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THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

BEING A NEW SERIES OF
THE SCOTTISH ANTIQUARY
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The Lives of Authors

A STUDENT of history, who has to contend every day with the scarcity and inaccuracy of human records, finds himself forced to admit that men are wise, and care little for fame. Each generation of men goes about its business and its pleasure with immense energy and zest; each, when it has passed away, leaves the historians of a later era to spell out what they can from a few broken stones and torn scraps of parchment. The opinion of Shakespeare, that

‘Nothing ’gainst Time’s scythe can make defence
Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence,’

is the opinion of the sane world; and the desire for posthumous fame, ‘that last infirmity of noble minds,’ is a rare infirmity. The Romans were content to bequeathe to us their blood and their law. If every human creature were provided with some separate and permanent memorial, we could not walk in the fields for tombstones.

I desire in the following paper to trace the late and gradual growth of an interest in the Lives of English Authors, and to give some brief account of the earlier collections of printed biographies. Biography is not the least valuable part of modern literary history, and its origin is to be found in the new conceptions of literature and of history which were introduced at the time of the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages a writer was wholly identified with his work. His personal habits and private vicissitudes of fortune excited little curiosity; Vincent of Beauvais and Godfrey of Viterbo are the names not so much of two men as of two books. Literature was regarded as the chief means of preserving and promulgating ancient truths and

traditions ; and authors were mechanical scribes, recorders, and compilers. The distinction between fact and fiction, which we all make to-day with so airy a confidence, was hardly known to the mediaeval writer. Even the bard who celebrated the exploits of Arthur, the Christian king, or of Fierabras, the Pagan giant, based his claim to credit on the historical truth of his narrative, and supported himself by the authority of the books from which he copied. Poet or historian, he would have been indignant to be refused the name of copyist. Whence should he derive his wisdom but from the old books whose lessons he desired to hand on to coming generations?—

‘For out of oldè feldès, as men seith,
Cometh al this newè corn from yeer to yere ;
And out of oldè bokès, in good feith,
Cometh al this newè science that men lere.’

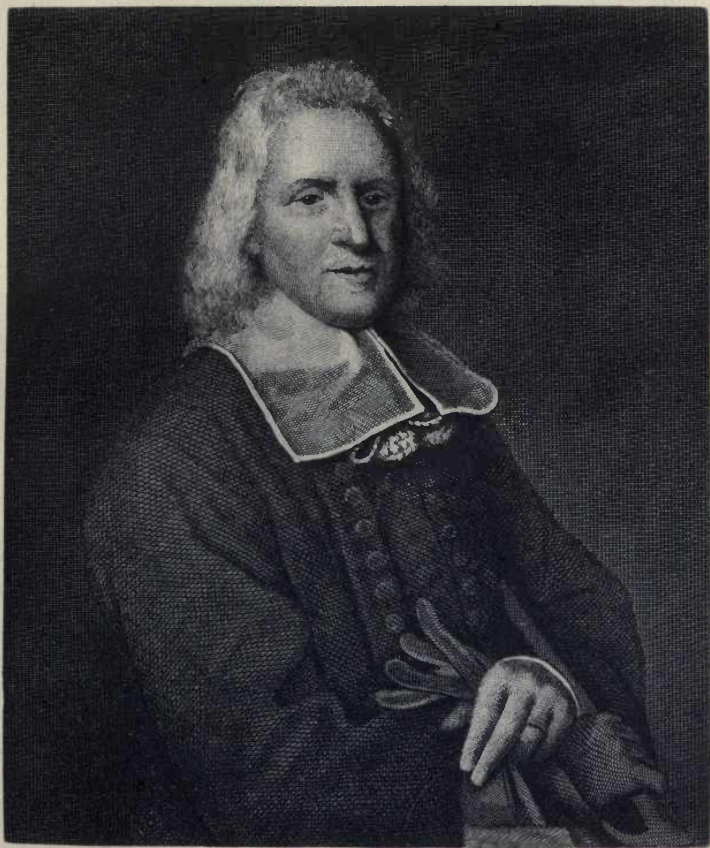
While this was the dominant conception of art and of science, of history and of literature, authors were, in every sense of the word, a humble class. Where it was their function to instruct, they were conduit-pipes for the wisdom of the ages ; where they set themselves to amuse, they held a rank not far above that of the professional jesters and minstrels who were attached as servitors to the household of some great lord or king.

With the revival of letters in the Sixteenth Century there came the first serious attempt to put on record such facts as could be recovered concerning the great writers who had flourished in these islands. The dissolution of the monasteries caused the destruction of so large a mass of valuable material that it was impossible for scholars to stand by without making an effort to save some remnants. Leland, Bale, and Pits, whose joint activity covers the whole of the Sixteenth Century, each of them made a collection of the lives and works of the writers of Great Britain. Three of the most conspicuous features of later antiquarian learning are exemplified in their work, as it is estimated by Fuller: ‘*J. Leland*,’ he says, ‘is the industrious *bee*, working all: *J. Bale* is the angry *wasp*, stinging all: *J. Pits* is the idle *drone*, stealing all.’ But these three men made no new departure in method. The bulk of the writers whom they commemorated were monks and friars, concerning whom biographical details were wholly to seek. Their works, which were compounded, with large additions, into a single folio volume by Bishop Tanner, can hardly be said to exhibit the faint beginnings of modern biography.

It is difficult to persuade man that his contemporaries are interesting and important persons. The industrious scholar bars his doors and windows, and shuts himself up in his room, that he may bequeathe to future ages his views on the Primitive Church or the Egyptian Dynasties. His works, too often, go to swell the dust-heap of learning. And what is going on in the street, on the other side of his shutter, is what future ages will probably desire, and desire in vain, to know. At the time of the Renaissance, when writers of knowledge and power were Latinists and scholars, who had been nurtured in an almost superstitious veneration for the ancient classics, the poor playwright or poet in the vernacular tongue was little likely to engage the labours of a learned pen. Those Elizabethan authors whose lives are fairly well known to us were always something other than mere authors,—men of noble family, it may be, or distinguished in politics and war. We know more of Sir Walter Raleigh's career than of Shakespeare's, and more of Essex than of Spenser. On the other hand, while the works of Shakespeare and Spenser have come down to us almost intact, most of the poems of Raleigh and Essex are lost. Men of position held professional authorship in some contempt, and wrote only for the delectation of their private friends. And when Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, wrote a brief life of his friend and ancient schoolfellow, Sir Philip Sidney, it was not the author of the *Arcadia* or the *Sonnets* that he desired to celebrate, but rather the statesman of brilliant promise and the soldier whose death had put a nation into mourning. So that this ceremonial little treatise, which is the earliest notable English life of an English poet, is the life of a poet almost by accident.

With the Seventeenth Century, a century rich in all antiquarian and historical learning, literary biography begins. Early in the century, Thomas Heywood, the dramatist, planned a volume to contain 'the lives of all the poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer to the *novissimi* and last.' He never carried out his scheme, and so we have lost an invaluable work. But his other prose works and compilations give us reason to fear that his *Lives* would have been borrowed almost wholly from books and would have contained all too little of direct impression or reminiscence. The scheme for a complete account of the lives of English poets was not taken up again till towards the close of the century, and then Shakespeare and the Elizabethans were beyond the reach of living memory.

Nevertheless, during the course of the century poets began to find biographers. The patriotic impulse that had produced the Elizabethan Chronicles, and Camden's *Britannia*, and Drayton's *Polyolbion* moved Thomas Fuller to write his *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), which included the lives of many poets. In undertaking this work Fuller proposed to himself five ends—'first, to give some glory to God; secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead; thirdly, to present examples to the living; fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight; and lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess) to procure some honest profit to myself.' He died a year before his book appeared, so he failed in the last of his aims. He did his best to make his subject attractive to readers. 'I confess,' he says, 'the subject is but dull in itself, to tell the time and place of men's birth, and deaths, their names, with the names and number of their books; and therefore this bare skeleton of time, place, and person must be fleshed with some pleasant passages. To this intent I have purposely interlaced . . . many delightful stories.' He will always be valued for the facts that he records and for the many surprising turns of fanciful wit with which he relieves the monotony of his work. In endeavouring to make his biographies literary he had the advantage of a matchless model. For before Fuller wrote, Izaak Walton had produced two of his famous *Lives*. Walton was drawn into the writing of biography by his desire to leave the world some memorial of the virtues of men whom he had known. The men whom he chose for his subject were men like-minded with himself, men who had studied to be quiet, 'to keep themselves in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of their mother earth.' The Life of Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, the first that he wrote, was contributed as preface to a collection of Donne's sermons in 1640. Sir Henry Wotton, whose Life appeared in 1651, had been Walton's friend and fellow angler during the quiet years that he spent at Eton College after his retirement from the service of the State—'the College being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a seafaring man after a tempestuous voyage. . . . Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling' (for an angler, according to Walton, is born, not made), 'which he would usually call "his idle time not idly spent"; saying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.' To these two lives Walton subsequently added three more, the



ISAAK WALTON

From a print in the Bodleian of the engraving by Philip Audinet

Lives of Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert, and Dr. Robert Sanderson, the last being written almost forty years later than the Life of Donne. Walton had not known all these men, though they were all contemporary with his long life. But he was drawn by natural sympathy to their characters, and his portraits of them are masterpieces of delicate insight.

Indeed, Walton's *Lives* are almost too perfect to serve as models. They are obituary poems; each of them has the unity and the melody of a song or a sonnet; they deal with no problems, but sing the praises of obscure beneficence and a mind that seeks its happiness in the shade. No English writer before Walton had so skilfully illustrated men's natural disposition and manners from the most casual acts and circumstances. It is not in the crisis of great events that he paints his heroes, but in their most retired contemplations and the ordinary round of their daily life. We see Hooker as he was found by his pupils at Drayton Beauchamp tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, with the *Odes* of Horace in his hands, and hear him called away by the voice of his wife to rock the cradle; we find George Herbert tolling the bell and serving at the altar of his little Church at Bemerton, and overhear his conversations with his parishioners by the roadside; we come upon Dr. Sanderson, a man whose only infirmities were that he was too timorous and bashful, as Walton met him in the bookseller's quarter of Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book; we notice that he is dressed 'in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly'; and, on the sudden coming-on of a shower of rain, we are allowed to accompany him and his biographer to 'a cleanly house,' where they have bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for their money, and where we are permitted to overhear their talk on the troubles of the times. Or we see Dr. John Donne dressed in his winding sheet, with his face exposed and his eyes shut, standing for his picture in his study that so his portrait when it was finished might serve to keep him in mind of his death. All these sketches and many more in Walton's *Lives* are as perfect, in their way, as the *Idylls* of Theocritus.

Intimate biography of this kind was the creation of the Seventeenth Century, and Walton had many followers and disciples. Some of the formal collections of *Lives* are little better, it is true, than compilations of dry facts and dates. The *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (1675) by Milton's nephew,

Edward Phillips; the *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687) by William Winstanley, an industrious barber, who stole from Phillips as Phillips had stolen from Fuller; the *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691) by Gerard Langbaine; Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *De Re Poetica, or Remarks upon Poetry, with Characters and Censures of the most considerable Poets* (1694)—all these are valuable as authorities, but they draw no portraits of authors in their habit as they lived, and intrude upon no privacy. Even where the material for a familiar and life-like portrait existed it was too often suppressed in the supposed interests of the dignity of literature. Sprat in his *Life of Cowley* (1667) confesses that he had a large collection of Cowley's letters to his private friends, in which were expressed 'the Native tenderness and Innocent gayety of his Mind.' But 'nothing of this nature,' says Sprat, 'should be published. . . . In such Letters the Souls of Men should appear undress'd: And in that negligent habit, they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a Chamber, but not to go abroad into the Streets.' So we have lost the letters of a man whom we can easily believe to have been the best letter-writer of his century and country.

Nevertheless, some familiar details have escaped suppression; not all the literary portraits of the time are conventional and stiff. Edward Phillips' *Life of John Milton* (1694), prefixed to an edition of Milton's Latin letters, preserves for us some minute and personal reminiscences of the poet. Moreover, the Seventeenth Century is rich in religious biography, written with a homiletic and didactic intent. The *Lives of Eminent Persons* (1683) by Samuel Clarke, although, like the mediaeval *Lives of Saints*, they are too monotonously alike, too little quickened with the caprices and humours of the unregenerate, yet occasionally display, in the interstices between Biblical quotation and edifying sentiment, real glimpses of living human character. But evangelical biography, which attempts to exhibit human life as a design nearly resembling a fixed pattern, has never been strong in portrait-painting. These sketches are seen to be merely childish in conception and execution if they be set beside the vivid and masterly work of John Aubrey, the best of Seventeenth Century gossips. He was despised by his learned contemporaries for an idle man of fashion and a pretender to antiquities. Anthony à Wood, the author of that great work the *Athenae Oxonienses*—perhaps the most valuable of all early biographical collections—speaks of Aubrey as 'a shiftless person,

roving and magotieheaded, and sometimes little better than crased.' Yet Aubrey had the true spirit of an antiquary; nothing was too trivial to be set down in his *Brief Lives*. He records how, walking through Newgate Street, he saw a bust of the famous Dame Venetia Stanley in a brasier's shop, with the gilding on it destroyed by the Great Fire of London, and regrets that he could never see the bust again, for 'they melted it down.' 'How these curiosities,' he adds, 'would be quite forgott, did not such idle fellowes as I am putt them downe!'

And we owe to Aubrey a world of anecdote that but for his idleness would have been lost. He has the quickest eye for the odd humours and tricks of thought and gesture which distinguish one man from another. He was credulous, no doubt, for he was insatiably inquisitive, and the possibilities of human nature seemed to him to be inexhaustible. Character is what he loves, and he found the characters of men to be full of novelties and surprises. To him we owe the portrait of Hobbes the philosopher, at the age of ninety, lying in bed, and, when he was sure that the doors were barred and nobody heard him (for he had not a good voice), singing from a printed book of airs, to strengthen his lungs and prolong his life. Again, he tells how Thomas Fuller, the historian, had a memory so good that 'he would repeate to you forwards and backwards all the signes from Ludgate to Charing Crosse.' Or how Sir John Suckling, the poet, when he was at his lowest ebb in gaming, 'would make himselfe most glorious in apparell, and sayd that it exalted his spirits.' Or how William Prynne, the Puritan chastiser of the theatre, studied after this manner: 'He wore a long quilt cap, which came 2 or 3, at least, inches over his eies, which served him as an umbrella to defend his eies from the light. About every 3 houres his man was to bring him a roll and a pott of ale to refocillate his wasted spirits. So he studied and dranke and munched some bread: and this maintained him till night; and then he made a good supper.' Sometimes it is a witty saying or happy retort that sticks in Aubrey's memory. So he relates of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, that he could not abide *Wits*; 'when a young scholar was recommended to him for a good witt, *Out upon him*, says he, *I'll have nothing to do with him; give me the plodding student. If I would look for witts I would goe to Newgate, there be the witts.*' Again, he tells how Sir Walter Raleigh, dining with his graceless son at a nobleman's table, when his son made a profane and immodest speech, struck him over the face. 'His son, as rude as

he was, would not strike his father, but strikes over the face the gentleman that sate next to him, and sayd : " Box about : 'twill come to my father anon." "

Aubrey takes as keen a delight as Samuel Pepys himself in the use of his natural senses, and his zest in observation sometimes gives an air of exaggeration to his recorded impressions. Of Sir Henry Savile he says, 'He was an extraordinary handsome and beautiful man; no lady had a finer complexion.' Of Sir William Petty, 'He is a proper handsome man, measured six foot high, good head of browne haire moderately turning up. . . . His eies are a kind of goose-grey, but very short-sighted, and, as to aspect, beautiful, and promise sweetnes of nature, and they do not deceive, for he is a marveillous good-natured person.' Aubrey's unbounded faculty for enjoyment and admiration is seen even in his description of the mechanical contrivances and scientific inventions that were shown to him by his friends. Now it is a new kind of well—'the most ingenious and useful bucket well that ever I saw. . . . 'Tis extremely well worth the seeing.' Or it is a device for relieving those who are troubled with phlegm,—'a fine tender sprig,' with a rag tied at the end to put down the throat of the patient. 'I could never make it goe downe my throat,' says Aubrey, 'but for those that can 'tis a most incomparable engine.' And there is nothing that he takes more delight in than a funeral or an obituary monument. His descriptions of tombstones almost make you feel that it is worth the pains of dying to get so admirable a thing contrived in your honour. Of Selden he says :

'He was magnificently buried in the Temple Church. . . . His grave was about ten foot deepe, or better, walled up a good way with bricks, of which also the bottome was paved, but the sides at the bottome for about two foot high were of black polished marble, wherein his coffin (covered with black bayes) lyeth, and upon that wall of marble was presently let downe a huge black marble stone of great thicknesse, with this inscription :

Heic jacet corpus Johannis Seldeni.

. . . Over this was turned an inch of brick . . . and upon that was throwne the earth, etc., and on the surface lieth another finer grave-stone of black marble with this inscription :

I. Seldenus I. C. heic situs est.

. . . On the side of the wall above is a fine inscription of white marble : the epitaph he made himself'

This is merely one instance of Aubrey's loving care for grave-stones and monuments. He recognised them perhaps as being



JOHN AUBREY: AETAT. 40

From a pen and ink drawing in the Bodleian

among the best friends of the antiquary, and desired that they should receive all care and honour. Of Ben Jonson he says :

‘He lies buried in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, in the path of square stone (the rest is lozenge) opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square, of blew marble, about 14 inches square,

O RARE BEN JOHNSON,

which was donne at the chardge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted) who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteenpence to cutt it.’

And Aubrey did not forget his own epitaph. Among his papers he left two suggestions, made at different times, for an inscription to be placed on his tomb. ‘I would desire,’ he says at the foot of one of these, ‘that this Inscription sho^d be a stone of white M^{ble} about the bigness of a royal sheet of paper, scilicet about 2 foot square. Mr. Reynolds of Lambeth, Stone-cutter (Foxhall), who married Mr. Elias Ashmole’s widow, will help me to a Marble as square as an imperial sheet of paper for 8 shillings.’

But Aubrey’s greatest quality as an antiquary is his sympathy with the living, and with life in all its phases. He writes best when he is recording his memories of men that he had seen and known. Where these men were famous, and remembered by after generations, his vivid phrases have long since been embodied in biographical dictionaries. Some of his best work, however, is done on perishable names, and no better example of his art can be found than his account of Dr. Ralph Kettell, for forty-five years President of Trinity College, Oxford, a humorous pedagogue of the old school, who died soon after Aubrey came into residence at the College :

‘He dyed a yeare after I came to the Colledge, and he was then a good deale above 80 (quaere aetatem), and he had then a fresh ruddy complexion. He was a very tall well-growne man. His gowne and surplice and hood being on, he had a terrible gigantesque aspect, with his sharp gray eies. . . . He was, they say, white very soon ; he had a very venerable presence, and was an excellent governour. One of his maxims of governing was to keepe down the *juvenilis impetus*. . . . One of the fellowes (in Mr. Francis Potter’s time) was wont to say that Dr. Kettel’s braine was like a *hasty-pudding where there was memorie, judgement, and phancy all stirred together*. If you had to doe with him, taking him for a foole, you would have found in him great subtilty and reach : *è contra*, if you treated with him as a wise man, you would have mistaken him for a foole. . . . He observed that the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for

it forced them to goe into the town to comfort their stomachs : wherefore Dr. Kettle alwayes had in his College excellent beer, not better to be had in Oxon ; so that we could not goe to any other place but for the worse, and we had the fewest drunkards of any howse in Oxford. . . . He was irreconcilable to long haire ; called them hairy scalpes, and as for peri-wigges (which were then very rarely worne) he beleev'd them to be the scalpes of men cutt off after they were hang'd, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scholars' haire longer then ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the howse), he would bring a paire of cizers in his muffle (which he commonly wore), and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's haire with the knife that chipps the bread on the buttery-hatch. . . . He dragg'd with one (*i.e.* right) foot a little, by which he gave warning (like the rattle-snake) of his comeing. . . . He preach't every Sunday at his parsonage at Garsington (about 5 miles off). He rode on his bay gelding, with his boy Ralph before him, with a leg of mutton (commonly) and some colledge bread. He did not care for the country revells, because they tended to debauchery. Sayd he, at Garsington revell, *Here is Hey for Garsington! and Hey Hockly!* but *here's nobody cries, Hey for God Almighty!* . . . 'Tis probable this venerable Dr. might have lived some yeares longer, and finisht his century, had not those civill wars come on : which much grieved him, that was wont to be absolute in the colledge, to be affronted and dis-respected by rude soldiers. . . . His dayes were shortned, and dyed (July) anno Domini 1643, and was buried at Garsington : quære his epitaph.'

The abundant human sympathy that takes delight in all these passing incidents and trivial characteristics is a necessary part of the equipment of an antiquary. The whole tribe of antiquaries suffers under the false imputation that their work is 'dry-as-dust.' No doubt there are minute, exact, and arid minds in that, as in other callings. No doubt there is useful work to be done, here as elsewhere, by men who ply a dull mechanical trade and forswear imagination. But imaginative sympathy is, none the less, the soul of an antiquary, the impulse that urges him on to years of tedious labour, and the refreshment that keeps him alive in a desert of dust and tombs. 'Methinks,' says Aubrey, 'I am carried on by a kind of Oestrum, for nobody else hereabout hardly cares for it, but rather makes a scorn of it. But methinks it shews a kind of gratitude and good nature, to revive the memories and memorials of the pious and charitable Benefactors long since dead and gone.' But if gratitude is the prevailing motive, it is by a wide faculty of imagination that the antiquary comes to understand that there is but one human society on earth, and that, for good or for evil, the living are the least part of it. Where other men see only a wave of green rising ground, he calls up in his thought a bygone civilisation, he

sees the Roman soldiers relieving guard and exchanging gossip on the ramparts of a world-empire, he witnesses excursions and alarums, and hears the strange jargon of the long-haired prisoners brought captive into camp. Where others see only a torn bit of yellow parchment inscribed with faded characters he reconstructs in thought the mediaeval church and the despotism that it wielded in all the dearest relations of life. He knows that a great institution never perished without leaving a legacy to those that come after it, and that the present is inextricably entangled with the past. He builds up a vanished society from tiles and buttons, black-jacks, horn books, and battered pewter vessels. Whatever humanity has touched has a story for him. It is not an accident that the greatest novelist of Scotland was first an antiquary. And, to return to my tale, it was only by accident that John Aubrey, with his interest in witchcraft and mechanical science, in astrology and education, in Stonehenge and the Oxford Colleges, did not leave some more considerable monument of his powers than the voluminous scattered papers that were published for the most part long after his death.

What antiquaries suffer from the neglect of the public is a small thing compared to what they suffer at the hands of one another. Aubrey's biographical materials were compounded, with worse than no acknowledgment, by Anthony à Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford* (1691-2). This great work, as splendid a benefaction as has ever been conferred by a single donor on any University, was conceived and executed by its author out of love for the place where he was born and had his education. Like a disdainful beauty, the University of Oxford has always been careless of those who love and serve her best. Her native fascination keeps her truest lovers her slaves, and she reserves her kindness for those who will not swell her following till they are assured of her favour. Anthony à Wood did not grudge a lifetime spent in the service of Oxford, but that he felt her indifference is evident from his preface, *To the Reader*:

'The Reader is desired to know that this Herculean labour had been more proper for a head or fellow of a college, or for a public professor or officer of the most noble university of Oxford to have undertaken and consummated, than the author, who never enjoyed any place or office therein, or can justly say that he hath eaten the bread of any founder. Also, that it had been a great deal more fit for one who pretends to be a *virtuoso*, and to know all men, and all things that are transacted; Or for one who frequents much society in common-

rooms, at public fires, in coffee-houses, assignations, clubbs, etc., where the characters of men and their works are frequently discussed; but the author, alas, is so far from frequenting such company and topicks, that he is as 'twere dead to the world, and utterly unknown in person to the generality of Scholars in Oxon.'

One reason why the company of Anthony was not agreeable to the fellows even of his own College is not unconnected with his professional excellence. 'I am told,' says Hearne, 'by one of the fellows of Merton College that Mr. Ant. à Wood formerly used to frequent their common-room; but that a quarrel arising one night between some of the fellows, one of them, who thought himself very much abused, put some of the rest of them into the court; but when the day for deciding the matter came, there wanted sufficient evidence. At last Mr. Wood, having been in company all the time the quarrel lasted, and put down the whole in writing, gave a full relation, which appeared so clear for the plaintiff, that immediate satisfaction was commanded to be given. This was so much resented, that Mr. Wood was afterwards expelled the common-room, and his company avoided, as an observing person, and not fit to be present where matters of moment were discussed.' In his autobiography Wood himself relates how it was said that 'the society of Merton would not let me live in the college for fear I should pluck it down to search after antiquities.'

But no one can read the *Athenae Oxoniensis* without recognising that the author was also a man of a naturally satirical wit, with a great talent for sketching the characters of men or books in a scornful phrase, or a few incisive epithets. His depreciation is the more effective in that it falls at random, with none of the air of a studied invective. He knows that the indifference of contempt, which is professed a hundred times in human society for once that it is really felt, may be better and more bitingly conveyed in a subordinate clause than in the main sentence. So in speaking of the music of his time, he says, 'Mr. Davis Mell was accounted hitherto the best for the violin in England, as I have before told you; but after Baltzar came into England, and showed his most wonderful parts on that instrument, Mell was not so admired; yet he played sweeter, was a well-bred gentleman, and not given to excessive drinking as Baltzar was.' So Mell loses his musical pre-eminence, and Baltzar his reputation for courtesy and sobriety.

If we consider, therefore, the enormous learning of Anthony à



ANTHONY À WOOD, AETAT. 45

From a drawing in the Bodleian

Wood, in a kind for which the Oxford of his day had little sympathy, his love of a solitary and retired life, his liberty of speech, his quickness of observation, even when 'he seemed to take notice of nothing and to know nothing,' his independent pride and sarcastic severity of judgment, we shall find no reason to wonder that the fellows of Merton, solicitous chiefly, it may be, for the dignity and comfort of the high table, were not sorry to be rid of his company.

About the greatness of his achievement there can be no question. His account of the learned writers and poets who had their education at Oxford has been used by a hundred later compilers; it has been edited with additions, and may be so edited again and again; but it can never be wholly superseded. The *Athenae* is a monument of literature; it records in its thousands of columns all that Oxford meant to the world, all of learning and beauty that she gave to the world, during centuries of her existence; and its author might justly boast, in the words of the poet-painter who drew the portrait of his mistress—

'Let all men note
That in all time (O Love, thy gift is this!)
He that would look on her must come to me.'

The subject is large, and a brief mention of some later compilations must suffice. Aubrey and Wood had appealed chiefly to an audience of professed students and lovers of antiquity. But at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the public, having enjoyed such an education as is obtainable in the noisy school of political and religious controversy, upreared its giant form and swore that it would read. This was the genesis of the publisher. Before this date the author said what he had to say, and the bookseller introduced it to such readers as were likely to appreciate it. Then, as now, an author often failed to find a bookseller or printer who would be at the risk of printing his work. But while the bookseller reigned, the chain of causation often began with the author, who was a man writing, and writing, it might even be, because he thought or knew. When the publisher succeeded to power, the order was reversed. The main fact to be recognised by him was that here was a public which had already taken to reading, as a man may take to drink. The public must be supplied with something that it could consume in large quantities without loss of appetite. Hence the novel, the review, the periodical essay, the collection of private letters, and

though last, not least, the intimate lives of notable men. Tonson, the first great publisher, deserves to be named with Copernicus, Harvey, Kepler, James Watt, and other famous discoverers. To him there occurred the new and fruitful notion that the Garden of Literature was a kind of Zoological Gardens, and that liveried attendants might profitably be employed to feed the beasts. But it was reserved for Edmund Curll, Pope's victim and accomplice, to carry the discovery a step further, and so to play Newton to Tonson's Kepler. Whether by happy chance or by laborious induction we cannot tell; but Curll hit on one of those epoch-making ideas which are so simple when once they are explained, so difficult, save for the loftiest genius, in their first conception. It occurred to him that, in a world governed by the law of mortality, the beasts might be handsomely and cheaply fed on one another's remains. He lost no time in putting his theory into action. During the years of his activity he published some forty or fifty separate *Lives*, intimate, anecdotal, scurrilous sometimes, of famous or notorious persons who had the ill fortune to die during his life-time. He had learned the wisdom of the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, and knew that there are many rotten corpses nowadays, that will scarce hold the laying in. So he seized on them before they were cold, and commemorated them in batches. One of his titles runs: *The Lives of the most Eminent Persons who died in the Years 1711, 12, 13, 14, 15, in 4 Vols.* 8°. His books commanded a large sale, and modern biography was established.

The new taste reacted on the older poets, whose works were steadily finding a larger and larger audience. In 1723 one Giles Jacob, who was the son of a maltster in Hampshire, and had been bred to the law, edited, for Curll, a collection in two volumes called *The Poetical Register, or the Lives and Characters of all the English Poets, with an account of their Writings*. His work, which is founded on Langbaine for the dramatic part, is meanly written, and, like many other meanly written works, is profusely illustrated. 'I have been very sparing,' says the editor, 'in my Reflections on the Merits of Writers, which is indeed nothing but anticipating the judgment of the Reader, and who after all will judge for himself.' Pope, perhaps after reading this sentence, called Jacob 'the scourge of grammar.' He and Congreve and other living writers were treated by the servile Jacob with a vapid monotony of commendation. In short, the book, like so much of later reviewing, is not critical; it belongs

rather to the huge family of trade circulars and letters of introduction.

The effort to recover information concerning our older English poets was continued in the Eighteenth Century by the successors of Aubrey and Wood, chief among whom must be mentioned Thomas Coxeter and William Oldys. Coxeter, who was of Aubrey's College in Oxford, devoted the whole of his busy life (1689-1747) to collecting the works of forgotten poets and amassing historical material. His books were dispersed at his death, but his material fell into the hands of Griffiths, Goldsmith's employer, and became the basis for the last biographical collection that I shall discuss,—*The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland to the Time of Dean Swift*. By Mr. Cibber (1753). 5 vols. This important compilation, which probably suggested Johnson's great work, has had very little justice done to it in literary history. It is seldom mentioned save in connection with the dispute about its authorship. There is no reason to distrust the categorical statements of Johnson, who must have been well informed. 'It was not written,' says Johnson, 'nor, I believe, ever seen, by either of the Cibbers; but was the work of Robert Shiels, a native of Scotland, a man of very acute understanding, though with little scholastic education, who, not long after the publication of his book, died in London of a consumption. His life was virtuous, and his end was pious. Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted, as I was told, his name for ten guineas. The manuscript of Shiels,' he adds, 'is now in my possession.'

In some of its details this account has been amended and corrected. Cibber, it appears, did actually supervise and edit the work, striking out the Jacobite and Tory sentiments which Shiels had plentifully interspersed in the Lives that he contributed. For this labour of revision Cibber received twenty guineas. Shiels, on the other hand, wrote the chief part of the book, and received almost seventy pounds. Cibber and Shiels, as might be expected, quarrelled, and Shiels, who was for a time one of Johnson's dictionary amanuenses, doubtless communicated to Johnson his version of the affair.

That Shiels is entitled to the chief credit of the work cannot be doubted. Internal evidence, as it is called, would alone be sufficient to establish his claim. Here, for instance, is a description of Edinburgh society, extracted from the Life of Mr. Samuel Boyse, who came to that city from the lighter air of

Dublin. The description seems to me to prove two things : that the author was a Scot ; and that, consciously or unconsciously, he had formed his literary style wholly on the Johnsonian model.

‘The personal obscurity of Mr. Boyse’ (during his residence in Edinburgh) ‘might perhaps not be altogether owing to his habits of gloominess and retirement. Nothing is more difficult in that city than to make acquaintances. There are no places where people meet and converse promiscuously. There is a reservedness and gravity in the manner of the inhabitants which makes a stranger averse to approach them. They naturally love solitude ; and are very slow in contracting friendships. They are generous ; but it is with a bad grace. They are strangers to affability, and they maintain a haughtiness, and an apparent indifference, which deters a man from courting them. They may be said to be hospitable, but not complaisant, to strangers. Insincerity and cruelty have no existence amongst them ; but if they ought not to be hated they can never be much loved, for they are incapable of insinuation, and their ignorance of the world makes them unfit for entertaining sensible strangers. They are public-spirited, but torn to pieces by factions. A gloominess in religion renders one part of them very barbarous, and an enthusiasm in politics so transports the genteeler part, that they sacrifice to party almost every consideration of tenderness. Among such a people a man may long live, little known, and less instructed ; for their reservedness renders them uncommunicative, and their excessive haughtiness prevents them from being solicitous of knowledge.

‘The Scots are far from being a dull nation ; they are lovers of pomp and show, but then there is an eternal stiffness, a kind of affected dignity, which spoils their pleasures. Hence we have the less reason to wonder that Boyse lived obscurely at Edinburgh.’

‘Quintilian,’ Ben Jonson said to Drummond, ‘will tell you your faults, as if he had lived with you.’ Does not the foregoing description embody the experience of many a young Scot, who knows and admires the virtues of his people, and has suffered from them, and dislikes them sometimes even in himself.

The *Life of Samuel Boyse*, from which I have quoted, gives, like Johnson’s *Life of Richard Savage*, a vivid picture of the straits to which professional authors were reduced under the rule of Walpole. It is narrated how, about the year 1740, Boyse was brought to the extremity of distress. Having pawned all his clothes he was confined to bed with no other covering but a blanket. ‘He sat up in bed with the blanket wrapt about him, through which he had cut a hole large enough to admit his arm, and placing the paper upon his knee, scribbled in the best manner he could the verses he was obliged to make. Whatever he got by those, or any of his begging letters, was but just sufficient for the preservation of life.’

‘Whenever his distresses so pressed as to induce him to dispose of his shirt, he fell upon an artificial method of supplying



J'aime mon Honneur que ma vie.
1. Aubrey. 2. Danvers.
3. Lyte. 4. as the first.

AUBREY'S BOOK-PLATE

From MS. Aubrey 6. fol. II^v in the Bodleian

one. He cut some white paper in strips, which he tied round his wrists, and in the same manner supplied his neck. In this plight he frequently appeared abroad, with the additional inconvenience of want of breeches.'

'He fell upon some strange schemes of raising trifling sums. He sometimes ordered his wife to inform people that he was just expiring, and by this artifice work on their compassion. . . . At other times he would propose subscriptions for poems of which only the beginning and the conclusion were written ; and by this expedient would relieve some present necessity.'

'He had so strong a propension to groveling that his acquaintances were generally of such a cast, as could be of no service to him.'

'The manner of his becoming intoxicated was very particular. As he had no spirit to keep good company, so he retired to some obscure ale-house, and regaled himself with hot twopenny, which though he drank in very great quantities, yet he had never more than a pennyworth at a time.'

'It was an affectation in Mr. Boyse to appear very fond of a little lap-dog which he always carried about with him in his arms, imagining it gave him the air of a man of taste.' When his wife died, 'Boyse, whose circumstances were then too mean to put himself in mourning, was yet resolved that some part of his family should. He step'd into a little shop, purchased half a yard of black ribbon, which he fixed round his dog's neck by way of mourning for the loss of its mistress.'

In 1749, the unhappy poet, whose works had been praised by Johnson and Fielding, died in obscure lodgings near Shoe Lane. 'The remains of this son of the Muses,' says his biographer, 'were with very little ceremony hurried away by the parish officers, and thrown amongst common beggars.'

Perhaps the chief value of Cibber's *Lives* is to be found in these obscurer memoirs, which give information concerning poets who would otherwise be forgotten. For the rest, the scheme of the work is more generous than that of Johnson's *Lives*. The lives of British poets are recorded, and their works enumerated, from Chaucer to Mrs. Mary Chandler. The private virtues of this lady are so copiously attested, that it is late in her biography before we make acquaintance with her claims to distinction in literature. She was the author, it seems, of a poem on the Bath, which had the full approbation of the public, and when death overtook her, at the age of fifty-eight, she was meditating a

nobler flight, 'a large poem on the Being and Attributes of God, which was her favourite subject.' But this work, like the mammoth, was never seen by the eye of modern man save in impressive fragments.

Last of all comes Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* in 1781. The choice of names, whereby it appears that English poetry began with Abraham Cowley, was made not by Johnson, but by the booksellers of London who employed him. Johnson procured the insertion of the names of some few poets not originally included in the scheme. The *Lives*, except in some special cases, exhibit no laborious industry in the discovery of fact. They were written from a full mind, and with a flowing pen, at a time when Johnson's critical opinions had long been formed, and when he was quite indisposed to renew the detailed labours of the Dictionary. New information concerning the life of Pope was offered him, but he refused even to look at it; and he wrote his criticism on the dramas of Rowe without opening the book to refresh the memories of his reading of thirty years before. This indolence, which would be a sin in an archaeologist or an historian, is almost a virtue in Johnson. His *Lives* make a single great treatise, defining and illustrating the critical system which he had built up during long years of reading and writing. He writes at ease, in the plenitude of his power, and with a full consciousness of his acknowledged authority. His work closes an age; it is the Temple of Immortality of the great Augustans, and, when it was published, already Burns and Blake, Crabbe and Cowper, were beginning to write. With them came in new ideals, destined to affect both criticism and biography. So that the mention of Johnson's *Lives*, which would demand a separate essay for their proper appreciation, may fitly close this rambling catalogue of some early attempts to tell the story of the adventures of poets among their fellow-creatures.

WALTER RALEIGH.

Lislebourg and Petit Leith

IT is now generally well known that in the sixteenth century, or more precisely in the latter half of that century, Lislebourg was a French name for Edinburgh. The large extent, however, to which this name was prevalent is, perhaps, not so well known, while its origin and meaning remain a matter of conjecture. It is sometimes referred to as a fanciful term, or sobriquet, on a par with the native 'Auld Reekie,' or a term current only in certain narrow circles. But this is by no means the case. It was the one term almost exclusively employed at the French court, by French ambassadors and commanders, in public treaties of peace and in official documents as well as in private correspondence. A glance through the pages of Teulet's *Correspondence Diplomatique* will be enough to show this. In the *Articles accordées avecque les Protestants d'Ecosse* (25th July, 1559), Lislebourg there stands for the Scottish capital. Mary of Lorraine and her daughter the Queen of Scots, the well-known ministers, officers, and ambassadors at their court, La Chapelle, De Rubbay, D'Oysel, D'Essé, Paul de Foix, Du Croc, all more naturally speak of Lislebourg than Edinburgh, or 'Edimbourg.' The same is to be said of the French ambassadors resident in London at the period—Marillac, Odet de Selve, Noailles, Fénélon. Queen Mary's usage is interesting. As a rule she employs Lislebourg when writing in French and to her French friends. Her letters to Queen Elizabeth are mostly dated from Edinburgh or Holyrood, but sometimes, writing in her own hand to the English Queen, she dates her letters 'à Lislebourg,' as she does continually in her correspondence with Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in Paris. Her spelling is not constant. We have Lilebourg, Lylebourg, Lyslebourg, Lislebourc; but the variations have no significance. Lislebourg too was in familiar use among persons in a more humble position of life. The famous Esther L'Anglois or Inglis,

specimens of whose wonderful calligraphy are to be found in some of our public libraries, was proud to set down on the title-page of her transcripts, 'A Lislebourg.' A letter written by her to Queen Elizabeth is dated 'De Lislebourg en Ecosse, 27 Mar. 1599,' and a Book of Emblems from her pen, preserved in the British Museum, is similarly subscribed as late as 1624. Esther's father, Nicolas, who taught French in Edinburgh, died in 1611, and in his testament he styles himself, 'Nic Langlois maistre de lescole Francoise en cette ville de Lislebourg.' (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 284.)

But the name was not confined to the French or to French correspondence. It was soon appropriated by Spain, and it became, in diplomatic circles at least, almost as much Spanish as French. Bishop De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador in London, in the early days of Queen Elizabeth, speaks of Lislebourg in writing to the Duchess of Parma. His successors, Silva, Guerau de Spes and Mendoza, do the same in their letters to King Philip. De Tassis and Juan de Vargas, who had no particular connection with England or Scotland, use the same term in writing to the Spanish King from Paris.

It has been said that the word was never heard from purely Scottish lips. But this is not absolutely correct. It appears in one or more Acts of the Scottish Privy Council, concerned with or addressed to the French Court, notably in the Letter drawn up by Maitland of Lethington and signed by the members of Council (printed in Keith, Lawson's edition, vol. ii. p. 454), thus, in the subscription: 'From Lisleburgh this 8th of October, 1566,' and in the body of the Letter: 'About ten or twelve days ago the Queen at our request came to this town of Lisleburgh'; but this, no doubt, was a diplomatic accommodation on the part of the Secretary to French fashions of speech. Again, Robert Bruce, the agent of the Catholic earls, dates a letter from Lislebourg in November, 1587, and so does the Earl of Huntly writing to the Duke of Parma in the following year.

The name seems to have rapidly fallen out of use after the Union of the Scottish and English crowns, when French agents ceased to reside in Edinburgh, and the intercourse with France was interrupted. De Montéreal and the brothers De Bellièvre, who in the next generation came to the Scottish Capital as representatives of France, show no knowledge of 'Lislebourg.'

But the strange thing is that it not only passed out of use but out of memory, both in Scotland and France. The per-

plexities of some of our historians and critics on the point are amusing. It seems almost incredible that such a diligent searcher of historical archives as Bishop Keith should not have been familiar with the name from the first; yet this is the faltering way in which the bishop refers to it in a footnote (1734) when he meets it (in a Procuratory from the Queen Regent to the Dowager Duchess of Guise) under the disguise of an erroneous reading, 'Rislebourg': 'Or Lisleburgh' (explains Keith) 'as I also see it written, *but what place it is I know not.*' Is this not a striking example of how insular was the historical outlook of Scottish historians of that time, and of what strides have been taken within the last century in the study of the international relations of the country? Keith had to advance in his history to the year 1566 before the identification of Lislebourg dawned upon him. Quoting Lethington's letter referred to, he naively remarks, 'By many and incontestable evidences I now see that Lisleburgh was the French appellation for Edinburgh, but why they so came to call it I know not.' We next turn to Jamieson (1808) who, curiously enough, enters the word in his *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, though the one thing certain about the word is that it is not Scottish. Referring to the above-quoted passage from Keith as his authority, the lexicographer only ventures to say 'Lislebourg. A name *said to have been given* to the City of Edinburgh.'

But still more surprising than this uncertainty on the part of Scottish scholars is the fact that the name and its identification should have become almost lost in the land of its birth. Some recent French historians, evidently in want of exact information, speak with curious hesitation. Thus in the *Correspondence Politique de MM. Castillon et de Marillac, ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, 1537-1542, publiée sous les auspices de la Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, par M. Jean Kaulek* (Paris, 1885), we find Marillac writing from London to the King of France, 1 June, 1540, that he had news from Scotland that a dozen ships of war were in readiness to sail from 'ung port prochaine de Lislebourg.' The editor is apparently puzzled with the name, and registers it in his index with a query—thus, 'Lislebourg (?)—Armements de Jacques V.' So M. Louis Paris editing *Negociations, Lettres et Relations au règne de Francois II.* for the series of *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France* (1841) indexes 'Lislsburg [a misprint for Lislebourg], ville d'Ecosse, p. 16, 324, 405—Lettre datée de cette ville,

p. 424, 264, 472, 475, 757.' Again M. Cheruel in his *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis* prints a letter of Michel de Castelnau to Henri III. (11 May, 1584) in which occurs the word 'Lislebon.' M. Cheruel corrects the clerical error of the original, and explains editorially in brackets '(Lislebourg, maintenant partie d'Edimbourg).' The suggestion that it is now *part* of Edinburgh is somewhat obscure.

But what of the origin and meaning of the name? Who first gave it currency, and with what view? Duplicate names of towns are not uncommon. We have a familiar example in our own country of Perth and St. John's Toun, or simply St. John, being current at the same time. The French, by the way, continually wrote it as St. Jehan Stone. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the French seaport Havre or Havre-de-Grace was known to Englishmen as 'Newhaven.' French soldiers were fond of rechristening Scottish places with names of their own. Odet de Selve, writing from London to the Constable of France (20th Oct., 1547), says: 'Après à l'entrée de la rivièrre du Petit Leich ont prises ugne isle qu'est appellée l'isle Sainte Cosme, et par les mariniers francoys communément l'Islet' (ed. Lefèvre-Portalès, Paris, 1888, p. 225). The name l'Islet soon gave way to Isle des Vaches, or Cow island, so named, it is said, because it afforded pasturage to the cattle of the French troops. Similarly Inchkeith, a particularly hard morsel for the Frenchman's tongue and a burden to his memory, became replaced by Isle aux Chevaux, Island of Horses.

Now the generally accepted explanation of 'Lislebourg' is that suggested by Jamieson, and adopted by Prof. Hume Brown, viz., that the French imagination struck by the fact that the city was bounded on the north by the Nor Loch, and on the south by a sheet of water, which stood in the place of our present Meadows, not to mention other pools or marshes in the neighbourhood, named it L'Islebourg, or 'The Island City.' It is impossible to deny probability to this guess, but it is no more than a guess. There is not sufficient evidence that the French took the initial L to be the article. In any case the interpretation seemed to me somewhat unnatural, or at least open to question. Far more likely that a name whose original form and significance had in course of time been obscured should come eventually to be so spelled and sounded as to give it an appropriate and intelligible meaning. On my expressing some such doubts on one occasion to Dr. David

Patrick, he remarked that similar doubts had occurred to his own mind, and he threw out the suggestion that the first syllable of Lislebourg was originally Lisse, or Litz, a lisping attempt of a Frenchman to pronounce the difficult Leith.¹ French soldiers approaching Scotland on the East, with Edinburgh as their objective, would hear of Leith as the place of their destination. On the lips of the weary and seasick voyager the continued enquiry would be, 'When do we arrive at Leith,' Leith being in his mind the gate of the capital. Leith and Edinburgh would become identified, the capital being the castle or burgh presiding over the important harbour of Leith.² We should thus expect to find the etymological succession of forms Leithbourg, Lissebourg, or perhaps Leith-le-bourg, Lisse-le-bourg, Lislebourg. Now this suggestion may at first sight seem more unwarrantable and far fetched, as it is certainly less romantic and less flattering than the interpretation 'Island City.' It has nothing in its favour that can be strictly called historic evidence, and the intermediate forms in request have not yet been discovered. It is offered merely as a possible clue which deserves consideration, and which should stimulate enquiry. For, if it lacks positive proof, there are certain interesting facts in the history of the name which at least point very suggestively in the direction indicated and deserve attention.

Thus, in his *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*, published by Estienne Perlin at Paris in 1558, he writes of Scotland: 'Their capital is called in Scots Ennebroc, in French Lislebourg,' and he continues, 'there are *other* seaports as Dunbar, Dumbarton,' etc., as if he had already named the principal seaport in naming Lislebourg, or as if it were understood that Leith was included in Lislebourg.³

¹ For example the various French spellings of another Leith (Ibn Leith, founder of a Persian dynasty) are thus given in Larousse: 'Leith or Leitz or Leitzs or Leitz.'

² Or, indeed, it may be supposed that the walled city by itself was thought of and named Leith-le-Bourg, and the seaport by distinction Leith-le-Port, afterwards Petit Leith. This idea of city and port as one, with the prominence given to Leith, is rather suggested by the plan of Edinburgh, out of all proportion as it is, here reproduced from that published by Munster in his *Cosmography* (1550) from the description supplied by Alexander Ales. (See page 25.)

³ 'Leurs capitale ville est appelee en Escossois *Ennebroc*, en Francoys Lislebourg, la quelle est grande comme Pontoyse, et non point d'avantage, a raison aussi que autrefois a été bruslé des Anglois. Il y a quelques autres portz de mer, côme Dumbars, Domberterand, et autres plusieurs petites villes et bourgades,'

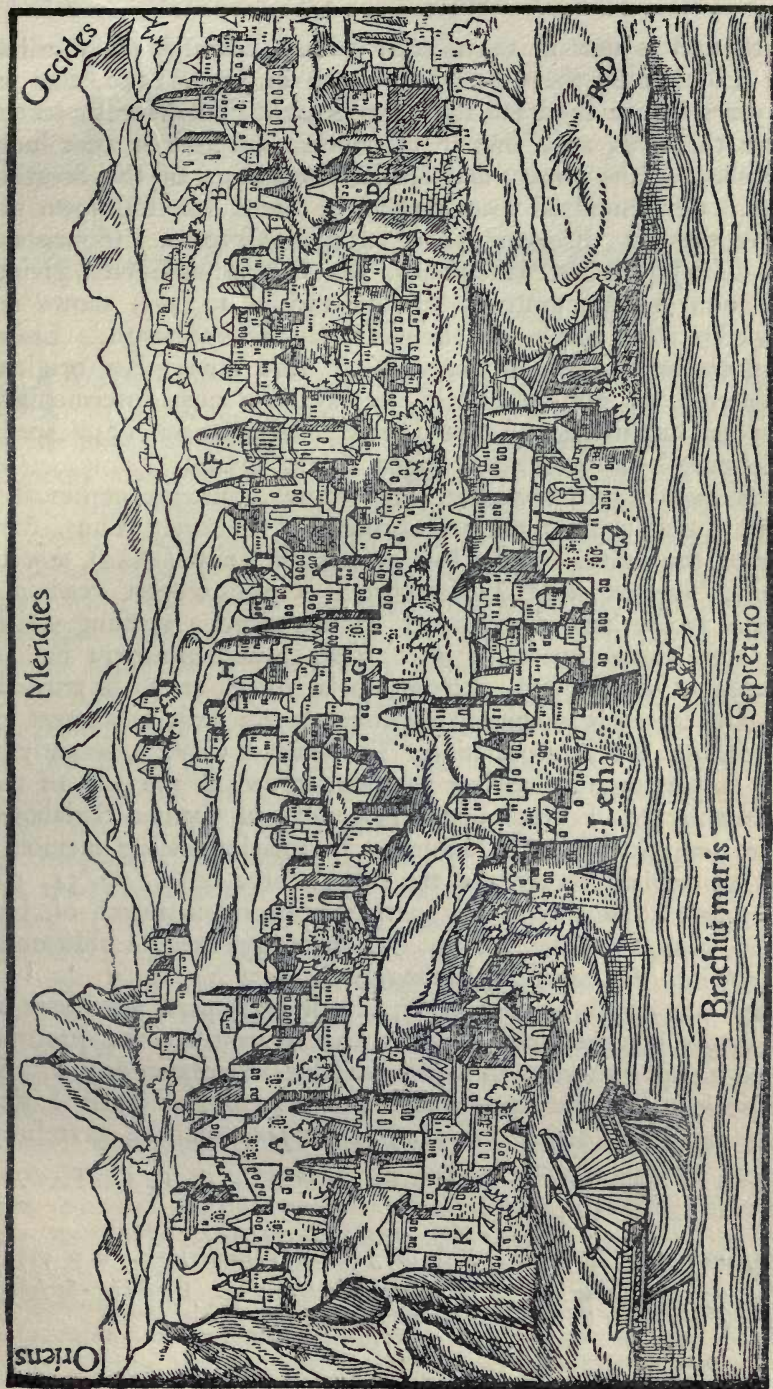
Again, it is instructive to observe that when French writers wish to specify the harbour as apart from the city they invariably use the term *Petit Leith*, a term never used by Scotsmen. Why Little Leith, and where was the Greater Leith, unless it be Lislebourg itself? On any other theory the origin of this *Petit* calls for explanation. The rule holds good, I believe without exception, that whenever a Frenchman uses the term Lislebourg instead of 'Edimbourg,' he will employ the term *Petit Leith* or its equivalents *Petit Lit*, *Petit Liet*, *Petit Leich*, etc., for the seaport; and *vice versa* should he prefer the Scottish form for the capital he would write *Leith*, *Litz*, etc., *simpliciter*, without the *Petit*, for the harbour. M. Odet de Selve, for example (1546-49), constantly writes Lislebourg and *Petit Leich*, employing the former term in his letters from London 28 times, and the latter 12 times, but he does not once write 'Edimburg' or *Leith*. On the other hand, in the Esneval Papers, edited by M. Cheruel, we have (*Marie Stuart*, p. 269) 'le traicté d'Edenbourg faict apres le siege de Litz,' as if with the writer 'Edenbourg' naturally carries with it *Litz* without qualification. Note here, too, the sibilant *Litz*.

What has been said with regard to the Spanish adoption of 'Lislebourg' applies equally to 'Petit Leith' with its variations of spelling. It is so used, for example, by De Quadra and Mendoza in their correspondence with King Philip, and by the Prince of Parma. It may be noted, too, that Cardinal Trivulzio, writing in Italian from Paris to Carafa in 1560, speaks of 'Petit-liet' (Pollen's *Papal Negotiations*, p. 25).

But the difficulty of tracing either name to its source remains. Can it be that the birthplace of Lislebourg was in the House of Lorraine? Did Mary of Guise, on her coming to Scotland in 1538 to marry James V., bring with her the fashion, which was to become current among the French courtiers and soldiers who followed in her train, and to flourish in Scotland and on the continent as long as the Guise influence was paramount? The earliest instance of the occurrence of Lislebourg that I have been

(p. 33, 34 of edition reprinted in 4to by Bowyer & Nichols, London, 1775). The anonymous editor, Richard Gough, the antiquary, remarks in a note to *Ennebroc*, 'I never heard of its French name before.' Perlin again names 'Lislebourg, otherwise called *Ennebroc*' in a list of Scottish towns at p. 40, but here also he makes no mention of *Leith*: 'en cestuy Royaulme d'Ecosse, il y a plusieurs villes comme Dombarras, Dombertrant, Thinton [Tantallon], Quincornes [Kinghorn], Lisle aux chevaux, Lislebourg autrement appellees *Ennebroc*, Sainct André de autres plusieurs petites villes ete chasteaux.'

ALEXANDER ALESIVS SCOTUS DE EDINBURGO



- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| A | Palatium Regis | C | Ecclesia S. Cuthberti |
| D | Ecclesia S. Egidii | F | Ecclesia beatae Mariae in campo |
| G | Collegium reginae | K | Monasterium S. Crucis |
| H | Predicatore | | |
| I | Letha | | |
| J | Sapietrio | | |
| K | Monasterium S. Crucis | | |
| L | Mendies | | |
| M | Occides | | |
| N | Oriens | | |
| O | Brachiū maris | | |
| P | Sapietrio | | |
| Q | Letha | | |
| R | Mendies | | |
| S | Occides | | |
| T | Oriens | | |
| U | Brachiū maris | | |
| V | Sapietrio | | |
| W | Letha | | |
| X | Mendies | | |
| Y | Occides | | |
| Z | Oriens | | |

able to find is that in the already quoted despatch of Marillac from London to the Court of France in June, 1540, that is two years before the birth of Mary Stuart. Yet Marillac seems to use the term as a matter of course, and as if it were long established as the correct and official designation of the Scottish capital. One hundred years earlier the name was unknown to, or unnoticed by, Froissart (died 1410). Monstrelet (flourished 1400-1422) speaks of 'Edelbourg,' while Regnault Gerard, giving an account of his embassy to Scotland in 1434-5, shows no knowledge of any name for the place but 'Edempburgh.' Lislebourg appears on no old map that I have seen. No original documents, as has been said, betray any such intermediary forms as Leithbourg or Lissebourg. Marillac in 1540 spells 'Lislebourg' just as Esther Inglis did in 1624.

In a case of this sort the word-hunter must be continually on his guard against the arbitrariness of editors. Thus, Mr. Lawson, the editor of the 8vo edition of Keith (1844), asserts without warrant that 'L'Isleburg' is the correct reading; whereas, to the best of my belief, 'L'Isleburg,' a spelling which begs the whole question, is a form found nowhere but in Brantôme;¹ and, if indeed Brantôme's editors are to be trusted, it may be that this imaginative writer was the first to suggest by this reading the interpretation 'The Island City.' Recently a more tantalizing red herring has been thrown in the path of the enquirer by M. Forestié in his biography of Captain Sarlabous, at one time Governor of Dunbar. In this interesting memoir,² based on original documents, the author three times (pp. 54, 56, 57) prints 'Lithlebourg,' the very form we are in search of, but in each case, on reference to the authority cited, Lithlebourg vanishes into the familiar Lislebourg.

Some apology is needed for the crude and incomplete form of these notes, but they may serve at least to ventilate the question and to tempt others with more available sources to deal with it exhaustively. In the meanwhile, any examples of either Lislebourg or Petit Leith before June, 1540, will be gratefully received by the writer.

T. G. LAW.

¹ Ed. 1787, vol. ii. p. 327; and ed. 1873 (*Soc. de l'Histoire*), vol. vii. p. 419.

² *Un capitain Gascon au XVI^e siècle, Corbeyran de Cardaillac-Sarlabous, Gouverneur de Dunbar (Ecosse), etc., par Edouard Forestié.* Paris, 1897.

Scotland described for Queen Magdalene :

A Curious Volume

MAGDALENE DE VALOIS, daughter of Francis I., and Queen of Scotland for a brief period, has received scant justice at the hands of Scottish historians. The melancholy fate of the Princess who bore the title of Queen of Scotland for only 180 days, and who spent but 49 of these in the land of her adoption, seems to have obscured the critical faculties of her historians, and to have led them to invent romantic episodes in her short life which are not more remarkable than the veritable facts of her career. Even ordinary precautions to obtain historical accuracy with reference to Queen Magdalene have been neglected. It would not have been difficult to obtain accurate information, for instance, regarding her place in the family of Francis I.; yet even here the earlier and later historians are at variance. Tytler describes her as 'the only daughter of Francis.' Hill Burton more carefully refers to Magdalene as '*the* daughter,' leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. Lindsay of Pitscottie, without any hesitancy, calls her 'the eldest doucher.' In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* she is distinctly referred to as 'the eldest dochter of the King of France, callit Magdalene.' John Penman, the spy who corresponded with Sir George Douglas, writing from Paris on 29th October, 1536—two months before the marriage of James V.—says: 'Of a certayntyte the King of Scotts shall marye Madame Magdalen the Fraunce Kyngs eldest Doughter'; but the cautious Pinkerton, who quotes this letter in an Appendix, is careful in his text to give her the correct designation of 'the eldest surviving daughter.' Sir Archibald Dunbar in his *Scottish Kings*, published in 1899, quoting apparently from the Comte de Mas Latrie's *Trésor de Chronologie* (1889), repeats the ancient blunder by describing Magdalene as 'eldest daughter of François I. by his first wife, Claude, daughter of Louis XII.' The first English writer

to correct this persistent error was Agnes Strickland. In her account of Magdalene, given in *The Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, she sets down exactly the genealogical position of the Princess. Francis I. and Claude had three sons and four daughters; and Magdalene was the fifth child and third daughter. The sons were Francis, the Dauphin, who died in his father's lifetime; Henri, Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henri II.; and Charles, Duke of Orleans. The eldest daughter was Louise, and the second Charlotte, both of whom died in maidenhood, victims of the pulmonary disease which terminated the life of Magdalene. To them their contemporary Brantôme thus refers: 'Death came too soon to allow the fair fruit of which the hopeful blossoms of their tender childhood had given such beauteous promise, to arrive at their full perfection; but, if those Princesses had been spared to reach maturity, they would have been no whit inferior to their sisters, either in intellect or goodness, for their promise was very great.' At the time of the marriage of Magdalene her proper designation was 'eldest surviving daughter of Francis I.'

Another curious discrepancy is in historical accounts of the marriage. In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* it is stated that the marriage of James V. and Magdalene took place 'at Pareis, in the Kirk of Sanct genuefa' [St. Genevieve]. Pitscottie writes: 'The marriage was solemnised in the citie of Pareis, in Notorodamus Kirk, about the tent hour of the day.' Hume Brown, Tytler, Strickland, Pinkerton, Buchanan, and Lesley all give the Church of Notre Dame as the scene of the ceremony, and this is confirmed on the contemporary evidence of a description of the reception accorded to James V. on his entry to Paris on 31st December, 1536, when he was met by the Parlement, in robes of office, at 'St. Anthoine des Champs lès Paris,' where he lodged, and was conveyed in procession to the Church of Notre Dame, where he took up his residence in the episcopal palace:

'Le lendemain, premier jour de l'an, la solemnité des espousailles de luy et Madicte Dame Magdelaine de France, fille du Roy nostre souverain seigneur, feuste faicte en ladicte esglise Nostre Dame; et le soir, le festin en la grande salle du palais, ausquel ladicte cour fut conviée et assista en robes rouges.'¹

Still another curious error may be pointed out, as showing how cautiously one must examine the evidence of early writers

¹ Teulet, I. p. 108.

who are sometimes right and often wrong. Lindsay of Pit-scottie—or the anonymous author of the original *Cronickles of Scotland*—details with considerable amplitude the rejoicings in Scotland when James and his bride landed at Leith on 19th May, 1537, and proceeds thus :

‘But this grit triumph and great mirriness was soone turned to dollour and lamentation ; for the quene deceast this same day that hir grace landit, quihilk maid ane dollorous lamentation that was made in burghes, for triumph and mirriness was all turned in deregies and soull massis quihilkis war verrie lamentable to behold.’¹

If there be any fact about Magdalene that is well ascertained, it is that her death took place on 7th July, 1537. That date is given by the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, by Buchanan, (who ought to know, as he wrote an elegy on the Queen), by the *Chronicle of Aberdeen*, by Pinkerton and later writers ; and the date is confirmed by the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. Lesley gives the date as 10th July, and Miss Strickland homologates the error. Calderwood, more cautiously, assigns the date to ‘the 7th or 10th of July,’ and Pitscottie, still further to perplex the reader, states that the Queen died forty days after the 28th of May, although he had alleged that her death took place on the day of her arrival in Scotland. These are a few of the troubles that afflict the earnest searcher after historic truth.

Despite several casual slips which a modern writer would not make with the materials now accessible, Miss Strickland’s story of Queen Magdalene is the best that has appeared. Her book, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, was published by Messrs. Blackwood & Sons in 1850, twelve years before M. Teulet’s valuable *Relations Politiques de la France et de l’Espagne avec l’Ecosse* had been issued in a more extended form than his Bannatyne Club volume. She had obtained copies of some of the documents relating to Queen Magdalene preserved in the national archives at Paris, though she did not always make intelligent use of them. Nevertheless, her account of the Queen is sufficiently full and exact to make it unnecessary to relate the story again. It is only intended now to bring before the reader a curious piece of contemporary evidence as to the marriage of King James and the French Princess, which is so extremely rare that it has hitherto escaped the notice of all the historians of Scotland.

¹ Pitscottie, I. p. 370, ed. 1814.

Nearly three years before her birth—if the Irishism may be pardoned—the Princess Magdalene had been betrothed to James V. By the famous Treaty of Rouen, made between Francis I., represented by Charles Duke of Alençon, and James V., whose emissary was John, Duke of Albany, and dated 26th August, 1517, it was provided that Francis should give to James as his wife his ‘*filie puisnée*,’ the Princess Charlotte, when she should reach the age at which she might enter into a marriage contract. It was further provided that should this marriage not take place for any reason, and should it please God to give Francis another daughter, that she should take the place of her sister, and wed the King of Scots. This Treaty was first printed by M. Teulet, and has either been neglected or misread by all the historians save Miss Strickland, who has quoted from an imperfect copy. Magdalene was born on 10th August, 1520, and in the autumn of that year the Regent Albany proposed that she should be substituted for the Princess Charlotte who had died prematurely. Meanwhile Henry VIII. had offered his only daughter, Mary, as the bride of the Scottish king; but the people of Scotland were more favourable towards the marriage with the French Princess. The Battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner, had left the Regency in the hands of his mother, Louise of Savoy, and Henry VIII. took advantage of the weakness of France to insist that the marriage with Magdalene should be abandoned or he would withhold his promised aid in liberating Francis. Louise wrote to Margaret Tudor, mother of James V., resigning all claim upon the King’s hand. But King Henry’s proposal was unpalatable to both the Scottish King and his people, and the Princess Mary of England was not accepted. In the spring of 1531 an embassy was sent by James V. to France for the purpose of renewing the contract of marriage with Magdalene, but these efforts were only partially successful. At length in 1533 James made another application for the hand of Magdalene, and the reply of Francis, dated 23rd June, 1533, was favourable. The letter sent by Francis is printed by Teulet (I. p. 77). Fate was still to be unpropitious, however, for on 29th March, 1535-36, a contract was entered into between Francis and James, whereby it was proposed that Marie de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Charles, Duke of Vendôme, should be the consort of the Scottish King. In his procuratory appended to this document, James introduces the name of

the Princess who had been his affianced from the cradle, with rather a melancholy expression, referring to her as 'illustrissima domina domina Magdalena, ipsius Christianissimi regis filia, consors nobis ante alias petenda foret, verum quia certo informamur ejus vallitudinem—quod dollenter ferimus—impedimento esse quominus matrimonium inter nos consumari possit.' Evidently the King had still a lingering regard for the *fiancée* whom he had never seen, though it was expressed in non-classical Latin.

The new bride proposed to James was twenty-one years of age, and her father was the nearest in blood to the reigning family; indeed, her brother, Antoine de Bourbon, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, became titular King of Navarre, and father of Henri IV. The romantic story of the rupture of the contemplated marriage has been often told. James, it is said, went in disguise to St. Quentin¹ in Picardy, but was not satisfied with the Princess, and set off at once to ask the hand of Magdalene from Francis I. The required consent was speedily obtained, and the marriage, as already stated, took place on 1st January, 1536-7. The king had left Scotland in search of a wife on 1st September, 1536, and he did not return until he took back Queen Magdalene, arriving at Leith on 17th May, in the following year. It must have been about the middle of October that James visited Francis at Lyons and saw Magdalene for the first time; and it is consistently stated that the Princess fell in love with him at first sight, and, despite her father's remonstrances, she insisted upon the marriage. From her childhood the name of the King of Scots had been kept constantly before her, as that of her future consort; and the King from his boyhood had been accustomed to consider her as his destined bride. The constant interruptions to his suit had only confirmed him more decidedly to have no other as his wife save the lovely Princess of France. Their personal courtship lasted for two months and a half, and it is at this point that our new contemporary evidence comes into prominence.

At that period little was known in France regarding Scotland. That country was considered a wilderness inhabited by a savage race, so illiterate that Scottish men of genius had to leave their native shore, where they were unappreciated, and

¹All the chroniclers say that the meeting was at Vendôme; but Hume Brown, on the authority of Bapst's *Les Mariages de Jacques V.* (1889), places it at St. Quentin.

to find refuge and encouragement in France and Germany. The Duke of Albany, who was well known at the French Court, though he was heir-presumptive to the throne of Scotland and was Regent there, had thrice striven in vain to live in that country. His first visit lasted little over two years,—May, 1515, to June, 1517;—his second visit in 1521 only extended to eleven months and seven days; while his third visit—September, 1523, to May, 1524—had so disgusted him with Scotland that he forfeited his office of Regent rather than return to it. Naturally the Princess Magdalene would be anxious to know something about this strange land over which she was to rule. But how was this knowledge to be imparted? There is ample proof that her Royal lover could neither write nor speak French passably. Teulet printed the letter written by James's own hand in French to the Pope in 1535, and found it 'd'un français tellement obscur, et les phrases sont remplies de tournures ecossaises qui paraissent si bizarres' that he deemed it necessary to supply a French translation. Then the members of the Parlement who went to meet King James on the eve of his marriage found that they could not converse with him 'parcequ'il savoit peu du langage françois.' In this dilemma James had to find a substitute who could write an account of Scotland in the French language, which the Princess Magdalene could understand. That useful personage he discovered in Jehan Desmontiers, whose curious book about Scotland is now to be described for the first time.

The immortal Hector Boece, a native of Dundee, who studied at Paris, was Professor of Philosophy at Montacute and became first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1500, had written his *Scotorum Historiæ* in Latin and published it at Paris in 1527. James V. had been so pleased with this work that he repeatedly bestowed gifts and pensions upon the writer. Boece died about the time King James set out for France—he was certainly dead before 22nd November, 1536, when the King was in Paris—and he could render no assistance. But shortly before that time James had employed John Bellenden to translate Boece's book into the Scottish vernacular; and an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts proves that on 26th July, 1533, Bellenden received £12 'for ane new Cronikle gevin to the Kingis Grace.' It is probable that Bellenden's version was printed at Edinburgh in 1536, and it is very likely that the King took a copy of the book with him to France, if only to prove to the *litterati*

there that Scotland was not wholly illiterate, as well as to show his own ancient lineage. The Latin and the Scottish languages were alike unknown to the Princess Magdalene, and it was necessary that the King should have the 'Cronikle' translated into the French of the period; or, at least, that he should have an abridged account of the history of Scotland and a description of the country, founded upon the works of Boece and Bellenden, which the Princess might read with ease and interest. For this purpose he employed Jehan Desmontiers, an 'escuyer' at the Court of Francis, a learned man who knew Greek and Latin, and who (as is suggested later in this article) had been in Scotland with John, Duke of Albany, and could thus supplement the information of Boece and Bellenden from his own experience. That book was written for the Princess, as appears from internal evidence, but it was not printed till after 4th March, 1537-8 (the date when a licence to print was given by the Parlement). The time when it was written is also shown from internal evidence. Reference is made in the middle of the book to 'the late Duke of Albany,' who died 2nd June, 1536, while the last sentence alludes to the marriage of the Princess and the King as imminent, so that it must have been completed before the end of December in that year.

Only one imperfect copy of this remarkable book is known to exist in this country. It is printed on vellum, and is in the British Museum among Mr. Grenville's books, and had at different times been in the possession of Richard Gough (1735-1809), the eminent antiquary, and of the Marquess of Blandford. Two or three copies are in Continental libraries. In 1863 the late Dr. David Laing deemed that the rarity of this book would justify him in having a facsimile reprint made; and with the aid of the late M. Francisque-Michel he had the work executed in Paris by M. Gounouilhou, limiting the reprint to 80 copies. Contrary to his custom, Dr. Laing had not studied the book with care, for in his brief preface he states that 'of the author, Jehan Desmontiers, whose name appears in the privilege for printing, no particulars, I believe, are known.' There are several references in Desmontiers' text which show that he was a person of importance at the Court, having access through his uncle, Monsieur Dallas, to the presence of Marguerite de Valois and Katharine de Medicis, the Dauphiness, to whom he was permitted to make presents of natural curiosities. His eulogy of the Duke of Albany makes

it probable that he had been in Albany's service; while the description that he gives of the Tweed at Berwick—which does not appear in Boece or Bellenden—shows that he had seen the river at the point of its junction with the sea. The rubric which he places beside his text proves that he was well acquainted with Greek and Latin authors, and was, perhaps, a little pedantic.

The modest little volume consists of 38 numbered folios, with three folios for index. The type-forme on each page measures four and a half inches by two and a half inches, with a rubric of half an inch, printed in smaller type than the text. The title-page bears the following inscription:—*'Summaire de lo | rigine description & meruilles Descosse. | Auec vne petite cronique des roys du dict | pays iusques a ce temps. | A tresexcellente & tresillustre dame, | Ma dame la Dauphine. | On les vend au Palays es boutiques | de Iean Andre & Vincent Certenas. | 1538 | Auec priuilege.'* That the book was completed before the marriage of the Princess Magdalene is proved by the last page of text, quoted below. The authority to print the work is dated 4th March, 1537-8, by which time Queen Magdalene was dead. A postscript is added narrating the marriage of the Princess, her journey to Scotland, and her death there, together with four Latin epitaphs upon her. The intention of the author had doubtless been to dedicate the book to Magdalene, but circumstances prevented the accomplishment of this purpose, and the dedication is addressed to Katharine de Medicis, wife of the Dauphin Henri (afterwards Henri II.). It is couched in the grandiloquent style of the period, with learned references to Pliny, Socrates, and the Academicians, and praises the study of nature and of mankind. As an example of the quaint French of the time, one passage may be quoted. The author complains of the difficulties that attend the writing of history, and thus proceeds:

'Parquoy ie feray comme ceaulx qui sont entrez es perilz dangereux des naufrages de la mer, sans aulcune bone esperance de se sauluer qui ont sceullement recours au saint quilz pensent leur estre plus propice. Car voyant mon nauire mal frete & en mauuais equipage, & les vents dung coste & dautre sesmouuoir, ie nauray autre esperance de venir a bon port que par vostre benigne grace, Tresnoble & Tresuertueuse Princesse.'

[Therefore I do like those who are entered on the perils and dangers of shipwreck at sea, without any other good hope to save themselves, who have only recourse to the Saint whom they think most propitious to them. For, seeing my ship poorly freighted and in evil plight, and the winds driving it from one side to the other, I have no other hope to come to a safe harbour but by your benign favour, Most Noble and Most Virtuous Princess].

Taking Hector Boece as his model, the author begins with a description of the origin of Scotland, or Albion, repeating the stories about Gathelus who married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, exactly as these are given in the second chapter of Boece's *Cosmography*. Desmontiers gives marginal quotations from Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Herodianus, Josephus, Strabo, and other ancient writers, making not a little display of his learning. In his *Description du pays Descosse* the author simply abridges Boece's work, following exactly the course adopted by the Scottish writer. The Frenchman, however, is not a mere copyist, for occasionally he inserts remarks of his own, apt enough, but not taken from Boece. It is interesting to compare the separate versions of Boece's work as given in old French by Desmontiers, and in old Scots by Bellenden. The following passages show how far they diverge from each other, though Bellenden faithfully follows the original Latin by Boece :

Bellenden, 'Cosmographie,' cap. 8.

'In Murray land is the Kirk of Pette, quhare the banis of Litill Johne remanis, in gret admiratioun of pepill. He hes been fourtene fut of hicht, with square membris effeiring thairto. Vi yeris afore the cuming of this werk to licht, we saw his hanche bane, als mekill as the hale bane of ane man; for we schot our arme in the mouth thairof; be quhilk apperis how strang and square pepill grew in our regioun, afore thay wer effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth.'

Desmontiers, folio xiiij.

'Aussi lon voit audict pays de Moray, Les os dung geant quilz appellēt par mocquerie Litiliohn, cest a dire petit Iean, lequel auoit comme lon dict quatorze piedz de long qui est vne chose merueilleuse si lon veult proportionner la grādeur Dhercules, que conceut subtilemēt le Philosophe Pithagoras & de laquelle quasi tous les historiens ont escript a celle de ce Geant; duquel nul autheur Latin ny Grec que ie saiche ne faict aucune mention.'

There can be no reasonable doubt that when Desmontiers wrote the above paragraph he had Boece's book before him, though he adds several particulars from his own knowledge of literature. In the same way, when treating of the famous petrifying well at Slains, he makes remarks that are, in some degree, autobiographical. Bellenden translates the passage in Boece thus :

'In Buchquhane is the castell of Slains, the Constablis hous, of Scotland; beside quhilk is ane mervellus cove; for the watter that droppis in it, growis, within schort time, in maner of ane hard quhit stane; and, wer nocht the cove is oft temit, it wald be fillit sone with stanis.'

After relating this circumstance, Desmontiers divagates into a brief dissertation to show that petrification is not miraculous,

and quotes from Juvenal, Pliny, and Martianus in support of his contention. He then proceeds thus :

‘De leau qui se tourne en pierre, il nest poict besoig q par autres raisons il soit cõfirme. Car au mois doctobre dernier ie veiz la fontain de Passy pres la ville de Sens de laquelle leau se tourne en pierre de forme estrange, comme plusieurs virët a Fontaine bleau, en deux pierres que ie donnay a Monsieur Dallas mon oncle; pour estre presentees a Mes Dames, Madame Marguerite, & a vous mesmement Madame, a qui iay adresse desdie & voue ce petit sommaire, pour avoir occasion de parler des choses & personnes tresillustres & tres magnifiques.’

[As to the water which turns into stone, it is not difficult to confirm it by other reasons. For in the month of last October I visited the fountain of Passy near the town of Sens, where the water turns into stone in strange forms, in the same way as at Fontainebleau, two stones of which I gave to my uncle, M. Dallas, to be presented to Madame Marguerite (of Navarre), and to yourself, Madame, to whom I have addressed and devoted this little summary, to have occasion to speak of things and persons very illustrious and very magnificent.]

Having finished his condensed account of the cosmography of Scotland, the author gives his ‘Cathalogue des Roys,’ beginning with Fergus, and closely following Boece’s list until he reaches ‘James, now reigning, who espoused the noble Princess Magdalene of France, eldest daughter of the Most Christian King, to the great pleasure and consolation of his people, who thought themselves happy above all other nations so long as they might retain and preserve so great a blessing. The King, certainly, merited immortal praise when he crossed the sea to conquer Magdalene, not as Paris did for Helen, nor Jason for Medea, through the avarice of the Golden Fleece, but that he might win the Most Noble Princess, who for gentleness, grace, virtue, and nobility surpasses all the women in the world.’ Here Desmontiers’ book, written for the Princess Magdalene, ends abruptly. On the next page he narrates how King James wedded the Princess on the first day of 1536 and left Havre de Grace in May, landing at Leith on the day of Pentecost, and proceeding to Edinburgh, ‘ou depuis elle mourut ou moys de Iuillet mil cinq cens trente sept.’ Then Desmontiers prints four epitaphs upon Queen Magdalene which have not hitherto been quoted by any Scottish historian. These may have been obtained by Desmontiers directly from the authors. The first is by Etienne Dolet, born at Orleans in 1509, who gained a wide reputation as a theologian. He set up a printing-press at Lyons, and published several of his own books; but these were too advanced for

the time, and in 1543 the Parlement condemned his books to be burned as too favourable to the 'German heresy.' Three years afterwards (1546) he was burned to death at the stake. Scaliger, who was a personal enemy of Dolet, has attacked his memory in a scurrilous lampoon; but more temperate critics have praised Dolet as a Latinist of great merit. The following is his epitaph on Magdalene, as quoted by Desmontiers:

'Mag. Valesiæ. Francisci Fræcorum regis filiæ &
Jacobi Scotorum regis coniugis Epitaphium.

Autore Dolet.

Vere vicissitudo rerum est & bonis mala

Attexta: rege nata patre

Regisque cōiunx nec patris diu gloriam

Suspexi & in vsum tam breuem

Successit maritus rex mihi.

Sic num dupliciter iure querar?'

[Verily, things change, and good is dashed with evil. The daughter of a King and by a King espoused, neither for long did I admire the glory of my father, and brief was the joy the King my husband had in me. So, may I not justly make a twofold plaint?]

The second epitaph is described as 'Aliud, Io. Vvltio, avtore,' and is as follows:

'Post matris, fratrisque mei, mortesque Sororū
Postque facem thalami, fax mihi adest tumuli.'

[After the death of my mother, my brother, and my sisters, and after the torch of wedlock, the funeral torch is mine.]

The third epitaph is by Nicolas Desfrenes (whose Latinised name was Fraxinus), the celebrated theologian of Louvain, and Canon of St. Peter's in that city, who was a noted classicist. He was entrusted with the revision of the translation of the Bible by Febvre d'Etaples, published at Louvain. His epitaph is the most elaborate of the four:

'Quæ nil perpetuum toto sperarat in orbe
Occidit vt fati sensit adesse diem
Composita mortem venturaque funera longe
Prospiciens inquit morte sequetur honos
Nam vixi, in terris titulis decorata decorum:
Atque meo iūxi fœdere regna duo.
Scotorum vidi populum, turbasque frequentes:
Quæ mihi lætitiæ signa dedere suæ.
Quid superest? regum nunc more corona paratur,
Vt factis tandem præmia digna feram
Hæc nō humana constructa est mente, sed alta
Vi superum, quos non interitura iuuant.'

38 Scotland described for Queen Magdalene

[She who had thought (or hoped) that nothing in the whole world was abiding, sank when she felt the day of death was nigh. For, long fore-seeing the death she had to meet, and the burial sure to come, she said, 'Glory shall follow death. For I have lived adorned while on earth with divine honours, and by my wedlock I have linked two Kingdoms. I have seen the people and the thronging crowds of the Scots, who gave me tokens of their joys. What is left? Now, after the manner of Kings, a crown is provided, that I may win at last the prize my deeds deserve. This hath not been fashioned by man's device, but by the mighty power of the gods who joy in the everlasting.']

The fourth epitaph is described as 'in Phaleucian verse' (that is, in lines of eleven syllables), but the name of the author is not given. The phrase, 'beata lethe,' must mean 'happy Leith,' as the margin bears the words, 'Portus Scotiæ.'

'Et fratres Helenæ et poli nitentes
Stellas vidimus esse nauigantis
Reginæ comites ducesque fidas
Neptunum tumido mari imperâtem
Ventorum que patrem suis minantem
Vt nos exciperet beata lethe
Sed mors vnica sic latens fefellit
Vt post sæua maris pericla solam
Se vitæ doceat tenere fila.'

[We saw the brothers of Helen, and the bright stars of the sky were the companions and faithful pilots of the Queen on her voyage. We saw Neptune controlling the swelling sea, and the father of the winds threatening his offspring that happy Leith might welcome us. But Death, lurking, alone escaped us, that, after the cruel perils of the sea, it might teach us that it alone holds the threads of life.]

Here must terminate the description of this very curious book. There can be no question that it was specially written for the information of the Princess Magdalene, who may have read it in manuscript, for evidently it was not printed till after her death. It could not have been written before 1537, the year in which Boece's work was printed at Paris, and thus its date is easily and certainly ascertained. As a strange fragment of the contemporary history of James V., the Scottish History Society might print this book, with the parallel passages from Boece and Bellenden.

A. H. MILLAR.

Letter from William Stewart to Y^e Regent

5 August 1569

ALL the facts known to me about this letter (which appears in a condensed form in Mr. Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, 1563-69, No. 1114) are given in my *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 374-379 (London, 1901). Sir William Stewart, Lyon Herald, author of the letter, was sent to Denmark in February, 1568, to ask for Bothwell's extradition. He was in Scotland by June, 1568. On July 20, 1568, Drury, from Berwick, informs Cecil of the plot against Regent Moray, to which this letter refers: and also speaks of pranks of conjurers and treasure-hunters near Edinburgh, including 'Wile Stewart, Kyng off heraulde.'

Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 33, tr. 31, f. 81.

'BEING suspected Moste Mercyful Regent to have bene a Partaker or at Least concealer off a pretendit conspiracy I have thocht it convenient asweil for the manifestation off the trewth as for my awn po'gation to declair so far as my knowlege Reacheth the whole discourse off the (?) mater. And first Most virtuous Regent as touching my owne innocence I beleive that nether yo' gr. nor none other wil accuse me to haue had ain part in the deuysing & concludwing off the said conspiracy and thogh sum wold yit shal the trewth overcome thair vniust accusation for thogh lacketh so mekle that I shwld be gilty in any portion off the same that at this howr I knaw no when nor where It was concludit or deuysit. nether dar I swear yf ever any sik thing was concludit or not. Bot It may be Replyed that I am pwnishment worthy because I concealed the pretendit conspiracye. Albeit Moste mercyful Regent that the concealing off treason disserueth punishment, yit for al that have I disserued none at al for the principal deuysaris & autho's off the alledgit conspiracy are not convinced off treason and vntil sik tyme as the mater be tryed treason I can not be accused to have concealed treason. And albeit this one answer be one Inuincible defence against al that can be laid to my charge in this mater yit wil I to geve a further tryal off my innocency proceed further. Admitting then that It war treason & that they had conspyred yo' gr. mo'tho' quik wil never be provin, yit have I cofmited none offence vnless yowr gr. wil cal it an offence to conceal a thing vniuersally published before jt com to my eares. for jt js moste certaine Moste mercyful Regent that besides the secret advertishment that yowr gr. gat off the mater quik was lang before jt cam to my

knowledge the brwt off this conspiracy was tossed vp & down al Edinburgh the self same day that the persown tald jt vnto me qtk was wednisday the xxj day off July, & word com that sameday how the comptrollar after he had po'git him off the conspiracy was gone owt off stirueling. Moreover thogh jt had not bene disclosed yit do not I knaw giff I dwrst haue Reuealit the mater or not vnto your gra. One Reason in a maner is this becawse that I never thocht nether can any man perswade me to this howr that the persowns nominat by the persown off Kynnoir wald jnterprysyt sik a vyle & execrable mo'ther, and I am assured that yo' gr. self wil not believe jt, bot y' gr. knowing thair names wil not only praisse & allow my by past taciturnitye bot also cofmand y^e po'pose to be bwryed with sylence in tyme to come.

The second js that I was moste asswred that thogh thay & al Scotland had conspyred yo' gr. death that jt had bene in vaine for I knaw weil yo' gr. shal jncour no mortal dawnger (mortal I say) bot by domestical treason like as at al tymes every man might haue conceaut by my speaking & wrythngs. And giff your gr. thinks this my opinion vane yit do not I esteame it so, for he that told me the same hath foreshowed me so many trew thingis that I can not bot in this cace belieue him. for this man foreshew me the slaughter off the quenis hwsband in the Rwyn & forfaling off the Earle bothwel, & not only my last voyage bot also where & for what cawse I shuld mak jt, the death off lyon herald, my promotion & derectioun, the quenis deliuerance & yo' g. victory at the Lang syd. and besides al these many other trew thinges & since the event & experience have declared him trew in al these predictionis, why shuld I then distrust him in this one? Wherin also (giff any conspiracy was) the event hath approved his trewth. Bot to Retowrne to my former Reasons. I can not be accusit to have concealed treason al the mater be tryed treason. And thogh jt war treason yit haue not I offendit, for the mater was manifestly spokin before it come to my eares, and the Jnterpryse past al execution, for the comptrollar was gone owt off stirueling before the po'pose was Reuealed vnto me. And giff neid be I am able to prove that I knew the po'pose disclosed vnto yo' gr. lang before that the persown reuealed the same vnto me & thairfore prayd him ernstlye to haue no medling in the matter, & willed him no ways to go to stirueling. Now how I knew jt your gr. shal hiere. A certaine familiar co'tiour come to my awn howse abowt the middest off July in the last year at xj a clock or y^by before none & told me those wordes. Trewly (sais he), ye wil not trow a certan conspiracy js Reuealed to my lord Regent & amangs others that hes deusyt his g. slaughter thair is sum off his owne frendis. Is no this a strawnge case that they wil not suffer that gwdeman to live amangst ws? Trewly said I, I knaw nothing off the mater, & as to his frendis, I knaw none that favoreth the quenis ma^{te} saving Arthure only, & I dowbt greatly giff he haiff the cwrage to jnterpryse so great a mater.

Forsiuth (sayeth he) I knaw not whome to suspect, thair js off al the quenis faction bot one man whome I fear that Is my lord boyd for he js a man off a good wit & of great jnterpryses. Weil said I al their jnterpryses wil tak no effect for my lord Regent shal inco' no dawnger bot by domestical treason. These ar the very wordis sa neir as I can Remembre that both he & I spak at that tyme, & do po'posely recite the same to cal the po'pose to his Remembrance. for jt may be that becawse the mater towcheth him not, he haue foryet the same. Behold Moste m'cyful Regent how jnnocent I am off the alledgit offence & how vniustly I haue bene hetherto accused off treason & mo'ther quhillis ar in earth the thingis qtk I haue moste abhorred, yea in so farre haue I abhorred Rebellion yat I haue always thought & yit thinks jt vnlauchful to Resist the very

tyrants or vsurpars how wikked so ever thay be fallowing heirin the holy wryttingis off daniel & jeremye prophetes off pawl peter & otheris, yea & in maters off Religion haue thocht jt & yit dois think yt vnlawchful to Resist the magistrat. How greatly thinketh yo^r gr. then wold jt be against my conscience treasonably to conspyre consent or conceal the mo^{tho} off a magistrat professing the trew doctrine of cryst Jesus. Wherefore I moste humbly beseik yo^r gr. that as my good fame & estimation hath heirin bene moste vniustlye sclawnderit, that jt wil pleass yo^r gr. off yo^r great humanitye & goodnes that my Jnnocency towching this vile sclawnder be manifested to the end that not only sik as know me in this contrey bot also al otheris in foraine nationis to whome this detestable brwte hath bene Raported may chawnge opinion & haue me lyke as my Jnnocency disserueth in thair wonted good favo^r & estimation. This moste victorious Regent is the trew discourss off the mater, & giff the persown hes for fear off his lyff deposed otherways off me then I haue heir confessit I wil asswre yo^r gr. he hes done far besides the trewth as by confrontation giff yo^r gr. pleaseth shal appear. As to the authoris & sik as shuld haue bene executouris off the alledgit treasonable fact [can I not for great Reasons wryt, nether wil I coffunicat thame bot vnto yo^r gr. o^{lye},]¹ and when & where jt shuld haff bene done, & jn hope off what Reward, can I not for great Reasons wryt, nether wil I vncompelled coffunicate thame bot vnto yo^r gr. o^{lye}. And so maist humbly craving yo^r gr. pardon for al other offences & praying yo gr. to Remember the coffendable word that Hadrian the Empriour said to his deadlye Jnnemy And to cal to mynd that yo^r gr. Js now no priuat man and thairfore can not wth great coffendation pwnish or Revenge any priuat jniury coffits yo^r gr. to the protection off God. Off the castel off edinburgh the v off august 1569.

yo^r graces

Maist humble seruito^r

WM STEWART.

In the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, Aug. 14, 1568, we are told that the 'Parson of Kynnoir,' Patrick Hepburn, revealed the plot against Moray, and the names of the conspirators, Patrick being Bothwell's cousin. Stewart had already fled to Dumbarton Castle, as suspect of a part in the conspiracy (August 2, Birrell's *Diary*, p. 17). From the shelter of Dumbarton Stewart wrote a cocky letter to a lord unnamed (Aug. 19, Chalmers, *Mary Stuart*, I. 441, 442). He professed his innocence, but said that some of the Privy Council were guilty, and called Moray 'a bloody usurper.' He was captured, how we do not know, and lodged in Edinburgh Castle, where he wrote to Moray the letter here published. On August 15, 1569, he was burned at St. Andrews as a warlock.

A. LANG.

¹ Crossed through in the Original.

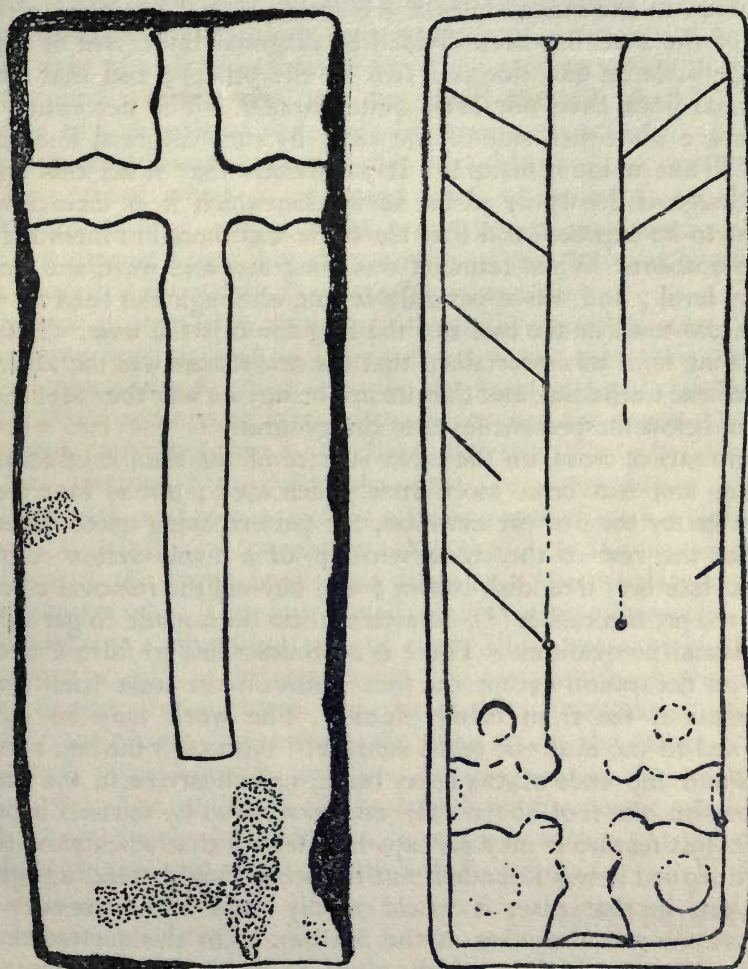
A Cross-Slab at St. Andrews

EVER since the ruins of the Culdean church at the Kirk-Heugh were laid bare in 1860, St. Andrews has been the proud possessor of an extensive and invaluable collection of local specimens of early Christian monuments. This collection increased very slowly until 1891, when several specimens, previously unknown, were uncovered in the base of the east gable of the Cathedral; and since that time no fewer than eighteen have been dug up in the immediate neighbourhood, fourteen being within the adjoining burying-ground, two within the Priory grounds, and two within the grounds of the Girls' School. On recalling the fact that the fourteen stones referred to (four of which are complete) have been unearthed by the present care-taker of the burying-ground during his thirteen years' tenure of office, one almost shudders to think of the number that may have been ruthlessly broken up and thrown over the cliff by his less careful predecessors. With three exceptions the whole collection has been described by Mr. Romilly Allen in his recently issued *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*.

It was impossible to include in that noble work the stone now to be described, as it was not found until the 15th of May, 1903. That morning when a grave was being opened twelve or fourteen feet to the north of the north-east corner of St. Rule's Chapel, the projecting corner of a flat stone was uncovered. Almost the whole of the stone lay further north, in the next grave, but with considerable trouble it was extricated and pulled up to the surface undamaged. It was then found to be a cross-slab, measuring from three and a quarter to four and a quarter inches in thickness; from twenty to twenty and a half inches in breadth; and five feet in length. It was also found that there was an incised cross on each of its two faces, and that these crosses were not only dissimilar in style, but pointed in opposite directions. There is manifestly a long period—probably two, perhaps even three centuries—between the respective dates of these two crosses.

The more recent may be described first, as it was on the upper

surface when found. The slab is of hard free-stone ; but unfortunately there has been a thin layer of a shaly-looking substance under this upper surface, and as it has partly scaled off, the details



Celtic Cross-Slab. Scale one-twelfth.

of the pattern have been somewhat destroyed. Enough remains, however, to show that a panel has been formed by cutting an incised line near the outer edge of the slab ; that the cross, at the head and foot, as well as at the ends of its arms, touches this incised border line ; that there is a constriction on each of the

upper limbs of the cross ; that there has been a circle of about three and a half inches in diameter above each arm, and a circle of about two and a half inches in diameter below each arm ; that there are at least four small circles, each about half an inch in diameter, in the incised lines of the cross ; that the space on either side of the shaft has been divided by diagonal lines (five of these being visible on one side and two on the other) ; and that these diagonal lines have not been quite parallel. The decoration of the space on either side of the shaft by such diagonal lines is a rare, if not unique, feature. It is obvious that when this cross was designed the whole of the surface on which it is incised was meant to be exposed, and that the stone was therefore intended to be recumbent. When found it was lying east and west, and practically level ; and was apparently *in situ*, although the head of the cross was towards the east and the foot towards the west. Before removing it, it was ascertained that the orientation was the same as that of the Cathedral, and that its upper surface was four feet three inches below the present level of the ground.

