

Reviews of Books

DIARY OF SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON OF WARISTON. Vol. II. 1650-1654. Edited from the Original Manuscript, with Notes and Introduction by David Hay Fleming, LL.D. Pp. lii, 336. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society. 1919.

THIS is the third instalment of the Diary of Lord Wariston to be edited by the Scottish History Society. A fragment, belonging to the period from May 1639 to August 1640, was printed in a miscellaneous volume for the years 1896-97, and a more substantial portion, dealing with the years 1632-1634 and 1637-1639, was edited by Sir G. M. Paul in 1911. The present volume, covering (with gaps) the period from 1640 to 1654 is printed from MSS. known to exist when Sir George Paul's volume was being prepared, but, in the interval, the Society has made an unfortunate alteration in the appearance of its publications, and the subscriber is irritated by possessing Vol. I. of the Diary in the familiar blue binding and Vol. II. in the red of the second series, and is left to speculate what a third volume will be like should the Council decide (as we hope it will) that the rest of the MS. is worth printing.

We cannot understand why there should have been, or should be, any hesitation about printing the whole Diary, subject to such wise discretion as the editor of this volume has exercised. 'Will any human soul ever again *love* poor Wariston, and take pious pains with him in this world?' asked Carlyle. Dr. Hay Fleming may be able to answer the first part of the question; he and Sir George Paul have given an adequate reply to the second part. It is not a question of loving Wariston, but of loving historical investigation, and Wariston's Diary is a most important source for a troubled period of Scottish history. His personality is, of course, not without its interest, partly as a study in religious psychology. The present volume contains no such remarkable revelation as his acknowledgment, in 1638, of the Lord's particular care and providence 'in casting in my lap, during al my wants and sumptuous expenses of building and spending, ever abundance of moneys albeit pertaining to uthers'—trust funds which he hoped, by further providences, to be able to repay. Indeed, the effect of this statement (it can hardly be called a confession) is distinctly lessened by some of his estimates of his own short-comings in the later portion of the Diary. General and vague confessions of sinfulness rarely give the impression of genuine feeling, but Wariston accuses himself of definite sins of which he was obviously guilty, and the passages in which he does so are written with an honest regret which disposes, at all

events, one sinner to think more kindly of another than he was inclined to do.

Wariston was certainly one of the men who allow their good to be evil spoken of, and he created an atmosphere of distrust of his character and intentions, a distrust which was frequently, or even usually, unjustified, and probably arose from a habit of foolish talking. He could not, he complained, tell anything, past, present or future, without 'som act of my fancye and carnal affection adding or pairing or chaying circumstances unto what I would haive.' A congenital incapacity to tell the plain truth about things indifferent is not incompatible with trustworthiness in things that matter, but the outer world tends to pass a harsh judgment about that incapacity. The suspicion that Wariston was a traitor in 1651 probably originated in some impatient and unadvised expression. We agree that there is no convincing reason for entertaining this suspicion, and if the accusation is true, the Diary becomes unintelligible. Wariston, indeed, seems to have been bold enough to beard Cromwell himself. When Cromwell told him that he would not turn his foot to gain Lord Wariston or any other in Scotland, Wariston retorted that he was not worth the gaining, but that Cromwell's gain, such as it was, would be the loss of a better master, and added the pertinent comment that reflections on nations are not civil.

Perhaps the most interesting information in the Diary is that Wariston helped to draft the Solemn League and Covenant, but it contains much that is of interest in connexion with the relations between the Covenanters and Charles II., the rise of the Remonstrants, the treatment of the Scottish records by Cromwell, and other topics. It is needless to praise the editor's Introduction and Notes; possibly Dr. Hay Fleming might be able to detect errors in them, but they certainly give the reader the help he requires.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

BRITISH SUPREMACY AND CANADIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT, 1839-1854.

By J. L. Morison, M.A., D. Litt., Professor of Colonial History in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada; Late Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Glasgow. Pp. xiv, 369. Post 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1919. 8s. 6d. net.

A DISTINGUISHED historian affirms that in the sixteen years of Canadian administration, 1839 to 1854, the experiment was made which decided for centuries the future of the British Empire. Britain had lost her American colonies in the eighteenth century, Spain her splendid possessions early in the nineteenth. But a new and greater British colonial Empire was growing up. Was it too to be lost to the mother-country? Many believed it was. When Queen Victoria succeeded in 1837 there had just been an armed rebellion in Canada, and her ministers postponed a coercion act that it might not be the first act of her reign.

Professor Morison begins with an account of the Canadian community. In Roman Catholic Lower Canada education and politics were dominated by the priesthood. The majority could not read or write, though the

women were trained in the convents to activity and usefulness. In Protestant Upper Canada there was an enterprising newspaper press, but ecclesiastical sectarian controversy did 'infinite harm' to the cause of education. In politics the 'Loyalists,' a minority, had long been supreme. They held to a Conservative upper house, an executive council chosen from their own class, the suppression of French Canadian feeling as rebellious and un-English, and power to be shared between themselves and the Governor-General. All the officers of government were independent of the elected Assembly. Meanwhile immigrants were flocking in from the United States accustomed to free institutions, and from Britain and Ireland determined to have them. The majority wished the union of the two provinces, for British Canada was cut off from the sea by the French province, which got more than its share of the duties and profits of the overseas commerce, and they demanded, what had hitherto been denied to the colony, Canadian control of Canadian finance, trade and land ; and, of this last, especially of the 'Clergy Reserves,' which hampered every settlement. These agrarian troubles were the worst. The ecclesiastical sects quarrelled and fought over the Reserves with the tenacity of the lady in Sancho Panza's famous judgment. Lord Sydenham, when Governor-General, called them 'the root of all the troubles in the province, the cause of the rebellion, . . . the perpetual source of discord, strife and hatred.' But more than half of the population called for representative government because they hoped by means of it to get rid of the British connection. Many wished union with the democratic United States. The French of Lower Canada, wedded to their feudal seigniorial government, and confirmed in it by their priests, were stubbornly opposed to British and United States alike.

In 1839 Lord Durham was made Governor-General of the two Canadas, and commissioned to enquire into all questions depending with respect to their future government. His famous Report, made with the help of his secretaries, Buller and Wakefield, is one of the ablest documents ever laid before Parliament. But it pleased neither province. It recommended their union, and the grant of responsible government, with reserves. Britain kept the control of all money votes, the administration and the revenues of public lands, and the regulation of trade with herself and with foreign countries. The French Canadians were to be absorbed and ruled by the British, the colonial executive was not to be fully subject to the colonial parliament. Upper and Lower Canada were duly united by act of the Imperial Parliament in 1840.

Professor Morison devotes a chapter each to an account of the labours, the difficulties and the disappointments of the three Governors-General who in succession followed Durham—Sydenham—the would-be benevolent despot ; Bagot, the genial diplomatist, and Metcalfe, the able and honourable public servant. Each had a brief career marred by physical suffering. All three came and went within six years, the last completing in confusion and failure the demonstration of the impossibility of the position. The alternative in Canada was now clear—self-government, or rebellion to be probably followed by annexation to the United

States. Lord Elgin, the hero of Professor Morison's book, became Governor-General in 1847.

The conditions in Canada during these years cannot be reduced to the simple proposition of a people believing themselves oppressed struggling for liberty. They were as complex as human desires. To be understood they must be studied with assiduity and patience in the contemporary records. Thus Professor Morison has studied them. And the result is his picture of the evolution of the policy which shaped the unimagined future of the British Empire.

Lord Elgin, in his seven years of office, changed all the currents. He was shrewd, tactful, genial, and gifted with a sense of humour and the capacity to see the other side of any question. One-third of the colony were his fellow Scots, and he knew, as the author says, that Britons, abroad as at home, must have liberty to misgovern themselves. Gradually applying, with cautious skill, the principle of *laissez faire*, which Great Britain had adopted with Free Trade in 1846, he established democratic government in Canada. That government consisted in practical Home Rule, theoretical and vague supremacy. He allowed free institutions to evolve themselves. British supremacy remained a pious opinion.

In his last chapter Professor Morison eloquently describes the consequences of Canadian autonomy, which confirm Burke's teaching that a free government is what the governed think free, and that people do not trouble much about logical theory so long as they are happy. Liberty increased loyalty by removing every motive for separation, and Canada, proudly conscious of being a free individual nation, scouted the possibility of annexation to the United States, and recalled old ties and affection, and the old debt to the mother-country for protection and help.

