummond has been strangely treated by many of his editors, Professor Kastner among the number. In 1656, seven years after his death, his Poems were printed in London with a preface by Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew. A dedicatory Letter by the publisher tells us that 'these ingenious Poems' had been received from Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, the poet's brother-in-law, 'the noblest Wit of Scotland' and 'the greatest Maecenas of Wit and Learning that the nation affords'; and in the Life prefixed to the folio edition of 1711, edited by Bishop Sage and Thomas Ruddiman, it is explicitly stated that Sir John had caused the poet's work to be collected and printed in the year 1656. The first part of the Poems in Phillips' edition is not based on the *editio princeps*, but is now known to have been printed from a collection of the broadsheets already referred to, no doubt presentation copies sent by the poet, from time to time, to his brother-in-law. It lacks a number of pieces found in the edition of 1616, and contains some eighteen others which Drummond had printed experimentally but excluded deliberately from the volume issued to the public.

The editors of the Edinburgh folio of 1711 profess to follow the 'second impression' of the poems (1616) and the second edition of *Flowers of Sion* (1630), but as Professor Kastner points out, 'the text is substantially that of Phillips, and the early editions seem to have been but rarely consulted.' Later editors continued to follow the 1656 or 1711 texts, until in 1832 Maitland and Laing brought out the sumptuous quarto printed for the Maitland Club, a volume edited with extreme care from the original editions. Mr. W. C. Ward's text is also based on the original editions, the spelling being modernised.

In the edition under review Professor Kastner informs us that 'in the course of collating the several texts' he was 'rewarded by more than one interesting *trouvaille*, of which perhaps the most important is that the first part of Phillips' edition is not based on the 1616 edition of the Poems, as

has always been thought, but on an advance issue printed in 1614 or 1615 by Drummond for circulation among his friends, and probably communicated either to Phillips or to the London publisher by Sir John Scott (*sic*) of Scotstarvet, Drummond's brother-in-law. This curious issue of the poems has remained unknown to all editors of Drummond's poetical works since Phillips' day, and he himself has given no clue whatsoever of his having utilised it in preference to that of 1616. Its contents, which differ materially from the regular edition of 1616, are reproduced exactly, and in the same order, with two insignificant exceptions, by Phillips, so that the charge levelled against him of having unduly tampered with the text of Drummond will in future have to be considerably modified. Further, the belief that he was the first to publish certain pieces, which figure in his edition, but are wanting in the ordinary edition of the Poems (1616), will have to be abandoned. Professor Kastner is to be congratulated on his find, but not on the use he has made of it. A volume in the Bodleian and another in the Haigh Hall Library, hitherto supposed to be merely large paper copies of the 1616 edition of the Poems, he has identified beyond all question as two collections of broadsheets. Instead, however, of regarding them as merely first draughts, which they unquestionably are, he treats them as an 'issue' or edition of 1614 or 1615, on which he bases his text, relegating the authentic readings of the 1616 edition to the foot-notes as variants. By so doing he seems to me to fall short in the performance of the first branch of his threefold task, the furnishing of a trustworthy text according to the original editions. A collection of broadsheets, without foliation, pagination or signatures, printed on one side only, sometimes on the recto, sometimes on the verso, without any regularity, can never pass either as 'an issue' or an edition; and the fact that the Bodleian and Haigh Hall collections differ in format and content should of itself have been enough to deter the rash conclusion. Their variants might have been welcome as foot-notes to illustrate the shaping of the final text. It is fair, however, to say that, apart from the use made of the pseudo edition, the text is very carefully given; and it is also satisfactory to find the Madrigals and other pieces of the Bodleian and Haigh Hall volumes, which Drummond suppressed in the *editio princeps*, printed in this edition in a section by themselves. It is doubtful, however, whether these and the poems, classified as 'posthumous,' preserved in the Hawthornden MSS., but never published by Drummond, ought to appear in a critical edition of his works. Professor Kastner, while admitting that few of them have much intrinsic value, has reproduced them because he thinks them of importance in the light of Drummond's poetic development, 'presenting him as they do at an early stage of his career when Scotticisms still flowed readily from his pen, and when he had not yet attained that mastery over the standard English of his day for which he strove so hard.' Drummond did not consider them worthy of himself, and he probably would have consigned them to the flames had he thought that one day they might appear among his elect verses. The inclusion of *Polemo-Medinia* is also questionable: Sam. Colvil certainly has as good a claim to it as Drummond, if not better, when Defoe's attribution is taken into account.

In the execution of the second branch of his task, the tracing of Drummond's indebtedness to foreign models, Professor Kastner deserves unstinted praise. He has extended the work of Ward, who first pointed out the influence of Italian poets and of Sir Philip Sidney on the Scottish poet. But he has done much more and done it admirably. An intimate acquaintance with the works of French and Spanish sixteenth-century poets has enabled him to demonstrate that Drummond's compositions to the extent of about a third are merely translations or close paraphrases, the remaining two-thirds, largely adaptations from foreign models, Ronsard, Desportes, Pontus de Tyard, Passerat and Garcilaso being the favourites. When the editorial detections are assembled, it is Fielding's jocular defence of plagiarism that comes to mind as the best that can be urged in exculpation of Drummond,—'the antients are a rich common where every one who hath the smallest tenement in Parnassus hath a free right to fatten his Muse.'

But the Laird of Hawthornden has exceeded the free right and must in consequence forego all claim to originality. His poems unquestionably have a charm of form and expression: nevertheless they are, as Professor Kastner observes, only imitative and cannot pretend to the highest rank; exercises at vacant hours of a gifted poetic artist.

The bibliography is a careful bit of work, full and complete, which will satisfy the most critical bibliographer. The only fault we find is with the editor for introducing it with the words, 'the attempt having hitherto been made to draw up a bibliography of the poetical works of Drummond of Hawthornden, it seemed to us that the present edition would be incomplete if that task were left unaccomplished.' The statement is far too sweeping. Neither do we think the reference to Ward's edition generous or fair, 'the bibliography though not quite so worthless as that in the Maitland Club edition is altogether inadequate.' Ward has noted every edition of the poet's works, with the exception of the Bodleian and Haigh Hall volumes, describing them succinctly and accurately. Professor Kastner has simply expanded the details in the manner recognised as scientific by modern librarians and members of bibliographical societies. For the student of literature Ward's catalogue is good enough for all practical purposes and calls for no disparagement.

The Scottish Text Society has been fortunate in securing Professor Kastner's volumes as one of the publications in the New Series. The Council would have gone far to find an editor better or so well equipped for the special work needed in elucidating the poetry of Drummond of Hawthornden.