The earlier cross, on the other surface of the slab, is of simpler design, and has been more rudely executed ; but is in a very much better state of preservation, the pattern being quite distinct. Unlike the rest of the stone, which is of a tawny-yellow colour, this surface is of a reddish-brown ; and beyond the removal of two or three protuberances (?), no attempt has been made to get rid of its natural inequalities. There is no border line to form a panel, and no decoration except the four bulbs on the cross itself ; and the shaft is far from being plumb. The work may be safely assigned to the ninth or tenth century. Although the top of the cross and the ends of the arms reach, or almost reach, the edges of the slab, the foot of the shaft does not do so by thirteen inches. From this feature it may perhaps be inferred that when this cross was designed it was intended that the stone should stand upright ; and yet, in that case, it would hardly have been necessary to remove the protuberances at the bottom. On this surface there is another peculiarity, which gives it a blotched appearance. Whatever caused this, it must have been done after the cross was incised, for it occurs in the incised lines as well as on the undressed stone. Various theories have been propounded. In some respects the marking is not unlike that caused by lichens ; but it does not seem possible that any trace of a lichen would remain on that surface of a stone which had been underground for seven or eight centuries. It bears a still closer resemblance to the alga. which

forms dull-red, skin-like coatings on rocks and stones in pools at the sea-shore ; and this resemblance is not lessened by the more distinctly marked circles, which look as if they had been exuded, and remind one of the traces of small limpets and barnacles on the rocks. The alga on a sea-stone, however, entirely disappeared when tested by hydrochloric acid, whereas the incrustation on this stone only partially disappeared from the spot to which that acid was applied. It has also been suggested that the marking may be due to a deposit of lime derived from a dead body. A very small quantity was subjected by Mr. Marshall to qualitative analysis, from which it appeared that it consisted mainly of carbonate of lime, with a slight proportion of phosphate of lime and sulphate of lime ; but the quantity of the material examined was too small for satisfactory or exhaustive analysis.

Several of the Celtic stones so plentifully scattered over Scotland have been utilised in later ages in a way that their makers never contemplated. For example, the stone in Crail church has had a shield and coat of arms cut upon it ; and the one in Dunino has been converted into a sun-dial. But few, if any besides this St. Andrews one, have been re-adapted, in a remote age after a long interval, and re-adorned by a Celtic cross of such a different type. It should be mentioned that the incised lines on both surfaces of the stone have been done by a sharp-pointed, pick-like implement. The four small circles have apparently been produced by a revolving tool of some kind, something of the nature of a drill or brace-and-bit. In my sketch of the older face, neither the blotches nor the natural inequalities of the surface are shown, but merely the cross itself, the traces of the supposed protuberances, and the chipping along the edges of the stone. In my sketch of the later face, the details which are distinct are shown by unbroken lines, those which are uncertain by dotted lines, and weather markings are ignored.

D. HAY FLEMING.

A Hindrance to Genealogy

WHEN the first volume of the House of Gordon—which the New Spalding Club have in hand—makes its appearance, it may surprise many readers that the Editor has started so vast a subject by dealing with three lesser cadets, and not with any of the main lines. This arrangement, however, has been chosen with the utmost deliberation, and the principle involved in it is applicable to the genealogical treatment of nearly all the great families.

Nothing strikes the genealogist of to-day so forcibly as the vast amount of wasted power which has been expended over the subject. This wastage has militated not only against the completion of the particular subject in hand, but against the practice of genealogy as a whole, and has brought that useful art at times into perilous disrepute. I believe that the curse which has affected much of our genealogical inquiry has been the desire for definitiveness. Investigator has followed investigator, travelling precisely the same road; but, unlike most travellers, he has too often failed to vouchsafe to posterity the results of his observations. Had he been content to print, or at any rate to leave in a form that could be manipulated by others, the result of his work, genealogy would to-day stand on a far better basis than it does. But each worker insists on starting on the main line himself, and working downwards through its cadets. The consequence has been that while we may have several books printed on the main line, the cadets are rarely dealt with.

The history of the house of Gordon is a striking case in point. The whole effort of the genealogist, in something like 150 years, has gone to elucidate the history of the ducal line, and, as the activities of that line were practically identical with much of the nation's history, the general result has been extremely disappointing. It has led, for example, to there being practically no book whatever dealing with the numerous branches of the

family who were content to remain on the Borders, while the more important cadets in the North have remained without a historian at all. I have come across great collections of material, painfully got together, which are practicably unworkable, except by the original collector. The same books have been ransacked, the same sashes copied; indeed the whole sources of information have been utilised by the different workers over and over again, with but small result.

The Antiquarian Clubs have been working assiduously for 80 years (the Bannatyne was founded in 1823); and the raw material has gone on multiplying persistently in every sort of form. Quarry after quarry has been opened up, and yet, so far as genealogy is concerned, little has been done to make use of the buried material. Even the genealogies which Sir William Fraser gave us were really quarries in themselves, illustrating in most cases the main lines of a family as told in its charter chest, with but little attempt to elucidate the history of the smaller branches.

Short of a scheme of organised co-operation, it is almost certain that the complete history of the great families will never be properly done unless tackled in a piecemeal way; that is to say, by the publication of accounts of cadets of whatever importance as the worker finishes them, without reference to a general scheme: so that the next inquirer may be saved the trouble of doing useless research. Organised co-operation is practically impossible, for scarcely any of the workers will agree upon the same method, and the risk of overlapping is almost inevitable.

Such a journal as the *Scottish Historical Review* can do much to help this piecemeal treatment of genealogy. That is why I venture to write in this strain. By way of a footnote I cannot help mentioning the enormous activity of American genealogists. Here is a people busy with the world of affairs in a way we scarcely understand: keen on money getting and eager for the day's work. And yet the merest amateurs there find time to investigate their history with relentless energy. The fact is a useful reminder to those who regard Antiquary and Antediluvian as interchangeable terms.

J. M. BULLOCH.

Hill Burton in Error

HILL BURTON's *History of Scotland* has been so long before the public, and, in default of a better work on the same scale, has been so widely read that it would be mere waste of time to enlarge on its admitted defects—its lack of insight into character and events, its want of coherence, continuity, and proportion, and its loose, slovenly, undignified, though sometimes amusing, style. A Scotsman, content to learn the history of his country from Hill Burton's book, might be pardoned for thinking that Nature's journeymen had made some of its greatest men, and not made them well. A statesman so patriotic as Maitland and so acutely sensitive to the pressure of his age will be presented to him as 'the avowed scientific politician whose intellect was stuffed with foreign subtleties,' and whose qualities 'were rather rhetorical than practical';¹ from half-a-dozen pages headed 'Knox—His Death and Character' he will learn that the Reformer claimed to be a prophet, gave Sunday supper-parties, and was not personally vicious; and he will discover that Montrose was a vastly over-rated person who deserted the Covenanters because he had been superseded by Leslie and hated Argyll, and who was defeated on the first occasion on which he encountered a commander of repute. He will infer that the question whether Gowrie and his brother had or had not conspired to kidnap James VI. is of far more consequence than the origin of that 'ecclesiastical reaction' which resulted, forty years later, in the Puritan revolution, since 37 pages are devoted to the former point and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ to the latter. He will be told that 'the royal mind' of Charles I., uttered obscurely to the people, 'was in confidence let out to the Commissioner';² and perhaps, without being a very rigid purist, he may object to such sentences as these: 'They held at him in this fashion to the very end on the scaffold';³ 'Implicit obedience is the key-note of the traces left on his personal conduct.'⁴

¹Second Edition, iii. 344; v. 132. ²vi. 200. ³v. 180. ⁴vii. 184.

It has, however, been maintained, and is perhaps generally believed, that these defects are balanced, if not outweighed, by conspicuous merits. The writer of the obituary notice in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Sept. 1881), whilst admitting Burton's discursiveness and want of imagination, credits him with a 'power of intense and patient observation'; and Dr. Garnett, in a very discriminating article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that he possessed 'in perfection all the ordinary and indispensable qualities of the historian,' and excelled in 'closeness of investigation' and in 'critical research.' This reputation for accuracy Burton probably owes in great measure to the fact, obvious to every reader, that he is absolutely impartial. The ideal historian must be so; and yet the impartiality which proceeds, not from control over one's personal feelings, but from mere lack of sympathy and interest may be far more conducive to careless writing than the partisanship, which does indeed warp a man's judgment, but which may at the same time inspire him to take great pains with his work. M'Crie, for example, the biographer of Knox and Melville, was intensely prejudiced; but no writer of Scottish history is more reliable, more studiously accurate, in his statement of facts.

If Burton had a 'power of intense and patient observation,' or at all events if, having such a power, he habitually used it, one cannot but note with surprise that he makes glaring blunders, and that too in a second edition which, as he tells us in the preface, he had endeavoured 'to the extent of his capacity' to make accurate as well as complete. It is such a blunder to say that Hamilton commanded the English contingent at the battle of Leipzig,¹ where he was not present at all; that Rupert routed the forces opposed to him at Marston Moor;² that Charles in his 'Engagement' with the Scots accepted the terms which he had refused at Newcastle in 1646, undertaking to be a 'Covenanted monarch';³ that the term 'Resolutioner' originated in the resolution [not to set aside the Act of Classes, but] to acknowledge Charles II.;⁴ that Sharp, a leading Resolutioner, procured the Ordinance of 1654, which was issued two years before his

¹ Second Edition, vi. 411.

² vi. 361.

³ vi. 409.

⁴ vii. 249, note. There are other mistakes in this note. The Act of Classes was passed in 1649, not in 1650, and it could not have divided the Covenanters into 'Argyleites and Classites,' for Argyll himself introduced the Act. As to the term 'Resolutioner,' however, Burton elsewhere gives the true explanation.

first visit to London, and in favour of the Protesters;¹ that none of the old bishops survived at the Restoration;² and that the indulged ministers retained their cures till the Revolution.³ The author is mistaken when he says that six commissioners [not eight] represented Scotland at Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin;⁴ that Argyll was still in arms for Queen Mary at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew;⁵ that Maitland 'was found dead after the surrender' of Edinburgh Castle⁶—he died at Leith, six weeks later; that all the fourteen Covenanters summoned by Charles I. to Berwick in 1639 [and not only eight] refused to attend;⁷ that Prince Rupert [not Prince Maurice] was Montrose's superior in the Scottish command;⁸ and that Langdale's English division was in advance [not in the rear] when Cromwell attacked the army of the Engagement at Preston.⁹

It may be noted also that he represents the army sent by Elizabeth to the assistance of the Lords of the Congregation as being conveyed by sea after the Treaty of Berwick,¹⁰ whereas the fleet was sent before the treaty, and the army, after, advanced by land; that he makes James VI.'s visit to Scotland of three months' duration in 1616 extend over a year;¹¹ that he calls a man so detested by the Covenanters as Sir John Hay 'a neutral figure in the confusions of the times';¹² that he places the surrender of Charles I. to the Scots in 1645, instead of in 1646;¹³ that he confounds the causes of the public fast instituted after the battle of Dunbar with Guthrie's famous pamphlet, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath*;¹⁴ that he dates the skirmish at Drumclog, June 11, instead of June 1, 1679;¹⁵ and that he makes the expedition of Claverhouse into Galloway in 1682 contemporaneous with the execution of John Brown of Priestfield in 1685.¹⁶ In his account of the projects of union which followed the accession of James VI. to the English throne, he says that 'such invidious restraints' were removed 'as had in the earlier law anticipated the restrictive English navigation Acts of later times.'¹⁷

¹ Second Edition, vii. 65. ² vii. 147. ³ vii. 458. ⁴ iii. 289.

⁵ v. 114. See *History of King James Sext*, p. 85, and Calderwood, iii. 135.

⁶ v. 129. ⁷ vi. 269. ⁸ vi. 365. ⁹ vi. 414. ¹⁰ iii. 369. ¹¹ vi. 43.

¹² vi. 171. On p. 329 Burton himself tells us that this 'neutral figure' was excepted from the indemnity of 1641; but the index shows that he took the Sir John Hay so excepted to be a different person.

¹³ vi. 403. ¹⁴ vii. 35. ¹⁵ vii. 223. ¹⁶ vii. 251. ¹⁷ v. 411.

This, had it really been made, would have been a most important concession; but any one who refers to the English statutes (vol. iii., p. 64) will find that the law repealed was not the Navigation Act of 1381, but the immediately preceding and quite obsolete Act of the same year, which provided that no one should leave the realm without the King's permission. Of the Act Recissory, 1661, Burton says that it cancelled 'all legislation later than the year 1638, for the Parliament of 1639 passed no statutes.'¹ Why he should mention 1638 does not appear, since the last Parliament before 1639 had been held in 1633; but, apart from this, his account of Middleton's famous law cannot be accepted as correct. The Act Recissory annulled all Parliaments, except in so far as they had legislated in favour of private rights, from 1640 to 1648, inclusive; the Whiggamore Parliament of 1649 was annulled, not by this, but by a previous statute of the same session; but a Parliament under the personal authority of Charles II. had sat from 1650 to 1651, and this Parliament was not and could not have been annulled, seeing that almost the first act of Charles on his return to power had been to revive the Committee of Estates which it had appointed at its adjournment, and which the Cromwellian troops had captured, soon afterwards at Alyth. Nevertheless, as pointed out by a contemporary writer,² it may be a question for lawyers why the Parliament of 1661 should style itself the first Parliament of Charles II.

The only objection to the statements just cited is the somewhat serious one that they are at variance with the facts. Let us now look at a statement which is absurdly improbable as well as wholly untrue. Most readers of Scottish ecclesiastical history must be aware that James VI. sought to compound for his inroads on the Presbyterian organisation by a rigorous prosecution of Papists. The Linlithgow Assemblies of 1606 and 1608, at the instigation of the Crown, were particularly active in this matter, the Marquis of Huntly and three other Catholic noblemen being excommunicated; and in November, 1608, the Presbytery of Edinburgh drew up a letter to the King, thanking him for his severity against such 'as the Kirk here has at last been forced to cut off and excommunicate from her society.'³ It is almost incredible that a serious historian

¹ Second Edition, vii. 143. ² Brown of Wamphray in his *Apologetical Relation*.

³ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, i. 166.

should have supposed, as Burton does,¹ that this letter was inspired, not by the recent proceedings against the Catholics, which it expressly mentions, but by the condemnation for treason, two and a half years before, of the ultra-Presbyterians who had attempted to hold an assembly at Aberdeen. These extremists had outlived their popularity; but the Presbytery of Edinburgh must have gone mad before it could have thanked the King for trying and banishing them; and assuredly the Melville party had not been, nor was ever likely to be, excommunicated.

It is not given to many historians, and seldom even to Burton, to sin on such a scale as this; but his detailed statements are so loosely constructed, and show so little evidence of what the *Blackwood* writer calls 'his strong tenacious grasp of the past,' that to assume them accurate would be a far bolder assumption than to take for granted that they are incorrect. From a general survey of his work from the Reformation onwards, one would suppose that, having looked through rather than studied his authorities, and then put them away, he was content to reproduce whatever general impression had been left on his mind. He can hardly have worked with the authorities before him, noticing where this writer confirms, supplements, or conflicts with, that. For example, in dealing with the career of Montrose, he seems to have remembered that somebody, whom we know to have been John Stewart of Ladywell, was cited by Montrose as his authority for the statement that Argyll meant to depose the King, and that Montrose had employed a certain Colonel Alexander Stewart, whom Traquair always called Captain, to convey letters to Charles. The latter personage he does not mention; but the former, transformed apparently by an unspoken association in the writer's mind, appears as Captain James Stewart.² Captain one can understand, but why James?

A more striking example of the same confusion of ideas occurs in his account of the Darien scheme. He tells us that, after the Indian and African Company had learned for certain that the first colony had withdrawn from Darien, 'they fitted out an auxiliary expedition, with warlike instructions, and a tried old soldier, Campbell of Finab, at its head'; that this expedition had orders to re-occupy the settlement, if necessary, by force, not to allow its flag to be insulted by that of any

¹ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, v. 436.

² v. 334.

nation, and to regard no documents, though professedly in the King's name, which were not countersigned by a Secretary of State for Scotland.¹ Whoever has made a careful scrutiny of the *Darien Papers*, edited by Burton himself for the Bannatyne Club, will see at a glance what confusion we have here. Campbell of Finab, with credit for £1000, was ordered to take his passage in 'the galley belonging to Captain John Moses,' or in any other trading vessel, to the West Indies, and there to purchase provisions for the settlement—a mission which he successfully carried out; there was no 'auxiliary expedition'; and the orders as to the flag and Government documents had been given, about a month before, to the captain of a ship sent out to trade on the West African coast.² Four pages further on, we are told that 'two vessels containing further detachments' arrived after the colony had surrendered to the Spaniards, and narrowly escaped capture. This is most inaccurate. The two vessels in question conveyed supplies only, not detachments, and the first was allowed to enter by the terms of the capitulation.

Burton's capacity for compressing a great quantity of error into the smallest possible space may be seen to best advantage in the following passage, referring to the abortive Assembly held, or attempted to be held, by the ultra-Presbyterians in 1605: 'It was determined among his (Andrew Melville's) party to invade the enemy and hold a General Assembly at Aberdeen. It was prohibited by royal proclamation. The great body of the clergy stayed at home; but Melville and his immediate friends journeyed to Aberdeen, and met there, nine in number. This small body went through a good deal of work in protesting and remonstrating; and in a second meeting, also denounced by royal authority, they mustered nineteen.'³ This passage may be criticised thus: (1) The Assembly was held at Aberdeen because the last Assembly of 1602 had appointed it to meet there, not because the ultra-Presbyterians wished 'to invade the enemy'; (2) the Assembly was not prohibited by royal proclamation—it was merely postponed till after the Parliament, and the Melville party resolved to keep the day originally fixed; (3) Andrew Melville himself did not go to Aberdeen; (4) those who

¹ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, viii, 54.

² *Darien Papers*, pp. 171, 176.

³ v. 433.

arrived on July 2 were 19, not 9; (5) those who arrived later were 9, not 19; (6) the first company had left Aberdeen before the second arrived; (7) there was no 'protesting and remonstrating'—the Assembly was merely continued to the first Tuesday of September. On the next page but one, we are told that five of the ministers who had convened at Aberdeen were brought to trial. In point of fact the number was six.¹

To be charitable, one must suppose that Burton did not compile his own index; but a little 'intense and patient observation' might surely have been employed in this quarter, if not before the work was published, at all events before it was re-issued. The long-lived Earl of Rothes, whose public career in the first edition extended over 113 years, has indeed been reduced to less unnatural limits; but the sixth Earl and his son the Duke are still treated as one and the same; so are three Earls of Argyll (with part of a fourth) and two Dukes of Hamilton; there are two lords Balmerinoch and two Sir John Hay's where there should be only one; Balcanquhall, the stout old Presbyterian divine, is said to have written Charles I.'s *Large Declaration*; and the eighth Earl of Angus, James Melville's intimate friend, is said to have been a party to the Catholic conspiracy of the 'Spanish Blanks.'

W. L. MATHIESON.

¹ See the contemporary accounts in Forbes's *Records*, in Calderwood, and in Botfield's *Original Letters*.

Old Oaths and Interjections

WHEN greatly moved, man has in all ages been accustomed to express his feelings in such words as seemed to him most readily to convey to others the perturbed state of his mind, the mere expression of itself affording relief. Vehement moods beget vehement words. In looking through our early vernacular literature one is struck with the variety of expletives of this kind. It shows for one thing that there was a demand for expressive words of an interjectional character,—winged words that would startle the hearer and make an impression on him. The demand created the supply, and oaths and imprecations of all kinds abound. The purpose of this note is to draw attention to, and give some examples of the use of a few of these that occur to one, not following any order, but confining the view to medieval times, and to words and phrases now obsolete.

As crowned heads have precedence, let us by all means give the first place to King Philip Augustus of France, who, when he heard that King Richard of England was going on Crusade—stealing away, as the King of France thought, without announcing his intention—gave utterance to his displeasure in very strong language. As the Chronicler puts it:

‘Loke how Kyng Philip said uncurteisly,
“Dathet haf his lip, and his nose therby!”’¹

In *The Lay of Havelok the Dane* this interjection occurs frequently. Earl Godrich of Cornwall uses it to give, as he thought, force to his determination to keep his ward Goldborough out of her rightful inheritance:

‘Datheit hwo it hire yeve
Evere-more hwil I live!’²

¹ Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle* [Hearne], p. 143.

² *Havelok* [Skeat], ll. 300-1.

In the metrical Romance of *Sir Tristrem* we have :

‘Therl seyð “dathet him ay
Of Tristrem gif this stounde !”’¹

This old imprecation is not Anglo-Saxon ; it came over with the Conqueror, but early found an abiding place here. It is explained as coming from the Merovingian French, ‘Deu hat,’ meaning ‘God’s hate.’²

In the alliterative *Morte Arthure* we have, as might be expected, many oaths used by the knights in the midst of the hazards of their feats of valour. Sir Bedwere, who is no Puritan, has a good stock of vigorous expletives. For example :

‘Be Myghell, of syche a makk I hafe myche wondyre
That ever owre Soveraygne Lorde suffers hym in heven ;
And all seyntez be syche, that servez our Lord,
I sall never no seynt be, be my fadyre sawle !’³

It is a pity that he gets killed early in his career, and we thus lose his robust turns of expression. Sir Gawayne, as we might expect, uses on occasion several terse imprecations that give satisfaction even now to the natural man. Thus, when he is working himself up for his final and fatal encounter with the traitor Sir Mordred, he addresses him in fiery words :

‘Fals fosterd foode, the fende have thy bonys !
Fy one the, felone, and thy false werkys !
Thow sall be dede and undon for thy derfe dedys,
Or I sall dy this daye, gif destanye worthe !’⁴

In medieval literature generally, as in modern, we find many illustrations of the fact that a prayer for Divine counsel and guidance rises almost involuntarily to the lips at a crisis :

‘Soth is that men seyth and suereth :
Ther God wil helpen, nouht ne dereth.’⁵

The phrase ‘So God me rede’ is thus a common one :

‘Ne sholen thi wif no shame bede,
No more than min, so God me rede !’⁶

¹ *Sir Tristrem* [S.T.S.], ll. 1875-6.

² See ‘Dahet’ in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

³ *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1166-9.

⁴ *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3776-79.

⁵ *Havelok*, ll. 646-7.

⁶ *Ibid.* ll. 2084-5.

In fact it is used as an oath, having little of its literal significance left :

‘For litel shal I do the lede
To the galues, so God me rede!’¹

‘Thoght he war Sampson himself, sa me Criste reid !
I forsaik noght to feght, for al his grete feir.’²

A well-known asseveration in the north was Goddot = God wot !

‘Goddot !’ quath Leue, ‘y shal the fete
Bred and chese, butere and milk,
Pastees and flaunes . . .’³

Perhaps some of your readers may be able to supply many more examples of early strong language. The natural man will not keep under ; even the stainless King Arthur cannot confine himself to ‘yea, yea,’ and ‘nay, nay,’ at a crisis :

‘Hevinly God !’ said the heynd, ‘how happynis this thing ?’⁴

JOHN EDWARDS.

¹ *Havelok*, ll. 686-7.

² *Golagros and Gawane* [S.T.S.], ll. 809-10.

³ *Havelok*, ll. 641-3.

⁴ *Golagros and Gawane*, l. 265.

[Mr. Edwards’s last paragraph invites to a little historical profanity, a leading authority on which is Mr. Julian Sharman’s *Cursory History of Swearing*. There is an excellent article in Chambers’s *Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *swearing*. A fine passage occurs in the Sieur de Joinville’s *Histoire de St. Louis* (ed. Wailly, 1888, sec. 687), wherein, mentioning that no one ever heard that royal saint of the thirteenth century use the name of the devil, Joinville remarked that nearly everybody else as a matter of course said ‘Que dyables y ait part !’ ‘And,’ he added, ‘it is a great abuse of language thus to appropriate to the devil either man or woman, they having been given to God from the time they are baptized.’ Commendation to the devil has exercised many minds since the days of Joinville and Louis IX. Chaucer did not forget it in the *Frere’s Prologue*, and Luther (*Table Talk*, Dxc.) discussed the case of the man with a sad habit of saying ‘Devil take me.’ The theme was disposed of by a Scottish fifteenth century abbot (Bower’s *Scotichronicon*, ii. 285). Scottish legislation also kept it well in view, as witness the Act of 1551, c. 7, framed ‘in detestatioun of the grevous and abominabill aithis, sweiring, execratiounis and blasphematioun of the name of God, sweirand in vane be his precious blude, body, passiou and woundis ; Devill stick, cummer, gor, roist or ryfe thame ; and sic uthers ugsume aithis.’]

The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.

THE Scottish Sculptured Stones attracted very little attention until well into the last century. Before then only a few travellers, like Martin and Pennant, had recorded their observations.

Boswell, we know from *The Tour to the Hebrides*, was bitterly disappointed with Icolmkill, and compared its tombs most unfavourably with the marble monuments of Westminster Abbey; and if Dr. Johnson did not fully share his disappointment it was because he had been warned by Sacheverel that 'there is not much to be seen here.'

All that is changed now. The stones have to a great extent been described or illustrated and a whole literature has grown up around them. The most important of the many books is Dr. John Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, published in 1856 and 1867. But much has happened since then. Many fresh stones have been unearthed or discovered; photography has transformed the process of illustrating them, and the earnest study of some fifty years has, as might be expected, brought together a mass of new material. The time had undoubtedly come for a new book, and in *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*¹ Mr. Romilly Allen has given us one of which the value would be impossible to exaggerate.

Its history in brief is this. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland decided in 1890 to devote the income of certain funds to the preparation of a very full report on all the Scottish Monuments previous to 1100, and to illustrate them by photographs as far as possible.

The preparation of this formidable catalogue was intrusted to

¹ *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; a classified illustrated descriptive list of the monuments with an analysis of their symbolism and ornamentation By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot. And an Introduction, being the Rhind Lectures for 1892, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D., H.R.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A. Edinburgh. Quarto. Pp. cxxii., part ii., 1-419; part iii., 1-522. Printed for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.



Cross with sculpture in relief
at Keills in Knapdale.

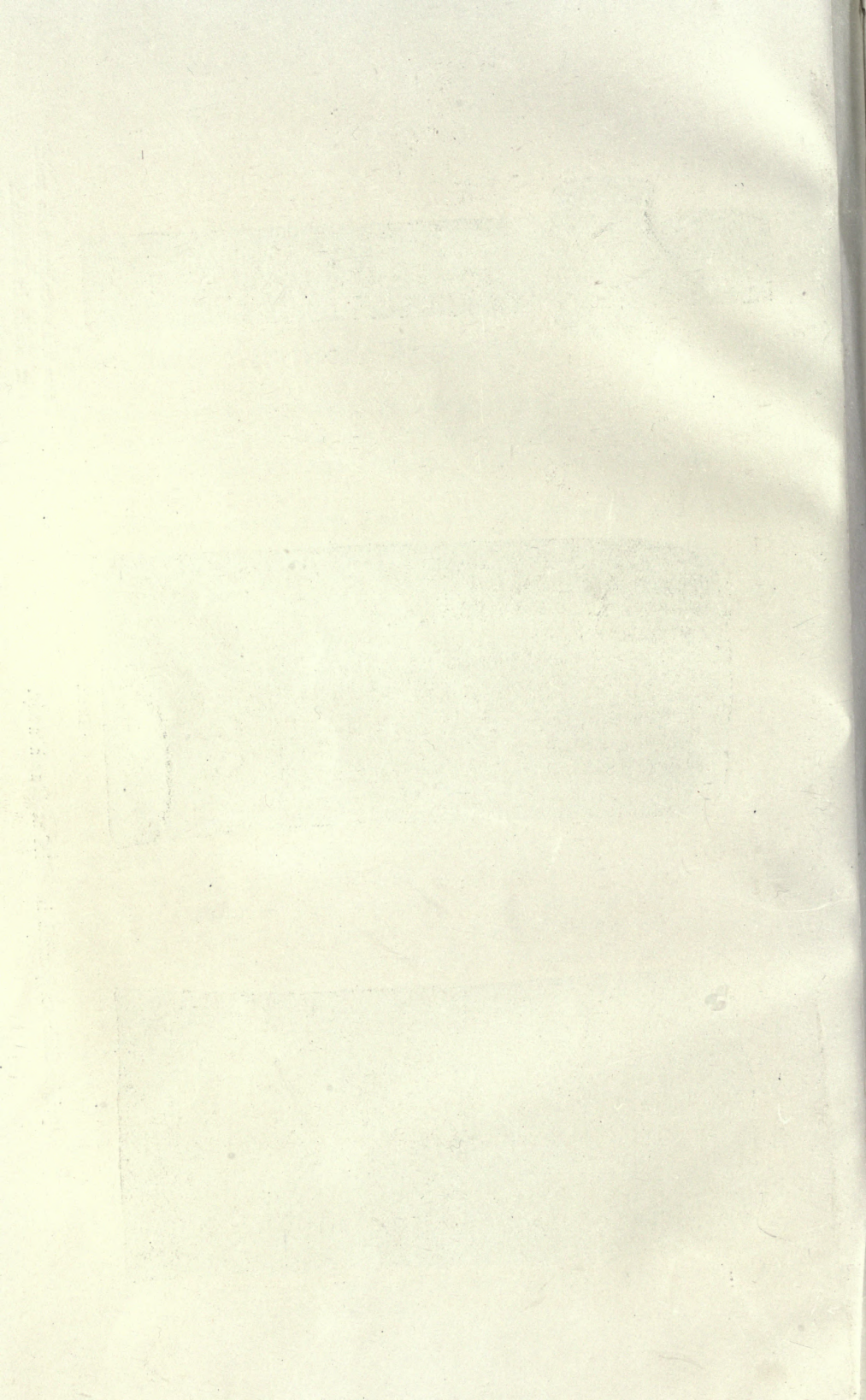


Back.



Front.

Upright Slab sculptured in relief at Dunfallandy.



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Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., who began his work in 1893. In the following year he published a report, which fills many pages of the Society's *Transactions*, giving a list of all the stones then known about and stating where they had already been drawn, in the works of Dr. Stuart or of James Drummond; but a very large number had to be entered as 'undescribed,' a term which can never be used again.

It is hardly necessary at this time to do more than refer in passing to what Dr. Joseph Anderson has done in the field of Scottish archaeology, where *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (his Rhind Lectures for 1881) stands alone.

No work on the subject is more widely known, without it we should oftentimes be still groping for the solution of many difficult questions, and it is to Dr. Anderson that the publication of the book before us is due.

He was again appointed Rhind Lecturer for 1892, and his lectures were designed to bear upon the forthcoming book, whereof in an abbreviated shape they form the introductory section.

There could be no better epitome of Dr. Anderson's writings on the sculptured stones than this Introduction, and the association of the two writers is most felicitous.

The second section of the book is the work of Mr. Allen and deals with the monuments themselves, analysing and describing their characteristics and indicating their geographical positions.

They are divided into three classes. Class I. (the earliest) consists of pillar stones and slabs, rudely shaped, bearing symbols traced with incised lines. In Class II. are placed all the rest of the symbol-bearing monuments, and these are invariably upright Cross slabs. The Cross usually appears on the front, the symbols on the back. These stones are sculptured in relief and with predominating Celtic patterns. Class III. contains all other stones bearing Celtic ornament, and these are of great variety, including upright free-standing Crosses, Cross-bearing slabs (both upright and recumbent), stone coffins and architectural details.

A list is given of the distribution of these three classes, showing how stones of the first class predominate in the northern and north-eastern counties, hardly appearing in the south. Those of the second class are mostly found in the east central district, while the latter or third class of non-symbol-bearing

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monuments exists all over the country from Shetland to Dumfries. Mr. Allen points out that the symbol-bearing stones are never found in barren mountain districts, but on the fertile coast lands and great river valleys, and he shows by a table, in which the counties are arranged according to their number of specimens, that stones of the first class are more frequent in the district north of the Grampians, formerly inhabited by the northern Picts, while stones of the second class predominate in the country of the southern Picts, which lay to the south of the hills; in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire he thinks may have been the centres, whence in Pictish times these styles issued.

This triple classification is rigidly adhered to throughout the whole work with great results of simplification.

The symbols receive very full treatment and are carefully depicted: spectacle ornaments, crescents, mirrors and combs, centaurs, bulls, birds, fish, and the mysterious beast with long jaws—the so-called elephant. Then follow pages showing the various combinations of these symbols on the stones.

It is impossible to do more than touch on some of the features of this great book, but one of the most interesting and important sections is headed 'Interlaced Work.'

The writer first shows how the foundation of all Celtic interlacing is a regularly plaited groundwork and how, by making 'breaks' in this groundwork, the bands may be diverted into the most intricate knotted patterns, without losing the regularity of alternate under-and-over crossing which is so well marked a feature of Celtic work. Over six hundred diagrams are used to illustrate this phase of pattern alone. The Key pattern is treated next, and in the same way, and lastly the designs formed by combinations of spirals, old as the discoveries at Mycenae, but, in the Irish manuscripts and on the Scottish sculptured stones, developed into almost inconceivable complexity. This part of Mr. Allen's book forms both a grammar and a dictionary of Celtic ornamentation, and he has brought it into practical use in the descriptive list of the monuments which occupies the greater part of the volume. Thus, in illustrating and describing the Dunfallandy¹ Cross-slab (page 287), instead of describing each

¹ Standing Cross-slab at Dunfallandy, Perthshire. This has been illustrated here as an example of Class II., where the Cross appears on one side, the symbols on the other, for the creatures in the panels surrounding the Cross are not to be mistaken for symbols. The group in the top right-hand panel probably represents the lion breathing life into its cub, as told in the bestiaries; Jonah and the



Upright Cross-slab sculptured in relief at St. Vigean.

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of the many decorated panels, reference is made to the diagrams already given. 'In the centre . . . a Cross of shape No. 104a, on the horizontal arms three bosses on a background of square key-pattern No. 914, on the shaft next the top, interlaced work No. 644,' and so on. It is easy to believe what a help this is: the diagram always showing clearly what the condition of the monument may render indistinct.

Probably no finer or more exhaustive catalogue has ever been compiled, and in spite of its great length it contains not an unnecessary word. This is a book of reference to which we may always turn without fear of disappointment. The illustrations are excellent and show the same care as the letterpress. The Ogham-bearing slab at Dunrobin (Fig. 48) is photographed from various points to show the inscription, and of this a diagram is also given. In cases where perhaps the photograph failed to satisfy Mr. Allen, he adds a masterly design, as in the case of the Farr Cross-slab (Fig. 51).

The book is so completely up to date as to include slabs found at St. Andrews as late as 1902, and a recently found Cross-slab at Fortingal, while since its inception the collection of sculptured stones at St. Blane's Chapel in Bute has been brought to light and is here fully described. Scotland may indeed be grateful to Mr. Romilly Allen for his magnificent contribution to her archaeological knowledge.

R. C. GRAHAM.

whale seem to be indicated in the bottom left-hand panel, and the winged figures may stand for angels. The reverse is divided into two panels; in the upper one two figures sit facing one another, above them are the following symbols: the elephant, crescent with V-shaped rod, and the double disc. Between the seated figures is a small cross, one of the few exceptions to the rule that symbols and crosses are not found together. In the lower panel the elephant and the crescent are repeated, and below the horseman there are a hammer, an anvil, and a pair of pincers.

Standing Cross at Kiells, Knapdale; an example of Class III. At the top is an angel treading on a serpent, in the centre a raised boss, round this boss are animals, and below it a saint or ecclesiastic. The shaft contains panels of key-pattern and spiral work.

A Cross-slab from St. Vigeans, Forfarshire; another example of Class III., from which the symbols have disappeared. To the right of the richly-decorated Celtic Cross are seen ecclesiastics tonsured and wearing cowls, embroidered vestments, and slippers. On the right are two seated figures. Mr. Allen suggests St. Paul and St. Anthony breaking bread in the desert (as on the Cross at Ruthwell). Below this a cow (the body ornamented with spirals) and a man kneeling in front of it.

An English Letter of Gospatric

AMONG the private muniments of a nobleman in Westmorland, a letter or charter¹ of unique interest was recently recognised which throws a new light on the political and territorial history of Cumberland, and adds much to our knowledge of the district before it was conquered by William Rufus in 1092. Though the document is in English, or, to be more exact, in the Northumbrian dialect as spelt and understood by an early copyist,² it bears so many internal evidences of genuineness, both philological and topographical, that it may be regarded as of unquestionable authority. It must take a front rank among the few English charters³ which relate to the history of northern England, and owing to the impenetrable obscurity which has hitherto rested on the pre-Norman state of ancient Cumbria, it will be welcomed as a discovery of considerable importance. By its means we can compel the darkness in some measure to yield up its secret, and we are enabled to set back the domain of ascertained knowledge,

¹The document can scarcely be called a charter according to our modern usage of that word. It appears to be a relic of the Anglo-Saxon writ, which was intended to be read before the county court in order to secure the grantee in the enjoyment of the estate or privilege by making it known to the suitors and all concerned. Mr. W. H. Stevenson has found traces of the existence of these writs in English up to the beginning of the reign of Henry II., but from the time of the Conquest they were usually put into Latin, and the Latin versions are much the more numerous.

²The deed at Lowther Castle is not, of course, the original, but an early copy on a strip of parchment wonderfully well preserved. From the character of the script, notably from the formation of the capitals which seem to have been an invention of the copyist, the copy may be ascribed to the thirteenth century. In the opinion of the best judges, the fact that the charter is in English is a presumption against its being spurious, for after the Norman Conquest one would expect a forger to draw up his texts in Latin.

³Mr. William Brown informs me that the English charters in the *Liber Albus* at York have not been printed; he believes that they are interesting chiefly as specimens of language.

imperfect though it be, for a period of at least half a century. As the grantor was no less a personage than the famous Gospatric son of Maldred son of Crinan, who was so closely allied to the royal line of Scotland, and as this is the only charter of his known to be extant, the document, though exclusively connected with what is now an English county, cannot fail to be interesting to students of Scottish history.

Until the discovery of Gospatric's writ we could not get behind the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Dolfín was ruler of Carlisle at the date of the Norman conquest in 1092, and we possessed no trustworthy evidence about the tenure or tenants of the district, except what might be gathered from the great Inquest of Fees in 1212, a feudal transaction which we were compelled to accept, in the absence of the Domesday Survey, as the foundation of the territorial history of Cumberland. What was stated by me a short time ago¹ cannot now be upheld, that 'at the present moment not a single genuine charter, relating to the county of Cumberland, is known of a date anterior to Henry I.' The date of this charter may be assigned to some period before the conquest of 1092, but perhaps after 1067 when Gospatric purchased the earldom of Northumberland from William the Conqueror, or more probably after 1072, when King Malcolm of Scotland gave him Dunbar and the adjacent lands in Lothian.

It may be inferred from the general tenor of the document that Gospatric held a high position in the district beyond that of a great landowner, for it is most improbable that he should have used such a style of address to the men of Cumbria had he been only the lord of Allerdale. Subsequent events, such as the position of his son Dolfín at Carlisle in 1092, and the succession of Waldeve to the paternal estates in Allerdale, appear to warrant the belief that Gospatric ruled the district of Cumbria south of the Solway as the deputy of King Malcolm. On the other hand, as no allusion is made to Scottish sovereignty, and as Gospatric appeals to the palmy days of Eadread and to the laws of Earl Siward, the exact position of the grantor is thrown into the arena of debate. In many respects these references suggest startling difficulties in their relation to the political status of south Cumbria at this period. It would be rash, within the limits of a short note, to make positive statements on the identity of Eadread or the jurisdic-

¹ *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 302.

tion of Earl Siward of Northumberland over the north-western province. But there can be no question that our old notions, founded on the cession of Cumbria to Malcolm I. by King Eadmund in 945 as a fief of the English Crown, have received a rude shock by the revelations of this charter, and that we shall be driven once again to review the evidences, on which we were accustomed to rely, in support of the favourite theory that the cession to the King of Scotland continued in effective operation till Dolfin, who by the way is nowhere stated to have been a Scottish vassal, was forced to retire before the invading host of the Red King.

The chief interest, however, of the charter to the student of the Norman settlement of Cumberland is the delightful commentary it affords in explanation of the Inquest of Service¹ of 1212. It will be seen that there is nothing in the charter inconsistent with the statements of the Inquest, but it has rendered necessary a fresh interpretation of that document. Hitherto we have accepted the verdict of the jurors that Henry I. was the original source of enfeoffment of most of the knights of Cumberland in their fees as stated therein. From the language of the Inquest no other inference was possible, chiefly for the reason that enfeoffments by the King were carefully differentiated from those by Ranulf Meschin, the Norman lord who ruled Cumberland before Henry took the district into his own hand about 1120. Gospatric's charter, in which he is described as the owner of Allerdale, makes it quite clear that the infeudation was not originated by Henry I., but that the jurors of 1212 ignored all previous possession by Gospatric the father, and looked upon the King's confirmation of Waldeve the son, in the fee of Allerdale, as the source of his title.² In another instance it is highly probable that we can prove a similar method. The jurors stated that it was Henry who gave the barony of Greystoke to Forne, the son of Siolf

¹ *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 379-80, Record Commission. The inquest has been printed in the *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 421-2, from the original return in the Public Record Office, officially described as *Knights' Fees*, $\frac{1}{5}$, m. 2.

² It is very odd that Dolfin should have been banished from Carlisle when his brother Waldeve was able to retain possession of Allerdale. Political reasons, it would seem, were the cause of the different treatment of Gospatric's sons. It is said that Ranulf Meschin gained Waldeve 'as an ally on account of the war between the Scots and England, as he was a Scotsman, and gave him for his service the whole barony of Allerdale, from the place called Wahtelpole as far as Derwent, saving to himself all his venison' (Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, ii. 64).

or Sigulf. From the mention of the name of Sigulf as one of the magnates of Cumbria 'in Eadread's days,' it may not be too hazardous to suggest that he was the owner of Greystoke before he was succeeded by his son Forne, to whom Henry I. in after years confirmed the barony. In these circumstances it would appear that the literal interpretation of the feudal inquest cannot be defended, and that the old theory of a wholesale displacement of the English settlers to make way for the Norman immigration has been completely overthrown.

As the charter is bristling with points of unusual interest, it has been thought advisable to print it in full together with a rough translation. Students of early English will welcome the copy of the text for the pleasure it will afford them in tracing the difficulties the copyist experienced in spelling and pronouncing the Northumbrian dialect. Though I am alone responsible for the translation, as well as the text, it should be mentioned that I have been largely guided in many places by the suggestions of Canon Greenwell, Professor Skeat, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, and other distinguished scholars. Upon my shoulders only must fall the penalties for faults of rendering or errors of interpretation.

JAMES WILSON.

TEXT OF CHARTER

Gospatrik greot¹ ealle mine wassenas² & hyylkun mann, freo & ðreng,³ þeo woonnan on eallun þam landann þeo weoron Cōmbres⁴ & eallun mine kynling⁵ freondlycc; & ic cyðe eoy⁶ þ myne mynna is & full leof⁷ þ Thorfynn Mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan ðynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo, oðer ic oðer ænyg myne wassenas, on weald,

¹ The rapid transition from the third person to the first in Gospatric's mode of address is common and idiomatic. Compare the letter of Ælfthryth to Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and that of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, to King Cnut, for the identical phraseology of our charter (Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, pp. 295, 313).

² This is a rare word and is used thrice in the writ. It cannot be Norman for vassals, for 'vassal' was not adopted into English at this date. It is apparently British, a form of the Welsh 'gwassan,' a dependant or retainer, but it is from the same Celtic root as the Frankish 'vassallus.' Professor Liebermann of Berlin ingeniously suggests that 'wassenas' is a scribal error for 'thegnas,' the copyist having been misled by 'vassalli.'

³ Tenure by drengage was well known in Cumberland and Westmorland in the twelfth century. For instances of enfranchisement of the dreng in these counties, see *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 332-3. Mr. W. H. Stevenson remarks on the contrast between the 'freeman' and the 'dreng,' for the latter could scarcely be described as unfree. Upon this point the explanation of Canon Greenwell in *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Society) and the article of Professor Maitland in the *English Historical Review*, vol. v., should be consulted.

⁴ My translation of this word is apt to provoke contradiction. The best authorities seem to be agreed that it is the genitive case of a personal name, such as Cumbra, Combor, or Combre, the same, for instance, from which Cummersdale, a vill on the Caldew between Dalston and Carlisle, is supposed to derive its name. Canon Greenwell is not out of sympathy with my suggestion that the word refers to a people and not to an individual. Ethelwerd, in his account of the Danish invasion in 875, seems to have been the first among the chroniclers to apply the designation of 'Cumbri' to the inhabitants of this region. The same people are described as Strathclyde Britons by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser, and Florence of Worcester (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 355, 478, 515, 558). Geoffrey Gaimar uses 'Combreis,' almost the very designation in the charter, for the 'Cumbri' of Ethelwerd (*Ibid.* i. 764, 808, 814). It is evident that 'Cumbri' or 'Combreis' was not fully established in general usage as the name of the people in Gospatric's time. This may in a measure account for the strange phrase about 'the lands that were Commber's.' For many reasons it is concluded that the 'Cōmbres' of the charter refers to the people of Cumbria or Cumberland.

⁵ For the use of this word, which is of very rare occurrence, the reader may be referred to the alleged charter of Edward the Confessor printed by Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iv. 236).

⁶ Miswritten for *eow*.

⁷ Parenthetical.

TRANSLATION

✠Gospatrik greets all my dependants and each man, free and dreng, that dwell in all the lands of the Cumbrians, and all my kindred friendlily; and I make known to you that my mind and full leave is that Thorfynn¹ Mac² Thore be as free in all things that are mine in Alnerdall³ as any man is, whether I or any of my dependants, in wood, in heath, in enclosures, and as to all things that are existing on the earth and under it, at Shauk and at Wafyr and at Pollwathoen⁴ and at bek Troyte⁵ and the wood at Caldebek⁶; and I desire that the men abiding with Thorfynn at Cartheu and Combetheyfoch⁷ be as free with him as Melmor⁸ and Thore⁹ and Sygulf were in

¹ A personal name not uncommon in Cumberland in the twelfth century. In the Chartulary of St. Bees, 'Thorfinsacre' is named as a plot of land. The parish of Torpenhow is written 'Thorphinhew' in some early deeds. The hill overlooking the village of Thursby is still known as 'Torkin' probably from this person.

² This word for 'son' is extremely rare in local evidences. We have Gospatric Mapbennoc, that is, 'Mac Bennoc,' in the Pipe Roll of Cumberland for 1158: his name appears in the Roll of 1163 as 'Gospatric fil. Beloc.'

³ The great district of Allerdale situated on the western seaboard between the Wampool and the Derwent, so called perhaps because it was traversed by the river Alne or Ellen. Near its mouth is the vill of Alneburg or Ellenborough. The etymology is sometimes taken as if it were 'Alder'-dale, through the French *alne* or *aune*.

⁴ Shauk, Waver and Wampool, three streams well known as boundaries of Allerdale on the north and north-east. The Wampool is usually found in early evidences as Wathunpol which is much the same form as that in this charter.

⁵ Troutbeck is a common name for a small stream in northern England. The particular stream here indicated has not been identified with certainty. It is very doubtful whether Allerdale ever touched the Troutbeck which lies between Keswick and Penrith. More probably it was a tributary of the Caldew.

⁶ Caldbeck, a parish forming the eastern limit of Allerdale.

⁷ Cardew and Cumdovock, two vills in the parish of Dalston, separated from Allerdale by the water of Shauk and lying over against Thursby.

⁸ Probably the owner from whom the parish of Melmerby in the east of Cumberland took its name.

⁹ Apparently the same person as the father of Thorfynn above mentioned, who gave his name to Thursby or Thoresby as the parish was called in the twelfth century. There is a legend that the place took its name from a temple which is said to have existed there in the time of paganism and to have been dedicated to the heathen god Thor. The origin of this story has been ascribed to Everard, the first abbot of Holmcultram (*Thoresby's Correspondence*, i. 318-9).

TEXT OF CHARTER—*continued*

on freyð,¹ on heyninga² & æt ællun ðyngan, þeo bȳ eorðe bænand³ & ðeoronðer, to Shauk, to Wafyr, to poll Waðæn, to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek; & ic wille þ̅ þeo mann bydann⁴ mið Thorfynn æt Carðeu & Combeðeyfoch beo swa freals myð hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygoolf⁵ weoron on Eadread dagan, & ne beo neann mann swa ðeorif,⁶ þehat⁷ mið þ̅ ic heobbe gegyfen to hem, ne ghar brech⁸ seo gyrth ðyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe getyðet hem cefrelycc swa ænig mann leofand þeo Welkynn ðeoronðer; & loc hyylkun bȳ þar byðann geyldfreo beo swa ic bȳ, & swa willann Wallðeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kūyth & eallun mine kynling & wassenas; & ic wille þ̅ Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac, toll & theam, ofer eallun þam landan on Carðeu & on Combeðeyfoch þ̅ weoron gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þ̅yylk stow.

¹ Frith, a coppice, plantation (*New Eng. Dict.*).

² Hinning, not rare as a place name in the county: heyning, heining, from the Scandinavian hegna, to enclose (*Eng. Dial. Dict.*).

³ Dr. Skeat has detected three errors in this word: *eorðe* for *eorð*; *æ=oo=u* (here long): and *n* for *u=w*. It should be *eorð-būand*, the Northumbrian present participle, and means 'things on the earth and things under the earth,' *i.e.* minerals.

⁴ Error for *bydand*, present participle. It thus makes sense.

⁵ In writing this name the Norman scribe has revealed himself. It is really *oo*, two *o*'s made close together, denoting the A.S. short *ū*, as in 'full.' The same symbol occurs in *woonnan=wunan* in A.S. Another Norman symbol for the same sound was *\X/=uu*. Thus does Dr. Skeat interpret the scribe's method.

⁶ The *i* in this word is nothing but the trill or burr of the rolled *r*, for *ðeorf*, *i.e.* *ðearf*, bold, a Northumbrian word.

⁷ Dr. Skeat points out an error here for *þat*. As written the word would mean 'who commands' or 'who promises' which won't fit in.

⁸ Mr. Stevenson thinks that the text here is hopelessly corrupt, and suggests that the copyist must have omitted a line or a clause. The meaning of the passage is very obscure.

TRANSLATION—*continued*

Eadread's days, and that (there) be no man so bold that he—with what I have given to him—cause to break the peace such as Earl Syward and I have granted to them for ever as any man living under the sky; and whosoever is there abiding, let him be geld free as I am and in like manner as Walltheof¹ and Wygande² and Wyberth³ and Gamell⁴ and Kunyth⁵ and all my kindred and dependants; and I will that Thorfynn have soc and sac, toll and theam over all the lands of Cartheu and Combetheyfoch that were given to Thore in Moryn's⁶ days free, with bode and witnessman⁷ in the same place.

¹ Perhaps Waldeve son of Gospatric, subsequently the owner of Allerdale.

² Probably the owner of Wiggonby, a vill to the north-west of Thursby in the parish of Aikton near the Wampool.

³ Not identified unless he was the owner of Waberthwaite, formerly Wyberthwaite, a small parish in the lordship of Millom, which was within the portion of ancient Cumbria surveyed under Yorkshire in Domesday as part of the possessions of Earl Tostig.

⁴ Perhaps the owner of Gamelsby, a vill on the Wampool in the parish of Aikton. It is almost certain that another Gamel, the son of Bern, who lived somewhat later, bequeathed his name to Gamelsby in Leath Ward. It is very striking that we should have the names of Thore, Wygande, and Gamell embodied in a group of places close to the Wampool.

⁵ The reading of the script here is somewhat doubtful owing to the condition of the ink. The name may be intended for some form of the uncertain Celtic or Pictish name Kenneth, which appears in Symeon of Durham under 774 as 'Cynoht.'

⁶ The owner of the district of Dalston, of which Cardew and Cumdivock are parcels. Dalston was afterwards forfeited by Hervey son of Morin: was an escheat in the hand of Henry II.: and was granted to the See of Carlisle by Henry III. The evidence of this charter goes a long way to prove that the land of the 'Combreis' was not split up into parishes 'in Moryn's days.'

⁷ The services of 'bode and wytnesmann' were well known institutions in the early history of Cumberland. In 1292 John de Hodelston excused the monks of Furness of suit at his court of Millom, of pannage and puture, and of 'bode and wytnesman' for ever, which services were formerly claimed from them in respect of their land of Brotherulkill in Coupland (*Duchy of Lancaster Charter*, Box B, No. 155). Opinions differ on the exact nature of these institutions.

On the Influence of John Lyly

THE first collected edition of the works of John Lyly¹ is so good that one wishes it were better. Good, we must pronounce it to be, after all possible fault finding. Mr. Bond has devoted to it more than four years of continuous and exclusive study, much of that time having been spent, as he tells us, 'half voluntarily'—'in mere collation, in search too often resultless, in the finding, noting, and numbering of a host of cross references.' The surprising thing is to find him characterising by the borrowed epithet 'stupid industry' an all-important part of his task, as if it were merely of secondary importance. Such appreciation of his own performance seems greatly at fault, for most readers, I believe, will consider the painstaking collation of the early editions of *Euphues* and the equally careful revision of the text of the Court comedies as far and away the most praiseworthy achievement of the editor, the one thing indeed, if the excellent bibliographies be reckoned as corollary, that may confidently be spoken of as possessing real permanent value. In saying that, I am far from wishing to depreciate the chapters of purely literary criticism written with such evident enthusiasm for the subject. They contain, however, a good deal that one would like to see modified, and for that reason are not entitled to unreserved commendation.

A principal aim of the editor has been to show the extent of Lyly's influence on his contemporaries, particularly Shakespeare. He presents Lyly to us as an author 'of immense importance to English literature'; as 'Shakespeare's chief master and exemplar'; as 'the herald of an epoch, the master of the king'; as the writer 'who first taught Bacon and Shakespeare to assimilate the fine material' of the

¹ *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, now for the first time collected and edited from the earliest Quartos, with Life, Bibliography, Essays, Notes, and Index: by R. Warwick Bond, M.A. 3 vols. Demy 8vo. Vol. i. pp. xvi, 543; ii. pp. iv, 574; iii. pp. iv, 620, with 3 full page plates. Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1902.

Greek and Latin classics. The thesis is exceedingly readable, but that is the most that can be said : it is quite unconvincing, and often greatly irritating owing to its high-pitched estimates and blind partisanship. Few, I imagine, will be prepared to allow that the ancient classic inspiration was brought into English literature by the Euphuist. A Shakespearean flash—‘All Penelope’s spinning did but fill Ithaca full of moths’—has in it more of the ‘digestive imitation’ desiderated by Sidney than is to be found in the entire works of John Lyly. It is preposterous to assert, as Mr. Bond does, that Lyly was ‘almost the first Englishman into whose mind the philosophy of the ancients had sunk with fructifying power for English letters’; or that a dull passionless play like *Campaspe* ‘set Shakespeare the example of drawing on North’s *Plutarch* for historical matter and Ben Jonson the example of making verbal transcripts from the classics.’ After carefully reading the essay *Lyly as a Playwright* along with the plays, I confess my inability to see the slightest warrant for the statement that ‘far more dramatic credit is due and far more influence on Shakespeare attributable to Lyly than to Marlowe or any other of those with whom he has been customarily classed.’ Equally groundless is the assertion—‘There is no play before Lyly. He made eight; and immediately thereafter England produced some hundreds.’ What about the 52 plays, now unfortunately lost, produced between 1568-80, recorded in the Accounts of the Revels at Court? Nearly a score of these, as the titles show, were borrowed from ancient history, the bulk of them written when Lyly was a child. For the history of the English drama, the eight plays are admittedly important as documents, but certainly not of ‘immense importance’ as Mr. Bond would have us believe. Lyly’s fame, such as it is, rests not on any dramatic writings but on *Euphues*, almost the most insipid book in the language—its tedious moralisings one long painful labour ‘to be delivered of the great burden of nothing.’

It may not be easy to track euphuism to its source; origins generally are obscure; but certain it is that the seed, out of which it grew, was in the ground long before 1578. We see it in the blade in More’s *History of Edward V.*; and in the ear, if not yet the full ear, in a letter, of date 1552, of the Princess Elizabeth to her brother Edward VI., accompanying her portrait: ‘My picture I mean: in which if the inward good mind toward your Grace might as well be declared as the outward face and

countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it. . . . Of this also yet the proof could not be great, because the occasions have been so small: notwithstanding, as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds, which now I do write them but in words.' What more natural than that maids-of-honour and courtiers of Cynthia should catch from her the epidemical infection? The 'new English' of the Court fascinated George Pettie, an obscure writer, whose *Pallace of Pleasure*, published in 1576, was, only two years later, chosen by Lyly as his chief exemplar—'a complete model of style which he followed with hardly any, if any, addition,' occasionally even appropriating whole sentences from it 'with scarce any change of substance.' No doubt he went slightly beyond Pettie in elaborating the tricks of the style—the 'duplicating, triplicating or multiplying habit,' arising, as Mr. Bond well observes, 'from an unusual activity and alertness in the composing brain which continually thrusts upon the writer parallel or opposed instances and parallel forms of expression. . . . To a sentence, a clause, an epithet, an adjectival or adverbial phrase, just written, he constantly adds a second, a third, and sometimes many more, of an almost or exactly parallel structure, indulging the multiplying habit according as his fancy or memory happens to be fertile or restricted in its momentary direction. . . . His elaborate sentences simply grew under the guidance of the *general* habit indicated, working fitfully, as the preference and mental upthrow of the moment dictated, and were polished afterwards into a regularity always limited by the freedom of their first appearance.' Mr. Bond's note on *Sentence Structure in Euphues* is excellent, but Shakespeare, it seems to me, has anticipated it in a speech of Holofernes, where that droll—facile in alliteration and antithesis—describes his 'gift' as 'a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. But the gift is good in those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it.' As the high priest of the cult Lyly soon became the target of the Areopagites and their immediate followers, so obtaining notoriety—fame of a kind. He was ridiculed by Sidney in *Astrophel and Stella*, by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Holofernes¹ and Fastidious Brisk are contemporary portraits of 'the Vice Master of Poules, the Foolemaster of the Theater,' as Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's friend, sarcastically designated Lyly. Adulatory lines in Meres and other minor writers count for little against weighty condemnation by scholars like Sidney, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Drayton, count indeed as nothing. As the Martin Tupper of his time, Lyly enjoyed for a brief space a popularity, but his influence, direct or indirect, was inconsiderable; certainly not what Mr. Bond alleges—'as setting an example of consistent attention to form and aim at force and precision, probably greater than that of any other writer our literature has known.' Before the seventeenth century had dawned, as Blount, Lyly's panegyrist, tells us, the plays 'lay like dead laurels in a churchyard'; the present-day protagonist as frankly admits that direct influence of *Euphues* cannot be traced 'beyond the beginning' of that century. But even if we grant, which we must up to a point, that euphuism did something for the improvement of English prose, it surely is a mistake to give all the glory to John Lyly.

It is regrettable that Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure* was not printed by Mr. Bond, as an appendix, instead of the *Entertainments* and *Doubtful Poems* which together make up nearly one of the three volumes. Professor Littledale has elsewhere demonstrated that many of the poems are by other pens; and for ought that one can see, Lyly's claim, as well to the *Entertainments* as the *Poems*, is slender in the extreme; far too slender to justify their inclusion in a critical edition of his collected works.

But greatly as Mr. Bond's partiality detracts from his literary judgments, it is but fair to acknowledge the exceeding value of much of his editorial work. Everywhere he displays intimate acquaintance with the literature of his subject and conspicuous fairness in the marshalling of facts, as well as in the presentment of the side other than the one he himself espouses, qualities which cannot be too highly praised. For pre-Shakespearean study the book is almost indispensable.

J. T. T. BROWN.

¹ It used sometimes to be said that John Florio was the original of Holofernes, but that is no longer believed by Shakespearean critics: *vide* Saintsbury's *Introduction to Montaigne* (Tudor Translations) and Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*. Probably we should see in Rombus, the Schoolmaster, in *Her Most Excellent Majestie Walking in Wansteed Garden*, Sidney's portrait of Lyly. I agree with Mr. Bond in thinking that Harvey's words indicate that Lyly was a schoolmaster.

Treasure Trove

IN connection with the case of the Prehistoric Gold Ornaments recently discovered in Ireland, the subject of Treasure Trove has come so prominently before the public that a brief statement of the facts and circumstances of the case, and of the Law and Practice in England, Ireland, and Scotland respectively, may not be without interest.

In 1896 a ploughman subsoiling a piece of ground on the townland of Broughter, near Limavady, in the county of Londonderry, Ireland, turned up a number of gold ornaments. He disposed of them to a second party, who sold them to a jeweller in Belfast, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Robert Day, a well-known collector of antiquities resident in Cork. Mr. Day communicated the information that he was in possession of the 'find' to Mr. Read, the keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, who is also Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Through Mr. Read's agency, the ornaments were exhibited to a meeting of the Society on 14th January, 1897; and a report of the meeting, with a succinct account of the objects exhibited, was published in the *Athenaeum*. Mr. Day having consented to dispose of the whole of the gold ornaments to the British Museum for the sum of £600, they were purchased by the Trustees, on Mr. Read's recommendation, at that price. The 'find,' which Mr. Read regarded as probably the most important that has ever been made of objects of the Late-Celtic period, consisted of the following articles:

A collar $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, formed of a hollow cylinder, elaborately ornamented in the distinctive style of the period; a model of a boat $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with nine thwarts, and models of its appurtenances—15 oars, a steering oar or rudder, a yard for the mast, a grapnel, a boat-hook, and three forked spars; a bowl $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with four side-rings at the rim for suspension; a

chain $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, formed of three strands of interlocked quadruple links of fine wire, with a solid pin-lock fastening at the ends; another chain $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, formed of a complicated plait-work of eight wires, with a fastening at the ends on the same principle as the other chain; a torc or necklet 5 inches in diameter, formed of thick twisted wires, with a strand of thin wire twisted and wound spirally round with the others. A portion of a second torc of similar character was also present.

The total weight exceeded 12 oz., and Dr. Atkinson, in his evidence before the Commission, stated that from £70 to £80 would have been about the bullion value.

Mr. A. J. Evans, who wrote the description of the objects published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in the 55th volume of *Archaeologia*, concludes that 'the treasure (as the recorded circumstances of the find indicate) was deposited at the same place and time, probably in the first century of our era,' and that, 'there can be little doubt that it was a thank-offering dedicated, by some ancient Irish sea-king who had escaped the perils of the waves, to a marine divinity.' On the other hand, Mr. Cochrane, writing in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, has advanced the suggestion that Brougher was probably the landing place of St. Columba and Aedan, King of the Dalriad Scots, after a perilous passage on their way to attend the famous Convention of Drumceat, and that these objects may have been a thank-offering by them to the neighbouring church. But these conjectures are of little consequence in comparison with the facts, which are sufficient to invest the objects with an archaeological interest of the highest order in connection with the investigation of the early civilization and art of Ireland.

This being so, it was natural that the Royal Irish Academy, to which the Government has committed the acquisition of objects of Treasure Trove in Ireland on behalf of the National Collection of Antiquities in the Dublin Museum, should disapprove of the transference of this unique treasure from Ireland to London, and resolve to vindicate their rights with regard to objects of Treasure Trove in Ireland. If these could be trafficked in for private profit, and sold out of the country, to the detriment of the National Collection of Antiquities, the function of the Academy with respect to the Treasure Trove of the country would be absolutely defeated. In his evidence before

the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, Dr. Atkinson, the Secretary of the Academy, stated that in his opinion the articles were *prima facie* Treasure Trove, and therefore they had been trafficked in illegally. When Mr. W. Redmond raised the question in the House of Commons on the vote for the British Museum, the Prime Minister stated that he was aware that there was a strong feeling in Ireland among all classes with regard to the subject; that the Law-officers both of England and Ireland had come to the conclusion that these Irish gold ornaments were Treasure Trove belonging to the Crown; that the person who found [or possessed] them had no right to sell them to the British Museum, and that the British Museum was not now the legal owner of the ornaments. He believed that the Trustees of the British Museum were not prepared to accept the verdict of the Law-officers of England and Ireland, and if there was no other way of settling the matter it would have to go before a Court of Law.

Ultimately, the Attorney General brought a claim against the Trustees of the British Museum for delivery of the ornaments in their possession, which were alleged to be Treasure Trove, belonging to the King in virtue of his prerogative and right of the Crown. The case was tried before Mr. Justice Farwell in the Chancery Division of the High Court in June last.¹ The question submitted for decision of the Court was whether these articles were to be considered Treasure Trove. The legal definition of Treasure Trove, according to Coke, is: 'Gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, which hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property.' The case for the Crown was that the circumstances in which these ornaments were found, buried all together within a space of 9 inches, and about 16 inches under the surface of the ground, indicated that they had been hidden, and were consequently Treasure Trove. The defence for the British Museum was that this was not a case of treasure concealed with a view to its possession being resumed, but that it was a votive offering to a sea-god, the articles having been thrown into the water at a time when the raised beach in the subsoil of which they were found was still the sea-bottom, and that therefore they

¹ Attorney-General *v.* Trustees of British Museum, June, 1903. A report of the trial appears in *The Times Law Reports*, XIX., p. 555.

were not Treasure Trove. There was also an alternative plea for the defence, that if they were Treasure Trove, the Treasure Trove of this part of Ireland had passed from the Crown by a Charter of James I., and now belonged to the Fishmongers' Company, who had passed their rights to the Trustees of the British Museum. No proof was led on this alternative plea, however, the Attorney General maintaining that the right of Treasure Trove belonging to the class of *jura regalia* could not pass from the Crown as suggested. Evidence of the facts and circumstances of the finding of the treasure was followed by a hearing of nearly two days' duration of expert evidence for and against the theory of the defence, in the course of which Justice Farwell more than once indicated his desire to hear some evidence as to the existence in this district of Ireland of a water-deity to whom it was customary to make offerings in this manner. The testimony to the custom of votive offerings in general, or in other parts of the world, did not help very much; and Dr. Munro, Mr. Coffey, and Mr. Cochrane were agreed in their testimony to the entire absence of evidence as to votive offerings in Ireland. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of the defence, the Judge found that it was not upheld by the evidence, and decided that the articles were Treasure Trove belonging to His Majesty the King by virtue of the prerogative Royal. They were accordingly ordered to be delivered to the Crown Authorities by the Trustees of the British Museum, and have since been presented to the Irish National Museum by His Majesty the King.

It has been stated that the total cost of the legal proceedings was £3114, and that the Treasury paid the taxed costs of the British Museum Trustees as defendants, amounting to £1486 12s. As previously stated, the British Museum had paid £600 as the purchase price of the articles to Mr. Day.

The last analogous case of a find of gold ornaments in England was a more unfortunate one for the parties concerned. In 1863 a ploughman at Mountfield, near Hastings, turned up a hoard of gold ornaments, including a number of penannular armlets with trumpet-shaped ends, and a gold torc about a yard in length. He kept them in his master's stable for some days, neither he nor his master having any idea of their value. After several unsuccessful attempts to dispose

of them, he sold them as old brass for 6d. a pound, the metal weighing eleven pounds. The two parties who were partners in the purchase, having some suspicion of its value, offered one of the pieces to a jeweller in Hastings, and received for it the unexpected sum of £18. They then took the rest to London and sold it to a gold-refiner for £529. Meanwhile the rumour of the discovery had got abroad, and the Lord of the Manor laid claim to the find. An inquest was held, at which his claim was negatived and that of the Crown substantiated, but unhappily the treasure had gone to the melting-pot. In these circumstances the authorities resolved to prosecute the two parties who had bought it from the ploughman and sold it to the gold-melter. They were tried at the next assizes, and found guilty of the crime of concealing Treasure Trove, and dealing with it to their own advantage. The case was appealed, but the conviction was affirmed, and the culprits condemned to pay each a fine of £265, and to be imprisoned until the same was paid.¹

From these and other cases which might be cited, it is clear that Treasure Trove cannot be legally bought, sold, or possessed by any private individual, or any public institution, or even by a National Museum, unless it has first been surrendered for disposal at the will of the Crown.

In England and Ireland the law is the same, although there are differences as regards the details of the administration. In Scotland, under Scots Law, the prerogative of the Crown takes a much wider scope, resting, as it does, on the common law maxim, *Quod nullius est, fit Domini Regis*. Thus there is no limitation to the precious metals, or to 'treasure that hath been of ancient time hidden,' as in English law. Hence the practice in Scotland has been to claim for the Crown many varieties of ancient objects which in England or Ireland would not come under the operation of the law of Treasure Trove.

In practice, however, the Crown does not seek to apply the law irrespective of the general interest of the public in the preservation and beneficial use of such objects of antiquity as may fall within the Royal prerogative. Nor does it seek to vindicate its right to their possession without regard to the interests of the finders. Indeed, the finder is the only person recognised as having an *ex gratia* claim to be considered in the matter, as will

¹ Regina v. Silas Thomas and Stephen Willett, 1863. For report of the trial, see Leigh and Cavendish's *Crown Cases Reserved* (1866), p. 313.

be seen from the following circular issued by the late Queen's Remembrancer, and still in force :

‘The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury having been pleased to authorise the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity in Scotland, of the actual value of the articles on the same being delivered up for behoof of the Crown, I now give notice to all persons who shall hereafter make discoveries of any such articles, that on their delivering them up on behalf of the Crown to the Sheriffs of the respective counties in which the discoveries may take place, they will receive, through this department, rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles.’

Dr. John Stuart, a former Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, reported favourably of the arrangements for the administration of the law in Scotland. The Crown being represented in each county by the Sheriff, and the Procurator Fiscal and the whole of the rural constabulary having instructions how to act, in any case where the rumour emerges the constable inquires into the circumstances, obtains the relics, and lodges them with the Procurator Fiscal, who transmits them to the office of the Exchequer in Edinburgh. The Society of Antiquaries is then communicated with as to the valuation of the objects, and practically fixes the remuneration to the finder, stating at the same time whether the objects are required for the National Museum. If they are so required, the valuation is made at the full value, and the objects are retained and paid for by the Exchequer, to be surcharged upon the grant for purchases to the Museum. If they are not required they are returned to the finder to be disposed of as he chooses. In this way the National Museum has received many relics in the precious metals, as well as other antiquities of various kinds and of great archaeological importance, many of which otherwise would have been in all probability lost to science. In a more recent report to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Secretaries have discussed the operation of the law in greater detail, pointing out that one of the principal obstacles to the effective working of the system of administration is the insuperable dislike of the finders to the employment of the police for the recovery of the articles found. The finders are usually ignorant of the law, and ignorant also of the liberal manner in which they would be dealt with by the authorities on the voluntary surrender of their finds.

This ignorance, coupled with the prejudice against the interference of the police, not only prompts them to concealment, but induces them often to part with the objects found for very much less than their actual value, which they would receive from the Crown authorities.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Reviews of Books

SCOTLAND, HISTORIC AND ROMANTIC. By M. Hornor Lansdale. Pp. xxxi, 581, with Portraits and Maps. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume of nearly 600 pages appears to have been suggested by a tour made by three American sisters, for the purpose of seeing with their own eyes the scenes of historic interest which had become familiar to them in the literature of the country. One of them afterwards set herself to record what they had seen, not, however, in a personal narrative of travel, but in a simple matter-of-fact digest of all that had most interested them in the course of their journeys. Writing for an American public she very properly thought it her duty to repeat many a well-known anecdote and legend, but she had made her reading wide enough to enable her to introduce also mention of events and personages which, even to the average Scot, are not as familiar as they should be. Her book was published in the United States two years ago. The present edition of it, revised and partly re-written, has been prepared for the use of readers in Scotland.

The volume makes no pretension to be an original contribution to Scottish history. But the authoress, fascinated by the romantic associations of the country, has evidently read with great diligence and has endeavoured to select and arrange some of the more interesting memories that cling to the old towns, the ruined abbeys, the mouldering castles, the crumbling keeps and the battlefields all over the kingdom. These materials she has grouped topographically by counties—perhaps the most convenient arrangement for the tourist. In her selection of incidents, however, she seems to have had regard rather to their romantic attractions than to their chronological sequence or sometimes even to their historical credibility. An obvious objection to her arrangement is met by her with a chronological table of the most important events in her narrative and a genealogical chart of the Scottish sovereigns from the year 1005 down to the present time. Her enthusiasm disarms criticism. She may be congratulated on having produced a very readable book, which can hardly fail to awaken in the minds of readers abroad a lively appreciation of the sources from which the romance of Scotland springs. In this new edition, Scottish readers, to whom it more directly appeals, will be pleased to recognise this tribute to the glamour of their native land, and will find in it not a little information which to many of them will be fresh. The book is not too large to find a corner in a travelling bag, as an interesting companion to the tourist. It is well illustrated with maps and portraits of historical personages.

ARCHIBALD GEIKIE.

82 Hume Brown : History of Scotland

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, VOLS. I. AND II. (TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1689).
By P. Hume Brown. Vol. I. pp. xix. 408 and 7 Maps; Vol. II.
pp. xv. 464 and 4 Maps. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1902.
6s. each.

THOSE two volumes sketch the history of Scotland from the Roman occupation to the Revolution of 1689. Necessarily they give hardly more than the mere outline of the main events and movements, little room being left for justifying particular views or conclusions. For some of the earlier chapters the works of previous historians—especially Dr. Skene—could be utilized, and the wars of independence have been adequately dealt with by various writers; but from the fourteenth century onwards a great variety of new information has within recent years been brought to light, and when you come to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *embarras des richesses* of materials becomes almost overwhelming. The task of Professor Hume Brown was thus exceptionally difficult, and what he has actually set down in these two volumes conveys to the cursory reader but a faint idea of the labour they have cost him.

In some respects it would have been easier to have written a work ten times its size, for, especially in the later periods, a clear, unbiassed, and properly proportioned narrative in condensed form can best be attained by the thorough and minute comprehension obtainable by the necessity of constructing a detailed narrative. Yet, so far as my occasion to enquire minutely into certain matters enables me to judge, it seems to me that generally Professor Hume Brown must have carefully studied his subject *de novo*. Not only so, but he has so mastered his materials that his narrative is not overloaded by detail, and while, perhaps, somewhat bare and cold, it is excellently proportioned and remarkably perspicuous. If anything he is perhaps too disregarding of colour, and it may be that by rejecting the stories of Pitscottie and others he has neglected something that is even of some substantial value. It is at least puzzling to understand the special preference shown for Ferrerius as an original authority.

Volume two covers the whole field of the great Church and State controversy begun by Morton and not terminated until 1689—if it be terminated even yet. Professor Hume Brown's standpoint is mainly that of enlightened orthodoxy: if not an out-and-out defender of the Kirk he is its warm apologist; and if he does not deem Morton and his successors wholly without excuse, he evidently supposes that they stand greatly in need of it. The subject is too thorny a one to be entered on here, and whether Professor Hume Brown has done more than beat about the bush may be a matter of opinion; but those in want of an antidote to his views will find something of the kind in the volumes of Mr. Lang and Mr. Mathieson. From the sixteenth century onward Scottish history supplies almost infinite opportunities for agreeing to differ; and while recognising the general fair-mindedness and discrimination of Professor Hume Brown, one has to confess to a desire to differ from him on many points. Thus the case against the genuineness of the Casket letters seems to me to be so weak, and to have been lately so greatly weakened, as hardly to justify the inability to

arrive at any conclusion even as to probabilities; but whether genuine or not, they were regarded at the time as of so great account that without their support Moray and Morton would have been in a very bad box. Further, if they were not genuine, what are we to think of their use by the spotless Moray? Then Professor Hume Brown's statement that Moray's treatment of his sister 'was all that could have been demanded of a brother,' can hardly be interpreted as meaning very much if we remember that she was a Catholic sister and he an extremely Protestant brother, and that the scene was Scotland in the sixteenth century. On the character and aims of Moray, Morton, and Maitland, on the purposes of James and the nature of his various political intrigues, on the problem of the Duke of Lennox, on the deviations of Elizabeth, on the careers of Argyll, Montrose, and Dundee, and on the reigns of Charles I. and II., Professor Hume Brown has necessarily had to leave much unsaid; and regarding his particular readings of the events of those very difficult centuries there will not be unanimous agreement; but even those who differ from him will admit that his conclusions are the result of careful inquiry and a very comprehensive knowledge of the subject.

T. F. HENDERSON.

DE NECESSARIIS OBSERVANTIIS SCACCARII DIALOGUS, COMMONLY CALLED DIALOGUS DE SCACCARIO. By Richard, Son of Nigel, Treasurer of England and Bishop of London. Edited by Arthur Hughes, C. G. Crump, and C. Johnson. Pp. viii, 250. Clarendon Press, 1902. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE revenue wrung laboriously by the Sheriff, item by item, from every normal county of medieval England was handed over by him to the officials of the Exchequer in two lump sums at the Easter and Michaelmas sessions. The Pipe Rolls, containing an official record of the details which compose these sums, throw a flood of light on every aspect of the social and economic life of England. To read these Rolls profitably, however, presupposes a mastery of the highly technical terms used to describe the routine work of the Exchequer. These terms are explained in a unique treatise composed by the Treasurer of Henry II. under the form of a Dialogue, laboured and undramatic it is true, but valuable from its evident sincerity and semi-official character.

To provide a pure text of this priceless document is the task here essayed and accomplished so successfully that it is not likely to require revision, unless some unknown MS. is yet discovered. A scholarly introduction and copious notes add to the value of a book which, without making any startling contribution to existing knowledge, brings together in a convenient form the chief results of recent research into the financial machinery of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England. The claims of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, to rank as the 'founder' of the English Exchequer are dismissed somewhat curtly in a short sentence in a foot note to p. 43—perhaps too curtly in spite of the high authority of Dr. Liebermann, which is cited. The word 'founder' is indeed an unfortunate one. Who dare

claim to be the sole founder of any one of our national institutions, from the Parliament to the Cabinet Council? The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Hughes and his fellow-editors are perhaps influenced by the special form in which they state their problem, viz. (p. 13), 'From which of the two sources, Normandy or England, did the Exchequer of Henry II. derive its characteristics?' This leads them to lay much stress on the antecedents of the officers of the staff, of the fiscal machinery, and of the system of arithmetic employed in the Exchequer, to the comparative neglect of the process of organization effected by Crown officials on English soil after the Norman Conquest. Bishop Roger might, perhaps, be more happily described as the final organizer than as the founder of the Exchequer—as the master-mind who arranged the pre-existing factors into an ordered system and stamped the whole with the seal of his individual genius. In the words of Mr. J. Horace Round (*Commune of London*, p. 94), 'The system was by no means complete at Bishop Roger's death, nor, on the other hand, were its details, even then, his own work alone. He did but develop what he found.'

The amended text bears evidence of extreme care wisely and ungrudgingly expended. The introduction and notes contain much valuable information, and yet leave some problems in obscurity which fuller treatment might have cleared up. A few minor errors might be mentioned, but these are trivial blemishes on a useful piece of work for which many scholars will feel grateful.

W. S. McKECHNIE, D.Phil.

INDEX BRITANNIAE SCRIPTORUM QUOS EX VARIIS BIBLIOTHECIS NON PARVO LABORE COLLEGIT IOANNES BALEUS CUM ALIIS: JOHN BALE'S INDEX OF BRITISH AND OTHER WRITERS. Edited by Reginald Lane Poole, M.A., Ph.D., with the help of Mary Bateson. 4to. Pp. xxxvi, 580. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1902. £1 17s. 6d.

JOHN BALE, born in 1495, published at Ipswich in 1548 the first edition of his *Catalogue of Illustrious Writers of Great Britain*, afterwards expanded and republished at Basle in 1557, while the exiled Bishop was resident there. A very ornately bound copy of the original print in Glasgow University library bears the signature 'Ro. Balleie,' which perhaps indicates the distinguished covenant-principal of the University as a former owner of the book. Bale's work was characterised by much industry, although it had the defects of its qualities inseparable from a biographical calendar and list of works composed in the sixteenth century. The words 'Verbum Domini manet in aeternum,' prominent on the cover of the Glasgow copy just mentioned, suggest the promise of a somewhat greater degree of permanent accuracy within than the book possessed. It is, however, a most extensive and well-stocked, albeit, in all corners unweeded, garden, in which future critics, like their predecessors, will gather much, both of fruit and flower, for the garner of critical literature. The author's autograph Index or note-book, preserved among Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, is no unworthy voucher of the workmanlike care with which Bale made

his great compilation. It is easy to find him uncritical; it will be less easy to accord him his due as a zealous and systematic collector of material in libraries destined to early dissolution, and from manuscripts of which a distressing proportion must now be reckoned as lost for ever. That a scholar of Mr. Poole's rank should have given twelve years to the task of editing this great mid-sixteenth century Index of British literature, containing not only Bale's sources for his more expansive catalogue, but many revised, altered, and additional entries, must be matter of great satisfaction to all concerned in serious study of English letters and history. Side by side with Bale's catalogues we now have the notes out of which they, or at least the second edition grew, enormously helping us to estimate by comparison with the nucleus note the developed chapter in the catalogue. And besides, Mr. Poole, with the experienced aid of Miss Bateson, has appended more than 3800 foot-notes, which, although not intended to be exhaustive, yet go far towards the bibliographical identifications ultimately requisite. One need seek for nothing to correct and little to amplify. For Wilkinus of Spoleto (p. 465) reference may be made to M. Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand*, 1886, tome ii. 40. There is a MS. of Wilkinus in the Advocates' Library, No. 18. 4. 9. The *Scala Temporum* (pp. 487-9) is apparently the *Scala Mundi* of which the MS. Adv. Lib., 33. 3. 1, contains a copy. In an appendix, p. 496, of the *Index*, there is printed the following sufficiently singular Scottish list: 'SCOTICI SCRIPTORES: Dunbar, Rennedus, Dauid Lyndesey, Rolandus Harryson, Balantinus, Quintinus, Stephanus Hawis atque alii.' There are riddles here not attempted by the editor. Rennedus must be Kennedy, Dunbar's famous 'flyting' adversary, perhaps misinterpreted in transcription. Quintinus might be understood as a possible if surprising form of Andrew of Wyntown, but it would be a hard saying to accept Stephen Hawes as a Scot. A scribal corruption seems not very improbable. Quintin Shaw was one of the 'makars' mourned by Dunbar, and his name may have been transmogrified into Quintinus S[tephanus] Hawis! Rolandus, by the reverse process, may be a surname giving us John Rolland, author of the *Court of Venus*, followed by the better known Henryson and Bellenden. Certain interesting matters emerge from occasional comparisons between the *Index* now edited and the printed Catalogues. One not adverted to is the fact that in the first version of the Catalogue Bale enumerated the poetic achievements of James I. — 'De regina sua futura'; 'Cantilenas Scotticas'; 'Rhithmos Latinos'. The entry, one of the earliest echoes of what had been said by John Major and Hector Boece, was dropped out of the second edition, sharing in this the fate of entries about other Scots, e.g. Boece and Patrick Hamilton. The process is reflected in the titles adopted in 1548 and 1557. In the former Catalogue Britain expressly included England, Wales, and Scotland; in the latter it had contracted into a Britain 'which we now call England' (quam Angliam nunc dicimus). The note-book *Index*, like the 1557 Catalogue, was framed on this geographically narrower model—which is an occasion of regret, although there remain very many items of international reference, such as the mention of 'Andreas Ammonius, Italus,' who wrote a history of the Scottish conflict, evidently the battle of

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Flodden. To edit this voluminous Index, written like the Catalogues in Latin, there has come not only a long devotion to a burdensome duty, but also a wide and deep knowledge of early British authors. Mr. Poole and Miss Bateson have turned out a volume packed with erudition, and rich in biographical interest. Indispensable as an adjunct to Bale's Catalogue, and at the same time self-contained and of large independent merit, it confers a boon on every student of literary history, and by its marked technical accomplishment does credit to English medieval bibliography.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE LOVE OF BOOKS : BEING THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY. Newly translated into English by E. C. Thomas. Pp. xvi, 144, and frontispiece. London : Moring, 1902. 1s. nett.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND : A PICTURE OF MONASTIC LIFE IN THE DAYS OF ABBOT SAMSON. Newly edited by Sir Ernest Clarke, F.S.A. Pp. xliii, 285, and frontispiece. London : Moring, 1903. 2s. 6d. nett.

THE series of 'King's Classics,' issued under the general editorship of Professor Gollancz, by the De La More Press, in neatly bound and well printed volumes, is deserving of all praise. The reissue of Mr. Thomas's scarce translation of the passionate book-lover's outpourings will be a boon to many who desired a closer acquaintance with that curious and interesting person, the tutor of Edward III. Professor Gollancz is answerable for the editing of the reissue, and his work has been mainly in the nature of judicious pruning. It is a pity that the old errors of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be repeated, more particularly as Mr. Thomas was at pains carefully to correct these in his own preface. Scottish readers will be interested to note that Edward Baliol was present at Bury's enthronization as Bishop of Durham, an event which, as Mr. Thomas shows, took place 5 June, 1334. It is pleasant to note that he has carefully verified references, many of which were inaccurately given in the edition of 1888. A few misprints still remain.

Sir Ernest Clarke's translation of *Jocelin* is worthy of the highest praise. It has clearly been a labour of love, and of love tempered by sound judgment and restraint. In the attempt to give the piquant flavour of Jocelin's style, and with Carlyle's example before one, it would have been easy to overstep the limits of accuracy. The temptation has been resisted. With Dr. M. R. James to revise the text the work issues under a literary aegis of the securest kind. It is not common to find editorial work of such excellence in a cheap issue of this kind. Here any omission or inaccuracy comes as a surprise. For instance, we should like and expect to see a reference to the text of Abbot Anselm's borough charter, published by Mr. J. H. Round, for it is of material importance as illustrating the nature of Samson's grant. *Camera* should not be translated parlour but treasury, and *cimeterium* not cemetery but churchyard. The force of the word *purprestura* has been missed, and in more places than one the notes are weak on the legal side. An interesting reference to the Assize of Novel

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Disseisin calls for a note. The note on the 'beasts of the chase' should be rewritten in the light of Mr. G. J. Turner's *Forest Pleas*, edited for the Selden Society, which conclusively proves the error of the old doctrines.

It is a great thing, a boon which one must hope will be truly appreciated, that learned work of this kind should be placed within reach of the many. It is impossible that any man who has a spark of humour or interest in humanity should open an English *Jocelin* and not read on with entertainment and delight to the end.

MARY BATESON.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By William Turner, S.T.D. Pp. x, 674.
Boston and London: Ginn & Company, 1903. 12s. 6d.

THE author of this volume complains quite justly that text-books on the History of Philosophy available for the use of English students either 'dismiss the Scholastic period with a paragraph,' or 'treat it from the point of view of German transcendentalism.' He aims at correcting this error. His purpose is to 'accord to Scholasticism a presentation in some degree adequate to its importance in the history of speculative thought.'

He has been faithful to his purpose. In the first place he has devoted very nearly a third of a volume, which begins with the philosophy of the Babylonians, Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Chinese, and ends with the newest products of American Voluntarism, to the exposition of Scholastic philosophy. In the second place he has treated Scholasticism, and Scholasticism only, in a manner that gives clear evidence of knowledge at first hand of the authors whose doctrines he summarizes. In the third place he has looked at the history of philosophy as a whole from the Scholastic point of view and employed the golden period of Scholasticism as his criterion whereby to estimate philosophic doctrine.

The results attained are precisely those which one might expect from a writer who is imperfectly equipped with knowledge of his material, who deals with that material from a narrow point of view, who shows no originality of thought, but who is able to express his opinions clearly and simply.

The writer could have produced a useful history of Scholastic and Patristic thought. His presentation of the doctrine of St. Augustine and especially St. Thomas, to take two great names, is, on the whole, competent and fresh. But outside of this region the accounts he renders lack both accuracy and insight. Even when dealing with writers who did much to determine the character of Scholastic thought he is betrayed into grave errors. To imply, as the author does, that Plotinus, like other Neo-Platonists, was 'more influenced by Platonic tradition than by the teaching of the Dialogues' is to indicate that either Plotinus or Plato or both have not been read—so intimate, full, and direct, and so manifest everywhere is the knowledge which Plotinus shows of Plato's writings.

It is not only the absence of direct knowledge of his authors that mars his treatment of the great names in Greek philosophy, but a misleading narrowness of outlook. What can be said for a writer who puts it down as the cardinal defect of the ethical teachings of Aristotle that he did not

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'refer human action to future reward and punishment'; or who attributes 'the downfall and dissolution' of Stoicism to 'the doctrine that the wise man is emancipated from all moral law'?

And when we come down to modern philosophy one fares, if possible, still worse. A writer on the history of philosophy might be expected to know Kant. But we are told that Kant held that the moral law is not founded on perfection of self, 'for perfection is, on final analysis, reducible to pleasure or happiness'; and that the moral law is 'impressed on the will by the practical reason.' Kant presented the perfection of self and the happiness of others as the end of moral action, and practical reason means nothing in his writings except the moral will: not to know this is really to know nothing of his ethical theory.

A competent history of philosophy for the use of English students is a crying need. But it is better that we should continue to use translations of German works and content ourselves with seeing this great subject in a foreign garb than to place in the hands of students shallow and unreliable text-books.

HENRY JONES.

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF KING EDWARD VI. (*Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, edited by Vernon Staley, Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness*). Pp. vii, 374. London: Moring, 1903. 5s. nett.

It was a happy thought to choose for the second volume of this series the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. (1549). Besides being beautiful and interesting in itself, it is a historical document of the very first importance. Nowhere do the characteristic principles of the English Reformation—as distinguished from the German, the Swiss, or the Scottish—find purer expression. Nowhere is the strength of the position occupied by the historical High Church party in the Church of England more apparent. To us in Scotland the book possesses a special interest, because the compilers of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637—commonly, though not quite accurately nor quite justly, called 'Laud's Liturgy'—reverted to its pages for much of the fine material wherewith, in that ill-fated book, they so greatly enriched the Communion Service. It is the first Prayer Book of the Church of England as reformed; and though it was prepared by a body of bishops and theologians, 'the Windsor divines,' as they are called, among whom were represented both the schools—Old and New—existing in the Church of England at the accession of Edward VI., and with the express purpose of keeping the Church together, yet all the points of difference which distinguish Anglicanism from Romanism are there. All the services are in the English tongue—the 'language understood of the (English) people.' If the Bishop of Rome is of course included in the general intercessions for 'all bishops, priests, and deacons,' he is ignored as Pope: nay, there is a petition in the Litany for deliverance from his 'tyranny' and 'all his detestable enormities.' If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is 'commonly called the Mass,' our

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redemption, it is expressly stated, is by Christ's 'one oblation once offered on the Cross.' If the Holy Table is called the altar, that is no more than it is in the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistle to the Hebrews, not to speak of all the 'Coronation Orders' of the Kings and Queens of England down to the very latest. If, again, the doctrine of the Sacramental Presence is 'High,' it is certainly not 'Higher' (though it is naturally less controversial) than in the *First Confession of Faith of the Protestants of Scotland* (1560). If 'the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God,' is commemorated in the Thanksgiving for the righteous departed, that is assuredly no more than is justified in Scripture by her own *Magnificat* and the terms of her Salutation by Elizabeth; while all prayer to her, and every Invocation of the Saints,—even the three which kept their place in Cranmer's first draft of the English Litany—and every narrative of Saints other than those mentioned in the Bible, are rigorously cut off. One can understand how while, in later issues of the Book of Common Prayer, the Reformers—largely under the influence of our John Knox and the Swiss divines—went further, and (it must be admitted) lowered the tone of the services both as regards joy and beauty, they were yet fain to confess, as the clergy of the Church of England are required to do to the present day, that the First Prayer Book of King Edward contains 'nothing superstitious or ungodly.' A candid perusal of the volume can hardly fail, we think, to make the reader rise from it with a higher admiration alike for the literary skill and the devotional power of Cranmer and his coadjutors.

The text adopted in the edition before us is taken from that of an impression of the book printed by Edward Whitchurche in March, 1549; such reprints as have hitherto appeared have been from a later copy printed in May of the same year. The volume is at once handsome in appearance and handy in size. Type, printing, and paper are all that the most fastidious could desire.

JAMES COOPER.

PEEBLES: BURGH AND PARISH IN EARLY HISTORY. By Robert Renwick. Pp. ix, 118, with Map of Peebles and District. Peebles: A. Redpath, 1903. 4s. nett.

MR. RENWICK is devoted to Peebles. His services were warmly acknowledged by the late William Chambers in the preface to the Peebles volume of early Burgh Records in 1872. More recently Mr. Renwick has published 'Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities,' 'The Aisle and the Monastery,' 'Extracts and Gleanings from the Burgh Records from 1604 till 1714,' and 'Peebles in the Reign of Queen Mary' is in the press. The present book on the early history of the Burgh and the Parish is thus one of a series—it is the first chapter of a large work—therefore it would be unfair to complain that it is incomplete or to dwell on omissions which doubtless have been, or will be, supplied in the later chapters.

It begins with the time-honoured story of the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar, of the Gadeni and of those hardy people who stained their bodies with woad.

Mr. Renwick quotes Ptolemy the geographer, he follows Mr. Skene through the dark ages and presumes that Peebles lay within King Rydderch's kingdom, and that four centuries afterwards it was governed by Earl David; but all that is known of Peebles until the beginning of the fourteenth century could be given in a few lines.

Peebles prides itself on having been made a Royal Burgh by King David I., others have denied its right to such antiquity and have ascribed its creation as a burgh to King David II. Mr. Renwick assumes that Peebles was a royal burgh in the twelfth century, though Chalmers states that it was created by King David II. by charter dated 20th September, 1367. Mr. W. Chambers gives the date as the 24th September. Mr. Renwick must regard that charter (of which he says nothing) as a mere confirmation of an earlier creation, and probably this is the correct view, because royal burghs are first known to have been represented in Parliament in the Parliament of Cambuskenneth in 1326, and Mr. Renwick found in the Exchequer Rolls evidence that Peebles paid its contribution to the tax then imposed, and Peebles was certainly represented in the Convention which settled the ransom of David II. in 1357. In 1468 William of Peebles was the Commissioner. From that date the burgh regularly sent representatives to the Scottish Parliament. The public records give much information as to Peebles and its burgesses during the fourteenth and following centuries, and these Mr. Renwick has used with discrimination, and every page shews his intimate knowledge of the history of these later times. The narrative, however, is somewhat difficult to follow; it would have been easier had it been chronological. He leads his readers into the middle of one century, and then suddenly turns back two hundred years and as quickly resumes, but by the aid of a table of contents and of a fairly good index it is easy to find one's way in the book.

In the appendix are abstracts of a considerable number of charters and deeds to lands in the parish; it is not a history of the parish, but a calendar of parochial title-deeds. Students of early Scottish literature will be interested in the attractive propositions of this little book towards the possible identification of 'Maister Johne,' 'Maister Archibald' and 'Schir Williame' interlocutors in the 'Thrie Priests of Peblis.'

A. C. LAWRIE.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, THE YOUNG CHEVALIER. By Andrew Lang. New Edition, with Frontispiece. Pp. xiii, 476. London : Longmans, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book is reprinted in a handy form from Messrs. Goupil's sumptuously illustrated *édition de luxe*, and must be cordially welcomed by every student of the Jacobite period. Mr. Lang has used with great skill the information supplied by the Stuart papers in the Royal collection, the Cumberland, Tremouille, and other MSS., and, by interweaving it with what was given in the older printed authorities, has produced by far the most valuable life of Prince Charles Edward that has yet appeared.