No country takes more pains than Canada to collect and preserve its historical records, and none is more courteous in opening its archives to the competent enquirer. Professor Morison has availed himself of the collections in Ottawa, Kingston and elsewhere, and has written what is not only a brilliant historical treatise, but an opportune contribution to the solution of the problem of national self-determination. To erudition he adds a happy literary skill. He engages the interest of his readers. And while he affects neither preciosity nor paradox, one turns back occasionally to re-read a passage or a sentence for the pure pleasure of its epigrammatic felicity.

The book has a fine portrait of Lord Elgin and a good Index.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY-ROOD AND OF THE PALACE OF HOLYROOD HOUSE. By John Harrison, C.B.E., LL.D. Pp. viii, 274, with ten Illustrations. Crown 4to. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. London, 1919. 25s. net.

THE history of Holyrood has cast as it were a magic spell over many writers. More than a score of books have been published about it, not to speak of such full descriptions as that by James Grant in his *Old and New Edinburgh*, or slighter ones to be found in many books of reference. They are of all characters and qualities, from the weird *Nocturnal Visit to*

Holyrood (rarely to be met with now) published in French by the Comtesse de Caithness, Duchesse de Pomar, in which she relates an interview with the shade of Queen Mary, down to the latest guide-book. Not that the latter are to be despised, as the official guide-book to the Palace is from the pen of an eminent Scots writer, and is a model of what such books should be. Just before the war, too, Dr. Moir Bryce, one of the most learned of local antiquaries, published a delightful little monograph on the place, but it perhaps appealed more to the collector of dainty editions than to the serious historical student. And now we have Dr. Harrison's beautiful volume, written with loving appreciation and diligent care.

When all is said, we do not really know very much about the actual buildings of Holyrood. A little, no doubt, about the ecclesiastical edifices, and particularly about the Abbey Church, of which we can actually draw a plan showing the nave still so far preserved, the now vanished choir with the little primeval church within it. From the analogy of other monasteries we know where the cloisters and other adjuncts of the Abbey must have been, but who could draw out a detailed ground plan of the whole monastic buildings? Of the Palace, though later in date, we know almost as little: almost nothing of the actual buildings erected by James IV., though we know that he not only built a lodging worthy of the young bride he brought home to it in 1503, but also that he furnished it handsomely. The work of his successor, James V., is still to some extent at least with us, as we may fairly attribute the present north-west tower to his inception. He builded well, and his work resisted the flames kindled by Hertford's soldiery in their invasion of 1544. The alterations made in Queen Mary's time are nebulous, though there is little doubt that the Palace must have been much extended to accommodate the large following of the Queen. But it is not till the last rebuilding of the Palace in the middle of the seventeenth century that we can trace with certainty the various stages in the building, and the alterations which were from time to time made on it.

Dr. Harrison, however, has worked diligently on his subject, and from the entries in the treasurer's accounts, and those of the master of works, he has added something to the sum of our knowledge. We know the cost of the 'eastland buirdis,' the 'oaken geistes,' the stone and iron work, and the 'glassin werk,' which were provided at several times for the building or rebuilding of the Palace. And there is a shrewd estimate given of the situation of two apartments, both now disappeared, the two Chapels Royal within the Palace, and entirely distinct from the church of the Abbey itself. One of them was built by James IV. and the other by his son. The latter is believed to have been the chapel in which Mary was married to Darnley, while the former became the hall in which the Privy Council held its meetings.

But if we do not know a great deal about the actual buildings, we have plenty information about the people who inhabited them. The fascinating story has been told before, but it loses nothing of its interest and picturesqueness in the glowing pages of Dr. Harrison's book. Few walls, indeed, have witnessed such thrilling scenes: the splendid entry of the

child bride of James IV.; the coming of the gentle and fair Madelaine of France, only to find a grave within its precincts in little more than a month; the bright opening of Queen Mary's reign, when the walls echoed to the strains of Riccio's lute and the roundelays of France; the dark doom of the unworthy favourite; the encounters between the clever queen and the stern zealot Knox; and the last scene in the great tragedy when she was, after a few hours' detention in Holyrood, taken away from the Palace, which she was never to see again, on the night of the 16th June, 1567.

The personality of James VI. is well known, but it was too feeble to make much impression on Holyrood: it is not from his connection with that house that he will be remembered; but it is to the credit of his grandson, Charles II., that he took much interest in the building, and we owe its present appearance very much to him. Had he let his architect, Sir William Bruce, have his own way, the result would have been better than it actually is; but considerations of cost apparently necessitated economy.

The great event in the history of the Palace in the eighteenth century was of course the residence in it of Prince Charles Edward, then in the zenith of his popularity, and the darling of all Scottish Jacobite hearts, but this is a twice told tale. The occupation of it by the Bourbon refugees is a more prosaic story, and it is not till Queen Victoria took up her residence for a time there that it again becomes historically interesting. With her the author brings his book to a close, though he might have mentioned the visits of King Edward VII. and our present king, as on these occasions the old Palace displayed more state than it had seen since the days of the Stewarts.

We may ask if there is anything more to be found out about Holyrood. Probably not, though what would happen were our Public Records made more accessible and indexed as well as they are in England one cannot say. Even within the walls of Holyrood itself some surprises may yet be awaiting us. Only the other day an interesting relic was discovered in an attic in the shape of the funeral hatchment of Mary of Lorraine, containing her arms done in plaster and wood, and coloured. They were presumably put above the door of the Palace after her death.

A word about the illustrations. The five views of the present Palace by Mr. W. D. McKay, R.S.A., are charming, and have a grace combined with accuracy of detail which is beyond praise. The coloured reproduction of parts of the view drawn by an officer in Hertford's army (not a spy, as he has been sometimes called) is from a historical and archæological point of view of the utmost value and interest. Its being coloured gives it a special value, as it shows that Holyrood had a red roof like the houses in the city itself, while the dwellings in the Canongate were either slated or thatched—more probably the latter. There are also Gordon of Rothiemay's views, which are better known, and an excellent view of Edinburgh and Holyrood in 1670 by Hollar.

Himself an eminent citizen of Edinburgh, Dr. Harrison had laid his fellow-citizens under an obligation to him by the production of his excellent work.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

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THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.
By Ninian Hill. Pp. xii, 263. Crown 8vo. Glasgow : James
MacLehose & Sons. 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

MANY years have passed since Wakeman wrote his *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, and even yet no one has emulated his example and produced a similar book on the history of the Church of Scotland. Wakeman has set a high standard, but a warm welcome awaits the Scots historian who will follow him in narrating the story of a sister Church. Good as is Mr. Ninian Hill's volume, it leaves the gap unfilled. Its aims are definite and modest, and the author contents himself with telling in short chapters the main incidents of a tale that begins with S. Ninian and ends with a pen-picture of a General Assembly of modern days. To do this well—and Mr. Ninian Hill has done it well—is a valuable service to all who like to ponder the strange, chequered story of the *Ecclesia Scoticana*. It seems ungracious to mention what the author might have done when he has done so much. We needed a history of ecclesiastical Scotland in short compass, and now we have it. The late Principal Macewen left a rich legacy in his large history of our Church from its earlier days to those of the Reformation, but between his *magnum opus* and slender primers there was almost nothing to satisfy the general reader.

Mr. Ninian Hill's book is in the best sense of the word a war volume. He is rightly impressed by the tradition of Scotland, a tradition of patriotism and religion; and, like Flint, he believes that the Church has done more than any other institution to make Scotland what it is. It is characteristic that his monograph is dedicated to a gallant churchman who gloriously upheld the tradition—Gavin Lang Pagan of S. George's, Edinburgh, and of the Royal Scots. Mr. Hill, therefore, has written a story that is a sermon.

Accordingly, one has no right to expect many tokens of original research in what is really a series of pictures of the Scottish Church at selected periods. Yet there are indications in the Appendix notes that the author has read widely, and can give illustrations of his reading. His knowledge of law is often happily used in these notes.

In twelve chapters Mr. Hill completes his task, and ten of these are occupied with the history of the Church from the foundation of the *Candida Casa* till the classic scene of Carstares' courageous patriotism. This disproportionate division of ecclesiastical history leaves only one chapter for a discussion of events and movements in the Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, as these were stormy times, Mr. Hill must expect considerable criticism of his summaries and interpretations. His is a robust mind, and he is sturdily loyal to his own Church in its stand against secession and reproach.

Mr. Ninian's book is not free from mistakes, but these are mostly minor, and detract but little from the value of the story. There are one or two expressions that one would like to change, and there are places where one would like at times more and at times less emphasis. Judged by the aims Mr. Hill sets before himself his volume is a useful, readable, and opportune contribution.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

PIECES FROM THE MAKCULLOCH AND THE GRAY MSS., TOGETHER WITH THE CHEPMAN AND MYLLAR PRINTS. Edited by the late George Stevenson. Pp. xix, 303. With portrait and twelve facsimiles. 8vo. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, per William Blackwood & Sons. 1918.