J. T. T. BROWN.

BURBAGE AND SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes. London: The De La More Press. 1913. 5s. nett.

It is long since Mrs. Stopes was recognised as one of the most skilled and indefatigable searchers in the bye-ways of Elizabethan literature. Her *Shakespeare's Family* and *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries* presented a remarkable amount of new biographical material, and her *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal* threw welcome light on a dark

place in the history of the Elizabethan drama. She has now put together, rather hurriedly it must be agreed, the facts which she has been steadily collecting about the Burbages. The immediate occasion of the volume was the decision of the Shakespeare League to raise a memorial to the Burbages in Shoreditch. How far the information thus generously offered is likely to aid the scheme, there may be some doubt. But it is certain that Mrs. Stopes's volume must, with all its little faults, find a secure place in the library of the Elizabethan student.

Since Shakespeare's day 'Burbage' has meant 'Richard Burbage,' the incomparable actor who excelled in tragedy and was Shakespeare's own Hamlet. He was, however, only one of three—a younger son who profited by the initiative of his father and the business capacity of his brother. It was James Burbage, the father, a joiner by trade, and the chief actor in the Earl of Leicester's company, who gave us our first theatre. He built it in the liberty of Shoreditch, called it 'The Theatre,' and opened it in 1576. The rest of his life, as told by Mrs. Stopes, is little more than a story of trouble. He had to meet the opposition of rivals, and the Church, and—most serious of all—the Lord Mayor. It is a misfortune that so much of our knowledge of the men associated with the Elizabethan drama is derived from the records of the law-courts, as the impression thus given may be so partial as to be false. Happy is the theatre-manager who has no history. But though the zeal of Mrs. Stopes has brought together a large amount of gloomy material about the litigation in which James Burbage was engaged, and the crises which he had to face, no one can reconstruct the facts without admiring the indomitable purpose of the man who created the Elizabethan theatre; and though we must agree that he 'had spent a life of incessant toil, constantly thwarted and handicapped in all his undertakings,' we need not regard him as a beaten man when he died in 1597, about the age of sixty-two, nor shut our eyes to the zest with which he had lived. His two sons, Cuthbert and Richard, inherited between them his capacity for affairs and his talent as an actor, and with youth on their side, and fortune, they met with greater success. Cuthbert, who appears to have been trained as a lawyer, cut free from the toils which had beset his father; and in Richard the father's talent became genius. When in December, 1598, they were forced to leave Shoreditch and to carry their properties to the southern liberty of the Bankside, the new theatre which there arose was 'The Globe'—Shakespeare's 'Globe.' And when James VI. came to the throne of England—an event of the happiest influence at a time when our drama was at its very greatest—the company of Shakespeare and Richard Burbage became 'His Majesty's Servants.'

The volume has a clear value as a contribution to English dramatic history. Yet it must be said that Mrs. Stopes does not make the complicated and problematical story as easy to follow as it might have been. The reader finishes it thinking less of the Burbages than of the patient skill of the writer; and when he returns to it wishing to find a particular passage, he may search for it long in vain, and he will certainly not get as much help as he might expect from the index. The collection of original documents, which runs to well over 100 pages and occupies about half the

volume, enables him, with the help of the scrupulous footnotes, to check every statement or to reconstruct any section. Though Mrs. Stopes holds her opinions strongly, her main interest lies in unassailable fact. 'Things in themselves,' she says, fill her mind. But it is a welcome deduction—to mention one of many—that the friendship of the Burbages was 'the College in which Shakespeare learnt some of his law.' She is on less certain ground when she suggests that it may have been old Burbage the joiner who created the part of Snug in Bottom's play; or when she says that 'How far is't called to Forres?' is 'a pure Scotch idiom which could not have flowed by nature from the lips of a man of English birth,' and finds new support therein for the old opinion that Shakespeare had been on tour in Scotland before he wrote *Macbeth*.

We regret that, in spite of Mr. Ernest Law's *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries* (see *S.H.R.* October, 1911), the list of plays which Peter Cunningham was long supposed to have forged should not now be accepted as genuine. Mrs. Stopes, however, is compelled to say that 'even if a forgery, it may still speak the truth.' Her main argument here, it may be noted, was 'the special contention' in the letters published in the *Athenæum* in 1911 over the signature 'Audi Alteram Partem.'

D. NICHOL SMITH.

SION COLLEGE AND LIBRARY. By E. H. Pearce, M.A., Canon of Westminster. Pp. viii, 373. With four Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Cambridge: University Press. 1913. 9s. net.

CANON PEARCE has good reason for satisfaction. It was his aim in this book to 'reveal to the outside world that the Fellows of Sion have a goodly heritage': his revelation is entirely successful. In his labour of love—for Sion College means much to its former President—he has recounted with a careful and graphic pen the changing fortunes of this notable foundation. We read of the benefactor, Thomas White, the contemporary of Richard Hooker, of his Protestant sympathies in the fierce days of Whitgift and Cartwright, of his many pluralities, and of his genuine sympathies. We read that for him *finis coronat opus*, in that he founded a professorship made illustrious in modern days by T. H. Green, the Temple Hospital in Bristol, and, chief of all, Sion College and its almshouse. The threefold object of this benefaction, whose first charter was obtained in 1626, has been the care of deserving poor, the furnishing of books for the student, and suitable accommodation for grave or social gatherings of London clergy. Each of these ends has been worthily and happily pursued. The College has played its part in days of difficulty, in days of Cavalier and Roundhead, in days when troops were quartered in its precincts, and when 'trained bands' prepared to meet their country's foemen. And it focussed clerical opinion when the burdens of nonconformity or the emancipation of Jew and Roman Catholic stirred up strife in politics.

In the interesting story of Sion College library there is recorded the loss of the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, a misfortune which links our ecclesiastical traditions to this old-time foundation.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

LES ORIGINES POLITIQUES DES GUERRES DE RELIGION : I. HENRI II. ET L'ITALIE (1547-1555). By Lucien Romier. Pp. ix, 577. With Frontispiece and Map. Royal 8vo. Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1913. 20 fr.