Mr. Lang has brought out excellently the difficulties which beset the young Prince from his birth, the difficulty of reconciling the Catholic and Protestant elements in his education, which, beginning with his early youth, was the cause of estranging the Old Chevalier for long from his *dévoté* wife, and the greater difficulty of obtaining real support of his claims and cause from the Catholic powers. He has presented an admirable account of the state of the Highlands in the year 1745, and a careful survey of the Prince's doings to Culloden as well as his flight 'in the Heather,' and has given due recognition of the wonderful fidelity of the friendly Highlanders. Mr. Lang cites a good deal of evidence about the visit (or visits) of Prince Charles to London after Culloden, and of these mysterious visits we are always glad to have more information. He gives a tradition about the Prince's residence at Godalming in 1753, but does not mention that the Cardinal York spoke of a visit of his brother 'to England in disguise' during a conversation he had in 1802 with Robert Dalrymple, though the latter chronicles the date of the visit erroneously as 1763, in his MS. journal in the possession of the Earl of Stair.

Mr. Lang has done more than any other historian to disperse the mists which surrounded the Prince during the long period of his 'incognito.' The amount of new information he has collected is vast, and he has skilfully noted the various influences on the Prince's decadence. To him we owe the knowledge of the doings of the Polish Mme. de Talmond, Mlle. Luci, and Mme. de Vassé, and one is glad to find that he does not adopt the harsh theory that the unfortunate Clementina Walkinshaw was, consciously at least, a betrayer of secrets, however much the cause suffered from her reputation as a 'female politician,' and that she owed this ill-fame rather to the notorious 'Pickle.'

In his chapter on 'Charles III.,' Mr. Lang allows a curious misprint which disfigured the first edition also. 'Miss Speedy,' whom the Prince wished to marry, was not a Princess of Salm Kynbourg, but Princess Marie Louise Ferdinande of the well-known house of Salm Kyrbourg. This is on a par with a similar mistake on p. 348, where the Duc de Biron's name is misspelled. Corrections might also be suggested for two forms of names likely to mislead, Lord Ogilvy being spelled in the book Ogilvie, and the well-known Lady Jane Douglas being styled 'Lady Janet.'

Space forbids Mr. Lang, in his account of Prince Charles Edward's last days, to do more than touch lightly on the Hay Allens or Sobieski Stuarts and their alleged origin. He quotes, however, as evidence against them a strange story of a reported interview between Napoleon I. and the Countess of Albany, in which the latter stated she was never a mother. He gives this story on hearsay evidence only at third hand, and one would have thought it simpler to rely solely upon Prince Charles's statements quoted from the Braye MSS., and the inherent improbabilities in the Hay Allens' claims, than to call in such hazy traditional evidence to help to disallow them.

Mr. Lang has an irritating habit of calling the attention of his readers to certain obscure works of fiction to help him to emphasise portions of

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his history, and this is apt to make one undervalue the historical value of his work at the first glance, but the mass of carefully sifted details from the most obscure sources which he has got together renders this book one which no future writer on the later Stuarts will be able to afford to neglect.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By William Clarence Webster, Ph.D., Lecturer on Economic History in New York University. Pp. ix, 526, with Maps and Illustrations. Boston and London: Ginn & Company, 1903. 6s. 6d.

THIS book, written by a teacher for students, is systematic, clear, and concise. The author appropriately possesses a business-like faculty for saying what he has to say briefly and to the point, placing in prominence everything important, and omitting everything needless. He has known how to select with judgment, and to condense without distorting. His writing is uncoloured by prejudice; he has no theory to defend, no special system or nation to glorify. And, while he traces effects to their causes, and exhibits the forces behind commercial activity, and the principles which govern their action, he leaves philosophic reflections to his readers, and does not even venture on prophecy. He deals in facts, which he has admirably set in order.

A history of commerce in such a form as this is just now peculiarly opportune, when we are all invited, if not forced, to reconsider the fiscal policy of our own country; for it is the work of an impartial foreigner who, with ample knowledge and without visible predilection, gives a clear account of the various fiscal policies which have been adopted by the nations—ours and his own included—explains the motives of these policies, and describes their effects.

In the first hundred pages the author gives a condensed but vivid account of Ancient Commerce and of the Commerce of the Middle Ages. The remainder of the book deals with Modern Commerce, in three periods. The first begins with the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century and ends with the invention of the steam engine, when there begins the next period, which he calls the Age of Steam; and from the Age of Steam, in which we still live, he discriminates a third period, which he calls the Age of Electricity. It commences with the laying of the Atlantic cable in 1866, which was almost coincident with the beginning of the new era of expansion in the author's own country after the close of the civil war. Finally he gives a comprehensive survey of the Commerce of the World at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Some most interesting chapters treat of the struggle for commercial supremacy in which the chief nations of the world are now engaged, and the advantages and disadvantages of each competitor are described. A chapter is devoted to The New German Empire and its Commerce, and another to England and her New Rivalries. These, like the rest of the book, are thoughtful, temperate, fully informed, and entirely unbiassed.

In such a packed storehouse of facts as this volume a slip of memory or of typography was almost inevitable. Thus, where it is stated (p. 9) that a banking system had been developed in the Tigro-Euphrates region at least as early as 6000 B.C. Dr. Webster probably wrote 600 B.C.; and when he says (p. 510) that Mexico has no line of railway connecting her Pacific and Gulf coasts he has no doubt forgotten for the moment the railway across the Tehuantepec isthmus.

'If this book is dull,' says the author, 'it will be because I have failed to grasp the dramatic elements which the subject presents.' He has not failed, and his book is never dull. The chapter in which he summarises Mediaeval Commerce, that in which he describes the English industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, his vivid account of Napoleon's 'Continental system' and his story of England's long and fierce fight for commercial supremacy are intensely interesting and only fail to be conspicuous because all is so well done.

The book, itself well suited to be a work of reference, is amply provided with references to other works, and is also furnished with numerous maps and illustrations.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION IN IRELAND. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. In two volumes. New edition. Vol. I. pp. xxii, 308; Vol. II. pp. viii, 336. London: Longmans, 1903. 25s. nett.

THE appearance of this much enlarged edition of Mr. Lecky's earliest work raises afresh a question more commonly met with in the history of literature than in the literature of history—the question of the prudence or otherwise of an author's endeavours to improve in age the productions of youth. Mr. Lecky's first book is in some respects his best. It certainly contains more vivid and effective portraiture than his more elaborate works. Not merely are his character sketches of Swift, Flood, Grattan and O'Connell more complete than any which his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* contains, but the subordinate figures are drawn with a lightness of touch, and, at the same time, a fulness of treatment, which make the book bright and attractive in a degree to which the *History*, from the nature of the case, could hardly be expected to attain. That Mr. Lecky should desire, to use his own language, 'to bring his early writings to the level of his later knowledge, and into full harmony with his later opinions,' is natural enough. But was it wise or necessary—wise for Mr. Lecky's own fame, necessary in the interests of historical accuracy—to attempt this reconciliation between the rashness of youth and the experience of age? As for the necessity, it is not easy to see it; even though Mr. Lecky has certainly had much provocation in the unfair use which has been made of a few unconsidered judgments in his early writings to confute the conclusions of his riper knowledge. In its earlier form the book was in accord with the essential verities, even though it hardly did justice to Pitt's Irish policy, and contained views of the authors of the Act of Union which have not stood the test to which Mr. Lecky's own industry has subjected them. Of the

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wisdom of revision there is still more room for doubt. The omission from these volumes of the study of Swift is not only a loss in itself, but it spoils the completeness of the book. The author's original conception of tracing the growth of an independent public opinion in Ireland in the eighteenth century in the persons of four great public men was unquestionably right. Swift was the first to create such a public opinion among his countrymen; and although a considerable interval elapsed between his memorable exposition of the possibilities of agitation in the hands of a pamphleteer of genius, and the downfall of the system which roused his indignation, the task of Flood and Grattan would have been far heavier had the Drapier's Letters never been written. Not only, therefore, have we to lament in the present volumes the loss of a really admirable estimate of the great Dean of St. Patrick's, but the unity of Mr. Lecky's work is seriously marred by the omission.

But although, on the whole, one is inclined to wish, in spite of many minor corrections, that Mr. Lecky had allowed his earlier work to stand untouched, and been content, as was the author of *Lothair* with reference to *Vivian Grey*, 'to apologise for the continued but inevitable reappearance' of *juvenilia* which no longer reflect his opinions, it need hardly be said that there are large compensations in these volumes for the losses we have to deplore. If the eighteenth century history has not been improved by the omissions, our knowledge of the political history of Ireland in the nineteenth century has been greatly increased by the additions to the work. The second volume of the present edition is in effect a new book, and supplies the best account yet written of O'Connell's wonderful career; with its two great battles—the splendid victory of Catholic Emancipation, and the long-drawn failure of the Repeal movement. But whatever criticism may be passed on the comparative merits of the two editions, it is certain that the book itself marked an epoch in the study of Irish history. If Froude was before him in creating an English audience for the picturesque drama that has been played upon Irish soil, Mr. Lecky has been the first to stimulate among his own countrymen a sense of the importance and the dignity of Ireland's contribution to the common story of the three kingdoms. In this, his earliest work, Mr. Lecky has brought into its proper prominence the part played by the great Irishmen he deals with, not only in relation to their own country, but to their influence on the fortunes of the sister kingdom. And he has done more than this. Remarkable as are his studies of the great leaders of Irish public opinion, Mr. Lecky's pictures of relatively minor figures are even more noteworthy. By such portraits as those of Anthony Malone, the forgotten Cicero of an unreported legislature; of Hely Hutchinson, the remarkable Provost of Trinity College, who proved how poor a guarantee for the good government of a college are the qualities of a statesman; of Keogh the inventor of Catholic Emancipation; and of Duigenan the prototype and incarnation of Orangeism;—by these and kindred studies Mr. Lecky has shown his countrymen that the materials of Irish history are richer in proud memories and piquant personalities than they had supposed. And he has thus supplied a real and much-needed stimulus to historical inquiry in Ireland.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

THE UNREFORMED HOUSE OF COMMONS, PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION BEFORE 1832. By Edward Porritt, assisted by Annie G. Porritt. Vol. I. pp. xxiii, 623; Vol. II. pp. xiv, 584. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. 25s. nett.

MR. PORRITT, with the assistance of his wife, has produced not only a valuable but an extremely interesting and readable book. The bulk of the careful research on which it is based has been done in the United States. This is a striking testimony to the merits of American libraries, and it also recalls the fact that another eminent work on our Constitution, Todd's *Parliamentary Government in England*, the quarry from which so many subsequent writers have drawn their materials, had its origin in Canada. The arrangement of Mr. Porritt's book is perhaps open to criticism. The subdivisions are neither complete nor exclusive, and the absence of anything like chronological treatment results inevitably in overlapping and repetition. Another defect arises out of the choice of a title. The 'Unreformed House of Commons' came to an end in 1832. This is an excellent dividing date for a treatise on the old franchise in counties and boroughs, and on the peculiarities of representation arising from them. This part of the book is admirably done, except that the author gives no adequate account of the origin of the House of Commons, which is necessary to explain how these franchises began. But there are a number of other topics treated by Mr. Porritt in his first volume, such as religious disabilities, the property qualification of members, the throwing of election expenses upon the candidates, the exclusion of office-holders, the position and duties of the Speaker, and so on. On these points Mr. Porritt has much that is important to say, but he is needlessly hampered by his limit of 1832. The admission of Jews to Parliament dates from 1858, and that of professed infidels from 1888; the property qualification was abolished in 1858; a whole series of statutes for the prevention of corruption has been passed since 1832; altered regulations have increased the duties of the Speaker and have emphasised the non-partizan character of his office. It is only fair to say that the author has not bound himself too narrowly by the limit suggested by his title; but in treating of such later developments he is less full and less thorough than he would have been if they had occurred at an earlier date.

But the part of the book which is most affected by the choice of title is the chapters on Scotland at the beginning of the second volume. Strictly speaking, the only part of Scottish history which falls within the scope of the work is the century and a quarter from 1707 to 1832 during which Scotland sent representatives to the unreformed House of Commons at Westminster. Mr. Porritt, however, has not limited his treatment of Scottish representation to this period, and his chapters on Burgh representation and the Franchise in the Counties, in spite of many merits, are marred by the one elementary fact that Scotland as a separate state had no House of Commons at all. The differences between the Scottish and the English parliaments, arising out of the wholly different origin of the two assemblies, are so profound and far-reaching that any treatment which involves an assumption of similarity, is necessarily defective and misleading. It is not that Mr. Porritt does not grasp the differences, but that he is

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compelled by his title to disregard them partially. Hence his over-emphasis on the division of estates in Scotland. He speaks of a 'first estate,' a 'second estate,' and a 'third estate,' as if they were distinct and recognised entities like Lords and Commons in England. On p. 93 (of vol. ii.) he makes the deliberate assertion that 'in the early as in the closing years of the Scotch parliament the three estates consisted of the nobility, the barons, and the burgesses.' This is more than disputable, because it wholly disregards the clerical estate, a subject to which the author has also given too little attention in his treatment of England. The original estates, though the distinction was never so great as to lead to separate chambers, were (1) clerical tenants-in-chief, (2) secular tenants-in-chief, (3) corporate tenants-in-chief, *i.e.* the delegates of royal burghs. Of these the second body was gradually diminished by the disappearance of the lesser barons and freeholders, and their refusal to obey the statute of James I. which allowed them to send commissioners. When the Reformation destroyed for a time the clerical estate, the representation of the lesser tenants-in-chief was finally organised by the Act of 1587, and the delegates from counties obviously distinguished from the nobles by their representative character, served to keep up the number of the estates. But in the seventeenth century when the Stuart rulers restored the bishops to Parliament, there were really four estates; and it was only when Presbyterianism was restored, first by the rebellion of 1639, and again by the Revolution, that the three estates of nobility, barons, and burgesses constituted a complete Parliament.

If we may offer a humble suggestion to Mr. Porritt, it is that at some future date he should revise the book under the title of 'The House of Commons'; that he should incorporate in it the history of parliamentary reform which he promises in his preface; that he should lay rather more stress on the origin of representation in England, and also on the obscure relations of clerical and lay representation in the fourteenth century; and that he should exclude as irrelevant the treatment of Scotland before 1707 except so far as it is needed to explain the representative system adopted at the Union. Such a book, retaining the admirable chapters on Ireland, would be for some time to come the standard treatise on the popular branch of our legislature.

R. LODGE.

THE ARMS OF THE BARONIAL AND POLICE BURGHS OF SCOTLAND. By John Marquess of Bute, K.T., J. H. Stevenson, and H. W. Lonsdale. Pp. iv, 528, with Armorial Drawings. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. 42s. nett.

THE title of this handsome volume is very much a misnomer, as it appears from its pages that at present only three of the Baronial and Police Burghs—Lerwick, Govan, and Alloa—are possessed of arms in the proper heraldic sense of the term. But all the Police Burghs have, since the passing of the Burgh Police Act of 1892, been under the necessity of providing themselves with a corporate seal, and what the learned authors have in most

cases done is, where at all possible, to employ the devices on these seals as the basis for proper heraldic burghal coats. Many of the seals have, however, devices of such extreme simplicity, or of such utter impossibility from a heraldic point of view that they do not afford any materials for the construction of a coat, and in these cases much labour has been expended in offering suggestions for remedying the deficiency by drawing upon the history or local circumstances of the different burghs for appropriate bearings. It is pathetic to think that in the great majority of instances these ingenious proposals may remain disregarded and unheeded by the communities for whose benefit they are designed. For those burghs, however, which may decide at any time to procure a grant of arms from the Lyon Office, the book will be found a mine of valuable information, for it is characterised throughout by great heraldic knowledge and a wide scholarship, in addition to which—a feature not usual in works of the kind—a vein of keen and genuine humour runs through it.

Some of the devices on the burgh seals at present in use are of the most primitive and inappropriate character. Armadale, for example, simply uses a stamp with the name of the place upon it, while Bridge of Allan has upon its seal a bridge at the end of which an omnibus having two passengers in the box beside the driver is approaching a lamp-post! In lieu of this latter eminently commonplace design the authors go to the opposite extreme, and propose, naturally enough, a bridge and a river, but in addition, for some unknown reason, the sun, moon, and the five planets, Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Mars, and Mercury! In fact the tendency of the book is a little too much in the direction of too great elaborations in the designs suggested, as in the case of Auchtermuchty which is perfectly satisfied with the simple device of a husbandman sowing, in substitution for which a complicated coat is proposed, commemorating by a boar standing on a mount the derivation of the name 'the steep land of boars,' with a variety of other devices, including a mace, in allusion to the right of the Scrymgeours of Myres, a local family, to appoint one of the macers of the Court of Session!

As Govan has actually provided itself with a coat of arms under grant from the Lyon Office, embodying part of the bearings of the Rowans of Holmfauldhead, the oldest local family, and a ship in the stocks in allusion to the principal industry of the burgh, it was surely unnecessary to suppose for a moment that the Town Council would incur the expense of a fresh escutcheon bearing the figure of Constantine, a mythical Cornish prince and martyr supposed to have been buried in Govan in the Sixth Century!

In many examples, however, the suggestions of the authors are a great improvement upon the original designs, while others of the burghs have designs so appropriate and artistic that very little improvement in them can be suggested. Among them may be instanced Denny, a fine device of the Angel of Peace seated, her right hand resting on the sword of justice, and her left holding an olive branch and a scroll inscribed with the words 'For God and the People,' on her dexter side an anvil and a burning mountain, and on the sinister a caduceus and a papyrus plant, these latter referring to the chief local industries, the manufacture of iron and paper; Kirkintilloch,

the chief feature of which is an embattled wall end tower supposed to be the Roman fort from which the town derived its Celtic name; and Fort William, with two crossed Lochaber axes twined with a chaplet of oak, and over them an imperial crown.

We quite agree with the strictures of the authors upon the more than doubtful taste which characterises the arms of Innerleithen, the chief features of them being a representation of St. Ronan catching the devil by the leg with his pastoral staff, the motto beneath being 'Watch and Præy'!

It is very remarkable that in the long list of the burghs of barony enumerated in the book only a very small proportion of them seem to have been given the opportunity of availing themselves of the highest privileges granted by the Crown, and that in the vast majority of cases the authors mention that there is no evidence of any form of municipal government ever having been erected. It would seem as if the different superiors who obtained these grants did so for their own glorifications and not with any intention of benefiting their vassals by allowing them a measure of self-government.

The book is well printed, and the illustrations of the various coats of arms are both artistic and heraldically accurate.

J. D. G. DALRYMPLE.

THE OCHTERLONEY FAMILY OF SCOTLAND AND BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND. By Walter Kendall Watkins. Printed for the Author, Boston, U.S.A. 1902. Demy 8vo, pp. 11 [with portrait of Major Gen. Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., G.C.B.].

THIS monograph, which informs us also that it is a reprint from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1902, is entitled within: 'The Scotch Ancestry of Maj. Gen. Sir David Auchterloney, Bart., a native of Boston in New England.' Sir David, who, however, spelt his name as the present baronet does—Ochterlony—was in his time an eminent Indian officer, and was rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Bath and two patents of baronetcy. He was born in Boston in 1758. His father, a sea-captain, who had settled there, is first known to history as 'David Ochterlony, Montrose.' The account before us further deduces Sir David's line, through Alexander Ochterlony of Pitforthly, from William Ochterlony of Wester-Seaton, who died, we are told, in October 'the yeir of God ja ji clxxxxvii yeirs.' We do not know what information that quotation conveys to the author of the account, or to his American readers, but he probably should have printed it *im* v^o lxxxxvii, and explained it to mean 1597.

Mr. Watkins prints a page of notes of earlier Ochterlonys—reaching back to 1296—but he does not tack them on to the family of the Major General. In the same position is left Roderick Peregrine Ochterlony, to whose son Sir David's second baronetcy descended according to the terms of the patent. We are indebted to Mr. Watkins for such of the results of his researches as he has given us; but we regret that he has so seldom given us his authorities for his statements. A general catalogue of the titles of the

best known Scots Records, and an announcement that 'From these sources the following facts relating to the Ochterlony family have been gathered' are of no use to any one, and among the important statements of which the author has given us no proof are these: that David of Montrose, Sir David's father, was the son of Alexander Ochterlony of Pitforth, and that Alexander in his turn was a son of Ochterlony of Wester-Seaton. Along with a certain amount of irrelevant matter of more or less interest, Mr. Watkins has printed what seem to be all the more important notices of persons of the name of Ochterlony in Scotland, and we wish that more of the many people who possess the results of laborious searches of this sort among our public records would give them to the public.

J. H. STEVENSON.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND. Quarterly Statements, April and July, 1903 (38 Conduit Street, London).

These two parts contain further reports of the excavation of Gezer, which continues to yield most interesting results. In the July Statement will be found a summary of the results of the year's work by Mr. Macalister, the most important of which have already been noticed in this journal. Interest still centres in the remarkable megalithic temple of the Canaanites that has been laid bare and the numerous indications of infant sacrifices, orgies, oracle-giving and other concomitants of Semitic worship. As not more than a fifth of the mound has been opened, it will be readily understood that the excavation of the remainder will be followed with the greatest interest. Funds are needed in order to complete the work within the time allowed by the firman.

Conspicuous among popular reprints are *The Temple Classics* (each vol., pott 8vo, cloth, 1/6) in which Messrs. Dent & Co. have made accessible many a goodly piece of literature. Sometimes they have been volumes grown rare—which to have reprinted is occasion of thanksgiving. Sometimes they have been only cheap, handy, and tasteful copies of works current and popular in costlier shapes. Among the latest issues are Crabbe's *Borough*, Goldsmith's *The Bee, and other Essays*, Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, each in one volume. A much more ancient standard treatise, readably translated in three volumes, is St. Augustine's *City of God*, as curious and instructive a chapter of religious and philosophic thought as the annals of Christianity have to show. Each book in the series has its quantum of prefatory and explanatory notes. Why have the publishers not tried the experiment of issuing an early Scots classic or two?

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW (Longmans) for July is largely concerned with continental themes, but the transcript of 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of Edward I.' will be welcomed across the channel as a text full of standard information. *The Antiquary* (Elliot Stock) in its variety of topics, such as barns, doorways, and bells, has lately, like ourselves (*ante*, p. 74), been dealing with the law of treasure trove. *The Reliquary*

(Bemrose) always justifies its title, enshrining with beautiful illustrations, memories of early art, whether in furniture, architecture, sculpture, or such silver ware as the West Malling jug. An entertaining discussion is in progress on the admissibility of 'eolith' to the scientific vocabulary. *Scottish Notes and Queries* (Brown, Aberdeen) deserves well of the north country, usefully studying Aberdeenshire biography, bibliography, communion tokens and the like. *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (Sawtell, Sherborne) contains from time to time good local matter, notably transcripts of court rolls, wills, and deeds.

THE REVUE DES ETUDES HISTORIQUES (Picard, Paris) has recently had two striking articles. One is on the apocryphal *Codicilles de Louis XIII.*, a set of curious moral and prudential exhortations professing to be addressed by the dying king in 1643 to his son and heir, the 'grand monarque.' The 'Codicilles' might have been a precedent for *Eikon Basilike*, the somewhat analogous production issued a few years later as the alleged work of the 'martyr' King Charles I. The other article which impresses us is a valuable chapter on duelling in France and the spasmodic attempts to suppress it, especially in relation to the case of Montmorency-Bouteville beheaded in 1627 for his share in an affair of honour. One is reminded of the contemporary anti-duel policy of James VI. and I., and even of the execution of Lord Sanquhar as somewhat parallel to that of Bouteville in its disregard of aristocratic sentiment. In the quarterly *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (Cambridge, Mass.) special praise is due to Mr. John E. Matzske for his elaborate study of the St. George Legend.

Queries

‘WRAWES’? AN APPEAL TO FORESTERS. In a charter of the thirteenth century, printed in the *Chartulary of Lindores* (p. 79), just issued by the Scottish History Society under the editorship of Bishop Dowden, Conan, the son of the Earl of Atholl, grants to the monks of Lindores, from his wood of Tulyhen, as much as they may want of dry timber or dead wood for fuel, and also all that they may wish of the wood which is called ‘Wrawes of bule and of auhne (*ligna quae dicuntur Wrawes de bule et de auhne*).’ The learned editor in a note (p. 259) speaks of this as a ‘perplexing passage.’ He is however satisfied that ‘auhne’ is the French *aune*, the alder, and that ‘bule’ is the birch tree (*bouleau*). ‘The main difficulty,’ he adds, ‘lies in the word “wrawes,” and though various conjectures, more or less attractive, have been offered the editor prefers to leave the word for the investigation of others.’

Here is a distinct challenge to the contributors to *The Scottish Historical Review*. Will no one take up the glove? The conjectures already offered should at least be put on record. It is indeed strange enough that a term descriptive of a kind of grant which cannot have been uncommon should occur but once in our whole series of Scottish charters (supposing that the text is here not corrupt), and that it should be left to guesswork to hit upon its probable interpretation. Even the general object or use of the word in question is not quite clear. Wood for fuel has been disposed of. Hazel rods for the making of sleds and long rods for making hoops are subsequently referred to. Is this ‘wrawes’ wood for use in the construction or thatching of cottages, or for the making of hurdles or fences? Is its etymology to be sought for in Saxon, in old French, or in Gaelic? The need of a Scottish supplement to Du Cange has long been felt. Meanwhile students of ancient forestry should not allow ‘wrawes’ to remain unexplained for more than another three months.

T. G. LAW.

LENYS OF THAT ILK. In the late Mr. Guthrie Smith’s *History of Strathendrick* (p. 290), some account is given of the Lenys of Leny, in Perthshire, and there is a reduced facsimile of their curious genealogical tree at page 292. From the latter, which was probably drawn up and ‘set furth’ before 1539, I extract the following: ‘It is uel knauin bi the Schinachies the first aleuin of thi auld lanyis uer Reidharis whilk is to say Knightis and sum of them uar famus men notinly the reidhar moir wha got the claibeg fra the king fur his guid deidis and the reidhar our wha sleu in uar the meikle horse man and eik the reidhar vray uha sleu

the meikle tork befor the king fra whilk deid ui gat our Inocignie and airmis.'

I will be glad to know if these exploits of the Lenys are mentioned elsewhere, either in history or tradition, and also if there are any other instances in Scotland of the tenure by symbol similar to the 'claibeg' (*gladius parvus*) by which the lands of Leny were held prior to the charter of 1227, printed in Hailes's *Annals*, appendix iv.

In addition to those given in *Strathendrick* I have been only able to find the following notices of Lenys before 1392—John de Leny, son of Alan de Leny, had a charter of the lands of Drumchastell (*Cart. de Levenax*, p. 48), date between 1250 and 1290, probably about 1267, when he is mentioned as a witness in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*. Johan de Lanyn did homage to Edward I., 24th August, 1296 (*Bain's Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii., p. 200). John de Lany was *constabularius* of Tarbert, 1325-1329 (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. 52).

The genealogical tree also mentions a son of the last Leny of that ilk:—'Robert Macean wha yead for ye king to Ingland and ues killed yr,' apparently before 1392, as Jonet de Leny is described at this date as heiress of John de Leny.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

'SCHOTT OUT.' The familiar phrase of the Linlithgow school-master, Ninian Winzet, that he was 'schott out' of his native town, has been often quoted as a vigorous and pleasant metaphor, characteristic of the author's style, suggesting a forcible expulsion as if by a catapult. Dr. Hewison, the learned editor of Winzet's works for the Scottish Text Society, sanctions this interpretation, for in his glossary he explains, in reference to this passage, 'Schott *v. pt. t.* expelled, i. 49, 5.' But does not 'schott out' here simply stand for 'shut out'? Ninian's words, in the preface to his *Buk of Four Scoir Thre Questions*, are 'I for denying only to subscribe thair phantasies and fachoun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly toun,' that is, he was not only ejected from the town but kept out, prevented from returning. Other unnoticed examples of 'schott' or 'schot' for *shut* will be found in the glossaries to the S.T.S. publications. For example, in the glossary to Dalrymple's translation of Leslie's *History of Scotland* we have 'Shote *v. inf.* shoot, drive, send,' with a reference among others for the *pret.* to 249, 8, 'The Inglis king schot not out be forse of title,' where seemingly 'schot out' = shut out, excluded. In p. 473, 14, also we read of certain noblemen being 'schott in presone.' This does not mean that they were pistolled or shot in prison, but simply 'shut in.'

T. G. LAW.

[In the quotation from Bellenden, *supra* p. 35, 'schot' is evidently 'shoved,' the equivalent of Boece's 'inseruimus.' This makes 'shoved' a fair alternative to Dr. Law's suggestion.]

FISCAL POLICY OF EARLY SCOTLAND. Reference is wanted to any discussion of the historical Fiscal Policy of Scotland, utilising the large body of information on the subject contained in the Exchequer Rolls.

If no such treatise exists the theme should be attractive to some contributor.
A. A. Y.

[Cochran Patrick's *Mediaeval Scotland*, a work of much learning, is the nearest approach to the requirements of the query. There is a great lack of studies in Scottish historical economics, and we trust our correspondent's hint will not be lost.]

STEVENSON. In the *Paisley Marriage Register*, 28 October, 1748. John Graham, Surgeon of Paisley, is married to *Euphanel Stevenson*. My information about this lady is that she was the daughter of a Mr. Stevenson who was married three times, viz.: 1st, to Cecilia Millar of Walkinshaw; 2nd, to Janet Irvine of Drum; 3rd, to Jane Macgregor or Grierson. Who was this Mr. Stevenson, and are any of his descendants still living? Dr. John Graham married a second time in 1765, joined 60th Rl. American Regt., and, leaving his family by his first wife in Scotland, went to America 1766, and died in the island of Antigua 1773. His children by his first wife, who were about 5 to 8 years of age, were brought up by Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson. The two boys became officers in the Army, and the daughter married Dr. Thomas Hay, who, I believe, was City Chamberlain of Edinburgh. In an *Army List*, British Museum, 1763: 115th Regt. *Royal Scotch Lowlanders*, raised at Paisley 1761, disbanded 1763. Officers names appear: Major Commandant J. *Walkinshaw Craufurd*, Lieut. Wm. *Walkinshaw*, 19 Oct., 1761; Lieut. Thos. *Stevenson*, 19 Nov., 1762; Surgeon John *Graham*, 17 Oct., 1761. In 1763 *Stevenson* appears as surgeon in 60 Rl. American Regt.

F. W. GRAHAM, *Colonel*.

Newton Abbot, Devon.

FAMILY OF HUME. On page 9 of Mrs. Fawcett's *Life of Sir Wm. Molesworth* it is stated that his father, Sir Arscott Molesworth, married a Scottish lady descended from the Hume family—a celebrated Edinburgh beauty, Betsy Hume, who was at one time engaged to her cousin, Sir Alexander Kinloch, but was eventually married to Captain Brown. Miss Hume's father was a Colonel, and Governor of Chester Castle. Was this Colonel Hume related to the well-known Scottish family?

Clovelly, Eastbourne.

F. W. MERCER.

CAPTAIN GEORGE SCOT. In the *Polichronicon seu Policratia Temporum, or, the true Genealogy of the Frasers*, by Master James Fraser, is the following passage:

'Two years before this [that is, before the battle of Auldearn in 1645] one Captain George Scot came to Inverness and there built a ship of a prodigious bigness. . . . My Lord Lovat gave him wood firr and oake in Dulcattack woods. . . . This ship rod at Ancer in the river mouth of Narden [Nairn], when the battell was fought in view. This Captain Scot enlarged the ship afterwards as a friggott for war and sailed with her to the Straights [of Gibraltar] and his brother William with him, who was made Collonell at Venice, whose martial atchievements in the defence of that

state against the Turks may very well admit him to be ranked amongst our worthies. He became Vice-Admiral to the Venetian fleet, and the only bane and terror of Mahometan navigators. . . . He oftentimes so cleared the Archipelago of the Musselmans that the Ottoman family and the very gates of Constantinople would quake at the report of his victories; and did so ferret them out of all the creeks of the Hadrattick Gulf and so shrudly put them to it that they hardly knew in what port of the Mediterranean they might best shelter themselves from the fury of his blowes. . . . He died in his bed of a fever in the Isle of Candy, January 1652. He was truly the glory of his nation and country, and was honoured after his death with a statute of marble which I saw near the Realto of Venice, April 1659.'

I am editing Fraser's MS. (known as the Wardlaw MS.) for the Scottish History Society, and shall be obliged for information regarding Captain Scot, and the sea-fights in which he took part. What was the name of his ship?

WILLIAM MACKAY.

Reply

CORN-BOTE (*Scottish Antiquary* xvii. 121). Mrs. M. M. Banks in her 'Notes on the *Morte Arthure* Glossary' (a series of revisions of the glossary in her edition of *Morte Arthure*), appearing in the *Modern Language Quarterly* (Nutt) for August, has the following note: 'Corn-bote, ll. 1837, 1786. I had taken this as a reference to a "bote" claimed for damage to corn or for default of rent, which was often paid in corn. In spite of much later discussion as to the meaning of the word no other very probable rendering offers itself. If such a "bote" as I suggest was computed when corn was plentiful and claimed when it was scarce and dear it would be a very grievous one. There is an important reference to poverty resulting from a fall in corn values in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*. Mr. G. Neilson, whose identification of 'torn-but,' *Bruce* ii. l. 438, with 'corn-bote' is interesting, gives a reference to something like corn-bote from *Rotuli Scotiae* which tells how a certain prior taken prisoner by the Scots was set to ransom at a given sum of money and at four times twenty quarters of corn (*bladorum*) of various sorts. He could not pay, so the Scots imprisoned him. Holthausen prefers to read *coren-bote*, *auserlesene busse*, with 'corne' as in the phrase 'So comely corn,' etc.'

[The reference is to the writ of Richard II. on the petition of the prior of Lanercost, dated 10 December, 1386, and narrating 'quod cum idem prior nuper per inimicos nostros Scotie captus et ad certam pecunie summorum ac ad quater viginti quarteria bladorum diversi generis redemptus fuit ad certum tempus persolvend. et idem pro eo quod non satisfacit de predictis quater viginti quarteriis bladorum prisonatus et adhuc occasione in partibus illis in prisona detentus existat.'—*Rotuli Scotiae* ii. 87.]

Notes and Comments

DEFINITION, always perilous, is especially so when employed to set forth a programme of which the fulfilment rests not with the present merely, but with an indefinite future. Prophecy has incalculable odds against it, and a forecast is best couched in elastic terms. A single sentence will suffice to outline the aim of *The Scottish Historical Review*, which is *The Scottish Antiquary* writ large. The scope of the periodical, is to cover the fields of History, Archaeology, and Literature, with more particular attention to Scotland and the Borders. From our standpoint history is a major term, embracing not only archaeology in its broadest sense, but also a large part of literature. History can have no more vital chapters than those which concern literature, which is the very flower of historical material. Hence, although the precedent may be a new one, our pages will seek to correlate history and literature. Alongside of themes more formally historical and archaeological, prominence will be given to the discussion of problems in old English and Scottish literature, which cannot be allowed to rest entirely in the hands of the philologists.

The purpose of this Review will be the fostering of historical, archaeological, and literary discovery.

THE unique and intensely interesting eleventh century English letter of Gospatric, which the Rev. James Wilson, editor of the *Victoria History of Cumberland*, has had the good fortune to recognise among the archives at Lowther Castle, and to bring (*ante*, p. 62) *Scotland and Cumbria* for the first time to the notice of scholars, illustrates once more the absence of finality in things historical. If we assume with him the unquestionable genuineness of the document—and we owe much deference to the opinion of so shrewd and careful an archivist, although, of course, the writ and its credentials external and internal call for minute scrutiny—we must first of all congratulate ourselves on the recovery of a foundation voucher of Anglo-Scottish history, of prime value in the record of early tenure, and of the first moment for the task of deciphering the sense of the Border annals of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Fierce and complicated has been the contention by sword and pen over the Cumbrian kingdom and principality, and it is not easy to foresee the far-reaching results of this newest and oldest production in the international

litigation. Already its effects display themselves in our columns in a threatened revolt of Cumbria from the accepted theory of the Scottish sovereignty as a political factor within her bounds from 945 until 1092. Mr. Wilson, no bigoted doctrinaire on international problems, but eminently sympathetic towards Scottish claims and influences, now denies that the famous cession of Cumbria by King Edmund of England to Malcolm I. of Scotland in 945 continued effective during the ensuing century and a half.

The generation of Skene and E. W. Robertson has passed away, and although they may not have been succeeded for the moment by historians uniting equal calibre with equal inclination towards remoter themes, we are sure that no truly Scottish position will fail of defence when assailed. Across the Border we hail with respectful admiration the veteran Canon Greenwell, whose fourscore years have only whetted his zeal for the great life of Gospatric which he is to publish shortly in his contribution to *The History of Northumberland*. Debate so intricate cannot all at once be drawn to a head: the definitive issues can only be reached through the convergence of opposite lines of approach. Obviously a marked service will be rendered to the problem when the critics have set before them the historical standpoints of both sides of the Border, co-ordinating the various elements as well as clearing up the obscurities of persons, places, and dates.

What was the position of Gospatric in granting this declarator of vassal rights? When was it granted, and what is its bearing on the statement of Simeon of Durham, under the year 1070, that the Scottish claim to the lordship of Cumberland rested not on law but on force? To whom did Gospatric address his letter? Was it to the Cumbri, as Mr. Wilson believes; or is Combres only a personal name in the genitive case, as the philological authorities appear to think? The absence of allusion to Scottish sovereignty, contrasted with the mention of [King?] Eadread and Earl Siward—does it gainsay the witness of medieval chronicle that Cumbria was in theory and fact a Scottish fief? How came it, too, that at so early a date in a district historically Celtic or British the medium of address was English? If Gospatric held his lands geld-free (and the odd passage in *Fordun*, iv. c. 35, about the abortive demand of Ethelred for the Danish tribute will not be forgotten), have we in the fact one further significant voucher of the break with the past constituted by the subsequent origination of new tenures, including the specially characteristic Cumbrian institution of cornage? There are many questions, and almost every one of them sounds like a challenge.

Good progress is being made with the exploration of Rough Castle. So far, comparatively few relics of the Roman occupation have come to light, the most important being a slab bearing the name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. But there is still much of the interior to open up. The examination of the defences, on the other hand, is practically completed, and the works as now revealed present a striking spectacle. The innermost of the three ramparts that surround the fort, is cespitious in structure, precisely like the Vallum itself; the two outer ones are earthworks of a normal type. The north-west corner must

have been regarded as a specially vulnerable point. The fortifications there are tremendously strong, and include ten rows of *lilia* (as the Roman soldiers called them), stretching out to the north of the great ditch of the Vallum. The method of making these 'lilies' is described in detail in Caesar's *Commentaries*, but until now no actual example had been found either in Britain or abroad. The operations are being carried on by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The funds available are slender, and we regret to hear that the response to the recently-issued appeal has been far from satisfactory. Surely adequate support will be forthcoming.

ELSEWHERE on the line of the Vallum the spade has been busy, and again to excellent purpose. The liberality of Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore has made it possible to carry out a systematic examination *Fort on Bar Hill.* of the fort on the Bar Hill, which lies on his estate. The results are of the highest interest. Although time and the plough had destroyed almost all surface traces of the Roman station, skilful excavation has recovered a large proportion of the original framework. While there is little to attract a casual visitor, the trained eye is able to detect the lines laid down by the engineers and architects of Lollius Urbicus, if not also to trace the long sought handiwork of Agricola. The harvest of 'finds' has been extraordinarily rich. They have been removed to a temporary resting-place. When fully arranged and described, they will provide an admirable illustration of the surroundings amidst which the Roman auxiliaries kept watch on the frontiers of the empire. All interested in the early history of our country owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Whitelaw and to his factor, Mr. Park, to whose energy and thoroughness the success of the excavations is in large measure due.

THE St. Andrews Antiquarian Society having obtained permission to dig within certain parts of the ruined Cathedral, in the hope of finding a crypt or sub-chapel, operations were begun on the 3rd of August, 1903. We are indebted to Mr. Hay Fleming for the *Recent digging in St. Andrews Cathedral.* following notes on the Society's work :

As yet no crypt or sub-chapel has been found, but several interesting discoveries have been made. The piers which carried the great central tower were and still are connected underground by broad massive walls. These walls have been very roughly built, and lime has been sparingly used. They vary in breadth, the one between the north-east pillar and the south-east pillar measuring nine feet eight inches; the one between the south-east pillar and the south-west pillar, ten feet eight inches; the one between the south-west pillar and the north-west pillar, eleven feet six inches. Of each of these walls the top is about three feet below the present surface; but the central part of the last mentioned is only nine inches below the surface. All have been carried down to the virgin soil, at a depth varying from six feet nine inches to seven feet eight inches below the surface. No trench has yet been dug between the north-west pillar and the north-east pillar. Very little now remains of the north and south walls of the Lady Chapel, but the recently opened trenches proved that their foundations had been carried down to the rock.

A few yards to the westward of the site of the high-altar, a big, broken slab lies in the gravelled walk. This slab has not been interfered with; but a trench has been dug on the east side of it, and another on the west. In the first of these trenches, a skeleton was found, about three feet below the present surface, about two and a half below the old floor level. Professor Musgrove, who examined the bones carefully, said that they were those of a man about five feet nine inches in height, and, he thought, not over sixty years of age. Several iron nails were found, and a little bit of the wooden coffin. The latter, which is very much decayed, is being microscopically examined by Dr. John H. Wilson. His investigations, so far as they have gone, show that it is not fir. For various reasons, it may be assumed that the burial was pre-Reformation; and as several of the archbishops were interred in front of the high-altar, the bones are probably the remains of one of them. At the east end of this trench a skull was found, which was believed to be that of a man though somewhat of a feminine type. The rest of the skeleton lies, no doubt, between that end of the trench and the high-altar, but as the trench was not extended it was not disturbed. Several bones of the lower animals, including a small one of a shark, were found in this trench. They were probably carried there among the sea-sand which was largely in evidence.

In digging the trench on the west side of the big, broken slab, several very interesting details were observed. Many fragments of the old tiled floor were found, *in situ*, about five inches below the present surface. They were lying on a bed of good, rich lime; but few, if any, of them were lying quite level. Some were at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees. This was, no doubt, due to the impact when the stone roof fell; and the same catastrophe accounts for the tiles being all broken. Below the bed of lime there was a bed of sea-sand, eight or nine inches in thickness; and, below the sea-sand, another bed of lime. This lower bed of lime was much poorer in quality than the upper one. Below the lower bed, there were layers of mason's rubbish, streaked with layers of sea-sand, etc. Still lower there was a layer, about two feet thick, of dark, damp, rather greasy-looking soil; and below this, at a depth of about five feet from the surface, the natural soil was found, a rough, almost gravelly, brown sand. At the east end of the trench, and adjoining the big slab, a broad foundation-looking building was uncovered. One corner of the slab rests upon it. The stones are rough and undressed, but the lime has been excellent, and fragments of tiles were seen embedded among the stones. The top of the building is barely a foot below the surface. It is nine and a half feet from north to south, about four feet broad and one thick. A short tunnel was dug below this building, and in it a skull, several other bones, and two iron nails were found in the greasy-looking soil. These human remains, and those found in the other trench, were all carefully buried again. All the fragments of tiles which have been found are made of red clay. Many of them have bevelled edges. They vary in thickness from about half an inch to three times as much. Some of them bear no trace of glaze; but it may have been worn off by the traffic. Some have been covered with a yellow glaze, some with a black, some with a brown. None has been found with a pattern.

THE Hon. John Abercromby writes: Since August 17 I have been exploring some circular enclosures, with an internal diameter of from 55 to 60 ft., with a view to ascertaining their age and purpose. Six of these were well trenched without finding anything of a definite nature. But a circle with stones at intervals, which cuts the circumference of No. 1 enclosure and is close to two others, is proved to belong to the Iron Age. The circle was found to be paved, and from one edge of the pavement, without any break, a well-paved decline led down into a ruined underground house, which occupied the eastern corner between the circle and enclosure No. 1, where they touch. The length of the underground house, which was entirely filled with earth and stones, was about 30 ft.; it was slightly enlarged at the far end, and in shape was slightly curved. The average width was 6 ft., and the floor, cut 4 ft. deep into the hard pan, was 6 ft. below the surface. Its position externally was marked by a slight hollow in the ground. In the filling in of the earth-house, part of the upper stone of a quern, with a diameter of 16 inches, and a small angular piece of iron were picked up at a considerable depth. Charcoal and small pieces of burnt bone were found at various depths as well as on the floor. In the circle abundant traces of fire were found, both above and below the pavement, and a few minute fragments of bone occasionally detected in the burnt stuff.

Exploration at Dinnet, Aberdeenshire.

DR. T. H. BRYCE has just completed a systematic exploration, with the sanction of the Marquess of Bute, of the cairns and tumuli in the Island of Bute. He has ascertained that there are four cairns, now much ruined, of the same class of chambered cairn as he described in Arran. They are Michael's Grave, at Kilmichael, the Carn Ban in Lenihuline Wood, Bicker's Homes near Scalpsie Bay, and a cairn on the farm of Glecknabae. The interments in all were of burnt bones, and though no implements were recovered, one round-bottomed vessel of the same coarse black pottery as found in Arran was obtained as well as many scattered fragments.

Cairns and Tumuli of Bute.

The general conclusions from the Arran work—that these structures are of late Neolithic Age—thus holds for Bute, but the Glecknabae cairn presented features not hitherto observed. The chamber, though provided with a portal, is formed only of one compartment, some 5 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 in. wide. The chamber contained both burnt and unburnt interments, and the pottery is a type different from that observed elsewhere, being red in colour, while the vessels are small and flat in the bottom.

The Island is fairly rich in the short cist interments of the Bronze Age, such as found some years ago at Mount Stuart. Most of them have been disturbed, but a tumulus at Scalpsie yielded an untouched example. It contained a *burnt* interment associated with a fine food vessel richly ornamented, a bronze pin, a scraper and flakes of flint, and a jet bead.

This find contrasts, in the first place, with the earlier chambered cairns, and, in the second, with the Mount Stuart cist, which contained an *unburnt* interment, a bronze ring, and a necklace of beads of jet.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BURNS, representing a syndicate of Glasgow underwriters, has, by permission of the Duke of Argyle, been dredging with the lighter 'Sealight' in Tobermory harbour in quest of relics or treasure from a Spanish Armada vessel. One of the largest of the shattered fleet, making homeward round the north of Scotland, she drifted upon the shores of Mull, and was burnt and sunk off Tobermory in August, 1588. The search has been fortunate. A witness of the operations, writing in the *Scotsman* of 27th August, says: 'A pile of ancient timber, of warped iron work, of stone and iron cannon balls, as well as more gruesome relics in the shape of human bones and skulls, which lie upon the "Sealight's" deck, show that tradition has not lied, while a number of silver coins bearing the arms of Spain and the image and superscription of King Philip II., as well as certain larger articles, including a bronze breech-loading cannon, which has been removed to Glasgow, and which is now to be seen at the new Art Galleries there, furnish conclusive evidence that the spot has been located where the Spanish ship was sunk.'

From Spanish archives it has been ascertained that the name of the ship, traditionally preserved as the 'Florida,' was really the 'Florencia.' She was a galleon of over 900 tons, with a complement of 486 men, an excellent sample of the proud navy which fared so ill at the hands of Howard and Drake, and of which the scattered vessels sought safety in flight round the Scottish isles. 'Very many of them,' says Johnston's *Historia* 'were thrown up on the Scots and Irish shores: they filled the whole coast with heaps of dead and timbers of wreckage.' These were remains of such a fleet as, he says, 'neither our own nor previous ages ever saw on the ocean,' crowded with soldiery and equipped with all kinds of artillery (*tormentis*) and warlike gear. The guns and balls recovered are, in spite of their long immersion and rock-like lime-incrustation round the metal, wonderfully well preserved, and will enable specialists on firearms to take fairly exact details. Features of the bronze breech-loading gun have been described for us by a correspondent, who says:

The gun has a removable powder chamber which would hold about 8 ozs. of powder; the bore of the gun would admit of a ball weighing, if iron, about 7 ozs. The gun was recovered fully charged. The method of loading would appear to be: the ball would be inserted from the breech, then a wad of oakum, the powder being meantime loaded into the movable chamber, which would then be placed in position and wedged up. The touch-hole is in the chamber and a vent is provided to prevent the chamber being blown out by escaping gas. Many breech-loading iron guns of about the same period are in existence, but this is the only bronze one the writer has seen.

Among the greatest curiosities recovered are two pairs of compasses with the head of each leg formed into a semicircle, so that by their cross action the compasses can easily be extended or contracted as required with one hand. The points of the legs in the recovered pair, too, are turned, presumably for the protection of the chart when in use. One of the coins bears the date 1586. One large silver piece is encrusted upon the iron hilt of a sword, suggesting that its Spanish owner had it in his pocket, beside where his sword hung, when the 'Florencia' went down.

NOTHING could have been better in keeping with the spirit of the municipal movement which stirred the North to patriotic activity, and resulted in the Highland and Jacobite Exhibition held at Inverness in July, August, and September, than that the opening function should have been performed by Lochiel. And what apter association of past and present could have been found than the presentation, at the same function, of the freedom of the Highland capital to both Lochiel and Lord Lovat? At once Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire and heir of one of the proudest Jacobite names and memories, Lochiel happily symbolised that fusion of loyalty and sentiment which enables the clansmen whole-heartedly both to serve the King and honour Prince Charlie. Lochiel pleasantly discoursed on the transformed Jacobitism yet undying in the North, and justified its enthusiasm by claiming Queen Victoria as the keenest Jacobite of all.

*Jacobite
Exhibition
at
Inverness.*

Displayed in four rooms of the Free Library buildings in the Castle Wynd, the exhibits constitute a reliquary of the Stewart cause. Portraits bulk largely, such as those of the royal Stewarts, especially Prince Charlie, and of Flora Macdonald, Simon Lord Lovat and the 'gentle Lochiel.' Pictures and prints of historical events, castles, scenes, and battles are numerous. Such profusion there is of arms, guns, blunderbusses, pistols, claymores, broadswords, Ferraras by the half dozen, bullet-moulds, cannon balls, bullets, dirks, helmets, pikes, powder-horns, shields, targets, etc., that they would have respectably stocked any eighteenth-century clan armoury. Then there are plans, drill books, tartans, bonnets, sporrans, brooches, and what not. Only a few documents are in evidence. That an appreciable percentage of doubt should in spite of precautions attach to a variety of the many exhibits need be matter neither of offence nor surprise.

The promoters of the exhibition may well be congratulated on the fulness of its representative character as regards Jacobite memorials. As a Highland exposition, other than Jacobite, the collection, although varied and attractive, cannot claim to be adequate. Yet there is large illustration of the Highland past. Comprised in the catalogue are many curios indicative of Northern life from the stone age down to a recent time. The Raasay charm stone, or 'Clach Leighis,' is a unique Macleod heirloom. Very characteristic are fine examples of the bagpipes, one set of great value bearing date MCCCCIX and decorated with Celtic tracery. Not a few pieces of metal work also display the native scroll decoration, sometimes accompanied by animal forms. There are many quaichs, and such a wilderness of snuff mulls that one wonders if snuff and Prince Charlie were allied tastes.

CO-OPERATIVE effort, so characteristic of this industrial age, has been conspicuous also in certain lines of study. Four publications may be instanced which, by their periodic appearance, had nearly come to be reckoned serials. First is the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Smith, Elder & Co.), of which the last volume, an epitome and index in itself invaluable, has just been sent out. The *Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge Press), with still loftier design, promises not less ample pages, 'rich with the spoils of time.'

*The
Oxford
Diction-
aries.*

Of greater magnitude, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Frowde) is already far on its journey, having after fifteen years reached the word *leisurely*. Fourth of the type is the *English Dialect Dictionary* (Frowde) now approaching a close. Not one of these four series could have been brought into being without the assistance of many scholars; they are not individual products, but come from our intellectual commonwealth, and each of the four would alone constitute a liberal education. For history hardly less than for philology the Oxford Dictionary and the Dialect Dictionary—complements not rivals—are achievements of triumph. One has only to test a word to detect the research and learning these dictionaries imply. Professor Wright's work, the Dialect Dictionary, embodies results of such extensive search into Scottish dialects, examined for the first time from a broadly scientific standpoint, that it justifies its decidedly national claim. As seen in the compact and laborious columns of these dictionaries, full of the terms and signs of ancient and modern lore, life, and social usage, and curious with lingering or forgotten forms and manners of speech, the living dialects of our land pay marvellous tribute to the fidelity of tradition, and to the constancy with which the local inheritance and peculiar properties of language persist and transmit.

THE Stool of Repentance supplies Dr. William Cramond with the material for a capital paper in the *Scotsman*, 28th August, 1903, evidently grouping much information drawn directly from kirk session records. Although a remarkable symbol of the power of the Church in Protestant Scotland it was only a modified inheritance from Romanism. To Protestantism it owed its gradual specialisation for the benefit of fleshly sinners. Dr. Cramond shows that often the 'stool' was a large pew, prominent and apart, and hints that the requirements in many northern parishes could not have been satisfied with less. He rather surprises us in belittling the penitential exposure to which delinquents were subjected, broadly stating not only that there is no evidence in the north of Scotland that it was popularly regarded as a dreadful ordeal, but that on the contrary it 'was submitted to as a rule with perfect composure.' Our own impression from church records is so entirely opposite that we would almost as soon accept the doctrine that men as a rule submitted with perfect composure to being hanged! Surely the public antipathy to church censures, the difficulty there was in getting offenders to undergo discipline, and the severity of treatment not infrequently accorded to the rebellious, far outweigh any subjective inference that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries recked little of the 'place of repentance.'

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On a Legend from the Island of Tiree

WHEN J. F. Campbell, of Islay, produced in 1860 his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, there was good reason to suppose that a final record of the old Highland stories had been brought together. Each succeeding generation knows less and cares less for the older traditions, and the fireside tales of long ago die out as surely as the smouldering embers beside which they once were told. It was little to be expected that a writer should appear to carry on the quest and thus add greatly to the mass of material brought together in that valuable work. This has fortunately been the case, as the writings of the Rev. John Gregorson Campbell clearly show. He was Minister of Tiree from 1860 till his death in 1895, and during those years he wrote continually on the Folk-lore of the Highlands, collecting most of his information from oral sources in his island Parish.

With Gaelic for his native tongue, and no less fully equipped than Islay with the knowledge and sympathy his subject required, he had like him a remarkable talent for rendering the Gaelic stories into most attractive English. His writings include papers to the *Celtic Review*, the *Celtic Monthly*, and the *Transactions of the Inverness Gaelic Society*. He also contributed the stories which form the fourth and fifth volumes of *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*,¹ while within the last two years two posthumous volumes have appeared, one on the *Superstitions of the Highlands*, the other on *Witchcraft and Second Sight*.²

¹ Edited by Lord Archibald Campbell. D. Nutt. 1895.

² Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1900. 1902.

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It is with one of the stories in the fifth volume of *Waifs and Strays* that this paper is concerned. It is called, from one of its incidents, 'O'Neil, and how his hair was made to grow,' and is told with such conciseness that I have been tempted to print it in full.

"There was a smith, before now, in Ireland, who was one day working in his smithy, when a youth came in, having two old women with him.

He said to the smith :

'I would be obliged to you,' he said, 'if you would let me have a while at the bellows and anvil.'

The smith said he would. He then caught the two old women, threw a hoop about their middle, and placed them in the smithy fire, and blew the bellows at them, and then took them out and made one woman, the fairest that eye ever saw, from the two old women.

When the smith laid down at night, he said to his wife :

'A man came the way of the smithy to-day, having with him two old women ; he asked from me a while of the bellows and anvil, and he made the fairest woman that man's eye ever saw, out of the two old women. My own mother and your mother are here with us, and I think I will try to make one right woman of the two since I saw the other man doing it.'

'Do,' she said, 'I am quite willing.'

Next day he took out the two old women, put the hoop about their middle, and threw them in the smithy fire. It was not long before it became likely that he would not have even the bones of them left.

The smith was in extremity, not knowing what to do, but a voice came behind him :

'You are perplexed, smith, but perhaps I will put you right.' With that he caught the bellows and blew harder at them ; he then took them out and put them on the anvil, and made as fair a woman out of the two old wives. Then he said to the smith :

'You had need of me to-day, but,' said he, 'you better engage me ; I will not ask from you but the half of what I earn, and that this will be in the agreement, that I shall have the third of my own will.'

The smith engaged him.

At this time O'Neil sent abroad word that he wanted one who would make the hair of his head to grow, for there was none on the head of O'Neil or O'Donnell, his brother, and that whoever could do it would get the fourth part of his means. The servant lad said to the smith :

'We had better go and make a bargain with O'Neil that we will put hair on his head,' and they did this. 'Say you to him,' said the servant lad, 'that you have a servant who will put hair on his head for the fourth part of what he possesses.'

O'Neil was agreeable to this, and the servant lad desired to get a room for themselves, and asked a cauldron to be put on a good fire.

It was done as he wished. O'Neil was taken in and stretched on a table. The servant lad then took hold of the axe, threw off O'Neil's head, and put it face foremost in the cauldron. After some time he took hold of a large prong which he had, and he lifted up the head with it, and hair was beginning to come upon it. In a while he lifted it up again with the same prong, this time a ply of the fine yellow hair would go round his hand. Then he gave the head such a lift, and stuck it on the body. O'Neil then called out to him to make haste and let him rise to his feet, when he saw the fine yellow hair coming in into his eyes. He did as he had promised ; he gave the smith and the servant lad the fourth part of his possessions.

When they were going home with the cattle the servant lad said to the smith :

'We are now going to separate, we will make two halves or divisions of the cattle.'

The smith was not willing to agree to this, but since it was in his bargain he got the one half. They then parted, and the animal the smith would not lose now, he would lose again, he did not know where he was going before he reached home, and he had only one old cow that he did not lose of the cattle.

When O'Donnell saw his brother's hair, he sent out word that he would give the third part of his property to any one who would do the same to himself. The smith thought he would try to do it this time alone. He went where O'Donnell was, and said that he would put hair on his head for him also, as he had done to his brother O'Neil.

Then he asked that the cauldron be put on, and a good fire below it, and he took O'Donnell into a room, tied him

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on a table, then took up an axe, cut off his head, and threw it, face downwards, into the cauldron. In a while he took the prong to see if the hair was growing, but instead of the hair growing, the jaws were nearly falling out. The smith was almost out of his senses, not knowing what to do, when he heard a voice behind him saying to him, 'You are in a strait.' This was the lad with the Black Art, he formerly had, returned. He blew at the cauldron stronger, brought the prong to see how the head was doing, or if the hair was growing on it. The next time he tried it, it would twine round his hand. Since it was so long of growing on it, he said, 'We will put an additional fold round my hand.' When he tried it again it would reach two twists.

He took it out of the cauldron and stuck it on the body. It cried to be quickly let go, when he saw his yellow hair down on his shoulders.

The hair pleased him greatly; it was more abundant than that of O'Neil, his brother. They got fully what was promised them, and were on their way home. The lad who had the Black Art said, 'Had we not better divide the cattle?'

'We will not, we will not,' said the smith; 'lift them with you, since I got clear.'

'Well,' said the other, 'if you had said that before, you would not have gone home empty-handed, or with only one old cow,' and with that he said, 'You will take every one of them; I will take none of them.'

The smith went home with that herd, and he did not require to strike a blow in the smithy, neither did he meet with the one with the Black Art, ever after."

This story, I think, stands quite alone among the Highland legends. The first sentence, 'There was a smith, before now, in Ireland,' suggests that it might have an Irish equivalent, but this does not appear to be the case.

No more curious character than the wonder-working lad can be imagined. Even the original narrator seems puzzled about him; for though at first he is called 'the youth' or the 'servant lad,' he is later spoken of as 'the lad who had the Black Art.' But he is no demon in the ordinary sense, nor does he appear to have designs against the soul of the smith, whom he treats throughout with the greatest magnanimity. When the smith's mad experiment on his own and his wife's

mother is becoming disastrous, he appears and prevents the catastrophe. Once more he saves him from the results of his folly in the case of O'Donnell, and the smith's subsequent immunity from work seems also to be due to the youth's good offices.

By chance I came across another rendering of this story, in which among many differences, the wonder-working stranger is none other than Our Lord Himself. It is to be found in Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry of England*,¹ and is there called *The Smyth and his Dame*. Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it from an early black-letter book, of which the only known copy is now in the Bodleian Library, and reproduced from the first page the curious woodcut¹ showing a woman stretched upon an anvil, between the smith and the stranger, whose divine nature is indicated by a cruciform nimbus. On this page there is a MS. note attributing the poem to John Lydgate, but the book has neither date nor title-page. The illustration facing p. 120 has been specially made for this article from the Bodleian copy. The MS. note runs thus: 'By John Lydgate Monke of Burie 1440 vide Baleum folio 587.' This reference is to John Bale's *Catalogus Scriptorum*. Ed. 1557.

The story opens by telling how in Egypt it befell that at one time dwelt a smith.

The smyth was a svbtyll syer;
For well could he werke wyth the fyer
What men of hym wolde desyer,
I tel yov trovth by my fay.

.
Moche boste gan he blowe
And sayd he had no felowe
That covd worke worth a strawe
To hym, ferre nor nere,
He called hym selfe the kynge,
Wythovt any leasyng,
Of all maner of cvnnyng,
And of certes clere;
Tyll it befell vpon a day,
Our lorde came there away,
And thought the smyth to assay,
As ye shall after here.
For his pompe and his pryde,
That he blewe in eche syde
Ovr lorde thought at that tyde
His pryde shoud be layed :

¹ John Russell Smith. London. 1866.

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Our Lord accosts the smith and asks him to make a staff of steel which will lead a blind man so that he shall neither stumble nor fall. The smith demurs, and says it would be easier to make a blind man see than to fashion such a staff. Our Lord then says that not only can he do this, but that he can make an old man young again.

The smyth sayd, so mote I the,
I haue an olde quayne wyth me,
Myne olde beldame¹ is she.

.
And thou covd make her yonge so
Than wolde I be fayne.
Our Lorde sayd, where is she?
Anone let me her se,
And thov shalt se a maystre
More than thov can.

The smith goes to fetch her, but in spite of his promise of renewed youth, she remonstrates.

Than set she forth a lovde cry
And sayd, Stronge thefe, let me ly,
Thov art, I trowe, a madde man:
Let me lye, thov unthryfty swayne
Nay —

At this point a page is missing in the original. When the story resumes, it is evident that she has been placed in the fire, and that it is Our Lord who says

She shall be made at a brayd
Yonge now againe.
The smyth blewe as god bed,
Tyll she was reed as a gled;
Yet for all that dede
Felt she no maner of payne.
The smyth said, Now is she shent
Both her eyen are ovt brent,
They will never be ment,
Our works are all in uayne.

.
Our Lorde sayd, Let me alone
Thov shalt se, and that anone,
A full fayre woman
Of this olde wyght.
Our Lord blessed her at a brayd,
And on the styth he her layd;
Take thy hamer, he sayd,
And make her now ryght.

¹ His mother-in-law.

Dame, I shall the wake!
 With a hamer he her strake,
 No bone of her he brake,
 She was a byrd bryght;
 Stand vp, now lette me se.
 Than at that worde rose she,
 A fayre woman trvely,
 And seemely unto syght.

The smith begs Our Lord to teach him the secret of His craft, but in vain; and with a warning against his boastfulness, He passes on His way.

The second part of the tale shows how the self-confident smith tries to work a similar miracle on his wife Joan; but if he had a difficulty in making his mother-in-law submit, with his wife it was far worse, not even the sight of her mother restored to youth has any effect.

Art thov my mother? says she.
 Ye, sayd she, trvely;
 Than sayd she, *Benedicite*,
 Who hath made the thvs?
 Anone to her gan she say,
 I was made thvs to daye
 With one that came by the waye,
 Men call hys name Jesvs.

The smith drags his wife to the forge in spite of her resistance.

Then she sperned at hym so,
 That hys shynnes bothe two
 In sonder she there brake.

After a battle royal, most spiritedly described, the smith throws his wife into the fire and afterwards places her on the anvil.

Than he hent her vp on high,
 And layed her on the stethy,
 And hamered her strongely
 With strokes that were ungayne.

Than bothe her legges at a brayd
 Fell sone her fro.
 What euyll hayle, said he,
 Wylt not thov yonge be?
 Speke now, let me se,
 And say ones, bo.

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There is no reply, and matters go from bad to worse; finally the smith abandons his work and in despair

After Jesu fast he ran,
As he had ben a madde man.

Our Lord returns with him, accepts his confession of penitence and restores his wife to youth and beauty. Then follows a scene in which the smith, his dame, and his mother-in-law kneel before Him and give Him thanks.

Probably enough has been quoted to show the similarity of the two stories; but I am tempted to add a few lines from the end of the poem, as they seem to point to an earlier legend with which Lydgate, or whoever wrote *The Smyth and his Dame*, must have been familiar.

Ovr Lorde sayd to the smyth tho,
Loke thov brenne neuer mo,
For this craft I shall tell the,
Can thov neuer lere.
*But here a point I gyue the,
The mayster shalt thou yet be
Of all thy craft trevely,
Wythout any delay:
What man of craft so euer be,
And he haue no helpe of the,
Thoughe he be neuer so sle,
Warke not he may.*

I think the writer had in his mind a curious legend of Saint Eligius or Saint Eloy,¹ a patron saint of the farriers, and Bishop of Noyon from 640 to 648. He was so skilful in handicraft that in a boastful moment, and in his unconverted days, he placed above his door the motto:

‘Eloi, maître sur maître, maître sur Dieu.’

But there came to him one day an unknown shoer of horses, a youth of noble bearing, and while St. Eloy was questioning him with a view to an engagement, a horseman called asking that a lost shoe should be replaced without delay. St. Eloy with his companion went out to attend to this. The horse, however, was so restive that he wanted to

¹ For the story of this saint I have used an article by the late Dr. George Fleming, C.B., *The Folk-Lore of Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing*, in the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1902, and his book on *Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing*, published in 1869.

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Here begynneth a treatise of
the smyth whych that forged
hym a newe dame.

+ 13
By John L. Dgale mon A.
Browne 1440. N. de Salent.
flw 587.



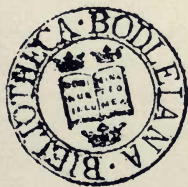
God that dyed on a tree
He glad them al with his gle
That wyll heken vnto me
And here what I wyll say
And ye shall here a maruel

Of a tale I shall you tell
How in Egypt it befell
And in that same countre
Some tyme ther dwelled a smyth
that had bothe lande and lyth
Many a plowman hym wyth
By nyght and eke by day
the smyth was a subtyll sper
For well could he worke wyth the sper
what men of hym wolde desper
I tel you trouthy by my say

Smyth,

A. I.

He



secure it in a travis, but the stranger took the matter in hand, cut off the horse's leg at the knee with a single stroke, shod the hoof and replaced the leg without loss of blood or discomfort to the animal.

The sequel to this story is the same as in the foregoing ones. St. Eloy tries to perform a similar feat without the mysterious helper. He fails of course, and the stranger, in answer to his prayers to heaven, returns to save him and to restore to life the horse that was dying under his hands. St. Eloy now sees that it is Our Lord, removes his blasphemous sign, and henceforth devotes himself to the service of God.

To go back for a moment to the Tiree story. Only the earlier part of it finds a parallel in *The Smyth and his Dame*; of O'Neil and how his hair was made to grow there is no suggestion; but there seems to be more than a hint of likeness between the story of O'Neil and his brother and that of St. Eloy. In the former O'Neil's head is struck off and painlessly replaced when the hair has grown, in the latter the leg of the horse is bodily removed and replaced when the hoof is shod.

The story evidently belongs to a class devised in the early days to familiarise ignorant people with the miraculous powers of Our Lord. Is it not then conceivable, as a horse-shoeing miracle might not appeal to an island where horses were few, that in days when long locks were much desired, the story became changed so as to render it more convincing?

The fame of St. Eloy had reached this country in the Middle Ages. He is mentioned more than once in the poems of Sir David Lyndsay, and until a few years ago a tempera picture of him existed on a pillar in the church of St. Nicholas at Highworth, Wilts. It was destroyed during some alterations, but it showed the saint, robed and mitred and nailing a shoe on a horse's hoof, the leg being held in the left hand. This curious wall-painting forms the frontispiece to Dr. Fleming's book, already mentioned, and there are marked points of resemblance between it and the wood-cut to *The Smyth and his Dame* which is here reproduced.

If I am right in thinking that there is a connection between the Tiree story and that of St. Eloy, there is a remote chance that the latter tale might have reached Tiree at a very early time.

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Some fifty years after the death of the Bishop of Noyon, another French Bishop, Arculphus by name, was, on his return from Palestine, landed at Iona, whither he had been driven by stress of weather, and where he became the guest of the Abbot, St. Adamnan. He related to his host the story of his travels, how he had gone to Palestine for the sake of the Holy Places, and had passed through the whole Land of Promise, visiting also Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many islands of the sea. Bede tells how the Abbot received him most willingly, and heard him more willingly, so much so that he himself at once caused to be committed to writing whatever Arculphus testified to be worthy of mention of all that he had seen in the Holy Places.

May not Arculphus have told to the monks tales of his own land as well as of his travels, and thus the story of St. Eloy may not only have reached Iona but also the neighbouring monastery of Tiree?

This is of course only conjecture; all that can be said with any certainty is that the Tiree story was suggested by the other two. In conclusion, let me allude to another story which will occur to anyone as having points in common: The rejuvenescence of Æson by Medea, and her perfidy in the matter of Peleus and his daughters; though here, alas, there is no 'Deus ex machina' as in the other legends, to put matters right.

R. C. GRAHAM.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland:

A Historical Survey

THERE seems to be no reason to doubt that, at a time anterior to any existing Scottish legislation, the little village communities which grew around Royal and Baronial Castles and Religious Houses, or on sites otherwise suitable, cultivated—with the sanction and largely for the benefit of their lords—such scanty trade as was then practicable. But their position was precarious. They were probably in a position of absolute villenage, and had no rights or privileges save such as the policy or caprice of their lords allowed. The protection they enjoyed was also burdened with heavy impositions. But in process of time the Sovereign and the more powerful nobles came to recognise it to be their interest to encourage the development of the little trading communities which had sprung up around them, and this they did by the concession of privileges in the form largely of monopolies and exclusive dealing. In the communities thus formed societies known as *hanses* or guilds were instituted, and the privileged members of these communities, in process of time, claimed the right to administer the affairs of the burgh in which they existed, to the exclusion of the humbler classes of craftsmen. But before this stage of development had been reached, it became obvious to the Sovereign and to the lords, lay and ecclesiastical, that the prosperity of the trading communities, established on their respective territories, conduced to their own advantage, and so it became customary for these communities to obtain farther concessions of privilege. In grants of these the Crown took the lead. The burghal communities established on the royal domains were specially privileged, and, in return for the advantages which they thus secured, the Crown received, in the shape of fermes or rents, tolls and customs, important financial advantages, and accessions of strength through the increase of an industrial vassalage. The

baronial superiors, lay and ecclesiastical, of the burghal communities established on their territory, seem to have followed the royal example, but the burghs of Regality and Barony which were formed under their authority, were subordinate, in rank, position, and privilege, to those burghs which held directly of the Crown.

To the ROYAL BURGHS attention will first be directed, and reference will afterwards be made to burghs of Barony and Regality, Parliamentary burghs, and the modern class of Police burghs.

In one sense all towns established on the domains of the Crown and held directly of the Sovereign were Royal Burghs. But our constitutional writers have held that the essential *criteria* of proper burghs royal are the erection of the burgesses into communities or municipal corporations, and the grant of property to the individuals and the community under a permanent feudal tenure, in return to the Crown for certain fixed rents or *maills*, and the performance of personal services for the security of the public peace. In this matured form Royal Burghs existed in the reign of Malcolm IV. (1153-1165) and his immediate successors, but the charters and grants to these burghs—the earliest of which now known is of the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214)—recognise by implication the previous existence of these burghs as communities connected by common interests.

So early as the reign of David I. (1124-1153) that monarch embodied in his "Laws of the Four Burghs" a code of burghal legislation which shows them to have been, even then, compact, well-organised bodies, and enables a distinct conception to be formed of the municipal constitution of the little trading communities of that time. That code was obviously largely based on the pre-existing constitution and laws of English boroughs. Many of its enactments were doubtless recognised and operative in Scotland before they were thus formally adopted by King David, and though it was made expressly applicable only to the four burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, there can be little doubt that it was speedily accepted and recognised as authoritative by the other burghal communities which then existed, or were subsequently constituted, and formed the *nuclei* around which the infantile home and foreign trade of the country became concentrated. The "four burghs" were then doubtless the principal burghs of the kingdom, and David's laws were specially addressed to them. But, as other burghs existed

in Scotland, there seems to be little reason to doubt that these laws gave legislative sanction and authority to much that was previously recognised and operative in them. This earliest extant burghal legislation was supplemented by statutes passed in the time of William the Lion, between 1165 and 1214; by the Statutes of the Guild of merchants of Berwick, enacted in or before 1249, and speedily accepted and quoted as authoritative in the Scottish burghs; by provisions in the treatise known as the *Regiam Majestatem* imported from the English work of Glanvil, and sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament; and by several other documents which throw light on the laws and practice of the early burghs of Scotland. These other documents include (1) the *Constitutiones Nove* or New Constitutions, which are identical with clauses in charters granted to burghs by William the Lion; (2) a capitular known as *Assisa de Tolloniis* regarding great and small customs levied in Scotland on goods exported and imported during the reign of Robert the Bruce; (3) a document apparently of the latter half of the reign of Robert the Bruce, known as the *Articuli inquirendi in Itinere Camerarii*, containing a list of points to be enquired into at the Eyre of the Great Chamberlain, who had cognisance in early times of all burghal matters; (4) the *Juramenta Officiariorum*—a form of oath to be taken by the officers of burghs in the reign of King Robert; (5) a capitular apparently of the end of the fourteenth century known as the *Iter Camerarii*, and containing forms of proceedings connected with the Chamberlain's Eyre; and (6) a record of certain statutes passed by the Court of Four Burghs held at Stirling in 1405. These, with the charters to the several burghs, the Statutes of the Scottish Parliament, and the Records of the Convention of Burghs—the regular series of which, however, commences only in 1552—are the most authentic materials of Scottish burghal history.

The constituent members of these early burghal communities—called *burgesses*—consisted of such persons as were owners of houses, or held, directly of the King, portions of land within their respective burghs, known as *burrowages*, and they were required on admission to swear fealty to him and to the bailies and community. Each burgess held his house or possession for payment annually to the Crown of five pence for each rood of the land occupied by him. When a burgess was made in respect of land unbuilt upon, but who possessed other land on which a house existed, he was entitled to a year within which to build.

If, however, his house was destroyed by fire or war, and he had other built-on premises in the burgh, then he might leave the land, on which his house so destroyed stood, unbuilt upon till he was able to rebuild. But in every case the King's ferme or rent had to be paid.

Burgesses were of two classes, *resident* and *non-resident*—the latter being distinguished by the name of *rustic* or *churl* burgesses,¹ who however did not occupy the same position, or possess the same rights, as did resident burgesses. In Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, the rights of burgesses might be acquired by any person—even the thrall or slave of a baron or knight—by undisputed possession for a year and a day of a burrowage which he had acquired lawfully and without challenge in the presence of twelve of his neighbours. After such possession the right of a burgess to that burrowage could only be challenged by a claimant who had subsequently attained majority, or had previously been out of the kingdom. Rustic or churl burgesses were only entitled to the privileges of burgess-ship within the burgh in which each had his burrowage.

In process of time, however, the practice grew up in burghs of admitting burgesses in respect of other qualifications than the possession of heritable property—the payment of certain specified fees, and compliance with other conditions determined from time to time by individual burghs, or imposed by law. But in every case burgess-ship was, and still is—whatsoever unauthorised and illegal practice to the contrary may have crept in in certain burghs—essential to the valid admission to guilds of merchants, or to craft incorporations, which claim any right to be regarded as proper burghal institutions, or to be represented specially in the town council of the burgh in which they exist.

It would appear that in the oldest burghs in Scotland women were admissible to burgess-ship, as well as to membership of guilds, but the practice of so admitting them has long been in desuetude, if indeed the enrolment of the Baroness Burdett Coutts as an honorary burgess of Edinburgh, and H.R.H. the Duchess of Fife as an honorary burgess of Glasgow,—following upon a report as to the ancient practice, by the writer of this paper as town clerk for the time of both burghs—is not to be regarded as an exception to the otherwise universal practice of more modern times.

¹ These may correspond to the burgesses frequently alluded to in burgh records as “calsay” “(causeway) burgesses” who enjoyed only restricted rights.

In royal burghs as originally constituted, every burghess had, as has been said, to be a proprietor of a burrowage, holding immediately of the Crown for services of burgh use and wont; and it was as commissioners of the Crown that the magistrates gave him entry and sasine which were essential to the completion of his title. This relationship between the Crown and the burghess continued even after the burgh ceased to be a royal burgh, and all burghesses held their lands as Crown vassals. But by the Conveyancing (Scotland) Act, 1874, (37 and 38 Vict. cap. 94, section 25) burghage tenure has been abolished, and all persons possessed of any estate in land held burghage are declared to have the same right and interest in such subjects as would have belonged to them under that act had the tenure been feudal. Since October, 1874, therefore, there is no distinction between feu and burghage estates in land so far as title is concerned.

When burghs were first constituted on the royal domains, the rents and other revenues exigible from them were collected and accounted for to the Treasury by the bailies of the respective burghs, who were originally royal officers charged with that function, and with the general administration of the burgh. The bailies were thus under the supervision of the Great Chamberlain, who, besides having a general control of the Treasury, exercised administrative and judicial functions in the burghs, and supervised the action of the magistrates. It would seem, however, that an appeal from his decision lay to a court composed at first of representatives of the Four Burghs already referred to, and presided over by him. This body afterwards took the form and assumed the name of the 'Convention of the Royal and Free Burghs of Scotland.'

The administration of the affairs of royal burghs in the time of David I., and for some centuries afterwards, was exercised by officers known as *prepositi* or chief men. After a time pre-eminence seems to have been conferred, in some towns, on one of the magistrates, who, retaining the title of *prepositus*, came afterwards to be known as alderman, mayor, and latterly provost, while the subordinate magistrates were known as bailies. These were elected at first by the good men of the town—the burghesses—annually at the first moot after Michaelmas, and on election swore fealty to the Sovereign and to the burghesses, engaging to keep the customs of the burgh, and to administer justice to all without fear and without favour, according to the ordinance and doom of the good men of the town. At the same

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time burgh officers, known as *sergeants*, *criers*, or *beadles*, were also elected by the burgesses, and had to swear fealty to the King, to the magistrates, and to the community. The *prepositus* of each burgh was also required, at the sight and with the counsel of the community, to choose at least five wise and discreet men to act as *liners*, who had to swear faithfully to line all lands within the burgh according to right and the old marches. The enactments as to the appointments of these officers were followed—apparently at a later date—by a law applicable to every royal burgh, requiring the chief magistrate to cause twelve of the ‘lelest burgesses and wisest of the burgh’ to be sworn, by their great oath, to keep and maintain all the laws and customs of the burgh. These twelve men or *dozen* were probably the origin of the town council of later times, and they retained the names of ‘*dusane*’ even when, in many burghs, the number of the persons so selected considerably exceeded the prescribed twelve. But at first, and for a long time, they seem to have been simply a committee of advice to the magistrates, who were the practical administrators of the affairs of each burgh.

Towards the close of the reign of Alexander II., or the early part of the reign of Alexander III., reference is made in the Laws of the Guild to what, in some cases, are old offices under new names, and in others to offices which doubtless existed at a much earlier period, but were not specifically mentioned. The same document also increased the number of the *dusane* to *twenty-four*, to be elected apparently by the burgesses, who also elected the mayor and bailies; but it provided that if any dispute arose, the election of the mayor and bailies was to be made by the oaths of twenty-four good men, possibly the members of the enlarged *dusane*, who were empowered to choose one person to rule the burgh. The guild code further ordained the community—*i.e.* the burgesses—to elect *broccarii* or brokers. This code also provided that if one guild brother offended against another for a fourth time, he was to be condemned at the will of the aldermen, the ‘*farthing man*,’ the dean of guild, and the remainder of the guild.

The titles of these officers must be noticed. The term *alderman* was originally synonymous with *Earl* in the old Saxon form of government, and the officer bearing that title exercised shrieval authority over counties. But afterwards the head officer of a guild, and still later of the ward of a county

or burgh, came to be so distinguished. The application of the term alderman, to the chief magistrate of a Scottish burgh possibly arose, therefore, from the fact that, when the merchant guild became in effect the governing body of the burgh, the *prepositus* as the head of the governing body, received the title of *alderman*. The title *farthing man* had reference, probably, to the old division of burghs, not only in Scotland but in other countries, into *quarters*, each presided over by an officer so designated. The farthing man was thus an officer of a quarter, so the term was probably equivalent to bailie—each bailie having, in early times, the special charge of a quarter or district of his burgh. The *dean of guild* is still known as the head of the guild.

Still later, and towards the close of the reign of King Robert I., the document known as the '*Articuli Inquirendi in itinere Camerarii*' refers to *ale tasters*, whose duty it was to taste all ale brewed in the burgh, and to fix the price relative to the quality; to *apprisers of flesh*, who had to see that all kinds of butcher meat sold was of sound quality, and that the prices fixed by the magistrates were not exceeded; to *gaugers of cloth and wine*, who had to see that all cloth sold was of the proper quality and measure—that all wine had paid the prescribed duty to the King, and was of the proper quality and quantity, relatively to the price exacted; to *inspectors of weights and measures*, who had to see that all weights and measures were duly tested and sealed with the seal of the burgh. There was also, obviously, a system of inspection of fish and skins, to secure that the laws and ordinances in regard to these articles of consumpt were observed; and of mills, to see that the duties imposed on millers and their servants were attended to.

It seems strange that while reference is thus made in the oldest laws to the provost, magistrates, and dusane or council, and to a number of subordinate officers in burghs, no reference is made to the office of the burgh clerk or town clerk. Such an officer, however, must have existed in the earliest times, not only as the clerk of the council, but as the adviser of the magistrates in the performance of a large part both of their judicial and administrative functions. Besides, it was common for the magistrates themselves and others appearing before them to ask for and take instruments in the hands of the clerk. This implied the intervention of a notary, who, no doubt, acted also as common clerk. Town clerks, in fact, required to be notaries till

the giving sasine became unnecessary. In Scotland papal and imperial notaries practised till 1469, when an act of a parliament of James III. required all notaries to be appointed by the Sovereign. For some time after the passing of this act two kinds of notaries appear to have existed, one *clerical* and the other *secular*—instruments attested by the latter bearing faith in civil matters. But, in 1551, sheriffs were required by statute to cause both kinds of notaries to be examined by the lords of session, and in 1555 notaries were prohibited from acting till admitted by these lords. This requirement was extended by statute in 1563, and the penalty of death was inflicted on those who acted as notaries without being previously authorised by special charters from the Sovereign, followed by examination and admission by the lords of session. That court has since exercised exclusive authority as regards the admission of notaries.

Another officer must also have existed from the earliest times, though reference to him does not appear for several centuries after the time of David I. This was the treasurer or financial officer of the burgh, who, doubtless, in respect of the peculiar functions he has to perform, now holds office, along with the chief magistrate, for a period of three years from the period of his appointment to that office at any annual period of election.

It has been noticed that the period for which the magistrates of royal burghs were elected, under the provisions of the old burgh laws, was one year; but it would seem that, in course of time, these provisions became inoperative, and that injurious results followed. This condition of matters was referred to in an act touching the election of aldermen, bailies, and other officers of burghs, passed in 1469, during the reign of James III. It referred to the great trouble and contention yearly arising out of the choosing of these officers, 'through multitude and clamour of common simple persons,' and enacted that neither officers nor councillors should be continued, according to the King's laws of burghs, longer than for a year; that the choosing of the new officers should be in this way, that is to say, that the old council of the town should choose the new council, in such number as accorded to the town; that the new and the old council of the year before should choose all officers pertaining to the town, such as aldermen, bailies, dean of guild, and other officers; that each craft should choose a person of the same craft to have voice in the election of officers for that time;

and that no captain or constable of the King's castles should bear office within the town as alderman, bailie, dean of guild, treasurer, or any other office that might be chosen by the town.

This statute—which was followed in 1474 by another appointing four of the old council to be chosen annually to sit with the new council, and by a second in 1503 directing the provost and bailies of burghs to be changed yearly, and none but merchants to exercise jurisdiction within the burgh—undoubtedly effected a great change in the previous mode of electing the magistrates and councils of burghs, and facilitated the introduction and growth of a practice of admitting into town councils persons who were neither resident nor concerned in trade, and who applied the common good of these burghs to personal and other illegal uses. This practice was referred to in the reign of James V., when in 1535 an act of parliament was passed prohibiting the election to the magistracy of any save honest and substantial burgesses, merchants, and indwellers within the burgh. Notwithstanding this legislation, the uniform mode of election which it established was by no means universally adopted, and, under local influences, the constitution of burghs royal, or their *setts*, came to exhibit an endless variety in detail, although agreeing, with scarcely an exception, in their leading principle of what has been usually termed ‘self-election,’ to the exclusion of any near approach to popular suffrage. Into the various peculiarities of that system it would be unprofitable to enter, as the whole of it has now been completely done away with; but it may be stated that the *setts* of burghs have been the subject of much controversy and discussion in the courts of law, and that in their adjustment a sort of paramount authority was formerly assumed by the Convention of Burghs, as claiming to succeed to some of the functions of the ancient ‘Court or Parliament of the Four Burghs.’

In the old burghs of Scotland, as in those of other countries of Europe, every burgess was under obligation not only to serve in the King's host for the defence of the realm, and the support of the Royal authority throughout the kingdom, but also to perform the duties of watch and ward within his own burgh. When a watch was appointed by the magistrates to be kept, a burghal officer known as the *Walkstaff* passed from door to door and summoned such of the residents as were required to watch. Every man of full age so summoned was bound, under a penalty,

to enter upon the duty at the ringing of the curfew, provided with two weapons, and to watch closely till day dawn. The due performance of this duty was the subject of enquiry by the Lord Chamberlain at each of his ayres, and he had specially to enquire whether the duty was imposed on the rich equally with the poor. From the duty of watching and warding widows were exempted, unless they carried on the business of buying and selling, when, according to some manuscripts of the burgh laws, they were liable to perform *all* the duties of citizenship—those of watching and warding and military service being discharged by a suitable male substitute.

In the early history of burghs, the possession of simple burgess-ship seems to have placed the whole inhabitants upon an equal footing of right and privilege as well as of obligation. But, even in the time of David I., there were doubtless gradations of social position among the burgesses, determined not only by their individual ability or worth, but by the occupations they pursued. The mercantile class—which profited most from the practical monopoly of trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, which royal burghs enjoyed—seem to have organised themselves, at a very early period, into Guilds, and to have succeeded in drawing a line of separation between those burgesses who *might*, from those who *might not*, find admission into these guilds. This appears from the Burgh Laws, which excluded from such guilds litsters, or dyers, fleshers, and souters or shoemakers, unless they abjured the practice of their respective trades with their own hands, or otherwise than by their servants. As the wealth and influence of the mercantile classes extended, they became more and more exclusive in their relations with the craftsmen, and, being the richest and most important section of the community, they assumed more and more a preponderating influence in the government of the town. In the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III., if not even earlier, the merchants in the more important burghs formed themselves into highly organised associations or guilds, and, being thus organised, the growing power of the entire communities in which they existed practically passed into their hands. This is shown, as regards the town of Berwick, in the Laws of the Guild, enacted there in or before 1249. These state that *several* guilds had been formed in the town, with the result that there was a want of unity and concord, and that the incorporation of the whole, with their respective properties, into one guild, was intended to remedy this state of

matters. The then mayor and other good men of the town accordingly enacted a constitution for all the separate and independent guilds, which, 'if incorporated into one under one head, could in all good deeds be bound together in a fellowship sicker.' The condition described in this document doubtless applied to other Scottish towns. But, be that as it may, it is certain that the Berwick guild statutes were soon generally adopted and quoted as authoritative among them. The structure of this code is peculiar, for not only did it contain minute provisions as to the constitution of the guild, and regulate its action and that of its members in a variety of particulars, but it legislated as to matters affecting the entire burghal community, and was practically a municipal and police code, to be enforced by the governing body of the burgh. The only explanation of this fact seems to be that the guild, which in each burgh included a large number of the most influential burgesses, had by this time assumed the functions of the governing body.

But while the merchant class were thus assuming largely, if not wholly, the functions of burghal government, the craftsmen class were also growing in wealth, intelligence, and influence, and were preparing to assert their claims to participate in the administration of the affairs of the town. Forming themselves into separate crafts, and obtaining, chiefly from the magistrates, what was known as '*Seals of Cause*' officially sanctioning their special organisations, they elected their presidents or deacons and other officers, and prescribed the conditions of admission to their crafts—conditions which excluded from their organisations and their benefits all who were not formally admitted to membership,—and subjected every member to strict obligations as to the manner in which each craft was to be conducted. Thus organised, the body of craftsmen in each burgh became a power, and ere long asserted their claims to share with the mercantile guild in the administration of the town's affairs. This action aroused the jealousy of the guilds, and for a lengthened period disputes between the merchants and craftsmen were incessant. Complaints arose as to the quality of the work produced by the several crafts, as to the prices charged by them, and as to their riotous habits, and these complaints resulted in numerous statutes to secure efficient manufacture and reasonable prices, and to restrain their turbulence. Much of the municipal records of the early burghs in the fifteenth and subsequent centuries is occupied with details of the struggles

of the various orders of crafts to obtain a larger share of burghal administration than they then possessed, and ultimately their struggles succeeded in securing for them what they had so long contended for. In many of the burghs, both the merchant class and the craftsmen had a recognised representation in the town council. But such special representation was abolished by the Burgh Reform Act in all burghs save Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth. In the two first of these the dean of guild and deacon convener, and in the others the dean of guild only, were continued as constituent members of the town council.

The early royal burghs bore an important share of all public burdens, and contributed in certain fixed proportions, with the ecclesiastical and secular lords, towards all national aids and contributions. As such contributors they appear to have been first called to national conventions held for the purpose of imposing taxation, but afterwards came to be recognised as one of the Estates of the Realm. In respect of their liability thus to contribute to the national revenue, and to fulfil the other obligations incumbent on them as burghs, they got from the Crown special privileges, and among these new, or confirmations of old, exclusive privileges of trade and merchandise, foreign and domestic. These privileges were often expressed in the royal charters to individual burghs, but a general Charter of Confirmation of the privileges of burghs royal was granted by David II. (1362-63) and authoritatively summarised these privileges. By that charter he granted to his burgesses free power and faculty to buy and sell within the liberty of their own burghs, but forbade them to buy or sell within the bounds of the liberty of any other burgh unless specially licensed. He also prohibited bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons from buying or selling wool, skins, hides, or other merchandise, under whatsoever colour, but only from or to merchants of the burgh within whose liberty they remained. Such merchants were moreover commanded to present their merchandise at the market and cross of burghs that merchants might buy, and that the King's custom might be paid. The charter further forbade 'extranear merchants,' coming with ships and merchandise, from selling any kind of merchandise save to merchants of free burghs, or from buying any kind of merchandise save from merchants of the King's burghs, under pain of the royal indignation. The valuable rights thus summarised, some of which seem to have existed

in the time of David I., were carefully guarded by successive acts of parliament, and jealously asserted by the burghs themselves individually and collectively. The assertion and vindication of those privileges, and their special interests as burghs in relation to all matters of internal administration, formed a large proportion of the work of the Convention of Burghs, and much of the legislation by parliament in regard to these matters was simply the reflex of the action of the Convention, which from time to time submitted to the Estates of the Realm the results of their deliberations, and succeeded in getting them embodied in acts of parliament. It was, indeed, in consideration of the trading monopolies enjoyed by royal burghs that they had to bear so large a proportion of national taxation in early times, and this liability was subsequently pleaded as a reason why burghs of regality and barony, and other unfree towns which were exempted from it, should be excluded from trade and merchandise. The struggles on the part of the burghal convention to maintain the rights of the royal burghs in this respect were prolonged and vigorous, and they did succeed for a time in compelling the burghs of barony and regality and other unfree towns which had sprung into existence to contribute towards the relief from the burden of taxation which rested upon them. But the maintenance of exclusive privileges of trade and merchandise was impossible, and the only well-founded ground of complaint which royal and free burghs have in the present day is that, while their exclusive privileges have been swept away, they are still charged with the annual payment to the State of taxation imposed on them in respect of these privileges.

JAMES D. MARWICK.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

The Bannatyne Manuscript

A Sixteenth Century Poetical Miscellany¹

CONSIDERING its importance as a foundation document of Scottish literature, it is remarkable that the society of persons who used the surname of George Bannatyne as a rallying word to mark their attachment to that literature,² should have failed to publish the splendid manuscript of their patron, his sole monumental work. When the Bannatyne Club was instituted, nothing or almost nothing was known regarding him; the Manuscript, the thing peculiarly his, was the totem. So much is clear from more than one of the Club albums. 'Of his personal history,' says one writer,³ 'no particulars have been ascertained, and it is to be feared that in this respect our curiosity is never likely to be gratified. . . . Our curiosity to know something of so early an enthusiast for the poetry of his country (as the late Mr. Weber in a note on the MS. observes),⁴ can unfortunately not be gratified, as we are in possession of no facts respecting his quality and occupation whatever.' The chance discovery among the papers of Sir James Foulis of Woodhall of a *Memoriall Buik* in George Bannatyne's autograph partially cleared up the lineage and led to the preparation of the well-known *Memoir* by Sir Walter Scott, published in 1829 as one of the Club volumes. But having performed that pious duty to the memory of their 'honoured patron,' the members of the Bannatyne Club did nothing more.

¹ *The Bannatyne Manuscript*: compiled by George Bannatyne, 1568: printed for the Hunterian Club, 1873-1902.

² 'The Members have adopted for the designation of the Club the name of the venerable and industrious collector to whose labour Posterity is obliged for the earliest and most important record of our National Poetry.' *Extract from the Minutes of the Bannatyne Club, Feb. 15th, 1823.*

³ *The Poems of George Bannatyne*, MDLXVIII. G. B., Edinburgh, MDCCCXXIV: Album I. and II. Published 1824 and 1825.

⁴ *British Bibliographer*, vol. iv. p. 183.

Happily what was omitted to be done seventy years ago has now been accomplished by the Glasgow Hunterian Club, and the richest treasury of Scottish vernacular poetry is at last accessible for systematic and critical study.

The history of the Manuscript may be briefly told. Written as a labour of love in the latter half of the sixteenth century by George Bannatyne (born 1545, died 1608), son of James Bannatyne of Newtyle Forfarshire, a legal practitioner in Edinburgh, it was completed during a period of enforced leisure while an outbreak of the plague was raging in Scotland in the year 1568. So much is explicitly stated in the metrical colophon on folio 375 :

‘Heir endis this buik writtin in tyme of pest
 Quhen we fra labour was compeld to rest
 In to the thre last monethis of this yeir.
 Frome oure Redimaris birth, to knaw it heir,
 Ane thousand is, fyve hundreth, threscoir, awcht,
 Of this purpoiss namair it neiddis be tawcht ;
 Swa till conclude, God grant us all gude end
 And eftir deth eternall lyfe us send. Finis 1568.’