THE frontispiece portrait must accentuate the regrets of the Scottish Text Society for the loss of an editor whose record was so brilliant a promise of service to early national literature. His discoveries, for instance, regarding the personal career and literary attainments and method of Montgomerie had made all students of Scottish poetic biography his debtors. Son of the Town Clerk of Portobello, he graduated at Edinburgh and Oxford, and in 1908 was appointed lecturer, and in 1913 a professor in English in the University of Toronto. He died suddenly in 1915 at the age of 47.

The present book, which expressed his recognition of the immense literary importance of three poetical collections, two in MS. and the other in black-letter prints, was not completed when he died, and Mr. Henry W. Meikle has faithfully seen the work through the press equipped by him with a short notice of Stevenson's life, an introduction and a modicum of notes. In this apparatus is adequately outlined the claim for the collections as sources and authorities for the tradition of Scottish poetry in and about the period of James IV.

The Makculloch MS. proper consists of lecture notes taken at Louvain by Magnus Makculloch in 1477, but the poetic addenda were written by a later, perhaps early-sixteenth-century, hand, on blank leaves and fly sheets. The pieces include three by Henryson and one by Dunbar. The Gray MS., written by James Gray, a clerk to successive Archbishops of St. Andrews, is a miscellany including six vernacular poems, of which four were transcribed probably before Flodden, while other two from a different pen were insertions possibly forty or fifty years later. The poems are of secondary note, and of a religious character. Some correspondence on the MS. in the *Athenæum* in December 1899 might have been referred to as part of the discussion of date, authorship and literary connexion. It is a manuscript of central significance not only for the *Kingis Quair*, but also as indicative of a probable St. Andrews scriptorium, the bearing of which on some of our problems will not be clear until the whole Gray MS. is edited with sufficient facsimiles. The Scottish History Society might consider such a project.

Third and chief, however, in the sources of this composite publication under review is the Advocates' Library unique volume, *Porteous of Noblenes and Ten Other Rare Tracts*, printed in 1508 by W. Chepman and A. Myllar, a great credit to the Scottish press, and a monument of the early editor, whoever he was, who presumably guided the selection of the poems, and may have otherwise forwarded the enterprise of printing. It was marrow of Scots poetry that was thus finding its salvation, for the list included 'Golagros and Gawane' by a great alliterative romancer, 'Syr Eglamoure,' of entirely unknown authorship, various minor pieces of Henryson, and a series of Dunbar's finest performances, including the

'Goldyn Targe' and the 'Lament for the Makaris.' Of Chepman and Myllar's collected prints only a single example survives, the fine workman-like and tasteful characteristics of which are well conveyed in the facsimiles. The service thus rendered to the poetic culture of the Scottish vernacular at so early a date was beyond calculation, and for critical purposes the present volume must be of not less utility. The air is full of problems, and the issues are ripening for solutions in which this triple collection of texts will be a factor. Incomplete though it be—closed with inevitable abruptness by a most loyal and competent fellow-worker—the volume, set firmly on the stocks by George Stevenson, will, as an indispensable instrument of study, carry forward his name through the century among those whose labours their countrymen cannot forget.

GEO. NEILSON.

FIFTY YEARS OF EUROPE, 1870-1919. By Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University. Pp. viii, 428, with 14 Maps. 8vo. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1919. 14s. net.

THE thesis amplified in the numerous volumes which this year has seen produced, dealing with the history of Europe in the last two generations, is the same in each case, namely, a description of the growth, maintenance and decline of German ascendancy. The variations are variations of treatment. Professor Hazen's aim is not too ambitious. He presents a summary of the period in narrative form, concerning himself with facts rather than with theories, and with events rather than with movements of thought. The result may not be very profound, but it is pleasantly readable. Certain aspects of the period are treated with a prominence unusual in a volume of this kind, more notably the attention devoted to an account of the constitutional system prevailing in even the lesser countries of Europe and in the British Colonies. The limitations and inequalities of the German pre-war franchise are specially well described. A long chapter concerns the internal history of Britain, and another sketches British colonial development. Like all Americans, Professor Hazen is too imbued with democratic theories quite to appreciate the Unionist view of the Home Rule question, or the cross currents which led to the rejection of the Budget of 1909 by the House of Lords. In dealing with the General Election of January, 1910, he makes the remarkable and surely inaccurate statement that 'the campaign was one of extreme bitterness, expressing itself in numerous deeds of violence.'

When Professor Hazen turns to the Colonies he finds himself on surer ground, except that when he traces the unhappy course of events in South Africa, he uses the word independence in an apparently absolute sense as referring to the status of the Transvaal Republic after the Sand River Convention of 1852, oblivious of the fact that by that Convention the 'suzerainty' of the British Crown was still maintained. The root of all future South African difficulties lay in disputes over the content and implications of that vague term.

The last hundred pages are devoted to a summary of the main events of the War, up to the date of the Armistice. Though necessarily scrappy, it

is unbiassed and useful in correcting the perspective of a generation whose sense of proportion has been impaired by too close contact with epoch-making events.

W. D. ROBIESON.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ, Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, on November the 13th, 1919. Pp. 14. Folio. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1919.

FOR nearly five hundred years the University of Glasgow has elected a Rector, whose post has for long been an honorary one, entailing no greater labour than the delivery of one address during the three years' tenure of office. The post, during the last century or more, has usually been held by a distinguished statesman—in earlier days by ecclesiastics; and it is curious that the highest honour which the undergraduates of the University have in their power to bestow, has rarely been offered to a man on account of his scholastic or literary or scientific work. The last holder of the office, however, was probably the only Lord Rector who was the head of a Great Nation, and M. Poincaré's address, which was delivered in excellent English, was of unusual interest as expressing the feeling of France towards Great Britain, and especially towards Scotland. The tributes of praise to Scottish soldiers, sailors and nurses are as generous and as discriminating as those to Scottish scholars, statesmen and institutions, although the place and circumstances of the address naturally led the speaker to adopt a laudatory rather than a critical tone throughout. But what gives the address its peculiar value is the intimate estimate by the President of the French Republic of one great Scotsman, the British Commander-in-Chief, whom M. Poincaré singled out as possessing typical national characteristics. Withdrawing for a moment the veil which usually hides the proceedings at critical conferences, M. Poincaré told the story of his consultation with Field-Marshal Haig on two occasions, when the fate of the Western Powers seemed to be hanging in the balance, and when the Field-Marshal not only showed his clear-sightedness and moral energy, but acted with 'a patriotism and a loyalty which will make him still greater in the world's history.' The sincerity of this personal tribute is unmistakable.

In addition to the print of the Rectorial Address, the French Government has also issued in their 'Petite Collection Historique' a series of eleven charming booklets containing speeches by the President on various public occasions during the last two years. These cover a wide field, including an oration in memory of authors who have died during the War, an address delivered at the Sorbonne, and speeches at Verdun and Nancy.

THE RIGHT TO WORK : An Essay Introductory to the Economic History of the French Revolution of 1848. By J. A. R. Marriott, M.P. Crown 8vo. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1919. 1s. 6d. net.

MR. MARRIOTT has re-issued his introduction to the edition of Louis Blanc's *Organisation du Travail*, and Émile Thomas's *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, which was published in 1913, as he considers that a study of both the economic theories and the practical experiment is valuable to-day.

Mr. Marriott describes vividly and concisely the ideas and the events of the Revolution of 1848. Louis Blanc's work was inspired by the effects of the industrial revolution in France. His practical proposal was to use the power of the State to start national workshops, democratically organised, which should compete with private enterprise so successfully as to substitute the principle of association for competition, without violence or confiscation.

His proposals have therefore something in common with both Syndicalism and State Socialism. He also preached the doctrine of the right to work, and it was this idea which attracted the Paris workmen, who were not satisfied with the political revolution of 1848. Only in this way can Blanc be considered responsible for the experiment of the national workshops which he vehemently disowned, and their failure. The recognition by the Government of the right to work, and its inability to provide enough work, led to the payment of thousands of unemployed. Émile Thomas was appointed Director of National Workshops, and attempted to organise the masses of working men, but he could not supply work. The Government's resolve to end the experiment led to the terrible street fighting of June 23-26, which paved the way for the rise to power of Louis Napoleon and the end of the Republic.

THEODORA KEITH.

JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN STATES OF THE AMERICAN UNION—CASES DECIDED IN THE SUPREME COURTS OF THE UNITED STATES. 2 vols. Collected and edited by James Brown Scott, LL.D. Pp. xlii, viii, 1775. Large 8vo. New York : Oxford University Press. 1918. 25s. net.

MR BROWN SCOTT, in carefully bringing together from the many volumes of American law reports these cases relating to controversies of various kinds in which the different States have been concerned, has had a practical object in view. He thinks such cases should be readily accessible, 'not only to the lawyer, but to the layman as well.' Obviously they are of great importance to every student of American constitutional history. But at the present day, when a league of nations is contemplated, it is possible that such decisions may be even of a more *wide* world value. 'To many,' Mr. Brown Scott says, 'it seems that the Court of the American Union—in which coercive measures are not taken to compel the appearance of the defendant State, but, in its absence, permission is given to the plaintiff State to proceed *ex parte*, and in which hitherto no judgment against a State has been executed by force, either because it was felt that no power existed so to do, or its exercise was not considered necessary—is the prototype of that tribunal which they would like to see created by the Society of Nations, 'accessible to all in the midst of the independent powers.''

It is certainly to be hoped that America, which thus sets the example of such a Society, will not be found to be the stumbling block in the way of the proposed League of Nations.

We have, perhaps, been too much inclined to look upon America as one nation, instead of being a society of States, each with its own special

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interests, but all subject to an international tribunal. The present arrangement dates from 1787, when the newly emancipated republic drafted its constitution, and 'devised a Court of the States in which they consented to be sued for the settlement of the controversies bound to arise between and among them, denouncing the right of settlement by diplomacy, and wisely eschewing the resort to force.' Mr. Scott is sanguine enough to think that what the forty-eight States of the American Union do, a like number of States forming the Society of Nations can also do.

The decisions here collected are arranged under different headings, as, for example, suits by individuals against States and controversies between different States—often over questions of boundaries. Copies of the leading documents which form the written constitution of the American republic are supplied.

For the publication of these volumes we are again indebted to 'the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,' which has already contributed so much to what may be called the constitutional literature of the United States.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

THE RIDDLE OF THE RUTHVENS, and other Stories. By William Roughead. Pp. 544, with 13 Illustrations. 8vo. Edinburgh: W. Green & Sons, Ltd. 1919. 25s. net.

THIS volume, of delightful and luxurious form, is full of Scottish story. It may be described as the happy result of the lucubrations of one of our lawyers, the most skilled perhaps (*teste* the late Mr. Andrew Lang) in placing Scottish yesterdays before us. Generally he does this with historical subjects, but not always, otherwise we would not have had his admirable poetic criticism (placed last in this book) on Robert Fergusson, the Edinburgh prototype of Burns. Still, it is with historical or legal subjects he is generally connected, at least in this collection. He begins with 'The Riddle of the Ruthvens,' an examination of the baffling 'Gowrie Conspiracy.' We now wonder with him whether the plot was not as much on the King's side as on that of the victims. Many 'trials,' judicial or else so-called, help to fill the book. We get a magnificent view of legal Nemesis in the remote Highlands when the Pack of the Travelling Merchant is accounted for through a dream. Witchcraft is dealt with in three studies. Auld Auchindrayne's Murder of an innocent boy is narrated, as is the modern case of 'Antique Smith' who 'uttered' forgeries of the works of the great Dead—some of which may still unhappily be current. Scottish and Irish Law finds its crux in the curious tangle of the Yelverton Marriage Case. Two important papers on Lord Braxfield (whose portrait is twice given to show his different aspects), soften a little his fierce contours, and one on Lord Grange, who deported his ill-willy-wife to St. Kilda, are all well worth study. It is impossible to read the book—which contains many other essays of interest—without delighting in the writer's thoroughness, his knowledge of Scottish History, his skill in unfolding the half forgotten past, and his quaint humour.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE STORY OF PETERLOO. Written for the Centenary, August 16, 1919.
By F. A. Bruton, M.A. Pp. 45. 8vo. With 7 Illustrations.
London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1919. 1s. net.

THE 'Massacre of Peterloo' was one of the sad aftermaths of the Napoleonic War. In 1819 the government of the manufacturing town of Manchester was still the archaic manorial court—a wholly unrepresentative body entirely incapable of understanding the aspirations, grievances and desire of Liberal principles held by the progressive operatives of the city. That some of the latter held 'dangerous' opinions is admitted; but the fact remains that a perfectly peaceful public meeting of 'Reformers,' with the eloquent 'Orator Hunt' as chief spokesman, was dispersed in a violent manner by two bodies of soldiery, who left almost six hundred of the crowd seriously wounded and many of them, some being women, killed. Although this was at first regarded with congratulatory equanimity by Lord Sidmouth, and backed up in an arbitrary manner by the law, the Liberal principles for which the meeting stood very soon triumphed, and its sanguinary end was immortalised in Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*. This tract supplies all essential details and authorities in commemorating the event a hundred years later.

PALMERSTON AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. By Charles Sproxton,
B.A., M.C. Pp. xii, 148. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge : At the University
Press. 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

THE author of this brilliant brochure (one of these young savants whom we can so ill spare,—fell in the War in 1917) has presented to us an interesting study of Palmerston's diplomacy. Not concealing any of Palmerston's defects, his undiplomatic and hectoring straightforwardness, his rudeness to foreign courts, and his blind touching the nerve of their susceptibilities, he yet shows his love of liberality and justice. He manages in the mazes of a tortuous and revolutionary epoch to tell us how Palmerston, though he would not recognise an independent Hungary for fear of weakening Austria unduly, yet, when the Hungarian cause had, by Russian help, failed entirely, he, by his influence, saved the Magyar insurgent leaders from Austrian ferocity.

A HANDBOOK OF GREEK VASE PAINTING. By Mary A. B. Herford,
M.A. Pp. xxii, 125. Royal 8vo. Manchester : At the University
Press. 1919. 9s. 6d. net.

THIS book, which is beautifully illustrated with pictures of vases of the highest degree of Greek artistic excellence, is written to meet a definite want, as until its appearance there has been no work on Greek vase painting as a whole, although there have been many books and brochures on Greek ceramics. We congratulate the writer on her historical scholarship, her knowledge and her skill in collection. The book abounds with instances of all these qualities on every page, and the shapes and designs of the Greek vases—so often misnamed 'Etruscan'—which she has reproduced, are a joy to the eye.

M'Lachlan : Methodist Unitarian Movement 151

THE METHODIST UNITARIAN MOVEMENT. By H. M'Lachlan, M.A., B.D. Pp. xii, 151. Crown 8vo. Manchester : At the University Press. 1919. 4s. 6d. net.

THE history of the movement of 1806-1851 begins with the difference between Joseph Cook and the rest of his Church on the difficult subject of 'The Witness of the Spirit' and on 'Justification,' which led to the formation of the new sect 'The Cookites,' the *loci* of which were at Rochdale, Oldham, and a few other centres. The writer styles the adherents 'humble pioneers of religious and political liberty,' and draws the materials for his study from the records of their chapels and schools.

FÖRNVÄNNEN. MEDDELANDEN FRÅN K. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADAMIEN. 1916. Under redaktion av Emil Eckhoff. Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm.

THIS is an interesting and well-illustrated collection of articles on Old Lore in Sweden. The papers include observations on the Roman Vessels in the Upland burial grounds, the gold ornaments of the Bronze Age found in Sweden, the farm equipments of the Stone Age in Upland; queries whether certain stone work is Swedish or Byzantine, and other art owes its existence to Cologne or Gotland, remarks on Stone-Age axes, etc., and an article of wider interest by M. Snittger on the old traditions of the Stork as the 'lifebringer' in the Northern Counties.

IRELAND THE OUTPOST. By Grenville A. J. Cole, F.R.S. 8vo. Oxford University Press. 1919.

A SHORT and interesting study founded on the statement in 1436 that Ireland 'is a boterasse and a poste.' The essayist treats the history of Irish difficulties from the point of view of a geographer, and so accounts for the settlements of the different waves of population that have passed over the country. He points out the gate of Ireland is at Dublin, on the friendly and 'narrow seas.'

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES : a Book for To-day. By George Gordon Samson. Pp. iv, 126. Crown 8vo. London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1919. 2s. 6d. net.

THE present difficulty that 'Money is not Wealth' is the keynote of this booklet, which deals with the problem of cost and labour; autocracy and democracy, and such like topics. It is notable that in his short account of Roman democracy the author does not mention slave ownership or labour.

PAX, THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE BENEDICTINES OF CALDEY.