THIS is the first volume of what promises to be an important contribution to sixteenth century history. It treats of the period of eight years between the death of Francis I. and the truce of Vaucelles. The period is one which, until now, has presented serious difficulties to the historical student. As M. Lemonnier wrote in the fifth volume of *Lavisse*, there was no good general history of the reign of Henri II., the official documents were unclassified and for the most part unpublished, and the *Mémoires* of the period are suspect. In these circumstances, even such important work as M. Courteault's well-known study of the career of Blaise de Monluc served only to illuminate the activities of a secondary figure in a confused and baffling scene. It has been left to M. Romier to grasp the diverse threads which awaited a skilful hand and weave them into a strong if somewhat intricate fabric. A former pupil of the *École française de Rome*, M. Romier has accumulated, during his residence at the *Palazzo Farnese*, the fruits of a laborious examination of the unpublished archives of the Italian states, and the use which he makes of this new material has gone far to introduce order into an intricate and difficult field.

The reader of this introductory volume is soon conscious of the author's grasp and reach, and cannot fail to appreciate a talent which arranges rich and many-coloured materials so skilfully that they lose nothing of their life and interest in the process. In his pages he can observe the fugitive and uncertain son of the great opponent of Charles V. beset by the political rivalries of Montmorency and the Guises, representing the past and the future of France, fascinated by the spell which the Italian *fuorusciti* cast over him with the aid of his self-effacing young Italian Queen, and distracted and betrayed by the vanity and pretensions of the French Cardinals. It is a fascinating study which will whet the most jaded historical appetite.

The interest of the present volume is mainly political. In its pages M. Romier defines and outlines the political *mise en scène* of the approaching organization of the Reformed movement in France. In addition to the personal rivalries which surrounded and distracted Henri II., himself a species of blind-spot in a bright field of vision, the political stage was occupied with conflicts created by the growth of factors such as the Papacy and the various nationalities which were becoming increasingly self-conscious and articulate. And as in the case of the individual the surest sign of growth is often an unmeasured abandonment to influences ultimately alien, so in the life of nations the domination of a foreign spirit often precedes the struggles which are the birth-pangs of the developed national life. In the sixteenth century Italy exercised this function on France. The Italian *fuorusciti*, condottieri and bankers, fascinated the nation from the King downwards, and simply through personal magnetism and the ambition of the Guises led France again into the barren glories of an Italian adventure.

While M. Romier does not fail to point his narrative with illuminating and penetrating considerations on the ultimate political issues involved in the

Italian enterprises of the French, he is too closely in touch with the spirit of the period to assume the mantle of a philosophical historian. He keeps the abstract issues discreetly in the background and allows the actors to fill the stage. And what actors! The hard, tenacious old Constable, the daring Guises endowed with a kind of collective genius, the young King's elderly mistress and his astute Italian Queen, the Tuscan and Neapolitan exiles and the magnificent array of Italian and French Cardinals. Amidst the crowd there are figures which played their part on the bleak field of Scottish history, such as Piero Strozzi and his brother Leone, and Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence. In the fascinating pages of this introductory volume M. Romier has reconstructed without exaggeration or sentiment the life of a pregnant and formative period, and his readers will await its successors with eager anticipation.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

ÉTUDE SUR LA DÉCORATION DES ÉDIFICES DE LA GAULE ROMAINE. By Adrien Blanchet. Demy 8vo. Pp. 240, with 10 plates and 18 figures in the text. Paris : Leroux. 1913.

THE President of the Society of Antiquaries of France is best known in this country as the author of the standard book upon the coinages of the Gauls. But he is also an indefatigable worker in other corners of the vineyard. In particular, he has written much and usefully upon various aspects of the material remains of Gallo-Roman civilization. The present volume is intended to lay foundations for the systematic study of the different methods employed for decorating buildings in Roman Gaul. M. Blanchet believes, and his opinion is undoubtedly sound, that a thorough understanding of these would be of great value as throwing light on the origin and development of corresponding methods in medieval France. The gulf that separates Roman Britain from the middle ages has, of course, no counterpart across the Channel.

M. Blanchet has wisely decided to leave bas-reliefs and statues entirely aside, on the ground that monumental sculpture has characteristics that render its segregation desirable. Even after the ship has been thus lightened, the cargo remains rich enough to surprise the uninitiated. Beginning with some account of the way in which marble, stucco, enamel and the like were used to produce a decorative effect on walls and balustrades, the book proceeds to discuss the general conclusions that can be drawn from the surviving specimens of mural painting—its subjects and technique, the manner in which it was occasionally combined with mosaic or with moulded stucco, its application to ceilings, and so on. There follow a very interesting chapter on mosaics, written on similar lines, and a briefer one upon artistic furniture. Finally, we get a highly useful inventory, admittedly tentative, of all the localities in which fragments of painting have been found, with references to the publications in which fuller descriptions should be sought. As in the corresponding inventory of mosaics, which appeared in 1909, a generous interpretation is rightly given to the geographical limits of Gaul, which is made to cover not merely France, but also Belgium, Switzerland, and the banks of the Rhine. The completeness of the index deserves a special word of praise.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE. By John Buchan. Pp. 333. With 16 Illustrations and 11 Maps and Plans. Square 8vo. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. BUCHAN has not attempted to throw fresh light on a subject which Mark Napier and the editors of Wishart have thoroughly explored, or even to undertake in its completeness the task of a biographer. Before the curtain rises—to use his own expression—he has disposed of Montrose's career as a Covenanter—so briefly that there is a mere allusion to 'the fiasco at Newburn'—and his earliest attempt as a Royalist; and 'the first act of the great drama reveals a forlorn little party, late on an August evening, knocking at the door of a woodland Tower above the shining reaches of Tay.' In other words, we are not launched on the full tide of narrative till the King's lieutenant-general has made his way in disguise through a hostile country from Carlisle to Perth, and is about to enter on his year of triumph.

Mr. Buchan has the gift of a singularly vivid, incisive and picturesque style. The general reader has never had so good an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the character and exploits of Montrose; and even those who have seriously studied his campaigns will do well to study them again as here luminously and accurately set forth. In tracing the details of marches, counter-marches, and battles, the author has naturally been much indebted to Dr. Gardiner, nine of whose maps are reproduced in his text; but he has studied for himself the original sources, as is evident from the notes, and especially from the discussion of Leslie's route to Philiphaugh. It may be objected that a work even of this limited scope should have had a fuller historical background. Mr. Buchan, for example, is far from concealing the ferocity of Montrose's Irish soldiers, who, in the words of a Royalist contemporary, killed men with as little compunction as 'they kill a hen or a capon for their supper'; but he does not allude to the massacres of the Irish Rebellion, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the abhorrence excited by these troops in Scotland, or to do justice to Argyll when (p. 63) he raised 'the cry of a Popish invasion.' The book—which contains a number of excellent portraits—will be none the less acceptable to many on account of an asperity of tone and an unguardedness of statement which suggests the brilliant *littérateur* rather than the cautious historian. It is very doubtful whether the Scottish nobility, with all its faults, was (p. 58) 'the worst aristocracy with which any country has been cursed'; and the tithe-grievance, however long it had continued, could hardly have involved (p. 24) the 'danger of a counter-Reformation.'