‘The volume,’ says Scott, ‘written in a very close hand and containing near eight hundred pages, appears to have occupied the transcriber only three months, an assertion which we should have scrupled to receive upon any other authority than his own.’ The inference from the colophon, accepted time after time by later writers,¹ is entirely mistaken. It is not warranted by the words ‘writtin in tyme of pest, etc.,’ for these may be interpreted as a general statement meaning no more than that a considerable portion of the miscellany was written during a period of enforced seclusion, the compilation being then brought to conclusion. The great length of the Manuscript of itself suggests another than a literal interpretation of the words. As a mere *tour de force* an expert penman would have hard work to transcribe it in three months, but Bannatyne himself in his prefatory verses informs us that his task was much more than mere copying. He had to work from manuscripts ‘auld and mankit’ which he had to learn to decipher, as the lines *The Wryttar to the Reidaris*, show :

‘Ye reverend redaris thir workis revolving richt,
 Gif ye get crymis, correct thame to your micht,
 And curse na clerk that cunningly thame wrait,
 But blame me baldly brocht this buik till licht,

¹ Repeated in the D.N.B. *voce*, George Bannatyne.

The Bannatyne Manuscript

In tenderest tyme, quhen knowledge was nocht bricht,
 Bot lait began to lerne and till translait
 My copeis awld, mankit and mutilait :
 Quhais trewth, as standis, yit haif I, sympill wicht,
 Tryd furth, thairfoir excuse sumpairt my estait.'

Further, it is evident that when he began to transcribe he had no fixed plan as regards classification and arrangement of the poems; for, when he had filled some 54 pages, he appears to have stopped, laid them aside, and commenced anew—proceeding on a regular plan. The division into 'fyve pairtis,' found in the Manuscript proper was an afterthought, and the earlier manuscript (usually cited as the Duplicate MS.), although now bound with the later, can never have been intended to form any part of his completed work. The Manuscript itself, indeed, confutes the conjecture about the transcription of the entire Miscellany in the three closing months of 1568, for, on page 290, when he had copied about two-thirds of the MS. he added the words '*Heir endis the haill four pairtis of this ballat book anno 1565,*' and afterwards deleted them. Owing to the fading of the erasing ink it is now possible to read the original note without difficulty.

The date of Bannatyne's birth—22nd December, 1545—is ascertained from an entry in his *Memoriall Buik*, and so we know for certain that at the end of 1568 he was only in his twenty-third year. Except the fact that he compiled the Miscellany and received certain small gifts of heritable estate from his father in 1572 and subsequent years, nothing whatever regarding him is known between the year of his birth and 1587 when he was admitted at the age of 42 to the privilege of a merchant and gild-brother in the city of Edinburgh. But, judging from the caligraphy of the Manuscript, it seems probable that some part of his youth was spent in his father's chambers as a law apprentice or clerk:

'A clerk foredoom'd his father's soul to cross
 Who pens a stanza, when he should engross.'

In general character the penmanship resembles the legal hand of the time. Be that as it may, we know that between 1565 and 1568 he was engaged in leisure hours transcribing vernacular poetry and sometimes also in composing verses, some eight pieces of his own being judged good enough to have a place in the *magnum opus*.

The Manuscript passed at his death c. 1608 to his only

child Janet, who married George Foulis of Woodhall and Ravelston, with whose descendants it remained until 1712, when William Foulis of Woodhall (great-grandson of George Bannatyne) gifted it to the Hon. William Carmichael of Skirling, whose son John, Earl of Hyndford, presented it in 1772 to the Faculty of Advocates, in whose library it is now one of the chief treasures. It is elegantly bound in two folio volumes, the original pages being inlaid and mounted so as to present a wide margin.

The *Manuscript*, properly so called, follows the *Duplicate MS.* It begins with an unnumbered leaf on which are written two prefatory verses entitled *The Wryttar to the Reidaris*, one of which I have quoted, the reverse of the leaf having a stanza of seven lines entitled *God*, serving as a kind of motto to the First Part. At the top of folio 1 to the left is the title, *Ane most godlie mirrie and lustie rapsodie maide be sundrie learned Scots poets and written be George Bannatyne in the tyme of his youth*, not, however, in Bannatyne's handwriting. It is supposed by Dr. Laing to have been added by Bishop Percy, who had the Manuscript on loan soon after it came into the Advocates' Library. The contents extend to 740 pages, exclusive of an incomplete *Table of the Haill Buik* containing 286 titles and first lines. On some blank leaves and spaces several pieces, written by a later hand, have been added.¹

It is not unlikely that Bannatyne prepared his Miscellany with a view to publication. If we are to hold that he did, I should incline to believe that its great bulk hindered the accomplishment of his purpose, not, as Scott and Laing suggest, 'the inauspiciousness of the time.' It is an error to speak of the second half of the sixteenth century in Scotland as a period wholly given over to theological disputation and utterly indifferent to the early vernacular literature. Writers who assert that secular poetry was then 'smothered and banned' should explain if they can how it happens that our first editions of John Barbour, Blynd Harry, Robert Henryson, Gawain Douglas, David Lindsay, and John Rolland, all issued from the native press in that very period. In the fifteenth century—the golden age of Scottish poetry—the works of the makers, encloistered, and passing by transcription among a few clerics and nobles must have been quite unknown to the common people. They only became national literature in the

¹ For a description of the MS. *vide* the *Memoir of George Bannatyne*.

proper sense of the term, when the Reformation was an accomplished fact. No doubt, after all the exertions of the press, a considerable *corpus poeticum* remained, which most likely would have perished but for the praiseworthy efforts of men like Bannatyne and Sir Richard Maitland. But surely the mere fact that it was not printed between 1560 and 1600 ought not to infer blame either to the publishers or the people of that age. The Bannatyne MS. after three hundred and fifty years has only been completely printed by special subscription. The Maitland Folio, less fortunate, still awaits a publisher.

In studying the contents of the Manuscript there are two questions, more or less related, that deserve careful examination—(1) the Value of the Text, and (2) the Sources used by Bannatyne—the former much the less difficult to determine. On the first, after repeated perusal of the poems, my opinion is that the text is far from a good one. Plainly it exhibits at many points debased forms of Scottish vernacular current in Bannatyne's day when the language was in a state of transition, due to political influences, and mainly to the development of the national life on English lines. For 'knappand Suddrone' and forgetting 'thair auld plane Scottis quhilk thair muderis lerit thame,' the Reformers were frequently twitted by the adherents of the old Catholic party, and George Bannatyne certainly was infected by the prevailing fashion. The rapidity with which the assimilation in the literary language of Scotland to that of England proceeded after 1560 is evidenced by an observation of James VI. when he revisited Scotland in 1617 after an absence of fourteen years. In a speech to the Scottish Parliament he is reported to have said that 'if the Scotch nation would be as docible to learn the goodness of the English as they are teachable to limp after their ill he might with facility prevail in his desire' to reduce the 'barbarity' of his ancient kingdom to the 'sweet civility' of England—'for they had learned of the English to drink healths, wear coaches and gay clothes, to take tobacco, and to speak neither Scotch nor English.' Bannatyne's diction although not open to the full force of the royal criticism is nevertheless pretty far removed from his fifteenth century originals.

It is impossible within the limits of this paper to enter into detail, but I may point out a few things that will serve to illustrate what is implied by my objection. Let us look at

some of the poems in groups. There are eight attributed to Chaucer,—seven of them mistakenly, but that is of no consequence for our present purpose. Now, if these be compared with English versions it will be seen at once that considerable liberty has been taken in transcribing. For example *The Song of Troilus* is translated into Northern English and spelt according to the standard of 1568. Bannatyne must have considered Chaucer's metre defective, for he altered lines in his original in order, as he thought, to make them scan—thus :

‘And if that at myn owné lust I brenne.’

‘*And gif that at myne awin lust I brenne.*’

‘O quiké deth! O sweté harm so queynte.’

‘*O quyck deth! O sweit harm so queynt.*’

‘But if that I consenté that it be.’

‘*Bot gif that I consent that it so be.*’

No one of course would ever dream of editing Chaucer from this Manuscript. But it is different in the case of Dunbar and Henryson's poems for which Bannatyne has been followed by many editors, when a better text was available.

The Scottish Text Society edition of Dunbar is an example. I entirely concur with Mr. G. P. M'Neill—whose *Note on the Versification and Metres of Dunbar* occurs curiously enough in an appendix to that edition—in holding that ‘The instances are few in which the Maitland MS. does not give a better reading, metrically considered, than the Bannatyne’ making it ‘matter of regret that this MS. (the Maitland) was not made the basis of the text.’ The same may be affirmed of the Henryson poems, and with even greater confidence, the data available for test purposes being so much more ample. Compare *The Prais of Aige* in (1) the Makculloch MS., (2) the *editio princeps* of Chepman and Myllar of 1508, and (3) the Bannatyne MS. Here is the first stanza from the Makculloch MS., a version about 60 years earlier than the Bannatyne :

‘In tyl ane garth, under ane reid roseir
Ane auld Man and decrepit, hard I syng;
Gay wes the noit, sweit was the voce and cleyr,
It wes grit joy to heir of sic ane thyng.
And to my doume, he said, in his dyting
For to be young I wald nocht, for my wyss
Of all this world, to mak me lord and king:
The moyr of aige the nerar hevynnis bliss.’

Chepman and Myllar's text varies in spelling, but Bannatyne alters the fifth line ‘*And to my doume*’ to ‘*And as me thocht.*’ We

need not suppose this to be merely a variant which Bannatyne found in another MS., for in the *Duplicate MS.* he has the reading of the Makculloch. It is simply one among hundreds of instances of tampering with his originals. In re-copying the *Duplicate MS.* he frequently alters words and sometimes even transposes whole lines, e.g. :

‘Bot they sic synnis sair for saik.’
 ‘Except sic synnis thay sair forsaik.’
 ‘The warld the flesche the feind also.’
 ‘The divill the warld the flesche also.’
 ‘And thow be juge disluge us of this steid.’
 ‘As thow art Juge deluge us of this dreid.’
 ‘That all this warld dois in thy hand depend.’
 ‘On quhome this warld alhaill now dois depend.’

Does it not seem as if Bannatyne *scribe* was frequently thrall to Bannatyne *versifier*? For another reason, we find him at times expurgating the text, e.g. in the last stanza of *The Want of Wyse Men*,

‘O Lord of Lordis, God and Gouvernour
 Makor and movar, bayth of mare and lesse
 Quhais power, wisdom, gudnes and honoure
 Is infynite now, sal be, and evir wes
 As thy Evangell planely dois express.’

where Chepman and Myllar’s edition of 1508 preserves without doubt the original reading of the fifth line :

‘As in the principall mencione of the messe.’

It would be easy to show that similar liberties were taken in transcribing the Fables, but space will not permit.

Come now to the second question, What were the sources used by Bannatyne in compiling his Miscellany? He has himself partly told us, and an unknown person at a later time has tried to supplement his information. In the MS. there are in all 334 poems, 139 of which are attributed, 195 left uncertain.

It will, I think, be conceded that Bannatyne’s ascriptions have a *prima facie* value greater than those made at a later time by the unknown scribe. Writing in 1568 he was in a favourable position for ascribing the poems. Not unlikely some of his manuscripts helped him to do so. Although he speaks of them as ‘auld and mankit’ they cannot really have been old, for the poetry—with the exception of pieces by Chaucer, Hoccleve, and Lydgate—all belongs to the late fifteenth century, much of it to the sixteenth. In other words, none of it was

written more than a hundred years, most of it less than fifty before his own day. An examination of the MS. seems to indicate that the five parts or divisions were transcribed *pari passu*. For example, with a MS. collection of Dunbar before him I think he selected poems suitable for the First Part, and having copied them, proceeded to select material from the same source for the other four parts. I feel certain that his MSS. of Henryson and Dunbar particularly, were more extensive than a cursory perusal of the Miscellany would lead one to suppose; and it will not be uninteresting to note with some care his attributions to these two authors, and the relation of certain groups of poems to each other in the different divisions of the MS.

Let us begin with Part First, which extends to folio 49, where is a colophon, '*Heir endis the First Part of this Buke contentand Ballatis of Theologie.*' There are in all 40 poems in this division, twelve of them specifically apportioned by Bannatyne among nine authors. Two other ascriptions, one to Henryson and another to Clerk, are in a handwriting not his. Twenty-eight poems were thus left by him of uncertain authorship. Of the twelve ascribed, three are by Dunbar, two by John Bellenden (called Bellentyne in the MS.), one by Gawain Douglas, one by Sir Richard Maitland, two by Alexander Scott, one by Stewart, one by Robert Norval, and one by Lydgate.

The first nine poems do not call for more than passing mention. Nos. I. and II. are the *Benner of Pietie* and a *Proheme*, the latter printed in the well-known translation of Boyes' History, published in 1536, both works of John Bellenden, Canon of Moray. Number III. is Gawain Douglas' *Prologue* to the Tenth Book of his translation of the *Aeneid*, evidently transcribed, not from the black letter edition of 1562 as Dr. Small suggests, but from a MS. nearly related to the Ruthven MS. now in Edinburgh University. *The Ballat of the Creation* by Sir Richard Maitland comes next. The fifth piece is a rendering of the 83rd Psalm, a version apparently intermediate between the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* and John King's *Psalter*. Numbers VI. and VII. I have not been able to identify. Numbers VIII. and IX. are two psalm renderings by Alexander Scott. Of these nine poems, only V., VI., and VII. are anonymous.

When we reach No. X. the cruces commence. That poem is attributed to Dunbar, and begins:

'To Thé O mercifull Saviour, Jesus,'

a poem universally accepted as his. At this point Bannatyne introduces a piece beginning :

‘O most heich and eternall king,’

having as a refrain in each of its eleven stanzas :

‘He that wold leif must lerne to dy.’

It belongs evidently to the time of the Reformation, judging from certain lines strongly reminiscent of the Scottish Psalter as well as from its theology. It is given to one ‘Ro. Norval,’ an unknown versifier, the only person of that name and time, so far as I have been able to discover, being a Presbyterian clergyman of Stirling mentioned by Calderwood. The surname never was a common one in Scotland.

From Nos. XII. to XXXII. I believe we have a collection of devotional poems by William Dunbar, only two of which, Nos. XXI. and XXXII., are attributed to that poet by Bannatyne.

At the outset, let it be noted that the best editors of Dunbar have adjudged three of the group to be works of that poet, namely, No. XX. :

‘Now gladdith every liffis creature,’

No. XXII. :

‘Jerusalem rejois for joy,’

and No. XXVI. :

‘The Sterre is rissin of our redemption.’

That, of course, goes so far to support my opinion. It is independent testimony. True it is, as Bentley long ago remarked, that ‘censures made from style and language are commonly nice and uncertain, and depend upon slender notices’ : all the same, diction, rime, and versification are factors that must be reckoned with. The editors having style only as a criterion attributed the three poems to Dunbar, and I am free to confess that it was the general style and tone of these and others of the group that first arrested attention and caused me to look more closely at Bannatyne’s distribution of poems in the MS. As the result of an examination I was led to the conclusion that Dunbar is the author of the twenty-one pieces. They bear the stamp of his mind, and have the sonorous and stately rhythm of other poems known to be his. Although hymn translations never could be made the channel for the humour in which he excels, still there are phrases and epithets that recall the

vigorous touch and daring of the master. If he did not write them it is far from easy to guess who did.

What has not been observed, so far as I am aware, is that they form collectively a little hymnary made up of four branches. Eight of the poems (Nos. xii. to xix.) are addressed to Christ and the Virgin; seven (Nos. xx. to xxvi.) are hymns of the Nativity; three (Nos. xxvii. to xxix.) on the Passion; three (Nos. xxx. to xxxii.) on the Resurrection. They are linked together in the MS. by Bannatyne, who, after No. xx., adds the words: '*Followis Ballatis of the Nativitie of Chryste*,' and at the end of No. xxvi. closes the section, '*Finis Nativitatis Dei: sequuntur de ejus Passione quaedam cantilene*.' So again we find the words, '*Finis de Passione et sequitur de Resurrectione*,' between Nos. xxix. and xxx., and at the end of xxxii. the colophon, '*Finis quod Dunbar*, pointing to the whole group as his.' No. xii. (*Christe qui lux es et dies*) is a translation of a seventh century Latin hymn, with a doxology of later date. In *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* is a translation of the same hymn, the author of which, says the late Professor Mitchell, the editor of the S.T. Society edition, 'no doubt had before him the Latin original as well as one of the German translations, but he has not given the unmistakable proof that Coverdale has given that he had both, by translating as the German versions do the Latin word *hostis* in the third verse as *feynde*, not *enemies* as the Scottish poet does.' One may say, without fear of contradiction, that the version of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* is not derived from any German translation, and is only related in the second degree to the Latin original. It follows closely the Scottish translation.¹ The entire Hymnary is undoubtedly pre-Reformation. Every one of the hymns is either based on a Latin original or on one of the Church lessons read on Festival Days.

Some further light on the twenty-one hymns that I venture to call Dunbar's is obtained by examining the seven poems which immediately follow in the MS. (Nos. xxxiii. to xxxix). There cannot be any doubt that they are the work of a single pen, although No. xxxiii. alone is ascribed by Bannatyne to a poet called Stewart. Far inferior though they be they are hymns of precisely the same class and manifestly imitations of those which precede. The author is named elsewhere in the

¹ Influence of Dunbar, I think, is traceable in more than one place of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* especially in the third or last part which is of a miscellaneous character.

MS. William Stewart. He was a determinant of St. Andrew's University in 1499 and magister in 1501. He appears to have entered the royal household, and is usually identified as Rector of Quodquan Parish, now annexed to Liberton Parish, in the Deanery of Lanark. He is best known as the author of the metrical Chronicle of Scotland supposed to have been written *c.* 1535 by command of Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV., for the instruction of her son James V. Lyndsay's mention of him in 1530, before he had begun his chronicle, shows that he had written much before that date. More fortunate than many of his contemporaries Stewart has had a considerable number of his verses preserved by Bannatyne and Maitland and from these one sees that he was a servile imitator of Dunbar, lacking his genius. I shall have occasion again to refer to him, but meantime let me direct attention to his devotional poems. I take by preference Number xxxiii. for the reason that it is ascribed to Stewart in the MS. Comparison with Number xxix., one of the hymns on the Passion, exhibits striking parallels. The theme in both cases is the trial of Jesus before Herod and Pilate.

DUNBAR.

XXIX.

Bundin as a theif, so thow harled &
led
Blaknit and forbled
Out throw the harnis pykis of thornis
applayit
Strang nails lang & greit
Thi face oursnittit all,
Sair scourgis bla and wan.
Thi vainis bursin, thi sennonis schorn
than.

XXII.

Done is a battell on the dragon blak.

STEWART.

XXXIII.

*Harlit as ane theif that does
them nocht ganestand.
forbled and blaknit
pairsed my harnis swa
ane crewal crown of thorn.
with nalis long and greit.
My face oursnittit bludy,
wan and blak
That all my vainis and
sennonis war devorse.*

*Upone the dragone a battell
for to done.*

An examination of these parallels should be accompanied by a reading of the complete poems, from which they are taken, as well as of Dunbar's *Merle and Nightingale*; but the examples given may indicate the assimilative method followed by Stewart. As I have already said the Dunbar group is unquestionably pre-Reformation. The Makculloch MS.¹ pre-

¹ The MS. (No. 149 in the Laing Coll. Edin. Univ.) consists of notes in Latin of lectures in Philosophy made by Magnus Makculloch of Tain when

serves No. XII. (*Christe qui lux es et dies*), which is thus older than 1509, and the thing to be observed is that the Stewart poems enable us to place the earlier group in the very period when Dunbar flourished.

But we must turn now to the next division which has for title—*Followis the Secound Pairt of this Buk, conteneand verry singular Ballatis, full of wisdom and moralitie, etc.* It contains in all seventy poems, twenty-six being ascribed, forty-four not. It is prefaced by a Latin line—*Tu vivendo bonos scribendo sequare peritos*, and a stanza of seven lines entitled *Wit*, probably Bannatyne's own composition both serving as motto to the book.

The second part, in my opinion, is very largely made up of poems of Henryson, Dunbar, and Stewart. Of the first eleven poems (XLII. to LII.) eight are ascribed by Bannatyne, —one to Gawain Douglas, one to Chaucer (Lydgate's by right), one to Henryson, two to Dunbar, one to Lychton Monicus, one to Walter Broun, and one to Kennedy. Of the three left uncertain No. XLIX. was long ago claimed for Dunbar by Pinkerton and Laing and is printed in the Scottish Text Edition as 'probably his.' Its ascription as genuine seems to me to involve the bestowal of Nos. XLII., L., and LI. to the same author. I have doubts about any of them being Dunbar's. No. LI. is given to Walter Broun, an author unknown except in this MS. It certainly seems to me suspect. In Bannatyne's transcript of the *Lament for the Makaris* there is mention of a Walter Broun, but I have always regarded the stanza in which the name occurs as an instance of Bannatyne's tampering with the original. Who would believe Dunbar capable of writing :

'In Dunfermline he hes tane Broun,
With gud Maister Robert Henrysoun,
Schir Johne the Ross imbraist hes hie
Timor mortis conturbat me.'

In the transcript in the Maitland MS., which was evidently made from the *editio princeps* of Chepman and Myllar of 1508, the stanza reads :

'In Dunfermline he hes doun roun
Gud Maistir Robert Henryson';

a student at Louvain in 1477. He became a priest of the diocese of Ross and was much employed (1480-90) as a scribe. His note-book passed to John Purdie, a Chaplain of St. Giles, Edinburgh, who transcribed on blank leaves the Henryson and other vernacular pieces.

the words *doun roun* being glossed by editors as 'whispered.' The meaning of *roun* is not doubtful, it is a common word, but *doun roun* is nonsensical. The reading of the *editio princeps*, I have little doubt, was unintelligible to Bannatyne, and instead of copying his original he, as usual, boldly amended it by substituting *tane* for *doun* and adding the letter *B* before *roun*, in that way obtaining the surname *Broun*. Now I submit that 'doun roun' is one of the 'crymis' to be charged against the printers Chepman and Myllar, and not a thing that will justify us 'cursing the clerk that cunningly wrait' the *Lament*. Simply a thorn or its equivalent 'th' has dropped out in the workshop, the true reading, I am confident, being :

'In Dunfermline he hes dounthroun
Gud Maistir Robert Henryson.'

If, therefore, it should come to be admitted that the four poems most probably are Dunbar's, the attribution to Walter Broun of No. LI. need not greatly hinder our assent.

A group of six pieces, Nos. LIII. to LVIII. next deserves attention. Three of them (LIV., LV., and LVI.) are ascribed to Henryson (spelt Henderson), No. LVII. being assigned to a makar Patrick Johnstone. All six, I believe, to be genuine specimens of Henryson's verse. If we are again to challenge Bannatyne's ascription of No. LVII. (*The Thre Deid Powis*) to Patrick Johnstone it may be on good cause shown. The poem is ascribed to Henryson in the Maitland MS., and in a case of doubt we ought certainly to incline to the opinion of Sir Richard Maitland, Senator of the College of Justice, Statesman, and Poet, rather than to Bannatyne, a youth editing 'in tenderest tyme when his knowledge was nocht brycht,' who had but lately 'begun to lere and translait his copies.' Dr. Laing printed the poem as Henryson's. No. LVIII., entitled *Good Counsel*, by Professor Skeat, because it is an obvious imitation of Chaucer's *Ballad of Good Counsel*, is like its model in three seven line stanzas, the last line in each recurring without alteration. It is found in a fifteenth century Scottish MS. now in Cambridge University Library (K.K. 1.5) so that there can be no doubt about the ballad being as early as Henryson's time. As Chaucer's most apt pupil no one, it seems to me, has so good a title to it as he. In No. LIII., which in the MS. immediately precedes

the well-known *Ressoning betuix Aige and Youth*, one catches the very tone of the same sweet singer.

Following this group come twelve pieces (LIX. to LXX.) all of them, I believe, by Dunbar. Nos. LIX. and LX. are ascribed to him. Nos. LXI. and LXII. (*Discretion of Asking and Discretion of Giving*), both anonymous, are universally acknowledged to be his. They are corollaries of *Discretion in Taking* (No. LXIII.), all three treated as one poem in the Maitland MS. and there assigned to Dunbar. No. LXIV. is also ascribed in the Bannatyne MS. to Dunbar; LXV., LXVI., and LXVII. are left uncertain. The Maitland MS., however, comes to our aid again for No. LXVI. (*Freedom, Honour, and Nobilnes*); and LXV. and LXVII., from internal evidence appear also to be his. There is this further to be said, that No. LXV. is closely imitated by Sir Richard Maitland, who, like William Stewart took Dunbar as his favourite model. No. LXVIII. is in the MS. ascribed to Dunbar, LXIX. and LXX. being anonymous. No. LXIX. is in the racy humorous vein of Dunbar, and good enough to be his; No. LXX. is found in the Maitland MS. unasccribed, but standing next to a poem by Dunbar. It also is closely imitated in another of Maitland's poems.

Thus far I have taken the group *seriatim* the better to show how frequently poems ascribed by Bannatyne to Dunbar are found alternating with poems, anonymous in the MS., which are now received as canonical on the authority of the Maitland MS. Bannatyne's method of ascription may, of course, be explained in different ways. In copying a series of poems he may have considered it sufficiently obvious that all were by the same author, and so have deemed it sufficient to add his colophon once for all. Cases in point are the Hymnary in Part First, and the three moral pieces, *Discretion in Asking, Taking, and Giving*. Again, it is conceivable that he may sometimes have added a *quod Dunbar*, or *quod Henryson*, as the case may be, when he had ended a day's work or on leaving one division to begin copying in another. Or, he may carelessly have omitted to do so, taking up the task where he had left it without noticing that some poems had been left uncertain. And not unlikely, in some cases, his original may not have afforded him help. Howsoever we are to explain it, the fact remains that in the MS. anonymous poems, from internal evidence and local point of contact,

frequently appear to be of common authorship with other poems specifically attributed.

No. LXXI. is a poem by Henryson, No. LXXII. one by Dunbar, but from LXXIII. to XCIII. we meet with another group, all anonymous, one of which (*The Want of Wyse Men*) beginning :

‘Me ferlyis of this grit confusioun,’

has on the authority of Dr. Laing been assigned to Henryson, as it seems to me on very doubtful grounds. ‘It is,’ says Laing, ‘one of the pieces printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 and is subjoined to Henryson’s *Orpheus and Eurydice*,’ as if by the same author. ‘It evidently belongs to the reign of James III., when the unsettled state of public affairs might give too much truth to the burden of each verse.’ The theme might equally apply to the days of James IV., or James V., but the important thing to observe is that the poem itself lacks altogether the music of Henryson’s verse. None of the twenty-one pieces, unless I am greatly mistaken, is by Henryson or Dunbar, but I cannot at present stop to discuss that question. It would require a paper all to itself. I pass over also the Stewart poems which conclude the second part, and proceed at once to the third division which begins at folio 97 with the title *Contenand Ballatis miry and othir solatiis consaitis set forth be divers ancient poyettis*. On the title page in a later hand there is a copy of Withers’ charming little song, *Shall I wasting in despair*, an excellent Scottish metaphrase.

This division contains in all 90 poems, 38 ascribed, 52 anonymous. It opens with two poems by Dunbar, Nos. CXI. and CXII., the third piece CXIII. being *Christ’s Kirk on the Green*. The fourth, CXIV., is a humorous poem by Lichtoun, an author who has nearly the same position in this section that he has in the preceding. No. CXV. is ascribed to Dunbar. No. CXVI. is attributed to Clerk, in a hand not Bannatyne’s, but the Maitland MS. again resolves the doubt, and properly assigns it to its rightful author. A poem well known as *Rowell’s Cursing* stands next.

At this point another group begins (CXVIII. to CXXXIII.) sixteen poems in all, eight of them ascribed to Dunbar, the remainder anonymous. Five of the eight left uncertain, I am confident are Dunbar’s. The Maitland MS. designates one of

them (No. cxxi.) as his. Two others have a signature—the one (No. cxviii.) *quod Allan Matsonis Subdartis*, the other (No. cxxiii.) *quod John Blyth*. Matson and Blyth have been included in the *Table of Authors* both in Dr. Laing's catalogue of the contents of the MS. and in the Hunterian Club reprint—the fact being that *Allan Matsonis Subdartis* is equivalent to *Allan a Maui's Soldiers*, *John Blyth* merely another kindred pseudonym. The poems are excellent drinking songs, prototypes of Burns' *John Barleycorn*. Both are inserted between acknowledged Dunbar compositions. No. cxxx. is the well-known *Interlude of the Droichis Part of the Play*, No. cxxxii. the burlesque *Wyf of Auchtyrmuchty*. To these poems no one has anything like so good a title as Dunbar. Mr. T. F. Henderson, without noticing their position in the MS., expresses an opinion that Dunbar 'may well have been the author of both *Allan Matsonis Subdartis* and another similar piece over the signature *Allan Subdart—Quha hes gud malt and makes ill drink*' (No. clxv.). No. cxxv. *The Laying of Lord Fergus' Gaist* which occurs between two of Dunbar's acknowledged poems might seem at first sight to be also one of his. The diction and rime, however, when carefully examined led me to doubt the authorship, and I have since convinced myself that it is by another hand, although evidently by a clever disciple. I shall return to it immediately, after noticing very briefly some of the remaining poems that make up this third Book. After transcribing the group with which we have been dealing Bannatyne proceeded to insert a collection of poems by two sixteenth century authors, Scott and Semple (cxxxiv.-cxl.), and came back to Dunbar. From cxli. to cl. we have, in my judgment, other ten genuine poems of his, seven of them ascribed to him by Bannatyne. The three pieces which I claim for him are No. cxli. (*Thus I Propone in My Carping*) which is found in the Maitland MS. between two Dunbar poems; cxlviii. (*The Gyre Carline*) a burlesque piece beginning—*In Tiberius tyme the trew Imperiour*, and cl. (*The Wowing of Jok and Jenny*), the last mentioned having a signature *quod Clerk* which has been deleted. At this point Bannatyne returns again to sixteenth century writers, Balnavis and Stewart (cli.-clv.) and at No. clvi. inserts another burlesque poem, *Sum Practysis of Medecyne*, printed as Henryson's by Laing on the strength of Bannatyne's ascription. It begins a group which extends to No. clxix., nineteen pieces in all, containing among others Dunbar and Kennedie's *Flyting*. Some of the pieces, I think,

are Dunbar's, others may be of later date. The difficulty of accepting *Sum Practysis of Medecyne* as Henryson's is this, that it is utterly unlike anything else of his, both as regards diction and metre. And what perhaps needs to be noticed even more than language and metrical tests is the theme of the poem itself, lacking as it does the humour so peculiarly his, and discovering a grossness found in none of his acknowledged verses.

The eleven poems which conclude the Third Book all belong to the sixteenth century. Space will not permit an examination of these in detail, or of the Fourth or Fifth Parts of the MS., and I prefer rather to conclude with some remarks concerning the authorship of *The Laying of Lord Fergus' Gaist* and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, and on the relation of these poems to the *Complaynt of Scotland*.

The Laying of Lord Fergus' Gaist is printed in an appendix to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, and is prefaced by a note pointing out its relation to *The Gyre Carline*. 'As the mention of Bettokis Bour occurs in both poems,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'and as the scene of both is laid in East Lothian, they are perhaps composed by the same author. The humour of these fragments seems to have been directed against the superstitions of Rome, but it is now very obscure.' I have already stated my reason for disbelieving in the common authorship. I agree, however, as to its being a skit at the Church of Rome. The theme is certainly an uncommon one—unique indeed. Can we penetrate its mystery and ascertain the author? It is worth trying for several reasons.

Let me direct attention then to a passage in the first volume of Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*. In Volume I. page 142 of that immense Chronicle, we read of one James Wedderburn, a native of Dundee, being delated in 1540 to the Council and of letters of caption directed against him. 'He departed secretly,' says Calderwood, 'to France and remained at Rouen and Dieppe till he deceased. He had been brought up in St. Leonard's College in his youth . . . and was reasonably well instructed in Philosophy and Humanity. Thereafter he went to France and played the Merchant. . . . This James had a good gift of poesy, and made divers comedies and tragedies in the Scottish tongue wherein he nipped the abuses and superstitions of the time. He composed in form of tragedy *The Beheading of John the Baptist*, which was acted at the West Port of Dundee, wherein he carped roughly the abuses and corruptions

of the Papists. He compiled the *History of Dionysius the Tyrant* in form of a comedy, which was acted on the playfield of the said Burgh, wherein he likewise nipped the Papists. He *counterfeited the conjuring of a gaist* which was indeed practised by Friar Laing beside Kinghorn, which Friar Laing had been confessor to the King. But after this conjuring the King was constrained for shame to remove him.' Friar Laing's indiscretion seems to have excited a good deal of interest.¹

We have thus found a poet who feigned the laying of a ghost and who had to go into exile on account of his poetic effusions. Is it not quite reasonable to suppose that the burlesque preserved in the Bannatyne MS. is the poem of James Wedderburn? It is put into the mouth of a churchman who had read—

‘mony quars
Bath the Donet and Dominus que pars;
Ryme maid, and als redene²
Baith Inglis and Latine.’

It is an example of burlesque romance, the distinguishing characteristic of which, as one of the poets who affected it tells us, is ‘Mokking meteris and mad matere’—a *genre* which had a great vogue in Scotland. The closing lines—

‘To reid quha will this gentill geist
Ye hard it nocht at Cokilby’s feist,’

point us to another unique poem in the Bannatyne MS.—*Cokilby’s Sow*. It is found in the Fifth Part, without ascription, between *The Freiris of Berwik*, which is anonymous, and *Robin and Makyn* with a *quod Robert Henryson*. The problem of authorship is hard to solve. Dunbar, in my opinion, has no claim whatever to it; and though I incline to the belief that it is another of Henryson’s poems I hesitate to pronounce for him. One of the stories is highly reminiscent of his master Chaucer, whom he names; while the fine moralising, running like a golden thread through the whole narrative, and the apologetic ending for the ‘revill rail’ are quite in the manner of the author of the Fables.

¹ Vide *An Epistle directed from the Holie Hermite of Larite*, by the Earl of Glencairn, quoted in Calderwood’s *History*.

² This *ene* rime is also found in *The Gude and Godlie Ballattis*. See Dr. J. A. H. Murray’s remarks on similar word endings in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, E.E.T.S. edition. Mr. W. A. Craigie first directed my attention to the peculiar rime.

I have mentioned *Cokilby*, however, in order to direct attention to *Christ's Kirk on the Green*. The two poems are slightly related. The *dramatis personae* are so far identical, Lowry, Downy, Diky, and 'hoge Huchown' being common to both. There is similarity too in some of the incidents. I agree with Professor Skeat that *Christ's Kirk* belongs unquestionably to the reign of James V. The problem still awaiting solution is, Who is the author? May I suggest for consideration, James Wedderburn? The conclusion may be refused by some, and I do not pretend to put it forth categorically. Permit me, however, to state some things not undeserving of consideration.

- (a) The Wedderburn poems in the MS.—there are four attributed to him—evidence a pawky, humorous turn of mind.
- (b) The tragedies and comedies of Maistir James that so nipped the Papists and enlisted the sympathy of the common people on the side of the Reformation party, would, we may be quite sure, much resemble in form and matter Sir David Lindsay's plays written for like purpose and for similar audiences. Such dramas if they lack the artistic finish of pastorals like *Christ's Kirk on the Green* have at any rate a good deal in common with them. They need green fields and blue sky; and Diky, Lowry, huge Huchown, and other rustics to sustain the fun. A writer of Plays and Interludes might very well be the author of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*.
- (c) I have mentioned before that there is slight influence of Dunbar discernible in certain pieces in the Third Part of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. Now, James Wedderburn is generally acknowledged to be one of the contributors, if not the chief contributor to that section, his younger brother John being credited mainly with the translations of the Lutheran and other German hymns.¹ And mention of *Cokilby's Sow* and the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* brings into the discussion the *Complaynt of Scotland*, claimed at one time or another for

¹ 'He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scottish metre and the Psalms of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rhymes in godlie rymes.' *Calderwood*.

Sir James Inglis,¹ Sir David Lindsay, and Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, a brother of James the poet. As a recent writer has remarked 'it is a puzzling book and many of the opinions in regard to it cherished by the most competent scholars have since 1890 been completely overthrown.' I do not think any one in the present day will care to do battle for Lindsay or Inglis. The rival claimants are a Wedderburn of Dundee, James, John, or Robert, on the one part, and the 'unknown person' suggested by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, on the other. I may say at once that I think the whole weight of evidence is in favour of James Wedderburn, the poet, who as an exile in France, resided in that country from 1540 till his death in 1550. It seems to me mere perversity to deny the authorship of the *Complaynt* to a Wedderburn. Curiously enough there are four copies of the work now extant, all of them wanting the title page. Two of these copies (now in the British Museum) were in the collection of Harley, Earl of Oxford, and in the catalogue of his library are thus entered: *Vedderburns Complainte of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil. 1549.* One of the copies, if not both, must have been complete in the eighteenth century else how did an English librarian obtain the title, the name of the author and date of publication of the book? As Dr. J. A. H. Murray truly observes 'there is no known *external* authority for the title and author's name there given.'² Further, it is now admitted that the book was printed in France, which explains among other things the letter *v* being used throughout for *w*. It follows that *Vedderburn* would be the form in the original title page.

¹ There were two priests of the same name, and for each a claim has been made at one time or another. Curiously enough the claim of James Wedderburn has hitherto never been considered so far as I am aware.

² And he adds that the title, in his opinion, is unquestionably genuine and authentic in form, spelling, and entire character, while it is such as nobody would have invented; *vide* his edition of the *Complaynt*, Introd. p. cx. He also points out strong resemblances between the *editio princeps* and the edition of Lyndsay's *Monarchy* printed by Jascuy of Paris. It should be noted that some of Jascuy's books actually were printed for him at Rouen, *vide* Dr. Mitchell's Introduction to the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, S.T.S. edition, p. ci.

And two discoveries made very recently must also be noticed. One is that 'from *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* of Alain Chartier, the Scottish author has borrowed not only his general idea of a Vision of Dame Scotia exhorting her three sons, the Estates, to agree and unite against the foreign enemy but also many details of the allegory; and that in the case of a number of passages, amounting in all to about fifteen pages of the edition of 1549, he has given an actual translation of the French.'¹ The other is that the Scottish author borrowed from an unprinted translation of *Ovid* by Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angoulême, a great admirer of Chartier.² Now with these facts before us let us consider the respective claims of the three Wedderburns to the authorship.

John, the second of the brothers, a priest, has never by any one been brought forward as a claimant. He was an exile in Wittenberg from 1538 to 1542, and it will not be readily conceded that he could have had easy access to Alain Chartier's work or that he was likely to find in Germany a copy of Saint Gelais' MS. Very soon after his return he was again pursued by Beaton, but escaped into England, after which we hear of him no more. Robert, also in holy orders, the youngest brother, has hitherto been the first favourite. But the grounds upon which his claim rests are of the flimsiest character when carefully examined. He had, it is true, during the life of the Cardinal 'to secure his safety by flight, spending part of the time in France, part in Germany. He returned from Frankfort on the Maine to Scotland in 1546, from which year until his death in 1553 he was Vicar of Dundee.' The only evidence of his literary activity is the notice by Calderwood that he superintended the editing of the godly and spiritual songs after his brother John's death, contributing to the book 'the augmentation of sindrie gude and godlie ballatis not contenit in the first edition' and providing

¹ The original of the *Complaynt of Scotlande*, by William Allan Neilson, *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. i. p. 411.

² Vide Mr. W. A. Craigie's interesting article in *Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, vol. i. p. 267. St. Gelais in one of his works describes Chartier as *clerc excellent, orateur magnifique*.

for the various metres appropriate tunes. There is nothing more to be said for him.

Now it seems to me that the claim for James Wedderburn as the author is very much stronger. His acknowledged literary gifts and his long residence in Rouen are beyond dispute. The relation of the *Complaynt* to *Cokilby's Sow* must also be taken into account. In the middle of the *Complaynt* is the well-known *Monologue Recreatif*—the most original portion of the work—a very odd but interesting interruption and bearing evidence of having been much extended while the work was actually in the press. It is easy to understand how the author, if resident in France, might stop the printing, cancel sheets, and interpolate pages of new matter; but it would not have been easy to do so in the case of an author resident in Britain as John and Robert certainly were in 1549. Among the interpolations are the long lists of stories and romances, of dances, popular songs and airs, beast and bird cries, nautical words and commands. As a recent critic says¹—‘not merely the sudden and incongruous transitions of the Monologue but its method of giving detailed and preposterous lists of old and unusual words and names is in the Rabelaisian manner.’ In the Rabelaisian manner it certainly is, but it seems to me that *Cokilby's Sow*, which directly influenced *The Laying of Lord Fergus' Gaist*, was remembered when the author came to write the fantastic Monologue and suggested to him the list of romances, dances and songs. Some of the dances are identical in both works and what is perhaps more remarkable seven of the songs cited in the Monologue actually are found in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. We may note also that Dionysius the Tyrant is brought into the *Complaynt* at least three times as ‘ane exempil.’

- (d) When regard is had to the handling of the theme of the *Complaynt* it is difficult to believe that the author could have been a churchman. For example, in Chapter XV. where ‘the thrid son, callit Laubir’ reminds the ‘ingrat spiritualite’ that they ‘hed bot pure lauboraris to there predecessouris’ and ‘haue na cause to gloir in

¹ Chambers's *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, vol. i. p. 214 (edition 1901).

them seluis,' or for 'there vane ignorant consaitis' which 'garris them ymagyn and belief that there predecessouris and all there nobilite and digniteis hes discendit fra the angellis and archangellis,' the voice surely is the voice not of a priest but of a layman—of one who, like Sir David Lindsay, earnestly desired 'a Ciceronian *concordat ordinum* as the only means of restoring prosperity and peace' to Scotland. The many striking resemblances between the *Complaynt* and certain poems of Lindsay, long ago pointed out by Leyden, evince intimate acquaintance on the part of the author of the *Complaynt* with the works of Lindsay; and not less striking is the undoubted relation between *Christ's Kirk on the Green* and Lindsay's *Justing of Barbour and Watson*.

I am far from maintaining that 'the probation leaves no hinge nor loop to hang a doubt on': what I do submit is that the claim of James Wedderburn to the authorship of the *Complaynt of Scotland* and of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* may some day be established by an extended study of George Bannatyne's MS.: and other and more important literary problems will only be solved when the value of the document has been fully recognised.

J. T. T. BROWN.

Life in a Country Manse about 1720

IN a pocket book of homely and homemade appearance clad in a cover made doubtless from the skin of one of his own flock—ovine not human—Mr. James Laurie, the minister of Kirkmichael has noted down from the years 1711 to 1732 memoranda of his income and expenses, his bonds, his bills, drugs he used, wages he paid, crops he reaped, books he bought, bargains he made. For twenty frugal years this venerable little note-book served him, and after the lapse of 180 years it may also serve us; for it affords glimpses of the quaint quiet rural life of Scotland in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Mr. James Laurie, who had laureated in Glasgow, and was in 1711 ordained minister of Kirkmichael in Ayrshire, was son of Mr. John Laurie who after prudently evading the 'Killing Times' in Scotland by serving a presbyterian congregation in Ireland, became after the Revolution successively minister of Penpont and Auchinleck.

Kirkmichael, with a population of 700 souls, in those days was a remote parish through which ran tracks over the moors to Maybole and Ayr. There was no village then but only little clachans. There were stretches of heather and bog, in which forty years before covenanters had sought shelter from the malignant pursuers; there were pastures and lands reclaimed from the marshes, on which were grown poor grey oats and beer or barley, struggling for existence with thistles and wild mustard; there were the heather-covered hovels, in which the crofters lived in peat-reeked rooms or 'spences,' hardly divided from the 'ben' in which the cows and the poultry had a malodorous sleeping place. Here and there were the mansions of lairds which were sheltered by clumps of trees, which alone relieved the bare woodless landscape. These dwellings were mostly homely and unpretentious. Though there were one or two of more importance, such as Kirkmichael

House, near to the manse, which an old writer describes 'as desirable a dwelling in all the country having good gardens and orchards, the first in Carrick planted with peaches and apricocks.' The manse, like most of the ministers' dwellings of those days, would be thatched, with a kailyard in front, the narrow little windows half glazed, giving dim light through walls three feet thick to the low chambers and four rooms which were divided by wooden partitions. Here resided a family consisting of the minister and his wife (Mistress Ann Orr 'that was,'), sister Betty, and four boys and three girls. Three women servants and a serving man, who slept over the byre, with a herd lassie completed the household.

A stipend of £80 was not wealth beyond the dreams of avarice for the most frugal establishment. But even this income was hard to get. Some lairds are hard up, and they pay with difficulty the teinds of 'white' or silver money, or 'victual,' in oatmeal and bere; and sometimes three years pass by before the minister is fully paid up his due of meal or money. He takes horse to Dinduff, and there he gets counted out 'three golden guineas and a banknote,' but for the rest he is obliged to accept a bill, and some 'precepts.' From prosperous Sir John Ferguson of Kilkerran he gets in 1721 'nine pounds and 3 and 20 pence and four and a plack,' which is supplemented by a bill. Impecuniosity being the badge of all their tribe, some of the heritor lairds adopt the plan of giving the minister their 'precepts,' or orders on their tenants who were to pay out of their rents the proportion of stipend allocated to their farms, and these men in turn put him off sometimes with a bill. To the farmers therefore the poor minister had to apply yearly for their shares of teinds, a few bolls meal from one, some pecks from another, and there were usually some firlots wanting when brought by grudging tenants to the door. The victual stipend arrived in sacks or creels on horseback—2 bolls forming the 'load' of a horse—and was deposited in the girnall at the back of the manse, with divisions to contain malt, meal, grey oats, white oats, beer and horse corn, which might get musty or eaten by rats before it was used, so that it was better to bargain for 'white seed corn instead of meal.'

Nor were the heritors more willing to keep the manse in repair than they are to keep its owner in money. The session or minister must look after it when it goes into decay, though the window panes are broken and the casements are rotten.

To this the pocket book gives testimony, when it notes in March, 1730,—‘payd William Simson 4 shillings and sixpence for the window in my room, 12 foot of glass, and mending ane old window. Gave John Goudie half a crown for the casement, item 4 shillings to John Goudie for a casement and broads to ye south window in my room and in the low chamber, item to George Montgomery four and forty pence for glass to one of the side of ye windows in the low room, and glass to the clock and setting other glass in ye rest of the windows.’ All which shows there was discomfort at the manse. It is true the cost of living was not great, for the times were simple and the wants were few. Wool or grey plaiding woven by the weaver made the clothes for the minister and his boys, though he had a coat of blue broad cloth for solemn occasions; a gown of ‘Musselburgh stuff’ for ordinary wear satisfied the mistress of the house, made by the tailor¹ from a neighbouring clachan, and woollen petticoats and other undergarments were made at home. Judging from the memoranda, shoes seem to have been a constant requirement, and from their cheapness it is not surprising they needed often to be renewed. Shoes for the minister or his wife cost £1 4s. Scots or 2s. sterling, while those for the youngsters cost only one shilling, and they are ‘soaled’ for 4d. per pair. For £4 4s. Scots five pairs are made for ‘the bairns’—Molly, Annie, James, John, and Nelly. It was however far more economical to get the shoemaker and his man to come to the manse and work for some days, the wages being about 4d. a day each and their meat. These were great occasions when the cobbler or tailor was expected at the manse, bringing news and gossip for the servants from Maybole. In preparation for their coming the minister set in for their use a quantity of bend leather, a pound of hemp and rosin, and there were tanned skins of his herd to use. It is noted that in August, 1716, ‘James Niven and his servant wrought nine days for which I gave him 6 and 4 pence (6½d. sterling) per day and seven pence for timber heels. They made 2 pair shoes for me, 2 for my wife, 2 to my sister Betty, 2 to Molly, one pair to Annie, 2 pair to Alexander Kennedy

¹That there were tailors as well as weavers in some little clachans is shown by the Session books: ‘Sept. 2, 1693. The Session appoints John Forgan to employ a Straiton tailor to make a coul or covering of sackcloth for the said Janet Kennedy, like unto that which they have in Straiton, there having been no such thing here for these many years it’s thought none of the tailors of the parish can make it.’

[the serving man], one pair to Margaret Smith, one pair to Katrin MacIennan, one pair to Margaret Brewster the herd lassie.' Here are thirteen pairs of single soled shoes in nine days for the small sum of 4s. 9d.

Under August, 1722, we find a similar entry characteristic of bygone days. 'David Gibson with his man came on Tuesday morning and wrought till Tuesday 12 o'clock, and made a pair of slippers for myself, 2 pair cloath slippers for my wife, 2 pair shoes for Betty, a pair to Molly, Annie, and Johnnie; 2 pair to Charles [serving man], so he has got all the shoes I owe him when Martinmas is come. A pair to Janet Macgowan which is all she wants till Martinmas is come; a pair to Sarah and a pair of shoes is owing her against Martinmas, 2 pair to Margaret Macnicol which pays all her shoes, and a pair to Janet Morton.' The wages of each man being only one groat or victual a day, fifteen pairs of slippers and shoes are wondrously cheap at the money.

In the house are living and feeding three women servants as active in the byre and the field as in the kitchen, and a man who has to look after the garden and the glebe, to plough, to reap, to thresh corn, and fodder the cattle.

The women's wages were from £5 or £6 Scots (between 8s. and 10s.) the half year, and a pair of shoes or an apron, while the man has £7 Scots, a pair of shoes and a sark, and each gets 6d. as 'arles.' These 'shoon,' however, were not in constant use; barefooted the women would go about the house, barefooted they would walk to kirk or market, till they came in sight of the kirkyard or town, when they would put on the ill-fitting shoes, which were slung round their necks, and hobble into company. In winter time, when snow lay over the fields and moors, and the rude rugged roads were impassable by coach or horse, and there was a cessation of outdoor work for maid and man, the manse household was busy indoors. The serving man, after foddering the sheep and cattle, at night would be mending his shoes or double soled his brogues. The women, with Mrs. Laurie and Mistress Betty, were engaged in making yarn and thread on the 'big wheel' and the 'little wheel,' and the spinning wheel whirled all day long, distracting the minister engaged on his sermons or Poole's Synopsis in his book-room, with constant clatter of tongues and treadles that sounded through the wooden partitions. Every now and again the pedlar would come with his tempting pack, and the weaver

seeking 'customers work,' and they buy some of the yarn or thread made in the manse; while from the weaver are bought '13 ells of Kilmarnocks 2d. happen the ell, 36 ells linen, and 27 ells bairns sarks,' and 'broad cloath 14 ells at 3 happens the yard.' It was not then beneath the dignity of ladies to sell their home-made wares, and to the laird's wife at Kilikie are sold '36 dozen ells of yarn,' and it is noted that 'my wife received from Lady Killhenzie '14 shilling for her cloath napery.' The servants are furnished with an apron or petticoat to be 'deduced' from their wages. There is also the linen to be bleached by David Mitchell, 'the bleetching of 21 coarse linnen, 8 pennies per ell being £1 10s. Scots,' and cloth to be dressed. The stuff for this home industry was easily got, for the minister has a flock to supply wool for the yarn, he has flax growing on the glebe to provide lint for the spindle.

One of the labours for the serving man was that of carting peats from the moor; but there were also coals to fetch from Keirhill heugh, which in those days when carts were unknown and unusable on the ruts and tracks of stones and mire and ditch that served as roads, were conveyed in creels on horses' backs. The meagre ill-thriven animals could only bear meagre burdens, and a 'load' was only 3 cwt., which was all they could carry. It was therefore a tedious operation to get a supply of fuel. We find in the MS. book such entries as these in the years 1722 and 1724. 'Payd John Brackenrig eleven pounds twelve pence happeny for 98 load of coals,' 'to 56 loads £5 18s.,' '44 loads £4 16s.,' and we have in mind a vision of the long weary succession of horses crawling backwards and forwards with their creels of coals, each of which is only worth 11d., and for fetching each 2 loads John or Jamie Gilbert is paid a groat.

Money was always scarce in Scotland in those days; gold was rarely seen, silver was grudgingly used, and in transactions with tradesmen they were as much as possible paid in kind. The weaver was often paid by the minister partly in grain, some firlots of meal, and a sheep or calf skin. From the shoemaker's account is 'deduced' the sum he owes Mr. Laurie for a stirk skin, 2 cowskins and a cuddock skin valued at from 10d. or a shilling. David M'Rotchart the smith has taken off his account—'for a veal [a calf] £3, making a wheelbarrow 12s., a saith, a sned and a stroake 8s.,'—a charge for 10 pecks of meal and skins of stirks or stotts.

From the humble entries of purchases made we can construct a picture of the old Kirkmichael home life, where living was not costly and ways were simple. When the minister goes to Maybole his expenses are only 6d. Four hens are bought for 16s. Scots (1s. 4d. stg.), a dozen eggs for 2½d., a hen 2½d., a stone of cheese 3s. 4d. The purchases are on a microscopic scale, which translated from the Scots money to English represent for raisins 1d., for sugar ½d., 2 lbs. of sugar 1s., for spinning yarn ½d., to starch and an ounce of sugar 2½d., for tobacco 3 farthings; 'for ¼ lib. soape and eggs, 5½d.; for coals, 4s. 8d.' To tobacco to coals 2d., thread 1d., to gunpowder ½d., for 4 napers at Maybole, giving my sister for eggs 3d., for eggs' 1d. When the minister sets off for Ayr he is laden with orders, and comes back with his wallet and saddle bags laden with purchases. He has spent for plaiding £1 4s. Scots. The same sum to his wigmaker to mend his wig, and '£1 1s. for making my coat,' and there is 1s. 8d. sterling miscellaneously spent, 'for tobacco, horse, soape, sugar candie.' The frequent mention of 2d. for ale, 4d. for ale, represent the sums for 'drink money' given to each workman, to those who called with a message, or to those who called with a bill. There is also one article which is often bought, though in minute quantities—sugar candy, which is put in curious conjunction, such as 'for eggs and sugar candie 1s. 6d.' (or 1½d.). This article was used not only for cooking, but for the making of drugs and electuaries, doubtless to relieve their loathsome tastes, and hide their more objectionable ingredients. Sugar was not needed for tea-drinking, for that custom was long of springing up; but in 1724 we find the new fashion penetrating the manses of Ayrshire, though a lb. of Bohea cost 24 shillings, and Mrs. Laurie and her family having resolved to become *à la mode*, the minister has invested in a whole set of tea-table equipage. He notes down 'the price of ye lime,'—'lime' meaning loam or earthenware.

4 large dishes for milk,	-	-	-	£1	14	0
Milk pot, -	-	-	-	0	4	0
Tea pot, -	-	-	-	0	6	0
Dozen cups and saucers or plates,	2d.					

happen p. piece, - - - 1 10 0

At the same time he buys 'a decanter 9s., 5 parringers at 2½d. a piece, 2 hand basons 12s., a lap bason 3s., and 10 plates at 2d. pr. piece,' and the cupboard is thus anew set up. It is in Edinburgh when attending the General Assembly that he finds

an opportunity of buying such additions to the household garnishing, which are sent by the carrier in his creels, with 'a letter 8d.,' 'my saddle from Edinburgh 6s. Scots.'

It is March and there are vegetables to be put in the yard at home, and from the seeds he buys we know the contents of the manse garden: 'ane ounce spinage 3s., 1 ounce beet shard 3s., $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce parsley 1s., 2 drms. colliflower 8d., 2 drs. lettuce 1s., ane ounce carrots 3d., ane ounce parsnips 3d., $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce cresses 1s., $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of salary 3d., 2 ounce early turnips, half ane ounce yellow turnips, 1 pound turkey beans, 1 lib. peas 6d.' Potatoes were not yet grown in the garden, and were but an expensive luxury which is noted only in one entry—'£6 for cheese and potatoes.' In front of the manse, which was bare as the treeless country, lay the kailyard, its culinary contents relieved by some flowers, and when the minister is in Edinburgh he gets seed to replenish his borders—'Africa marigold, amaranthus, sunflower, stock jelly flower, coxcomb, luppyns bleu and yellow, double holly oaks, bella donna.' With these and many other articles, Mr. James Laurie, dressed in long blue coat with ample skirts, jack boots on legs, many-curved wig and three-cornered hat on head, would leave the Grassmarket hostelry, where there was less entertainment for man than for beast, and amble homewards to Ayrshire.

These were days when the country was poor, when the people were very poor, and when beggars abounded. Passing over the roads a constant succession of sturdy sorners lived on the good nature and credulity of farmer, cottar, and laird. The alms were more ready than lavish—a handful of meal or a sup of kail. At Kirkmichael manse they made their appearance, and the minister dispensed charity, more from the poor-box than his own purse, and the supplicants departed thankful for extremely small mercies. In August, 1722, for example, are given 'to 2 poor seamen broke at Greenock 3 happens; 2 sick women 2d.; to a poor sick man with a large family of children from Kintyre a penny.' Next month is 'payd a shilling for maintaining the woman in prison'—doubtless committed to the 'theives' hole' of Ayr by the Presbytery's orders. In days when Scots ships sailed to Portugal and the Levant with their cargoes of woollen stuffs, dried salmon and salted herring, they were often pounced upon by the Tarifa pirates, who, disgusted with the miserable plunder, sold their crews into slavery in Algiers and Barbary. After sore hardships

some escaped or were bought from their Moslem masters, and arrived on their native shores in rags and hunger, bearing on their bodies the marks of brutal usage in maimed limbs and tongueless mouths. These poor wretches were the objects of special commiseration and won charity from kirk and house, though in donations which reveal more the poverty than generosity of the age. Such 'supplicants' at Kirkmichael manse were sent, if not full, at least not empty away, as the disbursements of Mr. Laurie from the session's poor-box show. 'To a poor man taken a slave in Algiers 6s.'—alias $\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling; 'To a slave from Algiers, dumb, 2d.'

The stipend of Kirkmichael was small. The family was increasing, but Mr. James Laurie was a prosperous, shrewd man, eager over his grain and his cattle, his bonds and his bills. He had besides his glebe, land or 'mailings' in other parts of his parish which he stocks for grazing. In 1723 he has at Glastron '11 gimmers, 4 ewes, 5 dinmonts, 13 lambs, 1 tup—all marked above the ears'; he has also there '3 queys, a stot 2 years old, 4 stirks, 1 stot white faced'; besides 'Johnnie has a ew and a ew lambe.' A groat is paid to a crofter for each beast he grazes in summer. In 1722 'It is agreed betwixt William Goudie in Glastron and the minister of Kirkmichael that he shall take charge of ye cattell, horse, nolt, and sheep, and herd them till Martinmas, and oversee the making of fold dikes and mend them when failing and assist at the hay, and to have for his pains a horse grass, and 2 cows' grass and a stirk, the house and yard, and 2 bolls meall.' There being in those days of rude agriculture no enclosures of fields, no fences, dikes or hedges, the cattle needed to be herded night and day lest they should stray on the crops of the neighbours; but when harvest was over they could wander and pasture anywhere as on common ground till Martinmas. Then there was a slaughter of sheep and oxen for the mart of salted meat, which kept families supplied with monotonous fare till June came round, while the surviving beasts were kept shut up in byres till in April they issued forth blear-eyed, starved, emaciated, tottering with weakness. No wonder in this little note-book we have entries such as this: 'June 3, 1720. Dead 6 ewes, remaining five; 2 last year's lambs dead, 6 alive.'

Here is another of those engagements with servants, duly witnessed and signed in excruciating cacography, which are interesting as relics of bygone fashions. In 1727 'there is an

agreement between John Kennedy and the minister of Kirk-michael. The said John Kennedy is to work all days of the year to me at Avonsou, and if occasion offer sometimes a day or two here which is to say he is to oversee the herd, flit the folds, weed corn, shear and bind in harvest, oversee the cattel after harvest, in winter to thresh and fodder the nolt, and oversee the sheep, and plough the land and cut down the haye and help to win it, for which I give him a house and yard, 2 cows grass and their followers, 2 ackers of land ploughed and harried, the proof for threshing.' Sometimes the wages are varied, to '2 acres of land, an aiker of croft of the 3rd crop 4 bolls and $\frac{1}{2}$ meall a house and yard, 2 pair of shoes,' 'a peck of meal out of each stack for foddering cattel, and right of hoof to bring home 18 loads of coals.' Carefully is noted the produce of every stack. This one 'is proved' to 9 bolls; that has 'corn dighted 7 bolls and a half dried for meal,' and there is a fee allowed for 'proof of threshing,' of 3 pecks or '7 pecks, a forpit, and a handsell.' The price of a boll of meal was £6 13s. 4d. Scots, a boll of bere £8. A boll of corn is about £6 Scots, sometimes six merks.

The prices at which the beasts were bought vary little year by year; but the small value set on them was due to their miserable kind—small and meagre. From William Goudie are bought 'a cow, 2 queys, and a sheep for £3 sterling. The cow 13 lib. (Scots), the queys 9 lib. a piece, the sheep 5 pounds.' From another 'ane cow 20 merk old but good mouth.' From David M'Laren 'a quey for 11 pound, another at a guinea 6 weathers 42 pence a piece,' and 'from Adam Grieve five weathers eleven groats a piece.' By selling his beasts—dead or alive—('Thos. Mactaggart owes me four pounds for ye half of ye carecass of a stot')—he increased his little fortune, and besides that he had the skins of the dead to sell, which he gave in part payment to his weaver, shoemaker, and smith. But he had need for many of these skins for himself, and he sends them to be dressed, barked or tanned by the shoemaker, and these are used when the shoemaker and his man come to work for 7 or 9 days at the manse as leather to make shoes for the family. There is £1 10s. Scots for tanning a cowskin, £1 for dressing the skin of a codoch (which is a heifer), and the hide of the pony. Nothing is wasted in the household. There was grain more than enough from his land, and also from the victual stipend that replenished his gurnal. So he pays with it his tradesmen; he exchanges superfluous meal for malt for brewing, and supplies the neighbours

and cottars that call at the manse to buy portions of grain—from the laird of Killikie, who sends his men and 6 horses for 12 bolls of meal, at 8 merks the boll, to Widow Airds, who comes to buy 2 pecks. Some cot-houses he had to let to the poor. Mary Agnew gets a kiln to live in, with a yard, grass for a cow and a calf, 'for which she is to pay £7 Scots, 3 days shearing, and as many peats as a man casts in a day.'

Prosperous, the minister has more bonds than debts. The Burgh Records of Lanark show that he had in 1727 sold to the Town Council a tenement for £100, and the impecunious state of the burgh is shown by the difficulty of finding a man to become security for paying the money. Nor were the gentry abounding in funds—their rents being mostly paid 'in kind,' to raise a few pounds often drove them to their wits' ends. There was no bank from which to borrow except in Edinburgh, and when money did come in there was no secure place to place it, and it was lent to some well-to-do baker or general merchant in a town, or borrowed from a better off neighbour at 5 per cent. So it happens the laird of Dinduff, who pays his minister largely by bills and precepts and victual, is driven to give a bond to him for 3000 merks borrowed from him—a sum which seems supplied by his mother-in-law; his brother-in-law, William Smith of Boggend, is obliged to seek his aid for sums of 100 merks now and again, for which the 5 per cent. interest is duly exacted. When one luckless gentleman is unable to pay back in silver a bond for £10, the debt is cleared by Mr. Laurie allowing him for books and brandy—'Tillotson and Barrow's *Sermons*, Howe's *Living Temple*, Walker's *Gift of Prayer and Preaching*, etc.; also a cask of brandy containing 22 pints, 25 pence per pint [a Scots pint equal to 2 quarts English], 2 casks and a chopin of brandy at 1s. 3d., a firkin of soape at £1 1s., and a hat 9s.' By which transaction it is clear that the minister had made a very good bargain. Yet even he is forced to borrow at times, and does so from Sister Betty, a spinster evidently as shrewd at affairs as himself, who lends her money also at 5 per cent. When she goes to England, however, she needs 36 merks for her journey, and she calls up £2 7s. 'which Betty says is not paid'—reminds him of sums for muslin and wages, and 4d. owing for pins, needles, and knitting thread. There is also mention of money borrowed by him from the poor-box, for which a bond is given and the usual interest paid.

However engrossed in bullocks and bonds, in corn and

crops, the minister of Kirkmichael had interests also of a wider and more intellectual range. There were signs of learning and culture in the old manse. The shelves of the little book room were well filled, and groaned under their ponderous load of calf-bound folio and quarto. There are volumes in Latin and Hebrew, in Greek and French, as well as English—there are theology and history, and classics and plays. Clearly he was one of the new school, denounced for their profane morality by the fanatical ministers then abounding in the church. He owns only one of the saintly and grim Mr. Thomas Boston's works. There are church Fathers like Ambrose and Augustine, puritan Fathers like Owen, Reynolds, and Goodwin, Anglican divines such as Tillotson and Barrow; and foreign theologians, Turretin, Cocceius, and Calvin, lie side by side with Arminius, which displays a fairly catholic religious taste. The wanton Mr. Wycherley's plays in folio, with the portrait of the worldly handsome face under a huge flowing wig prefacing the title page, stand unblushingly in the shelves between Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest* and Taylor's *Holy Living*. Nor was the worthy minister a niggard of his books: he had nothing in him of the curmudgeon spirit of the jealous bibliopolic abbé of Paris who inscribed over his library door the forbidding legend: 'Go to them that sell and buy for yourselves.' No: to neighbouring ministers and lairds less furnished than himself he lends his volumes freely, and marks in his note-books to whom he has given them, though the note, reproachful to some entries, 'I do not know who has this,' shows that his kindness was not always fairly requited. We can learn from him what was the sort of mental provender those old times fed on; the stern Sabbath reading which made the evening preluded by two prolix sermons and a lecture deplorably dull, and sent the most sound and 'awakened Christians' soundly to sleep. The Rev. Mr. Fairweather of Maybole has ridden off with the folios of Manton on St. Matthew and Hutcheson on Job behind him. Sir Adam Whitefoord has Diodatus' *Annotations*. The more worldly laird of Dinduff has borrowed *Athenian Sports*; while Sir John Ferguson of Kilkerran's son, evidently a student at Edinburgh, procures a Goldeman's *Dictionary*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *Cornelius Nepos* in English and Latin. The student son of another laird gets from his minister Homer, Buxtorf's *Hebrew Dictionary* and Puffendorf's *De Officiis*. Others have got to read Sackeverell's *Tryal*,

Vertot's *History of Sweden*, and Boyer's *French Dictionary* to consult and *Look before ye leap*. More pious-minded neighbours seek from the shelves spiritual nourishment in the shape of the godly Mr. Durham's *Heaven on Earth*, Henry on *Sobermindedness*, Reynolds' *Vanity of the Creature* and Sibbe's *Bowels of Believers Opened*,—that work of fragrant piety familiarly and elliptically known as 'Sibb's Bowels.' The physician, Dr. Stevenson from Maybole, takes away with him, after drugging the children, *Religio Medici* and, less appropriately, Catullus, Ditton on the Resurrection and *Moses' evidence of things not seen*. The minister's mother seeks repose of mind in Watson's *Art of Contentment*. It is sad that the worthy man has to look on empty spaces where a volume of Cocceius or Flavell or Augustine has been lost or never returned, making an ugly, memorable and lamentable gap in the shelves. Liberal as he was in his views and with his books, the Session Records show that he was not lax as a pastor. It is ordered that culprits at the Kirk are never to appear except in sackcloth, and 'the adulteress has there to stand for eight Sundays,' having been first examined on the principles of religion and repentance by the minister and session. In 1711 it is appointed that there is to be a diet for prayer at the manse on Monday. In the old Kirk, surrounded with ash trees (on one of which the bell hung), besides the two long services on Sabbath, there was preaching every fortnight on week days 'except during ploughing and harvest.'

To the manse of Kirkmichael troubles and ailments came now and again, which called for the aid of the doctor. Dr. Stevenson from Maybole would arrive with his saddle-bag full of concoctions and electuaries, his lancets for blood-letting, and his sand-glass for timing the pulse bulging out his ample coat skirts. This old sheep-clad pocket book is careful to record some of the invaluable recipes of the esteemed chirurgion, which, however, give but faint notion of the preposterous pharmacopœia of the age. The ailments mentioned are mostly simple and infantile; and that is fortunate, for in those days the remedies were worse than the diseases. 'For outstricking (that is eruption) in children take a halfe muscele or mother-of-pearl shell and burn it over a pite [peat] fire till it turn quite white make it into a powder, take of it ane ounce and of the powder of slaters [wood lice] two ounces,' with other ingredients which are illegible, to be thrown into a pewter dish till they are dry. For Annie is prescribed 'a handful of

red rose leaf, ane ounce of oake, make a strong decoction into a chopin.' 'For wind in the body or to purge the wind out of the veins take of indian rhubarb ane ounce in fine powder of carvie seed; as much same of liquorice, ounce of white sugar candie. Mix it well in a closs box, take as much at a time as a twelve pence white money will hold three times a day.' Not even was the manse of Kirkmichael free from that ill to which (Scots) flesh was heir to—namely the itch, that plebeian affliction which had no respect of persons, caught from contact with a peasantry more godly than cleanly, and by intercourse at parish schools where children of the highest rank rubbed shoulders with the poorest. Dr. Stevenson prescribes for the cure of Johnnie from this ignoble complaint 'two grains of mercury in the morning, 3 at night, 3 nixt morning. Then nixt morning purge him out with ane infusion of a dram and a halfe of senna and halfe a dram of Crim. Tartar in a gill of hot water. Repeat this once again, then a decoction of woods for a moneth. If he have any outstricking [eruption] rub him with the unguentum citrinum betwixt the 2 courses'—the unguentum citrinum or 'yellow ointment' being composed of quicksilver, spirit of nitre mixed with a pound of melted hog's lard. Frequently the favourite concoctions were home made and home found, the ingredients being culled from the kailyard or marshes. When one of the family was troubled with a cough the simple remedy consisted in 'a handfull of tussilago [colt's foot], a handfull of nettles, a handfull of beir, a handfull of hoarhound, all boiled in three mutchkins of water to a chopin.' Rust of iron, seeds of wormwood, castile soap, gall of ram or bull are called into requisition to form Dr. Stevenson's precious prescriptions to cure everything from jaundice to 'sneezing.'

So the quiet life of the old times went on. When too old for the lessons in the thatched school to which children brought their supplies of rushes for the dirty floor and peats for the fire, the boys and girls of the manse would probably go to Maybole, to take lessons from Mr. John Millan, the 'master of manners and dancing.' There are the visits to be paid to neighbouring lairds and ministers, the wife riding pillion behind her husband, the serving man following with portmanteau. Guests arrive too, for whom there is provided not merely the ale brewed at the manse, but good wine, for his accounts

show that the minister has purchased in 1720 '14 pints at 20 pence per pint,' and in 1721 'ten pints and a chopin at £10 10s. and 3 pints strong wine for £4 10s.'

There were the frequent meetings of Presbytery held at Ayr, which lasted for days, discussing and examining witnesses on some familiar scandal. In 1717 they were long engaged on the case of Mr. Fairbrother of Maybole, whose trial shows that minister and lairds would meet to drink at the Maybole inn, consuming by 8 o'clock in the morning some chopins of wine and gills of whisky. These presbyterial labours were relieved by adjournments to Mrs. Hutchison's inn. There the members sat down to their mutton and hens, which they cut with the joctelegs or clasp knives which they brought with them, and drank out of pewter mugs of beverage which was not always the simple 'twopenny,' for we find Mr. Laurie, in 1729, as his share pays for presbytery dinners 'ten pounds ten shillings and a mutchkin brandy.'

It was in this simple style of living that our ancestors fared, probably as happy as in our more expensive and luxurious days. The Kirkmichael family grew up, some to go out of the world, some to go into the world. George and James go to Glasgow college, the first to become Dr. George Laurie of Loudon, afterwards the helpful friend of Robert Burns, the other to enter the army and die Colonel Laurie, Governor of the Mosquito Shore. It was in 1764 that Mr. James Laurie died, leaving a good name and some good money behind him.

HENRY GREY GRAHAM.

The Fiscal Policy of Scotland before the Union

FOR many reasons it is a matter of regret that the economic history of Scotland before the Union is as yet unwritten, and more especially since disputants in the present controversy are adducing the 'case of Scotland' as an argument. What is amusing in such references is that this appeal is made with confidence not by one side only but *by both*. For instance Mr. Balfour and Lord Rosebery, speaking from opposite standpoints, have quoted the fiscal conditions of the Union in support of their respective contentions. The former is reported to have said in his speech at Sheffield on October 1st: 'You will find many cases in which fiscal union has been the prelude to that closer and more intimate union which is the basis of national strength. I may mention, as a Scotsman, the case of England and Scotland. If any of you will consult your history you will see that what reconciled the smaller kingdom to union with the greater kingdom was no love of the being under a British Parliament, but the sense that it was absolutely necessary for national existence, or at least for national prosperity, that England and Scotland should be fiscally one, and that that union which should stand merely, so to speak, on a fiscal basis, has grown as we all know in a manner which has welded the two peoples together in an inseparable unit which it will not be possible for any hostile force to divorce.'¹ On the other side Lord Rosebery said in his speech on October 13th: 'As regards Scotland, I know something of that country. There was no fiscal union which promoted the Union. It was exactly the

¹ Mr. Chamberlain makes the same statement as a general proposition, *e.g.* when he said in his speech on November 18th, that 'in all previous cases commercial union preceded political union.' In the Introduction to his speeches (*Imperial Union and Tariff Reform*, p. ix.) reference is made to the 'commercial union which must *precede or accompany* closer political relations.'

reverse. Scotland was starved and coerced into union by the fiscal regulations of England—meant I am bound to say with no other object but to promote that Union. But is that the same as fiscal union preceding political union'?

Here it will be found that two political leaders dispute the historical insight each of the other. Whether fiscal union preceded political union or *vice versa*, or again, whether both were conditioned by the same causes are important points in the historical antecedents of the tariff controversy. Again, is it true that 'Scotland was starved and coerced into fiscal union with England'? Was there a tariff war between the two countries before the Union, and if so who was the aggressor? Finally, what was the effect of the protective system of Scotland before the Union, and how was that system modified after 1707? All these are important questions to which answers are required before any use is made of the historical argument from the fiscal relations (or absence of relations) of the two countries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Before attempting to answer any of the questions stated above it is necessary to remember that the fiscal system of Scotland, as it existed immediately before the Union, was the result of numerous causes which had begun to operate long before the Union, and for a right understanding of the situation it is necessary to investigate the reasons which brought these causes into existence. In fact, Scottish commercial policy at the end of the seventeenth century was due to influences that had begun to operate nearly a hundred years before, if not earlier.

In the last years of the sixteenth century the trade of the country was in an unsatisfactory condition. Internal dissensions had impeded commercial development, and foreign trade at that period consisted largely in the importation of finished manufactures, while raw materials and the products of the less developed industries were exported.¹ Under the prevalent mercantilist ideas of the period this was considered disadvantageous, and steps were taken to effect a remedy. The clearest exposition of the policy of the time is contained in a document drawn up by John Keymor with special reference to the existing circumstances. His results might be summed up in the maxim 'to rival the Dutch in the fishing industry and the English in the cloth trade,' and this line of thought dominated Scottish commercial policy

¹ *Edinburgh Merchants in the Olden Time*, by R. Chambers, pp. 9-16.

for the remainder of the century.¹ The encouragement of the fishing trade was spasmodic and produced few results. James I. authorised a Scottish Whale Fishing and India Company, but the patent was recalled owing to the opposition of the English East India and Russia Companies, which at that time were acting in partnership. An important fishing company was incorporated in the time of Charles I. with a series of subordinate associations to work in certain districts, but the venture resulted in serious loss to the shareholders. Then in 1670 another company was formed under the title of the Royal Fishing Company of Scotland, but it retired from business after the loss of the subscribed capital of £25,000 sterling.

The attempt to make indigenous the production of cloth was prosecuted more consistently, and apparently better results were eventually obtained. As early as the time of Mary the Edinburgh Town Council spent £68 6s. 8d. in bringing a number of foreign weavers with their families to Scotland.² Then before Keymor wrote, in the year 1601, the Privy Council had endeavoured to supply the deficiency in skill by importing seven Flemish weavers who were to give instruction. The usefulness of this scheme was impaired by the jealousy of the important towns, which disputed so long for the honour of the presence of the foreigners that the men were not employed and were in danger of starvation.³ It was some time before they could obtain work, and they were frequently interrupted by the jealousy of the Edinburgh incorporated trades. Eventually they settled at Bonnington, where cloth was actually produced; and, at intervals during the remainder of the century, there are records of the industry surviving at this place.⁴ Again, in 1633, the magistrates of Peebles also endeavoured to move in the direction of improved technical education.⁵ It must be a matter of regret that these efforts towards the development of the skill required did not obtain a fair field for testing the value of the idea, and one of the greatest hindrances to the development of the cloth as well as that of other manufactures, until the influx of

¹ Policies of State Practised in various Kingdoms for the encrease of Trade (Edinburgh University Library—Laing MSS. Division II. No. 52) ff. 3, 22-24.

² *The Rhind Lectures*, by Prof. Hume Brown, on 'Trading in Queen Mary's Time.'

³ *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. p. 351.

⁴ *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, iii. p. 306.

⁵ *Burgh Records of Peebles*, p. 272.

Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was the impossibility of obtaining qualified Scottish skilled labour and the very great difficulty of tempting suitable skilled foreign or English workmen to settle in Scotland.¹

Another hindrance to the foundation of a Scottish cloth trade consisted in the fact that the country did not produce wool of sufficiently good quality for the manufacture of fine cloth—indeed, as will be shown, even at the end of the century it was necessary to import this class of raw material. So that, besides the absence of technical skill, a complete home-grown supply of the raw material was wanting. In 1641, and again in 1645, attempts were made by legislation to atone for this latter defect. It was enacted that Spanish and foreign fine wool as well as all other raw materials, such as dyes and oil, were to be free of custom, while the owners of manufactories were given large powers over their servants with a view to encourage the introduction of skilled labour.² By these acts the protective policy of the seventeenth century was inaugurated, though as yet the protection was comparatively small, being confined to what might be described as a double bounty, namely the exemption of raw materials imported from custom, while the finished product received a similar concession on exportation.

A third impediment to the starting of new manufactures was the want of sufficient capital, and efforts were made by two acts passed in 1661 to attract wealthy foreigners to start industries in Scotland by promising them naturalisation. To induce Scotsmen to co-operate, facilities were given for the formation of companies through individuals having the right 'to incorporate themselves.' This provision constituted a differential advantage in Scotland, as compared with England, for in the latter country a charter of incorporation could only be obtained at considerable trouble and expense, while a company acting without a charter was liable to have its corporate existence called in question.³

Still the measure of protection was not complete. It is true that in the twenty years following 1661 several industries were started, but in every case additional privileges (generally indeed a monopoly) were granted. In 1681 a thorough-going protective

¹ The importance of inducing foreign skilled workers to come to England at this period is shown by Dr. Cunningham in his *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (Edition 1903) p. 329.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, v. p. 497; vi. p. 174.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. pp. 255, 261.

system was evolved. By acts of the Privy Council and of Parliament in that year certain commodities deemed superfluous were forbidden either to be imported or worn. To encourage home manufactures the importation of a large number of manufactured goods, such as linen, cambric, calico, and generally all stuffs made of linen or cotton or wool (excepting arras carpets), was also forbidden. Moreover, raw materials produced in Scotland—as for instance lint and yarn—might not be exported. In addition, as in former acts, foreign raw materials required were exempted from custom and all other public dues. Manufactured goods exported were freed from duties for nineteen years after the foundation of a given manufacture, and finally the capital invested was declared not to be subject to public or private taxes for ever.¹

Thus the protective system, that had started with modest remissions of duties in 1641, had grown by 1681 to an extreme beyond which it was impossible to go. At the present day a protective duty of 100 per cent. *ad valorem* is looked upon as excessive, but in 1681 Scottish policy had developed something much more hostile to the foreigner. The home manufacturer was absolutely protected against foreign competition. Then, as far as it lay in the power of the government, his cost of production should have been low, since not only did the prohibition of the export of lint and yarn tend to make his raw material artificially cheap, but he was exempt from all home taxes. Indeed, cases are recorded in which the excise on drink consumed by the workmen was remitted!

In view of the prominence given to the 'infant industries' argument in favour of Protection, the effect of the Scottish protective system is of more than passing interest. Fortunately, since the minutes of one of the companies founded under the Act of 1681 have recently been discovered, the history of the system can be traced step by step. In this respect the materials for Scottish industrial history are more copious than those for the same time in England, for this is the only case in which the records of a *manufacturing* company of the seventeenth century are known to exist.² This company was founded in 1681 to manufacture cloth, and its works were situated near Haddington, at a place then called Newmills, but now known

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. pp. 348, 349.

² This MS. will shortly be published by the 'Scottish History Society.'

as Amisfield. The earlier entries in these minutes show the great difficulty experienced by the directors (who were then called 'managers') in obtaining competent workmen and the plant that they needed. In 1683 there were 29 looms at work and soon afterwards 10 more were ordered, which would bring the output up to 12,000 ells a year.¹ In spite of all the advantages that the undertaking enjoyed, and although no profit had as yet been made, the price of Scottish cloth was considerably higher than that produced elsewhere. This fact emerges in a somewhat interesting manner. The government had decided to adopt a military uniform in order 'to distinguish sojers from other skulking and vagabond persons.'² It was found that cloth made by the Newmills company could not be sold as cheaply as that imported from England even after the officer or official to whose hands the transaction was committed had had a profit. Accordingly the Privy Council, only a few years after its own proclamation, set the bad example of permitting certain persons to import English cloth for certain specified purposes. Now, it invariably produces a bad impression for a government to make exceptions from its own legislation in its own favour. That such a course should be adopted advertised the fact that English cloth could be delivered more cheaply in Scotland than the home product. But the contention of the government should have been that a temporary sacrifice was necessary to encourage the infant industry; and therefore the State, to be consistent, should have set the example in making this sacrifice. However, when the government made exceptions it was only to be expected that unauthorised persons followed the example set them, with the result that by 1685 the smuggling of English and foreign cloth had become common. Even a shareholder in the company was convicted of importing and selling the prohibited commodity, and it was ordered that his cloth should be burnt by the hangman and his stock in the company forfeited.³

The company now appealed to the Privy Council, and in

¹ *A Representation of the Advantages that would arise to this Kingdom by the erecting and improving Manufactories . . . with . . . an account of the manufactory at Newmilles, . . .* Edinburgh, 1683 (Advocates Library), p. 18. MS. 'Book for the Managers of the Manufactory's Weekly Sederunts' (Edinburgh Univ. Library), f. 27.

² Records of the Privy Council quoted by Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. p. 419.

³ *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs*, by Lord Fountainhall, p. 91.

1685 it received further privileges, amongst which was the power to force persons to declare on oath whence they had any given parcel of cloth, as well as the objectionable privilege of forcible entry into private dwellings and of breaking open doors or chests in search of imported cloth.¹ In the following year these grants were confirmed by a 'King's Letter' and proclamation on behalf of the company.

The means by which these privileges were obtained throw some light on the ethical standard of the times. In most cases the company found it necessary to purchase the good offices of powerful persons, and the minutes record the consideration money with the same naïveté that the Court Books of the East India Company describe the nature and amount of the 'gratifications' that were found necessary from time to time. What strikes one in reading the minutes of the Newmills Company is the small sums for which such services could be obtained. In fact the managers maintained good relations with the government by a kind of truck system under which they gave 'presents,' generally in kind. Sometimes it was a length of cloth, sometimes a pair of silk stockings. On larger occasions payments in money were made, as for instance one official received five guineas 'for the great care and pains he had taken' in procuring the first act of the Privy Council in 1685.² The following summary of a resolution speaks for itself—it was represented to the managers that the King's Advocate draws those libels against 'transgressors' (*i.e.* persons who smuggled foreign cloth) wrong because he is not 'informed,' and the meeting decided that a deputation should inform him, at the same time giving him 10 dollars for himself, and his men 2 dollars, and that the company should take care to 'indulge' him in time to come³—evidently the period during which an indulgence could be considered current had been greatly reduced between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century.

The support of the Privy Council seems to have brought prosperity to the company from 1686 to the Revolution, for considerable orders for the supply of army clothing were obtained. But in the disorganisation of government from 1688 to 1690, the control of the customs was relaxed, and foreign and English cloth

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, 1685, ff. 137, 138, 158.

² Book for the Managers of the Manufactory's Weekly Sederunts, f. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 179.

was again imported. This lapse from the policy of protection was sanctioned by an act of 1690, which granted the magistrates of Edinburgh an impost of 12s. [Scots] per ell on all imported cloth.¹ As against this relaxation of the prohibition of the act of 1681, the company obtained parliamentary sanction of the principle laid down by the Privy Council in 1685 that the army should be clothed in cloth of Scottish manufacture.² It was in this state that the law remained until after the formation of the Darien Company. The latter event was conditioned by economic as well as by political causes, and to estimate the importance of these it is necessary to glance briefly at the development of other industries after the passing of the act of 1681.

Between 1681 and 1690 very few new industries were started. Not only was there some suspicion of the ministry of James II., but the difficulties in obtaining capital and skilled labour remained. After the Revolution an immense impetus was given to Scottish industry, indeed there were more companies that secured the 'privilege of a manufacture' under the act of 1681, from 1690 to 1695 (but more especially in the three years 1693, 1694, and 1695) than in the remaining years between 1681 and the Union. Several causes contributed to this industrial activity. The influx of Huguenots to England had overflowed into Scotland, and thus the deficiency in skilled labour was remedied. It happened too that just at this time there was an extensive promotion of industrial companies in England, and many men of enterprise found Scotland a promising field for investment in view of its comparatively undeveloped industrial condition and the facilities given by the law for the formation of companies, as well as the many privileges and immunities granted to capitalists. This activity was shown by the foundation of a number of new cloth and glass works, an important linen company, known as the Scots Linen Manufacture³ (1693), also silk, baize, stocking, sail-cloth, rope, cordage, pottery, gun-powder, leather, and various iron works were established. The abrupt cessation in the launching of new ventures from 1696 is remarkable. The cause is to be found partly in the collapse of the boom in English manufacturing companies' shares, but still more in the lock-up of capital by the

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 206.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³ Some account of this company will be found in an article on 'The King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture in Ireland' in *The Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxi. Pt. 4 (Dec., 1901).

'Company trading to Africa and the Indies,' better known as the Darien Company, which was founded in 1695. This ill-fated undertaking was in fact the key-stone of the whole edifice of Scottish commercial policy. It was the logical outcome of the act of 1681; for, once Scotland prohibited the manufactures of other countries, the retaliation of those countries had to be faced. Therefore, just when Scotland was reaching the ideal that her statesmen had aimed at—namely, the establishment of diversified manufactures under the protection of a series of prohibitions of competitive foreign products, it began to be seen that this advance had been made at the sacrifice of most foreign markets. Now, in the cloth trade the raw material could not be exported under the act of 1681, thus the government had incurred an obligation to find some market for this raw material after it had been manufactured in Scotland. But owing to the policy of prohibitions the markets of all developed countries were closed to Scottish finished goods, and so the policy of protection must either be given up or else a new market found. According to the ideas of the time, the latter alternative might be adopted by the creation of Scottish colonies—and it was this chain of facts that constitutes the true inwardness of the Darien scheme.

It would be interesting to speculate as to what would have happened had the scheme for the colonisation of New Caledonia proved successful. But, altogether apart from the opposition of the English government, the scheme (though remarkably well conceived)¹ was foredoomed to failure. The proposed company was intended to be a rival to existing Dutch and English organisations, and therefore the governments of those countries could not be expected, with the limited political ideas of the age, to sanction the investment of capital in the new enterprise by their subjects. Thus the Darien Company was dependent on the capital it could raise at home, and no more than £400,000 sterling of stock was taken up. Further the directors could not call up more than 42½ per cent. of the amount subscribed, so that they were forced to attempt the almost impossible task of founding a Scottish colonial empire on a capital of under

¹The original form of the Darien scheme as conceived by William Paterson was one of the greatest commercial ideas of the seventeenth century. It was to make the isthmus of Panama an *entrepôt* for the exchange of Western and Eastern commodities, to which all nations might freely resort. When Paterson lost influence in the Company (before the first expedition had started) the freedom of trade was dropped out of the scheme, and the idea was rather to form a plantation than to establish an *entrepôt*.

£170,000, which was only obtainable in small sums and with considerable difficulty. Now the London East India Company at this date had a capital of £1,488,000, and in 1698 a second company was incorporated with a capital of two millions.¹ Besides, there was the Royal African Company, which in 1697 had a nominal capital of over a million.² So that the Scottish company essayed the almost impossible task of wresting trade and territory from powerful organisations whose combined capitals were more than thirty times as great as that which the Darien Company could collect from its shareholders.

Moreover, even the modest capital of £170,000 called up by the Darien Company was considerably in excess of the resources of the country available for investment at the time. There are data which enable an estimate to be formed of the capital sunk in the manufactures established from 1681 to 1695, and the total amount (an appreciable part of which came from England) was certainly under £200,000. Thus having provided part of this sum, Scotland had to find further resources of about the same amount, in order to make an outlet for the products of the first series of investments. There is little doubt that in the enthusiasm of the early days of the colonial idea, people subscribed for much more stock than they could pay calls upon. In other words, the country pledged not only most of its floating capital, but also much of its available credit on the success of the Darien scheme. This course was magnificently bold, but it left no way of recuperation in the event of failure, and what was tragic in the situation was that only by a miracle could failure have been escaped.

Thus the Scottish protective system culminated in the Darien scheme, and with the collapse of that scheme the extreme policy of 1681 was doomed. In the last years of the seventeenth century, when the country was in a depressed condition owing to a loss of capital it could not afford, coupled with a series of bad harvests, there was a temporary reaction towards a complete protection of the cloth trade. This movement appears to have been conditioned by hostility against England, and by the desire to exact reprisals for the treatment of the Darien Company by the English government. The cloth companies presented several petitions to the Privy Council stating that there

¹ *Charters granted to the East India Company*, i. pp. 140-157, 189.

² 'The Constitution and Finance of the Royal African Company' in *American Historical Review*, viii. p. 257.

was laxity in the administration of the laws prohibiting English cloth, and praying the Act of 1681 should be enforced.¹ Accordingly, in 1699 the exportation of woollen yarn was prohibited again by the Privy Council,² and in 1701 an Act was passed confirming the previous prohibitions of the importing or wearing of foreign cloth.³

The legislation of 1701 represents the completion of the return to the extreme of protectionism, and a reaction was inevitable. Very few foreign markets were open to Scottish cloth, there was now no prospect of a new colonial trade being opened, and so the price of wool was depressed. There were gloomy pictures presented to Parliament of skins and wool rotting for want of a foreign market, and other evidence tends to confirm the conclusion that Scotland produced more wool than could be consumed at home.⁴ Thus the woolmasters had a good case for the repeal of the prohibition of the export of wool, and two years afterwards (*i.e.* in 1703) they were able to secure an advantage in their parliamentary contest with the cloth manufacturers, by obtaining permission to export skins with *the wool on them* from three specified ports. In 1704 the woolmasters promoted an act, which if passed, would have removed all restrictions on the export of wool. The cloth manufacturers protested vigorously. In fact the protection given them had created a series of vested interests which were now imperilled. They urged before Parliament that 'on the faith of former laws, which were even but temporary, they erected manufactories at great charge, and now to bring in an act which entirely overturns them seems to be a hardship the like whereof has been unprecedented.'⁵ In spite of this opposition, the general crumbling away of the Scottish protective system precluded the continuance of encouragement in this form for the manufacturers, and an act was finally passed permitting the exporting of wool, while at the same time the prohibition of foreign cloth was continued.⁶

¹ Parliamentary Papers, 8th Oct., 1696 (General Register House)—'Petition of the Woollen Manufactory at Newmills anent the import of foreign cloth'; Par. Papers, 1698, Minutes Committee of Trade; *Acts of Par.*, x. p. 67.

² Par. Papers (1701), 'Exporting of wool.' ³ *Acts of Par.*, xi. p. 190.

⁴ Par. Papers (1701), 'Reasons against allowing the export of wool.'

⁵ Par. Papers (1704)—Trade and Commerce—'The Petition of the Manufacturers of this Kingdom against the Permission to export wool,' *Acts of Par.*, xi. p. 177.

⁶ *Acts of Par.*, xi. p. 190.

This legislation was a serious blow to the owners of cloth-works, and was characterised as such by Defoe.¹ But the truth was that the country could no longer stand the original protective system, and to escape bankruptcy it was necessary for the government to relax the weight that had been pressing so long on the non-manufacturing industries for the sake of the fostering of manufactures.

The state of the country in the opening years of the eighteenth century would have been less precarious than it was had the nation only to face an impaired state of the credit of its capitalists. But underlying this and connected with it were two chains of events, arising out of the protective legislation of 1681, which threatened the relations between England and Scotland. As yet no details have been given of the retaliation of other countries against Scotland after the prohibitions of 1681 and 1685. England at this time was a great cloth-producing country, and its government resented what appeared to it to be the arbitrary closing of the nearest market. The means of retaliation were ready to the hand of English statesmen, for Scotland had opened up a considerable export trade to England, as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, in linens.² On Scotland prohibiting English cloth England prohibited Scottish linens. It is said there were from 10,000 to 12,000 persons employed in the linen trade, and the diminution of the output produced much discontent. But at the end of the seventeenth century men who had a grievance did more than grumble. The packmen who carried linen to England continued, in spite of officials, to force their way southwards across the border, and unless the English reprisals were to become a dead letter more drastic measures had to be sought. The border officers took the law into their own hands and treated the Scots packmen as malefactors, imprisoning some and whipping others.³ Surely this is an eloquent comment on the conciliatory effect of retaliation.

Worse troubles were still to come. The Darien scheme had been Scotland's crowning act of protection against England. The first news of the failure of the earlier expeditions had aroused much bad feeling amongst the people, and it seemed an irony of fate that, after the enterprise was a complete failure, the last acts

¹ *History of the Union*, p. 123.

² *The Weavers' Craft*, by D. Thomson, Paisley, 1903, p. 81.

³ Privy Council Records, quoted by Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, ii. p. 421; *Warden's Linen Trade*, p. 428.

of the company should still further embitter the relations between the two countries. The English East India Company¹ had seized the ship *Annandale* belonging to the Darien Company, which had put into the Thames. On the *Worcester*, an English East India ship (which was erroneously reported to belong to the English company), putting into the Forth, the government was urged to retaliate. It abstained from doing so, and after certain events had inflamed the minds of the Edinburgh populace, some private persons seized the captain and part of the crew of the English ship. Charges of piracy and murder were made against them, and in March, 1705, all the accused except one were condemned to death. The indignation excited by this verdict in England may be imagined. The Queen interposed, and the carrying out of the sentence was postponed, but the excitement of the people was so great that the Scottish authorities feared to annul the conviction, and two of the condemned men were executed in April.² It was afterwards clearly established that the men who suffered had not been guilty of the murder attributed to them, so that in this matter there was ground for the hostile feeling that had been aroused in England. Thus in 1705 the direct and indirect effects of commercial retaliation had greatly embittered the relations of the two countries. When there were added the political grievances of Scotland since the union of the Crowns, it will be recognised that the situation was very serious. In London very gloomy views were taken of the outlook towards the end of 1706. These are clearly reflected by the fluctuations of Bank of England stock, which had varied from 138 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 126 in 1703, from 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 115 in 1704, from 120 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 87 in 1705, falling in 1706 from 91 to 76 $\frac{1}{4}$. The latter price (which is the lowest recorded for the stock in the early years of the eighteenth century) was quoted at the end of October and during the first days of November. In fact, the year 1706 is the only one (up to 1720) in which the price of the fully paid stock never touched par. On the passing of the Act of Union there was an immediate rise, and in 1707 the price was as high as 119.