A PLEASANTLY got up brochure which contains an article on Santa Sophia at Constantinople, one on a Coptic hymn, by Henry Jenner, and what to us is of greater local interest as Scots 'Some early Religious Memories,' by Abbot Sir David Oswald Hunter-Blair, O.S.B., now Abbot of Abington, who writes interestingly about his religious education in Scotland.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
Pp. viii, 140. 4to.

THIS handy and well-planned list has been prepared by Mr. Frederic Kent. It is, as the honorary secretaries of the Society, Mr. A. H. Charteris and Mr. J. Arthur Brown, recognise, the necessary key to about 1700 books. Their hint that the Catalogue may stimulate donations deserves success.

An interesting special list of MSS., mainly legal and historical, reaches us from Norway. It is the *Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin and Manchester*, drawn up by Olai Skulerud (Kristiania, 1919. Pp. viii, 76. 8vo). It is a systematic list, briefly setting forth the contents of all Scandinavian manuscripts in Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, in John Ryland's Library, Manchester, and in the Advocates' Library and Edinburgh University Library. Attention of Scottish antiquaries may be drawn to pp. 41, 44-46, and 54-55 for about a dozen entries, chiefly of minor, but not negligible, note.

In the *English Historical Review* for October the most considerable article is Dr. Farrer's second half of his *Outline Itinerary of Henry I*. It completes a sustained chapter of first-class British history which will evoke the gratitude of all who have occasion to work through the obscure period of the opening twelfth century. Scottish investigators will find a good many important references to international relations, and particularly to the movements of David I. at the English Court. Presumably the Itinerary will ere long be issued in a separate volume. Its mass of detailed names of persons and places, its incidental notices of events, and its careful chronological arrangement throughout its solid 155 pages as now printed, will make it an indispensable adjunct in the study of early feudal English biography and politics. Other contents this quarter include Carl Stephenson's discussion of the Aids exacted by the Crown from English boroughs, largely turning on the problem whether *tallagium* and *auxilium* were not indistinguishable. Malcolm Letts furnishes lively notes of Frenchmen's travels in sixteenth-century Naples. Edward IV.'s ship, *Grace de Dieu*, building in 1446, and 'spoken,' as it were, in the records of freightage in 1449, has a note by R. C. Anderson all to itself, and its voyages, until broken up in 1486. V. H. Galbraith recovers certain *Articuli* laid before Parliament in 1371. Found in a Bury chartulary, they have a Wicliffite connotation. Mary D. Harris adds to the minor historical sources from James II. to George II. by introducing the Memoirs of Edward Hopkins, M.P. for Coventry.

In *History* for October, Edward Armstrong surveys the Dawn of the French Renaissance largely under the lights hung out by A. Tilley, who has made the period his own. Ernest Barker contrasts three concepts of Nationalism. Alice Gardner, in a striking and persuasive examination of ecclesiastical policy under Constantine, shows that Dioclesian, having by instituting the 'adoration' of the Emperor, caused disaffection among

the Christians in the army, Constantine, by the altered *adoratio* of the standards aimed at restoring the discipline of the soldiery while securing the supremacy of the emperor and the reverence for the *Labarum*. The bearing of this on the interpretation of Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the State religion, is a subtle and far-reaching political speculation, considerably influenced by the important article of E. C. Babut, noticed in these columns (*S.H.R.* xiv, 297) in 1917.

The *American Historical Review* for July had solid papers on English ecclesiastical and political problems. A. H. Sweet on the English Benedictines and their bishops in the thirteenth century, deals at large with the episcopal visitations by which, with difficulty, the moral oversight was asserted and maintained. W. C. Abbott traces the definite origin of English political parties under representative government, and their final transformation over the question of succession to the throne, to the decisive period of 1675. Edouard Driault, not without an eye on the fates of 1914, re-examines the successive coalitions of Europe by which Napoleon was put down.

In the same Review for October, fresh and clear new issues are raised by A. B. White: 'Was there a 'Common Council' before Parliament?' His answer is that before Parliament became both in name and reality the classical body we know, there was no such thing as the *Commune Concilium*, 'predecessor of the modern parliament,' as Professor M'Kechnie styles it. The challenge is not a mere denial; it is a sort of collation or bibliography of 258 passages, between the Conquest and the middle of the thirteenth century, the outcome of which is (1) that, on the instances tabled, *commune consilium* did not pass out of its signification of 'general counsel,' and did not become an assembly name in England; and (2) that *concilium* was no transition from *consilium*, and 'Common Council' had no prevalence before 'Parliament.'

Witt Bowden shows how largely English manufacturers opposed the commercial liberalism of the reciprocity treaty of 1786 with France. Bernadotte E. Schmitt reconstitutes the Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Crimea, and blames the Czar for precipitating the conflict from his belief that Europe would not unite against him. The article makes plain that Kinglake's elaborate interpretations of the policies and diplomacies of the war must at many points be qualified and questioned in the new lights available, which make the attitude even of Stratford de Redcliffe much less absolute and definite than was long supposed.

Aeronautics have become a most popular new subject of research, and George E. Hastings has found in the records of the late eighteenth century much readable and curious matter on 'the Affair of the Balloons,' especially the designs for their application to war purposes.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July is almost monopolised by a Historical Survey of Militia in Iowa. The institution itself in America was inherited from England, and antedates the Revolution. In Iowa, created a Territory in 1838, the Militia was set up in the same year, Cyril B. Upham making himself its historian, traces its annals with large

masses of local fact, as far down as the close of the civil war, pausing in 1866, when militia law had become almost a dead letter.

The number of the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (xi, 3-4) for July-October, 1918, contains an account by P. L. Oligier of the treatise of Fr. Petrus Johannis Olivi (+ 1298), *De renuntiatione Papae Coelestini V.*, some illustrated notes on portraits of Christopher Columbus, by Maurice Beaufreton, and a German metrical version of the Legend of St Clare, edited by Walter Seton. The instalment of the *Bullarium* of Assisi, and the first part of an *Index regestorum Familiae ultramontanae*, which the number contains, do not offer anything specially Scottish.

The number of the same periodical for January-April, 1919 (xii, 1-2) contains an account by P. J. Goyens of a school of biblical study founded at Antwerp in 1768, including an interesting catalogue of books on Oriental languages then to be found in the convent libraries of that province. Auguste Pelyer deals with a commentary on Aristotle's *De meteoris*, which was one of Roger Bacon's sources, and which he attributes to Alfred of 'Saneshel,' an Englishman, discarding a number of previous attributions.

P. Th. Plassman devotes forty pages to Bartholomaeus Anglicus, the author of the popular encyclopædia, *De proprietatibus rerum*, of the middle of the thirteenth century. He concludes that the author was 'a scion of the illustrious family of the Glanvilles, who were most likely of Anglo-French origin, and who were settled in the county of Suffolk.' As a laïc he entered the Franciscan Order, studied at Oxford and Paris, and afterwards taught at the convent in the latter city. He is last heard of as a teacher at Magdeburg. P. Plassman gives an interesting summary of Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, and quotes some rather 'superior' references to Scotland and Ireland. Of the inhabitants of the former he writes: 'cum populus sit satis elegantis figure et faciei pulcre tamen eos deformat proprius habitus sive Scotica vestitura.'

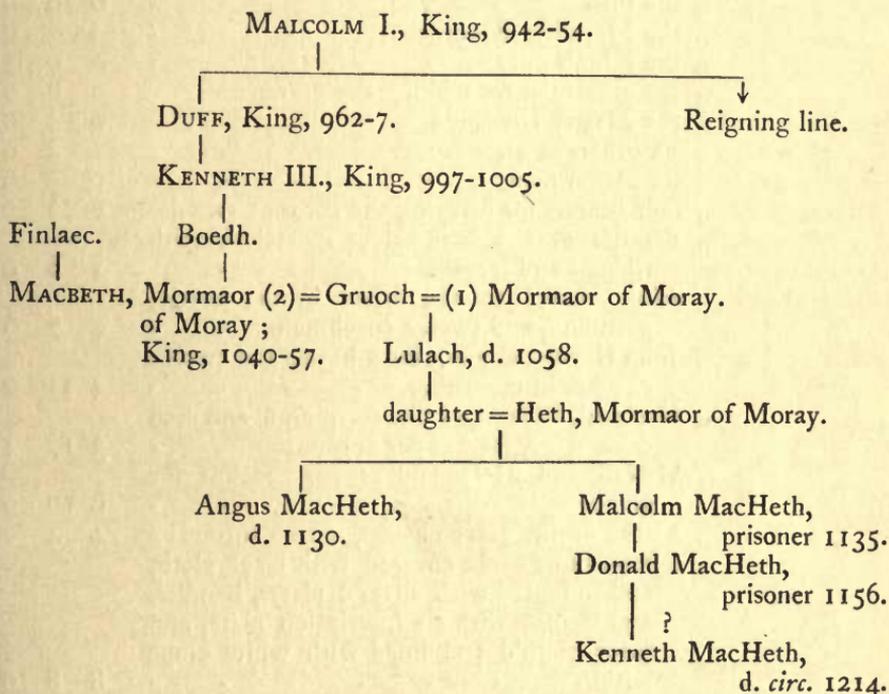
P. Oligier pursues the inquiry begun by Mr. Seton in the previous number, and prints a charming Latin version of the *Gaudia S. Clarae Assisiensis*, which he judges to be earlier than the German. Both versions belong to the period 1350-1380. P. Salvatore Tosti studies *Alcuni codici delle prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena*, including some very vivid contemporary accounts of the effects of his preaching. Both numbers are full of interesting material.