The concluding chapter is an eloquent tribute to Montrose's 'reasonableness of soul,' the glamour of his personality, and his genius for war. That he was surprisingly modern in spirit must be apparent to anyone who has read his dissertation on 'Sovereign Power'; and the author has no difficulty in establishing from the same source the sanity and prescience of his political views. The Puritan Revolution in Scotland—inverting the order of its development in England—had first its religious and then its more political phase; and in each of these crises Montrose acquitted himself in accordance with his idea that the royal power should be neither unduly extended nor

unduly restrained. When Charles I. was using bishops to enthrall the Church, and to some extent the State, and was enforcing through their means an 'Anglopiscopastical' Prayer Book, he joined the Covenanters; but, when Parliament refused to compensate the Crown for the loss of influence involved in the abolition of Episcopacy, a process began in him which was to result in his taking arms for the King. It is questionable, however, whether Mr. Buchan is justified in regarding him as an inspired Moderate—the embodiment of 'a moderation which is in itself a fire.' There have been lesser men in Scottish history of whom this might be said; but, if Montrose had been 'armed and mailed Reason, Philosophy with its sword unsheathed,' he could have found little to content him either in the Covenanters or in Charles. That he served both with enthusiasm must be ascribed to that imagination—the tendency to see his ideal in anything that but suggested its fulfilment—which, as Mr. Lang has said truly, was 'his master.'

W. L. MATHIESON.

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BAPTISTS AND FIFTH MONARCHY MEN IN ENGLAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. Prize Essay of the American Historical Association. By Louise Fargo Brown, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Wellesley College. Pp. ix, 258. Crown 8vo. London: Henry Frowde. Oxford: University Press. 1912. 6s. net.

THE years between the execution of Charles I. and the Restoration, forming a curious break in the thread of English constitutional history, can never fail in interest. When every vestige of the apparently solid English constitution, the growth of centuries, had been swept away, there sprang full-grown from the brain of Cromwell the first of these written constitutions which have since spread all over the world, of which the American is the most conspicuous example.

In this prize essay Miss Brown, whose historical insight is notable and her English style clear and vigorous, has given an account of the subtler forces which went to the making of the peculiar attempts at government during the years when England had no king. The most casual reader of history would find no difficulty in following the lines carefully drawn between the religious sects, Anabaptists, Baptists, Particular Baptists, Independents, Fifth Monarchy Men; in understanding the political ideas common to Independents, Baptists and Levellers, so clear is her description. The chief interest of the essay centres round the treatment of the Fifth Monarchy Men, their development from the Baptists, their attitude towards Cromwell, their curious connection with their political antagonists the Levellers, and, an obscure point, their relations with the Baptists before all the sectaries vanished from public affairs at the Restoration. Much attention has been given to the influence of the Press, the minute details of the war of pamphlets are the result of exhaustive research. An excellent chapter is devoted to the Protectorate in Ireland.

There is a good bibliography and a fair index.

ALEX. L. DAVIDSON.

Edgar: A Colonial Governor in Maryland 109

A COLONIAL GOVERNOR IN MARYLAND: HORATIO SHARPE AND HIS TIMES, 1753-1773. By Lady Edgar. Pp. xiv, 311. With nineteen illustrations. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. 10s. 6d. net.

LADY EDGAR's pleasant volume is rather of the nature of a general sketch of the progress of events during the war between France and England, with especial reference to Maryland and its Governor, than a closely biographical piece of work: the author depends largely on the Sharpe Correspondence and the contemporary press for her sources, and it may be that the materials for personal detail and vivid characterisation are awaiting: but the lines of the principal figure are somewhat vaguely drawn, and one would at times choose to have longer excerpts from his own letters in place of some of those written to him, interesting though they are. Governor Horatio Sharpe had no mean task before him when he arrived on American ground in 1753; he steered an honourable and creditable, if not brilliant, course for sixteen years through the shoals and quicksands of war and politics at that critical period, with a decided leaning towards a quiet conservatism in support of his superior, the Lord Proprietary of the Province, to whose interests he considered himself bound by the terms of his appointment, and frequently in opposition to the growing democratic feeling in the provincial assembly, with which tendency he was not, on the whole, greatly in sympathy. He was active in endeavouring to rouse the people of Maryland to the necessity for training soldiers to defend their frontiers, and of granting supplies for their maintenance, and he found the same obstructionist policy, lukewarmness, and petty wrangling over points of precedence that were rampant in all the British provinces at the time. He had much interesting correspondence with such important personages as Dinwiddie, St. John, Braddock, Calvert, Shirley, and Orme, conducted negotiations with Indians on one side and another, and was twice commander-in-chief of the British forces for short periods. Lady Edgar gives many picturesque details of the social life of the period in Maryland, so unlike the Puritan States of the north in temper, overflowing as it was with gaiety and brilliance and love of colour. Governor Sharpe's interests were necessarily much diversified, and there are accounts of ecclesiastical and agricultural conditions, notes on the difficulties of communication with the mother country, or details of the deplorable state of affairs on the convict ships and the hardships of redemptioners. It is a curious fact that in suggesting possible taxation of the Colonies to raise funds for the maintenance of troops in 1755, Sharpe should have propounded in outline something very like the famous Stamp Act, which was to cause the upheaval ten years later. By the time it came, however, he had seen the unworkableness of the scheme, and was, though a loyalist, in opposition to it like the rest.

MARY LOVE.

PAUL NOLSÖE LIVSÖGA OG IRKINGAR. By Jakob Jakobsen. 8vo. Torshavn: H. N. Jacobsen. 1912.

NUMBERS ten and eleven of this work now received, complete in eleven parts the Life and Poems of Paul Nolsöe, a native of the Faroe Isles,

which lie between Shetland and Iceland in the North Sea. This Paul (born in 1766, died in 1809) was an adventurous native of those isles. He began life as a carpenter, built a ship for himself, became a master mariner, with many noteworthy escapades especially in his efforts to break down the trade monopoly so long maintained by the Danish Government in their possessions in the North Sea, in connection with which he was prosecuted as a smuggler. During his varied and adventurous career Paul produced a series of ballads. The chief poem is 'Fuglakvæði,' the song of the birds, an ingenious satire against the Government officials in Faroe. Paul was, at the same time, the foremost farmer in the islands, and a successful fisherman, the first to start fishing in 'smacks' instead of in open boats as had been the practice.