¹ There were at this date *two* East India Companies. The oldest, founded in 1600, was generally known as the 'Old' or 'London' Company. Its full title was the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.' The second company was incorporated in 1698 as the 'English Company trading to the East Indies,' and was popularly described as the 'New' or 'English' Company. It is the latter undertaking which is mentioned above.

² *The Union of England and Scotland*, by James MacKinnon, 1896, pp. 191-197.

The reader will be inclined to ask whether the facts detailed above as to the fiscal relations of England and Scotland have any bearing on the present controversy. It should be noted that the argument from historical events at one period to a different period can only be accepted with some qualifications. There was protection in Scotland of a pronouncedly retaliatory character, and all that can be concluded from the failure of that system (for it was a failure, as will be shown below) is that it affords a presumption against the trial of a similar policy in other circumstances. If, further, the non-success of retaliation recurs in varied conditions, that presumption will be greatly strengthened.

Therefore, to complete the investigation of the Scottish protective system before the Union, it remains to estimate the fruits of that system. The fine cloth trade received the chief attention of the government, and there is information relating to no less than ten works established under the Act of 1681. Three of these were founded from 1681 to 1683, four from 1695 to 1700, and the remainder after 1700. Now, the majority of those had a sufficient time to develop from being infant industries, and if 'the infant industries' argument were valid in this case, it is to be expected that these should, after protection of the most stringent kind varying from 26 years to 7 years, have been sufficiently strong to face the competition of English cloth. This, however, was not so; all these undertakings, with the exception of two, were wound up soon after the Union. Further, the two remaining gave up the production of fine cloth, and contented themselves with the making of the coarser fabrics. Were the Newmills minutes not in existence it would be difficult to suggest the reason that Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century could not produce fine cloth to advantage. The secret lay in the want of raw material—not that Scotland had not wool in abundance—but that the country at that time did not produce the finer quality of wool required for the best grades of cloth. The Newmills company classified cloth as being of three qualities—the first was made of Spanish wool, the second of foreign and home wool mixed, and the third only of home wool.¹ Thus one of the conditions that would have helped to make the

¹ According to a resolution of June 28th, 1682, the master of the manufactory was directed 'befor he make any cloths of the coursest of the wool that he acquaint the managers with itt and get their advice whether to sell itt or make itt into cloth'; and on December 15th the managers ordered that the coarse wool should be sold and not made into cloth.

manufacture successful was absent, and with the high freights and uncertainty of sea transit at the time the industry could not exist apart from Protection.

Further to foster this artificial trade, Scotland sacrificed another branch of manufacture for which the country had at this time great natural advantages—namely, the linen trade. Before the building up of the extreme system of protection and prohibitions, there had been a large export trade in linen. As already shown, on the prohibition of foreign cloth, England retaliated by shutting out Scottish linen. Thus from 1681 to the Union the linen trade was depressed, and it was only afterwards that it again advanced. Had the government not been determined to rival England it would have been wiser to have suffered the nation to develop the linen industry (for which the country had great natural advantages) and, at the same time, the way might have been paved for a subsequent improvement of the cloth trade by first producing a better class of wool. As it was, the slower process of development was thrown aside in favour of one that appeared faster, with the unfortunate results of the Darien enterprise and the consequent strained relations between Scotland and England. Therefore a careful investigation of the tendencies of the time has shown that Scottish protection in the seventeenth century failed in achieving the object desired, while the retaliation it involved nearly produced a war between the two countries now so closely united.

Such events are far from bearing out the reading of history proposed by Mr. Balfour in the quotation with which this article opens. In the first place there was no customs union existing before the Union of 1707, in fact so far is this from being true that in the early years of the eighteenth century there was a fiscal war between the two countries; and, instead of there being free trade, the series of prohibited commodities tended towards there being no trade at all from England to Scotland and *vice versa*. Therefore it is in no sense true that *in time* fiscal preceded political union.¹ It may be that Mr. Balfour intended to convey the idea that the main cause of the union was commercial rather than political, or in somewhat scholastic language fiscal ‘preceded’

¹ It may be added that Mr. Balfour ignores the efforts towards a political Union before 1707. In this connection it is only necessary to refer to the proposals of 1547, the Commission of 1604, the united Parliament during the Commonwealth, the Commission of 1670 (which accepted political, but refused to admit fiscal union), and finally the overtures in the reign of James II.

political union *in the logical order*. If this be his meaning it is to be remembered that, as already shown, while the foundation of the Darien Company was originally due to industrial conditions, the existence of that company soon involved political issues of the greatest magnitude. Thus, commercial and political causes became blended together, and any attempt to assign a quantum of importance to each would be a matter of great difficulty. Besides to establish Mr. Balfour's position it should be proved that the two countries had been gradually drawing closer in their commercial relations, whereas on the contrary they had been becoming more and more antagonistic. Therefore since a union was possible under such circumstances, it follows that there must have been an underlying community of political interest, which is to be found in the necessity of making good the revolution settlement, and to maintain the position of England and Scotland together as against France.

Again it may be that Mr. Balfour means that, although the fiscal and political union came into existence together, the people of Scotland accepted the former more readily than the latter. This again is a misapprehension of what actually happened. For a considerable period after the Union there was very great dissatisfaction with the fiscal side of the bargain, so that it cannot be said the latter was accepted and recognised with less friction than the former. Thus on the whole it cannot be established that 'fiscal union was the prelude to political union' in the case of Scotland either before or after 1707.

Nor can one assent to Lord Rosebery's picturesque description of the cause of the Union, namely that 'Scotland was starved and coerced into it by England.' Probably the reference here is to the effect of the English Navigation Acts in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. But it must be admitted that, however hardly these laws may have pressed on Scotland, the demand for the admission of Scottish shipping to the English colonies was premature. These colonies and dependencies had been founded by English capital and English enterprise. Besides, the age was one dominated by the idea of the 'exploitation of colonies,' and, just because there was such exploitation, each fiscally independent country jealously guarded the monopoly of it. In fact, once Scotland had entered on a policy of extreme protection, more especially after 1661, it is probable, while admission to the English colonies would have been desired, there would have been very great opposition to the opening of the

Scottish market for free importation of English commodities. It was necessary that once a protective policy had been adopted it should work itself out to its logical outcome.

It might indeed be said that Scotland, feeling herself, as the people believed, unfairly or hardly treated by England, was justified in vindicating herself by reprisals. From this point of view, Scotland's side of the tariff war with England constitutes one of those episodes which for their daring makes her military history of so much interest. During the period between the middle of the seventeenth century and the Union, Scotland with comparatively meagre available capital resources endeavoured to overtake England in manufacturing. Now, as far as this ideal involved the development of the country it was most praiseworthy, and as already shown the early progress of the linen trade is a case in which the policy would have yielded happy results. Under normal circumstances England was disposed to give encouragement to industries that did not compete directly with her own in Scotland and Ireland. For instance, in a King's and Queen's Letter addressed to the Irish government on July 7th, 1698, it was stated that the linen trade was profitable both to Ireland and England, and that steps should be taken to encourage it in the former country.¹ Probably similar concessions would have been accorded to Scotland (as was done, indeed, after the Union) had it not been for the tariff war between the two countries. As it was, when Scotland went further and endeavoured to exclude most English manufactures, the policy became one of aggression. The country was too little developed and its capital resources were too small to make the issue successful. While England suffered considerably, Scotland suffered very greatly. Just as in a military contest between two nations, the penalty of defeat is to be incorporated into one state together with the conquering country, so in this case after the tariff war, Scotland, suffering from financial exhaustion, had to become commercially one with England. If for no other reason the capital provided by the Equivalent was needed to give the country a fresh start, and it required many years to repair the damage done to Scottish trade from 1681 to 1707.

In view of these facts there was no continuous English policy 'to force Scotland into a union with England.' On the con-

¹ State Papers, Public Record Office, Dublin—King's and Queen's Letters—under July 7th, 1698.

trary, in so far as Scotland endeavoured to exclude the products of well-established English industries, the effect of this policy together with the resulting retaliation was that Scotland virtually, from the commercial point of view, 'starved and coerced *herself*' into such a position that a political union was the best way of escape from a situation that was a very difficult one. Thus it may happen that between nations, as between undertakings in the same country, competition often ends in combination.

W. R. SCOTT.

Scottish Officers in Sweden

THE history of the connection between Scotland and Sweden during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is still to be written, and when a competent historian undertakes the task his work will not languish for lack of materials.

The influx of Scots to Sweden began after the troubles following upon the renunciation of the Danish yoke, when Gustavus Wasa firmly established his new dynasty on the throne, and the connection between Sweden and Scotland no doubt became closer when Gustavus' son, Erik XIV., courted the hand of Mary Queen of Scots, then the newly widowed Queen of France, first for himself and then—as he found it injured his contemporaneous suit of Elizabeth of England—for Duke John, his brother.

When John had, in 1568, succeeded in deposing his brother Erik and had gained the throne of Sweden for himself with the title of King John III., he professed himself full of friendship and regard for the Scottish nation. We are told that he could 'speik and onderstand guid Inglis'; we find Sir Andrew Keith of Forssa, a Scotsman very high in his credit, 'in sik favour and estaitt as nar hes ony stranger in this cuntrie been in the lyk,'¹ and it was he who employed, in 1573, the first body of Scottish mercenaries in Sweden whose conduct scarcely redounded greatly to Scottish fame.

In that year a Scoto-French adventurer, Carolus de Mornay, brought over to Sweden 3000 Scots whom he had enrolled to serve in the army of Sweden in Esthonia against the Russians, but Mornay seems to have been not only an adventurer but also a secret agent (he had been a favourite) of the deposed King Erik, and his force, while professedly enrolled under John III., were really conspiring to dethrone him, and restore the kingdom to his brother.

¹ *Register of the Privy Council Addenda*, pp. 344, 7.

The chief Scots under Mornay were Archibald Ruthven of Forteviot, a brother of Lord Ruthven, the Lord Treasurer,¹ who had been specially recommended to the King of Sweden by the Regent Mar in 1572—only one year before—and Gilbert Balfour of Westray,² a noted intriguer. Balfour had had many vicissitudes. At one time the creature and then the enemy of Bothwell, he had been implicated also in the murders of Cardinal Betoun and Darnley, and was one of those whom Knox characterised as 'Men without God.' Mornay and the Scots leaders began soon after their arrival to conspire to release Erik, and they made a secret compact to seize the person of King John when he and his courtiers were to be engaged in watching the Scots perform their national sword dance. The plot failed owing to the timidity of the leaders at the critical moment, and the regiment of Scots was drafted off to Leiffland. The conspiracy was discovered a year later when the Scots became embroiled with the German mercenaries, who betrayed them to the King. Mornay was summarily beheaded, while the Scottish leaders were placed in durance in the hope that certain 'treasure' they were believed to have secreted would be discovered.

At last, however, the Swedes lost patience with Balfour, who was impatient of his bonds and eager to escape from prison, 'yit he of new committing huredom in our castell . . . and syn did pretend to heff stolen away, did forfaltt his lyff, and thairfore we causit executt him,'³ which was done in August, 1576.⁴ Ruthven was more lucky, as he was spared on the intercession of the King of Scotland. Sir Andrew Keith, the King's Scottish favourite, had a low opinion of him, saying that though they had 'giffen him his lyff' yet 'as to wagis he has deservit nane he wan us nather Castell, toun, nor battall,' and had yet received 'Four and thrattie thusand dollouris.' King John alleged that he had 'ressaveit rathir damage and hurt be ye armes of Scotcs' in Leiffland 'for the qlk cawss ye sayid King thinkis ye sauld be absolut of all sowmes of money he is awand' to Ruthven and his followers, and Ruthven's fervent protests against this decision are in the British Museum.⁵ The

¹ *Register of the Privy Council Addenda*, pp. 344, 7. He is styled by Sir Andrew Keith 'Maister of Ruthven' also.

² Schiern's *Life of Bothwell*, p. 300 n. ³ *Reg. Privy Council Add.*, p. 345.

⁴ Testament in the Commissariat of Edinburgh.

⁵ Addit. MSS. 38,531, ff. 133-150.

indignant Keith calls another of the Scottish conspirators, Gawane Elphinstone, 'ane craftie willane,' and says that his compatriot's evil doings have brought grey locks into his hair 'althocht I be jung.'

This exhibition of Scottish faith does not seem to have disenchanted the Swedes. The power of Sir Andrew Keith was always employed for the good of his fellow-countrymen, 'yit knowis God,' he writes, 'quhat I heff done for thame and dois daylie and maist for luiff of my natiff cuntrie,' and they continued to pour into Sweden, and into Denmark also, although the two countries were often at war; and multitudes were worthily placed in places of high trust in the army of Sweden, where their descendants form no inconsiderable portion of the nobility of the country.

Always at war with Denmark, or the maritime provinces of Russia, Sweden was greedy for soldiers, and not always particular how they came into her service. Sweden willingly bought and employed the wretched Irish who were deported in thousands to make way for the Scottish Plantations of Ulster, though a very small moiety escaped this fate by being landed by shipwreck in Scotland, where the starving men were forced to commit many depredations, and, not content with them, 'the wearis' of Sweden necessitated levies of an unlawful kind being made in Scotland also. In 1609 we find Colonel William Stewart of Egilshay,¹ brother to the Earl of Orkney, and appointing his 'trustie frend,' Captain John Horie² (Ury), 'in whose approved valure and experience in warrs I have a speciall confidence,' his Lieutenant Colonel. In 1611 in the war against Denmark, General Rutherford, his Lieutenant Learmonth, Captain Greig, and Greig who commanded the artillery, were employed with a regiment of eight or nine companies, and in 1612 one Samuel Khebron³ (Hepburn?) commanded a regiment of Scots in Sweden which included Sir Patrick Ruthven, who eventually, after a long career of war, died as Earl of Forth and Brentford.

But all these levies did not leave Scotland without protest. King James VI., whose desire was to be *Rex Pacificus* of the

¹ He was a natural son of Robert, Earl of Orkney, and was in 1600 accused of the 'shamefull and cruell murther of — Bellenden his first spouse' (*Reg. Privy Council*, viii., xciv.). A William Stuart raised another company of footmen in 1611 'to his great losse' (Mitchell's *Scottish Expedition to Norway in 1612*).

² *Ruthven Correspondence* (Roxburghe Club), p. 151.

³ *Ruthven Correspondence*, vi. n 3.

north, found that his subjects were being, without his consent, employed in Sweden against his brother-in-law the King of Denmark, and he issued a series of angry letters to his Privy Council that he 'misliked some dulness of theirs,' and commanded them to stop the levies on account of the serious trouble the recruiting agents were giving by impressing men, 'quhilk being ane abuse intollerable and not hard of in a free kingdome,'¹ and inducing justices to hand over to them condemned criminals. And so real did his indignation show itself that in 1612 Captain Andrew Ramsay, a brother of the King's favourite, Sir John Ramsay, and his recruiting agents were tried for kidnapping and impressing men to serve in Sweden, laid under heavy bail, their ships searched and the captives they contained released. It was during this time that, knowing the King's command, a body of some few hundreds of Scots, levied by Andrew Ramsay, left Caithness secretly under the command of his brother, Colonel Alexander Ramsay, Captain Ramsay, Captain Hay, and Captain George Sinclair, landed on the coast of Norway, intending to march through it to Sweden, but were trapped, and stoned or shot down by the Norwegian bönder from the mountain heights of Romsdal and Gudbrandsdal in August, 1612, and only a few escaped with their lives. Their leader, Alexander Ramsay, was sent back to his country, and he and his surviving companions forgiven, while Andrew Ramsay, on whom the blame of the expedition fell, went into hiding. At length being traced by fighting a duel in England with Sir Robert Kerr of Ancrum, whom he accused of informing the King of his design of 'gathering men in Scotland,' he was examined and banished, 'which next unto death,' wrote the King, 'is the highest punishment we could inflict.'

Another Scot now filled the position of Sir Andrew Keith. This was Sir James Spens of Wormiston, in Fife, who had originally gone to Sweden to discuss a project of marriage between the young Prince Gustavus Adolphus and his master's daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, who afterwards became 'The Winter Queen.' He entered the service of Sweden, and took kindly to the land of his adoption, and was often employed sometimes as Ambassador from Britain to Sweden and sometimes from Sweden to Britain, and during his time we find the appearance of many Fifeshire names in the Swedish ranks—showing

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, cited in Mitchell's *Scottish Expedition to Norway*, pp. 160-172.

that he was regarded as a protector and promoter of the interests of his kith and kin.

In 1623 the treachery of Robert Stuart in the Swedish service had a far-reaching effect. He was another brother of the attainted Earl of Orkney, and is elsewhere styled Sir Robert Stuart of Middleton.¹ From the Swedish army he went over to the Catholic side, joining Sigismund, King of Poland, who was perennially attempting to recover his lost kingdom of Sweden for himself and the Papacy, and he undertook to levy for the Polish service 8000 Scots.

Gustavus Adolphus at once took fire. Representing the Protestant interest, he wrote on 23rd September, 1623, to the Scottish Privy Council informing them of the treachery, pointing out the likely danger to the Protestant cause, and implored King James to allow him to levy troops in Scotland instead. He sent his 'faithful friend,' Sir James Spens, to urge his request, and he was successful in persuading the King to grant it. James VI. agreed, and issued a warrant, which was confirmed by the Privy Council on 30th March, 1624,² allowing and empowering James Spens, junior, the son of the Envoy, to levy as many as 1200 men for service in Sweden.

But this did not wholly satisfy the need of the Swedish King; the Catholic League drove him again to apply to recruit his armies by fresh levies, and King Charles I. after his accession became, though not without deliberation, his ally. Charles I. in all issued during his reign six warrants to permit the King of Sweden to levy men to carry on war against the Emperor, and if his officers and agents were at all successful in obtaining them, as many as 12,600 Scots must have entered the Swedish army. Into long details of the Thirty Years' War we need not enter here; but it may be as well to point out that, besides the forces raised directly for Sweden, Gustavus took over the Reay Regiment and the Scots Regiment in the service of Denmark as well. His Scottish regiments included every rank of Scots: nobles, the landed gentlemen and their dependents, 'pressed

¹ King James VI. in a letter to — Stallenge commends the suit of Sir Robert Stuart, brother of the Earl of Orkney, in 1604 to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Christopher Kenne, his ward. As late as 1650, there is among the 'many solicitors' for the King of Scotland in Sweden a Sir Robert Stuart, 'sometime prisoner here and broke out of Whitehall' (*Cal. State Papers—Domestic*, vii. No. 26-A. *Ruthven Correspondence*, ii.).

² *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. xiii. p. 478.

men,' a class which comprised many unfortunates of every class, from musicians,¹ whose presence was found necessary, down to 'sturdy rogues' and 'beggars.' These when caught were guarded with great 'fascherie' and conveyed to the transports and 'schippit in als gryt heast as possibly can be' with their voluntary companions, and all dispatched to spend their lives in the service of a foreign power in the German wars; but whatever was the reason of their enlistment, they left a long and honourable list of names among the many foreigners whom Sweden has adopted, ennobled, and taken to herself.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

¹ These musicians for the German wars are interesting. Lord Ogilvy writes in 1627 to Lord Nithsdale that he sends an Irishman, 'a clachocher,' 'quha pleyis verie weill,' and William Porter, 'quha pleyis excellentlie upon the recorder and will be ane fyne pifferer to this compenie,' one too, who 'pleis weill upon the wirgenelis' and a 'ressonable fyne drumer' (*The Book of Caerlaverock*, vol. ii. p. 91).

The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I.
to the Reformation

KEITH'S *Large New Catalogue of the Bishops of the several sees within the Kingdom of Scotland* (1755) was a remarkable book in its day, and must always remain a monument of laborious and careful research. Dr. M. Russel's edition of this work (1824), which, unfortunately, while correcting some errors, imported many others, has up to the present been the main authority used by historians and charter-students for determining the succession of the bishops of the medieval period. Valuable as it is, historical material which has become accessible in more recent times demands a thorough revision of Keith. Much that tends to accuracy has been brought to light by the publication of the registers of bishoprics and religious houses in the issues of the Bannatyne, Maitland, Abbotsford, Spalding, Grampian, and New Spalding Clubs. Scottish Public Records have also become more easily accessible.¹ But it has been the publication of Theiner's *Monumenta* and the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (of which five volumes have already appeared) which has done most to supply particulars for the correction and enlargement of Keith.

In dealing with the diocese of Dunkeld one naturally turns to Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*. But, unhappily, while of real value when treating of the bishops near his own time, this work is worse than useless for determining the succession of the early bishops of the see. It is careless, confusing, and positive in tone when it ought to have been hesitating and conjectural. It is often demonstrably wrong.

The main object of these Notes is to determine the dates of the election, papal confirmation, consecration, death, or resignation of

¹ One hopes that the *Privy Seal Register*, still in MS. in the Register House, may appear in print before long.

the successive bishops, when evidence is forthcoming. Hence record or charter evidence relating to intermediate periods is either not noticed at all, or touched only lightly, except when anything of special interest seems to deserve observation.¹

The principal abbreviations used in citing authorities are as follows: A.P. = *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Record edit.); B. = Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. I. (Rome, 1876); B.C. = *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, preserved in H.M. Public Record Office, London*, edited by Joseph Bain; C.P.R. = *Calendar of Papal Registers*, edited by W. H. Bliss (Record Publications); Extr. = *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie* (Abbotsford Club); Fœd. = Rymer's *Fœdera, conventiones*, etc.; K. = Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops* (Russel's edit. 1824); M. = *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club); R.A. = *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club); R.B. = *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.G. = *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.M. = *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club); R.P.S.A. = *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree* (Bannatyne Club); R.M.S. = *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (Record Publications); R.S.S. = *Registrum Secreti Sigilli* (in MS. in the H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh); Sc. = Fordon and Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Goodall's edit. 1759); T. = *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum historiam illustrantia* (Rome, 1864). The Registers of religious houses are cited by the name of the house: thus 'Melrose' = *Liber de Melros*, 'Kelso' = *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, and so with the rest. W. = *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, by Andrew de Wyntoun (David Laing's edit. 3 vols. 1872-79).

In the headings of paragraphs the names of bishops elect who were not consecrated, or whose consecrations are doubtful, are printed in italic capitals.

For the early Columban foundation at Dunkeld and the bishop of the Picts there resident see Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (ii. 370).

The see seems to have been revived by Alexander I., but evidence is lacking to determine the exact year.

CORMAC. We find 'Cormac bishop' (see unnamed) witnessing the foundation charter of Scone, which monastery was founded in 1114 (Fordun, i. 286, Skene's edit.) or 1115 (M.). This is probably Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld; at least we know no other bishop named Cormac at this period. Again, Cormac (see still unnamed) witnesses another charter of the same monastery together with 'Robert elect of St. Andrews' (Scone, No. 4). The charter is granted by King Alexander. But Robert appears to have been elected in 1124 (M.), while the king died towards the end of April, 1124.² We find 'Cormac bishop of Dunkeld' between (probably) 1127-1129 (Dunfermline, 4, 16). But we have a *dated* charter in the *Book of Deer* (93), which records a grant by Gartnait, son of Cainnech, and Ete,

¹ The writer will be grateful for corrections and additions bearing on the dates of accession, consecration, and death.

² For a discussion on the exact day of Alexander's death see Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 54-56.

daughter of Gille Michel, to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld (*éscob dunicallen*), in the eighth year of David's reign (that is the year ending 22 April, 1132).

The date of Cormac's death is unknown.

The absence of the name of his see in the Scone charters leads me to suspect that Cormac may have been, at the date of these charters, a bishop without a see, in one of the monasteries of Celtic foundation.

GREGORY. He was bishop 'de duncallden' in the reign of David, a charter of whom he attests together with Andrew, bishop of Caithness (*Book of Deer*, 95). He also attests a charter of David which must be dated between 1147, when Herbert bishop of Glasgow (witness) was consecrated, and 1153 when king David died (*Dunfermline*, 8).

'G. Dunlheldensi' appears among the bishops of Scotland addressed in the bull of Adrian IV, 27 Feb. 1155.¹

Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, is a witness together with Richard 'elect of St. Andrews' (who was elected in 1163) to a charter of Malcolm IV, in the eleventh year of his reign, *i.e.* in the year ending 23 May 1164. (*Scone*, 7.)

The date of Gregory's death is given by Sc. (vii. 60) as 1164; but elsewhere (viii. 13) as 1169. This discrepancy may arise from the ease with which MCLXIV and MCLXIX might in transcription be confused. With 1169 Myln (5) agrees.

From what has been said about his predecessor it is obvious that Gregory did not, as alleged by Myln, hold the see for about 42 years. It must be remembered that Myln, who is followed by Keith, makes Gregory the first bishop of this see.

[?? **HUGH.** In R.A. (i. 12) we find 'Hugone Dunkeldensi episcopo' among the witnesses to a charter of king William, in his fifth year, *i.e.* the year ending 8 Dec. 1170. I suspect that this charter, like some others in the opening of R.A., is either a forgery, or has been seriously tampered with, for among the other witnesses are 'Joceline, bishop of Glasgow,' who was not elected till 23 May, 1174 (M.), and 'Ricardo Moravie,' while Richard was not elected to Moray till 1 March, 1187 (M.). Again, Hugh, abbot of Neubottyl, is a witness, who could not have succeeded earlier than 1179 (M.). It should be noted that in the charter 'Hugone de Sigillo, clerico meo' appears also among the witnesses. I am not aware that a Hugh, bishop of Dunkeld, appears elsewhere before Hugh de Sigillo. If he existed at all, he could have been bishop for only a few months: see last entry and the next.]

RICHARD (I.) styled by Myln (9) 'Richard de Prebenda': but probably through confusion with Richard, the second of that name. He was 'capellanus Regis Willelmi' (M. *s. a.* 1170), and had perhaps been chaplain to William before he came to the throne. (See the Coldingham charter cited by Dalrymple, *Collections*, 322, where we find a Richard 'capellanus comitis Willelmi'.)

He was consecrated on the vigil of St. Laurence (the feast falls on 10 Aug.), 1170, in the cathedral church of St. Andrews by Richard, bp.

¹The best text of the bull is printed in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. ii. part i. 231.

of St. Andrews (M.). The vigil fell in that year on a Sunday, which fact, so far forth, is a confirmation; for the common law of the Church was that bishops should be consecrated on Sunday. Myln (6) is certainly wrong in making him die in 1173, for he was in Normandy in December, 1174, at the time of the treaty of Falaise (Foed. i. 30: Sc. viii. 24). On the contrary M. (*s. a.*) and Sc. (viii. 25) place his death under 1178. Myln says he died at Cramond (in Midlothian), and was buried in the island of Inchcolm (in the Forth).

Myln, who omits altogether Cormac, the first bishop, places a Cormac as the immediate successor of Richard, and gives his death as 'about 1174.' This will not fit in with the better authenticated list derived from M. There seems no good evidence for placing (as K.) another Gregory after the Cormac who is supposed to have succeeded Myln's Cormac.

That Richard I. died in 1210 (*Extr.* 75) is obviously wrong, the error arising from a confusion with Richard II. (see below).

WALTER DE BIDUN, 'clericus regis,' 'cancellarius regis Scottorum,' elected to Dunkeld, 1178 (M.). So too Bower (Sc. viii. 25). Myln speaks of him as consecrated, which may be doubted, and seems to have held that he died the same year. At least his statement is open to that interpretation, and it has been so understood by Chalmers (Caled. i. 712) and by Grub (i. 301).

The language of M. is as follows: 'Obiit Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermelin, et Walterus de Bidun cancellarius regis Scottorum, ecclesie de Dunkelde electus.' I take the meaning of this to be that Walter elect of Dunkeld died in 1178. But for our previous information as to the death of Richard in 1178 we should not be justified in considering Walter as elected in this year. As it is, it seems that he was elected and died in the same year, and had not been consecrated. Examples of two deaths introduced by the word 'obiit' will be found in M. *s.a.* 1152, 1153.

The see seems to have been void till 1183.

JOHN (I.) 'cognomine Scotus,' who had been elected to St. Andrews in 1178, and consecrated on June 15, 1180, failed to obtain possession; and he and his rival Hugh having both resigned their claims into the hands of the pope, John, who had been elected *concorditer* to Dunkeld, was confirmed by the pope to that see (Sc. vi. 40). It is not stated when John was elected to Dunkeld.

It was during his episcopate that the diocese of Argyll was cut out of Dunkeld at the desire of John. This was probably about 1200.

To the charter evidence cited by K. may be added that of his witnessing the quitclaim of subjection granted by O[sbert], abbot of Kelso, to Guido, first abbot of Lindores: see *Chartulary of Lindores* (284). This was probably 1191-1195. He was a papal judge-delegate in 1193 (R.G. i. 68). He consecrated Reinald, bp. of Ross, 10 Sept. 1195 (M.). See also R.G. i. 66; North Berwick (7); and Melrose (85, 86, 113, 114).

He died in 1203 (M.), having on his death-bed at Newbottle taken the habit (Sc. vi. 41). He was buried in the choir of Newbottle on the north of the altar (*ib.*).

RICHARD (II.) DE PREBENDA, 'clericus et cognatus domini regis (Willelmi)' succeeded in the same year as John's death,—1203 (M.).

There is a commission from Innocent III. to determine a cause between R[ichard], bp. of Dunkeld and the Prior of St. Andrews relative to the church of Meigle (R.P.S.A. Preface, xlii) : this seems to have been about 1207.

See Dunfermline (96) for between 1204-1210.

Richard died in May, 1210 (M.: Sc. viii. 72): and according to Sc. (viii. 75) 'about Easter.' Easter fell in this year on 18 April. According to the last authority he died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm (*apud insulam Aemoniam*).

It is a gross error of Myln to make 'John de Lacerster' follow John the Scott, omitting this Richard altogether. We have seen that he gives the name 'de Prebenda' to the first Richard.

JOHN (II.) ('de Leicester,' Myln and Sc. ix. 27) archdeacon of Lothian.

There was a 'J.' archdeacon of Lothian present at the Council held at Perth in 1201 by the Cardinal Legate (R.G. i. 81).

Elected on St. Mary Magdalene's Day (22 July) 1211 (M.). 'J elect of Dunkeld' witnesses a deed of William, king of Scotland, doing fealty to John, king of England, 1212 (Fœd. i. 104).

John died 7 Oct. 1214 (M.). *Scotichronicon* (ix. 27) gives the same year for the death of 'John de Leycester, bp. of Dunkeld,' and adds that he died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm, like his predecessor. His bones were translated to the south of the newly-erected choir of the church of Inchcolm, close to the altar, in 1266 (Sc. x. 21).

HUGH (Hugo de Sigillo: 'dictus de sigillo' (M.): clericus de sigillo). He had been clerk of King William (R.G. 92: Scone 30). The charter cited from R.G. is dated by Cosmo Innes 1212-1214. He succeeded to the see apparently in 1214 (M.). He gave benediction to Ralph, newly elected abbot of Melrose, on 29 Sept. 1216. He is bishop of Dunkeld 24 June, 1224 (Neubottle 92). H. is bp. of Dunkeld in 1226 (Dunferml. 135); and in 1227 (Dunferml. 135). Hugh died in 1228 (Sc. ix. 47), 'vir mansuetissimus, qui dicebatur pauperum episcopus.' Myln, who in the matter of the length of his episcopate is very far astray, may perhaps be correct as to the *day* of his death which he makes 6 Jan. He may have found this to be marked as his obit in some of the registers of Dunkeld. The compiler of *Extracta e variis cronicis* (93) gives 1229 as the year of Hugh's death, which probably is correct, the year being 1228-29.

Hugh speaks of 'John, Richard, and John, our predecessors' (Inchaffray, 69).

MATTHEW SCOT (made chancellor of the king (Alexander II.) in 1227 (M.)). Boece (*Epis. Aberdon. Vit.* 11, New Spalding Club edit.) says that the clergy and people of Aberdeen postulated Matthew, chancellor of the kingdom with common consent; and that he had scarcely assented when he learned that his accepting Dunkeld, which was offered to him 'omnium suffragiis' would be especially pleasing to the king. He accepted Dunkeld. He died before consecration in 1229 (Sc. ix. 47).

The Bishops of Dunkeld

GILBERT, chaplain to Bishop Hugh (Sc. ix. 47), appointed (?) 1229.

He was, presumably, the unnamed bishop of Dunkeld to whom Gregory IX. wrote (22 May, 1235) granting permission to raise the priory of Inchcolm in his diocese into an abbacy, and to give to the monastery, with the consent of his cathedral chapter, a portion of the revenues of the see, which had become augmented in his time *in centum marcharum argenti* (T. No. 78).

Gilbert died in 1236 (M.) and was buried in the monastery of Inchcolm (in the Forth) on the first Sunday after Easter (*dominica in albis*), which in 1236 fell on 6 April (Myln, 9).

GEOFFREY (Galfredus de Liberatione (Sc. ix. 52). Gaufridus), Clerk to the king (Alexander II.): canon of Dunkeld (T. No. 85): Precentor of Glasgow, 21 Feb. 1236 (Melrose, ii. 667). Elected 1236 (M.). 'G' is still elect of Dunkeld on Dec. 3, 1236 (Melrose, 185, 230).

Gregory IX. wrote, 6 Sept. 1236, to the bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Brechin to examine the *postulation* of Geoffrey by the dean and chapter of Dunkeld, and, if satisfied that the postulation had been canonically celebrated and the person fit, to dispense him for defect of birth, he being *de soluto et soluta genitus*, to take the oath of fealty to the Roman See, and to consecrate him. The postulation had been represented to the pope as made *concorditer* (T. No. 85). The result was favourable to Geoffrey.

Geoffrey declares that 31 Dec. 1238 was in the third year of his pontificate (Inchaffray, 71). This shows that he must have been consecrated soon after the receipt of the pope's letter. He speaks of having inspected charters of his predecessors 'the first John, Richard, the second John, Hugh, and Gilbert.' This is valuable as pointing to the order of the bishops of Dunkeld.

In 1238 Geoffrey was postulated to St. Andrews,¹ but the postulation was disapproved of by the king and not confirmed by the pope (Sc. vi. 42: T. No. 100: Wyntoun, ii. 244). See what is said of this under St. Andrews in my paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (iv. 603).

According to Myln (10) Geoffrey made a new erection of his cathedral 'ad instar ecclesiae Sarum,' introduced the 'cantus Gregorianus,' added to the number of the canons, made provision for the endowment of new canonries, and enacted that none but canons continuously resident should share in the *communiae canonicorum*.

He was appointed with William, bp. of Glasgow, by Gregory IX. (11 June, 1337) to deal with the impoverished state of the see and cathedral of Dunblane (T. No. 91; Inchaffray, pp. xxix-xxx).

Geoffrey, with other bishops, swore to acknowledge the subjection of Alexander II. to Henry of England in 1244. (Fœd. i. 257).

Geoffrey was present on the occasion of placing the child Alexander III. on the throne at Scone, 13 July, 1249 (Sc. x. i.). A few months later he was dead. He died at Tibermure (Tippermuir) on St. Cecilia's day

¹ Probably after 1 July, 1238, for he is styled simply bishop of Dunkeld at that date. *Red Book of Menteith*, ii. 326.

(22 Nov.), 1249, and was buried in the cathedral of Dunkeld (Sc. ix. 63 : Myln, 10-11). His epitaph as given in Sc. reads :

‘Hac Dunkeldensis cleri decus, aegis, et ensis,
Gaufridus tumba pausat, sub patre Columba.’¹

We find (as has been stated) ‘G. electo Dunkeldensi’ on 3 Dec. in 22nd year of Alexander, *i.e.* 1236 (Melrose, i. 185 and 230). This taken with what has been said above points to his having been consecrated between 3 Dec. and 31 Dec., 1236. Charter evidence after his consecration is frequent.

After the death of Geoffrey, Myln inserts one whom he calls ‘Richard the king’s chancellor,’ who lived only one year, and died at Cramond, and was buried at Inchcolm in 1250. One cannot but suspect that he has confused the name, and that the person he means was David, whom he omits, but of whom we have authentic evidence ; but an error as to the name is possible : some contraction of ‘Richard’ being mistaken for David.

DAVID, Elect of Dunkeld.

King Alexander grants a charter to the burgesses of Inverness, dated at Scone, 3 Dec. anno regni 2. ‘Test. David electo Dunkelden, David abbate de Neubotill, Alano hostiario justiciario Scotie, et Gilberto de Haia’ (R.M.S. ii. No. 804). The witnesses show that Alexander must be Alexander III. ; the date therefore is 3 Dec. 1250. So far as I know this is the only notice of this David. There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) on 30 Aug. 1250 (C.P.R. i. 261). The notice of this person is of some value as showing that Bower (Sc. x. 3) may be wrong in making Richard of Inverkeithing advanced to the bishopric of Dunkeld in 1250, though that is just possible if the year be taken as closing on March 24, 1250-1.

J. DOWDEN.

¹ Myln reads ‘Hic’ for ‘Hac.’

(To be continued.)

Reviews of Books

A LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By J. H. Millar, B.A., LL.B., Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. ix, 703, demy 8vo, with Frontispiece. London : Fisher Unwin, 1903. 16s.

'THE Library of Literary History,' to which series Mr. Millar's volume of seven hundred pages belongs, undertakes to tell, for each nation, the history of its intellectual growth and artistic achievements. Mr. Millar is the latest to essay the task of interpreting to the world the mind of his country as displayed in her literature. We have had her picturesque episodes treated by the arid and the flippant historian, her social life depicted with kindly sympathy or monocular cynicism, her literary great ones presented with painstaking accuracy or brutal frankness. Mr. Millar approaches his arduous task with the desire to eliminate all constitutional prejudice or bias on his part, as tending to unfair treatment of men with whose temperament and habits of thought he might find himself in imperfect sympathy. But his attitude and methods are far from being those of the ideal historian, who ought in fairness to apply to the past the standards of that past, reserving for himself the rôle of illuminating for us its facts and tendencies under the light of his own imaginative insight and balanced judgment. His method, stated broadly, is encyclopaedic rather than philosophic. His thorough index shows nearly six hundred names of literary Scots, whose comparative eminence, of course, tails off to the minute proportions of a foot-note.

Mr. Millar is nothing if not 'modern.' On the 'Huchown' problem the freshest he has to say is that this elusive 'makar' might pass for 'the first illustrious specimen of that much-vilified person, the Anglified Scot.' The patchwork of honest John Barbour he disposes of in this fashion. 'It may be after all that the text of Brus was "faked" by some not unskilful scribe in the fifteenth century.' Lindsay's 'Satire' again, 'looks like an interesting anticipation of the great doctrine of efficiency.' When he comes nearer to his own time the trick of modernity is still more apparent, witness this bit of Henleyite contempt for the 'common Burnsite': 'The inherent force and overpowering spirit of *The Jolly Beggars* are perhaps sufficient to account for its inferior popularity as compared with *Tam o' Shanter*. Had Burns swerved for one moment from the path of true craftsmanship, had he relaxed the severity of the artist and emitted the smallest whine of senti-

ment, had he dowered any one of his gallery of mendicants and mumpers with those virtues which draw the tear to the eye and the snuffle to the nose, *The Jolly Beggars* might have stood first in the hearts of its author's countrymen as securely as it does in the estimation of those best qualified to form an opinion.' This is legitimate enough as literary criticism from Mr. Millar's standpoint, but the tendency to modernity sometimes leads him far enough away from literary history.

While this tendency lends piquancy, subtle allusiveness, and the journalistic quality of living interest, it is fatal to philosophic breadth and just proportion. To say of a speech of Chalmers that it reveals him merely as 'a species of ecclesiastical Helen Macgregor,' or to call the *Lilac Sun-bonnet* 'a perfect triumph of succulent vulgarity' is amusing but not satisfying.

To the greater lights of the Golden Age of James IV.—Douglas, Henryson, Lyndsay, Dunbar—due court is paid. The criticism is full and discriminating, but leaves the problems of their art very much where they were. With none of these is the mere modern more in sympathy than with the shrewd but gentle Henryson, one of the most lovable characters in Scottish literature. Mr. Millar does justice to the charm of the *Fables* and their 'humanity and tolerance, which our national poetry in the criticism of life has sometimes lacked.' Unfortunately we have here one of many such general statements which our author throws at the reader and then runs away. Dare any one say that humanity and tolerance, where these are called for, are wanting in Allan Ramsay, Burns, and Scott? It would be easy to illustrate these features from the undesigned literature of proverb and anecdote. But the anecdote form of Scotch humour is abhorrent to Mr. Millar, who, *apropos* of worthy Dean Ramsay and his stories, says, 'while racy and pointed in themselves they have been the parent of much intolerable dulness both in conversation and in print.' Here again our author cannot stick to his last, which is literary history. But the philosophic method might have suggested at this point an interesting discussion on what is the most characteristic note of the national mind, the criticism of life on pawky, didactic lines. True, the critic might hardly call the 'gnomic' style poetry at all, but the study of the literary, and even general history, of Scotland compels attention to it. Its wit, and force, and kindliness are conspicuous in the work, say, of Barbour, Henryson, Lindsay, Maitland, and, still more so, of Ramsay, when he is a Scottish Horace, Fergusson, Burns in his *Epistles*, and Scott when he gets away from the 'genteel' and its stilted exponents.

The seventeenth century in Scotland has little to offer the student of literature, but of this little Mr. Millar makes the most. He very properly ascribes the decline of the vernacular as a literary medium, not to the Union of 1603 but to the fact that the Reformed Church adopted English throughout; and here I can only in passing contrast the work of the Anglified Knox with the intensely German Luther, who by his hymns and Bible created a literary language that is bound up with the national life. The strongly devout character of this century

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gives Mr. Millar an opportunity, of which he cleverly avails himself, to show up some of the less lovely phases of Evangelical literary art. His treatment of worthy Samuel Rutherford in adapting the allegorical in the *Song of Solomon* to the understanding of his fleshly hearers, doubtless quite alive to the *riské* elements, is extremely neat. Quoting an admirer of the saint of Anwoth to the effect that 'The haughty contempt of the *Letters* which is in the heart of many will be ground for condemnation when the Lord cometh to make inquisition after such things,' he adds, 'Thus the pious Dr. Love; and it can only be hoped that the doctor is out in his confident forecast that a revision of erroneous critical opinions will form part of the business of the day of judgment.' Very acceptable, too, is his good word for the metrical Psalms and Paraphrases. The former 'contain many passages of artless and simple beauty and some of unostentatious dignity. Moreover, the version is hallowed by the associations of two centuries and a half. It is, therefore' (significant word) 'scarcely necessary to say that in recent years it has to a great extent been ousted from the services of the Kirk in favour of 'hymns,' which possess no recommendation whatsoever, except unwholesome sentiment and glib fluency.' Equally good is this on the Paraphrases (eighteenth century work): 'Their genuine piety is untainted by extravagance, their grave severity unruffled by hysteria. They that seek for glitter, and banality, and noise, must turn to the more comprehensive volumes of a later date, whence they will not be sent empty away.'

The eighteenth century affords full scope for the display of Mr. Millar's pronounced 'Moderatism,' fortunately not incompatible with an incisive treatment of that 'eloquence,' which was so dear to the literary 'Moderates.' This survival of the 'aureate' style—for its roots were far older than the century—was a fruitful source of much frigidity in sermon and academic lecture. Akin to it is that well-bred reticence about the familiar and personal which makes the contemporary records of the century so barren. 'Let us be genteel,' these writers said, 'or our Art will die.' Scott himself was in this respect a child of the century. The story of his schooldays, apparently so frank, is as much romancing as the 'genteel' account of them in 'Redgauntlet.' Had he let himself go how much he would have surpassed the 'human' revelations of 'Jupiter' Carlyle and Henry Cockburn, whose Whiggism, by the way, excites the strong aversion of Mr. Millar.

The encyclopaedic style, while it satisfies the modern craving for 'Manuals,' does bare justice to Mr. Millar, whose independent attitude, decided feeling for style, and incisive treatment of literary foibles show to greater advantage in this study of recent times. The older problems call for patient research and wide sympathies in handling those entire phases of the national life which gave to the literature of each period its local form, colour, and character, just as nature harmonises bird, insect, or flower with its environment.

JAS. COLVILLE.

ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS. V.—DAT BOECKEN VANDER MISSEN.

‘The Booklet of the Mass,’ by Brother Gherit Vander Goude, 1507.

The thirty-four plates described and the explanatory text of the Flemish original translated, with illustrative excerpts from contemporary missals and tracts, by Pearcer Dearmer, M.A.

A SUPERSTITIOUS horror of the Mass, which to John Knox was more terrible than 10,000 men armed against the congregation, was a characteristic feature of the Scottish Reformation, and the cry ‘False knaves, wilt thou say mass at my lug,’ is traditionally said to have ushered in the great revolution of 1636. Any document, therefore, illustrating the way in which the central act of worship of Catholic Christendom was regarded by its votaries, or the way in which a Catholic ‘heard mass,’ should be to us interesting and instructive.

This little picture prayer-book was not compiled for apologetic or controversial purposes, for its date is anterior to the Reformation. Its interest is mainly historical. The third edition, the basis of the present reproduction, is dated 1507. It was translated into French under the title of *L'Interpretation et Signification de la Messe*, and an English version was published in 1532—when the rejection of the Pope and all his works was going on apace under Henry VIII. Such pictorial guides to devotion were naturally popular when few could read print, and when much could be conveyed to the eye by emblems and symbols. But, in the case of the Mass, this pictorial method of instruction had a distinct value of its own, inasmuch as it kept in view of the child and layman the doctrine that the Mass was an *Action*—the one great sacrifice consummated by Christ on Calvary, and here renewed, repeated, or applied by the priest.

The devout Catholic wishing to assist at Mass does not follow word for word the prayers of the missal. They would be unsuited to him. He is therefore left at liberty to devise some appropriate way of giving his attention to the act in which he participates. To him the Mass represents the great drama of Christ's life and death. It is left to the devout imagination to fill in the details of the picture. He is saturated with the gospel story, and, as it were, plays with it; and a hundred methods of hearing Mass are accordingly invented, some of them extremely fanciful and far-fetched in their symbolism. This, for example, is the way in which the first Article treats of the vesting of the priest

‘¶ The first article of the Mass.

‘¶ How the priest prepares himself in the sacristy to say Mass: the deacon and subdeacon help him in this, but the priest puts on the vestment by himself. ¶ That shows us how Christ Jesus put on the vestment of human nature, and was conceived in the sacristy of the blessed body of Mary: in this did help the Father and the Holy Ghost. The minister of the Mass signifies the holy angel Gabriel.’

In the present case we have, or rather ought to have, the whole function divided into thirty-three episodes, representing the thirty-three years of Christ's life—the pictures on the one side showing the actions of the priest at Mass, and on the other the corresponding actions of Christ's

life. Unfortunately the latter set of pictures and their mystical interpretations, with the exception of the one just quoted, are omitted by Mr. Dearmer. This is not only a regrettable omission both from a bibliographical and theological point of view, but hereby the title of Mr. Dearmer's book becomes positively misleading. It is not *Dat Boexken Vander Missen*, or 'The Booklet [why Booklet?] of the Mass' that he is editing, but the one half of that book, interesting only to the liturgist. This should have been made clear on the title-page.

These liturgical pictures have, however, considerable interest. One especially will strike the modern Roman Catholic. The Thirty-second Article, entitled 'Ite missa est,' represents the chalice, lying down on the corporal and draining into the paten. How or when the chalice or paten is finally cleansed is not clearly explained. In the Sarum Use, remarks Mr. Dearmer, the chalice was 'laid to drain on to the paten and the drops finally consumed before the communion was said. The custom has disappeared altogether from the present Roman Rite.' It would be worth while to reproduce this little book of the Mass *in extenso*, and at a less costly price than one guinea.

T. G. LAW.

THE SCOTS IN EASTERN AND WESTERN PRUSSIA, Pp. xii. 244 with seven portraits and a map, by Th. A. Fischer. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co. 1903. 15s. nett.

THIS book is to some extent a continuation of Dr. Fischer's *Scots in Germany*, and casts many new lights on the *vie intime* of those Scots who settled in Prussia not as soldiers of fortune, but as Traders and Pedlars. As far back as 1330 the generic name for a wandering packman in Germany was 'Schotte,' and the writer holds this to have been derived more from the wandering Scot than from the itinerant Irish mendicants.

Very little, however, can be told about the Scots in Prussia before the fifteenth century, and their traders were from the first regarded with deep suspicion. The shipping trade between Scotland and Dantzic soon became an important one, and the Scots had their own altar in the Schwarzmönchen Kirche. Of the Scottish pedlars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Dr. Fischer has a great deal to tell, and he recounts clearly the difficulties they had to contend with. Even in Dantzic they were oppressed. They were subject to attack on the highways, to injustice at the hands of the authorities, and they suffered much from the jealousy of the German merchant guilds. Yet in spite of all these disabilities they increased and flourished, but were always held in low esteem by their German neighbours as an inferior people. Thus at Königsberg as late as 1620 the Scots complain that though protected by the Duke they were jeered at as mere 'gärtner,' and this was the attitude all over Prussia, and in Poland also, where a decree against the trading Scots had been issued in 1566. In Prussia their position advanced in 1616 by a self-imposed tax and the consequent issue of letters of protection, but the improvement was slow. The Lutheran



THE LAST EARL MARISCHAL

From a sketch in the collection of Prince Eulenberg, reproduced in Dr. Th. A. Fischer's 'Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia'

pastors disliked them as belonging to an alien church, and it was only through gradual intermarriages with German ladies that their status really improved, and that they were freely made Burgesses. They were again taxed in 1680, and their full civil rights were not acquired until the eighteenth century. Dr. Fischer tells us much that is interesting, illustrating points about the Scottish 'Nations,' their handicrafts, their charities, and their generosity.

The second part of the book, 'Army, Church, and other matters,' is less interesting because less new. Still it contains many lists of names of use to the genealogist. Many documents are appended—*e.g.* a list of Birth Brieves, and a list of the Scottish Burgesses at Posen, 1585-1713; and among the illustrations is a quaint sketch of the last Earl Marischal (reproduced from Dr. Fischer's plate), from the collection of Prince Eulenberg. Dr. Fischer has, we think, fully proved that the position of the Scottish Trader was much less happy than has previously been believed, and his book will be read by all those who study 'The Scot Abroad.' It would be made more valuable by a better index.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

LUARD MEMORIAL SERIES. VOL. II. GRACE BOOK B, PART I., containing the Proctor's Accounts and other Records of the University of Cambridge. Pp. xxvii, 309, demy 8vo. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903. 21s. nett.

EDITED for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by Mary Bateson (1903), is another instalment of a most worthy commemoration of the distinguished antiquary who for so many years acted as Registry of the University of Cambridge. It is a discredit to British scholarship that so many of the mediaeval records of the ancient English Universities should be still lurking in manuscript. Cambridge is not fortunate in having preserved her archives with any completeness, and such as have remained have been diligently examined, though necessarily for biographical purposes, by the authors of *Athenae Cantabrigienses*. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society has, however, done well in setting forth in excellent print and comely get up a series of University records in memory of the editor of Matthew Paris. The present volume contains the proctor's accounts for the years 1488 to 1511, and is a continuation of an earlier volume edited by Mr. Stanley Leathes. The society is fortunate in having secured as editor so learned and indefatigable a student of mediaeval history as Miss Mary Bateson. That lady does not indeed seem responsible for the text or even the original material for the index; but when a former editor was unable to see the book through, she stepped into the breach and brought the book to a rapid and adequate conclusion. An excellent, though brief, introduction explains to us the value of the material Miss Bateson now gives to the world. In it our attention is attracted to a table of the number of degrees given by the University in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The highest in any one year is 97, in 1503, while the lowest, in 1506, falls to 65. So modest in authentic records is the number of persons taking degrees at Cambridge at the very

threshold of the Reformation movement, the leadership of which fell in so many cases to Cambridge men. But the large proportion of degrees in the higher faculties, and especially in canon law and divinity, speaks highly for the quality and duration of Cambridge studies at that period, and the near approach to equality (*e.g.* in 1507 26 to 25) of the numbers of bachelors to masters in the faculty of arts tells a similar tale. Medicine and music were little better than nominal faculties, with 6 and 1 graduates respectively in the 10 years. Miss Bateson has in some cases indicated the proportion of seculars to regulars among the graduates in divinity. She might with advantage, however, have worked out all the information given on this subject in her record. We have been at the pains of counting them up, and find, out of a total of 91 B.D.'s in the decade, 20 are described as friars, 5 as regular canons, and 4 as monks. This makes 29 known to be 'religious,' that is about a third of the whole. But in the absence of specific description we cannot be sure that all the 62 who are not described as 'religious' were really secular clerks. Probably the proportion of professed to seculars was really greater than a third. Still the number of English seculars studying theology compares favourably with those in the Universities of Italy, where hardly anybody could be found to study so unprofitable a subject save mendicants vowed to absolute poverty, and therefore removed from worldly temptations. As compared with the friars, both the regular canons and the 'possessionate' monks cut a poor show, as might have been expected a generation before the dissolution. We may add that the entry on p. 222, that Erasmus became in 1506 an 'inceptor' in divinity, does not seem to be included in the tables. With this microscopical criticism we have exhausted all that we can say against Miss Bateson's excellent work.

T. F. TOUT.

THE VALET'S TRAGEDY AND OTHER STUDIES. By Andrew Lang.
Pp. xiv, 366, demy 8vo, with Illustrations. London: Longmans,
1903. 12s. 6d. nett.

MR. LANG has dug up and exploited the infamous Pickle and laid patent *his* mystery. The mystery of the Gowrie Plot has had his elucidation. The mystery of Prince Charles's period of *incognito* owns him as its discerning detective. The mystery of Mary Stuart added another volume to his historic-detective series, and here is a whole bundle of mysteries in the 'Valet's Tragedy.' It would be impossible to follow Mr. Lang critically through the many tangled stories which his latest book contains. It is true that his conclusions are not infrequently indefinite, for the reason that he is too careful a worker to unduly accentuate this or that clue. Nor is the story he offers a mere re-shuffling of time-worn evidence. His industry and indefatigable search for new materials are alike amazing. With this appreciation one must rest content to say that in this volume of historical mysteries Mr. Lang tackles that of the 'Man in the Iron Mask,' and detects him in Eustache Dauger; deals with the mystery of Sir Godfrey Berry's death, without coming to any definite conclusion, but with

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a leaning to the theory of suicide; tells the strange story of the false Jeanne D'Arc, one of the strangest in mediæval history, surely; has a chapter on 'Junius and Lord Lyttleton's Ghost'; another on 'The Mystery of Amy Robsart,' and finds Dudley's character cleared, and the theory of suicide 'plausible, if it were conceivable that a person could commit suicide by throwing herself downstairs,' and Elizabeth 'erroneously accused of reporting Amy's death before it occurred.' As to 'The Voices of Jeanne D'Arc,' he concludes that in her case, 'as of Socrates, the mind communicated knowledge not in the conscious everyday intelligence of the Athenian or of La Pucelle.' The Neapolitan Stuarts have their chapter in the 'Mystery of James de la Cloche.' But is it not an assumption that there was no Maria Henrietta Stuart who could have been Don Jacopo's mother? And is not the manner in which his papers may have got into the hands of the Jesuits suggested in a recent article by Mr. A. Francis Steuart in the *English Historical Review*? The story of 'Fisher's Ghost,' to Mr. Lang's mind, reveals another instance of genuine hallucination. 'The Mystery of Lord Bateman,' and 'The Queen's Marie,' are other chapters, and the volume closes with one on the most modern mystery, 'The Shakespeare-Bacon Imbrolio.' From Louis XIV. to Mrs. Gallup—that is the range of the volume! Needless to say that it is written with all the art so readily and responsively at Mr. Lang's command; that it is eminently readable; and that it will be very widely read.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

HISTORY OF SEPULCHRAL CROSS-SLABS, by K. E. Styan. Pp. vi, 45, demy 8vo, with Illustrations. London: Bemrose, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS little book, with its seventy-one illustrations, is published with a view to excite interest in its subject. The notes are not of great value, but the slabs are clearly and it must be supposed accurately delineated. The examples are almost entirely drawn from the South of England, and are works of the thirteenth century and later. The designs are simple and chaste, but are in no way striking. The impression left upon the mind is that the grave-slabs of the South of England are not to be compared in artistic value with those of Scotland and the North of England. But this impression may be due to the author's choice of slabs, which, with only thirteen exceptions, have no other decoration than the cross.

P. MACGREGOR CHALMERS.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE AND THE STORY OF THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS. By Edwin Pears, LL.B. Demy 8vo, with 3 Maps and 4 Illustrations. London: Longmans. 18s. nett.

MR. PEARS' name has been brought before the public recently as one of the few who can speak with first-hand authority upon the present state of the Turkish provinces in Europe. And not the least valuable and instruc-

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tive part of this book is the informed and discriminating view of the permanent vices and virtues of the Turk by one who has studied him (not unsympathetically) from his Tartar origin, and is also familiar with the present régime at Constantinople. But its chief interest is neither topical nor temporary.

Mr. Pears tells the story of the Eastern Empire from 1204 to 1453 : to the objection, that the task has been accomplished already by Gibbon he answers 'first, that an important mass of new material is now at the disposal of anyone who wishes to retell the story, and second, that Gibbon told it with a bias which makes it desirable that it should be retold.' On the first point the author's scholarly exactness in weighing and applying the original testimonies (so curious and racy in their Venetian, French, or Renaissance Latin), and working out his narrative from them, is his full justification. On the second I cannot find him so clear. Gibbon wrote as a Theist, and Mr. Pears rebukes him for not estimating the historical importance of theological doctrines and sentiment which he despised ; his authorities infused into him the Latin prejudice against the Greek Church, and Mr. Pears throws the chief blame for the downfall of the Eastern Empire on the Crusaders and the Catholic monarchies. But when he talks (not without a tinge of the 'God's Englishman' provincialism and arrogance) of 'we Northerners' and 'we of the twentieth century,' I cannot help feeling that Mr. Pears is as distinctively nineteenth century as Gibbon was eighteenth century in his assumed principles, and that the adult twentieth century may have a very different word from either to say and more sympathetic with the fourteenth and fifteenth than either. However, the history free from bias or temporary colour remains to write ; and perhaps nobody will read it when it is written.

In general Mr. Pears suffers perhaps by the besetting recollection of Gibbon's brilliant qualities : his portraits are a bit flat—though doubtless the fault here lies partly with the persons, themselves all drawn down by the general ebb of decadence. Exception must be made in favour of Mahomet II., carefully delineated and with something of the sympathy which Gibbon felt for Julian. Neither is the style altogether adequate : it is sometimes slipshod, sometimes obscured by a singular parsimony in the resources of punctuation. In particular there are sentences on pp. 53, 110, 172, 184 which the author should be glad to retouch when the book goes to a well-deserved second edition. But in the captivating drama of the siege of the city and the fate of Constantine (the Francis Joseph of that prefigured Austria) he achieves a blunt, simple force which at least transmits, though without improving the tragic interest of the material. The chapter headings are needlessly telegraphic in their abbreviations, even suggestive of headlines in the halfpenny press.

Mr. Pears does not indulge largely in historical philosophy, but two big facts appear either implicitly or by admission. The first (in his own words p. 90) : 'it may be confidently asserted that had the counsels of more than one of the Popes during his (viz. John Palaeologus') reign been followed, there would have been a concerted action against the common enemy sufficient to have delayed the Turkish progress, and possibly altogether

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arrested it.' The Turk then as now throve on the jealousies of European Powers. Secondly, it was the obstinate nationalism of the Greeks in Constantinople which broke the repeated efforts of statesman after statesman and Pope after Pope, to unite the Churches—just as nationalism now corrupts the Christian cause in the East.

In conclusion: the blemishes are small and the book is excellent. The account of the final siege would have been easier to follow if van Millingen's plan had shown the heights in contour-lines; and if the author had more fully exhibited the purpose and utility of dragging the ships across the Pera promontory. The illustrations are admirable: among them photographs of the surviving walls and of Gentile Bellini's magnificent portrait of Mahomet.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

SHAKESPEARE'S HOMELAND: Sketches of Stratford-upon-Avon, the Forest of Arden and the Avon Valley, by W. Salt Brassington, F.S.A., with over Seventy Illustrations by H. J. Howard and Sidney Heath. Pp. xx, 356, demy 8vo. London: Dent.

MR. BRASSINGTON has written a pleasant volume upon Stratford and the neighbouring country, which is profusely and tastefully illustrated with numerous sketches by the artists mentioned in the preface. He has plenty of enthusiasm, a genuine appreciation of picturesque scenery, and a good knowledge of architecture. He displays too a keen perception of the mischief done to the historical associations of country churches by the restorer, and a sound knowledge of the few facts of the life of Shakespeare which have come down to us. But in his horror of the Baconian craze he is somewhat too anxious to exalt the social position of the poet's family. Probably Robert Arden was, no doubt remotely, connected with the Warwickshire Ardens, but the Heralds were doubtful of the relationship, and after sketching the Arden shield withdrew it. Nor are the vague statements of Garter about Shakespeare's forefathers to be accepted as literal facts. Had they been capable of verification they would have been much more precisely stated, we may be quite sure. The Baconians have of course gone absurdly far in their desire to disparage Shakespeare, but that is no reason for exaggerating his claims to a distinguished pedigree. In spite of this foible the volume is agreeably written, and gives the general public a great deal of information in attractive fashion.

N. MACCOLL.

THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND: THE STANHOPE ESSAY, 1903, by Archibald Main (Oxford: Blackwell, 1903, pp. 55, crown 8vo, 2s. nett), written with care, clearness, and promise, is a compact account and estimate of a career of ambitious inefficiency. Accrediting Sigismund with his one success, his share in mending the great and long-standing schism, and thus reuniting the splintered papacy over the ashes of Huss, our essayist sums up the Emperor as 'the self-sentenced Belshazzar of the Middle Ages.'

The September issue of the *Juridical Review* (Green & Sons) contains an attractive and brightly written article by Dr. Robert Munro on *The Recent Case of Treasure Trove* (the Attorney General *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum; June, 1903);—a litigation involving extremely wide and varied interests, since it presents, all blended together, a bewildering number of aspects rarely found in company—archaeological, historical, anthropological, artistic, legal, geological, political, and even international. Dr. Munro's account, and the informing article by Dr. Joseph Anderson in our last issue, may be profitably read as supplementary to each other. A note by the Editor calls attention to the unsatisfactory state of existing Scots Law on the subject of Treasure Trove, and under-states rather than over-states his case. He is probably right in characterising as 'plainly unwarranted' the claim of the Crown put forward in 1888 to appropriate as Treasure Trove articles of antiquarian interest, not made of bullion, found some years earlier in a *tumulus* or burial mound in Scotland. Unfortunately, however, the matter cannot be thus lightly dismissed; since the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in that year not only put forward this claim, but practically compelled the other parties alleging interests to acquiesce in his contention; and since, moreover, the intervention of the Crown had been made upon the invitation of the Lord Ordinary (Lord Kyllachy). It is true that the opinion thus supported by the authority of an Outer House Judge of the Court of Session has been completely demolished, along with the mistaken legal arguments underlying it, by Dr. David Murray in his *Archaeological Survey* (James MacLehose & Sons, 1896); yet Dr. Murray's conclusions, so long as only supported by reason and common sense, cannot be accepted as authoritatively settling the law of Scotland in opposition to the *obiter dictum* of Lord Kyllachy, backed up by the successful action of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. The Scots Law of previous time is thus more uncertain and unsatisfactory than the Editor of the *Juridical Review* suggests.

Topics of history in the *Edinburgh Review* (Oct.) comprise notably a notice of the literature upon 'Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America.' The reviewer is no partisan in the conflict of panegyrists and detractors. He thinks the facts eloquent enough of a greatness of spirit and design. 'In the story of our race there is only one man who planned and carried through a voyage such as that of 1492.' A sketch of the Irish insurrection, led by Robert Emmet in 1803, chiefly concerns itself with the personal career of the young enthusiast, whose aspirations, now being celebrated in centenary, led him to the scaffold.

The Reliquary (Oct.) is even more than usually rich in pictures of public and domestic antiquities. A curious votive sun chariot from Denmark—a very small bronze horse drawing a circular disc inlaid with gold and set on wheels—is the most striking of the list, which includes burial urns, pre-Norman crosses, a font, a dog-whip, a scold's bridle, and a variety of ancient purses, some with edifying inscriptions on the metal work. One reads: 'Si non habit peccunium non dabit.' This is sound doctrine, although the spelling be heterodox.

The September issue of the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* is a very full wallet indeed of miscellaneous old German, English, and French studies, especially English. E. Erlemann grapples with the interpretation of certain Anglo-Saxon riddles attributed to Kynewulf. J. Koch collates MSS. of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. H. Ullrich not only collates various editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, but infers from the scrutiny that Defoe was not himself concerned with any textual changes. The variations quoted are of no importance. Dr. Otto Ritter, whose recent researches into the 'quellen' of Burns eminently merit praise, turns his attention from Triton to minnow, and searches after the sources of Lewis's *Monk*, and its considerable influence on his contemporaries. Hans Hecht transcribes from the Advocates' Library MS. 5.2.14, the ballad of *Thomas o' Winesberry*, with John Leyden's annotations. A leading and elaborate essay in this fine number is that of H. Morf on French folk song, brightened with many examples.

In the *Revue des Études Historiques* (Sept.-Dec.) the marriage of Marie Antoinette is the foremost topic. A paper with unprinted documents on Bernardin de St. Pierre shews him in 1778 eagerly applying for employment in a survey of Corsica, a needy 'ancien capitaine-ingénieur,' not yet apparently dreaming of future authorship and his immortal pastoral, *Paul et Virginie*.

If the *Revue Historique* (F. Alcan, Paris) has one feature of interest more constant than another, it is in the *aperçu* or collective historical bulletin which M. Ch. Bémont gives of current published work on English history. His standpoint, though not at all remote, yet has a detachment and distance investing his views with unusual value, and he never fails to refer to studies unnoticed generally elsewhere. Of the chief articles in the October-November number of the *Revue* only one, by M. Bonet Maury attracts remark here. It is a biographical account of St. Columban with local reference to the monasteries founded in Brie in the seventh century—Faremontier, Jouarre, Rebais, Saint Croix de Meaux, the hermitage of St. Fiacre, and the convents of Lagny and Peronne—by or through the Irish saint himself (who died in 615) and his disciples St. Fiacre and St. Fursy. Eloquent and generous tribute is rendered to the civilising force of these fearless missionary monks of the west, 'authentic saints, worthy imitators of St. Peter and St. Paul.'

Englische Studien (Leipzig), a standard organ for English philology, gives in its mid-September issue a text of the *Lay-Folks' Mass-Book*, and numbers among its dissertations and criticisms a study by Anna Puddres on Byron's indebtedness to the Italian poet Alfieri, specially exhibited in Byron's borrowings in *Marino Faliero* from Alfieri's tragedy *La Congiura de Pazzi*. We note the announcement for early publication of a philological essay by Dr. O. Ritter on 'the Scottish parliamentary documents.'

Stately in form and size *The American Historical Review* challenges comparisons with any similar periodical produced in Europe. It has of course very many criticisms, and prints some original documents valuable

for United States history. Among its leading articles that of Mr. F. M. Fling on 'Historical Synthesis' is a survey of the vexed question of historical method raised by Comte and Buckle. It states the present confused position of a confusing argument, largely a matter of philosophical terms themselves indefinite, regarding the applicability of methods of natural science to historical pursuits. Mr. Fling is on the side of the historians and against the sociologists and natural-science methodists. Particularly interesting to the Scottish reader is a contrast by Mr. E. F. Henderson, 'Two Lives of the Emperor Charles I.,' illustrating the inefficiency of Robertson, even in the light of the knowledge accessible in his own time, when rhetoric too often passed for philosophy.

Diversified as is the interest of the *English Historical Review* (Oct.), the English items attract most. Sir James H. Ramsay groups instances of the proneness of mediæval chroniclers to overestimate numbers. As shewing the other side of the matter, Mr. H. W. C. Davis in an article on 'The Anarchy of Stephen's reign' effectively employs official figures as corroborating contemporary narratives heretofore suspected of exaggeration. Mr. Richard G. Usher examines Chief-Justice Coke's account of the dispute with King James, in which the judge incensed the monarch by saying that the common law protected the King, while James with indignation maintained that the King protected the law. Notwithstanding Coke's report of the affair he did not beard the King with impunity.

The Genealogist of October contains a note of a curious episode in the life of the first Lord Belhaven and Stenton. We have been content to take it from Douglas and Wood that that lord died in 1679 without male issue, and it was quite true. Sir James Balfour in his *Annals* had an announcement that Lord Belhaven had died near seven years previously—'miserably perished in the sinking sands of the Solway' (*Annals*, iv., 3rd July, 1652). This was clearly wrong; but Balfour seems not to have been alone in the error, for G. E. C. (*Complete Peerage*, Art. 'Belhaven,' vol. i., p. 306) adds a foot-note drawing attention to 'an almost inexplicable' administration of Lord Belhaven's goods granted on 11th November, 1656. The Hon. Vicary Gibbs now comes forward with the explanation which he has found in a source which we should not call recondite if it had not hitherto escaped the notice of the peerage writers—he finds it, quoted from Nicoll's *Diary* and Baillie's *Letters*, in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 249-50. The story which Mr. Gibbs reprints with all its quaint details comes to this, that Belhaven had caused himself to be reported dead to escape being involved in the ruin of the parent house of Hamilton. That the story has hitherto escaped the peerage writers seems clear from the fact that one of its points—that Belhaven had had a son, who predeceased him in the father's absence, and who must therefore have passed for a time as the second Lord Belhaven—is mentioned by none of them. Among other important items, 'The Marriages at Fort St. George,' 'Madras,' and Mr. A. J. Jewers's 'Grants and Certificates of Arms,' are continued. In Mr. J. F. Clay's print of *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with Additions* occurs the pedigree of the Constables of Everingham, one of the maternal ancestries of the present Lord Herries.

Record Room

A ROMANCE OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

AMONG the books of Edward I. inventoried in 1299-1300 among his 'Jocalia' there occurs the following:—

Unus liber de Romauntz qui incipit '*Cristiens se voet entremetre.*' (*Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, A.D. MCCXCIX and MCCC, ed. London 1787, p. 349.) It does not seem to have been noticed that this must have been Chrestien de Troyes' poem *Du Roi Guillaume d'Angleterre* published in Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, 1840, and reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris* by Dr. Giles in 1845. The opening line of the piece is—'*Crestiens se veut entremetre.*'

'THE HEDE OF SANT . . .': THE EARL OF ANGUS'S PILGRIMAGE IN 1489.

IN the MS. of James Graye, who has been reckoned (*Athenaeum*, 16th December, 1899) the probable scribe of the unique extant copy of the *Kingis Quair*, there is an unfinished entry evidently in the handwriting of Graye himself, consisting of a letter apparently by James IV. addressed to a brother monarch, no doubt Henry VII. The MS. is in the Advocates' Library, and has the press mark 34.7.3. On fo. 55 verso of the pencil pagination this opening sentence of a royal letter is engrossed on the second half of the page, but the copy stops abruptly before the bottom is reached. Fragmentary though it is, its interest is not small.

'Right excellent hie and michti prince and Right entierlie beloved Cousing and Bruthir.

We Recommend Ws to zow in oure maist hertlie wiss Signifying unto zoure Cousinage that we have understandin be the Relacioun and Report maid to Ws be our traist & weilbelovet cousing Archibald erle of Anguss yat quhenn he was in the partis of zoure Realme intending to have passit his pilgimage to the blissit Relique the hede of Sant . . .'

What the further purport may have been is hard to say. A pilgrimage in the fifteenth century was apt to cover a multitude of political sins. So much at least is reasonably certain that the allusion is to the Earl's pilgrimage to Amiens, for which, on 12th February, 1489, a six months' safe-conduct for his passage through England was granted by Henry VII. (Bain's *Calendar* iv., No. 1547). At Amiens at the present time the chief

relic of the Cathedral is the Head of John the Baptist. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the fame of the relic was widespread. Barbour, in his *Legends of the Saints* (No. xxxvi., Johannes Baptista, ll. 1182-84), speaks of its preservation :

‘At Amyas a grete parte is
Of his hewide in þat lyknes
Þat it had beand ine to flesche.’

Among Scotsmen the pilgrimage to Amiens is occasionally vouched by English safe-conducts, such as that of George of Lauder, a merchant, dated 24th September, 1411, or that of a party of five knightly pilgrims to ‘Sanctum Johannem de Amyas in partibus Picardie,’ granted on 14th March, 1466 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, ii., 197, 419). Legend of course is not wanting for the story of how the Baptist’s head was discovered at Jerusalem, and taken thence to France. A metrical version printed in Horstmann’s *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge*, 1881, p. 127, records its migrations :

‘And seyn yt was broght for sertaine
Into the cuntres of Aquitaine
And þare it es derly to hald
In a cete þat Ambianence es cald.’

G. N.

MONZIEVAIRD CONFLICT OF 1490.

AMONG the feuds of the clans a well-recorded episode was that of the slaughter and burning of the Murrays by the Drummonds at Monzievaird in 1490. Occasioned by disputes over ‘the rydeing of the teynds’ of Monzievaird, the conflict ensued from an expedition by the Drummonds, on whose approach the Murrays fled to the little thatched church. A shot from their place of retreat wounded one of the Drummond party ‘whereat the rest of the Highlanders being so intraged could not be restrained from fyreing the church covered only with heather and so burned al within it’ (Viscount Strathallan’s *Genealogy of the most noble and ancient House of Drummond*, 1681, Glasgow, privately printed 1889, pp. 158-9. See also *Lord High Treasurer’s Accounts* pref. cii-ciii *Exchequer Rolls* x. pref. l-li.) Pitscottie in his *Chronicles of Scotland* (ed. Scottish Text Soc., i. 237) describes the burning of the kirk ‘quhairin was sex scoir of Murrays with thair wyffis and childerin ; but few escapit thair fre bot they war ether brunt or slaine.’ One record of the occurrence exists however which from its obscure position and accidental character appears to have escaped the notice of historians, and which perhaps tends to a very material modification of the extent of the slaughter. James Graye’s MS. (Adv. Lib. 34.7.3) has been referred to in a preceding note. Its writer added at the foot of fo. 36^b this little memorandum, written in a very small hand, crosswise on the blank space :

Yir war the personis yat war slane at Monyward quhen ye kirk
brint, bartelmo morray, david morray, Johne of morray, Johne of morray,

of ye [*cut away*], Johne of murray, laurence murray Antone murray, Nichol haldane, donald hawley, Johne hauly eius filius, Wil Robesone, Johne of Fentoune, Wat cowane, Peter henzo, Nichol elder, Johne Rollok, Sandy Rollok, Andrew menteth, patric dow, petir lowtfut.

This roll of twenty persons it will be observed falls a long way short of Pitscottie's slaughtered six score. In striking the balance between these two statements of the casualties it will not be amiss to remember that Pitscottie's book was written about eighty years later than Graye's memorandum. Besides, Graye had peculiarly intimate sources of information. He was clerk to Archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews at this very time. Now it happens that Viscount Strathallan in the *Genealogy*, quoted above, mentions that in 1490 a complaint was presented to this Archbishop by George Murray, Abbot of Inchaffray, 'signifyeing that how some of the Drummonds (whom he calls Satan's soldiers and rotten members) had most barbarously killed and burned in the kirk of Monyvaird a number of his kinsmen friends and followers without regaird to God or the place to which they had betaken themselves as to a sanctuary and safe house of refuge.' One can scarcely doubt therefore that Graye's list is official and may be accepted as accurate, furnishing by its contrast in the matter of numbers, when compared with Pitscottie, one more to the many evidences that chronicle has an almost incurable propensity to be bloodthirsty in its counting of the slain.

G. N.

SCOTS IN ROME IN 1597.

[HARL: MSS. 538. British Museum.]

'INFORMATION of Robert Farguson, Protestant, Soldier in Venise. Scotseman of Edenborge the 18 Februarie 1597 as to Scots Nobles & Gentlemen residing at Rome. He came from Roma the 2 Januarie and myndes he to go for Vienna, and then to Geneva & France to the L. Wemes Scotseman, to the King's Army.

He had stayed in Roma vij wekes & his arrant was to the Sonne of the L. Wemes at Rome to bringe him to Scotland, who was gone from Roma before he came thither. At his being in Roma these Scotseman following were there.

Thare was the young Lord Aragyle sonne of Erle Argyle and the Lord Tullebarne, and the Lord Wemes sonne, They all iij fled from Roma in haste, for feare of Inquisition through malyce of Mons. Tyre chief of Scots' Jesuites.

Mons^r Tyre¹ Scotse Jesuite, Chief of Scotsemen in Roma.

L. Abbot Ganshafre² Scotseman and the L. Bisshop of Donblan³ in Scotland. B. of Essen in Avinion, they twayne are gone from Roma to France.

L. Bisshop of Rothess, Ross, in Scotland, and of Roan in France, he is dead in France Latelye.

¹ Died March 20, 1597.

² Father Pollen, S.J., suggests that this is James Drummond of Inchaffray.

³ Wm Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane & Vaisson.

L. Bishop of Glasgow in Scotland, he is in Paris, France.

{ Sir Robert Douglas a Jesuite, brother of Erle Anguis.

{ Mons^r. James Gremes, Scots Captain brother of L. Fintray
beheaded. he hath moche money of Pope . . . 15, and a Jesuite
Englishman.

These are gone from Rome to France to L. Wemes and then to
England & Scotland to rayse men at Carcobre in Scotland to help
Erles Angus & Huntly.

{ Monss^r. Cassels, Scots Captaine.

{ Monss^r. M^r. Sample, Coronet Captin,

{ George Gordon a Jesuite Scotsman oncle to Erle Huntley these
three are gone from Roma to Spayne to go w^t Armado by sea.
Lytle Adams, Scotsman, post messenger betweene Scotland & Rome
he came to Roma latelye.

Lord Gowrey yonge sonne of Erle Gowrey Scotese man protestant, he
is returned from Roma to Padua¹ & to France.

Sir Wm. Keith, Scotese man, Protestant. Tutor of L. Gowrey.

I sent a copy of this writting to Sir R. Cecill, Secretarie, wt my
letter dated the 21 February 1597 in Venise.'

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

THOMAS THOMSON AND COSMO INNES.

In the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, is the copy of Anderson's *Diplomata*
which belonged to the advocate Thomas Thomson, so well known for
his editorial labours over the Scottish Acts of Parliament and in many
fields besides. It was part of the collection purchased by the Mitchell
Library from the representatives of Professor Cosmo Innes after his death
in 1874. On a fly-leaf of the book there appears the following inscription
in Cosmo Innes's handwriting:—

'Cum libri amici mei nunquam obliviscendi Th. Thomson
prostabant venales, solum hunc librum—heu, quoties cum quondam
domino versatum, tempore felici!—emere curavi.

1842.

C. I.'

[When the books of my never-to-be-forgotten friend Thomas Thomson
were exposed for sale this book alone I took the opportunity to purchase.
Ah me, how often it was consulted—happy was the time—in the company
of its then owner!]

One finds in the words a genial and touching memorial of the association
of those two most famous of Scottish record antiquaries, a charter-scholar
and his 'Master.'

¹ Padua, under the protection of the Republic of Venice, harboured Protestants.

Reports and Transactions

PROFESSOR HUME BROWN took for his course of six lectures (Nov. 9-20) 'Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary.' First he described the general appearance of the country. Although no contemporary had such a knowledge of his native country as would have enabled him to present a picture of it as a whole, different descriptions of native historians, notes of foreign visitors, and casual references in documents, gave a tolerably precise notion. One peculiarity struck all foreign visitors—the general absence of timber. The disappearance of timber had been a gradual process. Writing in 1617, Sir Anthony Weldon declared that Judas could not have found a tree in Scotland on which to hang himself. But this was only one of the gibes of that splenetic southron, though it was true that throughout the southern half of the country wood was scarce. Everywhere there were mosses, and even lochs which have disappeared. The Scotland of Queen Mary, however, was no land of swamps and wildernesses. It was unlucky that some of the most productive districts adjoined the 'old enemy of England.' One who visited Scotland in the sixteenth century had noted that the houses had 'stone walls not as high as a man, upon which the roofs were erected and covered with sod.' Another described an abode in a village as of 'one course of stones, another of sods of earth, and with a door made of wicker rods.' Englishmen spoke contemptuously of the houses, but Spaniards, who visited England in the reign of Mary Tudor, spoke with equal contempt of the homes of English peasants, which they described as made of 'sticks and dirt.' The condition of the Scottish peasantry seemed to compare favourably with that of the same class in France and Germany. One peculiarity of Scottish towns was the absence of walls. Native writers had explained that the Scots were too brave a nation to need them. The real reason was the expense of constructing and maintaining them. Perth alone possessed defences after the continental manner. Scottish towns had to be content with dykes generally rickety and constantly under repair.

The best known description of Scottish towns was that of Pedro de Ayala, representative of Ferdinand and Isabella at the Court of James IV. Glasgow was considered the most beautiful, while Edinburgh impressed the stranger as the most peculiar. The whole population of the country was roughly estimated at about 500,000. Edinburgh might have contained about 30,000 inhabitants. Aberdeen had about 4000; Glasgow about 2250 adults. Travellers were few. The great wanderers of the

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æology.*

time were the beggars, who must have made up little less than a fourth or fifth of the population.

Next came under examination the conditions of life in the country. Most of the feudal lords still continued to live in the grim abodes of their fathers, but they had begun to adopt the new fashions of life. So had the lesser gentry. Though attended by some disadvantages, tenure by feu-farm now becoming general was equally in the interest of the landlord and tenant.

In Sir David Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* there was a vivid sketch of the class of cottars in the portrayal of the pauper. Their condition was such that by Mary's time the immigration from country to town had begun. The townsmen's cattle and sheep browsed on the town common under the charge of the town cowherd and shepherd. In the town moss men and women dug and stacked peats, and in the town warren and fishings there was similar activity. There were multitudinous mid-dens and pig-styes. The parish church burying-ground was at once the favourite haunt of all the town beggars, the general grazing-ground, and the place into which refuse could be shot. Owing to the erection of tol-booths, the church had ceased to be the common meeting-place for business, though still frequented more 'for malice and mischief than for God's service.' What had been said of the external appearance of the Scottish town equally applied to its internal organisation; it was still essentially mediæval. The prime consideration of town policy was security and self-defence. The security the town required was double protection from actual violence, and from the conflicting interest of rival communities. The first condition of citizenship was the possession of the full equipment of weapons and armour. Originally the town territory was on the domain of some superior—king, baron, or ecclesiastic. Subsequently the Crown granted the town territory and its adjuncts in feu-farm. By degrees the town itself took over the levying equally of petty customs at gates and market, and of great customs from commodities shipped for foreign countries. The most lucrative exports were barley and oats, hides, skins, wool, coal, salt, coarse cloth, and fish. Of these, sheepskins, wool, herring, salt, and cloth were the most valuable. The chief manufactures were plaiding, salt, linen, knitted hose, and gloves.

If the records of the burghs were to be trusted, we must conclude that a sixteenth century Scottish town was a sufficiently lively place. On the one hand were the burgesses or freemen, on the other the non-burgesses or unfreemen. According to law of burgh, not unfrequently broken, the unfreemen could not follow any handicraft or trade. But if the freeman had privileges, he had responsibilities. He paid a considerable sum for admission to burgess-ship, took his share in watch and ward, and had to be ready to don his jack, and march with his fellow-burghers wherever his King required his services. Besides the cleavage between burgesses and non-burgesses, there was a further subdivision, with chronic antagonisms between the merchants and crafts. Each town had its musicians. Most popular was the annual frolic of Robin Hood and Little John, interdicted in vain. Within doors cards, dice, and backgammon were

the chief games, and betting was general. Outdoor games were catch-pully or tennis, football, golf, and shooting with the long-bow, cross-bow, and culverin, though this practice was hardly regarded as an amusement. Most of the burghs had their annual horse-race. In the reign of Mary there was a rapid increase in luxury of living. In the towns wheaten bread was to be had, but the bulk of the people were content with oatcakes. Wine was the beverage of all persons of substance, ale the general drink.

Besides the religious revolution, other processes were eventually hardly less powerful in transforming the ideals of the nation. The sixteenth century saw the schism from Rome, and an equally decisive breach with the old economic system. In Scotland anti-feudal tendencies were at work as in the rest of Christendom; and Scottish sovereigns as deliberately aimed at absolute power by suppressing the nobility as did contemporary rulers of England and France. Such a policy was aided by tendencies of the time. The old feudal ties could not retain their strength against the new religious spirit and the new developments of commerce. The rich burgher had come to play a part of increasing importance in the social order. By the close of the sixteenth century these influences had borne full fruit, and James VI. pared the claws of the once formidable Scottish nobles, who sank into what they had long been in England and France—the creatures or nominated officials of an all-powerful Court. A second characteristic of the Middle Age had been the immense place of the Church. When the Church ceased to be the principal ministrant to material as well as spiritual wants, it remained in possession of the chief sources of wealth. On the eve of the Reformation it owned half the wealth of the kingdom. Hence it was that not only the nobles, but the merchants looked askance at men who, ceasing to be producers of wealth, were principal consumers. A third characteristic of the Middle Ages had been the system under which each town formed an isolated economic centre, regulating its own interests and relations to the rest of the world. One development of the sixteenth century was the transition from a municipal to a national basis in trade. As regards craftsmen England broke away from the mediaeval economy, while Scotland held fast to tradition. In the Middle Ages none but burgesses were allowed to practise any craft, but the suppression of the English craft guilds admitted any one who possessed the requisite skill. In Scotland the crafts were never more powerful than in the sixteenth century, and were rigid in their exclusiveness towards ‘unfree’ craftsmen. The backwardness of Scotland in the new economic developments was due to the fact that the rapid growth of capital found in England and other countries had not taken place in Scotland because of its limited area, the character of its soil and climate, its unfriendly relations with England, and its remoteness from the trading centres of the Continent.

A PLEASANT sign of the growth of historical study appears in the foundation of the Glasgow University Historical Society, due to the initiative of Professor Medley. The opening lecture (Nov. 20) by Professor Richard Lodge, on 'Great Historians,' inaugurated the enterprise most hopefully with the promise of popular success and a working spirit. In presiding, Professor Medley remarked that the time had now come when it was proper that the subject should be represented outside the walls of the lecture-room. The curriculum as it stood admitted hardly at all of original work being done within the scope of the University classes, and a useful function was to be served by encouraging those who had some contributions of their own to make. Professor Lodge gave the palm among great historians to Thucydides and Tacitus. Of British authors, Gibbon and Macaulay were reckoned chief. Of Scottish historians, Robertson was most extolled for his philosophic comprehension of the periods he covered. Incidentally the lecturer urged, as a preliminary necessity for effective study, the establishment of a national library, whether on the basis of the existing Advocates' Library or otherwise.

MR. NELSON ANNANDALE, in a paper (Nov. 2) on 'The People of the Faroes,' mainly devoted to anthropology and craniology, touched on the history of the islands. He pointed out that a very large proportion of the personal names on his list were Biblical, and only a very small proportion Norse. The Faroes were colonised by Vikings of Norse extraction, many of whom were also descended from Iberian chieftains of the Hebrides and Ireland. There was no reason whatever to think that the islands had other human denizens when the Vikings came except, perhaps, occasional anchorites seeking to outdo their fellows in the way of finding 'solitudes.' The people, descended in the main from ancestors whose blood was somewhat mixed, but chiefly Norse, had remained more or less isolated for about a thousand years, except for casual immigration probably 'Celtic' or Iberian, from Scotland, Ireland, or the intermediate isles. The Icelandic race had been more strictly isolated than the Faroemen.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, moving the adoption of the annual report (Nov. 28), congratulated the Society on the standard maintained by its publications. He spoke of the forthcoming *Miscellany* and sketched its contents, part prose, part verse. He then went on to urge the keeping in view, and strongly in view, the human aspect of Scottish historical literature. He thought that charters, historical documents couched very often in medieval Latin, should be left rather to societies formed for the purpose of preserving such documents, and that the Society's energies should as far as possible be confined to those family papers, diaries, account books, and what not, which served to throw light on the domesticity of the past, and to give some inkling of what the people inhabiting this country before ourselves were like. Very often old account books preserved by the care of the Society gave a better idea of how a

Scotsman of the 17th or 18th century spent his day than all the histories of Scotland that ever were written. At a subsequent stage his lordship, on behalf of members of the Society, made a presentation of a silver bowl with a purse of two hundred guineas to Dr. T. G. Law, hon. secy. He said there was not a person conversant with the work of the Society who did not know the deep debt, the eternal debt of gratitude it owed to Dr. Law.

PRINCIPAL STORY, in moving the adoption of the twentieth annual report (Nov. 30), said he had been struck in reading Lord Rosebery's speech to the Scottish History Society by the statement that the old documents which were to be found in Scottish houses, such as accounts, letters, and things of that sort, gave more insight into the history of the country than any history that ever was written. Now, these things were no doubt of great value. Even kitchen accounts and letters, even love-letters, had their value, but it was an economic and a social value. No amount of mere domestic annals could throw more light upon the history of any period than such works as those published by the Scottish Text Society, which were the literary remains of the men of letters of former days.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL was re-elected President (Nov. 30). The Hon. John Abercromby, Hon. Secy., reported on the work of this Society during the past session, referring also to the excavation of Roughcastle on the Roman wall and other excavations of prehistoric sites in Bute, Argyll, Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire. A chief addition to the Museum had been the collection of Professor Duns, consisting of 230 objects, chiefly Scottish, acquired by purchase, and an ethnological collection of 90 objects, presented by Professor Duns.

THOUGH the past few years have witnessed a gratifying increase in the number and activity of societies interested in antiquarian research, it can hardly be said that the present position of historical and archæological learning in Ireland is worthy of the best traditions of the last century. Even so far back as the eighteenth century, when such pursuits were in their infancy, the study of Irish local history had made considerable progress under the guidance of the Physico-Historical Society, a body with which the well-known county historians, Charles Smith and Walter Harris, were closely identified. A school of historical research sufficiently important to attract the patronage of the State, at a time when the State concerned itself little with such inquiries, was formed in Dublin. Perhaps there are few earlier instances of State endowment of research in the three kingdoms than the recommendation of a Committee of the Irish House of Commons, as far back as 1755, to appropriate a sum of above two thousand pounds to the publication of a mass of Irish historical materials collected by Harris and his colleagues. Just thirty years later the Royal Irish Academy was incorporated by Royal charter, 'for promoting the

*Scottish
Text
Society.*

*Society of
Anti-
quaries of
Scotland.*

*Irish
Historical
and
Archæo-
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Societies
and
Journals.*

study of science, polite literature, and antiquities.' The institution of the Academy gave a valuable stimulus to organised research; and although in one aspect of its functions the Academy corresponds rather to the Royal Society than to a historical society, it has exercised, from its foundation to the present day, a predominant influence in the field of trained historical inquiry in Ireland. For above sixty years, indeed, and until the formation of the Kilkenny Archæological Association, the Academy was without a rival of any kind.

The Kilkenny Association, founded in 1849, was the first society organised in the nineteenth century for the study of local history and antiquities. It quickly justified its existence. Limited at first to Kilkenny and its neighbourhood, its members soon took all Ireland for their province, and the Society was expanded in 1869 into the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Since 1890 it has been known by the briefer title of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; but it may, perhaps, be doubted whether the Society added to its influence by abandoning the adjective 'Historical' in its title. Following closely on the Kilkenny Society came the informal association of Ulster antiquaries, whose fruitful labours are perpetuated in the nine volumes of the first series of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, which ran from 1853 to 1862.

Within the past few years, however, there has been a very considerable extension of the sphere of historical and archæological inquiry in Ireland. Since 1890 several societies have been formed to elucidate the antiquities of particular localities. There are now, in addition to the Royal Irish Academy and Royal Society of Antiquaries, at least four archæological journals in active existence. Established respectively in Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Kildare they correspond roughly to the independent interests of the four provinces of Ireland. There is also a Waterford and South-East of Ireland Society, but no issue of its journal has appeared for above two years.

Professor Bury, in his recent inaugural address at Cambridge, dwelt upon the task which lies open to the critical antiquaries of the three kingdoms 'of fixing, grouping, and interpreting the endless fragments of historical wreckage which lie scattered in these islands.' It is fair to say that considerable progress has been made of late years in dealing with the large share of this 'wreckage' to be found in Ireland. The publications of the various societies for 1903 give evidence of this. Both the *Transactions* and the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy contain important contributions from Mr. T. J. Westropp, whose systematic examinations of the archæological remains in the counties of Clare and Limerick are aided by admirable photographic reproductions. In the *Wars of Torlough* Mr. Westropp examines the evidence bearing on the historical character of 'one of the few books of mediæval Ireland purporting to give a full history of some period or episode of its later Annals,' and endeavours to show how far the statements in this thirteenth century work, hitherto neglected as purely romantic and unreliable, are corroborated by the positive testimony of contemporary topographical records or remains. In *The Cists, Dolmens, and Pillars in the Eastern Half of the County Clare*, Mr. Westropp con-

tinues or expands an earlier inquiry into the distribution of Cromlechs in the County of Clare, the fruits of which have already appeared in part in Mr. Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*. Mr. H. F. Berry, the Assistant-Deputy Keeper of the Irish Record Office, gives an excellent note on a manuscript Inquisition of the thirteenth century relating to the ancient Dublin Water-course. Professor Bury writes, with his usual wealth of learning, on *A Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan's *Tertia Vita*), and on *The Itinerary of St. Patrick in Connaught according to Tirechan*. Of papers more intimately related to the general history of Ireland, may be mentioned Mr. Litton Falkiner's paper on *The Irish Counties*, an attempt to trace their gradual formation and delimitation from the days of King John to those of James I.

In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, the new President deals, in his opening address, with topics connected with the royal arms and coinage of Ireland, subjects suggested by the advent of a new Sovereign to the Crown, in which Mr. Garstin's intimacy with *curiosa hibernica* is strikingly exhibited. Dr. H. Jackson Lawlor edits the *Diary of Archbishop King* during his imprisonment in Dublin Castle (1688-9). It is impossible to conceive a more microscopic annotation; but it is a little astonishing to learn that so much industry has been expended on the document without the editor having seen the original, which is in the possession of Capt. J. A. Gordon King, Tertowie, Aberdeenshire.

The Journals of the local societies are scarcely as interesting as usual. In the *Journal of the Cork Archæological Society* Mr. F. Elrington Ball continues his valuable 'Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II,' and Mr. E. R. Dix supplements his industrious bibliography of early printed books produced in Cork. The work of the *Kildare Archæological Society* has been for some time past almost exclusively genealogical, and the appearances of the *Waterford Journal* are intermittent; while the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* falls below the level of its earlier fame. In its current number at least two of the papers are merely reprints. Indeed the most active of the local societies appears just now to be that lately established in Galway.