D. B. S.

Communications

MACBETH *or* MACHETH. I venture, for my own instruction, to propound a problem which is either absurdly simple or insoluble.

Here, so far as I can reconstruct it, is the genealogy of the MacHeth pretenders who vexed Canmore's line in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries :—



What is MacBeth, Mormaor of Moray, doing in this otherwise exclusive gallery of MacHeth under-rulers of that province? I am told that MacBeth = Son of Life (Vita)—Is MacVittie alternative? What is the signification of MacHeth? or are the two names interchangeable? But MacBeth, not MacHeth, survives. Is the fact due to MacBeth's preference in literature? If so, why do our historians confuse us by associating both forms? Or, after all, are the two names, and therefore the two local dynasties, distinct?

C. SANFORD TERRY.

AN EDINBURGH FUNERAL IN 1785. The following account was found among the papers of the late Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, F.S.A. Scot. Woodend is in the parish of Madderty near Crieff; but Robert Watt, who was a writer, died in Edinburgh on the 17th of March 1785. As will be noticed the coffin was 'sheer cloth'd.' According to the *New English Dictionary*, a man who removed the superfluous nap from cloth in a manufactory was called 'a shearman'; and 'sheer' is descriptive 'of textile fabrics—thin, fine, diaphanous.'

D. HAY FLEMING.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERALS OF ROBERT WATT OF WOODEND, Esq^{RE},
TO WILLIAM BUTTER.

1785.

March 21st.	To cash paid for a warrant to break ground in the Grayfriars Churchyard for a hearse burial	£1	5	0
	„ the Charity Workhouse - - - - -	0	5	0
	„ the turff - - - - -	0	10	0
	„ the Mortality Recorder - - - - -	0	3	0
	„ the King's duty - - - - -	0	0	3
	„ the gravemen for making the grave - - - - -	0	8	0
	„ the Master Houshold - - - - -	0	5	0
	„ six ushers at 4s. - - - - -	1	4	0
	„ six batton men - - - - -	0	6	6
	„ four bearers for carrying the corps at 1s. 6d. - - - - -	0	6	0
	„ the use of the best velvet mortcloth with ribbons and servant - - - - -	1	6	0
	„ drink money to the driver of the hearse, postillion, and twelve coachmen - - - - -	0	7	6
	„ John Hay per account for a hearse and twelve coaches in mourning - - - - -	4	11	6
	„ Husband, Elder and Co. for plumb and seed cake, wine, &c., as per account - - - - -	3	17	4
	„ McNab and McDonald as per account for gloves - - - - -	0	16	6
	„ a suite of fine grave cloaths, with a shroud - - - - -	4	4	0
	„ a large mort coffin covered with black cloth, and mounted with silver'd plates, handles, and lacing, with an inscription plate, and sheer cloth'd and lined with white crape within - - - - -	8	8	0
		£28 3 7		

COINS IN USE IN SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Among a collection of sixteenth century Orkney documents recently discovered, there is one that throws some interesting light on the relative values of Scottish and foreign coins at the period. It is a charter, dated at St. Andrews (Fife), 8th July, 1556, by which 'Maister Magnus Halcro, chantor of Orknay,' admits the right of Magnus Cragy, eldest son and heir of the deceased James Cragy, of Burgh in Rolsay

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(Rousay), to redeem the six penny land of Burgh, with its pertinents, for the following sums of money :—‘The sowme of thretty thre roisnoblis or ellis thre pundis and ten schillings for ilk pece thairof, twenty angell noblis or ellis fourty four schillings for ilk pece thairof, twenty dowble ducats or ellis thre pundis for ilk pece thairof, thre Portugall ducats or ellis fyvetene pundis for ilk pece thairof, sex Scots rydars of gold or ellis thretty schillings for ilk pece thairof, fyve licht Frenche crownis or ellis fourtene schillings for ilk pece thairof, four dymmijis (demys) or ellis twenty twa schillings for ilk pece thairof, fourscoir Inglis grotts, for ilk pece thairof achtene pennes ; the priceis of the gold and grottis above expremitt to be usual money of Scotland haiffand courss and passage thairin for the tyme.’

These were the actual sums of money paid to Magnus Cragy by Mr. Magnus Halcro for the sixpenny land of Burgh, as set forth in the charter of sale, and the variety of coins indicates the difficulty of finding a large slump sum of money in Scotland at that time. In addition, the extra sum of ‘eivin scoir twelf pundis twa schillings’ had to be paid for the redemption of the land.

J. STORER CLOUSTON.

KILMARON FAMILY OF FIFE. With reference to the enquiry of your correspondent, Mr. E. B. Livingston, in *S.H.R.*, xvi, p. 174, I may be allowed to quote a Tack of the lands of Torer in Fife, granted on 11 November, 1293, by Thomas de Kilmeron in favour of Alexander ‘called Schyrmeschur.’ The original is in the hands of the Earl of Lauderdale, and came to light in the litigation of some years ago between the Earl and the late Captain Scrymgeour-Wedderburn regarding the right to the Royal Standard-bearership.

The Tack is printed almost in full in the Appendix of Documents which follows the House of Lords Cases of the Parties, pp. 1 and 2, as follows :—

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris Thomas de Kylmeron eternam in domino salutem. Nouerit universitas vestra me assedasse ac dimisisse Alexandro dicto Schyrmeschur filio Colyni filii Carun totam terram de le Torrer cum omnibus pertinenciis suis interius et exterius usque ad terminum nonem annorum continue sequentur plene complendorum pro quadam summa pecunie quam dictus Alexander in mea urgenti et inevitabili necessitate in pecunia numerata in pre manibus tradidit et peccavit. de qua quidem pecunie summa teneo ac tenebo me bene contentum. Tenendam et habendam dictam terram de le Torrer dicto Alexandro et heredibus suis seu assignatis bene et in pace libere quiete pacifice et honorifice. in domibus edificiis et ortis. in moris et maresiis. in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis et cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus et aysiamentis et commoditatibus cum libero introitu et exitu ad dictam terram spectantibus seu de iure aliquo spectare valentibus quousque predicti nonem anni plene et integre fuerint completi et quousque dictus Alexander et heredes sui seu assignati de anno in annum et de termino in terminum de dicta terra de le Torrer nonem vesturas sine alicuius condicione aut impedimento integre receperint volo et et [sic] concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod liceat dicto Alexandro et heredibus suis seu assignatis habere

liberam potestatem sine aliquo impedimento ad fodiendas petas in marisco de le Torrer prout indignerint infra predictos nonem annos et illas petas ubicunque voluerint vel manserint ad domos suas cariare et abducere. Termino ingressus dicti Alexandri in dictam terram de le Torrer incipiente ad festa Sancti Martini in yeme anno domini millesimo ducentesimo nonogesimo tercio * * * In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum una cum sigillo dicti Patricii de Rankeloch et sigillo decanatus de Fyff et de Fotherith ad instanciam dictorum Ade de Rankeloch et Willelmi de le Torrer cissoris fidejussorum meorum et principalium insolidum debitorum ut predictum est procuratum per eosdem que sigilla propria tempore confectionis scripti presentis non habuerint, hinc scripto est appensum. Hiis testibus domino Johanne dicto Abbate tunc decano Christianitatis de Fyffe et de Fotherith, Hugone de Lochor tunc vicecomitatum de Fyff, Constantino de Lochor Johanne dicto Gylbuy Michaele dicto Redhode burgensis de Cupro et multis aliis.

The parchment tag, to which at one time has been appended the seal of this Document, is a part of an earlier tack by the same Thomas to the same Alexander.

In an early Inventory of Scrymgeour writs, which was also produced in the case just mentioned, and has been printed since by the Scottish Record Society, edited by Dr. Maitland Thomson, occurs on p. 25, the following entry of apparently the tack now printed:—

(395) 'Tak maid be Thomas of Kilmaron to Alexander Scrymgeour, the sone of Colene, the sone of Careyne, of the landis of Tor for the space of nyne zeiris.'