The incidents of Paul's life have been gathered by Dr. Jakob Jakobsen of Copenhagen, himself a native of the Faroe Islands, orally and from records in the islands, and the poems partly orally and partly from copies preserved in writing. Issued in the Faroese dialect, intermediate between the ancient Northern or Icelandic tongue and the modern Scandinavian, the book is of distinct philological value to all who are interested in the development of language in the Scandinavian north. The labours otherwise of Dr. Jakobsen in investigating the remains of the old Northern tongue in Shetland and Orkney, and more recently in the county of Caithness, are widely recognised, and the results are in course of being printed by authority in Copenhagen. Three volumes of his *Etymologisk Ordbog over det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland* have already been published and have been noticed in this Review.

GILBERT GOUDIE.

THE JEWS OF TO-DAY. By Dr. Arthur Ruppín. Translated from the German by Margery Bentwich. With an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs, Litt.D. Pp. xxii, 310. Crown 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons, Limited. 1913. 6s. net.

THE Jewish question has taken hold of many German scholars, and it has demanded more scientific study from them than from any other. Of late, many books and pamphlets have been written on its problems, but none is more noteworthy than that of Dr. Ruppín. He is a patriot and a Zionist. His knowledge of Jewish statistics is beyond question, as his book and Dr. Jacobs' introduction amply prove, and he uses it to enforce his message. He proclaims the imminent peril of Jewish assimilation to Gentile ways of life. He dreads the increase of Jewish emigration, the decline of the Jewish birth-rate, and, most of all, the evident tendency towards intermarriage with Christians. Modern education and culture, modern economic conditions, the rationalistic tone of modern science, all press heavily upon the Jew and his cherished faith.

Dr. Ruppín's remedy is Zionism; and, on the soil of their fathers, he would have his race take their 'last desperate stand against assimilation.' We are doubtful of his remedy. For many of his race it is undesirable: for most of them it is impracticable. Professor Sombart's recent book on *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* emphasizes a point which Dr. Ruppín has

overlooked—the Jews have prospered most when their dispersion has called them to the realms of industry and commerce. These are now the lands that flow with milk and honey.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

THE CLAN CAMPBELL. Abstracts of Entries relating to Campbells in the Sheriff Court Books of Argyll at Inveraray. Prepared and edited by Rev. Henry Paton. Pp. viii, 312. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co. 1913.

'This volume,' says the introduction, 'is the first of a series which it is intended to publish from the large collection of Campbell information gathered from public and private record sources by Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, Baronet, for the purpose of providing materials for the construction of accurate and reliable memoirs of the various branches of the Clan Campbell.' Planned by Carrick Pursuivant and executed by the expert hand of Mr. Paton, the collection embraces about 2000 bonds, agreements, contracts, etc., between the years 1689 and 1784. The index of persons contains forty-six solid columns of Campbells, and the book is, for all sorts and conditions of the clan, treasure-trove for their pedigrees, lands, occupations, and connexions. It is a capital beginning of a Campbell Calendar, bound in the heraldic *or* and *sable* of Argyll.

The National Gallery of Scotland: Souvenir volume, by W. G. Blaikie Murdoch (sm. 4to. pp. 75, 19 plates: Alexander Moring, Ltd., 1913, price 1s.), is a brisk appreciation of the national collection in Edinburgh, surveying swiftly but with balanced sympathy the work of the English, foreign, and Scottish schools respectively. As is becoming, the author's heart warms to the Scottish artists, of whose pictures the Gallery claims to possess a supreme collection. The plates are well chosen and well executed, and a skeleton of Boucher's *Madame de Pompadour* presides on the cover.

A second edition of the *Guide to the Priory Church of Saint Andrew, Hexham* (By C. C. Hodges. 8vo. pp. viii. 112. Gibson & Son, Hexham. 1913. 1s. net.) gives the reader the unusual security of a first-class ecclesiologist's architectural exposition. Excellent plates reproduce the late J. P. Gibson's photographs, as well as some by his son, Mr. John Gibson, along with sketches and a good plan by Mr. Hodges.

The Selden Society has issued in its Year Book Series *The Eyre of Kent 6 and 7 Edward II., A.D. 1313-14*, vol. iii. (4to. pp. lii. 266), edited by Mr. W. C. Bolland. It of course consists of law reports. In a section of a generally technical preface, the editor pleasantly diverges into a discussion of a remark made by Justice Spigurnel that the price of a hare was three-halfpence (*iiij maills*), but that of a rabbit fourpence (*pour conyng iiij d.*). He concludes that the inferior price for the hare was largely due to the little use made of it on the medieval menu. Prices for comparison are, a capon, 3d. and 4d., a good hen, 1½d. and 2d. Another very important issue by this Society is *Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707*, edited

by Mr. Cecil T. Carr (4to. pp. cxxxvi, 322). It is a collection which will be found of first-class utility and note for the history of British colonisation and corporate trade and manufacture. The charters, as their significance is luminously expounded in Mr. Carr's extensive and able preface, furnish a skeleton or constitutional basis for early foreign trading, and illustrate 'a system of gild-like control' applied to it. Notable in the series is the gradual consolidation of incidents of corporateness. From Elizabeth's reign the outlines of incorporation of traders acquire fixity. Incorporation was the goal of the merchant-adventurers' ambition. Charters again and again show how foundations of new worlds were being laid on feudal lines, inclusive of *reddenda* such as elephants, elks, beavers and white horses. Mr. Carr makes particularly cordial acknowledgment of the studies of Dr. W. R. Scott and Rev. Dr. Cunningham. His own introduction to his charters, no less than its conjunction with the charters themselves, makes the book an invaluable work of historical reference on the economics of early discovery, colonisation, and industrial invention and development.