DR. T. H. BRYCE gave (Dec. 17) an account of his excavations of a number of cairns in Bute. They disclosed the persistence of a type of burial cairn, prevalent in Arran, and proved to have undergone a later modification in the structure of the chambers. One find was specially important as revealing a cairn, illustrative of the modified type, constructed on the top of a kitchen midden. The character and ornament of the urns brought to light in the excavations were also found to correspond with the similar pottery discovered in the Arran cairns, except that in one of the chambers of the modified type of cairn several urns of the drinking-cup class were discovered which indicated that those chambers represented a terminal phase of this kind of cairn.

Glasgow
Archæo-
logical
Society.

Queries.

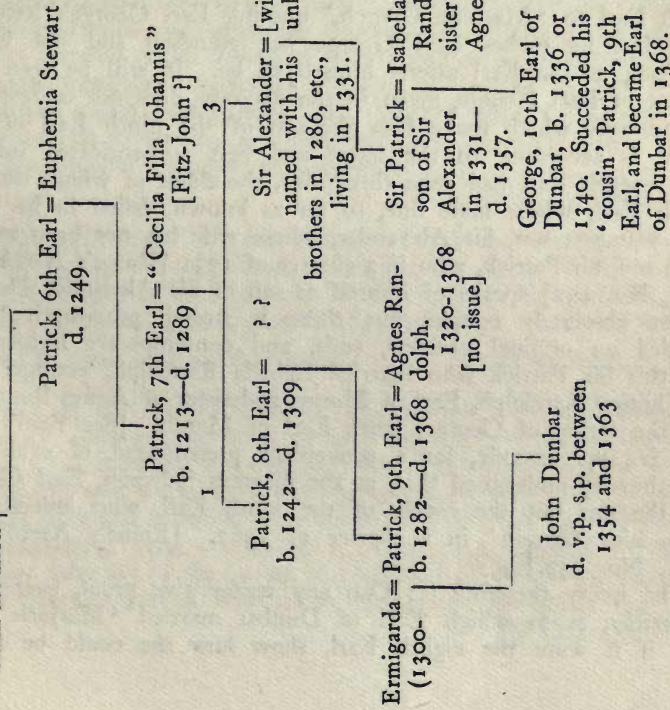
‘MARJORIE’ COMYN OR DUNBAR.—The history of this lady is obscure, and it is desired by this query to obtain information regarding her. According to Wyntoun, in his *Chronicle* [Laing’s Ed., Vol. ii., p. 310], ‘the eldest’ daughter of Alexander Comyn, who was Earl of Buchan from 1243 to 1287, married ‘Patrick, Earl of Dunbar,’ and had issue, Patrick, also of Dunbar. The chronicler gives *no name* to the lady, and does not state definitely which Earl Patrick was her husband. Wyntoun wrote between 1400 and 1420. On 18th February, 1400, George Dunbar, tenth Earl of March, wrote to King Henry the Fourth of England: ‘Gif Dame Alice the Bewmont was yhour graunde-dame, Dame Marjory Comyne, hyrre full syster, wes my graunde-dame on the tother syde,¹ sa that I am bot of the feirde degree of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neire.’ The Earl here asserts that ‘Marjorie’ Comyn was the name of his ‘graunde-dame,’ or great-grandmother. The Chronicler Wyntoun and the Earl of March, in 1400, are the only authorities for the lady’s parentage, name, and marriage.

The Earl of March, however, states that ‘Marjorie’ Comyn was the full sister of Alice Comyn, who married Sir Henry Beaumont and became the great-grandmother of King Henry IV. But as Mr. Bain [*Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, iv., p. xxiv] rightly points out, ‘Marjorie’ Comyn, if the daughter of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, must have been the aunt and not the sister of Alice Comyn. The accompanying diagram will illustrate this and other points. Unhappily, Mr. Bain’s opinion, otherwise valuable, is of less weight on the main question, as the pedigree he gives is not consistent with the evidence, and while he accepts or assumes the existence of Marjorie Comyn, he advances no original proof in support of that or of her marriage. The diagram will show the steps of ascent, which are quite well known, from King Henry IV. to his ‘graunde-dame’ Alice Comyn or Beaumont, who was married about 1306, and only came of age in 1312. She had, so far as is known, only one ‘full syster,’ Margaret Comyn, who married first, before 1310, Sir John Ross, and secondly Sir William Lindsay.

¹ The Earl apparently means that as Alice Comyn or Beaumont was a ‘graunde-dame’ of King Henry on the mother’s side (*see* diagram), so ‘Marjorie’ was a ‘graunde-dame’ of his own on the ‘tother,’ or father’s side.

DUNBAR.

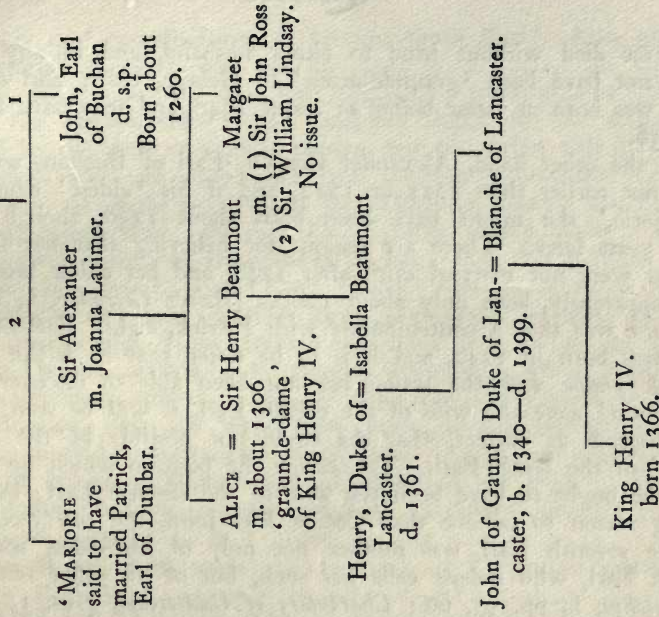
Ada (1184) = Patrick, 5th Earl of = (c. 1218) Christian [Bruce]
daughter of King 1182-1232.
William the Lion



In this diagram the unnecessary names are omitted. The numbers of the Earls of Dunbar do not coincide with the Peerages, but may be taken as correct.

BUCHAN.

Alexander Comyn, Earl of = Elizabeth de Quincy.
1243-1287



Margaret died without issue to either husband, and in any case she could not have been 'graunde-dame' to George, tenth Earl of March, as he was born at latest before or about 1340, and may have been born in 1336.

On the other hand, Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, was himself born not earlier than 1211 or 1212, and if his 'eldest' daughter was 'Marjorie,' she might have been born about 1236, though probably some years later. There are reasons for believing that her father and mother were not married until after 1240, and her eldest brother John was, apparently, born only about 1260. [Bain's *Calendar*, i., No. 421.] Marjorie was thus a contemporary with Patrick, eighth Earl of Dunbar, who was born in 1242, and it is to be noted that he is the only Earl Patrick whose wife the writer has not been able to discover. But if 'Marjorie' were the wife of the eighth Earl, it will be seen, accepting the diagram as correct, that she could not possibly be the 'graunde-dame' of the tenth Earl. To occupy the position which he assigns to her, she ought to have been the wife of the seventh Earl; but there is strong reason to believe that Cecilia Fitz-John, the *only* recorded wife of the seventh Earl, was mother not only of his eldest son Patrick, eighth Earl, who indeed calls her such, but of his other sons. [*Liber de Calchou*, i., pp. 57, 60; *Chartulary of Coldstream*, Nos. 1, 14, 16.]

According to Sir Robert Douglas, in his *Peerage of 1764*, the eighth Earl of Dunbar married Marian, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Fife, but no proof is adduced. Mr. Wood, in his edition of Douglas, marries the eighth Earl to 'Marjorie Comyn,' quoting Earl George's letter already cited, but he makes Earl George her grandson and not her great-grandson, as the Earl asserts himself to be. It will be seen that the descent of Earl George, given in the diagram, does not correspond with the peerages which make him the son of the ninth Earl of Dunbar, but it is according to the latest and best authenticated information. The seventh Earl had issue three sons, the eldest of whom was Patrick, eighth Earl, whose male line, so far as known, failed in his grandson. The youngest son, Sir Alexander, whose wife has not been ascertained, had a son, Sir Patrick, who in a charter of 1331 [Raine's *North Durham*, App., No. 432] speaks of himself as son of Sir Alexander Dunbar. It is not absolutely certain, but there is strong presumptive evidence, founded on original charters, seals, and contemporary history, that it was this Sir Patrick who married Isabella Randolph, younger daughter of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and sister of Agnes Randolph, and was the father of George, tenth Earl of March. [See Bain's *Calendar*, Vol. iv., pp. xx-xxiv, for a convenient presentment of evidence.] It will thus be understood that, as the diagram indicates, Earl George was not the son but the cousin of the ninth Earl, who indeed expressly styles him 'cousin' in a charter of 1367. [Raine's *North Durham*, App., No. 142.]

The query therefore is: Can any reader give proof, *quoting original authorities*, as to which Earl of Dunbar married 'Marjorie' Comyn, and, if it were the eighth Earl, show how she could be the great-

grandmother or 'graunde-dame' of George, tenth Earl? Also, granting that Marjorie's husband was not an *Earl of Dunbar*, can any one give valid proof that she was Earl George's 'graunde-dame' in any way on the father's side? The pedigree stated in the diagram is warranted by the facts at present known, but the writer will be obliged to any reader who can state other facts tending to elucidate the pedigree further. It might be assumed that Marjorie Comyn was the wife of Patrick, eighth Earl, and that Earl George simply made a mistake as to his own degree of relationship to her; but this requires proof, and as he was correct about King Henry's descent, it seems odd he should mistake his own. Another assumption might be that 'Marjorie' was the *second* wife of the seventh Earl and the mother of his son Alexander, which, according to present knowledge, would make Earl George's statement correct. But no proof has been found to warrant this assumption, and the writer has been unable, though searching diligently, to find any evidence of Marjorie Comyn's existence or any mention of her name in any writ or record of her period. Wyntoun and the letter of 1400 are still the only authorities for the existence and name of Marjorie.

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JOHN ANDERSON.

HOWIES OF LOCHGOIN. In the preface to my illustrated edition of the *Scots Worthies* (1870) the suggestion was made that the original form of this name was *Huet*, and that therefore the Scotch method of pronunciation is correct. Some years ago, in connection with the unveiling of the monument to the author of that volume, the *Glasgow Herald* in one of its leaders referred to the Bishop of Avranches and also a Cardinal Huetius as descended from the same stock. Can any information be given regarding this Cardinal which would favour this theory? In the autobiography of Huet, Bishop of Avranches, it is mentioned that his father 'was born and bred in the midst of the errors of Calvinism.'

W. H. CARSLAW, D.D.

ACCOUNTING. In connection with a forthcoming *History of Accounting and of the Accountant Profession*, the editor would be glad to receive information as to early forms of Accounts or Accountant's Reports and as to professional Accountants of the Eighteenth century or earlier.

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RICHARD BROWN, C.A.

JAMES V. OF SCOTLAND. In the *Blood Royal of Britain*, by the Marquis of Ruigny, we look in vain for the 'natural' descendants of James V. Of these one was the celebrated Regent Moray; but who were the other five who were afterwards legitimated by the Pope, and on whom important titles and benefices were conferred? Where can reliable information regarding them be obtained? There is a footnote in chap. 34 of *The Abbot* referring to the names of certain of his favourites which occur in a celebrated epigram. Where can this epigram be seen?

W. H. CARSLAW, D.D.

Replies

FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. I wish to protest against the amusing attempt the Reverend Professor Cooper makes, in his notice of the 'First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.,' to identify the 'altar' spoken of by our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 23, 24) with the Communion Table, or, as he calls it, the Holy Table. The veriest tyro in interpretation must see that our Lord means the Jewish Altar of Sacrifice on which gifts were laid for the priests to offer. Professor Cooper here joins hands with the Roman Catholic exegetes who find in the passage ground for the permanent Sacrifice of the Eucharist, and a law which is for ever valid (see Döllinger, *Christenthum und Kirche*). It is obviously the same Jewish altar that Jesus again refers to in Matt. xxiii. 18, 19, 20; and unquestionably the same in verse 35 (parallel, Luke xi. 51). These are the only occasions on which our Lord uses the word. Again, if the *θυσιαστήριον* of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 13; xiii. 10), Professor Cooper's other allusion, refers to a visible altar at all, and not to a symbolical one, it can only mean the body of Christ upon which the sacrifice of the New Covenant was presented. It certainly does not refer to the Communion Table, which is mentioned by Christ in one place only, viz. Luke xxii. 21, and is there plainly called 'the table.'

COLIN CAMPBELL.

The Manse of Dundee.

[Professor Cooper has written to the editor expressing his astonishment at the suggestion that Our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount was laying down laws for Jews as such. He maintains on scriptural and patristic authority that Christ was speaking to Christians and that the divine words are to be interpreted in a Christian sense. (Matt. v. 1, 21, 27, 33, 43, vii. 6. *Testamentum Domini* i. 23. *Didaché* ch. 9.) Regarding Dr. Campbell's exegesis as shallow, Prof. Cooper resents as unjust and baseless the insinuated imputation to him, by his critic, of the Roman doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. To theological debate, however, in these columns the wand of peace must be interposed. *Non nostrum.*]

CORN-BOTE (*Sc. Hist. Rev.*, i. 104). I think it is a pity that my explanation, given in *Notes and Queries*, 9 ser. x. 115, has been so completely ignored. It seems to me much more satisfactory than any other; and it has been accepted by others, which is something.

The explanation of *corn* as meaning 'chosen' is impossible. It throws the accent on *bote*, and destroys the alliteration. And it makes no sense at all.

Nor can I see that 'corn-compensation' makes any sense either, whether corn was cheap or dear. No attempt is made to show how it suits the context in the three known passages. I think no one will defend such an explanation who will take the trouble to construe the whole of the passages concerned. A compensation in corn would be a thing which *no* one would like to pay. But in each case the context shows that the speaker would be delighted to make the payment, and hopes and trusts that he only may get the chance! What possible sense is there in saying—'I hope I may make him compensation in corn!'

What I have suggested came in the first instance from Mr. Gollancz, who pointed out to me the emphatic way in which the word was used, and the high probability that the *corn-bote* in l. 1837 of the *Morte Arthure* is connected with the words *skornede* and *skornfull* in the end of the very same sentence.

We therefore think that the *corn* is not an English, but a Norman word. In fact, the French *corne*, a horn, has many derivatives, appears in many passages, and is the original of the 'horn' which figures as being, by a long way, the commonest subject of comment, jest, equivoque, and repartee in nearly every English dramatist.

And if it must be some sort of payment, we have its counterpart in the O.F. *cornage*, which Cotgrave explains by 'hornage; an yearly duty of corne exacted by the Lord Chastelain of Berri upon every oxe that labours in the winter-corne-ground which is within his territory.' Here, indeed, we actually find mention of corn in the English sense; but the whole matter is unintelligible still, till we remember that *cornage* is derived from *corne*, a horne; and that the payment was made for 'every oxe.'

References to the commonest book of the Middle Ages, viz. the Vulgate Version of the Bible, show at once the Biblical sense of *cornu*. Literally, it is 'horn'; but it is usually employed symbolically as the emblem of pride; and its secondary sense is actually pride, as Cotgrave again tells us.

He gives: *Corne*, a 'horn,' with many proverbs, such as '*corne prendre*, to wax proud; *baisser les cornes*, to humble himself, to let fall his crest'; and so on. So much more appears to the same effect in Godefroy's Old French Dictionary, and in the Supplement to the same, that I think those interested in the subject should look the word up for themselves. One very significant related word is *corner*, to sound a horn, especially at the death of a deer.

I take *corn-bote* to mean 'horn-boot,' i.e. payment for the horn, the instrument of injury and the symbol of boasting; hence, repayment for boasting, punishment for bragging. And the bragging is conspicuous in all the cases. Hence it really means, not in the least a desirable or compulsory payment, but a punishment which the payee will remember and be sorry for.

Hence, in *Morte Arthure*, 1784, we have: 'Yon king' said Sir Cador 'talks bigly, because he has killed this warrior: now he shall have his

horn-boot.' Accordingly, he attacks this king, and fells him, and then proceeds to tell him (in l. 1837)—'Now you have got your horn-boot, for killing my cousin; you scorned us and uttered scornful words, and now you have fared (as you threatened); it is your own harm.' This expresses the satisfaction of one who has paid a man out in his own coin, by doing to him as he boasted that he had done to others.

In Bruce, ii. 438, *corn-but* is, accordingly, the right reading. Here the story is, that Sir Philip de Mowbray was boasting that he had captured Bruce, when the latter was happily rescued. Bruce suggests retreat, but hopes to requite his foes some day with 'horn-boot,' *i.e.* punishment for their insolence in 'setting up their horn on high.'

I submit that this makes good sense, and that the taking of *corn* in the English sense makes nonsense of all the contexts. I am hampered in my explanation by the fact that it would require much space to set out all the evidence.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

[That our most learned correspondent was not 'completely ignored' he will see on consulting the reference given *ante* p. 104 to the *Scottish Antiquary*, xvii. 123, where express attention was drawn to 'the position of Prof. Skeat (*Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series, x. 115).' Objection was then taken 'that compounds in *bote* are almost all English in both limbs, and that hybrids are exceptional.' Thus *e.g.* brigbote, burhbote, cartbote, cynebote, dedbote, feosbote, firebote, frithbote, heybote, hadbote, husbote, kinbote, manbote, plowbote, theftbote, are English in both syllables. How many examples can be given of a 'bote' compound showing such a conjunction as O.F. *corne* and O.E. *bote*? *Cornage* keeps strictly in character: in English it is *horngeld* and *noutgeld*, each a purely English combination.

To this question Prof. Skeat rejoins:—'Of course compounds of *-bote* are usually English in both their parts. So also compounds of *-mele*, as in *flok-mele*, are mostly English. Yet in *pece-mele* (Rob. of Glouc.), *pece* is French. My point is that I explain all three passages; and the other view explains none of them, as it does not explain the word at all in such connexions.'

STEVENSON (i. 103). This Mr. Stevenson was a merchant in Edinburgh—Christian name Samuel. He died at Crosscauseway, near Edinburgh, on the 21st May, 1771. He left a son, Alexander, who was a surgeon in that city, and married Anne M'Illewaith, having issue two children—Samuel and Cecilia.

With reference to the statement that Mr. Stevenson's first wife was Cecilia Millar of 'Walkinshaw,' this appears open to considerable doubt, as the estate of Walkinshaw did not come into the Millar family until *about* 1730, it having been acquired by William Millar, fifth son of Robert Millar, minister of Paisley, who married Elizabeth Kelso, 1702. In a memoir of a General Graham, published in Edinburgh in 1862, Millar of Earnock is mentioned, but no allusion is made to this family in Hamilton

of Wishaw's *Lanarkshire*. This author mentions Millers in Carmunock parish at Cathkin; in Monkland parish, estate of Kenmure; and in Erskine parish (Renfrew) at Barscuib. In *Davidson's Guide*, 1828, Millers of Slateford are mentioned. In *Scots Fasti*, William Miller is minister of Carmichael, 1747, and a William Miller is minister of Crawford-John, 1750. Cecilia Millar may have belonged to one of these families.

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J. M. GRAHAM.

WRAWES (i. 101). Whoever takes up Mr. Law's challenge, must try to determine first the language of this word, second its pronunciation, third its meaning. In the first place, the context affords some presumption in favour of French. Secondly, scholars more competent than myself have considered the initial W as a silent letter, and I hope some one of them will give his explanation in print; I have assumed that W is to be sounded as *oo*. Lastly, my suggestion is that Wrawes may be a phonetic spelling of *Houreaux*, plural of *Hourel*, which Godefroy explains *osier*?—the interrogation being suppressed in the Abridgement. The examples given show that *houreaux* were sometimes tied up in faggots, and that they could be used to cover bridges, to protect (or perhaps to train) newly planted fruit trees, or to maintain domestic discipline. Godefroy also gives verbs *houreler*, to cut young wood; and *hurer*, of barley straw cutting horses' mouths. *Houreaux*, whether meaning osiers in particular, or brushwood in general, would yield an appropriate sense. Can the word be etymologically connected with hurdle?

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

'WRAWES.' In reply to Dr. T. G. Law (i. 101), I may say that the majority of the conjectures offered to me, while editing *The Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, assumed that the word was pronounced 'raws,' or, in effect, that the initial 'w' was silent. One correspondent informed me that in the north of England the word 'rice' is used for 'brushwood or undergrowth.' Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, on the other hand, suggests, with what seems to me considerable probability, that the word 'wrawes' was an attempt to represent the old French word 'hourreaux,' 'houreaulx,' which appears as the plural of 'hourel,' interpreted as 'osier' by Godefroy in his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*. The examples cited by Godefroy would in nearly all (indeed, perhaps in all) cases yield an equally good sense if the word were rendered twigs, rods, or cuttings from the branches of a tree. If this be correct the 'wrawes de bule et de auhne' would be 'rods (or twigs) of birch and of alder.' All three terms, on this supposition, are of French origin. The initial 'w' would thus be sounded probably with the vocalisation of 'u.'

J. DOWDEN.

Notes and Comments

AN altar dedicated to Oceanus found on the site of the Aelian bridge at Newcastle, was discovered in the early summer of 1903. *A dedication to Antoninus Pius by three wall-building legions.* Later in the year an inscribed slab was found at the same place and has been discussed by Mr. F. Haverfield and Mr. R. O. Heslop. As extended the inscription reads thus: Imp(eratori) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio p(atr)i pat(riæ) vexil(l)atio leg(ionis) ii Aug(ustæ) et leg(ionis) vi vic(tricis) et leg(ionis) xx v(aleriæ) v(ictricis) con(t)r(i)buti ex Ger(manis) duobus sub Iulio Vero leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p(ræ)tores.

[To the Emperor Antoninus Pius, father of his country, a detachment of the Second Legion the August and the Sixth Legion the Victorious, and the Twentieth Legion the Valerian, the Victorious, being a draft (?) from the two Germanies, under Iulius Verus legate of the Emperor, with prætorian rank and power.]

Mr. Heslop before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle has emphasised an important connection of this inscription, of which the spelling is not impeccable and of which the limits of date are of course those of Antonine's reign, between A.D. 138 and A.D. 161. 'Detachments of the three legions here named,' says Mr. Heslop, 'were the builders of the Antonine Wall. Four of its sections were completed by those of the Second Legion, four sections by those of the Sixth Legion, and three sections of its length with other connected works were built by those of the Twentieth Legion. The work done is recorded by each for itself: in one instance only on the Antonine Wall are any two of the vexillations associated in one slab. But in the Newcastle inscription occurs the remarkable conjunction of all three vexillations.' Mr. Haverfield has suggested that the presence of the detachment was doubtless concerned either with campaigns connected with the erection of the Vallum of Antonine or with operations against the Brigantes. Certainly the temptation is great to consider the conjunction of drafts from these three legions for building purposes both between Tyne and Solway and between Forth and Clyde, as constituting a sort of presumption of approximation in date. Was it that the building experience of men from these legions on the Tyne had given them a special aptitude for such work as was to be done on the Antonine Vallum? Had we the date a little more closely narrowed down, inferences might have been hazarded regarding the relationship of the command of Lollius Urbicus to that of Julius Verus, especially on the points whether they were independent commands or one command held by the two in succession, and as to which commander

51

Ther passionately pining cas
it in our maid the pined
Said ma may full the byll to eng
Sull call the autor to railed
and argess pines his maddness
Sey Jussow of the able wall
In till his first byffonall
Buld king of buttam was siffon
Rusyn obains was yon empow
Jussow buth and the autor
Byffled as of gite orion
ffor the autor is first to py
The stowp full yet will affy
Of lybe fion mizun & mizun
Nest stowp toid full dyloun
and soppin all four
yet more stowp he pines our
Callit not yon luyne empow
Buld king of buttam was siffon
But of the but the stowp pyn
yet luyne siffon yon in his dyloun
Was of the siffon pines pines
Nest callit siffon king was empow
ffor blame yon was the autor first
as he luyne siffon fion to vryse
and mo of siffon dyloun
Sauld yon and luyne siffon
yet mizun was in luyne
he maid a gite first of author
and the siffon of siffon
and the pines siffon of siffon

preceded the other. A first impression from the present stone goes, with other things, towards characterising the campaign of Lollius Urbicus in A.D. 139-40, with its outstanding feature, the building of the Antonine Wall, as an executive step, an official development of imperial policy, rather than the individual military expedient of a general in the field.

In issuing concurrently *The New Testament in Scots* for the first time, and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* for the third time of publication, the Scottish Text Society presents works of the foremost importance. Notwithstanding the success of a recent movement to promote the Society in the West, the membership still needs material increase. Works such as those above-mentioned are the best proof that the programme of texts ahead of the Society is of the highest order, and that new subscribers need apprehend no decline in the calibre of what is to come. It is unnecessary to urge the variety of interests keenly touched by the Lollard Scotified recension of the New Testament, on which the ripe and special learning of Dr. T. G. Law on matters bibliographic, canonical, and linguistic has been so generously expended. To the student of history, however, the re-editing of Wyntoun is of more direct consequence, replacing with an authoritative text the well-thumbed current version. If there is a primary disposition to groan over the approaching necessity of consulting an edition in six volumes, instead of the present working edition in three, it gives place to a grateful confidence in the superiority of the new double-text, collated with all the MSS. by Monsieur F. J. Amours, an accomplished scholar and well-proved editor in Old Scots.

Scottish
Texts—
New Tes-
tament and
Wyntoun.

Among the manuscripts used is the Auchinleck one, formerly the property of the Boswell family, and now owned by Mr. John Ferguson, of Duns. Through his courtesy a page is herewith given (see also *Scottish History and Life*, 1902, p. 265) in facsimile. It is that containing the foundation passage of Scottish literary criticism, the citation from

Huchoune of the awle realle
In till his geist hystoryall,

concluding its laudation with that classic of biographical and bibliographic commentary which declares that men of good discretion

Sould excuse and loyf Huchone,
That cunnand was in literature:
He maid a grete geist of Arthure,
And the auenturis of Gawane
And the pystyll of suete Susane.

The variants brought out by the double text are numerous, and sometimes of particular importance as showing the author in the act of revision. The historical annotations of M. Amours are being reserved until the completion of the text. How necessary these notes are may be gauged from the fact that the Wemyss and Cottonian MSS., the bases of this edition, have not been printed before.

WE have received the following note from MR. MACGREGOR CHALMERS: *Sculptured Stone at St. Andrews.* 'Many ancient Sculptured Stones hidden deep underground have recently been brought to light at St. Andrews. The stone now illustrated has been in the public eye many days, but as it was thought to be too much defaced its story has not been read. It was found by my friend Mr. David Henry, architect, built with its sculptured face exposed inside the flue of a cottage which stood outwith the West Port, in the district called "Argyle," upon the site of Gibson's Hospital. Mr. Henry carefully preserved the stone and placed it in the Hospital boundary wall, at the angle of two streets. It is singular that although the stone is greatly worn, no part of its record has wholly disappeared. It measures two feet by one foot five and a half inches. The accompanying sketch makes it unnecessary to give a detailed description. The shield originally bore the arms of Dunbar, three cushions within a double tressure; the mitre has to its left and right the letters G. D., the initials of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen; and at the bottom of the panel are the fragments of the letters which formed the Bishop's motto, SUB SPE. The stone evidently formed part of some property owned by the Bishop.

'Gavin Dunbar was Dean of his native diocese of Moray in 1487. In 1503 he was also Clerk of Register and of Council. He became Archdeacon of St. Andrews in 1506, and Bishop of Aberdeen in 1518, in succession to Bishop William Elphinstone. It was whilst he held the office of Archdeacon that the Choir of St. Andrew's Cathedral was furnished with new oak stalls. Of the two stalls now preserved in the Town Church—to be placed at the Communion Table when this Church is restored—one bears the arms of Dunbar. In the year 1527 Bishop Dunbar caused to be written at Antwerp the magnificent *Epistolare de tempore et de Sanctis* for the use of his cathedral. The illuminated letter illustrated in the published *Registrum* bears the arms, initials, and motto of the Bishop, as on this panel. Bishop Dunbar is perhaps most widely known as the builder of the great bridge across the Dee. He died in the year 1531.'

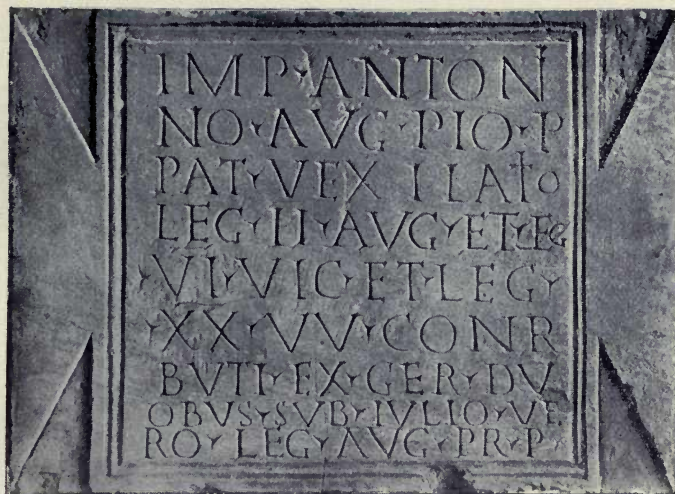
INAUGURATING *The Bar and Legal World* on its appearance in November 'Dagger Money' on Tyneside. as a fortnightly illustrated periodical, Mr. J. Ambrose Long has a long and fully pictorial article on 'A Border Custom.' In it he essays to account for the Newcastle custom of the Mayor and Corporation presenting the judges at the close of the Assizes with an ancient coin. Formerly, according to Mr. Long, the usage explained itself in the accompanying address to their lordships informing them that as their journey to Carlisle lay through border country infested by the Scots, they were therefore each presented 'with a piece of money to buy therewith a dagger' to defend themselves. It certainly makes a readable story. But there is reason to fear that, as certain historical and legal data in this essay are rather more popular and picturesque than critical, it may be found exceedingly difficult to make good the verity of the alleged tradition. So much at least is to be gathered from the course of recent discussion of the subject by one well qualified, both as lawyer and as



SCULPTURED STONE AT ST. ANDREWS

From a drawing by Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A.

See page 238



INSCRIBED SLAB TO ANTONINUS PIUS

From a plate lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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antiquary, to judge shrewdly, and with the available record evidence under view.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* for 1902 (vol. x., p. 359), Mr. F. W. Dendy, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, is reported to have questioned the popularly accepted tradition of 'Dagger Money.' 'If any sufficient ground-work could be found,' he says, 'for the accepted and picturesque version of the origin of this yearly payment, they would all rejoice and be glad. But if it was only a pretty tale of modern invention, it should not,' he thought, 'be promulgated and accepted as resting upon any sufficient substratum either of ancient tradition or inherent probability.' Mr. Dendy could find no mention of 'dagger money' in any printed book or other record relating to Newcastle of any earlier date than the nineteenth century. In the old and comprehensive histories of Newcastle by Bourne and Brand, there was no mention of 'dagger money,' and no mention of protection against the Scots. In the Newcastle municipal accounts for 1561 a payment to the judges is mentioned as 'the reward of the judges.' It again occurs in 1566 as 'two old ryalls for their fee,' and in subsequent payment as 'the yearlie accustomed' payment to the judges. There was no word of 'dagger money,' and there was no word about the Scots.

The payment appears to have been always made in ancient coin. In Elizabethan times the coin was a 'spur ryall,' and in Stuart times it was a 'rose noble,' while at the present time it was a 'Carolus' or a 'Jacobus.' The borough of Waterford at one time paid a yearly fee to the Assize judges for allowing its charters. When the judges came into the county all the hardly won liberties and special rights of the boroughs in it were put to the test, and were subject to being either allowed or disallowed by them. The confirmation or disallowance of any rights claimed in derogation of the Crown's prerogative came within their cognizance. Before 1400 Newcastle was merely one of the towns of Northumberland. The Assizes for the town of Newcastle, as distinguished from the Assizes for the County of Northumberland, only began at that date, and with that the town's responsibility for the conduct and care of the judges. As early as 1279 the judges at the Northumberland Assize had taken away the liberties of the town of Newcastle, and inflicted heavy fines upon the burgesses for prison breach, for neglect to punish offenders, and for breaches of the excise laws. For about two hundred years before 1400 it must have been a very desirable thing to follow, what was then, the very usual custom of paying some small complimentary honorarium to judges or other men of high position, and it was desirable in the case of the judges to make this payment at leave-taking after the work was done, in order that the payment might not come within the purview of the statute of Edward I., which forbade judges taking bribes.

Similar payments were also made by the Sheriff of the County of Northumberland, and the only mention of a dagger, and possibly the mention on which the whole of the present theory was founded, was the statement by Roger North in his *Life of Lord Keeper Guilford*, in which a journey made in 1680 was referred to, when the Sheriff of the County

of Northumberland, and not the Mayor or Sheriff of Newcastle, presented each of them; that is, he supposed, each of the judges and Roger North, on taking leave of them at Benwell, with arms: that is, a dagger, knife and fork, and a penknife, 'all together';¹ the meaning being that these objects were either in one or in one case. That was the only mention of a dagger which could be found in connection with the subject. This mention is long after those customary payments of coin recorded in the borough accounts. Mr. Dendy's conjecture is that at some time when the custom revived it might be that some imaginative official of the town had connected those well-known extracts from North about a dagger given by the Sheriff of Northumberland at Benwell, with the payment which was already recorded in the Newcastle Corporation books, as a reward or fee to the judges.

After Mr. Dendy's comments had been published, an unfinished article on the same subject by the late Mr. Longstaffe, F.S.A., formerly secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, was found amongst his papers, and has been published in the *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S., vol. 25, p. 83. In this article Mr. Longstaffe discusses the practice of presenting old coins as tokens and remembrances, and the custom of local payments to the judges of Assize. The article unfortunately breaks off at the point where Mr. Longstaffe begins to describe what was done in Newcastle, but it is evident from the trend of his observations that he also had arrived at the conclusion that the customary payment to the judges at Newcastle had nothing to do with the purchase of a dagger for defence against the Scots.

*No more excellent and no more interesting lectures had ever been delivered under the Rhind Lectureship': so Sir James Balfour Paul in the vote of thanks characterised the Fraser-Professor's comprehensive account of Scotland under Queen Mary. As a descriptive social and economic survey of Scotland after the close of the Middle Ages, eschewing religion, politics, and the infinite wrangles over John Knox and Queen Mary, the lectures form a notable chapter of history, presenting new factors and new estimates of popular forces of the time.

OUR learned contemporary, *The Ancestor* for October, gave (simultaneously with the Rev. James Wilson's article and the Note in our columns) a transcript of and commentary upon the Gospatric letter by the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg, vicar of Masworth, Hertfordshire. Mr. Ragg has written to us objecting to the terms of our note on Mr. Wilson's good fortune in recognising the document and bringing it for the first time to the notice of scholars. Mr. Ragg claims the discovery of the letter as his, a claim to credit as first finder from which neither Mr. Wilson nor we have any wish to derogate. We are informed that Mr. Wilson's attention was drawn to the document by a distinguished English antiquary who has no connection with Mr. Ragg or the *Victoria County Histories*. Mr. Wilson's examination of the original parchment

¹ *Life*, edition 1742, p. 139.

at Lowther Castle and his investigation of its significance were of course entirely independent, and the recognition of the far-reaching historical import of the writing we take to be his. Students of history will appreciate the publication of the document for the valuable information it contains, irrespective of personal or contentious considerations.

MR. MACGREGOR CHALMERS writes : 'Durham Cathedral is undoubtedly the grandest building of the Norman period in Britain, and its erection must have excited widespread interest in the country. The design was prepared under Bishop William of S. Carilef. The choir, the transepts, part of the nave, and probably the lower part of all the walls of the nave, were completed before his death in the year 1096, or within three years thereafter, when his successor, Bishop Ranulf Flambard, was elected. Bishop Flambard completed the centre aisle of the nave up to the stone vault, and the nave aisles with their vaults. He died in the year 1128. The monks completed the vault of the centre aisle before the year 1133, when Galfrid Rufus was made Bishop. The great doors near the west end of the nave aisles have been rightly ascribed to Bishop Rufus.

*Discovery
at Dun-
fermline
Abbey.*

'King David I., in the year 1124—the year of his accession to the throne—brought canons of the Order of S. Augustine from Canterbury, and established them at the abbey of Dunfermline. The king's interest in Cumberland and Northumberland was very great. It is not surprising, therefore, that the beautiful nave which he added at Dunfermline to the choir erected by his parents, Malcolm and Margaret, was modelled upon the cathedral of Durham. The details and ornaments of the two structures are so closely related that no doubt on this point can be entertained. Further evidence, linking the two buildings together, and furnishing certain indication of the date of the Scots work, has been supplied recently by the discovery of the eastern processional door to the cloisters at the east end of the south aisle of the nave at Dunfermline. Workmen were employed preparing for the erection of a monument here, when it was found that the stonework was not of Norman date. A portion only of the rubble has been removed, revealing the arch and the capitals of what is probably the most richly decorated Norman work preserved in Scotland. Buried from view in the seventeenth century, the delicate carvings have retained almost all their original sharpness. The capitals are sculptured with interlacing foliage and strap-work; a beautiful acanthus-leaf ornament is carved on the abacus; and the arch is decorated with the chevron or zig-zag ornament and delicate diaper-work. These details are practically reproduced from the beautiful doors in the nave of Durham Cathedral executed about the year 1133. When the whole doorway is exposed, it may be found that there is a still closer resemblance to the work at Durham. One interesting point remains. The decoration of the arch of this door in Dunfermline corresponds with the work on the beautiful church at Dalmeny.'

MR. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., has sent the following note: 'For lack of funds the digging in St. Andrews Cathedral was discontinued on the 4th of November. Before that date a great many trenches or pits had been opened in the chancel, the Lady Chapel, and the side chapels. Each pit or trench was carried down to the virgin soil. It is now quite certain that there is no crypt or sub-chapel to the eastward of the transepts. The circumstantial stories of a buried staircase in that portion of the church have been disproved. The results of the work, however, were not entirely negative. It was found that broad, massive walls connect the pillars of the chancel underground; or rather, it would seem, that broad, massive continuous walls had been built, and the pillars reared on the top of them. These walls had been carried down to the original soil, in places into it, and in at least one place down under a pillar to the rock. The stones had usually been laid in regular courses, but the building had been roughly done, the joints left very open, and apparently no lime had been used. The scarcement below the base-course of the side walls had been nearly all built in the same rude manner. The breadth of the scarcement varies, but much of it has been projected two feet into the church beyond the face of the base-course. The greatest irregularity in the scarcement was revealed by a trench which was dug right across the eastern end of the Lady Chapel. It was found that the projection of the scarcement of the east gable varied from eight inches to two feet four inches. The stones are rough and undressed, most of them unshaped; and the biggest only measures twenty-one inches in length. The joints are very open, and there is no lime either in the joints or beds. The top of this scarcement is quite close to the present surface of the ground, and the bottom is only about three and a half feet lower. It seems a wretched foundation to carry such a lofty building.

'At the northern end of this trench a remarkable discovery was made. One of the labourers, to make sure that he had reached the lowest course of the scarcement, pushed in the point of his shovel angle-wise below it, and was surprised when a bone came out with the shovel. He put in his hand and brought out bone after bone, until he had nearly all the skeleton of a medium-sized man of about forty-five. Dr. Huntingdon, who was present, said that the skull was lying immediately above the pelvis; but, from the position of the bones of the neck, he thought the skull must have belonged to another skeleton. The foundation, he said, went down to within six inches of the natural gravel, and the skeleton was lying entirely between the foundation and the gravel. It could not have been placed in that position after the wall was built; and the natural inference is that the masons in laying this foundation, in or about 1160, deliberately or carelessly, built immediately on the top of the skeleton. This inference is confirmed by the opinion of Professor Musgrove, who saw most of the bones a day or two later, and pronounced them to be at least a thousand years old, and said they all belonged to the same man. They were found within a few feet of the place where eight fragments of Celtic crosses have been utilised by the original builders as ordinary material; and it is quite possible that one of these crosses may have been raised to commemorate the man

whose bones were so unexpectedly brought to light. It is now clear that these crosses could easily be taken out of the base-course; and, by "grouting" the foundation, it could be made much stronger than it has ever been. If these crosses are not taken out, it would be advisable to have them covered, as they have wasted considerably since they were exposed in 1892.

'In the chapel on the north side of the chancel a rude stone cist was found. The sides were formed of thin slabs of freestone set on edge. There were no covers, and no slabs in the bottom or at the ends. The cist was within three feet of the surface. It contained two skeletons. One of these was in no way remarkable, but the other was the frame of a very powerful man, tall and big boned. Dr Gunn, of Peebles, who happened to be present, thought that he must have been about six feet four. He had been buried at full length, with his head to the west, his feet towards the east, and his right cheek resting on the ground, so that his face looked towards the south, not upwards. His teeth were excellent, and two of the back ones were worn perfectly flat. The stone slabs only reached as far as his knees. At that point another skeleton was lying across him, the head being towards the north and the feet to the south. The eastmost slabs of the cist had probably been removed when this other interment had taken place. A fourth skeleton was found on the south side of the cist. All the four bodies had been buried entire, but the period or periods of burial can only be conjectured. It is barely eighty years, it seems, since burial was prohibited within the walls of the Cathedral. Near these skeletons, in the same trench, several bones of a dog were found, and two or three iron nails.

'A little further west in the same chapel a built grave was discovered. Internally it measured 8 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The inner surface of the sides and ends was formed of smoothly dressed stones of a pretty large size. There was no cover over it and no paved bottom. This tomb had evidently been interfered with before. The upper courses of the dressed stone-work had been removed. The lower side of the lowest course of masonry is only four and a half feet below the present surface. In this tomb a few odd bones were found, and a number of carved and moulded stones. Some of the latter had been coloured in distemper. The north wall of this vault was fully two feet broad. The skeleton of a young man was found under it. Professor Musgrove said that he had only been about nineteen; that when about sixteen he had had inflammation in his left elbow; that he had carried that arm in a sling; that the joint had become rigid; and that the humerus had ceased to grow. The bones of the fore-arm were at right angles to the humerus. The built tomb, there can be little doubt, was pre-Reformation, and its north wall had certainly been built above this skeleton, for, as one of the labourers said, "It was just on the tap o'm." On the northern side of this north wall two fragments of very dark green paving tiles were found.

'A few pits were also opened in the north transept. These were close to the western wall, of which no trace could be seen above the roughly-built scarcement. About a foot below the surface a layer of sea-sand was observed. It varied in thickness. Four small fragments of sand-stone slabs were found, bearing clean-cut incised lines.'

THAT humour is not necessarily divorced from the study of folk lore and 'Graham,' folk speech is very happily demonstrated by the following note as a from a North of England correspondent. Its accuracy as a North-umbrian record of a very curious 'taboo' in the fishing villages of Northumberland is guaranteed by the authority of an experienced student of popular customs.

'The traditions of the house of Graham include an unfortunate confusion of their patronymic with a name of satanic import. The first Graham was none other than the Gryme, or Grim, to whose supernatural agency are attributed the mysterious 'Dykes' and 'Seughs' that bear his name. Reference to this will be found in the excellent series of articles contributed by Mr. J. H. Stevenson to the *Scottish Antiquary* (*Scot. Antiq.*, vol. xvi., p. 108 *et seq.*). What will interest the folklorist is the living and active belief in the identity of the word Graham with *diabolus* or its equivalent. The fishing populations on the North East Coast are all of them self-centred and distinct from surrounding people, and on the Northumberland Coast especially the word Graham is of evil omen. If it be spoken in the hearing of a fisherman he will refuse to put to sea that day; or, if unfortunately, circumstances compel him to sail after hearing it, misgivings of approaching evil will torment him as long as he remains afloat. The women who bait the lines are equally in dread of any chance utterance of the word. A visitor at a fisherman's cottage unluckily asked for a person called Graham, and, being innocent of the association of the name, was astonished at the immediate effect produced. The kindly faces of the women in the house were instantly changed to so many pictures of terror and dismay. All their labour expended in baiting lines had been lost; every bit of it had to be undone and begun afresh; and even that might hardly avert the omen. Were the belief less intense it might excite a feeling of levity, and the precautions taken are sometimes really ludicrous. Such an instance is thus described. The village of Beadnell on the Northumberland Coast is inhabited for the most part by fishermen. Not long ago a party of house-painters spent some time in the village during the repair of Beadnell Tower, a neighbouring mansion. One of these was a Graham who found himself ignored and boycotted by all of the inhabitants for no reason but his name. With the other painters the villagers were very friendly, and even took them on a picnic to the Farne Islands; but none would allow Graham to enter the boats. The narrator of this incident has suggested the form in which a maker of ancient ballads would, in these latter days, have dealt with it:

'I'm damned if I sail with you, Sir Graham;
 Though I may seem uncivil;
 But Graham is Graeme, and Graeme is Grim,
 An' Grim, sir, is the Devil!'

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The Moulding of the Scottish Nation¹

AT the death of Alexander III. in 1286 Scotland made territorially one country; the first of Scottish kings, Alexander ruled in fact, as well as in name, from the Pentland Firth to the Solway. His own special achievement had been not only to rule the mainland with a firm hand, but to add the Hebrides and even the Isle of Man to the territory he had inherited. It had taken well-nigh eight centuries to complete the work of consolidation to which Alexander put the finishing touch—a work that had its origin about the beginning of the sixth century, when in the modern Argyleshire a band of Celts from Ireland founded the Dalriadic Kingdom. Some two centuries and a half elapse, and one kingdom is formed to the north of the Forth by the union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth Macalpine; and within two centuries more one king nominally ruled over the whole mainland of Scotland. It was in 1018 that this end was achieved; and the whole intervening period between that date and the accession of Alexander III. had been needed to make Scotland a territorial unit. It was a great work that had been accomplished, and, with the exception of England, no other country in Europe had attained a similar degree of territorial cohesion.

But though Scotland was territorially one, it would be an abuse of words to speak of it as a nation. The bond of common memories, common hopes and aspirations, which is requisite to the evolution of a national consciousness, did not and could not yet exist. The heterogeneous elements that composed its population had only the tradition of mutual estrangement or hereditary

¹An Introductory Lecture delivered to the Class of Ancient (Scottish) History in the University of Edinburgh, October 13, 1903.

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hostility. Located in different regions and speaking different tongues, what common interests could exist between the Briton of Strathclyde, the Gael of the Highlands, and the Saxon of Lothian? Of all the countries in Western Europe, indeed, there were none where greater obstacles existed to prevent the formation of a united people than in Scotland. Diverse races, diverse tongues, a land by its distribution of mountain, river, and sea almost destined by nature to permanent regional division—such were some of the impediments to be overcome before a nation in any real sense of the term could take shape and consistency within its boundaries. The process, it is evident, must needs be a protracted one, and, as in all human evolution, what we call accident must play a large part in it. However inherent and powerful the tendency towards unity, events over which the incipient nation had no control might intervene and dash the fair prospect of national growth. The object of the present lecture is to trace the growth of a national consciousness in the Scottish people, and to note the main causes that forwarded or impeded it.

In the development of nations there is of necessity much that is common to all of them. The same common instincts of human nature must everywhere be at work, and in the case of a society like that of Western Christendom similar agencies must have gone to the common result. Under the régime of feudalism and the medieval church, the different countries possessed common institutions, were informed by common ideals, and by community of interests were borne unconsciously onward to the same goal. Though in the evolution of national consciousness, however, there was thus a general uniformity, there were peculiarities in the process which constitute the essential difference between the national history of one country and another, and like other countries Scotland had a development specifically its own. It must be our object in the present discussion, therefore, to note at once what was common to Scotland with other countries in their respective national developments, and what was peculiar to herself in her national growth.

Amid the disasters that fell so thick on the country after the death of Alexander III., the most far-sighted contemporary could only have predicted the undoing of the work that had been accomplished by that king and the long line of his predecessors. As the history of the previous century had shown, it was only under such strong and sagacious rulers as David I.

and the last two Alexanders that the heterogeneous elements of the kingdom could be held together. On the death of Alexander III. there followed the extinction of a dynasty, a disputed succession in the most aggravated form, and a war for bare existence against a foreign invader. In all human probability the result must be either the absorption of the kingdom by its hereditary enemy and rival, or its relapse into the original elements that composed it. From both of these dangers it had in reality the narrowest escape. Alexander had hardly been dead before civil war broke out. Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, who claimed the Crown on the ground of nomination and descent, sought to make good his claim by the sword, but it is impossible to imagine that in the existing circumstances he could ever have established himself as the acknowledged King of Scots. The intervention of Edward I. had at least this immediate result—it arrested civil war and for the time prevented national disintegration. The grandson of the Lord of Annandale, the hero-king Robert I., succeeded in making himself sole ruler of the kingdom, but it was only his own remarkable career and the new experience the country had undergone that had made this consummation possible. In the war of deliverance which he carried to so glorious a conclusion, the various sections of the Scottish people were drawn together by common interests, which in large degree modified hereditary antagonisms, and disposed them to find a common head. The greatness of Bruce's achievement placed him in a position which left no opening for a successful rival, and through constraint or self-interest or affection the majority of the people recognised in him the only safeguard against internecine war and a foreign enemy.

But if there had been the narrowest risk of dismemberment, there had been an equally narrow risk of absorption by England. Had Edward II. been cast in the mould of his father, and had Edward III. not been diverted by other schemes of conquest, Scotland must either have bled to death or reluctantly surrendered her independence.

As it was, she emerged from the long struggle an independent and a united kingdom. Her material loss had been great. For a full century and a half after the War of Independence the Scottish people cast regretful eyes backward to the golden age of Alexander III. But if the material sacrifice had been disastrous, the spiritual gain was an adequate compensation. 'A people without an epopee,' says Goethe, 'can never become

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much worth,' and Scotland now possessed the materials of an epopee which in due time was to become a national possession. First the deeds of Bruce were commemorated in the soberly-imaginative poem of Barbour, and at a later date Wallace was transfigured by Blind Harry with the lineaments and proportions requisite to make a historic personage pass into the popular imagination. Wallace, says Wordsworth, left his name

'Like a wild flower
All over his dear country,'

and his deeds, he goes on to say, created

'A local soul
Of independence and stern liberty.'

Such was the impression Wordsworth gained from his tour in Scotland in 1814, and his words fitly describe the moral and spiritual gain of the War of Independence. In a degree far beyond what she had been in the prosperous days of Alexander III., Scotland had now become a united people, with the common traditions and aspirations which go to form a national consciousness.

Even yet, however, Scotland could hardly be described as a nation in the sense in which we now understand the term. In the conditions of society, as they then existed in every country of Christendom, there were inherent forces at work which inevitably tended to hold apart the constituent elements of any people and to prevent their fusion into a uniform whole. Of these separative forces the chief were the conditions imposed by the feudal system and by the economic conditions of trade and commerce. Within his own domain each feudal lord was a petty king, who for the most part regarded his neighbours as his natural rivals or enemies. As were his own feelings, so were those of all dependent on him. They virtually composed a self-subsistent society with little concern in the greater world around them. Such law and justice as were to be had were mainly administered by their feudal superior; and the necessities of life were found in the cultivation of his domains. So long, therefore, as a country was subdivided among such isolated societies, the close national union that can only come of interdependence was practically unattainable.

If the dwellers in the country districts were thus held apart by the conditions of feudal tenure, the towns were equally

isolated by the conditions of trade and commerce. A conclusive proof of this fact is that every town of any consequence was surrounded by a line of defence, which it was one of the chief duties of the citizens to maintain in an effective state of repair. These lines of defence, it is to be noted, served a double purpose. They provided security against actual violence—violence from rival towns, from neighbouring feudal potentates, from foreign invaders. In the present connection, however, it is more important to note the second object which they served. By the conditions under which the mediaeval towns had grown up, each to a large degree was an independent centre, living its own life, and disposed to regard every similar community as a rival or rather as an enemy. The reason for this attitude is simple. At one time or other the town had received certain trading privileges from its superior—king, ecclesiastic, or feudal lord—and on the conservation of these privileges its existence and prosperity depended. It would be irrelevant to discuss the nature and origin of these privileges, and it is sufficient to note for our present purpose that the lines of defence that surrounded the towns were indispensable for their preservation. At the different gates in the wall or dyke every stranger could be questioned as to the motives that brought him there. If he was suspected of any intention of infringing the town privileges, he was either refused admittance or placed under proper surveillance. Only on one occasion did the townsmen freely open their arms to all and sundry. At the annual fair all barriers were thrown down, and absolute freedom of trade prevailed so long as it lasted. Among the forces that made for national as opposed to municipal ends, therefore, these fairs must be assigned their due place. In Scotland, as in other countries, every town of any consequence had the right of holding its fair either by royal grant or immemorial prescription. As on the occasion of its celebration merchants and traders flocked to the town from every part of the kingdom, it was then borne in upon its citizens that they formed part of a larger whole in which all had a common interest. Still the normal attitude of every citizen was that his own community was an isolated society surrounded by dangerous rivals against whose encroachment he must ever be on his guard. Such being the relations of every town in the kingdom to each other, it is evident that the growth of a national consciousness in the most enterprising portion of the inhabitants of every country must of necessity

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be a slow and gradual process. Till new economic conditions arose, in fact, collective endeavour was impossible, and a fully-developed nation could not in the nature of things be formed. In due time, as we shall see, these new conditions did arise, and Scotland, like its neighbours, did not fail to profit by them.

These obstacles to the growth of national feeling—the isolating tendencies of feudalism and of trade—were common to Scotland and all other countries. But there were other impeding forces which in her case were of special significance. From the nature of her climate and surface intercommunication was attended with peculiar difficulties. The construction and maintenance of roads implied an amount of labour and expense far beyond what was necessary in such countries as England and France. In no country in the Middle Ages were the roads such as to render communication an easy matter, but in Scotland, with its obstructing mountains, rivers, and bogs, they were practically impassable during a great portion of the year. But without rapid and frequent intercommunication, the intercourse necessary to weld a people into a united whole was impossible, and not till past the middle of the eighteenth century can this obstacle be said to have been tolerably overcome.

But besides these physical impediments there were other hindrances to national fusion which formed a special difficulty in the case of Scotland. Though acknowledging a common head, the various portions of which the kingdom was composed continued to be inhabited by distinct peoples speaking different tongues.

Between the natives of the wide district of Galloway, the Gael of the Highlands, and the Teuton of Lothian and the Eastern coast, there could be little community of feeling, few palpable common interests, and except on rare occasions of general peril but little united action towards a common end. In the case of Galloway, the wild nature of the country and the fighting instincts of its people, perpetuated by the rivalries of the clans who divided its territory among them, long availed to hold it apart from the main stream of national development. Even into the fifteenth century Galloway was governed by laws of its own, and till the beginning of the eighteenth it clung to the Celtic language, which it had inherited from before the days of St. Columba. Still more estranging were the conditions of the Highland section of the kingdom. Of wider extent and

still more inaccessible from its natural features, the region of the Highlands seemed destined by nature to independence. In greater degree than Galloway, its inhabitants had a tradition of hostility toward the Lowlands which only the slow growth of time and the pervasive influences of modern civilisation have been able to overcome. Till the opening of the fifteenth century the Lords of the Isles regarded themselves as independent sovereigns, and made common cause with England against their nominal head the King of Scots.

Such were some of the forces that made against the development of a united Scottish people. Yet, as the issue was to prove, the centripetal tendencies must have been more powerful than those that made for decentralisation. First we have to note that in all the countries that made up Christendom there had from the beginning been a tendency towards the formation of distinct kingdoms, ruled by one head, and inhabited by peoples bound by ever-strengthening ties of common interest. For special reasons, which need not now be considered, Italy and Germany were exceptions to the general rule, but by the close of the fifteenth century three great kingdoms, France, Spain, and England, had been formed on the same general lines of development. As an integral part of Christendom, Scotland had been subjected to the same influences as these other countries. Consciously and unconsciously, therefore, she was pushing for the same goal. From the War of Independence onwards she had been more or less in the current of European politics, and this was in itself a powerful stimulus towards the national unity which alone could give her a voice in the general affairs of Europe.

Among the unifying influences that went to create distinct nations, that exercised by the Church can hardly be exaggerated. In the case of Scotland the teaching of the Church was almost the sole common influence to which its people were subjected. Trade and commerce, in the Middle Ages, as we have seen, were separative as well as unifying agencies; but such powers as the Church exerted were wholly in the direction of cohesion. From the teaching of its religion, by the ministry of its officials, the Gael was taught that he was of the same flesh as the Saxon, that he was placed in the world for the same purpose, and that the same final destiny was the lot of both. By the organisation of the Church, which bound in a common whole the length and breadth of the kingdom, the idea of unity was brought

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home to every subject with a force and persuasiveness which no other agency could exert to the same degree. The parish church, with its ministrants, was at once the symbol of unity, and the most effective factor in enforcing it.

In England national unity had been greatly furthered by the development of its representative assembly; to the Parliament of Scotland, on the other hand, a similar degree of influence cannot be attributed. At no time were the Scottish people greatly exercised regarding the privileges of their representative assembly; and it was only on occasions when their own interests were specially involved that the sovereign and nobles manifested any lively desire to improve its constitution. During the fifteenth century, when its constituent parts were fully developed, the Scottish Parliament had but little prestige and little real importance; and for two excellent reasons. Through the weakness of the Crown it became the mere tool of successive factions; and through the weakness of the executive its laws were made only to be set at nought. To the Scottish Parliament, therefore, we can assign but a subsidiary part in the moulding of the Scottish nation.

After the Church as a power tending to unity is probably to be reckoned the administration of law and justice. When it was brought home to the Highlander that he must seek justice from the Sheriffs' Courts at Dingwall and Tarbert, and to the Lowlander that he must seek it in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, he realised that he was part of a great mechanism, with the working of which he must find himself in harmony. It was the misfortune of Scotland, however, that the royal judicatories were permanently enfeebled by a weak executive; and thus was lost that confidence in a central source of justice which makes so large a composite in what we call a national consciousness.

Great public events, involving the welfare of a whole people, must also play a chief part in national development. For a century and a half after the War of Independence, however, there was hardly an outstanding event that exercised a powerful influence in invigorating national sentiment. No great movement absorbed the mind of the people; and no public calamity or triumph set their hearts beating in unison with common fear or exultation. In the protracted struggle between the Crown and the nobility, which is the dominant characteristic of the period, there was little to stimulate patriotism or to bind in

closer union the different sections of the kingdom. To the people in general it was indifferent which faction gained a temporary ascendancy, though the debasement of the coinage by James III. appears to have evoked a popular feeling which strengthened the successive rebellions against his authority. There was, indeed, one permanent feeling in the breasts of the Scottish people which must be reckoned among the most effectual influences in fusing them into a nation. Since the War of Independence England had never lost sight of its aim of re-attaching the country which had once been in its grasp. Its own troubles had prevented the repetition of the concentrated attempts of Edward I.; but persistently, though intermittently, almost every English king had shown that he only wanted the opportunity to repeat Edward's work. Hatred and fear of an inveterate and formidable enemy, therefore, were feelings shared by the great mass of the Scottish people, and which were bound to strengthen the sentiment of a common nationality. The animating motive of Blind Harry's poem, produced at the close of the fifteenth century, is sheer detestation of England—a motive which finds expression even in Acts of Parliament and other documents of the period.

With the opening of the sixteenth century begins a new phase in the development of the European countries. The new departure was due to the widened scope of thought and action in almost every sphere of human experience. In speculation the scholastic philosophy ceased to be a living interest for the most active minds; before the century was long begun Luther shook Christendom to its foundations; trade and commerce passed under new laws and regulations, becoming national instead of merely municipal concerns; and the very limits of the earth were extended by the discovery of another hemisphere. Under the influence of such facts and ideas individuals and peoples were quickened to a degree of self-consciousness which had been impossible under the comparative routine of the Middle Age. In different measures and by different manifestations we see the vivifying forces at work in England, Spain, and France—now consolidated kingdoms under the direction of virtually absolute rulers. Isolated as she was by nature and circumstances, Scotland could not share to the same extent as these countries in the general movement that was ushering in the new time. Later in the century, indeed, she had an experience of her own to pass through which supplied the spiritual momentum requisite

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to reveal a people to itself and give a direction to its destinies. Yet under James IV., at the opening of the century, Scotland made a notable stride forward in national development.

It was a fortunate dispensation that gave her a king like James at this special period. Though somewhat lacking in the sense of royal responsibility, he possessed many qualities that fitted him to govern a people when novelties were in the air. Intelligent, curious, and enterprising, he was peculiarly open to new ideas, and even unduly eager to see them put in practice. The work he accomplished in consolidating his kingdom gives him a notable place among our princes. Beyond any of his predecessors, James succeeded in making the Highlands and Islands an integral part of his dominion. He definitively broke the power of the Lords of the Isles, thus ridding the Crown of a power that had been virtually a formidable rival, and he reduced the Highlands generally to a state of peace and order which they had never previously known. It has just been said that one of the chief forces that tend to create a nation is the sense of a supreme fountain of justice over which the prince is the presiding divinity, and among our kings few did more to deepen this sense throughout every class of his subjects. He was indefatigable in his attendance on the justice-eyres, by which justice was administered at regular intervals throughout every quarter of the kingdom. Above all he gave a local place and habitation to the Supreme Court of Justice—known as the ‘Daily Council’—by virtually making Edinburgh its permanent abode. And in passing, the significance of this step deserves to be specially noted. Till the close of the fifteenth century Scotland could hardly be said to have possessed a capital. Before that period parliaments and conventions had met indifferently in the chief towns of the kingdom as the exigencies of the moment had dictated. The kings, also, had no fixed place of abode, and took up their residence wherever state business or their own pleasure called them. Henceforward, however, Edinburgh became the settled home of the sovereign; except on rare occasions Parliament now met there; and there, as we have seen, James fixed the head-quarters of law. The significance of this concentration was that Scotland now possessed an acknowledged centre from which could radiate all the inappreciable influences that bind a people to a common goal and destiny. What the possession of an undisputed capital implied for the growth of national feeling is abundantly proved in the history

of every country. We are now carefully warned against the use of physical illustrations in reference to history, but it seems an innocent analogy to compare the function of the capital in the body politic to the function of the heart in the animal body.

In still another sphere of his activity James did an important work in consolidating his kingdom, though, as the future was to show, it was a work attended by unhappy as well as benign results. In the three contemporary kingdoms—England, France, and Spain—there was an equally marked endeavour on the part of their rulers to make themselves absolute princes. Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V., all in greater or less degree succeeded in achieving this object. The policy of James IV. shows that he consciously aimed at the same result, and the history of his reign proves that he in a great degree attained it. From the time that he reached his majority he appears to have set himself to dispense with Parliaments, and to govern through the Privy Council, which, though it dates from David II., first took definite shape in James's own reign. But, as the members of this Council were his own nominees, he thus made himself virtually the uncontrolled master of his kingdom. The immediate outcome of this policy was in the true interests of the country. The great national evil of the preceding century had been the over-riding of the Crown by the nobles, with the result that effective administration and a consecutive public policy had been equally rendered impossible. In these conditions the tendency towards national unity had been inevitably checked and retarded. When James found himself in a position to govern through a docile Privy Council, this evil came to a temporary end. From the time that he reached manhood, the nobles ceased to play a leading part in the affairs of the kingdom; and he is himself the one dominating figure to his reign's disastrous close. But though the immediate consequences of his policy were beneficent, it was fraught with sinister results for the future. It was the example of James IV. that inspired James VI. and Charles I. in imposing their will on their subjects through a Council which simply existed to register their behests.

Such were the important results of James's rule in knitting his kingdom to a closer unity. Yet of all the actions and events of his reign, it was perhaps its closing disaster that most effectually served the happy end. Such a calamity as that of Flodden has a power to evoke a consentaneous national feeling

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which no other experience can produce. It is the misfortunes of the household that bind its members in the closest bonds of interest and affection, and, as all history shows, it is the sense of common calamity that gives to a nation one heart and soul and mind. On the field of Flodden, as we have been so often told, there was hardly a family of name that did not lose father, brother, or son. From the remotest Hebrides, from Highlands and Lowlands, the ill-starred host had come, on an errand from which human foresight and 'metaphysical aid' seemed alike to dissuade the infatuated king, yet was it precisely this sense of inevitable doom, combined with overwhelming disaster, that gave the memory of Flodden an undying place in the heart and imagination of the Scottish people.

The sobriquets by which James V. was known among his subjects—'The Gaberlunzie King,' the 'Red Tod,' the 'King of the Commons'—show that he held a permanent place in their affections, but his public policy cannot be said to have forwarded the work of consolidating the nation. His reign saw the beginnings of a new chapter in the national history. A fateful question was now presented to the country, the decision of which must determine the direction of its future development. The question was—what were to be its future relations to England and France respectively? For more than two centuries England had been regarded as a natural enemy, against whose insatiable cupidity Scotland must ever be on its guard. As an ally against their common enemy she had cultivated France, and the last fruit of the alliance had been the disaster of Flodden. In the people at large that disaster had only intensified the hereditary hatred of its instrument, but thinking men had already begun to be of opinion that the time had come when a new policy would be in the best interests of the country. John Major, the historian, and later Sir David Lyndsay, the poet, both 'kindly Scots,' if ever there were such, publicly argued that England and not France was Scotland's natural ally. Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome, however, at first seemed to put reconciliation further off than ever, though, in the gyration of events, it was to be the main cause of drawing the two countries together. James V. had never any hesitation as to which of the two paths he should follow. His first marriage with Magdalen of France and his second with Mary of Lorraine committed not only himself but his successor Mary to the hereditary policy of antagonism to

England and alliance with France. In this policy James had the sympathies of his people behind him, and the character and conduct of Henry VIII. deepened the estrangement between the two peoples. What we have to note in connection with our present purpose, however, is that James had not inherited his father's gifts of conciliating or repressing a turbulent nobility. The disgraceful affair of Solway Moss is the final commentary on his conduct of affairs both at home and abroad. At the call of James IV. noble and commoner had followed him across the English border; despite entreaties and threats his son could not collect a force to attend him on a similar adventure. In the opposition of the nobles, there were doubtless very mixed motives, but the motive which they themselves put forward had its ground in fact and reason; in their king's eagerness to carry fire and sword into England he was serving France better than his own kingdom.

At the death of James V. it might seem that Scotland was less a united nation than it had been at the death of his father. In point of fact she had but entered on one of those momentous crises in which a nation comes to a full consciousness of itself, and with fully opened eyes chooses the path which its instincts impel it to follow. The reign of Mary had not well begun when her people had to face another dilemma besides that of the French or English alliance. The choice between two policies was complicated by the choice between two religions. With the details of the revolution in policy and religion we are not here concerned. The question before us is, in what manner and degree the double revolution influenced the development of the people that carried it through.

The one governing fact is that for the first time in their history the Scottish people had to determine a question which demanded the forthputting of their whole heart and mind. But here it is well to remember that when we speak of a nation we do not mean the number of heads that make up the population. The nation of any country is that section of the population which, by its capacity of thought and feeling, by the strength of its convictions and the strenuousness of its action, determines the main current of the general life and presents the characteristics which specifically distinguish one nation from another. Understood in this sense, the Scottish nation during the reign of Mary consisted of a few thousands, mainly to be found in the chief towns of the kingdom. On this elect few it devolved to

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choose the course which the whole people were to follow and to develop those national traits by which the Scottish character is known to the world. But of this chosen number it was not to be expected that all would see eye to eye on the momentous questions that were submitted to them. Some by natural instinct favoured the old order, and wished to abide in the ways of their fathers. To such it seemed the wisest and safest policy to hold by the ancient religion and the traditional alliance, and not to venture on courses which might lead no man knew whither. Wherever the new faith had appeared, these persons argued—in France, in Germany, in England—civil discord and revolution had been the invariable result. On the other hand, the greater number of the select body of the people came to be of a different mind. To them the teaching of the new religion appeared to be a revelation from Heaven which no individual or nation could reject without forfeiture both in this world and the next. But if the new faith were to be adopted, it was with Protestant England and not with Catholic France that the destinies of Scotland must be linked. It was in the collision of thought and feeling between these two classes of persons that a Scottish nation in the strict sense of the term became a real entity, conscious of itself and with a destiny to fulfil. In the imbroglio of the Reformation struggle we are apt to lose sight of this fact. In the maze of statecraft and diplomacy we see only the failure and success of one and another stroke of policy, and we are bewildered into imagining that these were the determining factors in the final issue. In point of fact, statesmen and diplomatists were but the conscious or unconscious instruments of the new forces that were working in society, and which were impelling the various peoples along the paths which long-inherited instincts marked out for them. The French people, says Michelet, would not have the Reformation; Scotland, on the other hand, wished to have it; and the different choice of the two peoples is only to be explained by their respective idiosyncrasies which had been evolved in the long process of time.

The essential significance of the Scottish Reformation, therefore, is that for the first time in our history we find a great question submitted to a public opinion sufficiently developed to understand and realise its importance. The result, as has been said, was a collision of thought and feeling which evoked into clear day the latent instincts and propensions which had been

evolved in the past history of the people. Character in the individual is formed in the conflict of warring impulses, and so it is with nations. Whenever a nation attains to self-consciousness, the same phenomena invariably appear. If the nation is truly alive, there will be division on fundamental questions; when such division ceases, it implies that the nation has ceased to exist, either through its own paralysis or the tyranny of external circumstance.

The course of Scottish history subsequent to the Reformation is the sufficient illustration of the foregoing remarks. During the century and a half which elapsed from the Reformation to the Revolution, Scotland was engaged in seeking a political equilibrium which had been disturbed by the overthrow of the ancient religion. The successive sovereigns of Scotland and the most strenuous section of their subjects held incompatible views regarding the relations of Church and State, and as each of the parties believed their opinions to be the absolute will of God, compromise was impossible so long as this state of things endured. But the very existence of such a permanent crisis is the proof that in Scotland there now existed a nation in the strictest sense of the term. In the period prior to the Reformation we have no parallel to the situation that had been created by that event. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century we find occasional popular discontent and chronic disputes between the Crown and the feudal lords, but we find no great national question evoking a public opinion divided alike by reason and passion; in other words, previous to the change of religion, Scotland cannot be regarded as a nation in the true sense of the term. If we fix our eyes on the most remarkable event in Scottish history during the seventeenth century, we realise what in its fullest sense is implied in the distinction. In the portentous uprising which produced the National Covenant we find all the manifestations which characterise a national act—unity of action determined by reason and passion towards a fully apprehended goal.

P. HUME BROWN.

A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy

THE Scottish Text Society have done a great service to many departments of historical inquiry by the publication of Murdoch Nisbet's *New Testament in Scots*,¹ the second volume being part of last year's issue.

The history of the MS. is given in Dr. Law's scholarly preface to the first volume, which was published in 1901. It is briefly this: Sometime before 1500, Murdoch Nisbet,² of Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, Ayrshire, became a Lollard, and left the communion of the Medieval Church in Scotland. He shared in the troubles which befell his companions in the faith, and fled 'over seas' 'abroad.' In his exile he transcribed for himself a copy of Wycliffe's *New Testament*. The transcription was made from the second edition of Wycliffe's translation—that improved by his friend and disciple, John Purvey, and published probably in 1388, or four years after the death of Wycliffe. Dr. Law believes that the transcript was made about the year 1520. Somewhat later Nisbet added a prologue, which is for the most part a close translation of Luther's preface to the New Testament, first published in September, 1522, and some years afterwards appended Tyndal's long prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, which was first printed in 1525.

¹ Scottish Text Society. *The New Testament in Scots*; being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version, Turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet, c. 1520; edited from the unique MS. in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, by Thomas Graves Law, LL.D., vol. i., 1901, vol. ii., 1903. Printed for the Society by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London.

[² Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill had a son Alexander, whose son, James, was succeeded by his son, John Nisbet, in Hardhill. John Nisbet was a devoted Covenanter; he was one of Gustavus Adolphus' Scotch officers, and commanded a troop of horse at Bothwell Bridge; he was executed at the Grassmarket in 1684.

His granddaughter, Elizabeth Nisbet, married Charles Weir, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Lindsay, the grandfather of the author of this paper.

In a Review dealing, *inter alia*, with genealogical subjects, it is not without interest to notice, what must be an extremely rare occurrence—an author being reviewed by his direct descendant in the ninth generation.—EDITOR, S.H.R.]

The book shared the fortunes of the writer. It was his companion when he went into hiding in a vault which he had 'dug and built' under his own house at Hardhill, in which he remained concealed until the death of James V., and where he 'instructed some few that had access to him.' It was bequeathed as a precious legacy to his descendants. It was at last sold to a bookseller, from whom it was bought by Sir Alexander Boswell, and it remained among the Auchenleck Papers until 1893. It is now in the possession of Lord Amherst, of Hackney, who has permitted the Scottish Text Society to print it.

The existence of the book has been long known to persons interested in Scottish ecclesiastical history. Wodrow and M'Crie both refer to it; but neither seem to have seen the MS., nor to have recognised its unique character. For it is not a simple transcript of Purvey's edition of Wycliffe's *New Testament*; it is a translation of that book into the Scots language. It is the only version which exists of the New Testament in the tongue of the northern portion of Great Britain. It is more. It is the only literary relic we possess of the Scottish Lollards. It was made 'over seas' or 'abroad,' and suggests a connection between Scottish Lollardy and a kindred faith outside Scotland. It must be classed among the pre-reformation translations of the Bible; for it is a version made not from the Greek New Testament, but from the Vulgate, which was *the* Medieval Bible.

This *New Testament in Scots* therefore suggests some interesting questions: Its value as an example of the old Scots language; the attitude of the Medieval Church to translations of Scripture into the vernaculars of Europe; translations of the Bible from the Vulgate more or less contemporary with Nisbet's, or with the much earlier work of Purvey; Scottish Lollardy; and the relation which a Scottish Lollard might have in the beginning of the sixteenth century with companions in the faith outside Scotland.

The linguistic question, even if I were competent to discuss it, which I am not, had best be left untouched until we have the third volume, with the promised remarks of Mr. Hall on the linguistic peculiarities of the text; and I content myself with some observations on other questions suggested by Dr. Law's preface.

The relation of the Medieval Church to vernacular translations of the Vulgate for the benefit of the people is a somewhat complex question. This is certain that the Medieval

Church always proclaimed that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were the supreme source and authority for all questions of doctrine and morals, and that in the earlier stages of the Reformation controversy the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures was not supposed to be one of the matters of dispute between the contending parties. This is at once evident when we remember that the *Augsburg Confession*, unlike the later Confessions of the Reformed Churches, does not contain any Article affirming the supreme authority of Scripture. That was not supposed to be a question in debate. It was reserved for the Council of Trent, for the first time, to place *traditiones sine scripto* on the same level of authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (4th Sess., *Dec. de Can. Script.*). Hence, when we examine the small booklets written for the home instruction of the people, issued, many of them, from Convent presses, in the decades before the Reformation, it is frequently asserted that the whole teaching of the Church is to be found contained within the Books of the Holy Scriptures.

Then while it is undoubted that the highest authorities of the Medieval Church urgently forbade, over and over again, the reading of the Scripture by the laity in the vernacular, it will be found that these prohibitions were generally, though by no means invariably, connected with endeavours to suppress movements which were deemed to be heretical, and at the same time viewed as dangerous to ecclesiastical authority and to the possessions and privileges of the clergy. Thus the strongest prohibition of the vernacular Scriptures comes from the times of the Albigenses: 'Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris Testamenti aut novi laici permittantur habere; nisi forte psalterium, vel brevarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas B. Mariae aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, arctissime inhihemus' (*Conc. of Toulouse* of 1229, c. 14). And under the same class may be put the 7th of the *Constitutiones* of Arundel (1408): *Ordinamus ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum S. Scripturae auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat per viam libri, libelli, aut tractatus.*

On the other hand, no official encouragement of the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular by the people can be found during the whole of the Middle Age, and no official patronage of vernacular translations. The utmost which was done in the way of tolerating, it can scarcely be said of encouraging, a know-

ledge of the vernacular Scriptures, was the issue of vernacular psalters, of Service-books, and, in the fifteenth century, of the *Plenaria*—little books which contained translations of some of the paragraphs from the Gospels and Epistles read in the Church service, accompanied by legends and popular tales. Translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular were continually reprobated for various reasons, such as the incapacity of the ordinary layman, and especially of women, to understand the Scriptures: *Tanta est enim divinae Scripturae profunditas ut non solum simplices et illiterati, sed etiam prudentes et docti non plene sufficiant ad ipsius intelligentiam indagandum* (Innocent III., *Epist.* ii. 141); or that the vernaculars were unable to express the profundity of the thoughts contained in the original languages of Scriptures, as was said by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, in his diocesan edict of 1486. It is also evident that a knowledge of the Scriptures in the vernacular, especially by uneducated men and by women, was almost always taken to be a sign of heretical tendency. An Austrian Inquisitor, writing in the end of the thirteenth century, says: *Tertia causa haeresis est, quia Novum et Vetus Testamentum vulgariter transtulerunt; et sic docent et discunt. Audivi et vidi quendam rusticum idiotam, qui Job recitavit de verbo ad verbum, et plures, qui totum Novum Testamentum perfecte sciverunt.*¹ Upon the whole a survey of the evidence seems to lead to the conclusion that the official guides of the Medieval Church down to the time of the Reformation distinctly discouraged the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, that they regarded a knowledge of the vernacular Scriptures with grave suspicion, but that they did not as a rule condemn the possession of copies of the vernacular Scriptures by persons whom they believed to be trustworthy, whether clergy, monks or nuns, or distinguished laymen.

This brings us to the second question—the existence of vernacular translations of the whole Scriptures during the fifteenth and the earlier decades of the sixteenth centuries. It

¹The quotation is from the 3rd chap. of the *Summa* of Rainerius, who was an Inquisitor in Lombardy, and who died in 1259. I am aware that this book, as we now have it, has been largely interpolated; that only the 6th chapter contains the original Rainerius; and that the portion from which I have taken the quotation belongs to one of the later additions made by an Austrian Inquisitor; cf. Gieseler's critical study of the book in his *Göttinger Osterprogramm* of 1834, entitled *Comm. Crit. de Rainerii Sachoni Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*.

would appear that the growing spread of education during the fifteenth century, due in the Low Countries and in Germany mainly to the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, created a desire among the people for the Scriptures in the vernacular, and that this was satisfied by the production of many vernacular translations. The oldest German version exists in an incomplete MS., which contains only the Old Testament, and which experts date about the year 1400. It bears, in its surviving form, neither place of writing nor date. The earliest French vernacular Bible came somewhat later. The earliest Bohemian version is dated 1417. Of course there were much older versions both in the Romance and in the Teutonic languages. The records of Councils and the reports of Inquisitors make that plain. But the evidence does not support an assertion commonly made that these earlier versions influenced all the fifteenth century translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular. Nor does the evidence bear out another statement also frequently made, that we owe all these translations to men who were hostile to the Roman See. John Rellach, a native of Constance, was a student in Rome in 1450, and while there heard a Greek bishop preach about the disaster to Christendom caused by the Fall of Constantinople. Rellach and other student friends believed that this disaster was a punishment sent by God on account of the evil state of the Christian people of Europe, and he and his friends thought that the evils came largely because the people were not acquainted with the Word of God. He resolved to make a translation of the whole Bible into German. He began his work in 1450 and it was not finished before 1470. He adds little autobiographical details at the close of portions of his translation. He was a firm believer in the authority of the Pope; but he also believed that the common people ought to have access to the whole Scriptures and that the reading of the Bible 'was well pleasing to God.'

When the invention of printing had made the diffusion of literature easy, it is noteworthy that the earliest printing presses in Germany printed many more books for family and private devotion, many more *Plenaria*, and many more editions of the Bible than editions of the classics. Twenty-two editions of the Psalter in German appeared before 1509, and twenty-five of the Gospels and Epistles before 1518. No less than fourteen versions of the whole Bible were printed in High-German and four in Low-German during the last decades of the fifteenth

and earlier decades of the sixteenth century—all translations from the Vulgate. The first was issued by John Mentel in Strassburg in 1466. There followed another Strassburg edition in 1470; two Augsburg editions in 1473; one in the Swiss dialect in 1474; two in Augsburg in 1477; one in Augsburg in 1480; one in Nürnberg in 1483; one in Strassburg in 1485; and editions in Augsburg in 1487, 1490, 1507 and 1518.

It cannot be shown that all these versions were issued by enemies of the Medieval Church or that they were all promoted by the 'Brethren' or Waldenses or Hussites; as little can it be proved that they were printed in the interests of the authorities of the Church. It is somewhat significant, however, that none of these versions came from any of the Convent Printing Presses; that the Koburgers, the celebrated Nürnberg firm which printed so many Bibles, were also the printers of the Catechism in use among the 'Brethren,' Waldensian, German and Bohemian; that Augsburg, which issued from its presses so many editions of the vernacular Bible, was the chosen home of the German 'Brethren,' and that printers were the artizans who more than any other class inclined to associate with the 'Brethren'; that the last decades of the fifteenth and the early decades of the sixteenth century witnessed all over Germany the growth of a non-ecclesiastical Christianity manifesting itself in a great variety of ways; and that the German 'Brethren' and the Waldenses seemed to have used the same Bible that was in use among the adherents of the Medieval Church. All these things go to show that these vernacular Bibles came to supply a popular need apart from any ecclesiastical impulse; while proclamations such as those of the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne establishing a censorship of printed books and having special references to printed Bibles, show that the authorities of the Medieval Church viewed this circulation of the Scriptures with something like alarm.

A careful comparison of these printed vernacular Bibles proves that the earlier issues at least were independent productions; but as edition succeeded edition the text became gradually assimilated until it may be almost said that there came into existence a German Vulgate which was used indiscriminately by those who adhered to and by those who objected to the Medieval Church. These German versions of the Vulgate were largely, but by no means completely, displaced by Luther's version. The Anabaptists, who were

the lineal descendants of these pre-Reformation evangelical 'Brethren,' retained this German Vulgate long after the publication of Luther's version, and these pre-Reformation German Bibles were to be found in use almost two hundred years after the Reformation.

Scottish Lollardy, Dr. Law says, is an obscure subject. In a sense this is true. The records of the Inquisitorial and other ecclesiastical courts appointed to ferret out, try, and punish Scottish Lollards have wholly disappeared, so far as I know. It may be a question, however, whether the obscurity which rests over these persecuted persons does not proceed, to some extent at least, from the lack of competent investigation. No historian or antiquary since Dr. David Laing has brought together all the Scottish sources of information, and his list is somewhat defective. Nor has any one attempted to find what light may be thrown upon the subject by comparing the movement in Scotland with similar ones on the continent of Europe. I am inclined to think that, if this were done, it would be found that a consistent picture of Scottish Lollardy might be constructed. Take, for example, the episode of Paul Craw or Cawar in 1431 or 1432. Every country in Europe was then being flooded with Hussite manifestoes, and traversed by Hussite emissaries, with the result that the Council of Basel was rendered inevitable.¹ It is not too much to say that almost every incident concerning Scottish Lollardy which has come down to us from Scottish can be illustrated, explained, and enlarged from continental sources. It is impossible to do so within the limits of this paper. All that can be attempted is to collect and state as briefly as possible the Scottish sources of information, and to arrange them in chronological order.

Our earliest exact date concerning Wyclif is 1361, when he was Master of Balliol College and a power in the University of Oxford. When we turn to the *Rotuli Scotiae* we find a continuous stream of Scottish students going to the English Universities under safe-conducts from the English monarchs, from 1357 on to 1389. During the earlier years of this period—that is, up to 1364—the safe-conducts applied for and obtained entitled the bearers to go to Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, or elsewhere; but from 1364 on to 1379 Oxford seems to have

¹ John of Segovia tells us what effect they had in Spain (*Monumenta Con-cilii*, ii. 5).

been the one University frequented.¹ The years during which, according to the evidence of the *Rotuli Scotiae*, the Scottish students turned exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the University of Oxford, were those during which the influence of Wyclif was most powerful, and when the whole of the University life seethed with Lollardy. During one of those years, 1365, safe-conducts seem to have been given to no fewer than eighty-one Scottish students to study at Oxford. This shows the very intimate connection between the English movement under Wyclif and Scottish students.

By the year 1405 Scottish Lollardy had attracted the attention of the civil authorities. Robert, Duke of Albany, was appointed Governor of Scotland in that year, and Andrew of Wyntoun, in his *Metrical Chronicle*, commended him for his fidelity to the cause of the Church:

‘He wes a constant Catholike,
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike.’²

In 1405 or 1406 we find an alliance between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland for the purpose of exterminating Lollardy and other heresy. This is shown by the existence of an Inquisitorial Court, presided over by a *Haereticæ Pravitatis Inquisitor* in the person of Lawrence of Lindores. This Lawrence was abbot of Scone in 1411 (and may have been so at an earlier date); he became the first Professor of Law in the University of St. Andrews, and is said to have written a book, *Examen Haereticorum Lollardorum, quos toto regno exegit*. He presided at the trial, condemnation, and execution by burning of James Resby, an English presbyter ‘of the School of Wyclife.’ Resby, according to the chronicler, was a preacher much admired by the common people. The Inquisitor found him guilty on forty-two counts of heresy, the second being that no one could be the Pope or the Vicar

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i. pp. 808, 815, 816, 822, 825, 828, 829, 849, 851, 859, 877, 881, 886, 891, 896, and ii. pp. 8, 20, 45, 100.

² *Historians of Scotland*, iii. p. 100; or Wyntoun’s *Orygynale Cronykil*, ix. ch. xxvi. lines 2773, 2774. Lollard is with Wyntoun a general term for dissentients from the Church of the period, for he says of the Emperor Theodosius:

‘Tyrandryis and mawmentryis
Herryssys and Lollardyis
He fordyd.’

v. xi. line 3970; cf. *Historians of Scotland*, ii. p. 401.

of Christ unless he was a saintly man.¹ This was a universal belief among the 'Brethren,' who held that no ecclesiastical ceremony of ordination or other could override the universal moral law of God.

We may infer that Lollardy had found entrance into the newly founded University of St. Andrews (founded 1405), for at a Congregation held in 1416 all intending Masters of Arts were required as part of their graduation oath to declare against Lollardy.

In spite of all such attempts to extirpate it, Lollardy lived on, and was a declared source of anxiety both to Church and State. It began to figure in the Acts of the Scots Parliaments. In a Parliament held by James I. at Perth, soon after his return from his captivity in England, it was enacted (March 12th, 1424-25) that all bishops were to make search through their Inquisitorial Courts for all Heretics and Lollards, and apply, if necessary, to the civil authorities to support them; and in succeeding years other Acts were directed either against Lollardy or against the fruitful soil which produced it—the corruption and luxury of the Church in Scotland, and especially among the higher clergy.²

In 1431 or 1432 Paul Craw or Cwar was seized, tried before the Inquisitorial Court, condemned, and burnt as a heretic.³ He had brought letters from the Hussites of Prag, and acknowledged that he had been sent to interest the Scots in the Hussite movement—one of the many emissaries who were then being sent into all European lands by the Hussite leaders, John of Rokycana and Procopius. He was a skilled physician, and in all probability used the art of healing to screen his mission. Examples of this are not lacking among the descriptions of the work of the 'Brethren' on the Continent.⁴ Like all the prominent 'Brethren,' he was found by

¹ For Resby's case, see Fordun's *History*, continuation by Bower, Lib. xv. cap. xx. After stating what the two first counts were, the chronicler adds: *De consimilibus, vel pejoribus, tenuit quadraginta conclusiones.* Resby's writings were cherished by the people after his death, and were a source of heresy, we are told.

² *Act Parl. Scot.*, ii. 7, etc.

³ Fordun's *History*, continuation by Bower, Lib. xv. cap. xx.; Sir James Balfour's *Annals*, i. 161.

⁴ Cf. D. H. Arnold, *Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Preussen*, p. 319—the case of Dr. Albanus Leander, a physician.

the Inquisitor to be a man *in sacris literis et in allegatione Bibliae promptus et exercitatus*. This is the universal testimony of the records of Inquisitors, from the end of the thirteenth century at least. The Scottish Inquisitor evidently acquired great credit in discovering and slaying the Hussite envoy.

Some authorities are disposed to include the deposition and imprisonment of Archbishop Graham as an episode belonging to the history of Scottish Lollardy, and Dr. Laing includes it in his collection of notices.¹ But there appears to me to be no evidence for any sympathy with Lollardy in any of Graham's actions. To recognise the ecclesiastical corruption of the day, and to strive to amend it, was one thing; Lollardy was another; and as for the charges of heresy—such charges, true or false, were always brought forward during the Middle Ages when a Churchman had to be got rid of.

In 1494, Knox tells us in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Campbell of Cesnock, with twenty-nine companions, all belonging to Ayrshire, were summoned before King James IV. and accused of holding Lollard opinions. Knox quotes thirty-four counts of indictment preferred against them by Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, which he took from the diocesan register. These heads of accusation are valuable, because they represent what the Romanist clergy of the day believed the Lollard opinions to be, and also because they give a sure basis for comparison with the opinions of the continental 'Brethren.'²

About the same date Quintin Kennedy, in his short poem entitled *In Prais of Aige*, bears witness to the prevalence of Lollardy in Scotland:

'The schip of faith, tempestuous wind and rane,
Dryvis in the see of Lollerdry that blaws.'

The same writer, in his 'Flyting' with William Dunbar, calls his opponent 'Lamp Lollardorum,' and:

'Judas, jow, juglour, Lollard Laureate,
Sarazene, symonyte, provit Pagane.'³

¹ *The Works of John Knox*, edited and collected by David Laing, vol. i. p. 499.

² Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Laing's edition), i. 6-11. The trial and acquittal of the Laird of Cesnock is also referred to in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 456, where the letter of Alexander Alesius to King James V. is quoted; also in M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, 2nd ed. i. 418, where the rare poem of John Davidson is quoted.

³ (Lord Hailes), *Ancient Scottish Poems*, published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, Edin. 1770, p. 190; Dunbar's *Poems* (Scottish Text Society), ii. 28.

It must have been about the same time also that Murdoch Nisbet became a Lollard, fled the country 'over seas,' returned to live in hiding, and only felt safe after the death of James V.¹

Somewhat later we have the history of John Andrew Duncan of Airdree, in Fifeshire, and of Maynar (or Mainwarre), in Stirlingshire, in the *Biographia Britannica*, founded, it is said, on family papers. Duncan was taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden, was carried into Yorkshire, and there was permitted, by the courtesy of the Duke of Surrey, to live with a Mr. Burnet, a relation of his mother. Burnet was a zealous Lollard, and Duncan became a convert to his opinions. When the prisoner returned to Scotland, he became involved in the opposition to the regency of the Duke of Albany, and had to flee the country. When he was at length allowed to live in peace on his own estate, his house became a natural meeting-place for all who desired a religious reformation in the realm. The author makes the curious statement that Duncan found many sympathisers in Fifeshire, because sons of English Lollards and of German Hussites had been sent to St. Andrews for their education during the closing years of the fifteenth century. This would be a very important contribution to the history of Scottish Lollardy, if it did not stand alone and without any confirmation. Through the courtesy of Mr. Maitland Anderson, I have had the opportunity of studying the lists of the *Incorporati* of the University of St. Andrews, and they do not contain any names which are distinctly foreign.² The absence of foreign names from these lists does not disprove the statement, for the *Incorporati* included only a small proportion of the students—those who had attended for three years, and who had the right of voting. On the other hand, I cannot find any corroborative evidence from the English or German sides.³

The earlier poems of Sir David Lindsay, which belong to the years 1529 and 1530, may also be quoted as containing Lollard opinions. It is true that Lutheran writings had found their way into Scotland some years earlier, and that these may

¹ Wodrow Society, *Select Biographies*, ii. pp. 377 ff.

² Mr. J. T. T. Brown has kindly looked at these names and confirms this statement.

³ *Biographia Britannica*, v. 493.

have influenced the writer. But the sentiments in the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* are more Lollard than Lutheran.¹

Lastly, there is the statement made by Wodrow in his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*,² 'I have been informed that the predecessors of this ancient family (Gordon of Earlstoun) entertained the disciples of Wicliff, and had a new Testament in the vulgar tongue, which they used in reading at meetings in the woods about Earlstoun House.' The author gives no date.

When all these statements are brought together it will be seen that there is a good deal of contemporary evidence relating to the Scottish Lollards; and if they were, as they can be, illustrated and enlarged by continental evidence, some of the obscurity which is said to surround Scottish Lollardy would be largely dispelled.

Dr. Law informs us that Murdoch Nisbet made his Scots version while he was absent from Scotland. He interprets the phrase 'over seas' to mean England, and it is undoubted that the words will bear that interpretation. He may have further evidence than is at my command; but if he has no more than is contained in the *True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill*, reprinted by the Wodrow Society in the second volume of their *Select Biographies* (not in their *Miscellany* as Dr. Law says by an evident slip), it appears to me that the probabilities are that Nisbet went to Germany or perhaps to the Low Countries. I am inclined to infer this from the early use made by him of Luther's Prologue, which I venture to suggest could hardly have been easily accessible in England at the date required to fit all the evidence so carefully marshalled by Dr. Law as to the date of the transcript. In spite of what Dr. James Gairdner says (*Historical Essays*, p. 3) English Lollardy was alive, propagating itself, and had connections with Scottish Lollardy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century (cf. *Biographia Brit.*, v. 492, and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, 2nd ed. pp. 420, 421), and Nisbet might have found refuge in England even although the period included the years immediately preceding and succeeding the battle of Flodden. But on the

¹ *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, edited by David Laing, i. pp. 88 ff.

² Bk. iii. ch. ii.; vol. ii. p. 67 of the ed. of 1722.

other hand, Nisbet was sure to be welcomed and protected in many parts of Germany for his faith's sake—simply because he was a Lollard—and residence in Germany would explain both his very early acquaintance with Luther's Prologue and his knowledge of German necessary to translate the Prologue into Scots.

The societies of the 'Brethren' had never died out on the continent of Europe, and their communities were existing and very active during the half century before 1520. They can be traced back decade by decade to the close of the thirteenth century at least. They appear in the records of Councils and in the reports of Inquisitors under a great variety of names, among which we find 'Waldenses,' 'Picards,' 'Hussites,' and even 'Wiclifites'; for it would seem as if the authorities of the Medieval Church called them by the name of the prevailing anti-ecclesiastical movement. Thus D. H. Arnold tells us, in his *Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Preussen*, that the 'Wicklifites' were protected by the civil authorities in East Prussia in 1387, 1393, 1414, and 1422. They called themselves by the name of the 'Brethren,' or the 'Evangelicals' (this latter being later); they professed a simple evangelical creed; they offered a passive resistance to the hierarchical and priestly pretensions of the medieval clergy; they set great store on the education of their children; they had vernacular translations of the Scriptures; and they conducted their religious services in the vernacular. A description of their life and opinions by an Inquisitor in the end of the thirteenth century—fifty years before the Wiclifite movement in England—has many points of resemblance to statements in the Lollard Petition to the English Parliament. He says: 'Haeretici cognoscuntur per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi et modesti; superbiam in vestibis non habent, nec pretiosis, nec multum abjectis utuntur. . . . Doctores etiam ipsorum sunt sutores et textores. Divitias non multiplicant, sed necessariis sunt contenti. Casti etiam sunt. . . . Temperati etiam in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent: semper operantur, discunt vel docent, et ideo parum orant. . . . Cognoscuntur etiam in verbis praecisus et modestis. Cavent etiam a scurrilitate et detractatione, et verborum levitate, et mendacio, et juramento' (*Rainerii Summa*, c. 7). During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these 'Brethren' were continually subject to local and somewhat spasmodic persecutions when the ecclesiastical authorities could secure

the aid of the civil rulers, which they could not always do, to their schemes of repression. This led to an organisation whereby the 'Brethren,' who for the time being lived in peace, made arrangements to receive and support those who were able to escape from their tormentors. These societies were in active correspondence with their co-religionists all over Europe, and were never so active as in the last decades of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries. We have no direct evidence that they preserved among them copies of Wyclife's New Testament, but when we remember the diffusion of Wiclifite literature over Europe, the tenacity with which it was clung to, and the character of the leaders of the 'Brethren,' it is most probable that they did, and that a stranger from England or Scotland would be shown such a treasure. For the leaders of the period of Nisbet's sojourn outside Scotland were not the ignorant fanatics they are continually represented to be. Hans Denck and Conrad Grebel were members of the Erasmus 'circle' in Basel; and Grebel was universally acknowledged to be the ablest Greek scholar in that learned circle. A Scottish Lollard refugee, like Nisbet, would certainly find the welcome, protection, and congenial religious society in many a German town which Tyndal found at Worms. All these considerations induce me to think that Nisbet found shelter, not in England as Dr. Law supposes, but in Germany.