On a later page of the print of the Inventory, p. 41, an entry is as follows:—

(667) 'Transumpt of ane charter maid be Richard of Kilmaron to Alexander the sone of Colene the sone of Carrone, of the landis of Kilmukir callit Woddislat and Hillokfield, daittit 5 Januar anno 1^m v^oli. Johne Durie, Notar.'

The date here is of course the date of the transumpt.

J. H. STEVENSON.

ALEXANDER CALLED THE SCHYRMESCHUR. The mention of this personage in the thirteenth century tack quoted above is interesting in view of the accounts of our historians of the name of the first Scrymgeour, and the date at which he won his surname. *Fordun*, with *Bower's continuation*, lib. v. cap. xxxvi, p. 285; *Boece*, lib. xii, fol. 267; *Buchanan*, ed. 1751, p. 265.

J. H. STEVENSON.

A SCOTTISH PUPIL OF RAMUS. The current number of the *Revue du Seizième Siècle* (v. 209) contains an article by M. Maurice Roy on *L'Entrée de Henri II. à Paris et du sacre de Catherine de Médicis en 1549*, which deals with the share of the distinguished architect, Philibert de Lorme, in the preparations for the entry of the new King. In a foot-

note M. Roy refers, among other contemporary accounts, to an *Oratio* which he, or possibly the printer, assigns to 'Joannes Stevantis,' and records as having been delivered 'in Collegio Pullenum.' The correct description of this rare pamphlet is:—*De adventu Henrici Valesii Christianissimi Francorum Regis in Metropolim Regni sui Lutitiam Parisiorum Oratio habita à nobilissimo et generosissimo juvene Joanne Stevarto Scoto, Nonis Julii, In gymnasio Prelleorum; Parisiis, Ex typographia Matthæi Davidis, via amygdalina, quae est é regione collegii Rhemensis, ad Veritatis insigne, 1549.* Brunet describes it as an 'opuscule d'une grande rareté,' and my copy contains the following note in the handwriting of David Laing, to whom it belonged: 'In the only copy in the B.M. the title ends thus—*cum privilegio regis.* Mr. Barwick thought that this copy of mine was probably one struck off to go to Scotland, where no license would be needed.'

It will be observed that the *Oratio* was delivered by John Stewart, a Scotsman, at the Collège de Presles, on the seventh of July. The royal entry took place on the sixteenth of June, and the *Oratio* is an appreciative narration of the event. The author is stated by Father Forbes-Leith to have been a native of Glasgow, President of the Collège de Montagu, Vice-Rector in 1550 of the Scots College, and Rector of the University, and to have died in Paris on 6th May, 1581.¹ The external history of the earlier years of John Stewart at the University of Paris can be reconstructed from the *Conclusions de la nation a'Allemagne, Livre des Procureurs* (Bibl. Univ. Paris, MSS. Reg. No. 16). He was admitted bachelor and licentiate in 1535 and 1536 respectively, each entry containing a note 'cujus bursa valet quatuor solidos parisiensium.' On 19th November, 1537, he was elected 'Procurator of the German nation,' which included Scotland, for the first time; on 1st June, 1541, for the second time; in October, 1541, for the third time; and on 18th November, 1549, for the fourth time. On 13th January, 1549/50, Stewart demitted office, handing over 'sigillum dictae nationis cum duobus libris et quatuor clavibus' to his successor, but he again held office from April to June of the year 1551, and from January, 1552/3, to March following. (Ff. 382^{vo}, 393^{vo}, 411^{vo}, 452, 542^{vo}, 521^{vo}, 537^{vo}, 538^{vo}, 548, 548^{vo}, 553, and 554^{vo}.)

There is a certain irony in the fact that a Scotsman should have chronicled the royal entry of Henry II. into the capital in which ten years later he was to meet his death at the hands of the Captain of the Scots Guard; but the tract has a greater interest than that of coincidence. The Collège de Presles, in which the *Oratio* was delivered, was under the direction of Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée), who had been summoned in 1545 by Nicolas Lesage to revive a decaying institution, and succeeded in a few years in making the college one of the most active centres of intellectual life in the University. The ruthless attack which Ramus directed against the Aristotelian dialectic had led to the condemnation in March, 1544, by royal authority of his *Animadversiones Aristotelicae* and his *Dialecticae*

¹ *Pre-Reformation Scholars* (Glasgow, 1915), 51. Cf. F. Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, i. 279 n.

institutiones, and on his appointment to the Collège de Presles he avoided philosophical speculation, and confined his teaching to rhetoric and mathematics.¹ During his persecution at the hands of the scholastics who had gained the ear of Francis I., Ramus was encouraged by the faithful support of his colleague, Andomarus Talaeus (Omer Talon), Professor of Rhetoric, whose writings on dialectic also attracted the malevolent attentions of the conservative school. In his youth Ramus had received encouragement from Tusanus (Jacques Tousan), Royal Reader in Greek, who supported him until his death in 1547. In the same year, on the accession of Henry II., the restrictions under which Ramus had laboured for three years were removed by the King through the influence of the future Cardinal de Lorraine, an old friend and fellow-student. In 1548 he republished his two condemned treatises, his publisher being Mathieu David.² David also produced the kindred treatises of Omer Talon.³

Turning to Stewart's *Oratio*, we find that it is published by David, and that the dedication to Henry II. refers in laudatory terms to Ramus and Talaeus 'praeceptoribus meis.' In the body of the tract the author refers with regret to the recent deaths (1547) of Jacobus Tusanus and Franciscus Vatablus. The former (Jacques Tousan) had been the protector and life-long friend of Ramus, and the latter, a learned Professor of Hebrew, had been a pupil of Alexander, and was in sympathy with the new school.⁴ There is also a discreet reference to Léfèvre d'Étaples, which, with the other reference, is sufficient to indicate the intellectual sympathies of Stewart. His *Oratio*, further, on examination, yields some echoes of the *Oratio de studiis Philosophiae et eloquentiae conjungendis* which Ramus delivered in 1546 and published in 1547, and again, with a Dedication to the Cardinal de Lorraine, in 1549.⁵ In the same year another Stewart, James, the future Regent Moray, became a pensionnaire of Ramus, and it is probable that other Scottish students came under his influence. He was a friend of George Buchanan and of Andrew Melville, who 'heard' him 'in Philosophie and eloquence,' and whose biographer places him among 'the lightes of the maist scyning age in all guid lettres.'⁶ When Melville came to Glasgow College in 1574 he taught his pupils 'the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise thair of in Greik and Latin authors,' and 'the Arithmetic and Geometric of Ramus,' and his nephew James, when he became regent at Glasgow in his nineteenth year in 1575, 'teatched . . . the Dialectic of Ramus, the

¹ Christie, *Etienne Dolet* (London, 1899), 437 n., but cf. Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 57.

² Waddington, *Ramus* (Paris, 1855), *passim*.

³ *Ibid.* and *Catalogue of Christie Collection* (Manchester, 1915), *s.v.*

⁴ Rénaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme* (Paris, 1916), 613. He helped Marot with his translation of the Psalms. Waddington, *op. cit.* 128.

⁵ *Parisiis, Apud Martinum Juvenem, sub insigni D. Christophori, e regione gymnasii Cambracensium.*

⁶ *James Melville's Diary*, 39.

Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise in Cicero's Catilinars and Paradoxes, &c.¹ Ramism had an important place in the Melville system of education, and, for a time at least, prevailed in Scotland.²

The intrinsic interest of Stewart's account of the royal progress is slight, and even a Scottish reader may be pardoned if he prefers Brantome's 'digression' on the 'très belles singularités' which marked Henry's entry into Lyons in the preceding year. Even a Latin veil cannot conceal the grotesque quality of a civic-academic-legal-clerical procession, but a pleasant note is sounded in the description of the King's passage, 'viginti quatuor Scotis custodibus undique stipatus.' The value of the *Oratio* lies in the light which it casts on the influence of French humanism on a typical Scottish student, and on the forces which went to the making of sixteenth century Scotland.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

UNIVERSITY OF NANCY. A few weeks before war was declared in 1914 the Franco-Scottish Society met at Nancy. On the 31st October, 1918, the University Library there was destroyed by bombardment. How great was the destruction is seen by some photographs which the University has prepared, showing the scattered leaves of print and MS. lying in heaps among the ruins. It is gratifying to know that a few sympathisers in Scotland have, thanks mainly to the energy and influence of Mr. J. T. T. Brown, LL.D., collected and presented to the University of Nancy a very considerable collection of works on Scottish history. The gift was formally accepted on behalf of the authorities of Nancy University by M. Poincaré on the occasion of his recent visit to the University of Glasgow.