Archaeologia Aeliana (Third Series, Vol. IX. 4to. pp. xlv, 360), the annual repository of miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, edited by Mr. Robert Blair, shows as its frontispiece a genial and lifelike portrait of the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, author of *Italy and her Invaders*, who was for many years one of the secretaries of the Society. At his death a vice-president, he was held in the universal esteem which his fine character and his literary distinction alike commanded. An obituary notice by Dr. F. W. Dendy pays graceful and earnest tribute to his 'cheery presence,' his 'ready power of expression,' his 'vivid imagination,' and his 'labours in local history and archaeology,' while not less appreciative of his place as a historian of world-fame. A bibliography contributed by Mr. Robert Blair adds value to this short but hearty memorial of a scholar who was well known on this side of the Tweed also, and whose studies during more recent years were often turned to Border themes. How well the writer of this paragraph remembers occasional meetings with him on the Wall of Hadrian and the Vallum of Antoninus, in the great castle of Bamburgh and in the University of Glasgow, and the unflinching interest of questions he discussed, such as the problems of Wall and Vallum, the battle of Brunanburh, and the story of the Solway: his circle included everybody: everybody was his friend. It is difficult to believe—so young was he in personal manner and in mode of writing—that he was over 81. To the last he was keenly active, his final task a revised study at large of the Wardenship of the Marches, which presumably will ere long be issued among the contents of a posthumous volume.

Other contents of *Archaeologia Aeliana* include Mr. P. Newbold's report on excavations on the Roman Wall at Limestone Bank, a noticeable fact in which is its conclusion from the pottery found in the wall-turret there that the occupation 'begins with the early years of Hadrian.' A report on the excavations of 1912 at Corbridge (Corstopitum) adds to inscriptions one 'to the discipline of the Emperors,' one naming Calpurnius Agricola, another naming (as Professor Haverfield conjectures from the fragmentary

L.V. . .) Virius Lupus, 'probably,' says the report, 'soon after A.D. 1907' (!) Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. W. H. Knowles, Professor Haverfield and Mr. P. Newbold have materially advanced the exploration of the site, and have been rewarded both by important data to extend the ground-plan and by a good list of objects, such as a female figure carved in relief, a bronze jug, a gold-wire chain, a slab bearing a winged Victory, a boar of the 20th legion, the torso of a genius, a basrelief of Hercules, an architectural fragment with apparently a grotesque face, and many stamped pieces of pottery. Not the least interesting find was a building stone on the west wall having a very decided mason's mark upon it.

Professor R. K. Richardson contributes an elaborate article on the 'Bishopric of Durham under Anthony Bek, 1283-1311.' Its account of that forceful prelate, who was no favourite with the chroniclers of his period, is calculated to confirm their verdict upon him. His continuous record of conflict with his ecclesiastical neighbours was a sorry enough memory for a prelate to leave behind him. Apparently Professor Richardson hardly sees the transaction with John Balliol about the manors held in England by Alexander III. in the sinister light of a big bribe to the bishop for his influence with the English king in the great contention for the kingdom of Scotland. That matter, however, is of only subsidiary moment in the scheme of the professor's paper, which is concerned rather with the bishopric than with the personal biography. It is an ecclesiastical life of Bek, laden with references to the official documents, and filling no fewer than 140 pages with most valuable matter.

The catalogue of Durham seals, by Canon Greenwell and Mr. C. Hunter Blair, noticed in a former review (*S.H.R.* ix. 210), is continued from letter L to letter P, with ten plates of excellent renderings of special examples. There are other contributions also to Northumbrian archaeology, and the volume effectively attests the vitality and talent of the Newcastle antiquaries.

A capital 'Leaflet' of the Historical Association is *An Essay on English Monasteries* by Rose Graham (pp. 43, with three folding plans. Historical Association, 6 South Square, Gray's Inn). It is a compendious statement of a very great deal of information, both from records and from archaeology, on the monastic system, its impulses, architecture, economy, finance, and contribution to historiography. Miss Graham has compressed a large stock of knowledge into a short and well-written study.

In *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (June) tenures of Sherborne in 1377 are continued. They include in English 'the olde custume and consuetude' of the use of certain commons. A facsimile is given of an order in 1734 condemning the corpse of a felon 'to be buried at a Cross way, a Stake stuck through him, and so forth—in *terorem*.'

Old Lore Miscellany (Viking Society) for July gives, with illustrations, an instalment of the Rev. D. Beaton's descriptions of early crosses, etc., in Caithness.

The Rutland Magazine (October). This number completes the fifth volume of this attractive 1912 miscellany of county lore, adding to its store of pictures and portraits. A biography of Robert Browne (1550-1633),

founder of the Brownists, describes his proceedings in Scotland on his return from Holland in 1583. At Dundee and Edinburgh and elsewhere he inveighed against Presbyterianism, but, according to his own account, met sharp reprisal in being sent twenty times to prison. A memoir of Lady Bridget Noel (1660-1718) contains interesting domesticities in family letters.

Mr. G. Phillips, The Library, Oakham, has carried on this admirable antiquarian periodical from its foundation with a singular knack for procuring sound matter both of local information and entertainment from the annals of the shire, and has won respect for his well-guided venture from historical and archaeological students wherever his well-got-up quarterly made itself known. We regret to learn that it is to be discontinued, but note with satisfaction that it is brought 'to a close with the assurance of those who have been interested in it that the effort has been well worth the labour entailed.' It was an honour to Rutland, for which Rutland owes honour to Mr. Phillips.

Is there a single supreme factor in history? Alternately claims are put forward for race, individual genius, economics, climate or environment as the dominant influence in shaping the ends of man. Lately Geography has been rather loud in asserting itself. But the phrase Human Geography now current concedes the limitations of influence of locality, and properly maintains the interaction between man and the phenomena of sun, soil, mountain, plain and sea. In the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for June there is translated the inaugural lecture delivered in December last at the Collège de France by M. Jean Brunhes, professor in the new chair of Human Geography. It starts from a recognition that the subject matter involves as much bearing of history upon geographical conditions as of the converse, that men are the allies of their geographical surroundings although their potentialities as geographical agents may be rigidly controlled by geology and climate, and that the factors of human geography imply social, statistical and psychological problems of the most diverse and far-reaching order. Prof. Brunhes defines his ground with eloquence bordering on emotion in prescribing to himself the task of search after the general laws or rather harmonies, not antecedent but evolved, foreshadowing or explaining those collective dominations of the Earth which are its greatest historical characteristic.

In the *Juridical Review* (vol. xxv., No. 2) Mr. F. Watt re-examines the treason trials at Carlisle after the '45, finding much to condemn. Mr. Roughead breezily describes the North Berwick witchcraft cases under James VI., who is perhaps accorded rather more than his due share of blame for the opinion of his time. Sheriff Ferguson collects the general details about the seven earldoms of Scotland.

In *The Celtic Review*, along with a variety of Gaelic text and comment and ethnological discussion, there appears with a capital portrait an intimate and well-informed appreciation of Dr. Walter B. Blaikie.