Unfortunately I have found it impossible to compare the *New Testament in Scots* with the pre-reformation German versions above referred to. The copies which survive are scattered over a large number of German Libraries, and the fac-similes of pages and of passages given by Walther (*Die deutsche Bibel-übersetzung des Mittelalters*, Brunswick, 1869), while they afford material to compare the one German version with the other, do not suffice for a comparison with the work of Purvey or of Nisbet. The comparison would be interesting if it were possible.

Let me, in conclusion, express my admiration for the scholarly way in which Dr. Law has accomplished his very arduous undertaking.

THOMAS. M. LINDSAY.

The Municipal Institutions of Scotland :

A Historical Survey

Concluded

IN early times,¹ when trade and manufactures were in their infancy, the means of communication limited, and the condition of the country unsettled, the only way by which merchandise could reach many districts was through the instrumentality of traders and pedlars, who collected periodically at fixed centres where fairs and markets were established, and supplied the needs of those who attended these gatherings. The right to hold such fairs and markets was conferred by the Sovereign, and the charters or other royal grants and acts of parliament confirming it were numerous. Every royal burgh seems to have had a right of market and fair at fixed periods, and similar rights were largely granted also to religious houses, and to noblemen and land-owners. The exclusive privileges of trading which the early burghs possessed, as well as the civil and criminal jurisdiction and powers of burghal magistrates and officers, were held in abeyance during the time of fairs, and such disputes as then arose were disposed of by a special court known as *The Court of Dusty Feet*, or *Pie-Poudre Court*.² The execution by burgesses of ordinary processes of law for debt, due to them by 'uplands men,' or

¹The first portion of this Survey, dealing with the early history of Royal Burghs, appeared in the *Scottish Historical Review*, January, 1904.

²Market Rights and Fairs in England, Scotland, and Ireland formed the subject of investigation by Royal Commissioners, whose Reports on 9th August, 1888, and 15th January, 1891, and the voluminous evidence taken by them, fill fourteen folio volumes. A memorandum on the history of these institutions in Scotland, hurriedly prepared by the writer of this article, is incorporated in volume vii. pp. 559-674. But the subject, which is closely associated with the development of this country, deserves fuller treatment.

men from the country, was also suspended during that time, and these persons were entitled, equally with burgesses, to the privileges of *lot, cut and cavil* of all kinds of merchandise. During the continuance of a fair also, all persons frequenting it were exempted from arrestment under ordinary processes of law, unless they had broken the peace of the fair coming to it, or while at it, or when returning from it. This protection applied to all offences, save treason or crime for which the church could not give sanctuary. All offenders against the peace of the fair were, however, subject to the doom or law of the Court of the Fair. The protection thus afforded extended also to slaves who had escaped from their masters. Even if stolen goods were discovered in a fair the owner had to bring the possessors of them before the court of the fair by which his claim had to be disposed of.

In royal burghs, or in their vicinity, castles were often erected, and, arbitrary as was frequently the action of the keepers or castellans of such castles in country districts, the *Laws of the Four Burghs* imposed important restrictions upon royal officers of this class. They required that no castellan should, at his own hand, enter the house of a burghess and slay swine or poultry, but should offer to purchase them for the King's service. If, however, the burghess refused to sell, and the swine or poultry were afterwards found on the street, they might be secured and slain,—but only at Yule, Easter, and Whitsunday—the castellan paying their value as appraised by the neighbours. Burgesses were also relieved from the obligation to lend to the bailie of a royal castle goods of greater value than 40d., and for a period of forty days. If the loan was not repaid within that time, the burghess was relieved from the obligation to lend more. If any man in a castle injured a burghess, the latter had to seek redress outside the gates of the castle, and if a burghess injured a man of the castle, the latter had to seek redress in the burgh.

It is difficult to understand much connected with the administration of royal burghs in Scotland without an acquaintance with the constitution and work of the Convention of Burghs. Its records, from 1552 till 1738, have been published by the Convention, and contain information of the first importance not only in regard to the internal government of the royal and free burghs, but to the development of their trade and commerce, and to the commercial relations of Scotland with other countries. No reference even of the slightest

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character to our municipal institutions can properly overlook that institution, which exercised a commanding influence over Scottish burghs till the union with England, and in a lesser degree till the Burgh Reform Act of 1833.

The Court of the Four Burghs,¹ which ultimately developed into the Convention, appears to have met at first once a year in Haddington, to dispose of such appeals as might be taken to it by Scottish burghs and burgesses. How its appellate jurisdiction originated, or how that jurisdiction was exercised, is not now known, but if a document given by Sir John Skene as the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* is authentic, the court, at a meeting held in Stirling on 12th October, 1405, ordained two or three sufficient burgesses of each of the King's burghs on the south of the Water of Spey, duly commissioned, to attend the 'parliament of the four burghs' annually, to treat, ordain, and determine upon all things concerning the utility of the common weal of all the burghs, their liberty and court. Thirty-seven years earlier however, viz. in 1368, Lanark and Linlithgow had been substituted, as members of this court, for Berwick and Roxburgh, which had fallen into the hands of the English. In process of time the seat of the court was transferred from Haddington to Edinburgh, and King James I.—who reigned from 1406 till 1437—ordained, with consent of the Estates of the realm, that Edinburgh should continue thenceforth to be the seat of that court. His ordinance was confirmed by King James II. in 1454, and the Great Chamberlain was ordained to cause the court to be held at Edinburgh according to custom. So matters remained, apparently, till 1487, when a parliament of James III. ordained commissioners from *all* burghs, south and north, to convene on the 26th of July annually in Inverkeithing, under a penalty of £5. No record of *any* meeting in that burgh is now extant, and if conventions were held there, the practice of meeting in that burgh must have been discontinued previous to 4th April, 1552, when at a Convention held in Edinburgh, an act was passed in which the act of 1487 is referred to merely as a matter of understanding, and the burghs of the realm were required to convene annually, by their provosts or commissioners, on the last day of July, in such place as might be appointed. This requirement was, however, very irregularly

¹ Consisting, at first, of representatives of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling.

observed, and in 1555 the fine to be exacted from burghs which failed to send representatives was increased to £10. But this increase in the fine was not attended with the desired result. Meetings of the Convention were not regularly held, and in 1578 an act of parliament was passed at Stirling, during the reign of James VI., authorising the convention to meet at such place as the majority deemed most expedient, *four* times in the year, to deal with such matters as concerned their estate. To prevent tumult, each burgh—with the exception of Edinburgh—was appointed to be represented by *one* member, and Edinburgh by *two*. Previous to 1578, and notwithstanding the order to hold *one* annual meeting, *two* or more meetings were sometimes held in the course of the year. So, after 1578, when four annual meetings were authorised, the burghs did not exercise that power, but continued their former practice of assembling at such times and places as they thought expedient—making their meetings often coincident with the meetings of Parliament, to which the burghs also sent representatives. This practice was referred to and ratified by the act 1581, chap. 26, which required all burghs, when cited, to send a commissioner, duly instructed, to the convention under a penalty of £20, for which, on the application of Edinburgh, the Lords of Council and Session were required to issue letters of horning or poinding. The increased penalty thus authorised by statute had, two years previously (*viz.* in 1579), been authorised by a convention held at Stirling in that year. In conformity with the act of 1581 the burghs held their convention at such times and places as the majority determined, but in 1586 they resolved to meet in future, previous to the assembling of parliaments and conventions of the estates, so as to discuss, by themselves, such business as might be submitted to the national assembly. Several of the conventions of burghs, it may be remarked, seem to have been held in obedience to royal letters issued to the burghs, requiring them to send commissioners to a particular town at a specified time, to treat of the several matters enumerated in the letters. In other cases the commissioners of some of the burghs fixed the time and place of the annual meeting, and missives were thereupon directed to all the burghs requiring them to send their commissioners to the convention so fixed. As regards the time and place of those meetings, the burghs seem to have acted without any reference to the statute of 1487.

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These meetings of burghal representatives retained, so late as 1500, the designation 'The Parliament of the Four Burghs,' and were presided over by the Great or Lord Chamberlain. How long that officer of State attended these assemblies, or how long they continued to be known by that title, does not appear, but a minute in 1529, and all the minutes subsequent to that date, referred to the acts set forth in them as having been passed by the commissioners of the burghs, and make no reference to the Great or Lord Chamberlain, whose withdrawal from attendance at the burghal conventions may have been the result of the changed relations of the burghs to the Crown. Originally, as has been seen, royal burghs belonged in property to the Crown. They were simply aggregations of separate vassals paying each his special quota of rent for the ground occupied by him within the limits of the burgh; and the quota, with the issues of the court held in the burgh, appertained to the Sovereign, and formed part of the royal revenue. But after a time, and as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the practice was introduced of granting to the bailies or to the community short leases of the Crown revenues of burghs, for payment into the Exchequer of a fixed rent, or *census burgalis*, for which the bailies were held accountable. This arrangement was succeeded by another, under which the Crown—while retaining its feudal rights over the individual holdings of the burgesses, and the common property of the burgh—assigned to the community a heritable right to the Crown rents and issues within the burgh, for payment into Exchequer of a fixed annual sum. Under this arrangement the burgh was granted to the community in *feu farm*, and the burghal officers were invested with the right to recover the rents and issues, which had been previously paid to the Crown. Thus Edinburgh received its feu-farm charter from Robert I. in 1329, Dundee its feu-farm charter from David II. in 1359, Stirling its feu-farm charter from Robert II. in 1386. When this arrangement was extended to the burghs generally, the relations which had previously existed between them and the Great Chamberlain as an officer of the Crown became less important financially, and his supervision seems to have been gradually discontinued.

In the reign of James I. (1406-1437) the functions of the Lord Chamberlain were to some extent superseded by those of the High Treasurer—though the control of the former

over matters of general burghal administration remained. It seems, however, not to have been vigorously exercised, and in 1491 an act was passed requiring the 'common good' of burghs to be applied strictly for the benefit of the burghs, and to be spent in their common and necessary things, by the advice of the council and deacons of crafts where such existed. At the same time the manner in which the common good was expended had to be reported annually to the Chamberlain's Eyre, and leases for a longer period than three years were prohibited. Till 1503 permanent alienations of burghal property were not referred to, but in that year, tenures in feu-farm were authorised to be substituted for short leases, as regarded the property not only of the Crown, but of lords, barons, and free holders spiritual and temporal. And though the act did not apply to royal burghs, the authority which it conferred on those to whom it did apply was speedily extended to those burghs by special licenses from the Crown. So the mischievous practice obtained for burghs to convert their common property into heritable estates to be held in feu-farm, on terms which, in later times, have become illusory. This process was accelerated by the admission into town councils of persons who did not possess the original conditions of burghship, and were neither resident nor concerned in trade. To prevent this misappropriation of burghal property an act was passed in 1535, requiring the magistrates annually to lodge accounts of the common good in Exchequer, to be audited by the Lords auditors, who were appointed to hear all persons who impugned the accounts. But this salutary legislation seems to have fallen into desuetude. During the minority of James VI. and the early years of his reign, the practice of plundering the burghs under the sanction of commissions to favoured individuals was adopted. In 1593, however, an act of parliament prohibited the practice; but this statute also seems to have proved ineffectual, and under a system of favouritism on the part of magistrates and councils the process of spoliation went on. Not only so, but the Convention of Burghs, in the exercise of what appears to have been unauthorised authority,¹ sanctioned alienations of burghal property, in the form both of long leases and feu grants. The extent to which the process

¹ This was so found in 1820 by the Select Committee of Parliament on Petitions from the Royal Burghs. See *Report*, p. 13.

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had gone towards the close of the seventeenth century excited alarm, in so far especially as it pointed to the rapid approach of general burghal insolvency, and in 1682 and 1684 public enquiry was ordered into the financial conditions of the burghs. The terms of the commission issued in the latter of these years indicates a condition of corruption and maladministration of the most deplorable kind. The King—Charles II.—died, however, about six months after the commission was issued, and nothing followed upon it. After the Revolution of 1688, the condition of the royal burghs led to farther applications being made to the Convention of Burghs to authorise the sale of lands forming part of the common good of burghs, and this was usually granted. Among the applicants for such authority was Glasgow, and its story of decay and poverty is remarkable, but seems to have had a powerful effect in inducing the Convention to order an enquiry into the financial condition of *all* the royal burghs. The results of that enquiry are recorded in the books of the Convention, and were published in 1881 in a volume of the Burgh Records Series. Probably the results of that enquiry had something to do with the act passed by parliament in 1693 ‘anent the common good of royal burghs.’ That act authorised extraordinary commissioners to make the necessary enquiries, and a commission was issued in 1694; but nothing seems to have resulted from it, and no supervision of the financial administration of these burghs seems to have taken place on the part of the officers of Exchequer beyond seeing that the quit rent payable by each burgh annually was duly rendered. The authority given in 1535 to burgesses interested to challenge the accounts of burghs was held, in 1683, by the Court of Exchequer, to mean little more than a right in such persons to inspect the accounts, and this decision was practically confirmed by the Court of Session in 1748. Subsequently, in 1820, it was held by that court that burgesses had no title to complain of acts of mismanagement on the part of magistrates which do not affect the private and patrimonial rights of the complainers. This decision practically necessitated legislation to regulate the administration of the common good of burghs, and to create a tribunal to enforce it, and in 1822 the act, well known as ‘Sir William Rae’s Act,’ was passed to effect that object. It applied to all royal burghs, both in their strictly municipal character and as trustees of public charities. But even that act left the administration of the

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common good of burghs very much to town councils,¹ some of whom are not, in Scotland, subject to such a system of financial and general supervision as applies to the boroughs of England.² The powers of the English Local Government Board to check illegal administration by these boroughs are far-reaching and salutary.

It is impossible to refer here to the many departments of municipal enterprise, or to the details of the burghal code which regulated the relations of burgesses to each other; which secured monopolies to burgesses as a class; and which determined the succession to property.

Allusion has been made to the original constitution of burghs, and the rights of burgesses to select those who were to administer its affairs, to the gradual assumption by the mercantile class of the substantial powers of municipal administration, and to the struggles and ultimate success of the craftsmen to share in

¹ Sir William Rae's Act has, however, been repealed by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49), which requires a yearly account of all property heritable and moveable vested in the town council, and of all rates and assessments levied, and of all money received and expended by or on account of the council, to be submitted for audit to an auditor to be annually appointed by the Secretary for Scotland. This auditor is appointed to audit the account, making a special report thereon in any case where it appears to him expedient so to do, and the account with the report must be submitted to the council. Every person assessed, and every elector, is entitled to examine the account and report, without payment of any fee or reward, and a copy of the account, or an abstract of it, with the report must be forthwith transmitted to the Secretary for Scotland, and also delivered to such person or elector on demand. Any ratepayer or elector dissatisfied with the account, or any item thereof, may, within three months after the meeting of council, complain to the sheriff, whose decision is subject to appeal as in ordinary actions. Any of the burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock, however, may, by a resolution passed prior to 9th August, 1901, declare that any sections or subsections of the act relating *inter alia* to accounts and corporate property and other specified subjects shall not be applicable to such burgh, and that, in lieu thereof, the sections or subsections of the act or acts applying to such burgh, repealed by the act of 1900 and specified in the resolution, shall, notwithstanding such repeal, remain in force or revive within the burgh. Such resolution is thereupon appointed to be transmitted to the Secretary for Scotland and published in the *Edinburgh Gazette*,—after which it has effect as if enacted in the statute.

² The Local Authorities (Scotland) Act, 1891 (54 and 55 Victoria, c. 37, s. 4 (3)), empowered any burgh in which there is a common good to apply to the Secretary for Scotland to determine, after due enquiry, the amount which the town council may borrow on the security of such common good, having regard to its value and all other circumstances affecting it.

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that administration. But in process of time a desire manifested itself on the part of a large number of inhabitants of towns to obtain a greater share in what may be termed local government, and numerous petitions were transmitted to parliament by the royal burghs themselves, towards the close of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, praying to have such enquiries made as would lead to an improved system of burghal administration. In consequence of these petitions, and the general dissatisfaction which prevailed, the House of Commons in 1793 appointed a committee of enquiry which made a full report. In 1818 again, the royal burghs petitioned parliament to be relieved of the expense of erecting proper jails, and these petitions were referred to a committee of the Commons, which reported to the House in that year. In the following year, a select committee of the same house reported on petitions which had been presented during the then, and two previous, sessions, and also on the report of 1793. That report, with its appendix—extending over 549 folio pages—summarised the several grounds of complaint as to the system of burghal administration then prevalent, and was submitted to parliament in the same year. Subsequent reports were made in 1820 and 1821—the latter offering a variety of suggestions with a view to improved administration. In 1823 and 1825 further documents were submitted to parliament relative to the royal burghs. A mass of information was thus collected which prepared the country for municipal reform. A first step in this direction was made in 1832, when, on 17th July, the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act was passed to remedy the inconveniences and abuses which previously prevailed in the election of members to serve in parliament. This was followed, on 14th August, 1833, by an act to enable royal burghs and burghs of regality and barony to establish a general system of police; and on 28th August two acts were passed, one to amend the laws for the election of the magistrates and councils of royal burghs (3 and 4 William IV., c. 76), and the other to provide for the appointment and election of magistrates and councillors for the several burghs and towns which, by the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, were empowered to return or contribute to return members to parliament, and were not royal burghs (3 and 4 William IV., c. 77).¹

¹ Both of these acts were repealed, but were substantially re-enacted, by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49).

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By the former of these acts, the right of electing the town councillors of each royal burgh was vested in all persons—owners and occupiers—who were entitled to elect the member for parliament for such burgh; and where any burgh did not return a member to parliament, in such owners and occupiers as were enrolled in a list or roll made up in terms of the statute. It provided for the election of councillors, who were to retire triennially, and of magistrates and other office-bearers, and it declared that only burgesses should be councillors.¹ It abolished, save in specified cases, the offices and titles of deacon and convener and dean of guild, and of old provost and old bailie as official and constituent members of town councils, but reserved the rights of crafts, trades, and guildries to elect their own officers; and it provided for the annual making up of a State of the affairs of each burgh. The system thus introduced, improved and amended by subsequent legislation, still obtains, though on 15th July, 1833—a month previous to the Municipal Elections Act becoming law—a royal commission was issued to enquire as to the state of municipal corporations then existing in Scotland, and these commissioners issued General and Particular Reports in which they recommended various changes to be made, to some of which, however, effect has not yet been given.

BURGHs OF BARONY AND REGALITY.

Analogous in many respects to Royal burghs, but of a subordinate class, numerous burghs came into existence at a very early period within the territories of secular and ecclesiastical lords and great land owners, and, according to the nature and

¹ In 1860 an act was passed (23 and 24 Vic. c. 47) entitling every person elected a councillor to become a Burgess to the effect of complying with this requirement of the Burgh Reform Act, on payment of a sum to be fixed by the council not exceeding twenty shillings. But such admission did not carry with it the full privileges which attach to Burgess-ship acquired in the ordinary way, and persons elected councillors were almost invariably indisposed to take advantage of that act. In 1876 another act was passed (39 and 40 Vic. c. 12) relative to the admission of burgesses. Its object was to give to ratepayers of burghs, in which institutions existed for behoof of decayed burgesses and their children, the means of acquiring benefit from such charitable institutions, and it is to be regretted that some better devised means of attaining that object was not adopted. Both acts were repealed in 1900, but have been substantially re-enacted by the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Vic. c. 49).

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extent of the jurisdiction with which they were invested, these burghs were known as 'burghs of barony' or 'burghs of regality'—the former being erected within the lands of a barony, and the latter within the lands of a regality. Such burghs are referred to in the Laws of the Four Burghs, which provide that the burghess of a King's burgh might have battle of the burgesses of Abbots, Priors, Earls, and Barons, 'but not the converse.'

Burghs of this class were sometimes erected directly by the Sovereign, who, in the charter of erection, set forth their constitution, and the nature of the jurisdiction to be exercised by the magistrates and community. Sometimes the authority to erect was delegated by the Crown to the lords, ecclesiastical or secular, on whose territory the burgh was authorised to be formed; and the charters granted by the superior thus authorised specified the conditions under which the burgh was to be governed, by magistrates appointed either by the superior or by the inhabitant burgesses. But in all cases burghs of this class were held of a subject superior.

Of such burghs—and these among the most important and most ancient—were burghs, some of barony and some of regality, held of ecclesiastical superiors—St. Andrews, the seat of the Primate of Scotland, Glasgow, the seat of a bishop, and afterwards of an Archbishop, and many others the seats of ecclesiastical dignitaries of lower rank, including Old Aberdeen, Brechin, Arbroath, Fortrose, Dunfermline, Paisley, Spynie, and Queensferry. But the great ecclesiastical change effected by the Reformation altered the position of these church burghs, and in 1587 an act was passed for annexing the temporalities of benefices to the Crown. That act set forth that

'Forsameikle as there is divers burrowis in regaltie and barronie, within this realme, quhilkis were before haldin immediately of the saidis prelati, and have been in use to exerce the trade and traffique of merchandise, to mak burgesses, and to elect provestis, baillies, and utheris officiaris meete and necessar for the government of their communities, our said Sovereign Lord and his three estates in Parliament, nawayes willing that they sall be hurt therein, declaris, decernis, and ordainis, that they sall remain in the samin freedome and libertie quhilk they had before the said annexation, to be haldin always of our said Sovereign Lord, in the samin manner and condition be the quhilk thai held thair saidis liberties of the saidis ecclesiastical personis befor, and nawyse hurt in thair rightis and priviledgis, and that the ane sort and the uther be not confoundit be this present act, but remane always distinct, as thay wer in tyme by past, notwithstanding the said annexation, it is always provided, statute, and ordained, that the provest,

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baillies, counsall, and utheris officieris, within the saidis burrowis, in regaltie and baronie, quhair thair were provest and baillies of before, sall be yeirly elected, chosen, deposit, and alterit, according to the forme and tenour of the acts of parliament maid in the daies of our Sovereign Lordis maist noble predecessouris, and ratified in divers Parliamentis sen his Hieness Coronatioun.'

The Crown was thus substituted for the old ecclesiastical superiors, and many of the church burghs were afterwards raised to the rank of royal burghs. Among the burghs so elevated were St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfermline, Brechin, and Arbroath.

The burghs of barony and regality which were held of lay superiors, or invested by charter with the practical power of self-government on prescribed lines, were numerous. Among those were Abernethy held under the Earls of Angus, and later under Lord Douglas; Alloa held under the Earl of Mar; Bathgate held of Thomas Hamilton; Dalkeith successively of the families of Keith, Morton, and Buccleuch; Dunblane of Lord Kinnoul; Dunkeld of the Duke of Atholl; Duns of Hume of Aytoun, and afterwards of Cockburn of Cockburn; Eyemouth of Hume of Wedderburn; Faithlie, or Fraserburgh, of Fraser of Philorth; Galashiels of Pringle of Torwoodlee and others; Girvan first of Muir of Thornton, afterwards of Hamilton of Bargany; Hawick of Douglas of Drumlanrig; Huntly of the Duke of Gordon; Kelso of the Duke of Roxburgh; Kilmaurs of the Earl of Glencairn; Kirkintilloch of the family of Fleming (Earl of Wigtown); Langholm of the Duke of Buccleuch; Maybole of the Earl of Cassilis; Melrose successively of the Earl of Haddington, the Earl of Melrose and the Duke of Buccleuch; Portsoy of the Earl of Seafield; Roseheart of Lord Forbes of Pitsligo; Stonehaven first of the Earl Marischall, afterwards of Lord Keith; Stornoway of Mr. Stewart Mackenzie; Strathaven of the Duke of Hamilton; and Thurso of the heirs of John Morton of Berrydale.

These and such other burghs of barony and regality, holding of subject superiors, as were erected prior to 1746-7, were dealt with in that year by the act abolishing Heritable Jurisdictions (20 George II., c. 43) which drew a distinction between burghs in which the magistrates were appointed by the superior, and those which had constitutions independent of the lord of barony or regality. The jurisdiction of the former was practically abolished, while that of the latter was reserved, but the

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jurisdiction of the superior was declared to be cumulative with that of the magistrates.

Since 1746-7 several burghs of barony have been constituted. Among those are Castle Douglas, Gatehouse of Fleet, Kilsyth, Laurencekirk, and Lerwick.

Originally, the burgesses of burghs of barony and regality possessed privileges of trade and manufacture within the bounds of their respective burghs only. These privileges were subsequently extended by an act in 1672, which empowered such burghs to export goods of their own manufacture. But in 1681 this extension was limited to the effect that the goods referred to in the act of 1672 might be sold for the use of the inhabitants of regality and barony only. In 1690, the inhabitants of these burghs were empowered to trade freely in native commodities, and in foreign commodities purchased from freemen of royal burghs. Three years later, viz. in 1693, parliament sanctioned an arrangement for communication of the rights of trade by royal burghs to burghs of regality and barony, on the latter consenting to pay a share of the taxation imposed on the royal burghs. In 1698, the inhabitants of burghs of barony and regality were empowered to trade in native and foreign commodities, if they bought the foreign commodities from freemen who paid scot and lot within a royal burgh. And between 1699 and 1701 a commission of parliament settled the terms on which there was to be communication of trade between royal burghs and burghs of regality and barony. But all exclusive privileges of trade were abolished in 1846, by the statute 9 and 10 Victoria, chapter 17.

In their respective constitutions, burghs of barony and regality presented numerous varieties. Some, by the charters of erection or by subsequent charters, had a modified right to elect their magistrates conferred on their burgesses or feuars, subject to the approval of their superiors. In some, unqualified dependence on the superior existed, and the magistrates were appointed by him. Others enjoyed an elective constitution, differing in the qualification of the electors—such qualification being in some cases restricted to resident burgess-ship, in others to resident proprietorship, within the burgh, and in others to the ownership or occupancy of houses of the value of £10 and upwards. One of the beneficial effects of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892 (55 and 56 Vic., c. 55), amending the general Police Act of 1850, was to simplify the election of the governing

bodies of many of these burghs, several of whom possessed and exercised the right, under their charters, to erect incorporations of craftsmen within their respective bounds, similar to that enjoyed by royal burghs. When such a power was conferred on burghs of this class, it was exercised by the magistrates and council with the consent usually of the superior or lord of the burgh, or by the superior himself, in accordance with the provisions of the charter of erection. The document constituting such subordinate craft incorporations was usually designated, as in royal burghs, a 'Seal of cause,' and set forth the objects of the incorporation, and the particular privileges conferred upon it, including usually a right to hold property; to enact bye-laws for the government of the craft, subject to confirmation by the magistrates, or by the magistrates and superior, or by the superior himself, as the case might be; and a course of succession. They also not infrequently granted a monopoly of trade and manufacture within the burgh to the craft so constituted. The jurisdiction conferred on the burgh was usually cumulative with that of the superior, for, as Erskine observes, 'the territory granted to the body corporate continues as truly a parcel of the barony as if it were the property of a single vassal, differing only in this, that the jurisdiction is in the first case exercised by a community, and in the other by one person.'

PARLIAMENTARY BURGHS.

Reference has been made to the act of 1832, passed to amend the Representation of the People in Scotland, and to the foundation which it laid for amending the constitution of royal burghs. It did more than this, however. It provided for the cities, burghs, and towns of the country being represented by twenty-three members, in the proportion therein specified. Of these fourteen were allocated to groups of burghs and towns,—some of which were royal burghs, and some burghs of barony and regality. It assigned to each of the burghs entitled to representation distinct, and in most cases extended, boundaries, so as not only to include the suburban populations which had grown up around the more prosperous burghs, but also outside areas to meet increase of population; and it enacted that the parliamentary representatives of burghs should no longer be elected by the town council, but directly by the parliamentary electors created in virtue of the act. Among the burghs thus entitled

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to elect members to parliament were several burghs of barony and regality, and some towns which were not burghs of either class, but whose population and importance led to their having parliamentary representation conferred on them. All the burghs to which such representation was given came thus to be known as 'parliamentary burghs,' and the act 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 77, passed on 28th August, 1833, provided a constitution for them similar in many respects to that which the act 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 76 provided, with reference to most of the royal burghs. Parliamentary burghs were empowered to have councils, elected by the parliamentary electors—the number being either specified in the act, or fixed by commissioners appointed by the Crown, and these councillors were empowered to choose a specified number of magistrates and office-bearers. In burghs in which there were burgesses no one could be inducted into office as a councillor without producing evidence of his being a burgess; the right of crafts, trades, and guilds, where such existed, to elect their own officers, was reserved; the magistrates and councillors were declared to have powers and jurisdiction similar to those possessed by royal burghs; and states of the affairs of each burgh were appointed to be annually published.

This act, like that relating to royal burghs, was subsequently amended by various statutes, public and local, culminating in the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1890, but to these it is not necessary to refer here.

POLICE BURGHS.

In 1850 the desirability of enabling 'populous places' to obtain the benefit, by general statute, of legislation enabling the inhabitants to pave, drain, cleanse, light, and improve these places was recognised and provided for by the Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act (13 and 14 Victoria, c. 33). Defining 'populous place' to mean any town, village, place, or locality—not being a royal burgh, a burgh of regality or barony, or a parliamentary burgh—containing a population of twelve hundred inhabitants or upwards, it provided for the fixing of the boundaries of these places, the qualifications of the persons who should be entitled to vote in the determination of the question as to whether the provisions of the act should or should not be adopted, and the holding of a meeting of the voters to determine that question.

It also provided for the election of commissioners and magistrates of police to carry the act into effect if adopted, and prescribed the manner in which this was to be done. Various populous places took advantage of this act which, however, was repealed by the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862 (25 and 26 Victoria, c. 101), except only as regarded any burgh in which its provisions had been adopted or incorporated, in whole or in part, with any local or special act relating to such burgh—the word ‘burgh’ being declared to include ‘populous places.’ The act of 1862 contained provisions as to its adoption in burghs which in the act of 1850 were styled ‘populous places,’ and it consisted of 449 clauses embodying provisions as to lighting, cleansing, paving, draining, supplying water, effecting improvements, and promoting public health. It, again, was amended in several particulars by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, Amendment Act, 1868 (31 and 32 Victoria, c. 102), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1877 (40 and 41 Victoria, c. 22), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1878 (41 and 42 Victoria, c. 30), by the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1882 (45 and 46 Victoria, c. 6), and by the General Police and Improvement Act, 1862, Amendment Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Victoria, c. 51). So matters remained till 1892 when the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act of that year was passed and came into operation on 15th May, 1893. It applied to every burgh which then existed—save Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock—and to every burgh which might thereafter be erected under it, but might be adopted in whole or in part by any of the excepted burghs. It superseded and repealed under specific exceptions as regarded twenty-three burghs all general or local police acts, and especially the police act above referred to, save in so far as they are incorporated by reference in portions of police acts not thereby repealed. Subject to these exceptions the act of 1892, consisting of 518 clauses, forms a comprehensive code of police and sanitary legislation for the Burghs of Scotland.

ALL CLASSES OF BURGHS.

On 8th August, 1900, the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1890 (63 and 64 Victoria, c. 49), was passed to consolidate and amend the law relating to the election and proceedings of town

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councils of burghs in Scotland, and it defined 'burghs' as including royal burghs, parliamentary burghs, burghs incorporated by act of parliament, police burghs, and any other burgh within the meaning of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892. It declared, however, that nothing which it contained should supersede, prejudice, or affect the provisions of any local act applicable to any burgh, or the forms of prosecution and procedure in use therein under such act.¹

JAMES D. MARWICK.

¹ With reference to the last paragraph on p. 126 the writer is reminded that since Edinburgh and Glasgow made the appointments referred to in the text, Dumfries has elected a lady an Honorary Burgess. The practice thus introduced affords burghs a befitting means of doing honour to ladies whose position or public services make such recognition appropriate.

Eighteenth Century Estimates of Shakespeare¹

THIS volume contains, together with an Introduction and Notes, reprints of nine essays which illustrate various aspects of Shakespearian Criticism in the eighteenth century. The earliest is Rowe's Account of Shakespeare's Life (1709), which was the first attempt at a biography of the poet; the next is Dennis's essay on the 'Genius and Writings of Shakespear' (1711). This is followed by the Prefaces to the editions of Pope (1725), Theobald (1733), Hanmer (1744), Warburton (1747), and Johnson (1765). The eighth piece is Farmer's 'Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare' (1767), and the last Morgann's 'Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff' (1777).

Mr. Nichol Smith's book, which is handsomely printed in a very pleasant type, will be a boon to all students of Shakespeare, whatever the size of their Shakespearian libraries may be. Those who are familiar with the essays, and perhaps possess reprints of some of them in the first volume of the Variorum, will not be the least grateful of Mr. Smith's readers, for they will know best how to value the knowledge, thoroughness, and impartiality of his editorial work. They will welcome, too, the original text of Rowe's Life, which has never been reprinted till now since Pope injured it by his silent excisions and rearrangements. And for the general reader the volume should be full of novelty, entertainment, and instruction. Indeed, if it contained nothing but Morgann's Essay, which was last issued in 1825, and is not very easy to procure, he ought to give it a warm welcome, for there is no better piece of Shakespearian criticism in the world.

In framing his book the Editor has had an object to which I have as yet made no reference, and which is best explained

¹ *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, edited by D. Nichol Smith, M.A.; demy 8vo., pp. lxiii. 358, Glasgow: MacLehose, 1903. 7s. 6d. net.

in his own words. 'The purpose of this book,' he writes, 'is to give an account of Shakespeare's reputation during the eighteenth century, and to suggest that there are grounds for reconsidering the common opinion that the century did not give him his due. The nine Essays or Prefaces here reprinted may claim to represent the chief phases of Shakespearian study from the days of Dryden to those of Coleridge. It is one of the evils following in the train of the romantic revival that the judgments of the older school have been discredited or forgotten. The present volume shows that the eighteenth century knew many things which the nineteenth has rediscovered for itself.' In pursuance of this idea, Mr. Nichol Smith shows in his Introduction the delusiveness of the notion that Shakespeare was ever out of favour in the eighteenth century, and traces very clearly and skilfully the progress of criticism during that century in four main phases which roughly follow a chronological order. 'The first deals with his neglect of the so-called rules of the drama; the second determines what was the extent of his learning; the third considers the treatment of his text; and the fourth, more purely aesthetic, shows his value as a delineator of character.'

It was, of course, inevitable that the critics of the nineteenth century should do some injustice to those of the eighteenth. Like the rest of mankind they troubled themselves little with gratitude to the predecessors who had made their work easy. It was also unfortunately impossible for them to continue the building without removing parts of the foundation which were quite incapable of bearing its weight, not to speak of bricks and mortar which were manifestly bad. And a builder who has to perform such operations on a memorial structure is likely to be impatient, and in his haste may even accuse his forerunners of impiety towards the person in whose honour they built. But in this matter the Editor's four phases should be considered separately, and I will begin with the third.

Here there can be no question of the great services of the critics of the eighteenth century. I will not speak of their demerits, but, taken collectively, they did invaluable work in purifying and refashioning the text, in explaining obscurities due to Shakespeare's indifference to grammar and to clearness of construction, and, later, in illustrating him by reference to the contemporary literature. Johnson, in particular, can never be praised too highly for his determination in grappling with difficult passages,

and for the penetrating good sense which often led him straight to a solution. The history of the advance of criticism on these lines must always be interesting to retrace; and the general course of this history, together with some of the passions which accompanied it, appears clearly in the five Prefaces reprinted in Mr. Smith's volume. On the other hand, it can hardly be said, I think, that at this point the eighteenth century has met with much injustice; and this is one reason why I feel some doubt whether the pages occupied by Theobald, Hanmer, and Warburton might not be better filled. The first of these critics, too, is seen at his weakest in general observations; and, although Warburton's two pages on Shakespeare's language are still well worth reading, there is little else of value, and much that is repulsive, in the Preface of that truculent egotist. At the same time, one would have been sorry to miss the new light which Mr. Smith has thrown on his relations with Theobald.

The discussions on Shakespeare's Learning, until we come to the second half of the century, are for the most part superficial, and betray the ignorance of Elizabethan literature which marked our Augustan Age. But Pope's distinction between Learning and Languages, and his remark that Shakespeare 'had much reading at least, if they will not call it Learning,' have not lost their importance; and Farmer's *Essay* (1767), which is not less amusing than instructive, shows an immense advance, and is far from being superseded. Like those notes of Steevens in which he merely seeks to interpret the meaning of passages without passing absurd judgments on their poetry, this essay shows that the century had come to realise how indispensable to a critic of Shakespeare is familiarity with the literature of his time. There is plenty of room for a repetition of the lesson even now. Those who find it hard to understand how a poor player who never went to college can have possessed a learning of which, they tell us, Bacon might have been proud, might read Farmer with advantage, though they would do even better to read Shakespeare and Bacon.

The lover of poetry born in the nineteenth century will follow the disputes about Shakespeare's neglect of the 'rules,' I fear, with some languor and depression of spirit; and he will certainly come with immense relief to Johnson's apologetic but trenchant attack on the unities of time and place. The Editor justly observes that here the century itself corrected its error, and that little more is heard of the 'rules' after Johnson's exposure of the

fallacy on which their authority rested. This exposure is an admirable piece of thinking and writing, though Johnson, after his manner, opposed to the fallacy a theory too broadly stated and, in parts, prosaically fallacious. It is characteristic that what leads him straight here is not imaginative perception but an eye for psychological fact, and that his view of the fact, though it enables him to knock his adversary down, is neither full enough nor sympathetic enough to open the way to a true theory.

The gradual progress of the century in aesthetic appreciation would, perhaps, be clearer, and Mr. Smith's book would also gain in interest for most readers, if some pages from Richardson, Warton, or even Mrs. Montagu, took the place of the Prefaces of Theobald, Hanmer, and Warburton. From the beginning the poets write well of Shakespeare the poet—Rowe and Pope early in the century, as well as Johnson later; and their praises of the most salient features of his genius need not fear comparison with any nineteenth century eulogy. But the change in the general level of taste is naturally better gauged by reference to less gifted writers, and it would appear strikingly from a comparison of Dennis's foolish remarks on Menenius with Richardson's conscientious efforts to understand Shakespeare's characters—none the less strikingly because in expression the later is much the duller of the two writers. There can be no doubt about this change, and it is coincident, of course, with the gradual dawn of the romantic movement, which becomes unmistakable in the last quarter of the century. Indeed, if Morgann could be taken as a fair example of that generation, we should have to say that the century, some time before it closed, had reached *in principle* the whole position in which criticism has rested from the days of Schlegel and Coleridge. With Morgann not only the superstition of the 'rules,' but the remaining superstition of Shakespeare's general want of 'art,' together with Johnson's superstition about poetic justice, have totally disappeared. With them has gone the habit of judging Shakespeare from outside, and of condemning him for things the intention of which the critic has not even tried to understand. It has given place to the use of a sympathetic imagination which follows the dramatist into the minutest details of his composition, conscious that, whether the informing spirit of his work be called 'art' or 'nature,' it carries life and meaning into every atom of its creation, and that, where it seems to us to fail, we should doubt more than once before we conclude that the error lies with

Shakespeare. Something of this spirit is quite visible in Richardson; in Morgann it is full-grown, and has for its instrument a mind not less poetical than acute. How excellent, and how astonishingly different from Johnson's paragraph on Shakespeare's quibbles (p. 125) is Morgann's brief note (p. 267) on the same subject! But Morgann would have been an exceptional critic in any age, and in his own his Essay stands almost as much alone as do the songs of Blake. It appears for long to have had scarcely any influence on criticism. Its time was not yet. Indeed its time is only now; and, if Mr. Smith's book has the success it deserves, he will have the pleasure of knowing that the best (but, I must add, the least characteristic) critic of the eighteenth century owes to him the full recognition which has been so long delayed.¹

A. C. BRADLEY.

¹ I add a few notes on matters of detail, in view of the second edition which this book ought to see. A little more information about Morgann would interest the reader. Johnson's criticism of his book might be quoted. Mr. Smith might endeavour to find out whether the second edition (1820) was sold in five years, or whether the third (1825), which has only the old preface, but calls it 'Preface to the Present Edition,' is really the remainder of the second with a new title-page. The 'very learned *French Critick*' (p. 83) asks for a note. 'See,' p. 99, line 9 from bottom, is misprinted 'fee.' Johnson's omissions of notes of interrogation after the words 'theatre' (foot of p. 128), 'intervene' (p. 129), 'sentences' (p. 156), might be made good. I do not know if he is responsible for the error of using 'their' for 'the' in the sentence beginning, 'Of all the publishers, clandestine or professed, their negligence,' etc. (p. 142): it does not appear in the Variorum reprint. To whom is Morgann alluding in the bitter sentence on p. 228 about some public man? Since Mr. Smith very rightly indicates the sources of quotations, the words 'what matter where if he be still the same,' on p. 302, need a note. On p. 308, l. 8, 'when' is a misprint for 'where.' There must surely be some failure of expression in the note to p. 52 (on p. 312), as it seems to imply that the *Hamlet* of the First Quarto is in no sense Shakespeare's. Would it not be better to print in the note the 'striking passage' (p. 315) in Theobald's original preface?

The brevity of this list of suggestions, considering the nature of the volume, is strong evidence of the thoroughness of Mr. Smith's editorial work.

Scottish Alliterative Poems

Golagros and Gawane

THE Scottish Text Society is much to be congratulated upon the fact that it has published so many important and well-edited texts. It is always a comfort to a student to find that the text which he reads has been well considered, and it is a distinct gain to literature when a literary document falls into the hands of the right man to edit it. Any one who will be at the pains to examine the Notes and Glossarial Index to the *Scottish Alliterative Poems* will easily be convinced that Mr. Amours has proved himself to have been precisely the right person to undertake the editing of these eminently difficult pieces. And his Introduction proves further that he exercises a careful and well-balanced judgment in dealing with literary questions.

I have been attracted by the helpfulness of this edition, to a reperusal of the poems; and, observing that the editor has, in more places than one, accepted my suggestions on some difficult points, I now venture, with all diffidence, to add a few more suggestions of a similar character. Of course I only give them for what they are worth; but I dare say there are many students who will be glad, at any rate, to have some of the remaining difficulties brought under their notice once more.

To begin with *Golagros and Gawane*. In l. 95, Sir Kay is told that his manners are 'unlufsum and ladlike'; and again, in l. 160, the same discourteous knight is said to have been 'ladlike' in his manners. The Glossary suggests 'loathly' as the sense of 'ladlike,' which of course makes sufficiently good sense. Nevertheless, as we find the forms *laithly*, *laithles*, and *laith* elsewhere, there seems to be no sufficient reason why *ladlike* may not mean *lad-like*, or *like a lad*; especially when we find in l. 71 the expression 'nouthir [neither] lord na lad,' showing that a *lad* was just the very opposite to a *lord*. The point may well be that Sir Kay, who ought to have behaved like a lord, has behaved no better than a lad. It should be noted that the same explanation of *ladlike* is adopted in the

New English Dictionary; but I may be allowed to observe that it had occurred to me independently.

Stanza 18 ends in the following fashion :

‘ Thus iournait gentilly thyr cheualrouse knichtis
Ithandly ilk day
Throu mony fer contray,
Our the mountains g[r]ay,
Holtis and hillis.’

The editor regards the first of these lines as corrupt, as ‘the rime is wrong and the alliteration is weak.’ Perhaps so; but the easiest way out of the difficulty is to alter *hillis* into *hichtis*, i.e. heights. Towards the end of stanza 20 we have the line—‘Gif thair be ony keyne knycht that can tell it’—which has to rhyme with—‘Fayne wald I wit.’ This is obviously impossible, as the stress here falls upon *tell*, and it can receive no stress at all. I much suspect that for *it* we should read *tit*, i.e. ‘quickly,’ as in l. 756, and we can somewhat diminish the stress upon *tell* by omitting the word *that*, which can readily be understood. The resulting line is not very commendable; still it gives a real rhyme, with a little forcing of the stress, as in other places. I would therefore conjecture to read—‘Gif thair be ony keyne knycht can tell tit.’ Perhaps a still better plan is to omit *tell*, and to take *can* with the sense of ‘knows.’ Then *knycht that can tit* means ‘knight who readily knows.’

In stanza 22, the first line is: ‘A! lord, sparis of sic speche, quhill ye speir more.’ But it has to rhyme with *deir* and *feir*; so that the last word is *speir*. This is why the editor suggests to read *quhill more ye speir*. But though this amends the rhyme it ruins the position of the stresses. The right reading is clearly, I think, *more quhill ye speir*, with the stresses in the right place. And this explains how the corruption arose. For when the scribe came to this slightly inverted phrase, with *more* at the beginning instead of at the end, he ‘corrected’ it by giving it the true logical order, forgetting that it upset his rhymes. Hence, as the editor so well shows, he had further to alter *steir* into *schore* in the next line but one. This is a small point, but it well illustrates the nature of the mistakes into which the copyists most easily fell.

Line 291 is wanting. The sense can be supplied by reading—‘Quhill ye have frely fangit his frendship to fest.’ I have not invented this line; it is purloined from l. 421 below. It is curious that it just gives what one wants. Similarly, line 332 is missing; but it can be neatly supplied from l. 357, in which, by the way, the word *fyne* is superfluous and injurious to the rhythm and should be deleted. *Favour* is, of course, accented on *our*.

In the note to l. 339, we are told that *that thre* means ‘those three’; and two more such examples are given from another poem. It is suggested that the contraction for *that* has been miswritten for the contraction for *the*. This is very nearly right, but the true explanation is, I think, as follows. The Northumbrian for ‘those three’ is *thir three*; and *thir* was also denoted by a contraction. *Thir* was not so well known as *that*, and so a poor attempt was here made to translate it, though in at least four

other places it has been allowed to stand. We should therefore read—
 ‘thai ordanit thir three.’

Perhaps I may be allowed to illustrate the point by a personal anecdote. I was once travelling down Glen Shee in a carriage with a perfect stranger, when the driver made reference to ‘thir horses.’ The gentleman good-humouredly turned upon me at once, saying—‘I suppose you never heard of such a word as *thir* before, in all your life!’ This was a little more than I thought I might fairly be expected to stand, so I retorted by saying—‘O yes! I have; for I’ve edited Barbour’s *Bruce*!’ which led to a most agreeable and delightful conversation.

Please kindly to take notice that *thir* is the right word in l. 471, in spite of the MS. reading *thair*. Mr. Amours notes the same error in l. 202.

In l. 1045 we come to a more important point, viz. what is the meaning of the extraordinary phrase ‘to set upon seven’? As I have a theory of my own upon the point, I should like to ventilate it.

My own belief is that there are *two* such phrases; or rather, that it was used in two totally different senses, with reference to quite different topics. It varies with the subject. If the subject is the Creator, then *to set* means ‘to ordain’; but if the subject is the gambler or the desperate man, then *to set* means ‘to stake.’ And the sense of *seven* varies at the same time.

An example of the former occurs in the line cited, viz. l. 1045. ‘I swere be suthfast God, that settis all on sevin!’ So also (as the note says) in *Susan* l. 264, and in the *Townely Mysteries*, pp. 97, 118. Mr. Amours says—‘that sets, ordains all in seven days’; with reference to the Creation. I confess I have my doubts as to this; first, because it is usual to assign to the Creation six days only; and secondly, because the use of the present tense is not, in this case, very happy. I think it means—‘He who ordains all the planets in their seven spheres’; with reference to the then universal belief in astrology and the influence of the seven planets upon almost every incident of life. For in this case, the use of the present tense is natural enough. I cannot prove this point; I only suggest it.

But I am more sure of my second point, viz. that ‘to set upon seven’ often meant ‘to stake upon seven’ as being a good throw at dice in the game of hazard; as I have tried to show in a note to Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, B 124.

The phrase occurs in Chaucer’s *Troilus*, IV. 622, in a way that cannot be mistaken:

‘Lat not this wreeched wo thin herte gnawe,
 But manly set the world on sixe and sevene.’

This is why the secondary sense of ‘to set upon seven’ is simply to take all hazards or to run all risks; and this is how I would interpret the expression in *Golagros*, 508, 668; in *Morte Arthure*, 2131; and in *Sir Degrevant*, l. 1279. *Set*, to stake, occurs seven times in Shakespeare. See also Lydgate’s ballad called *Beware of Doublesnesse*, l. 77; and *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*, l. 524; both in Chaucerian Pieces. I would even go as far as to suggest that the common phrase ‘to be at sixes and sevens’ arose from a phrase at gaming; the house that is in this desperate

condition is a place where it is mere luck if you find what you want; since everything is left 'at haphazard.'

Line 551 is missing; we want something like—'Lightly lap he on loft, and laught a lang speir.' Cf. l. 614.

The name of *Galiot*, at l. 557, was said by Sir F. Madden to have been invented by the writer. But *Galiot* occurs in *Lancelot of the Laik* (E.E.T.S.), l. 551, and often.

In l. 702 occurs the unknown word *hatterit*. The right word is obviously *hakkit*, as in l. 980. It was usual to write what looked like *lk* for *kk*; and a word that looked like *halkit* might easily have been turned into *hatterit*, by reading the *l* and the down-stroke of the *k* as *tt*, and interpreting the rest of the *k* as a contraction for *er*. We may confidently pronounce *hatterit* to be a mere ghost-word.

In l. 721, for *that* read *was*; it then means—'None was so proud of his part, (that he) was praised when he went away.' And in l. 725 read *leid*, the present tense, for the sake of the rhyme; instead of *led*, in the past.

Line 769 is curious: 'Than schir Golograse for grief his gray ene brynt.' Here *Golograse his* is a 'split' genitive case.

The mysterious word *bratheris* in l. 994, rightly explained as 'bracers' or armour for the arm, is due to that confusion between *t* and *c* of which Middle English MSS. exhibit so many instances. It is rightly spelt *bracher* in *Levins*, and should be altered to *bracheris* here. There is no such word as *bratheris*; but *bracher*, as a variant of *bracer*, is duly noted in the *New English Dictionary*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

The Story of Conal Grund¹

HE was of noble descent and heir to an estate; but ill feeling and oppression had sprung up against himself and the family he belonged to, and they were driven from the place. He betook himself to the shore, where he built a hut for himself, and he lived there on whatever he could pick up from the sea or on shore.

It is said that in these days men were scarcer in those parts of the world than their food; that they would rather see sons than anything else they could wish for themselves; and that ships would be coming from distant regions for an opportunity of taking men away with them. At any rate, one day a ship came to the shore where he was, and he went away with it in expectation of meeting with his fortune, and when he returned wealthy he would get his rights restored to him. When they had sailed three days, a great storm arose, and they were in danger of being drowned. They thought it was some one among them who had done harm, and that they should cast lots. The lot fell three times on Conal Grund. There was nothing for it then but to throw him into the sea, let him sink or swim.

What happened to him was, that before he reached the bottom of the sea a whale swallowed him up. He was then inside of it, and both of them traversing the ocean, until at last when he was tired of trying every plan he could think of to get outside, he remembered his little jagged knife that

¹[This story was written down in Gaelic by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell, of Tiree, who has done much to preserve a record of the Tales of the Western Highlands. Mr. Campbell translated it also into English, and intended that it should form the first of a volume of such Tales. Writing in 1889, two years before his death, he says: 'The occurrence of the whale in the western islands seems to have been quite common at one time, and there is a story of one having come ashore in the island of Tiree, of such dimensions that sixteen steps of a ladder were required to reach its top, *sia ceumannan deug faraidh*. In 1887, one came ashore in the same island, that was above 80 ft. in length.']

frequently had relieved him. Taking it out, he began to rip the walls that were about him with it. This made the whale go on, and it never stopped till it went ashore in Ireland. When the people saw it coming they gathered to the shore to tear it asunder. When they were nearly at him he cried out, 'Don't kill me.' Whenever they heard the voice, they ran away with terror; but coming to their senses, the most courageous amongst them returned to see what it was. He gave another loud cry to take him out from where he was. The one who came back asked who he was. 'It is I,' he said, 'you are long enough standing there looking on, you had better try to help me,'—and he asked him to take him out, as none of them had the sense to do it themselves. The one who had returned waved his hands to the others, to show that it was an earthly being. When they understood that it was, this is what they said: 'Woeful is his plight. It is a pity for any one to be in his place.' They then attacked the whale, and in an instant it was in pieces, and he was out.

He got food and clothing; and he then went for a walk round about, but had not gone any great distance when he saw a handsome woman at the mouth of a river, washing clothes and weeping. He asked those who were with him who she was, and what was the meaning of her mourning like that. 'It is easy to see,' they said, 'that you are a stranger in the place, when you do not know what has happened, and what cause she has. That's the wife of Archibald the Haughty washing her husband's clothing, as he is now dead.' He then asked what sort of a man Archibald the Haughty was. They said he was a man who had plenty of the world and took plenty of the world with him. When he heard this he stepped up where she was, and asked her why she wept. She said it was easy to see he was a stranger when he was ignorant of what took place and the occasion she had for weeping. 'I am weeping for Archibald the Haughty.' 'Alas! and my utter loss weeping for Archibald the Haughty. Well acquainted with each other were Archibald the Haughty and I. That was a man of great riches when I knew him, Archibald the Haughty,' said he. 'Yes, he was,' she said. 'He took plenty with him and left abundance behind him.'

He then went with her to the house. Food was prepared and set before him. He sat at it, and when no one was looking at him he would take a great gulp of it, but when any of

them returned he would drop the food and begin to wring his hands, deploring himself. 'Alas! and my utter loss! my Archibald the Haughty dead!' When they left his presence, he would take another big gulp of meat, but as soon as they returned he would tear his hair and say, 'Alas! and my utter loss! my Archibald the Haughty dead! What a good man that was, and how well acquainted I was with him!' And when he pulled his hair the lock came away with its having been rotted when he was inside of the whale, until the people who were in the house thought he was in earnest. When he had finished, and had rested from his fatigue, they went away to see Archibald the Haughty's grave, himself and Archibald the Haughty's wife both together, and they were mourning at the gravestone. It was evening before they returned. She said to him, since he was not acquainted with any other place, that it would be better for him to remain where he was that night. He would not stay, but left good-bye with them all. When he left them behind and got out of sight, he went to the burial ground, opened the grave of Archibald the Haughty, took the lid off the coffin, and he and Archibald the Haughty began to wrestle. The one that would be uppermost now would be below next, and they were thus lifting and throwing down each other till the cock crew. At that time Archibald the Haughty was underneath, and he remained so ever after.

He (Conal) took with him as much as he could of the gold and silver, and off he set as fast as he could. He was for some days wandering and indifferent where he might go, without any object in view or thought of returning, but ever pushing on. In the dusk of the evening he saw smoke at the edge of the shore. He took the way it was. As he came near he heard weeping and lamenting, and when he reached he found it was from a cave, with a fire, at which sat a woman as handsome as eye had ever seen, with a manchild on her knee. She asked him what had brought him there to-night. He answered that what brought him there was that he did not know of any better place to go to. He then asked her what she was weeping for. She said that the child she had on her knee was to be ready boiled for the big giant who kept the cave when he came back from the hunting hill. 'You also had better be off, or he will kill you when he comes home.' He said, 'There is only but death before me and after me at any

rate, and I think I will undertake to stay where I am to-night.' She then told him that she had been stolen by the big giant. 'Perhaps we may find a way of saving your child to-night yet,' he said, catching the child and taking off the point of its little finger, telling her to put it in the giant's supper, and that he would think the child was altogether minced into it when he would see the bit of finger.

The big giant now came home. Conal Grund hid himself behind some old wickerwork that was in the cave when he heard the giant coming. That one came with a rushing sound and a stamping, and with the humming of a song in his mouth. 'You have the odour of a wayfarer with you here to-night,' he said, going down and looking hither and thither. He got a sight of Conal Grund at the back of the pieces of wickerwork, and he caught hold of him and brought him with him. The giant had a big log of oakwood full of holes, and he thrust Conal Grund's finger in one of them and put a wooden stake above it, and hung him up to the side of the cave, and there were sixteen steps in the ladder by which he hung him. While he was hanging, and the big giant asleep, he cut off his finger with the little jagged knife that had often freed him in many troubles and difficulties. Whenever he did this he fell, and the bump he gave on the floor of the cage was worse for him than any difficulty in which he had ever been before. He caught the roasting spit, made it red in the fire, and thrust it in the one goggle eye of the big giant, who then was throwing himself vigorously from side to side till the end of the spit struck the wall of the cave and went through his head. With that he gave a yell,¹ and stood on the door step. Conal Grund pushed him backwards till he fell into the sea, and he was drowned. He himself and the mother of the child went away together next day, and were travelling through a hill. At seven o'clock in the evening they came upon two roads, one leading south and one east, and she went south.

Conal Grund arrived at the house of a great man, who was there, and he stayed some time. This man had three young sons who were fond of riding. At that time the King of Ireland had three yellow mares with a white spot in their faces, and no one

¹ [This vivid tale—of (1) a giant (2) who has one eye, (3) is a cannibal and (4) cave-dweller, (5) keeping a large pole, and who (6) when asleep has (7) a glowing spit thrust through his single eye so that (8) his mighty yell disturbs the night—recalls the story of Polyphemus in the *Odyssey*.]

ever went to steal them who escaped alive but was hung. The great man thought if any one could steal them Conal Grund could, and he asked him if he would be willing to go. He gave him no answer the first or second time, but the third time he said he would go, if his (the great man's) three sons were allowed to go with him, as he was now growing old, and would never be as active as he once was. They went. It was a habit with the mares not to eat a morsel when any one was coming to steal them. It was on wine and wheaten bread they were fed. When Conal Grund and his companions arrived they hid themselves in the manger, and from that the three white-faced yellow mares did not eat a bite nor take a sip. The King understood that the matter was as usual. He gathered his people, and the strangers were caught, and the four of them were brought before the King. They were bound and thrown to one side. The King's wife was idly looking at them. At last she said to the young King, 'Will you not ask a tale from the old man?' The young King said, 'I am sure he is not in the humour for telling tales. If I ask a story, I must ask a story.' The first story from the man of the house, and from nightfall till morning from 'the guest,' but at any rate he said thus to him: 'Old grey man, I like your own appearance, and would very much like your story. Were you ever in a worse plight than being tied here to-night, and in expectation of being hanged to-morrow?' 'Unloose from the noose the youngest of these lads there (the youngest had the tenderest skin), and allow him the play and merriment of the house all night,' said he, 'and I will tell you that.' This was done, and, when the youngest of the lads was released, he then told how he was on the ship, and the lot had fallen on him three times, that he was thrown out of the ship into the sea and the whale gulped him up, that he was for such a time inside of it until it went ashore in Ireland, and they tore him out of it, and 'I thought that worse than to be here with you to-night and in expectation of being hanged to-morrow.'

Next night the Queen and the young King said the same, when he asked the second youngest of the lads to be set free to spend the night in share, and play, and merriment of the house. When this one was unbound, he told how he met Archibald the Haughty's wife washing at the river side, and how they were at the grave mourning together, and when he got food he was strong to open the grave,—how he took the

lid off the coffin, and how they were struggling in the grave till cockcrowing, and—‘I felt it worse to be that night fighting with Archibald the Haughty at his grave, than the King having me bound here to-night, and being perhaps hanged to-morrow.’

The following night, in the same way, the wife of the King requested the young King to ask a story from the old man. As before, he said to him, ‘Old grey man, I like you, and I like your stories, but were you ever in a worse plight, except those you have told, than being here to-night and in doubt of being hanged and quartered *nad bhloidhean* to-morrow?’ He then asked the eldest of the lads to be released, and he would tell that. This was done, and he gave a history of what happened to him, after he went away with the treasure he succeeded in getting from Archibald the Haughty, that he was going on all day, and in the dusk of the evening he saw smoke at the edge of the shore, that it was from a cave, and what he found there, and the misfortune that overtook him when the giant put his finger in the oaken log and hung him to the wall,—how he cut off his own finger, and the hard bump he got when he fell on the floor of the cave,—that he made the roasting iron red hot before he put it in the goggle eye of the giant who kept the cave, and it went through his head,—and how he drove him back till he stood on a lump of stone that was in the doorway,—how he got a chance of pushing him with both hands backwards until he fell in the sea and was drowned,—and that he himself and the handsome woman he met in the cave went away together, and at seven o’clock in the evening they came to two roads, one trending south and one east. ‘So she went her own way and I went mine, taking the fish we had found with us. I did not ask who she was, nor where she came from,—and she did not ask where I was going.’

When the Queen heard this she rose, and took off his bindings and told him that she was the one who was there,—that the young prince was the child she had with her, when they parted she was near her father’s house, and that he was welcome to remain with them always. He said that he would remain, if the three sons went home safely. He got the three yellow mares with the white spot on their faces, and he put the three sons and the three yellow white-faced mares home together, and lived himself with the King and the King’s daughter and her son ever after.

A Successor of David Garrick

IT has been claimed for John Henderson, otherwise known as 'The Bath Roscius,' that when Garrick retired from the stage, the great actor's mantle descended upon him. Although the son of a factor on an Irish estate, he was of Scottish extraction, being connected with the Hendersons of Fordel in Fifeshire, a family to which Alexander Henderson, one of the first and most distinguished of the Covenanters, belonged. He was born in Goldsmith Street, Cheapside, on March 8, 1747, and received his education at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. When he left school he came to London and was sent to Daniel Fournier to learn drawing, for which he had shown an aptitude. Fournier, who came of a French refugee family, essayed the rôle of an Admirable Crichton, his ambition being to excel his neighbours in their trade or occupation whatever it might be.

'In the course of one revolving moon
Engraver, painter, fiddler and buffoon'¹

is the description given of him by a contemporary rhymester, but, in addition to this, he was shoemaker, dealt in butter and eggs, modelled in wax, and taught drawing. In 1761 he wrote a treatise on the 'Theory and Practice of Perspective,' to which Henderson contributed some etchings. He used his pupil very badly, for the future tragedian's employment principally consisted in driving his master in a chaise to certain academies in the district, and in looking after the horse when he returned home. Whilst residing at Islington, Henderson joined a spouting club, and his success as a reciter turned his thoughts in the direction of the stage. That he was ambitious, and had perfect confidence in his own ability, there can be little doubt, since the part, in which he made his first appearance, was that

¹ Of course the couplet is an adaptation of the well-known lines on Zimri in Dryden's *Absalom and Achithophel*, first part, ll. 549-550.

of Hamlet. The performance, which was given by him under the name of Courtney, took place at Bath, on October, 6, 1772, and was favourably received.

In Garrick's time the tragedy of Hamlet had many absurd stage traditions attached to it, which have at the present day happily fallen into disuse. For instance, it was customary for the Prince of Denmark to enter, having a stocking dangling at his heel, to prove to the audience that his mind was disordered, and for the gravedigger to amuse the gods by taking off half-a-dozen waistcoats before commencing to dig. Henderson, like other intelligent actors of his standing, refused to be bound by established usage. When the Ghost entered in the closet scene, Hamlet was expected to kick down a chair, since the noise of its falling would, it was thought, add greatly to the terror and perturbation of the incident. In censuring Henderson for neglecting to do this, and for other irregularities, one of his critics sagely remarks: 'Deviations so slight as to evade the common eye, and innovations so trifling as to be thought unworthy of notice, have led the way to heresies in religion, and the abolishment of order in civil government. Let us nip error in the bud, and not by our silence give sanction to impropriety.'¹ It is not likely that these magnificent sentiments in any way affected Henderson's interpretation of the character, but the quotation affords a curious illustration of the clumsy methods by which the dramatic censor of the time attempted to harass the actor, without leaving him scope for the display of his own imagination.

During the same month he appeared as Richard III., a part which Burbage, the greatest tragic actor of Shakespeare's day, created. This season, amongst the many rôles which he assumed were Benedick, Macbeth, King Lear, Alonzo, Bobadill and Don Felix in the *Wonder*, and his extraordinary versatility soon earned for him the name of 'The Bath Roscius.' Before the end of the year he had disclosed his identity, and had firmly established himself in popular esteem. 'I am a great favourite here,' he writes in one of his letters, 'if being followed at the theatre and invited to private parties among people of consequence are proofs of it.' Whilst at Bath he only received a guinea a week, but in 1776, when he came to London, he was probably paid a much higher salary. Next year, Colman

¹ See further, article on 'Stage Traditions' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xix. (1878).

took the Haymarket Theatre from Foote, and on June 11 Henderson acted Shylock there. Macklin, whose impersonation of the Jew was then regarded as unrivalled, gave him encouragement, but Garrick refused him an engagement because he was apparently offended by an imitation of himself given by Henderson in his presence, at the request of some third person. In mimicry Henderson was an adept. O'Keefe, the Irish dramatist, narrates an instance of this, when the actor displayed his talent before a private audience at Cork. 'Among other laughables,' he writes in his *Recollections* (1826), 'he gave us an interview between himself and a theatrical manager; the subject was the manager teaching him, the actor, how to perform Shylock. "This Shylock," said he, "that is Shakespeare's Shylock, though he is a Jew, he's a Jew that walks the Rialto at Venice and talks to the magnificos, and you must not by any means act such a Jew as if he were one of the Jews that sell old clothes and slippers and oranges and sealing wax up and down Pall Mall." In this piece of humour Henderson had the manager's voice perfectly correct, and it gave a great deal of harmless amusement.' The sequel shows that O'Keefe, successful as he was as a farce writer, had not the sense to see when a joke had been carried far enough. 'A year or two after,' he naively confesses, 'I was indiscreet enough, on the mention of Henderson, to tell this very manager how cleverly he took him off; he was much nettled, and said: "Take me off, a very impudent thing of him!"' In all probability the unfortunate man was Colman, for, as has just been mentioned, it was under his auspices that Henderson first impersonated Shylock. After all, his remarks are not without significance, since, until Macklin assumed the part, it had been regularly allotted to popular comedians,¹ who, of course, played it in their most amusing style. O'Keefe, who had himself been an actor in early life, befriended Henderson when in Ireland, and wrote of him as a cheerful and pleasing companion. He was the author of no fewer than fifty plays and farces, but of all his writings two songs from his operas, namely, 'I am a Friar of Orders Grey' and 'Amo Amas I love a lass,' have alone survived.

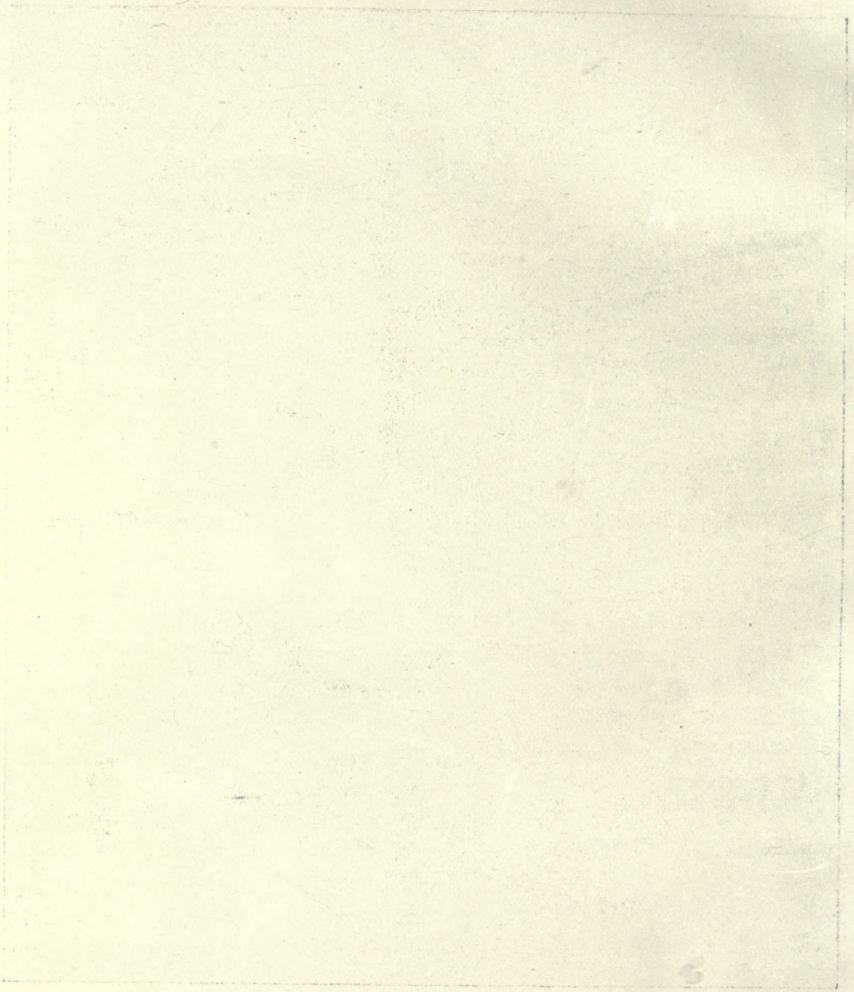
Henderson's rendering of Falstaff is said to have been a marvellous performance, comparable only to that of Quin. He was especially good in scenes of riotous mirth, and he derived immense popularity from his representation of the part. He

¹ Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 337.



JOHN HENDERSON

From the portrait by Thomas Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery, by permission of Messrs. Walker and Cockerell



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evidently revelled in it, for, according to one member of the audience, when on the stage his eye was lighted up and his whole countenance beamed voluptuous humour. As Othello he was not so successful. On the first night he complained that his manager habited him in such a ludicrous garb that he wanted nothing but a brush and a scraper to give him a complete resemblance to a chimney sweep, and this disconcerted him. He failed in consequence to give point to the more important speeches, as he felt that his hearers were laughing at him the whole time. The first original rôle he played was Brutus in the *Roman Sacrifice*, a tragedy by William Shirley. Horace Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory on December 23, 1777, tells her that he witnessed Henderson's acting in this piece, but was disappointed in him. He admits, however, that the tragedy was 'without a tolerable line,'¹ so that the failure of the production can hardly have been the actor's fault. Next year he appeared as Edgar Atheling in Cumberland's *Battle of Hastings*, and Bireno in Jephson's *Law of Lombardy*. Sir Giles Overreach was also one of his principal parts. At no time did he lack patronage. George III., although a regular theatre-goer, was a tender-hearted spectator. He did not care for Shakespeare or tragedy in general, but, if we may believe Thackeray, preferred farces and pantomime, when he would laugh so outrageously as to have to be called to order.² On one occasion he and Queen Charlotte went to Covent Garden to see Cumberland's *Mysterious Husband*, when Henderson took the hero's part. His acting is described as perfection. During the last scene, in which the husband dies, the King's attention was riveted to the stage, and all at once he exclaimed, 'Charlotte, don't look—it's too much to bear!' The drama was by Royal desire never performed again.

In 1784 Henderson played for the first time at Edinburgh, in the same year that Mrs. Siddons took the town by storm, and attracted even the Kirk ministers to her performances. Theatrical representations had never been regarded with much favour by the townspeople, and a visit of certain Elizabethan actors to the capital in 1599, who, it is alleged, were members of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, led to a conflict between James VI. and the Kirk.³ It was not until the

¹ Horace Walpole's *Letters*, edited by Peter Cunningham (1858), vol. vii. p. 17.

² *The Four Georges*, chap. iii.

³ Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 40.

reign of George II. that plays were given with any degree of regularity in Scotland. Allan Ramsay then erected a playhouse in Edinburgh, which was soon closed by order of the magistrates, and he sustained considerable losses in his spirited endeavour to arouse popular interest in the drama.¹ But shortly afterwards entertainments were permitted at Comely Garden, near Holyrood, similar to those at Vauxhall, which were well attended. The theatre, in which Henderson acted, was the Theatre Royal in Princes Street, where he appeared for the first few nights as Hamlet, Shylock, and Sir John Falstaff in the *Merry Wives*.² The press afforded him a favourable reception. 'In judgment and taste,' says the *Courant*, 'Henderson is eminent. He understands perfectly the character he plays, and never fails to give the just meaning of his author. By the third night the house was so crowded that one might have thought Siddons was still acting.' He next gave *Macbeth*, attired in a Spanish dress, with a piece of tartan worn across the shoulder like an order of knighthood. This costume was hardly an improvement on that of Garrick, who was content to appear in the Court dress of the time—a scarlet coat, gold-laced waistcoat, and powdered wig. Macklin was the first actor to don Highland garb, and was hissed off the stage. It is said that he looked more like a Scotch piper than a general and prince of the blood. Stage managers were apparently unaware that tartan had not been invented in the remote times of *Macbeth*.³ Before leaving Scotland, Henderson expressed his grateful sense of the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and assured his admirers that he would ever retain a lively remembrance of their liberal and flattering attention.

It is not generally known that Henderson was mainly instrumental in popularising that famous ballad, *John Gilpin*. In the spring of 1785 he gave readings at the Freemasons' Hall in conjunction with Thomas Sheridan, including in his repertoire selections from *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey*. By the suggestion of Richard Sharp, one of his friends, the poem, which had then only been published in newspaper form, was added to the list, and it proved more attractive than the serious part of the recitations. Indeed, in his comic readings Henderson is said to have been superior to Mrs. Siddons. But

¹ Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 598.

² Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (1888), p. 190.

³ See article on 'Macbeth on the Stage' in *All the Year Round*, vol. xv. (1876).

his pathetic utterances were hardly less effective. 'He broke the people's hearts with the story of *Le Fèvre*,' wrote Tom Dibdin, 'and then nearly killed them over again with laughing at "Johnny Gilpin."' During the season the profits amounted to £800, and every performance was crowded by an appreciative audience. Mrs. Siddons was present on one occasion, and, according to an interested spectator who sat next her, showed her approval by 'lifting up her unequalled dramatic hands and clapping as heartily as she herself used to be applauded in the same manner.'¹ The ballad soon became the town talk, was republished from the newspaper, and 6000 copies of it were sold as soon as it appeared in print. Henderson gave it on the provincial stage, and thus it attained a wide popularity before ever its author's name was disclosed. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1791, John Nichols, the antiquarian, records an interview between the actor and Dr. Johnson, at which he had the honour of being present. The conversation turned, as was natural, on the merits of a certain dramatic writer—perhaps John Home, another Scotsman, whose *Douglas* was then the rage, and whose *Alonzo* Henderson had produced—when Johnson said, 'I never did the man an injury, but he would persist in reading his tragedy to me.' The doctor was unusually affable, for, as Henderson took his leave, he invited him with much earnestness to come again frequently. 'The oftener you call on me, sir, the more welcome will your visits be,' was his cordial farewell. Johnson, it will be remembered, was the friend of Garrick, and it is interesting to find that he had an equal regard for his rival and successor.²

Henderson was only 38 when he died of fever on December 3, 1785. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his grave is close to that of Garrick in Poets' Corner.³ He must have

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxiii. (1836), p. 363.

² Henderson's only daughter, Harriet, married in 1798 James Carrick Moore of Corswall, brother of Sir John Moore who fell at Corunna and son of Dr. John Moore of Glasgow, correspondent and friend of Burns. Mr. James Carrick Moore died in 1860 and was succeeded by his son, John Carrick Moore, at whose death the estate of Corswall passed into the hands of the late Sir D. C. R. C. Buchanan, Bart., of Drumpellier. His daughter, Miss Julia Carrick Moore, now resident in London, presented to the National Portrait Gallery in March, 1895, the portrait of her grandfather, which had been 'painted by his friend Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.' See page 308.

³ See hereon *The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey*, by Mrs. A. Murray Smith (1902), *passim*.

possessed remarkable histrionic talents, for his appearance was not in his favour. He was short in stature, and his figure was ill-proportioned. George Colman the younger, in his *Random Records* (1830), tells us that his father, at one time manager of the Haymarket Theatre, started him in characters whose dress might hide his personal deficiencies. Thus it was arranged that his first two impersonations at that theatre should be Shylock and Hamlet, in which the Jew's gaberdine and the Prince of Denmark's 'inky cloak' were of great service. As in the case of his contemporary, David Ross,¹ another Scotch actor, who attained great success in the character of George Barnwell, but who in his later days grew very portly, the effects of good living soon became visible. This is apparent from the portrait painted of him by his friend Gainsborough, who, whilst urging him to use Garrick for a model 'as the greatest creature living in every respect,' expressly warns him against this failing. 'Look upon him, Henderson,' he writes, 'with your imitative eyes, for when he drops you'll have nothing but poor old Nature's book to look in. Now is your time, my lively fellow, and, do you hear, don't eat so devilishly. You'll get too fat when you rest from playing or get a sudden jog by illness to bring you down again.'² It is not probable that Henderson followed his friend's advice to abstain from excessive conviviality, but he was professedly of the Garrick school, and he was not too proud to benefit by example. As an instance of this, it has been maintained that his rendering of the part of Benedick was so closely copied from his master as to be practically identical.

In the year after Henderson's death, his friend, John Ireland, principally remembered as the biographer of Hogarth, published certain *Letters and Poems, with Anecdotes of his Life*, a curious medley, which displays little skill in arrangement. The poems, which are few in number, can only be described as worthless, but the letters are animated, and deal for the most part with the actor's successes and failures, as well as with family concerns.

¹ He joined Garrick's company at the same time as Mossop (1751), and of these two actors a certain wit wrote :

'The Templars they cry Mossop,
The ladies they cry Ross up,
But which is the best is a toss up,'

an effusion which, it is said, vastly delighted Garrick. See his *Life*, by Joseph Knight, F.S.A. (1894), p. 136.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., vol. xx. p. 364.

Take, for example, this extract from a letter to an unknown correspondent, which is merely headed 'From the Banks of the Thames, June 18th': 'For the books you have my best thanks. I used to think I was fond of fishing, but I find it a very dull business. Sir, such a life as I now lead is fit for nothing but an otter, and I believe in my conscience the animals I am with are web-footed and have fins. They are neither fish nor flesh, "A man knows not where to have them," but yet I cannot quit these *rods* and *earth worms* these ten days. Think what a treasure your parcel! Until its arrival, all the print I could pick up in the house from garden to wine cellar was *Bracken's Farriery*, *Hannah Glasse's Cookery* (which, by the way, I very much like, for the last receipt in the book is for a surfeit), *Pomfret's Poems*, and Pope's *Essay on Man*, which last I have read through, and think it very inferior to his other ethic epistles.' Henderson was an omnivorous reader, and especially delighted in books concerned with the marvellous and supernatural, of which he had a good collection. According to Ireland, he had trod the whole circle of witchcraft, from the *Witch of Endor* to the *Story of Mary Squires*, had perused with avidity such works as *Mandeville's Travels*, *Peter Wilkins' Voyage to the Moon*, and *Wanley's Wonders of the Little World*, and had sought for and read the accounts of murders, battles, massacres, martyrdoms, earthquakes, or such events as were calculated to give strong and forcible impressions. But, as his biographer quaintly observes, it must not be inferred from this that his nature was necessarily cruel, and he had a genuine regard for the classics of literature, whose beauties he fully appreciated and expressed in his public readings.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

Continued

SINCE the issue of the January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* Dr. J. Maitland Thomson has called my attention to a fact which suggests that the real name of the bishop last recorded may have been, as Myln tells us, 'Richard,' and not 'David,' as I have entered him, relying on the *Great Seal Register*. It will be seen (p. 203) that in the Inverness charter among the witnesses we find, immediately following 'David electo Dunkelden,' the name 'David abbate de Neubotill.' Now it seems certain, or all but certain, that the name of the abbot of Newbottle in 1250 was Roger (see *M. s.a.* 1236, 1256). Hence it is possible that an 'R' was misread as 'D,' and expanded into 'David.' If this be true of the abbot, it may be also true that an 'R' (for Richard) may have been similarly misread in the case of the bishop. In mediaeval script one of the forms of capital 'R' bears a considerable resemblance to one of the forms of capital 'D.' It seems that neither the original charter nor its confirmation is now among the burgh records of Inverness.

RICHARD (III.) OF INVERKEITHING. According to Myln (11) 'camerarius regis' . . . Bower (*Sc. x.* 3) also represents him as chamberlain of the king, and says he was advanced to this see in 1250. From Inchaffray (76) we learn that 4 Non. Aug. 1263 was in the 12th year of his pontificate. This shows that he was consecrated after 2 Aug. 1251, and before 2 Aug. 1252. In the charter (Inchaffray) just referred to he says he has inspected charters of his predecessors 'John the first, Richard, John the second, Hugh, Gilbert, and Galfrid.'

There is evidence for Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, in 1255, when he was appointed at the convention of Roxburgh one of the Guardians of Alexander III. (*A.P. i.* 419). See also *Fœd. i.* 329: in 1260 (*Cambuskenneth*, 269): in 1263 (*Scone*, 74): in 1271 (*Arbroath*, 191-2): in 1264 he was auditor of accounts (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. 11).

In 1265 he erected at his own cost the new choir in the church of the monastery of Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 20). In 1266 the bones of John of Leicester were translated to the south, and the bones of Richard (I.) and Gilbert to the north of the new choir at Inchcolm (*Sc. x.* 21). In 1268

Richard, bp. of Dunkeld, together with Robert, bp. of Dunblane, attended the Council held at London shortly after Easter, convened by Ottobon the Legate (Sc. x. 24).

Richard of Inverkeithing died on the feast of St. Magnus Martyr (16 April) 1272. His body was buried at Dunkeld, and his heart in the north wall of the choir which he had built in Inchcolm (Sc. x. 30). *Lanercost* (97) places the death of Richard de Inverchettin 'Duncheldensis episcopus' under the year 1275 (which must be an error), and relates that it was commonly believed that he had been poisoned, hinting that this was by order of the king with a view to his obtaining possession of the moveable estate of the bishop.

The writer of the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was a credulous gossip.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILLE (D'Estotville), Dean of Dunkeld (as early at least as 1257: *Foed.* i. 353). According to Bower (Sc. x. 30) 'genere nobilis.' Succeeded 'per electionem' (Sc. and Myln) perhaps in 1272; but, if so, there was some delay in the papal confirmation. On 7 May, 1274, Gregory X. commits to the bps. of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow to examine into the learning and fitness of Master Robert, dean of Dunkeld, whom the canons had elected *per viam compromissi*, and, if satisfied, to confirm his election which the pope declares to have been canonically celebrated, and to consecrate him, after having received the oath of fealty to the Roman See (T. No. 255).

Robert must have died before Dec. 1283 (most probably early in that year, or at some time in the preceding year); for see next two entries.

HUGH DE STRIVELIN (*i.e.* Stirling), canon (? of Dunkeld). From C.P.R. i. 469 we learn that 'on the death of bishop Robert the chapter had elected canon Hugh de Strivelin, who died at the papal court while prosecuting the business of his election.' Our historians have taken no notice of this election.

WILLIAM, Dean of Dunkeld. On the news of the death of Hugh de Strivelin having been announced to the chapter by Masters Peter de Tylloyl and Matthew de Crombech, canons, the chapter commissioned the dean, Robert the chancellor, canon Weland de Stykelaw, and the two said canons to elect, who elected William, dean of Dunkeld, whom the pope consecrated by O. bishop of Tusculum. This is related in a letter of Pope Martin IV., dated Orvieto, Id. Dec. (13 Dec.) 1283 (C.P.R. i. 469). Concurrent Letters were sent to the chapter of Dunkeld, to the clergy and to the people of the diocese, to all vassals of the said church, and to the king of Scotland (*Ib.* 470). The bp. of Tusculum mentioned above was Ordeonus (by some called Odo), created cardinal in 1277 (*Cäconius*, ii. 225). Of this William, hitherto unknown, so far as I am aware, nothing further appears save that he is mentioned in the confirmation of his successor. Perhaps he lived till the end of 1287 or beginning of 1288, for his successor was confirmed before the middle of April, 1288. See next entry.

It is certainly remarkable that a bishop of Dunkeld for some four years should seem to have left no trace in Scottish record.

MATTHEW DE CRAMBETH, Dean of Aberdeen (C.P.R. i. 491). This is doubtless the Matthew de Crombech, canon of Dunkeld, noticed in the last entry.

On 13 April, 1288,¹ the pope, Nicholas IV., wrote to Matthew, bp. of Dunkeld: he recites that on the death of William, bp. of Dunkeld, the dean (Symon) and chapter convened to elect a successor. They proceeded *per viam compromissi*. The *compromissarii* were five in number, viz. Matthew, dean of Aberdeen and canon of Dunkeld, the dean of Dunkeld, Gregory, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and William, archdeacon of Teviotdale, and Thomas de Preston, all being canons of Dunkeld. Matthew was elected by the rest *concorditer*. At the instance of the chapter Matthew consented. The decree of the election was laid before the pope, examined by three cardinals, and confirmed. Matthew was consecrated by the pope himself (*per nos ipsos*). Concurrent Letters were sent to the dean and chapter, the clergy and people of the diocese, the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the other Guardians of the realm, and to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway (T. No. 306).

Myln (12) says that Matthew 'per Anglos institutus est,' which is very probable, but he blunders in placing Matthew's appointment in 1300, which blunder is followed in *Extr.* (131). We find Matthew 'permissione divina' bishop of Dunkeld on 12 August, 1289 (Holyrood, 71). He was at the convention of Brigham, 17 March, 1289-90 (A.P. i. 441). Matthew, having sworn fealty to Edward, 4 May, 1304, had the temporalities of the see and his own patrimonial property (partly in Kinross and partly in the barony of Crambeth in Fife) restored to him (B.C. ii. 398). He was sent with others to the king of France on political business in 1295 (Lanercost, 191). He was ambassador to France in 1303 (A.P. i. 454). He was in Edward I.'s Parliament at Westminster in 1305 (*Ib.* i. 119).

Matthew must have died before 28 Aug. 1309, for at that date Edward II. of England wrote to the pope that his almoner, John de Leck, had been elected to the see of Dunkeld (*Fœdera*, ii. 86). On 14 Dec. 1309, Edward appoints John de Leck to receive the books, vestments, and other *ornamenta* of the chapel of the late bishop, falling to the king by the custom of Scotland (*Ib.* ii. 99). But the election was disputed (see next entry), and the see remained void for some three years. Edward II. advanced 200 lbs. to promote Leck's appointment at the Roman Court (B.C. iii. 33). See next entry.

Matthew's death is erroneously assigned to 1312 in *Extr.* (137).

WILLIAM SINCLAIR (de Sancto Claro): brother of Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin; canon of Dunkeld.

On 8 May, 1312 (T. No. 398), Pope Clement V., in his letter to William, bp. of Dunkeld, recites that on the death of Matthew the chapter convened for an election, and proceeded *per viam scrutinii*, the appointed scrutineers being three canons of Dunkeld (named). They

¹In the copy of this letter in the British Museum, *Monumenta Vaticana*, Addit. MS. 15,364, fol. 187, as printed by Stevenson (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, i. pp. 45 ff.), the letter is dated 10th April (iiiij. Id. Aprilis).

took the votes of themselves and of the other canons then resident; and the result was that William, canon of Dunkeld, was elected unanimously. William consented, and proceeded to the Apostolic See with proctors of the chapter. But John (presumably John de Leck: see last entry), who at that time claimed to be a canon of Dunkeld (*qui tunc pro canonico dicte Dunkeldensis ecclesie se gerebat*), impugned the election of William, asserting that he was about to be elected by some whom he said were canons of Dunkeld, but *extra Dunkeldensem ecclesiam*. Both John and William appeared before Cardinal James,¹ cardinal deacon of St. George in Velabro, who had been appointed judge by the pope. Each contended that the election of the other was uncanonical. While the litigation was proceeding John (who had the support of the king of England) was promoted to be archbishop of Dublin (18 May, 1311: see C.P.R. ii. 83. The temporality of Dublin granted, 20 July, 1311: B.C. iii. 19) and therefore retired from the action. The pope then declared William's election to have been canonically celebrated, and confirmed William, 'generis nobilitate preclarum,' to the see of Dunkeld, and afterwards caused him to be consecrated by Berengarius, cardinal bishop of Tusculum.² With this letter there was a concurrent letter to the chapter of Dunkeld. It is significant that the usual concurrent letter to the king is not recorded. The pope might well be doubtful who was king of Scotland. In Edward's letter to the pope of 14 Dec. 1309, he had described the dean and chapter as zealous adherents of him, and as having convened in a place (not named) where they might be safe from hostile incursion, and there electing John de Leck *concorditer*. He had evidently been deceived. (*Fæd.* ii. 86.) It seems from what has been cited that William's election had preceded the (so-called) election (not at Dunkeld) of John.

William Sinclair was probably striving to make his way back to Scotland when, on 2 Feb. 1312-13, Edward II. granted, at the bishop's request, a safe-conduct to 'the bishop elect of Dunkeld said to have been confirmed by the pope,' to turn aside at Berwick-on-Tweed to get himself arrayed, thence proceeding to the king (Edward II.), provided he goes no further into Scotland or holds converse with the enemy (B.C. iii. No. 301).

It is to be noted that, long prior to his confirmation by the pope, Sinclair had, as bishop of Dunkeld, taken part in the political action of the Scottish bishops. On 24 Feb. 1309-10, at Dundee, he was a party to the declaration of the clergy of Scotland, including eleven other bishops, that they had willingly done fealty to Robert, illustrious king of Scotland, as their lawful king (A.P. i. 100⁸).

¹ Caietan de Stephaneschis. *Ciaconius*, ii. 324.

² See *Ciacon.* ii. 373.

⁸ The account of William's valour in repulsing the English who had landed at Donibristle, when he sallied forth from his manor of Auchtertool and led the hesitating sheriff to the attack, and how for this king Robert used to style him 'my bishop,' is told by Bower (Sc. xii. 24) and Myln (13). In the latter will be found some notices of his church building.

We find Sinclair present at the coronation of Edward Balliol at Scone on 24 Sept. 1332 (Sc. xiii. 24), and he is in a parliament held in Edinburgh by Edward Balliol on 12 Feb. 1333-34 (A.P. i. 542). Yet in 1335-6 the bishop of Dunkeld 'extat contra fidem,' and the lands of the see at Kirkcramond are accounted for to Edward, king of England (B.C. iii. p. 335).

Sinclair died, according to Myln (13-15), on 27 June, 1337, and there is no reason for doubting Myln's statement. The see appears to have become vacant in the year from Michaelmas 1336 to Michaelmas 1337. It was certainly vacant at Michaelmas 1337: for an account was rendered to Edward III. of the revenues of the church of Cramond, 'que quidem ecclesia est in manu Regis per vacationem episcopatus Dunkeldensis' (B.C. iii. p. 391¹).

RICHARD (IV.) DE PILMOR, who at the time of his appointment was precentor of Moray (C.P.R. iii. 126, 182), canon of Aberdeen with the prebend of Cruden (*Ib.* 150), and canon of Ross with the prebend of Contan (*Ib.* 183).

On account of a disputed election and the death of the pope before whom the litigation had begun, the see was vacant for some seven or eight years.

On 5 July, 1344, Clement VI. writes to Richard de Pilmor, 'elect of Dunkeld,' and narrates that on the death of William, bishop of Dunkeld, who had died in Scotland (*in illis partibus*), the chapter had convened for the election of his successor. The electors were divided; and the election was disputed between Richard de Pilmor, priest, and the late Malcolm of Inepeffren (Innerpeffray), canon of Dunkeld. Both parties resorted in person to the Apostolic See.² And to both elections opposition was raised by Duncan, precentor of Dunkeld. Pope Benedict XII. submitted the whole question to Bertrand, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who was to report to his Holiness. While the process was still *sub iudice*, first, Malcolm died, and then Benedict XII. (25 April, 1342). Clement VI., who succeeded, ordered the business of the inquiry to be resumed. Bertrand reported; and the pope, 'non tamen persone tue vicio,' but 'for certain reasonable causes' (which as usual are not stated), quashed the election and declared it null and void. But *auctoritate apostolica* he appoints Richard to Dunkeld.

¹In *Registrum Glasguense* (i. 231) we have a copy of a writ, dated at Scone, near Perth, in the General Council assembled there on the Tuesday next before the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March), 1324, to which the seal of 'Walter,' bishop of Dunkeld and Conservator of the whole clergy of Scotland, is said to be attached. There can be, I think, no doubt that 'Walter' is a clerical error for 'William.' It may be observed that 'Walter' (as the name of another person) occurs in the writ, and, for the last time, immediately preceding the notice of the bishop of Dunkeld. William was certainly the name of the bishop immediately preceding Richard de Pilmor (see next entry).

²The election probably took place towards the end of 1337; for we find Edward III. granting (3 Jan. 1337-38) a safe-conduct to Master Malcolm de Innerpeffri, elect of Dunkeld in Scotland, who is going to Rome to have his election confirmed (B.C. iii. No. 1254). Perhaps Malcolm was an adherent of the English party.

Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter, to the clergy and people of the diocese, to the vassals of the church of Dunkeld, and to David (II.), king of Scotland (T. No. 559).

A few days later, 14 July, 1344, the pope grants leave to Richard, elect of Dunkeld, to contract a loan of 3000 gold florins on the moveable and immoveable estate of the bishopric as held by him and his successors, Richard having declared that otherwise he did not believe that he could obtain credit. The pope limits the bond over Dunkeld to four years. The object of the loan is stated to be to meet the expenses incurred, or to be incurred, in 'expediting his business' (T. No. 560).

Doubtless the money was raised, and the bulls expedited, for on 27 Sept. 1344, he is commanded to betake himself to his diocese, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. iii. 170).¹ On 25 Jan. 1345, Richard was granted by the pope an indult to choose his confessor, who shall give him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death (C.P.R. iii. 162). At the same date he is granted faculties to dispense (a) six sons of priests, (b) six persons of illegitimate birth, and (c) six sons of deacons to be ordained and hold a benefice each (*Ib.* 162).

Richard de Pilmor did not long hold the see. We find him and another Pilmor, John de Pilmor, bp. of Moray, in the chapterhouse of the cathedral at Elgin on 20 Oct. 1345 (R.M. 156). With several other Scottish bishops he signed a petition to the pope for a dispensation for the marriage of Robert Stewart with Elizabeth More. Before the petition was granted (22 Nov. 1347) he was dead. See next entry.²

DUNCAN DE STRATHERN, Precentor of Moray.

He was appointed, by papal provision, 15 Oct. 1347, to the see void by the death of Richard (T. No. 575). The pope states that he had specially reserved the appointment, and makes no reference to a capitular election. But there is other evidence that there had been an election at Dunkeld; for *ROBERT DE DEN*, archdeacon of Dunkeld, on 28 Jan. 1348, was granted by the pope the reservation of a benefice, he having been elected to the see of Dunkeld in ignorance that it had been reserved to the pope (C.P.R. iii. 245). Den seems to have died before Oct. 1349 (*Ib.* 315), perhaps at the Apostolic See (*Ib.* 593).