SEIGNEUR DAVIE. The Italian, David Riccio, or Rizzio, was murdered by the irate Scottish Lords at Holyrood on the night of March 9, 1566, and thus gave to Scotland an Italian tragedy to be followed by the equally tragic fates in France of the Italian favourites, the Concini and Monaldeschi. But what do we know to-day of David Rizzio, his origin, aims, and position? It is strange, but true, that though for a brief period he exercised a high political position in Scotland, we have hardly any authentic information about him. We only know that he was the son of a musician of Pancalieri, in Piedmont, and as he was attracted to the Embassy of the Marchese di Moretta, the Savoy Ambassador to Scotland, was probably of noble origin. Moreri, on this head indeed, says:—

'Una famiglia Ricci è computata fra le antiche nobile Piedmontesi e gode de' feudi di S. Paolo, e Cellarengo nell' Astigiana. Esisteva par anche un altro ramo degli stessi Ricci Signori di Solbritto, i soggetti del quale

¹ *Ibid.* 49, 53; cf. Waddington, *op. cit.* 396, and Murray, *Lawyers' Merriments* (Glasgow, 1912), p. 234.

² Rait, 'University Education in Scotland': *Glasgow Archaeological Society Transactions*, v. (2) 30, and 'Andrew Melville and Aristotle in Scotland': *English Historical Review*, xiv. 250.

dicesi, che usasero sovente del nome di Davide, e da questo è tradizione antica in Astigiana, che sia disceso Davide Ricci, ma in linea spuria. Gli oltremontani lo chiamano David Riz. e Rizzio.'

He came to Scotland with the Savoy Ambassador, and, having a good voice, it is said, insinuated himself into the choir that the Queen might hear and notice him, and the ruse succeeded. She did notice him, and as (as Birrel says) he was 'verey skilfull in music and poetry,' he soon made a conquest of the artistic Queen, who advanced him to be her French Secretary, and heaped favours on him. As such he assisted in helping on her marriage with her worthless cousin, Henry Lord Darnley; some said in the pay of the Pope, and others as a priest, others, as the nobles thought, as an intriguing Italian busybody. But now we come to a difficulty. It is stated that one of the Queen's Guise uncles recommended Rizzio to the Queen for her familiar, as his deformity would shield her from scandal. As the sequel shows, this was not so, and we have no certainty that the Italian was a hunchback. One later writer certainly says he was 'disgracié de corps,' but Lord Herries, who knew him, simply calls him 'neither handsome nor well faced,' and, of course, the Reformers saw no beauty in him either body or soul.

All through his short career are difficulties left uncleared. Queen Mary wished to give him Lord Ross's estate Melville (where Rizzio's oak is, from near which he is said to have serenaded the Queen) on the North Esk, and attempts at compensation embroiled Lord Morton, who saw his Court appointments threatened. The King-Consort grew jealous—it seems without cause—and a conspiracy followed.

Even the favourite's behaviour was the subject of misapprehension. At the tragic supper party he was surprised, seated in the Queen's presence with his cap on his head, which the Scots took to be Italian insolence, but which the courtiers knew to be *à la mode de France*.

Then came the terrible scene of the murder; as the ballad describes it—

Some Lords in Scotland waxed wondrous wroth,
And quarrilled with him for the nonce;
I shall you tell how itt befell
Twelve daggers were in him all att once.

and he was despatched and thrown downstairs, and laid to rest on the chest which had been his bed when he arrived at the Palace before his elevation.

Another dubiety exists about his burial. The Spanish State papers stated—'Secretary David was buried in the Cemetery, but the Queen had him disinterred and placed in a fair tomb inside the Church [of Holyrood], whereat many are offended, and particularly that she has given the office of Secretary to David's brother.' Popular discontent about his burial grew, and the tradition is that his body was removed and laid in the Canongate Church; but this is, as far as can be traced, mere tradition.

One wishes some reader would write a monograph on Rizzio. It is much wanted. Several portraits which are called by his name exist, and his handwriting must exist also, but has not yet been reproduced. His brother Joseph, by the Queen's favour, succeeded him, as we have seen,

as French Secretary, but, being involved in the Darnley murder, wisely remained in France. A Frenchman who is named 'frère dudict Joseph,' perhaps brother-in-law of the last, bore the name René Bonneau,¹ and this may be a clue to some future searcher. It would be a great addition to historical knowledge to roll back all the mists that surround this dark period of Scottish history.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THE MINT OF CROSRAGUEL ABBEY. Dr. George Macdonald has recently presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a very valuable report on the coins found at Crosraguel in the spring of 1919, and he has also contributed a paper on the subject to the *Scotsman* of 27th December, of which an abridgment is noted here.

The ruins of the Abbey of Crosraguel lie in a hollow about two miles south of the town of Maybole in Ayrshire. During the past five years operations necessary to prevent further decay have been in progress. A minor feature of these was the clearing out of a choked-up drain which ran in an easterly direction on the south of the cellars. Originally it had been the bed of a small stream, whose current had been utilised to flush the latrines. In removing the rubbish the workmen lighted upon a few fragments of glass and a large number of objects of metal, including many coins. The bulk of the finds were embedded at irregular intervals in the twelve inches of silt composing the lowest stratum of the 4½ feet of *débris* with which the drain was filled.

The larger proportion of the finds evidently had been jettisoned simultaneously, and of deliberate purpose. The coins numbered 197 in all, 20 being of the base alloy of silver known as billon, 156 of bronze or copper, and 21 of brass. The billon pieces are much discoloured. But those of copper and of brass, though sometimes presenting a wholly or partially blackened surface, are frequently not far from being as fresh and bright as if they had been recently minted. The striking is almost invariably bad. It proved possible to distinguish five separate classes, some of them containing several different varieties. One of these classes is entirely unknown elsewhere, while another has hitherto been regarded as native to the Continent. The weights are anything but uniform, even when the types are identical, and the shapes are in many instances irregular, sometimes approximating to the square. The coins, we seem bound to conclude, were minted close to the spot where they were found. That opinion is confirmed by the presence in the *omnium gatherum* of one or two copper blanks that have never been struck. It is further borne out by the character of the remaining oddments of metal, of which there are as many as 385, chiefly of brass. They give the impression of being raw material out of which blanks were intended to be fashioned. In short, coins and oddments combined go to form a medley which cannot be explained satisfactorily except on the hypothesis that we are face to face with the sweepings of a moneyer's workshop which had to be hurriedly abandoned.

¹ Teulet, *Papiers d'État*, 1566-67, ii. 125.

The Mint at Crosraguel Abbey

The Crosraguel coins can be dated with certainty to the latter part of the fifteenth century. That was one of the great periods in the history of the establishment. Abbot Colin, who was head of the community from 1460 to 1491, enjoyed the special favour of James III., and was a regular attender at his Parliaments. It is not unlikely that, in view of the remoteness of the district from the centre of administration, the King may have allowed his friend the Abbot to minister to the needs of the numerous dependants of the monastery by supplying them with a special currency. No serious abridgment of the royal prerogative would be involved, so long as the concession was strictly limited (as it appears to have been) to the issue of small change. That, however, is mere conjecture.

While the facts as to the inauguration of the Mint of Crosraguel Abbey are obscure, there can be little doubt as to the manner of its end. Presumably its suppression was one of the steps that James IV. took to ensure that his authority should be respected throughout the length and breadth of the land. His activity in that direction is notorious. The annals of the coinage of France present us with more than one picture of what we may suppose to have happened. At Mâcon, for example, in 1557, and again at Autun twenty years later, the officials of the *Cour des Monnaies* made a sudden descent on the premises of the chapter, and seized the dies and other implements that were employed for the production of the tokens used in connection with ecclesiastical ceremonies. The monks had infringed the jealously guarded privilege of the king by allowing the tokens to be diverted from their proper purpose, and to pass current among the townfolk as ordinary coins. The pretext for the raid upon Crosraguel would be somewhat different. Its upshot was very much the same. The dies and everything of value would be carried off, while the rubbish was thrown hurriedly into the latrine trench. It was an ignominious close for an institution that seems to have been unique in Britain. Yet, if the rubbish had received more honourable burial, even the zeal of the Office of Works might have failed to unearth it. In that event we should have been left in ignorance of a singularly interesting episode. As it is, the long-standing puzzle of the *Crux pellit* pieces has been definitely solved, and a new footnote has been added to Scottish monastic history.