The American Historical Review (July) boasts such a quartet of papers as we have rarely seen in a single magazine number. First of them is Mr. J. T. Shotwell on the 'Interpretation of History,' a striking view of the pro-

cession of mythological, theological, philosophical, materialistic and economic interpretations, in each of which the generations have respectively and successively projected into the past the major interest of their own time. All is vanity: it is the verdict of this critic, whose ambition lies towards a historical interpretation of the interpretations regarding itself as part of the long process it explains, and in its course editing, as it were, the bygone mind. A great word is said for Buckle, and attention drawn to the insight of his dictum that—with advancing civilization—food, soil, and the forces of nature would exert a decreasing influence on history. Mr. Shotwell has profoundly studied his fascinating theme, and his essay, finely turned in its language, gives poignant stimulus to self-question on our tenets to-day.

Professor Burr, writing 'Anent the Middle Ages,' brings into relief a wonderful plea for universal religious toleration by Nicolas of Cusa in 1453, put forward in his *De Pace seu Concordantia Fidei*, which, failing one religion and one divine worship, was content to leave the different nations their several devotions and ceremonies, and great enough to believe that thereby devotion might gain by the variety. This remarkable doctrine came from a cardinal. Incidentally Professor Burr discusses the sense and origin of *medium aevum*, first found, it is said, in 1539, contrasts the old *Civitas Dei*—(meaning a State rather than a City)—with Luther's *Cujus regio ejus religio*, and emphasises the narrow concept of the Protest of Spire as a king's claim much more than a subject's right.

Professor E. P. Cheyney worthily sustains the standard of these two essays by his sketch of the history of the Court of Star Chamber, drawing from many records the material for a comprehensive and excellent narrative description, and educing the matter of tragedy in the feud of Laud and Prynne which was to close the court with the execution of Strafford as well as Laud, and to make the scaffold possible for Whitehall itself.

Last of the four articles is Mr. E. R. Turner's account of the Development of the Cabinet in Great Britain—his first instalment covering the period from 1688 (when the previously amorphous and secret body was stiffened into a recognised 'Cabinet Council') down to 1742, by which time the cabinet had become the real executive council of the nation. This important study pieces together a mass of references showing how the Privy Council, even under James I., was being specialized into sub-committees, and how under Charles I. the process was accelerated, to be renewed after the Restoration, and finally canonized by William and Mary. Scottish data may yet be brought forward in furtherance of Mr. Turner's conclusions regarding the evolution of a merely casual body into the constitutional power we know. At the beginning of the reign of Charles I. vital stages of the policy which was to bring Charles to the block were arrived at in private conferences held in the king's 'withdrawing chamber' at Whitehall. Some examples of this may shortly be exhibited in our pages. Mr. Turner's manifold citations furnish a convincing chain of instances and allusions, so that the constitutional expedient is seen clearly dependent on the informal antecedents. Also, they demonstrate, what we are apt to forget, that for England as well as for Scotland the Privy Council is not only the administrative centre of history, but is also the base and mechanism of constitutional movement.

Annual Magazine Subject-Index, 1912. Edited by F. W. Faxon. Pp. 299. 4to. Boston: Boston Book Co. 1913. This elaborate co-operative magazine index is the fifth annual supplement to the initial volume compiled in 1907. Its list of periodicals (including the *Scottish Historical Review*) is at once select and comprehensive, and its well-chosen subject heads make it a first-class key to last year's literature and history in the magazines, and therefore an excellent aid to study.

Maryland Historical Magazine for June sketches the career of William Carmichael, an American diplomatist in Europe in Revolution times, 1776-1782. An interesting instalment is given of Rev. Jonathan Boucher's letters. Acknowledging the receipt of certain books, he breaks out testily against the dominant Scottish influence manifested in them. 'What with these Scots Sermons, Scots Dissertations, and Scots everything else,' he writes in August 1770, 'I am sick of your Scots Authors. Don't you as well as myself feel some chagrin at this monopolis'g Spirit of Theirs in the World of Letters? Why, they bestride the Microcosmy of Literature be it w't it will, Philology, Criticism, Theology, Poetry, or Law, you will find a Bevy of Scotsmen at it—about it, Goddess! about it!' He terminates his fling by protesting that there is nothing to be learnt from it all—'And this in general is the character of most Scots Authors, Hume alone excepted.'

Another of his letters to his correspondent, the Rev. Mr. James, of Kendal, Westmorland, in July 1772, has a very interesting reference to a surprising natural phenomenon which distinguished the annals of the Border in 1771. 'Sometimes,' writes Mr. Boucher, 'my Fears have whispered me that, unmindful of the Instructions of the Angels to Lot, you had neglected to flee from the Plain and escape for your life, and so that amazing Solway Moss had caught and overwhelmed you. Were you in that Neighborhood (For I think *Netherby* is thereabouts) when this happened? I am astonished to read the many absurd and contradictory accounts of it that have been published: it surely was of Importance enough to engage the Attention of Some one capable of describing and accounting for so singular a Phenomenon.' The episode alluded to was the extraordinary burst or movement of the moss in November 1771, which found sufficient chronicle in Nicolson and Burns' *History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1777, vol. ii, 473. It was 'a memorable outburst of water, moss, gravel, sand, and stones, which spread over and destroyed about 600 acres of fine level fertile ground, and totally altered the face of that part of the country.'

A bulletin of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is Professor W. L. Grant's account of Denzil Holles (1599-1680), under the title of 'A Puritan at the court of Louis XIV.' The quarrels and diplomacies of the daring ambassador (1663-66) are characteristically set forth.

The Iowa Journal has an article by Jacob Van der Zee on the origins of Western Iowa, going back to 1676, when a Jesuit wrote concerning 'some Indians called *aiaoua*.'

The Caledonian (Aug.-Sept.) keeps the old flag flying in America, but the editor should not have labelled Earl Grey's portrait as that of his more

distinguished kinsman, Sir Edward Grey. Nor should he without warning have given impossible 'love-letters of Mary Queen of Scots.'

The *Revue Historique* (Juillet-Août) edits diplomatic correspondence of Antonio Rincon regarding the relations of France and the Turks, 1522-41; also an intimate account of the death of Francis I. in 1547. Bulletins or collective series of notices are given of recent work on Roman antiquities and on contemporary French history, which latter includes discussion of 'la Guerre eventuelle'—with Germany. As usual the reviews and survey of current literature give an admirable summary of historical studies in Christendom.

The chief article in the number for September-October is an elaborate study by M. A. Cans on the political rôle played by the assembly of the clergy during the Fronde, 1650-51. The author's conclusion is that the assembly did great service to the Regent in checkmating the projects both of the nobility and of the States-General.

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (January) contains a short article by Professor P. Duhem of Bordeaux upon Francis de Mayronis and the question of the rotation of the earth. Francis de Mayronis (died 1325 A.D.), known as *Magister Acutus Abstractionum*, lectured in Paris, probably before 1322, and in his commentary upon the second book of the *Sentences* he makes the following remark: 'Dicit tamen quidam doctor quod si Terra moveretur et Coelum quiesceret, quod hic esset melior dispositio.' Thus, early in the fourteenth century and more than two hundred years before the publication of the *De Revolutionibus Orbium*, we get a glimpse of this anonymous precursor of Copernicus.

In the April issue Father Johannes Hofer commences a critical examination of the scattered biographical notices bearing upon the English Grey Friar and philosopher, William of Occam, and brushes aside some errors, such as his supposed connection with Merton College, Oxford, and discipleship of Duns Scotus. In the July number appears a further instalment of this biographical study, carrying the narrative down to May, 1328, the date of Occam's flight from Avignon.

In the same number Father André Callebaut prints a series of documents illustrating the strained relations of the clergy of France with Philip the Fair, and specially the animosity of the Crown and its officers against Gautier de Bruges, Bishop of Poitiers. Further documents upon the subject are promised.

Notes and Queries

THE OPENING OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME gives the Editor an opportunity for a few words of survey of its first decade, during which he has had most generous assistance from historical scholars. But for the response made to his venture in taking over the *Scottish Antiquary* from Mr. J. H. Stevenson, and refounding it as the *Scottish Historical Review* the enterprise could not have succeeded; the response, however, has been unhesitating from the first. The magazine quickly magnified its inheritance, and the Editor has had the satisfaction of seeing year by year his pages occupied by contributions which commanded critical as well as popular acceptance for their standard quality, as representative of the best work available in Great Britain upon the history of Scotland, its institutions and its literature. This was the aim of the *Review*, as it had been the aim of Mr. Stevenson, and the Editor cannot sufficiently express his gratitude to the band of nearly three hundred contributors who have given their services ungrudgingly,—some lending the influence of distinguished reputations, some winning their spurs in these columns, all animated by the desire to advance Scottish historical study. Together they have made for the *Review* a place of record for demonstrations of previously undiscovered fact, for the presentment of previously unprinted manuscript material, for skilled criticism of current literature, and for that continuous re-survey of the older standpoints by which the compass of history is kept in its proper adjustment to truth.

So many eminent names appear on the lists of authors, translators, and reviewers, that the Editor can only acknowledge his indebtedness by tendering thanks to all, naming only three of the dead, Bishop Dowden, Andrew Lang, and Mr. T. G. Law, each of whom to the last gave not only practical help but sympathetic and inspiring encouragement.

The *Review* may be permitted to tender its good wishes to the Professor of Scottish History and Literature now appointed

in the University of Glasgow. Prior to 1908 there had been occasional advocacy of the scheme, but without effectual result. Dr. William Wallace was in some respects the pious founder of the movement which led to the Scottish Historical Exhibition of 1911, by which was secured the adequate endowment of the Chair, now occupied by Mr. Robert S. Rait, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. It will be his distinguished function to carry out in the University of Glasgow a course of training analogous to that so successfully instituted in Edinburgh by Professor Hume Brown. As a successful and specialist student of Scottish history and literature Professor Rait's record goes back to 1895; he has been a contributor to this *Review* since 1908, and he is sure of welcome from its readers. The Editor trusts to profit for years to come, not only by his labours, but also by those of the generation he is to instruct and inspire.

JAMES MACLEHOSE.

MEMORIAL TO THE GOWRIE FAMILY. Some correspondence has recently appeared in the newspapers regarding a memorial which has been erected, through the generosity of Mrs. Ruthven Stuart, in the East Church of Perth, to the memory of the last Earl of Gowrie and other members of the family. This memorial was accepted on behalf of the community by the Provost of Perth. As the inscription on the memorial bears that it was the gift of a 'lineal descendant' of the Earl, Lord Ruthven has thought it incumbent on him to point out that there is not the slightest historical evidence to show that the last Earl of Gowrie was ever married, or that he had any issue, legitimate or otherwise. Mrs. Ruthven Stuart has replied, the greater part of her letter being taken up with attacking the Ruthven Peerage title, but as it is difficult to see the relevancy of this to the point at issue, it may in the meantime be left out of the question. Mrs. Ruthven Stuart also says what is more to the purpose, that whether married or not the Earl of Gowrie 'certainly' left a son, whose descendant she is. It would have been more interesting if she had stated the grounds on which she makes this statement. It is unnecessary to state the reasons which make it extremely improbable, but any actual evidence of the fact would be welcome. Meanwhile, the case is a warning to ecclesiastical and municipal authorities against allowing inscriptions to be placed on permanent memorials without satisfying themselves that they are historically accurate.

QUEEN ANNE'S GREAT SEAL. It has been supposed that, in terms of the Treaty of Union, a second Great Seal of Scotland was made for Queen Anne. The Treaty sanctioned the use of her first seal until the second should be made,¹ but only seven years elapsed before the Queen's death, and for some reason, as yet unknown, the new seal was never made.

¹ Article XXIV. of the Treaty of Union.

That this is so is proved by the fact that, when George I. granted a Commission under the Great Seal, dated S. James's, 16 Nov., 1714, of the office of Sheriff of Haddington to Charles, Marquess of Tweeddale, the seal appended at Edinburgh, 7th Dec., 1714, is the first (and—as it now appears—only) seal of Anne.¹ The seal is entire, but in bad condition, unfortunately, as Mr. W. R. Macdonald tells me he knows of no perfect example. The arms and title are on the obverse, the effigy of the Queen on horseback on the reverse.

C. CLELAND HARVEY.

HERALDIC EXHIBITION. The Committee of Provands Lordship have decided to hold within their old house in Castle Street, Glasgow, a Heraldic Exhibition. This will be opened on 24th November by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon-King-of-Arms. Mr. C. Cleland Harvey, 4 Bute Mansions, Glasgow, requests that any one who could help by lending or obtaining exhibits will please communicate with him. It is proposed to show casts of Armorial Seals, Drawings and Photographs of Carvings, Ancient Heraldic Manuscripts, Heraldic China, and examples of Modern Heraldry.

¹ Original in the Charter Chest at Yester.