Shortly after Duncan's provision to the see he was allowed by the pope (9 Nov. 1347) to contract a loan of 2000 florins to meet his expenses at the Apostolic See (C.P.R. iii. 264).

That Duncan's name was Strathern is inferred on comparing C.P.R. iii. 182 with 240. Myln (15) says Duncan was an Englishman and had come to Scotland with his cousin, Walter de Fotheringay, in company with Edward Balliol. But the name Duncan and the name Strathern do not favour this statement.

¹ The consecrating bishop was Peter de Prato. *Giaconus*, ii. 416.

² Presumably the bishops of Moray and Dunkeld were brothers, for John de Kethensis was a nephew of Bishop Richard (C.P.R. iii. 153), and he was also a nephew of Bishop John (*Ib.* 463).

Duncan was present at David II.'s parliament held at Dundee, 15 May, 1350 (see charter cited by Crawford, *Officers of State*, 288). He was bishop of Dunkeld, 1 April, 1354 (Kelso, 389 : see also A.P. Supplement, 9). He must have died later in the same year or early in 1355.¹ See next entry.

JOHN (II.), Precentor of Dunkeld.

He was provided by the pope (Innocent VI.) on 18 May, 1355 (T. No. 621). In the letter referred to, the pope states that the vacancy had been caused by the death of Duncan, that the chapter of Dunkeld, ignorant, as they alleged, of the pope having reserved the see to his own provision, had elected John, precentor of Dunkeld, being in priest's orders, and that he in like ignorance had assented to his election, and had come in person for confirmation to the Apostolic See. The pope pronounced the election null, as being contrary to his reservation. But nevertheless he appoints the said John. John was consecrated before 29 June, 1355, for on that day the pope orders him to betake himself to his see, he having been consecrated by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (T. No. 623).

He seals a letter of credence *in concilio* at Perth, 17 Jan. 1356-57 (A.P. i. 515).

The exact date of John's death is uncertain. John, bp. of Dunkeld, was accepted (with other bishops) as an arbiter by the chapter of Glasgow, 2 Sept. 1362 (R.G. i. 271). He was in Edinburgh on 8 May, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 45), in Perth on 17 April, 1365 (R.M.S. folio, p. 44, No. 125), and in Parliament at Perth, 24 July, 1365 (A.P. i. 496). John, bp. of Dunkeld, was a witness to the fourteen years' truce signed at the castle of Edinburgh, 20 July, 1369 (*Fæd.* III. ii. 877).

JOHN OF CARRICK. He appears as 'elect of Dunkeld' in 1370 (*Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 356). But he probably failed to obtain confirmation, for, as bishop of Dunkeld, we hear no more of him. Is this the John of Carrick who was appointed chancellor of Scotland in 1370? John of Carrick, canon of Glasgow, appears as a witness on 4 April, 1369 (R.M.S. ii. No. 494). As to John of Carrick, the chancellor, evidence is abundant.

MICHAEL DE MONY MUSK, Dean of Glasgow, Chamberlain of the King.

There is no light as to his appointment in the papal records as printed in T. and C.P.R.

There was a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) 1 July, 1372 (C.P.R. iv. 101). 'Michael Dunkeldensis' is present in the parliament held at Scone, 4 April, 1373 (A.P. i. 562).

We find 'M., by divine permission, bp. of Dunkeld,' on 23 Oct. 1374 (Scone, 145).

According to Myln (15) Michael died 1 March, 1376, and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld, on the right of William Sinclair. There does

¹ Myln is seriously in error in placing Duncan's death in 1363.

not seem to be any evidence, except that of Myln, for Michael being chamberlain of Scotland.¹

JOHN DE PEBLYS, Chancellor of Scotland (1377).

Appointed perhaps in 1377, or certainly early in 1378. There are *lacunae* at this time in the papal records. We have, however, evidence that his appointment was certainly before the death of Gregory XI. (who died 27 March, 1378). On 26 Oct. 1378, Clement VII. (Anti-pope) makes provision to Adam de Tiningham, dean of Aberdeen, of a canonry and prebend in Glasgow void by reason of Gregory XI. having promoted John de Peblis, papal collector in Scotland, to the see of Dunkeld (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 538). He was not consecrated at once, for we find him as elect of Dunkeld, 17 April, 1379 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 544). He was still elect of Dunkeld when he gets a safe-conduct to England, 10 May, 1379 (2 *Rot. Scot.* 15). Indeed, as late as 11 March, 1383-84, he subscribed a letter to the chancellor of England (Richard Scrupe) only as 'Johannes de Peblys, confirmatus Ecclesie Dunkeldensis, Cancellarius Scocie' (B.C. iv. No. 322). This shows that we cannot accept his appearance as 'bishop of Dunkeld' on 11 Aug. 1379 (R.A. i. 112) as a proof of consecration. Scotland at this time adhered to the Anti-popes; and it appears that John was, before 30 Oct. 1379, deprived by the pope, whom he did not recognise and whose acts were ineffective in Scotland. See the passage relating to the appointment of Robert de Derling, which is given in the appendix to this article relating to the appointments of the papal, as distinguished from the anti-papal, bishops of this see.

It was perhaps some information as to Derling's appointment, misunderstood, that made Myln (16) assign the death of John de Peblys to 1396. See next entry.

We find 'John our chancellor, bishop of Dunkeld,' on 14 Feb. and 18 March, 1389-90 (R.M.S. folio, pp. 197, 178).²

J. DOWDEN.

¹There is much evidence as to Michael's earlier history. He had been dean of Dunblane and dean of Aberdeen, from which he was eventually, after much litigation, in which he had spent his goods and those of some of his friends, removed. In 1366 Michael de Monymusk, licentiate in Canon Law, petitions Urban V. for a vacant canonry and prebend in Aberdeen, notwithstanding that he had the deanery of Glasgow. While dean of Dunblane he held also prebends in Brechin and Ross. See C.P.R. *Petit.* i. 142, 325, 326, 375, 379, 506, 527.

²Earlier history of John de Peblys. In 1374 he was archdeacon of St. Andrews, M.A., doctor of Canon Law, papal nuncio, and collector of papal dues in Scotland, Sodor, and Orkney. He had canonries and prebends in Glasgow and Aberdeen and the church of Douglas in the former diocese (C.P.R. iv. 152, 195). He had been official of Glasgow for at least three years in April, 1363 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 417), and Treasurer of Glasgow in 1365 (*Ib.* 506).

(To be continued.)

Reviews of Books

THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND. By G. Baldwin Brown, M.A., Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. I., pp. ii, 388, Vol. II., pp. iv, 351. Med. 8vo, with Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1903. 2 vols. 32s. net. (I. The Life of Saxon England in its relation to the Arts. II. Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest.)

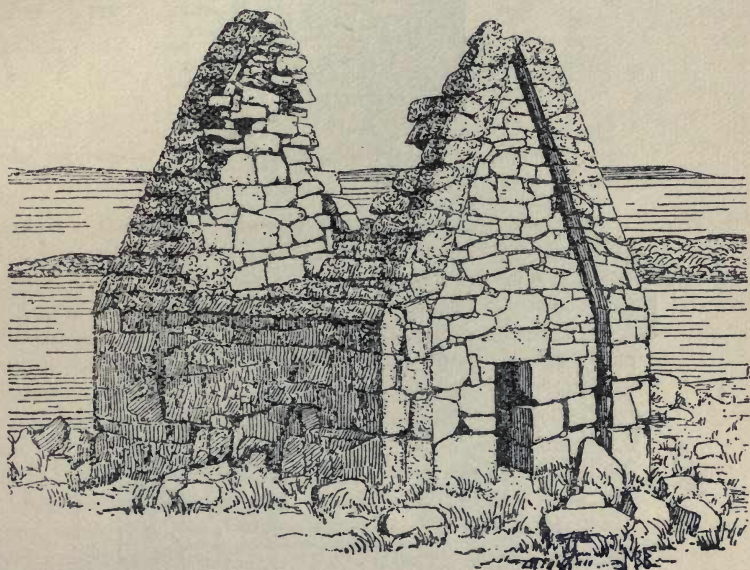
THESE two volumes, though in a sense each is complete in itself, are the first instalment of a comprehensive history of the Arts in Early England. It is therefore, perhaps, too soon to express any opinion as to how far Professor Baldwin Brown has succeeded in the task which he has taken in hand. We need, however, have no hesitation in saying that he has begun well. In his second volume he has dealt with the remains of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture so satisfactorily, that it must long continue to be of value to students of English history, even when they approach the subject from a very different standpoint to that of our author. And if, when reading the first volume, we sometimes feel inclined to find fault, it may well be that the completion of the work will show us that the fault lies rather in the reader than in the writer, and that what may now seem to us a tendency to over-hasty generalisation, and a somewhat undue insistence on the unity of the present and the past, have sprung from a perfectly right desire on the part of the author to emphasise points which a close study of the detail in old handiwork may incline us to overlook.

The first volume has at anyrate this merit, it is delightful reading throughout. In the opening chapter, with its description of an old Kentish cottage, even though we may fail to see the particular connection between that cottage and Saxon art, we at once feel the loving appreciation of the author for the 'simple structure which has grown by a sort of accident into beauty,' and begin to look eagerly forward to the fulfilment of his promise 'to bring out' in a later portion of his book, 'the lessons which the modern craftsman may learn from his far away forerunners of early Saxon days.'

The object of the introductory volume is to help us to realise the ordinary social and religious life of English people during the early mediæval period. The author tries to attain this object by singling out here and there certain points of contact between the past and the present, which may enable the imagination to travel easily back to those scenes

in the midst of which the work, which he describes in detail further on in his book, was executed. His object is a good one, for the arts of a people are always and everywhere the outcome of their ordinary life; and his method is good, for the points of contact which he has selected are of so familiar a kind, that there must be few readers who cannot easily and at once understand them.

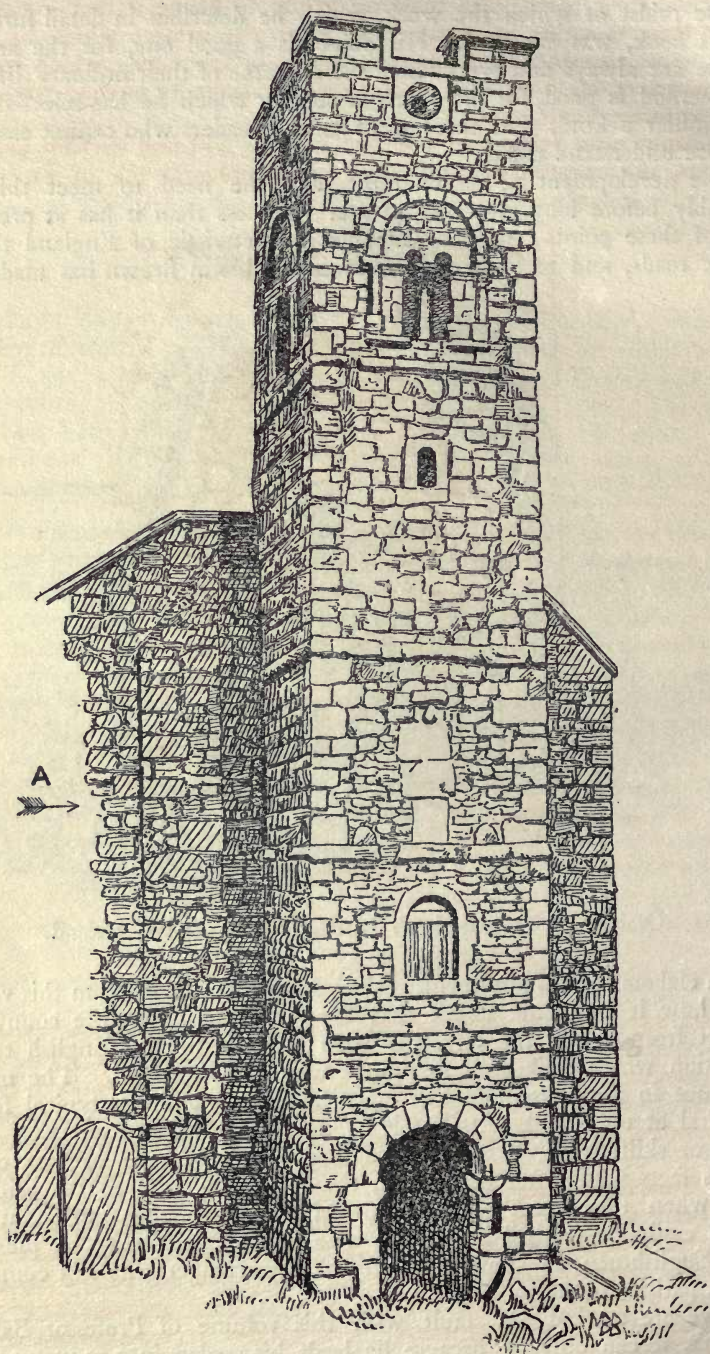
The development of motor-traffic, and the need to meet this, may probably before long give even greater vividness than it has at present to one of these points; nothing is more characteristic of England than its public roads, and of these roads Professor Baldwin Brown has made good



Oratory on St. Macdara's Island, off Connemara, Ireland.

use in elaborating his argument. We gather many hints from this volume as to how it has come about that the art of living in the country, as distinct from life in the city, has been brought by the English to that perfection which strikes all foreigners who visit our land. The marked difference in the surroundings of a typical English and of a typical foreign cathedral at once makes itself felt by anyone who has seen both. The Professor skilfully seizes on that difference in order to impress on his readers facts whose full bearing on the history of the arts they will only grasp when they come to the study of details. Other important facts should easily be realised by anyone who knows, as it may be presumed most Englishmen do know, anything of the arrangements still connected with a parish church.

If we are to find any fault with this volume of Professor Baldwin Brown's, it can only be because he leads his readers into so many varied



Western tower of Church of St. Peter, Monkwearmouth, Durham, before the last restoration.

and fascinating paths, that they are hardly to blame if they occasionally allow their thoughts to wander far from the subject which he has in hand, especially since in the copious supply of footnotes—which is one of the merits of his book—he gives ample guidance to anyone who wishes to yield to the temptation.

Probably most readers of the first volume will find its fifth and sixth chapters, the chapters descriptive of early monastic life in England, to



Western doorway of porch, Monkwearmouth.

be those which are of most interest. These chapters, which are written in a singularly fair spirit, contain little, if any, information which is not worth remembering, and omit little which we could wish to have seen included; perhaps it might have been well if the author had inserted a note pointing out how, long after the Norman Conquest, the presence of both sexes continued not only in houses of the Gilbertines, but also in several Benedictine nunneries; for without such a note a reader may easily get the idea that the custom came to an end much sooner than it did; perhaps too we might have had rather fuller information as to ceremonial usages, though with the knowledge that our author has yet to deal with some of the most striking, even if small, monuments of art as applied to religion, we may scarcely feel justified in complaining of such

omission. But, even if these be omissions, this volume appears to us as useful as any single existing volume in our language to be recommended to the notice of any one beginning the study, not merely of what Professor Baldwin Brown proposes to put before us, but of far wider fields of development in English political or social history.

The second volume deals with ecclesiastical architecture in England from the time of the conversion of the Saxons to the time of the Norman Conquest; it must therefore be looked at from a different point of view from that from which we look at the first volume. We have not now a book which the general reader can run through rapidly and with pleasurable ease; we have one which, if it is to be appreciated, needs close attention, and bespeaks the possession of a good deal of special knowledge. In this, as in the first volume, an admirable index and numerous excellent illustrations give us much help. We are glad to have these in the first volume, but in the second we find them quite invaluable. By the aid of the index we are able to gain a mastery over the contents of the book in a wonderfully short space of time, and the illustrations enforce the author's views in a way which no words could do; this is partly because Professor Baldwin Brown has wisely refrained from adopting any of the modern processes of photography which, however admirable for securing accuracy of a certain kind, can never express that insistence on a particular feature which is so often just what a learner needs.

More than half of the volume is taken up by a detailed consideration of existing buildings or portions of buildings. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to group together, in anything like a complete manner, or to classify the remains of Saxon churches in England. The attempt is pre-eminently successful: close personal observation underlies all this part of the Professor's work, and, in whatever direction his conclusions may some day be modified, it is not likely that the collection of facts on which it is based will ever be superseded. About 185 places are mentioned where Saxon ecclesiastical building can still be seen. To many persons this number may at first seem large; but if they read this book, those persons will probably admit that the number must soon be largely added to. For they will find that no structure has been included in the list except on very strong technical evidence derived from the building itself; and they will find too that the Professor has not yet dealt with any of the evidence which can be derived from the study of Saxon ornament as displayed in other things than actual mason work. When he comes to consider manuscripts which often illustrate architectural detail, and the carving of stone crosses, or of ivory, we shall be surprised if Professor Baldwin Brown does not supply us with at any rate a strong presumption for assigning a pre-Norman date to many structures not included in his list.

In the classification of existing remains, Professor Baldwin Brown rightly prefers on the whole to base his dividing lines rather on type of plan than on chronological sequence; but he does indicate a division into three periods. It must be left to the reader to examine the grounds of this division for himself; it will be well worth his while to do so; but

we are inclined to think that he will find it somewhat difficult to convince himself of the existence of the middle period.

A consideration of the political relations between England and the Continent in the early part of the ninth century, and onwards, will pre-dispose the reader to agree with the author when, for technical reasons, he attributes some of the most striking features of later Saxon architecture to German influence; and we feel sure that this conclusion will be found to be even more probable when we come to deal with art as applied to small objects.

We are tempted to dwell on many of the points discussed in this volume, but to do so shortly and at the same time adequately is probably impossible; we can only advise all who are at all interested in its subject to read the book for themselves: if they do so they will be delighted with it. One hint of caution may perhaps be given; it is this, was not Wilfrid more influenced by Roman examples than our author seems to think? The personality of Wilfrid is of such importance in the history of English architecture; so many known incidents in his life might lead us to expect him to have been considerably influenced by Rome, that we think the subject is well worth pursuing, and perhaps Professor Baldwin Brown may forgive us for the wish that he had dealt more fully with the point. But be that as it may, we fancy there will be few readers to disagree with our author's conclusion—'Saxon England stood outside the general development of European architecture, but the fact gives it none the less of interest in our eyes.'

THOS. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

THE ANCESTRY OF RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON, D.D. (Archbishop of Canterbury): A CHAPTER IN SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHY. By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Longforgan. Pp. viii, 39, with 12 Illustrations, 8vo. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 3s. 6d.

'WORTHY Mrs. Goodal kept a shop in Leith.' So begins the book of the Ancestry of Randall Thomas Davidson, but we are relieved in the next sentence or two, and learn that after all Mrs. Goodal had no part in the Archbishop's pedigree, and next to none in his family history.

The first of his line who is mentioned by Mr. Philip is David Randall, a Scots merchant in, or connected with, Holland. He appears in *Wodrow* several times. His son Thomas Randall, who became an eminent minister of the Church of Scotland, was born in 1710, graduated at Edinburgh in 1730, and was presented successively to the parishes of Inchture and Stirling. The surname Randall, not wide spread in that form at least, was already common, says Mr. Philip, in the neighbourhood of Inchture. 'It occurs frequently in the Register of Cupar [-Angus] Abbey. Amongst the tenants in Carse Grange are Ranalds, Ranaldsons, Randalsons, and Randalls, or, as it is sometimes given, Randal, Rendale, Randell, Rendal. There were others about Perth in the days of the Reformation.' Mr. Philip does not push the matter

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further, but the catalogue suggests the enquiry if the surname is Celtic and only another form of Ranald, and if Thomas Randall's presentation to Inchture suggests a relationship between him or his family with Randalls already there. To us, Thomas Randall is known through the *Diary and Letters* of Joseph of Kidderminster, the *Life of Dr. Erskine*, by Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, his own pamphlets and such like, and his contributions to the Scottish Paraphrases. He was a man of genius and personal influence, of great piety and 'a dash of excentricity,' and was not invariably entirely obedient to the courts of the Church. His wife, Mary Davidson, widow of John Eliot of Chapel-hill, and mother by that marriage of the Court Physician, Sir John Eliot, Baronet, was a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Davidson, one of the ministers of Dundee. She had a brother Hugh, rector of Kirby, Yorkshire, and—what is more relevant to the subject of the present narration—a brother William, merchant in Rotterdam, who acquired a fortune, and purchased the estate of Muirhouse, near Edinburgh. The eldest son of her second marriage, Thomas, his uncle William's heir, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Thomas Randall Davidson, followed his father as minister of Inchture, was afterwards minister of the 'Outer High' Parish, Glasgow, and finally of the Tolbooth Parish, Edinburgh. He was a popular preacher, a paragon of punctuality, and a master of manners. He was known to have given one divinity student from the country lessons with practical demonstration on how to come into a room, and to another a banknote privately with the injunction to go for a term to the dancing school. And yet, withal, Dr. Davidson of the Tolbooth was remembered by the great Thomas Chalmers as 'that venerable Christian patriarch . . . whose heavenward aspirations, whose very looks of love, and grace celestial apart from language, altogether bespoke the presence of a man who felt himself at the gates of his blissful and everlasting home.' Dr. Davidson married twice, firstly Christian Rutherford, and after her death, Elizabeth, sister of Henry Cockburn, the well-known Judge, and daughter of Archibald Cockburn, one of the Barons of Exchequer.

He was succeeded by his eldest son by his first marriage, William, and he, by his son Thomas, an eminent palaeontologist. But Muirhouse eventually passed to Henry (not mentioned in *Scots Fasti*), Dr. Davidson's fourth son, and third by his second marriage. Henry Davidson of Muirhouse married Henrietta, daughter of John Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame, in Berwickshire, and their eldest son is the Primate whose ancestry Mr. Philip set out to prove.

It is an interesting and well informed monograph. So far as he has been able Mr. Philip has delineated the mothers as well as the fathers of the stock, and his little work, apart from the interest of the individual characters which in succession are portrayed in it, is a valuable contribution to the library of the student of heredity. Time and again a son of a Scottish minister has become an English Dean or Bishop. But what in the wide range of possibilities, good, bad, and indifferent, has some son or near descendant of the manse not become! Still the monograph before us appears at an interesting moment, when—not to go further—the one

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English Archbishop is the grandson of a Scots minister, and the other, a great-grandson. Dr. W. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, is great-grandson and name-child of Dr. William Dalrymple, minister of Ayr.

J. H. STEVENSON.

DIE GEDRUCKTEN ENGLISCHEN LIEDERBÜCHER BIS 1600. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sangbaren Lyrik in der Zeit Shakespeares. Von Wilhelm Bolle. (Palaestra xxix.) Pp. cxxvi, 283. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1903.

THIS volume contains the text (without the music) of 25 English song-books published between 1587 and 1600. Most of these have not previously been reprinted entire, though many of the songs—perhaps all of them that have any real poetic merit—have found admission into various modern anthologies. Herr Bolle has deserved the thanks of students of Elizabethan poetry by bringing these collections together in a convenient form, and also by the pains he has taken to trace the origin and the literary history of the poems. In the case of those pieces which are extant in more than one early edition, the variant readings are given in the footnotes. The proof-reading has not been so careful as could be desired; there are many obvious misprints not included in the list of errata. Such uncorrected errors as 'tore agast' (p. 79) for *sore agast*, 'lovers feares' (p. 26) for *lovers teares*, 'billy' (p. 29) for *lilly*, 'though' (p. 32) for *through*, 'rorie' (p. 119) for *rosie*, are likely to shake the reader's confidence in the accuracy of the text, especially as it will be seen that similar misprints are not infrequent in the notes and introductions. It is quite possible that some of the mistakes above quoted may be found in the original editions; but, if so, they ought to have been corrected in the footnotes, or at least marked with a 'sic' to prevent them from being taken for editorial blunders.

The editor intimates in his preface that his original intention was to reprint only the seven song-books published by Thomas Morley, and that it was by Professor Brandl's advice that he was induced to include the other collections. This enlargement of plan has added materially to the value of the book, but one feature has been retained from the original design which does not harmonise well with the structure of the extended work. The section of the introduction entitled 'Inhalt und Form der Morley'schen Lyrik,' which occupies 40 pages, and has the appearance of having been written as a doctoral dissertation, is characterised by an elaborate minuteness quite out of proportion to the importance of the compositions discussed (of which, indeed, the editor himself has no high opinion); and this want of proportion is emphasised by the absence of any corresponding treatment of the metrical and stylistic features of the other collections. The form of the references in the dissertation, also, is unsuitable in its present position: the use of the letters from A to G to denote Morley's seven books might not have been inconvenient if the volume had contained no other texts; but now that Morley's books are interspersed among a number of others in chronological order, this notation renders it

very difficult to find the passages referred to. It would have been better if the seven collections had been indicated by intelligible abbreviations of their titles. However, it is not very likely that any one (in England, at least) will ever find occasion to follow Herr Bolle in his exhaustive study of the technique of Morley's songs, and, if any one does so, he can write the reference letters at the top of the pages.

The general introduction contains full biographical notices of the composers who contributed the music of the collections reprinted in the volume. In the article on Morley is given a long and interesting extract from his famous 'Introduction to Musicke.' Noteworthy evidence of Morley's celebrity as a musician is afforded by the two books, published in 1609 and 1624, containing collections of his compositions with German words. The text of these books is reprinted at the end of this volume.

Herr Bolle has done a solid and valuable piece of work, which justifies the hope that he will attain a distinguished position among the representatives of English scholarship in Germany.

HENRY BRADLEY.

THE PRECES PRIVATAE OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. Brightman, M.A.,
Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford; Canon of Lincoln.

Pp. lxii, 392. Crown 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1903. 6s.

THIS book needs no commendation from us: the names of the author and of his modern editor are a sufficient guarantee of worth. The Private Prayers of Lancelot Andrewes are among the most remarkable collections of Christian devotions which the world has ever seen. Drawn from many sources, patristic, mediaeval, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, they provide for every need of the Christian life. Compiled and selected with wonderful care, they formed the daily companion of one of the saintliest of men. The edition before us is an accurate translation from the printed text of 1675, corrected and supplemented by the mss. The matter has been re-arranged for practical use, as far as possible in accordance with the Bishop's own scheme of devotion. This has really been necessary, for in parts of the original much had been thrown together without arrangement. Marginal references have been added throughout. To glance over them makes one marvel at the wide reading and the keen theological insight of the author. Mr. Brightman has given us an excellent critical introduction, and there are about a hundred pages of closely printed notes, historical and theological. There are few books, in our judgment, which appeal to so many different readers as this. It is useful alike to the theologian, the man of letters, the liturgical student, the preacher, and the historian of the seventeenth century, for it is one of the richest productions of English learning when English literature was near its best. We are sorry that it is printed upon such poor paper. In a few years' time our modern publishers will have cause to regret their present meanness in this respect.

F. C. EELES.

The Collected Works of William Hazlitt 331

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF WILLIAM HAZLITT. Edited by A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, with an Introduction by W. E. Henley. In twelve volumes. Demy 8vo. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902, 1903. 7s. 6d. net each.

It was said of Hazlitt that a complete collection of his works was all the monument he demanded. He has had to wait seventy years for it. The pious but insufficient labours of his son and grandson were directed to gathering essays which he himself did not live to issue in volume form; while enthusiasts such as Mr. Alexander Ireland did little more than trace and catalogue his scattered publications. Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover have taken advantage of their great opportunity. They have reprinted for the first time Hazlitt's early and laboured ventures in philosophy, politics, and grammar, and they have rescued from forgotten magazines the essays which he dashed off in his later struggles. The edition has the further interest of being introduced by a sketch of Hazlitt in Mr. Henley's most vigorous manner.

The labour of the edition, however, has been Mr. Waller's and Mr. Glover's. They have reprinted from the latest texts published in Hazlitt's lifetime, and have refused 'to modernise or improve Hazlitt's orthography or punctuation.' They have as wisely retained all his innumerable misquotations. In many cases it is impossible to say whether the variation is deliberate; and even his slips have their value. A Hazlitt correct in quotations is, despite the plea of his grandson, almost a contradiction in terms. The editors have dealt wisely also with his inveterate habit of repetition. But it is difficult to understand the arrangement of the volumes. The works are grouped neither chronologically nor according to subject. The *Life of Holcroft* is bound up with the *Liber Amoris*, the *Plain Speaker* is forced into company with the early *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*, and the *Round Table* is separated by five volumes from *Table Talk*. It is to be regretted that the editors did not insist on the inclusion of the *Life of Napoleon*. The savagery of the *Quarterly* would have been less galling to Hazlitt than the thought that his only elaborate work, to which he even entrusted his reputation, should not find a place in the first authoritative collected edition. The obloquy which it inevitably endured in his own day still seems to haunt it. It may be untrustworthy as a history, but it is a document which cannot be neglected in a representation of his varied talents. Its size has told against it: on all other considerations it had stronger claims to be included than the *Life of Holcroft*, which Hazlitt only revised and completed. To its omission we probably owe the reprints of his earlier works and stray magazine articles. The essay on *Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles*, which is claimed to be reprinted for the first time, is found in the edition published in 1891 by Messrs. Gibbings.

Much of the value of the edition lies in the excellent bibliographical notes, which give full details of the history of the different volumes and of many individual essays. In the explanatory notes—which on the whole are of less value—the editors have condensed a vast amount of varied material. They have given so much that it is almost ungenerous to hint at faults.

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The vague allusion in the essay 'On Criticism' to the silencing of the 'masked battery of Blackwood's Magazine' is explained by a reference to Mr. Lang's *Life of Lockhart*; but the fact is that the masked battery was never silenced, and in 1826 we find Hazlitt himself still complaining of the 'reckless blackguardism of Mr. Blackwood.' To define Granville the polite as a 'follower of Waller in English verse,' is to give a pointless paraphrase of Granville's own words which it would have been better to have quoted, if any note was to be given at all. The editors have aimed at brevity, but they would often have done better to have omitted rather than condensed. For there are many notes which are not imperative in an edition so 'monumental' as this. Is it necessary to say who Hoppner was, or to explain that Sir Thomas Lawrence was a 'portrait painter (1769-1830)'? The two notes on Sir Martin Shee in vol. ix. overlap, and do not tally in their details.

In the tracing of Hazlitt's multitudinous quotations the editors have been so successful that they may now be inclined to modify their early suggestion, that he sometimes used inverted commas to pass off a daring phrase of his own. It is truer that he did not acknowledge all that he might have done. When he said of Fawcett in the essay 'On Criticism' that 'he was not exceptionous,' he was probably recollecting a passage in the *Way of the World* (i. 2); and when he spoke of Lear's 'sublime identification' of his own age with that of the Heavens (v. 4) he used, as on many other occasions, the words of Charles Lamb. In the notes on the *Age of Elizabeth* we miss a reference to Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare, as well as to the 'ingenious and agreeable writer of the present day,' who held that good cheer and hospitable living were general in Elizabeth's time. There can be little doubt that Hazlitt refers here to Nathan Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*. It does not appear to have been noted that the introductory lecture on the *Age of Elizabeth* owes something to the grandiose preface to C. W. Dilke's six-volume edition of *Old English Plays* published in 1814.

The editors are supplying at least fifty closely-printed pages of notes to each of the twelve volumes, and many of the most valuable of these take up only a single line. There is no mistaking the knowledge and labour that lie concealed under an unassuming reference. The editing of texts or the writing of notes is too commonly a thankless task, but Mr. Waller and Mr. Glover know that theirs is already the standard edition of Hazlitt, and they are apparently determined that it shall not have a rival.

D. NICHOL SMITH.

THE KEY TO THE FAMILY DEED CHEST: HOW TO DECIPHER AND STUDY OLD DOCUMENTS. By E. E. Thoyts (Mrs. John Hautenville Cope). Pp. xvi, 150. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Second Edition. London: Elliot Stock, 1903. 4s. 6d.

THIS little book first appeared ten years ago, as the Preface tells us. Its aim is indicated by its first title. On the 'Family Deed Chest' and its

probable contents, on parish registers and on parish officers' books (corresponding to our kirk-session registers), the information given is evidently based on the author's own experience, and is both practical and readable. The lady or gentleman blessed with leisure and the run of a few such repositories will find in this volume all that is needed to begin with; a Pocket Dictionary of Abbreviations can be added later; and the strenuous student, who demands more system and more precision, is told where to go. The neophyte is advised, quite rightly, to begin with what he can make out, and be content to acquire proficiency by practice. The stumbling-blocks are smoothed off or explained away—if the twelfth century contracted its words to save space, does not the twentieth do likewise to save time? If the student's Latin is weak, 'the correct conjugation of the verbs can be added afterwards by another person.' If a deed is in Norman-French, it 'can easily be understood,' or misunderstood, as the case may be, 'with the help of a slight knowledge of modern French.' To those tempted to use 'restoratives' for faded ink, the right advice, viz. don't! is tactfully reinforced by an allusion to the 'horrible smell' which awaits the wrongdoer. An interesting suggestion is made that shorthand should be studied 'as a means of training the eye and brain.' Would not art needlework do as well? The author evidently thinks not, and she is a lady. There is a chapter on 'Character by Handwriting,' which Mrs. Cope defends against objectors. If the neophyte should take her literally, and use her maxims as tests of genuineness, the results would be more curious than valuable. But a little 'graphology' may be usefully employed to enliven the perusal of a boxful of old letters.

Our author is opposed to the collection of parish registers in a central office; let every clergyman have 'a typed or printed copy' of his register, 'properly indexed' and 'at hand for reference,' and all will be well. The experience of Scotland shows, alas! that centralisation brings us no nearer to this millennial state.

The book is illustrated with photographs from old writs, which Mrs. Cope, true to her empirical principles, does not attempt to use for educational purposes. Indeed, many an expert would not care to tackle them without a magnifying-glass; but they are clear and good. The chapter on 'Legal Technicalities' is, of course, not adapted to northern latitudes. But Scotland is compensated by a photograph from a privately owned Chartulary of Reading Abbey, representing charters of David I. and Malcolm IV., some of which are not accessible elsewhere.

There is a short Introduction by Mr. C. T. Martin, of the Public Record Office, whose name carries weight in palaeographical matters. If he is a little in the 'nothing like leather' vein, we are glad to be reminded thereby that his science is in fashion at present; a historian who cannot read the records is not up to date. We wish the same could be said of the custodiers of local records and family papers.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

334 Life and Principate of Emperor Nero

THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR NERO. By Bernard W. Henderson. Part xiv., 529. With 16 Illustrations and 3 Maps. 8vo. Methuen, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book which ought to live, but which must expect in the course of its life, whether long or short, not to escape misunderstandings.

It is a careful, thorough, and scholarly treatise on the life of—may we not say—the most famous of Roman Emperors, and the results of the author's research are presented in a style so vivid and fresh that we cannot help reading his book. Yet I fear that it will be called an attempt to 'whitewash' the Emperor Nero and misjudged accordingly. But as the author says in his Preface :

'This history is an attempt not to "whitewash" Nero (though perhaps no man is ever altogether black), but to present a narrative of the events of that Emperor's life and of his Principate, with due if novel regard to the proportion of interest suggested by these events. Therefore some personal biographical details or court scandals receive but a scanty notice, or are omitted as too insignificant for even an Imperial biography. In their room I substitute topics of, in my judgment, a wider interest, the study of which may perhaps prove of greater service. Great events befell during the Principate of Nero. These, as well as the Emperor's character, may help, if it so chance, to justify this history.'

This then is the author's point of view. Nero was a thoroughly bad man, but by no means an altogether bad Emperor. This is not the first time that it has been pointed out that his unpopularity was Roman rather than Provincial. The Provinces were on the whole well governed during his reign, and, as the present author points out, some able and statesmanlike measures were planned, especially on the Armenian frontier of the Empire. One who like myself has seen the beginnings of Nero's canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, a work interrupted only by his death, but left unfinished till our own day, is very willing to admit that with all his private vices this man had some large and Imperial conceptions, and was not the mere 'Tigre devenu fou' the 'gamin couronné' whom many French and English authors have hitherto depicted him.

Let us not be misunderstood, and let us not misunderstand our author. Nero in his private family relations was a hopelessly bad man. The man, or say rather the lustful and arrogant boy, who slew his adopted brother, his wife, his mother, and his aged tutor, was undoubtedly a villain : only as 'nemo repente fuit turpissimus,' there were steps in his downward career, and as even Tacitus and Suetonius admitted, the beginning of his reign, the 'quinquennium Neronis' was a time of wise and merciful government, the credit for which must of course be largely given to his advisers, Burrus and Seneca. It is in the latter years of his reign, after his fears had been excited by the all but successful conspiracy of Piso, that he chiefly appears as the unredeemed tyrant, apparently thirsting for the blood of the noblest of his subjects. Lust and fear are both cruel passions, and by both was Nero possessed as by two devils. But these acts of tyranny and cruelty, which no trustworthy historian could dream of passing over in silence, were after all confined to Rome. Much was going on all the

time in the Provinces, and here the Emperor's action seems to have been on the whole wise, and the results of it beneficial. It is to this part of the history of Nero's reign, hitherto somewhat neglected, that Mr. Henderson rightly invites the attention of his readers.

There are many interesting discussions in the book, on the character of Stoicism and the causes of its failure, on the spread of Christianity in Rome, on the pretext for the first persecution of Christians, on the date of the Apocalypse (assigned by our author to the last months of A.D. 68); but to these I can only make this brief allusion. Probably the part of the work which will be considered most valuable by historical experts, is that in which the author describes and discusses Corbulo's campaigns in Armenia from A.D. 55 to 63.

We hope that the success of this book may lead the author to continue his elucidation of the history of Imperial Rome. May we suggest for his next study the reign of that other Emperor,—no faultless private character though an immeasurably better man than Nero, as well as a far wiser ruler,—the insatiable traveller and ubiquitous builder, Hadrian?

THOS. HODGKIN.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH: CHAPTERS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, BEING A PORTION OF THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC IRELAND. By Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. Translated from the original Latin by Matthew J. Byrne. Pp. xxvii, 212, with map. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1903. 7s. 6d.

THE contents of this book are indicated with sufficient fulness on a lengthy title-page. Mr. Byrne, who has devoted the past eighteen years to the study of Irish history, has set himself the congenial task of translating some hysterical chapters written by a remarkable man on the doings of Queen Elizabeth and her army of heretics in the Emerald Isle. The reader will thank the translator for his preliminary warning in the preface, that he regards 'O'Sullivan's work more in the light of material for an Irish history of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. than of itself supplying that want.' It is only just to compliment Mr. Byrne for the care he has taken to reproduce his author's sentiments and to avoid 'the danger of sacrificing accuracy to an attempt at elegance, and so substituting an English composition by himself for the history of O'Sullivan.' On the whole he has done his work very well, both as editor and translator.

In an appendix Mr. Byrne has collected some interesting notes on the weapons of war and modes of fighting in vogue with the Irish chieftains in their rebellions under Queen Elizabeth. The use of the military engine called 'the sow,' which seems to have been the most usual method of attacking fortified places, shows how antiquated were military tactics among the Irish at the close of the sixteenth century. In the Border wars of the early fourteenth century the Scots, under King Robert the Bruce, often employed this mischievous engine against the walls of Carlisle, *sed sus nec scalae eis valebant*, as the trustworthy chronicler of Lanercost testified.

Ample references to treatises on Irish weapons used at the time under review have been given.

The book is enriched with a good index and the reproduction of a quaint map of Ireland, drawn up by John Norden between 1609 and 1611, and still preserved in the Public Record Office in London. The map, though not new, is a useful addition, for it enables the reader to trace out the districts occupied by the Irish septs mentioned in O'Sullivan's narrative. It is to be hoped that Mr. Byrne will be encouraged to persevere with his intention of translating the works of Lombard, Rothe, and other contemporary historians of Irish events during the Elizabethan period.

JAMES WILSON.

LETTERS FROM DOROTHY OSBORNE TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, 1652-54.

Edited by Edward Abbott Parry. Pp. vi., 350. Crown 8vo. With 3 Illustrations. Sherratt & Hughes: London and Manchester, 1903. 6s.

THIS new and authorised edition of the most charming of English letters written during the seventeenth century by an Englishwoman, who was no unworthy contemporary of Madame de Sévigné, is a welcome and timely reprint. Only five letters are added to those printed in 1888, but the new recension differs from its predecessor in the dating of them, which has necessitated a new arrangement, and in the insertion of more or less copious explanatory introductions to each letter. Mr. Parry confesses a 'holy horror of the footnote,' which has induced him to put all his explanatory information in the introductory form; but it is questionable whether the footnote would not have been a more convenient device, especially since the difference of type between the letters and their introductions is so slight as to make it difficult for those who are not connoisseurs in typography to distinguish them at a glance. None the less the introductions, minute and copious as they are in the illustration of every name and allusion, form a most helpful, and indeed indispensable part of the book. Another commendable addition is the three appendices, one of which, dealing with the life of Dorothy's father, Sir Peter Osborne, and especially with his defence of Guernsey for the Royalists in the Civil War, gives a pleasing glimpse of a minor but most romantic episode in that struggle. The tasteful equipment of the book in type, binding, and illustration deserves a word of praise.

ROBERT AITKEN.

CHAMBERS'S CYCLOPAEDIA OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. New Edition by

David Patrick, LL.D., with numerous Portraits. Vol. I. pp. xv, 832; Vol. II. pp. xi, 832; Vol. III. pp. xvi, 858, royal 8vo. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1901-04. 10s. 6d. nett each.

THIS great work was founded sixty years ago by Scotsmen, and it has been maintained largely from the same source, but anything like a narrow patriotism is studiously avoided by the Editor. In his able but modest Preface he appeals to literary kinship and to the brotherhood of language, and he studiously, both in his selection of his coadjutors and in his choice

of authors, acts up to his principles. He writes 'To the youth of the English kin this book is once more and in a new shape offered as a help in seeking out and in laying to heart the wisdom and the wit of our famous men of old and the fathers that begat us, in the confidence that allegiance to the highest traditions of our literature will increasingly obliterate local and temporary jealousies.' From this it must not, however, be assumed that this great book of reference—one of the few really great works of its sort in our language—is particularly addressed to the young. It is adapted to the wants of all scholars, great and small, and it is at the same time a pleasant companion for the man of leisure, in so far as this can be true of any volumes which are too ponderous for the hand. By giving three volumes where there were two, the Editor is enabled to include many authors before ignored, to treat much more fully of almost all others, and to amplify the critical and biographical notices, bringing the work in all respects up to the requirements of the present time.

The general plan of the Cyclopaedia remains as in former editions, excepting only that now each author is presented once for all. That is to say, the arrangement is purely chronological, authors not being now discussed separately according to the class of their work—historic, dramatic, poetic and what not. This is a decided improvement. Each section of the work is prefaced by an historical survey—an entirely new feature. No one acquainted with the former editions should judge this one by them. The book is almost entirely rewritten, and great pains have been spent in verifying the biographical parts. As regards the extracts from the various authors' works, Dr. Patrick tells us that this is 'Not a collection of elegant extracts': but something there is 'to illustrate the author's average achievement, the standard by which he may be judged.' The book is an incitive to study rather than a study in itself. Still it is not a book which is no book. A cyclopaedia is not 'pure literature,' but a reader of ordinary intelligence can scarcely open the book at any page without finding absorbing matter of interest, and we should say that no better antidote to the bane of inferior fiction can be placed on our shelves than such a book as this.

In the very limited space at our command it is obviously impossible to consider in detail the quality of the work of the contributors. The list of leading contributors must suffice as warrant, and they seem to us to have worked with a view to sustaining their high reputation. In such variety there are necessarily degrees of merit. And if we are disposed to carp at the great space allotted to some authors, compared with the scant measure bestowed upon others, not to mention total exclusions, we bear in mind that in such matters the personal equation is necessarily prominent and the task of control very difficult. In short, the wheat so immeasurably exceeds the chaff that the latter becomes, to our mind, negligible.

The work is enriched by numerous portraits and facsimiles, the former mostly from the National Gallery. They are very good, considering the 'popular' price at which the work is brought out, and we only wish there were more of them. But of portraits alone there are some three hundred.

HAYWARD PORTER.

338 Charles Plummer: Alfred the Great

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALFRED THE GREAT: being the Ford Lectures for 1901. With an Appendix and Map. By Charles Plummer, M.A. Pp. xii, 232, crown 8vo. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1902. 5s. nett.

THE recent anniversary celebrations and the consequent vast amount of uncritical writing on the subject of Alfred's Life and Times make a volume by a scholar of Mr. Plummer's standing at once necessary and welcome, and the work before us, though handicapped as a literary production by the amount of matter relegated to foot-notes, amply fulfils our expectations.

Its aim is to set before us a picture of the real Alfred framed in the history of his times, and especially to estimate his ability as soldier, administrator, educationist, and man of letters. Main lines of enquiry are the genuineness of the direct evidence of Asser, and the indirect evidence of the proved works of Alfred himself, for both of these have been invested with great importance because of the meagreness of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the fewness of the charters and other documents relating to this reign.

The critical examination of Asser is the best and most convincing part of the book. Here Mr. Plummer's main conclusions are :

1. That the crude arrangement of the work, the excessive assertion of the author, the evident corruption of the text, the frequent inconsistencies, and the obvious interpolations, are arguments against its being accepted as genuine in its present shape.

2. That even in the undoubtedly 'genuine nucleus' we have to allow for frequent exaggeration and occasional 'rebellion against facts.'

He would, therefore, at once brush away such myths as the 'cakes,' the 'early tyranny' and the 'invention' of the shires. Then coming to points not so obvious he challenges Alfred's claim to be the absolute founder of the English navy, and holds that his power has been greatly exaggerated and that the elaborate tale of his finance is nothing more than an 'acute fit of imagination' on the part of Asser. Yet he confirms substantially the verdict of early history on the merit of Alfred's services in the liberation of the country from the Danes, attributing his greatness largely to his skill in co-ordinating the administration of the kingdom.

The other line of enquiry is not quite so convincingly handled, though we are glad to see that Mr. Plummer denies the identity of the *Encheiridion* with the *Soliloquies of Augustine*, claims the metrical translation of the *Metra* as Alfred's, and rejects the recent opinion of Professor Sweet that Alfred could not have translated the *Bede* because the work shows 'Mercian characteristics incompatible with a West Saxon origin.' In other words, he refuses to accept on alleged philological grounds, a mere statement contrary to established historical evidence and, even if correct, worthless as argument, since at least four of the helpers of Alfred were actually Mercians!

On the other hand we do not see on what grounds Mr. Plummer objects to Alfred as the reviser of the *Dialogues of Gregory*, nor in what respect the evidence for his translation of the *Psalter* is inconclusive. Nor does Mr.

Plummer make out the priority of the *Orosius* to the *Bede*. The literalness of the latter—which Mr. Plummer attributes to ‘reverence’—seems more like the natural unwillingness of a ‘young’ translator to tamper with his original, while the freedom of the former seems to afford *prima facie* evidence of experience in translation. No doubt much of this ‘freedom’ is, as Mr. Plummer says, blundering and mistranslation, but that is largely due to the greater difficulty of the Latinity and the un-English cast of thought. Still there are also many distinct additions, such as the description of Germany and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with many editorial explanations, such as those referring to Hannibal’s march and the defeat of Regulus, which are valuable as word-pictures of Alfred’s own experiences and undoubtedly reminiscent of the Danish troubles.

But points of commentary like these are of minor importance in a work of such merit. Despite the author’s modest disclaimer of anything new to offer, he does much to give us a clearer conception of Alfred, and sets before us an able, scholarly, and critical estimate of that age in which England was being consolidated and foundations of English literature were being laid, under kingly auspices.

J. CLARK.

LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE ET LES CONGRÉGATIONS : EXPOSÉ HISTORIQUE ET DOCUMENTS. Par A. Aulard. Paris : E. Cornély, 1903, 311 pp. Small 8vo. 3 fr. 50.

In the preface to his excellent monograph, M. Aulard tells us that recent debates in the Chamber of Deputies and recent discussions in the French press on the question of the religious orders, have revealed very inadequate knowledge of the facts relating to the suppression of these orders in France during the Revolution.

These facts M. Aulard now gives. In a short but masterly *résumé* he traces the history of the monastic orders from the expulsion of the Jesuits by Louis XV. in 1762, to the final suppression, by the Legislative Assembly, of the regular orders on August 4th, and of the secular orders on August 7th, 1792. No parallel is drawn between the history of over a hundred years ago, and that of to-day, but the writer is careful to point out that the suppression of the orders under the Revolution did not originate in anti-religious feeling.

The question was first raised in October, 1789, by an appeal to the National Assembly on the part of the nuns of the Immaculate-Conception at Paris, against the exercise of undue pressure on certain novices to take perpetual vows; and was argued in the Assembly on the ground that perpetual vows were inconsistent with the recent declaration of the Rights of Man. Perpetual vows were decreed to be no longer binding, and a spirit of justice and consideration animated the earlier decrees which made arrangements for those monks and nuns who chose to remain in their orders, as well as in the provision for those who left. Very soon, however, the necessity of acquiring property which could be sold to make good the State deficit led to the suppression of certain monasteries,

and finally the hostile attitude, towards the Revolution, of those *religieux* who did not leave their orders, brought about the suppression of the whole.

The question of the religious orders was only a part of that of Church and State, and M. Aulard, strong Republican as he is, does not for a moment deny that the course pursued by the Revolution towards the Church was a grave political error.

M. Aulard follows his *resumé* by the official reports of the debates in the National Assembly, by the best contemporary journalistic accounts of these debates, and by the decrees relating to the question. Had he found room for a few of the petitions for and against the decrees cited, the reader would have had a still better idea of contemporary feeling. As it is, he has given us another example of the admirable manner in which the French school of history reproduces, edits and illumines the documents of the Revolutionary period.

SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE.

THE SHRINES OF S. MARGARET AND S. KENTIGERN. By P. Macgregor Chalmers, I.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Pp. 20, with 4 plates. Royal 8vo. Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1903.

IN the early days of Christianity altars were built over the graves of martyrs. Later on it became common to translate the body of a martyr from the early grave in a cemetery and to bury it with honour under the altar of a new church. From this custom developed that of enclosing relics in newly built altars. In the middle ages there was a further development, and relics of saints were placed in small vessels of precious metal, which were set upon altars as a decoration for high days. A usage intermediate in character between the burial under an altar and the enclosing in a movable shrine took place when the body of a saint was translated from its earlier resting place and deposited in an elaborate fixed shrine, a structure of stone, wood, and metal, in close connection with an altar and usually behind it. In some churches, as at Glasgow, a chapel was formed in the crypt for this purpose, thus continuing the idea of burial with respect to the church above. In large churches, where the high altar stood at a distance from the east wall, a large shrine of this description was often placed immediately behind it, sometimes adjacent to it, but sometimes with a separate altar, and in an enclosed chapel behind the high altar and separated from it by a screen. The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster is an example of the latter arrangement, and the altar now to be seen at the west end of the shrine itself is an excellent restoration of what must have been the old arrangement. That of St. Margaret at Dunfermline seems to have been a shrine of this kind.

In his interesting paper Mr. Macgregor Chalmers gives some account of these two large shrines which formerly existed in Scotland—the one of St. Margaret at Dunfermline Abbey, the other of St. Kentigern in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. Mr. Chalmers gives excellent repro-



I. CHAPTER SEAL OF DUNFERMLINE

II. CHAPTER SEAL OF GLASGOW

From plates lent by the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow



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ductions of chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow, which he believes bear representations of these shrines. Unfortunately, we cannot follow him here, although his theory is very attractive. The buildings shown on the seals are only the conventional representations of churches so common in the art of the period. The usual medieval treatment is followed, by which the artist showed the outside and the inside of the church in one view. In the Dunfermline seal there is the sky above the church with sun and moon and two birds. The conventional foliage at the sides is probably intended to suggest trees. Within the church we see a queen—almost certainly intended for St. Margaret herself—and a monk, with a priest saying mass, with the help of a kneeling monk who is acting as his clerk. The whole forms a conventional representation of the church itself in St. Margaret's own day, and not a picture of her shrine. An examination of the Glasgow seal shows the same idea—not the shrine, but the church itself with a service going on within.

Mr. Chalmers says: 'It is probable that the shrine contained the following relics,' and he proceeds to enumerate many of those recorded in the well-known Glasgow Inventory of 1432, most of which had nothing to do with St. Kentigern. These relics were in separate movable reliquaries, and were unconnected with St. Kentigern's shrine, although perhaps they may occasionally have been used to adorn his altar on feasts. They must have been kept in the Cathedral treasury with the plate and other valuables, and they were brought out to deck altars with upon festivals, as is constantly done in Spain to-day, in the same way as the high altar at Westminster is still adorned with rich plate on Sundays and great days. The large fixed shrine of St. Kentigern in the crypt was a thing by itself. Readers interested in the subject of shrines and reliquaries would do well to consult the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv., pp. 121-125, and pp. 237 *et seq.*

F. C. EELES.

THE LANDS AND LAIRDS OF DUNIPACE. By John C. Gibson. Pp. 48, with two genealogical charts. Stirling: Cook & Wylie, 1903. 2s. 6d.

MR. GIBSON informs us that this is the first instalment of a work on estates and their owners in the parishes of Larbert and Dunipace. In this instance he has succeeded in giving us a very interesting account, which is a good deal more than a bare genealogy of the various owners of the lands. Several families notable in Scottish history have been connected with Dunipace. The Umfravilles are the earliest mentioned, and held the superiority until their forfeiture in the reign of Robert the Bruce. They and other possessors, on various occasions from 1190 onwards, gifted portions of the lands to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, which eventually seems to have acquired the whole. In 1495 the Abbey sold the lands to the Livingstones, a younger branch of the Callendar family. The second laird of this family was an Extraordinary Lord of Session under the title of Lord Dunipace. His grandson, Sir John Livingstone, the fourth laird, was father of Jean Livingstone, Lady Warristoun, who was executed

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in 1600 for the murder of her husband, John Kincaid of Warristoun. Sir John Livingstone, sixth of Dunipace, sold the lands in 1634 to Sir Robert Spottiswoode, second son of the Archbishop. He was an Extraordinary Lord of Session, first under the title of Lord New Abbey, but afterwards as Lord Dunipace. He sold Dunipace in 1643, two years before his execution after Philiphaugh. The lands then passed through various hands, and were eventually purchased in 1677 by Sir Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny, who settled the estate on the sons of his eldest daughter, the wife of Sir John Foulis of the *Account Book* (printed by the Scottish History Society, 1894), from which Mr. Gibson gives some interesting extracts. Sir Archibald Foulis Primrose of Dunipace, grandson of Sir John Foulis, was 'out in the '45,' and was executed in 1746. His estate was forfeited and was acquired in 1755 by James Spottiswood, ancestor of the present proprietor.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

IZAACK WALTON AND HIS FRIENDS. By Stapleton Martin, M.A.
Pp. xii, 263, with 18 Illustrations. London: Chapman & Hall,
1903. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. STAPLETON MARTIN is obviously a thorough-going admirer of Walton, yet although he has evidently taken a great deal of pains, he does not seem to have added any new facts that have hitherto escaped notice. His aim, he says, has been 'to bring out the spiritual side of Walton's character.' But he does not seem to have reached any definite results. On page 18 he remarks that 'Walton, in my opinion, must be placed in Hooker's school,' while on page 21 he says that the reader 'will be forced to rank him (Walton) nearer to Laud's school than to Hooker's.' N. MACCOLL.

We gladly welcome the new edition of Messrs. A. & C. Black's indispensable *Who's Who*, and congratulate the editor upon the amount of information that he compresses into a short space. It is open to doubt as to whether there is much value in informing the world that Mrs. Crawford hardly ever knows what tedium is, or that she has found real life so interesting that novels and plays seem flat. Remarks of this kind might be severely sub-edited, and the deletion of a considerable quantity of unimportant information would increase the value of the book, but *Who's Who* is so useful and so accurate that blemishes of this sort can be pardoned.

The Tables which used to appear in the volume itself have now, from pressure of other matter, been issued as a separate shilling booklet, under the title of *Who's Who Year Book*.

The English Women's Year-Book and Directory, edited by Miss Emily Janes, contains much information on many points which are likely to be of interest to women.

The place of honour in the *American Historical Review* [Jan.] is becomingly accorded to Dr. Henry C. Lea for his presidential address to the American Historical Association on 'Ethical Values in History.' This venerable author, a profound scholar on historical ethics, discusses a dictum of

the late Lord Acton that in historical judgments we must apply the modern standard of rectitude. Dr. Lea—whether rightly interpreting Lord Acton's meaning or not may be open to argument—sets himself very successfully to show that the principle as he interprets it would often exclude excuses or justifications inherent in the state of contemporary opinion. Taking Philip II. of Spain as a type he illustrates in his career the anomalies that modern standards introduce, turning into a monster of cruelty one who long after his time was still regarded as the incarnate ideal of a Catholic prince.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Jan.), containing 236 pp. of literary text and 116 of bibliographical supplement, is a weighty survey of history from the clerical standpoint, published quarterly under the authority of the Catholic University of Louvain. A chief article is concerned with the general instructions given to the nuncios of the Spanish Low Countries from 1596 until 1633. Among points of British interest is 'the unfortunate position of the faithful (Roman Catholics) in Ireland and Scotland, where King James I. thought to implant Anglicanism, without provision for adequate censorship of heretical books, in the front rank of which were the writings of Marc Antoine De Dominis.' Roman orthodoxy was stirred by the theological writings of King James himself, as well as by the treatise *De Republica Christiana* of De Dominis which was combated by Janson, a professor at Louvain.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Jan., Feb.) M. Joseph Depoin essays an estimate of the Carolingian empire in the light of the recent important work of Prof. Kleinclausz upon the origin of the empire and its transformations. He thus challenges a verdict of one of our standard authorities: 'Nothing justifies the strange allegation of Bryce that Charlemagne would have been quite incapable of explaining his capacity as "Imperator Augustus."'

Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is dissected with judicial skill in the *English Historical Review* (Jan.) by Prof. Firth, who shows with what industry and independence, yet with what bias, the monumental apology for Charles I. was composed. Mr. Haverfield pronounces a fine eulogium and critique combined on Mommsen—a memorial essay which rises to the height of its great occasion, enlisting the reader's admiration for its dignity of style as well as for its just appreciation of this first of the moderns among the masters of history. Mr. J. H. Round goes far on the way of proof that Edward the Confessor had, in regard to the names and offices of his court, adopted those of the Normans. Dr. James Gairdner contributes an abstract of Bishop Hopper's visitation of Gloucester in 1551; and Mr. Hamilton Wylie a dispensation of a son of King Henry IV. 'propter defectum natalium.' The appearance of the *Scottish Historical Review* is, in the *Reviews of Books*, pleasantly greeted as 'a friendly rival.'

The *Reliquary* (Jan.) presents a rich variety of illustrated matter—almanacs, pin-brooches, spoons, crosses, and carved bench-ends being the

leading picture-themes. Mr. Legge's notes on early almanacs are entertaining. Mr. E. Lovett is ingenious, but fails to convince, in an effort to prove the evolution of the pen-annular brooch from a traditional type of pin-ring brooch. Much spoon-lore is set forth in Mr. R. Quick's 'Chat about Spoons.' Several pre-Norman relics in Lonsdale are described and sketched by Mr. W. G. Collingwood; throughout them interlacing ornament is recurrent.

In the *Antiquary* (Jan.) Mr. R. C. Clephan has an illustrated description of two fifteenth-century suits of armour at Berne, with useful cross references to the suits made at the same time for British celebrities, including James IV. In the March number Mr. Vansittart discusses, with versions in various languages, the 'White Paternoster.'

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset (Sept.-Dec., 1903) continues by quarterly instalments its steady supply of record, description, and various lore on these two shires. Heraldry and genealogy are in the ascendant with ecclesiastical and manorial remains. A full transcript is given of the inscription on Fielding's tombstone at Lisbon. One line is quotable in view of some opinions: 'Virtuti decorem vitio foeditatem asseruit suum cuique tribuens.'

Pen and Palette Club Papers, No. IV. (December, 1903). 'The Pen and Palette Club flourishes': so an editorial note informs, and so can, without danger, be inferred from this sturdy quarto. The Muses, as well as the Arts, still dwell by the banks of Tyne. Of the essays, that on Thomas Aird comes closest to a Scottish reader. From the pen of Mr. A. D. Murray (a friend of Aird, his successor in the editorship of the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald*, a brother of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, and now editor of the *Newcastle Journal*), it gives us a kindly and informing peep into the world of the poet of the 'Devil's Dream.' Among other clever things there is quoted a recent dictum of the *Dumfries Standard*—set down in humour, not in political malevolence—that Aird wrote far more kindly of the devil than he ever did of the Liberal party! Some Carlyle anecdotes appear also, with due modicum of salt in them. Not the least characteristic is that of the sage as theologian in conversation with Aird, his friend. Pointing to Troqueur Kirkyard, Carlyle said, 'Ay, there they lie in the hope of a blessed resurrection, but depend upon it, Aird, they have a long time to wait yet.'

Homage unstinted is due to Profs. Brandl and Morf's energetic and successful editorial work on the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. In the domain of literary history for the middle ages and the Renaissance the *Archiv* holds a powerful place, and the service it year by year renders to work of all kinds on old English can scarcely be set at too high a value. The December issue is unusually strong on this line. Dr. Liebermann edits three early Northumbrian documents, the first of which is Gospatric's letter. We notice that he reads Combres as a personal name, 'of Comber,' not

'Cumbrians,' as our correspondent Mr. Wilson prefers to understand it. 'Eadread's days' Liebermann notes as perhaps an allusion to Ealdred, Earl of Northumberland, father-in-law of Earl Siward. A facsimile of this remarkable document, and another of Bishop Ranulf's grant to his bishopric of Durham of the lands of Elredene and Haliwarestelle, near the Border in North Durham, are most useful accessories to the Liebermann exposition, which exemplifies all that great scholar's customary learning and minuteness of care. Rudolf Fischer gives the first instalment of an inedited Pepysian MS., *Vindicta Salvatoris*, an English poem of the thirteenth century, forming one of the comparatively little known cycle of Titus and Vespasian romances, tracing back to Josephus or Hegesippus. Segments of the legend occur in the Scottish Legends of the Saints, attributed to Barbour, as well as in the alliterative *Sege of Jerusalem*. Another romance chapter of equal interest is Dr. Leo Jordan's essay on some phases of the saga of Ogier the Dane in its old French sources.

Shakespeareana form the staple of the latest part of *Englische Studien*. H. Logeman's notes on the *Merchant of Venice* contain, amidst a good many that do not strike home—which is the usual fate of efforts at solving *cruces*—a residuum of effective comment on passages illuminated a little by contemporary utterances. Another side of study is seen in C. Winckler's discussion of John Marston's early work and his relation towards Shakespeare. Instances of verbal coincidence, such as to prove contact, are apparently non-existent, and other indications of relation are scant.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (Jan.), a quarterly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is surprising in the scale it sets for purely State history. Certain periodicals have been sent us which are too far out of our orbit to admit of more than courteous acknowledgment. Amongst them are the *American Journal of Psychology* (London: Trubner & Co.), the *Anglo-Japanese Gazette* (Japan Press, London), the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (Paris: Leroux).

The Teviotdale Regiment, a paper read to the Hawick Archæological Society by Mr. John W. Kennedy, describes General David Leslie's march to encounter Montrose, and the complete victory he gained over the latter at Philiphaugh on 13th Sept., 1645. Long quotations from a tale by James Hogg evince a doubtful standard of historical authority, although the narrative has local colour from the share of the Earl of Lothian's Teviotdale recruits in the culminating event. A useful appendix is a reprint of a rare contemporary pamphlet descriptive of Montrose's overthrow.

Reports and Transactions

MR. GEORGE MACDONALD read a paper (Jan. 21) on the excavations recently carried out by Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore at the Roman station on the line of the Vallum of Antonine at Bar Hill, near Glasgow. After indicating the obvious strategic importance of the position to troops holding the line of the Forth and Clyde isthmus, he referred briefly to the appearance presented by the fort when visited and described by Gordon nearly two centuries ago. Gordon spoke of the vestiges of old buildings as being more conspicuous here than in any other Roman camp he had seen in Scotland. Before Roy's time these vestiges had largely disappeared, and for many years practically nothing at all was visible above the surface. Until Mr. Whitelaw took the matter in hand, our knowledge of the station was limited to the little that could be gleaned from Roy. Fourteen months ago digging operations were commenced, under the direction of Mr. Alexander Park, with Mr. J. M'Intosh as master of works. The explorers began by opening up the centre of the camp, and on the first day were rewarded by striking the well, of which the diameter at the mouth was four feet. But it proved to be 43 feet in depth, and was carefully built round from top to bottom with dressed stones. Its main interest lay in the fact that, possibly when the camp was abandoned, it had been made the receptacle for articles too substantial to be speedily destroyed, and too heavy to be easily carried off.

It thus yielded finds which would have sufficed to give the excavations a unique place among recorded explorations of Roman sites in Scotland. To clear it thoroughly was a work of difficulty, and thereafter the general plan of the station and its defences was laid bare. As a rule, the forts on this line abut directly on the Antonine Vallum, which serves as their northern rampart. The station on the Bar Hill is an exception. It lies some 30 or 40 yards to the south, while the Military Way runs in front of it. In shape it is almost a perfect square, the dimensions being 399 feet by 393 feet. It is defended by a single rampart, built of sods resting on a stone base, like the great vallum itself, and showing no traces of the massive masonry found at Castlecary. It has the normal four gates. Outside of the rampart is the usual line of ditches, double on every side save the north. The praetorium had been a substantial structure of stone, and among others whose remains were revealed were the latrines, which lay (as at Castlecary) close to the north rampart, and a group provided with a heating system, apparently baths. Rows of post-holes

probably indicated the soldiers' quarters, and a remarkable feature was that here, as at the gateways, the remains of the wooden posts were in many cases found *in situ*. Beneath and within the camp of Lollius Urbicus, which dates from the second century A.D., there has come to light the outline of an earlier camp, which measures 191 feet by 160 feet, and is thus considerably smaller than its successor. It is rectangular in shape, with a small annexe towards the west, and it appears to have had only a single gate, which opened towards the east. This discovery was due to the insight of Mr. Haverfield, who has throughout been in close touch with the excavators.

The obvious suggestion is that here we are face to face with the handiwork of Agricola, who, according to Tacitus, built a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde in 81 A.D. If this be so, it is a striking testimony to the sound military judgment of Roy, who drew from the detached position of the Bar Hill fort the inference that it was probably one of those previously erected by Agricola. The collection of objects recovered is remarkable. There are many iron implements, masons' chisels, and the like, including a complete bag of workmen's tools, held together in its original shape by corrosion. Two inscribed stones tell that at one time the fort was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Baetasii, auxiliaries from Lower Germany, who must have been moved up from Maryport, in Cumberland, where we know from lapidary evidence that they were stationed. Hitherto the only regiment associated with Bar Hill was the First Cohort of the Hamii, Syrian bowmen, mentioned on the altar found in 1895. The usual debris of a Roman camp, from ballista balls to children's playthings, is present in abundance. Pottery and leather shoes are specially plentiful. The bones have been examined by Dr. T. H. Bryce, who identified many relics of the shorthorned Celtic ox (*bos longifrons*). Miscellaneous articles include a copper pot, a bell, the leg of a compass, oyster shells, walnuts and hazel-nuts, and four stone busts of singularly rude workmanship. Coins are not numerous, and in date entirely bear out the view that the vallum was abandoned in the reign of Commodus. They present one very curious feature. When the sludge at the bottom of the well was riddled it was found to contain 13 denarii. At first sight these resembled genuine pieces, but proved to be all of pure tin but one. Probably they were shams expressly manufactured for devotional purposes, the custom of throwing money into wells from superstitious motives being in ancient times a very ordinary practice. In conclusion, Mr. Macdonald emphasised the importance of the service Mr. Whitelaw has rendered to early history by these fruitful excavations.

The Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow shews its vitality by its contributions to the *Proceedings*, vol. xxxiv. for 1902-03. Mr. Richard Brown has made a useful study of the early Scottish joint-stock companies, beginning with the incorporation authorised in 1579 of Scotsmen trading in the Low Countries, and particularising the many companies formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

*Philosophical
Society of
Glasgow.*

for the promotion of fisheries, mainly of herring. Mr. John Edwards pleasantly describes, with piquant quotations, the *Chronicle of the Brut*, and reproduces in facsimile a page from the excellent fifteenth century manuscript which he possesses. Mr. George Macdonald writes with much learning on Coin Finds and how to interpret them, his leading object being to ascertain the main reason for hoards. The Roman Digest (41.1.31.1.) assigns three principal causes, viz., gain, fear, and safe keeping—*vel lucri causa vel metus vel custodiae*. By various evidences constituting a capital commentary on this text, Mr. Macdonald proves that historically the second of these causes stands easily first. Mr. Macgregor Chalmers finds in the shrines of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, and St. Kentigern at Glasgow, the material for the striking archaeological proposition that the church-like structures illustrated on the chapter seals of Dunfermline and Glasgow are renderings of the respective shrines of these churches. His point gains graphic force in a separate revised reprint (*The Shrines of S. Margaret and S. Kentigern*, Carter & Pratt, Glasgow, 1903), having photographs of the English shrines of St. Alban and St. Edward the Confessor, to the type of which the two Scottish chapter-seal structures are analogous. The Philosophical Society celebrated its centenary in 1902, and the opening address of Professor Archibald Barr, the President, on some points in the Early History of the Society, is a valuable and suggestive review of its origin and achievement, especially in relation to mechanical philosophy, including the many contributions of the illustrious *doyen* of the Society, Lord Kelvin.

THE Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, part v., contain notably Mr. R. O. Heslop's 'Dialect Notes from northernmost England,' with a map showing the limits of the Northumbrian burr, and another to locate the Viking settlements. Some breath of the North Sea hangs about Mr. Heslop's utterances. He thinks in breezy anecdote.

Archaeologia Aeliana, the transactions of the Newcastle antiquaries, seldom fails to perpetuate the force of the Roman impression on north England, for the proportion of matter relative to the Roman occupancy is always highly significant both of its actual bulk as well as of its relative importance. The last issue, out of a total of 192 pages, devotes more than half to Roman subjects—epigraphy, excavations, and history. Medieval themes include an illustrated enumeration by Mr. S. S. Carr of early monumental remains of the Benedictine monastery of Tynemouth, consisting of fragments of early crosses with interlacing ornament of pre-Conquest type, and grave covers assigned to a somewhat later period. Mr. J. C. Hodgson usefully transcribes for Northumberland the original returns which were the basis of the *Testa de Nevill*. Some entries about Bamborough revive its place not only as a fortress but as once the Northumbrian capital and a great feudal centre. In an essay on Coupland Castle, about nine miles south of Coldstream, the Rev. M. Culley of Coupland incidentally discusses the border fortifications, mentioning that

not until after the middle of the fourteenth century did the building of border towers become popular. Coupland is a late example, not earlier than 1584. Mr. Culley, we observe, recants his former opinion that an inscribed date, 1619, fixes the period of erection. His general reasons for recantation seem scarcely so constraining as the specific epigraph of 1619 on the stone chimney-piece of the great chamber of the tower. The principal contribution of this part is of absorbing interest to all students of the Roman period in Britain. It contains the report on the excavations of 1898-99 at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*), a document on which the Newcastle Society and everyone concerned are to be most warmly congratulated. Mr. Haverfield deals with the inscribed stones, and Mr. A. B. Dickie with certain special architectural points. Each of these is excellent in his own province. But the main feature of the report is Mr. R. C. Bosanquet's masterly account of the digging and its results. We wish all such reporters would set forth their facts in as luminous and instructive a fashion. While the details are recorded faithfully and with the necessary minuteness of accuracy, they are properly co-ordinated and are interpreted by abundant illustrations from other sites at home and abroad. As a consequence, we get—almost for the first time—a clear and coherent description of the structure and purpose of the building found in all Roman stations, and generally known (on quite insufficient grounds) as the *praetorium*. A good deal of light is thrown on other obscure matters—the arrangements of the soldiers' barracks, for example. But the elucidation of the '*praetorium*' is the outstanding achievement. Mr. Bosanquet hints that the successful excavation of Birrens helped to stimulate the activity that has borne such excellent fruit. May we hope for an appropriate reply from this side of the Border? With Barr Hill and Rough Castle Scotland may claim to hold her own. But it is now her turn to 'go better.' What about Westerwood?

Queries

CLOBEST. In a final concord of 40 Hen. iii. (Cumberland, *Pedes Finium*, Case 35, File 2, No. 68) between Thomas de Multon and the Prior of Lanercost about hunting rights in the barony of Gillesland, a sporting word, unique within my experience, is used upon which I should like to have the judgment of your readers. Shortly the provisions of the agreement are these: the Prior shall have two foresters (*wodewardos*) in his demesne: shall be at liberty to inclose his park and make a deer-leap (*saltorium*) therein: shall have 'quatuor leporarios et quatuor brachettos currentes cum voluerint ad capiendum in dominicis terris et boscis suis vulpes et lepores et omnia alia animalia que vocantur clobest': liberty for his men to carry bows and arrows through the whole barony of Gillesland, 'sine dampno faciendo feris in eadem foresta de Gillesland.' It is evident that a distinction is drawn between two classes of game, deer and 'clobest,' the latter or inferior class including foxes, hares, and other animals, like the cat or mart, which was reckoned a beast of the chase in Cumberland from an early period. Has this word been found elsewhere? There is no doubt about the true reading, for the record of the Fine in the Cartulary of Lanercost (MS. ix. 4) is the same. What is its meaning? To my untutored mind (I make no claim to be a philologist) 'clobest' appears to be the vernacular pronunciation of 'claw-beast,' a beast with claws (see Skeat *s.v.* claw), a class of game inferior to deer or 'hoof-beast.' I do not find reference to the word in Mr. Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society, vol. xiii.

JAMES WILSON.

SOLOMON'S EVEN. Writing in 1874 regarding Shetland, Mr. Arthur Laurenson observes:—'It is a curious fact that almost the only trace left in the language of the people, of the long supremacy in the islands of the Catholic Church, is the remembrance of certain holidays and saints' days, now of course no longer celebrated, although not forgotten. Besides the well-known festivals still recognised, and the legal term days of Christmas, Candlemas, Lammas, Whitsunday, Martinmas, Pasch-Sunday, and St. John's Day (December 27), there are still dated Laurence Mass (August 23), Korsmas (3rd May and 14th September), Fastern Eve (before Lent), Catherinemass (22nd December), Boo Helly (fifth day before Christmas), Bainer Sunday (first before Christmas), Antinmas (twenty-fourth day after Christmas) or Uphellia Day, Solomon's Even (3rd November), Sowday (17th December), Martinbullimas (St.

Swithin's Day), Johnsmass (24th June).—(*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 716). In Mr. T. Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, p. 113, we find this entry:—'Solomon's Avon (Even), November 3rd, a superstition of ill-omen connected with this day. Shetland.' From whom did this festival receive its name?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ROBERTSON. Can you tell the parentage of, or particulars about George Robertson, a Writer in Edinburgh, married (second wife) Elizabeth Ogilvie, and died 1737: his son, Alexander, a Clerk of Session, owner of Parsonsgreen, matriculated in 1778 as a Cadet of the Strowan family?

W. H. R.

THE BROOCH OF LORNE. Can you give a list of the most ancient references or any particulars concerning the celebrated Brooch of Lorne, which was taken from Robert Bruce by the MacDougalls, and is still in the possession of their chieftain, Captain MacDougall, of MacDougall, Dunollie Castle, Argyleshire?

M.

[Some account of the Brooch is given in *Scottish National Memorials* (MacLehose, 1890), pp. 34, 35, with an illustration and references, particularly to *Archaeologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 419, plate xxx., and Sir Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.]

SIR JAMES DENHOLME OF CRAUSHAW. In the Edinburgh Register of Marriages under date 5th August, 1753, Sir James Denholme of Craushaws was married to 'Sophia Cockburn relict of Arch^d. Allan merchant in Annan.' As Sophia Cockburn was born in March, 1697, it is improbable that there were any children. Who was Sir James Denholme? I can see no mention of him in Douglas' Baronage nor in Playfair.

H. A. C.

ST. BEYA'S DEDICATIONS. This Saint is commemorated at Dunbar, at Banff, and on the island of Little Cumbrae. Kilbag Head, in Lewis, is thought by Bishop Forbes (*Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, s.v. *Baya*) to recall either St. Beya, or St. Bega, who gave name to Kilbucho in Peeblesshire. Are there any other Scottish dedications to St. Beya?

J. MURRAY MACKINLAY.

ACONEUZ. In the twelfth century Guthred, king of the Isles, gave to the priory of St. Bees in Cumberland the land of Eschedale in the Isle of Man, free and quit 'ab omni terreno servicio tam de pecunia quam et acuez et ab omni gravamine tam a me quam ab omnibus meis cum eisdem legibus et libertatibus quas habent super terram et homines suos circa ecclesiam sancte Bege in Coupalandia.' We have the same phrase-

ology again in a charter of King Reinald, except that the puzzling word is written 'aconeuz.' At subsequent dates when these charters were inspected and confirmed by Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and Antony, bishop of Durham, lords of Man, the word was reproduced in such forms as 'aconuweys' or 'aconeuez.' I have not met this word in any other connection, and I am anxious to know its correct form and etymology, as well as the precise nature of the territorial burden it represented. Was it a Scottish as well as a Manx service? It was certainly not Cumbrian.

JAMES WILSON.

Replies

WRAWES (i. 101, 235.) The word 'rice'—I do not know the spelling—is used in parts of Midlothian, Peeblesshire, and the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire for the small branches placed below stacks when they are built on the ground, or used for filling up ruts in a cart track over soft ground. These branches are now for the most part of spruce fir, but in many places are still of birch. No doubt in former times birch would be the material generally used for such a purpose. But surely this word is the same as the German 'reis' and so may have no connection with 'wrawes.'

T. D. GIBSON CARMICHAEL.

LEGEND FROM TIREE (i. 113.) It is perhaps worth while pointing out that Mr. R. C. Graham's interesting legend from the island of Tiree would appear to be a picturesquely embroidered variant of a common 'folk-tale.' Parallels could probably be produced from various countries. But the story is found in a simple form in the *Märchen* of the Brothers Grimm. English versions of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* are usually produced for the delectation of children, and in most of them the tale of 'The Old Man who was made Young' is omitted as verging on the profane. It will, however, be found on p. 499 of Ward, Lock & Co.'s 'complete edition.' The miracle-worker is Our Lord, but the bellows are blown by St. Peter, who was also present. The old man who was made young was an aged beggar who had asked alms from the blacksmith. After passing through the furnace he was cooled in the water-butt. The next morning the blacksmith attempted to work a similar change on his decrepit sister-in-law. The experiment was a ludicrous failure. The harder the blacksmith blew the bellows the louder did the old woman scream 'Murder,' 'until the man began to doubt whether things were going on right, and he took her out

and threw her into the water-butt. There she screamed so loud that the blacksmith's wife and her daughter-in-law, who were upstairs, heard it; they ran down and found the old woman howling and groaning in the water-butt.'

M.

LENYS OF THAT ILK (i. 101.) 'Reidhar' in modern Gaelic is 'ridir', knight; 'ouir' is 'odhar,' grey or dun; and 'vray' is 'breac,' freckled; 'tork' is probably 'torc,' boar.

I have to correct an error in the query. The John de Leny, who had a charter of the lands of Drumchastell, can scarcely be identical with John de Lena, mentioned as a witness in 1267, as the latter is designated 'magister,' and must have been a churchman.

A. W. G. B.

GOSPATRIC'S LETTER (i. 62.) The Gospatric letter, which formed the subject of an article in this Review in October, 1903, has attracted the attention of Professor Liebermann, who has printed it in facsimile with a translation and notes in the last issue of the *Archiv* (vol. cxi. pt. 3/4). After passing well-deserved compliments to Canon Greenwell and Mr. W. H. Stevenson for the part they had taken in the interpretation of the writing, Dr. Liebermann has followed your example by placing the English text side by side with his translation, and adding ample notes, philological and explanatory. As my interest in the document is purely historical, I may leave the discussion of the language to the experts. Nothing, however, that has been said by Dr. Liebermann, has materially altered any of the conclusions that I had ventured to advance in my notice of the writ. On the interpretation of the disputed phrase in Gospatric's mode of address to all his dependants, 'theo woonnan on eallun tham landann theo weoron Combres,' the Professor has taken the same view as Canon Greenwell, Mr. Stevenson, and Prof. Skeat, and rendered the passage as 'die wohnen in allen den Landen welche Comber gehorten.' Nobody will dispute the grammatical accuracy of the translation as the text stands, but if I am to understand by that phrase that Comber was a local personage, like Cumbra or Cumbranus, the south-country magnate slain by Sigebert in 775, I cannot accept it. I believe that the key of the difficulty will be found in the rise of geographical terms which in Gospatric's time were in process of formation. Gospatric's province had not yet won for itself a territorial name. States were called after their inhabitants. Cumberland derived its name from the land of the Cumber or Cymric race. It was the 'terra Cumborum' as England was the 'terra Anglorum.' The geographical description in both cases crept gradually into use. After a prevailing fashion, familiar to the student of English and Latin forms, the draughtsman of the writ reduced the territorial designation, which had not been at that time fully established in general usage, to its original conditions 'of all those lands that belonged to the Cumbrian' or Welshman.

To the list of Cumbrian magnates, 'Walltheof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth,' Dr. Liebermann has prefixed

‘Wilhelm,’ but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The word in the script is clearly ‘Willann,’ and not ‘Willelmi’ or ‘Willelm.’ Though the letter ‘a’ in this word, as seen in the facsimile, if taken independently of the scribe’s caligraphy throughout the document, may be read as ‘el,’ few who have carefully examined the original skin will accept the suggested reading. Moreover, Dr. Liebermann’s version necessitates the interpolation of the symbol for ‘and,’ which is fatal to his contention.

I looked with some curiosity for the rendering of the most important passage in the writ, that in which the jurisdiction of Earl Syward over the Cumbrians is spoken of, but it seems to have presented no difficulties to the translator. The obscure passage in question—‘And ne beo neann mann swa deorif thehat mid that ic heobbe gegyfen to hem neghar brech seo gyrth dyyle Eorl Syward and ic hebbe getydet hem cefrelycc’—has been translated by Dr. Liebermann thus: ‘Und es sei niemand so kuhn, dafs er bezuglich dessen was ich jenem gegeben habe irgendwo den Frieden breche, solchen wie Graf Siward und ich jenem ewiglich verlichen habe.’

It would be very interesting if the identification of Eadread—‘on Eadread dagan’—with Ealdred, earl of Northumberland, could be proved; but the general tenor of the writing seems to be against it. As Earl Syward is properly designated, why should Eadread have been mentioned without his title? Last year I went over the list of Northumbrian rulers, kings and earls, with Canon Greenwell, in the hope of finding some counterpart of this personage among them, but every attempt at identification seemed to us open to some grave objection. Eadread appears to me to have been a local potentate like Moryn—‘on Moryn dagan’—who had hitherto escaped notice as a great landowner in the days immediately before Gospatric’s writ was issued.

JAMES WILSON.

Dalston Vicarage.

Notes and Comments

MR. THOMAS GRAVES LAW, LL.D., keeper of the Signet Library, born on 4th Dec., 1836, died on 12th March last. When a personality so many-sided is removed from the historical circle, the sense of loss, though general, strikes different minds at different angles. Some of us knew Mr. Law best as the author of calendars of martyrdom and dissertations on catechisms, and Jesuit or Catholic controversies in the war of creeds. Others thought of him as a skilful bibliographer, and the most obliging of librarians. Others again classed him as a high authority on the text of the Vulgate as well as on early English translations of the Scriptures, especially the Scottish version of the New Testament, which he was still engaged in editing at the time of his death. Possibly more than in any of these capacities he was seen as the unwearying organiser and secretary of the Scottish History Society, scarcely less eager in historical pursuits of his own than in the search for contributions of value, and the sympathetic co-worker in all editorial tasks. An Englishman who had been twenty years a priest when he left the church of Rome in 1878 and settled in the capital of protestant Scotland, he so naturalised himself that we not only forgot he was an importation, but almost persuaded ourselves he was a Scot.

*The late
Thomas
Graves
Law.*

At once ardent and exact, a keen controversialist, but devoid of bitterness, he combined minute detail with comprehensive views. His cordiality and solicitous friendliness of counsel in the enterprise of this magazine, and his zeal in its promotion, may not pass without a most grateful word of record, the more so as this kindliness of interest was evinced in defiance of pain and weakness.

One who knew him well and whose words are always worth remembrance has written that 'in the memory of those who counted themselves among his friends, he will always abide as one of the most loveable of men, an exemplar of tactful courtesy, and the type of a broad and genial humanity.' Scotland loses in him a deep scholar, in a field almost all his own. But he will be missed most of all as an accomplished organiser of studies, and as one who never neglected in the midst of his own researches a chance of assisting or encouraging a fellow-worker. Much of his learning therefore has gone to the making of the books of other men.

As the sea was threatening to undermine St. Andrews Castle on the northern side, the Crown, last autumn, constructed a massive concrete wall which ought to protect it for many centuries to come. Much of the sand and gravel required for this work was obtained on the beach opposite the eastern side of the Castle,

*St. Andrews
Castle.*

and the lowering of the beach has revealed ledges of rock hitherto covered. In one of the ledges there is a distinct cutting, and in the cutting there is still part of the lower course of the old eastern wall, which is ten or twelve yards further east than the wall built by the Crown in 1884 and 1886. The Castle well has also been cleaned out, and in the bottom of it two gargoyles were found. Each terminated in a goat's head, through the open mouth of which the water had poured.

A CURIOUS and out of the way theme, the anatomical vivisection of criminals among the ancients, was lately handled by the Rev. *Vivisection of Criminals.* Dr. Robertson of St. Ninians in a paper read before the archaeologists of Stirlingshire. Celsus in his *De Medicina* approves of the action of certain doctors who dissected live criminals taken from prison (*nocentes homines ex carcere acceptos vivos*) and he repels the charge of cruelty offered by some against this sacrifice of sinners for the good of the just. Tertullian mentions the practice. Galen advised the dissection of monkeys as preparatory to like treatment of man. The vivisection of criminals was again reverted to after a long interval by the Renaissance surgeons. A queer Scottish reminiscence is quoted by the learned minister of St. Ninians. 'I am indebted for my knowledge of the following incident to the President of the Archæological Society of Glasgow. About eighty years ago a criminal named Matthew Clydesdale having been hanged in Glasgow and given over to Dr. Jeffrey for dissection, the students were testing the muscular movements of the body under a galvanic current when signs of animation were observed. Dr. Jeffrey immediately plunged his lancet into the carotid artery that no vivisection might take place.' The euphemism of the last sentence is truly naïve. Mommsen does not include the delivery of a criminal to vivisection in his enumeration of the penalties in the criminal law of Rome.

Some Notices of Old Glasgow, a reprint of the Presidential Address to the Glasgow Archæological Society (19th Nov., 1903), by *The late John Oswald Mitchell.* John Oswald Mitchell, LL.D., cannot be looked at without a sharp consciousness of the loss to Glasgow antiquarian studies occasioned by the author's death. He, like his friend Colin Dunlop Donald, zealously cultivated the Ana of 17th-19th century Glasgow, its merchants and its buildings, and the pictorial aspects of its life. Gifted with a style which, expended on broader themes, might have made him another John Brown, Dr. Mitchell's numerous papers are invariably marked by a descriptive touch, a pawky air, and a breezy vivacity of narrative, all the more welcome because so very unusual in work so exact. His last paper shows the veteran antiquary's eye for pictorial characterisation quite undimmed. It is a discursive topographical survey of Glasgow as it might have looked to a stranger in 1707, and will be read with double sympathy, not only for its own charms and fidelity, but as the last tribute to the city he loved, from one who was held in equal regard as citizen and author.

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On the Danish Ballads

THE close relation between the Danish and the Scottish ballads has long been recognised. Jamieson particularly called attention to the subject by his translations from the Danish, included in his own *Popular Ballads*, in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, and in larger numbers, with a fuller commentary, among the *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities* (1814), edited by Scott. Motherwell in the introduction to his *Minstrelsy* referred to the likenesses which Jamieson had already pointed out, and added a note of his own on the ballad of *Leesome Brand* and its Danish counterpart. All the earlier discoveries in this field are of course recorded, with innumerable additions, in the great work of Svend Grundtvig,¹ the collection of all the Danish ballads which is being so worthily completed by his successor Dr. Axel Olrik; while the same matters, the correspondences of ballads in English and Danish (not to speak of other languages), are to be found, with frequent acknowledgments of obligation to Grundtvig, in the companion work of Child.² The commentaries of Grundtvig and Olrik on the one hand, of Child on the other, leave one almost in despair as to the possibility of ever making out the history of the connexion between the ballads of this country and of Denmark. The present paper is little more than an attempt to define some of the problems.

¹ *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, quoted as *D.g.F.* Five volumes. 1853-1890; continued by Dr. Axel Olrik, *Danske Ridderviser*, 1895-1902 (in progress).

² *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited by Francis James Child. Five volumes. Boston, 1882-1898.

I

Danish ballads—the name ‘Danish’ for many purposes in relation to ballads may be taken to mean also Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese—have preserved more than the English, and much more than the German, of their original character as dancing songs. Though the dancing custom has long died out in Denmark, hardly any of the ballads are without a refrain; and when the refrain is missing, there is generally other evidence to prove that the ballad is not really Danish. Thus the ballad of *Grimild's Revenge*, a version of the Nibelung story, which has no refrain, is known to be of German origin on other grounds; the plot of it agrees with the *Nibelungen Lied* in one most important thing which makes all the difference between the German and the Northern conception of that tragic history. Other examples may be found in Dr. Steenstrup's book on the Ballads,¹ admirably stated and explained. And though Denmark has lost the old custom of the dance, it is well known how it is retained in the Faroes;² the old French *Carole* being there the favourite amusement, with any number of ballads to go along with it, and the refrain always an essential part of the entertainment.

The French *Carole* was well established in the twelfth century in Denmark, and even in Iceland, where the word *danz* is used of the rhymes sung—the *ballade*—rather than of the dancing itself. The chief documents of this early part of the history are clerical protests against the vanity of the new fashion, much the same in Denmark, Iceland, France, England, and Germany: e.g. in the common story of the dancers on whom a judgment fell, so that they could not leave off dancing, but kept at it night and day.³

Fortunately the preachers and moralists, in noting the vices

¹ *Vore Folkeviser*, 1891.

² The ballads of the Faroes, including the dance and the tunes, are being studied by Mr. Hjalmar Thuren of Copenhagen, who has collected much new material since his preliminary essay (*Dans og Kvaddigtning paa Færøerne, med et Musikbilag*, 1901: in German, expanded, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, iii. 2, pp. 222-269).

³ Cf. Gaston Paris, *Les Danseurs Mardits, légende allemande du XI siècle*, 1900. There is another story in the Durham *Exempla* described by M. Paul Meyer (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxiv.). A priest, a lusty bachelor, was fond of wakes and dances; once, however, he saw at a dance two devils to each man and woman, moving their arms and legs, *ad omnes motus et vertigines quas faciebant*.

of the dancing song, have given some of the earliest information about it, and the oldest quotations. There are few remains of English lyrical poetry of the twelfth century, but the fact of its existence is proved by historians. Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* has a chapter against songs and dances in churches and churchyards, and tells a story of a priest in the diocese of Worcester who was so haunted by the refrain¹ of a song which he had heard repeated all night long about his church, that in the morning at the Mass instead of *Dominus vobiscum* he said *Swete lemman thin are*—‘Sweet heart, take pity!’ Almost at the same time is found the first notice of the ring-dance in Denmark: the great Archbishop Absolon, about 1165, had to correct the monks of Eskilsoe who kept their festivals with too much glory, and who approved of dancing in hall.² Passages showing the opposition of the clergy and the strong vogue of the dance in early days are quoted from the *Bishops’ Lives of Iceland* in the essay on ‘Dance and Ballad’ in the *Oxford Corpus*.³ The earliest ballad refrains in Icelandic belong to the thirteenth century; one of them (A.D. 1264) repeated by an Icelandic gentleman on his way to meet his death:

Mínar eru sorgir þungar sem blý.
‘My sorrows are heavy as lead,’

which was intended originally as a lover’s complaint, and is applied humorously otherwise in the quotation.⁴

The French lyrical dancing game appears to have conquered the North just at the critical period when the world became closed to Northern adventurers of the old type, when the Viking industry was passing away, and along with it much of the old Northern poetical traditions. It is known how King Hacon of Norway (our adversary at Largs) encouraged French romance in Norwegian adaptations—a sign of changing manners. These were in prose, but besides these the Icelandic quotations above referred to show how French tunes and French rhymes were taking the place of the old narrative blank verse, even there in

¹ ‘Interjectam quandam cantilenae particulam ad quam saepius redire consueverant, quam refectoriam seu refractoriam vocant.’ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Rolls Series*, ii. 120.

² Steenstrup, *Danmarks Riges Hist.*, i. p. 688.

³ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. Vigfusson and York Powell, ii. p. 385.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 387; *Sturlunga Saga*, Oxford, 1878, ii. 264.

Iceland. Denmark had probably been accustomed to rhyme long before, through the example of German minstrels, whether Canute the Dane really made his song about the monks of Ely or no.

This is all some way from the ballads, English, Scottish, or Danish. The French *caroles* could get on without stories; the refrains quoted by Giraldus and by Sturla have nothing about them to show that they were used in those days with narrative ballads; rather the contrary. The essay on the Icelandic *danz*, above quoted, takes very strongly the view that there was no narrative along with the *danz* in Iceland; that the verses of those early ballads were satirical or amatory. Narrative was supplied in a different way.

But at some time or other the refrain began to be used regularly in Denmark, as it is now used in the Faroes, along with narrative poems: *ballads*, as we ordinarily understand the term. The date of the first ballads is not likely to be discovered soon; and for the present it may be well to leave it alone. One thing, or rather a large system of things, is certain, and interesting enough, whatever the dates may be.

The use of refrains constantly in Denmark, and less regularly in this country, makes it necessary to regard the English and Danish ballads as one group over against the German ballads of the continent. Resemblances in matter between English and Danish ballads are not so frequent as we might expect; but there is identity of manner almost everywhere, at anyrate where the ballads of this side have refrains along with them.

In some of the Danish ballads the chorus comes in at the end, as in the old English poem of *Robin and Gandeley*, where the overword

Robin lieth in green wood bounden,

has an effect very like the Danish in such refrains as

Udi Ringsted hviles Dronning Dagmar
(In Ringsted rests Queen Dagmar),

or

For nu stander Landet i Vaade
(For now stands the land in danger).

More peculiar is the form of chorus, which perhaps makes the chief likeness between the Danish ballads and ours; certainly the most obvious likeness as far as form is concerned;

that is where there is one refrain after the first line, another after the second, as in many well-known examples:

There was twa sisters liv'd in a bower,
Binnorie, O Binnorie!
 There came a knight to be their wooer
By the bonny mill-dams o' Binnorie.

—CHILD, No. 10.

O wind is longer than the way
Gar lay the bent to the bonny broom,
 And death is colder than the clay,
And you may beguile a fair maid soon.

—CHILD, No. 1D.

There were three sisters fair and bright,
Jennifer gentle and rosemarie,
 And they three loved one valiant knight,
As the dew flies over the mulberry tree.

—CHILD, No. 1B.

Seven kings' daughters here hae I slain
Aye as the gowans grow gay,
 And ye shall be the eight o' them
The first morning in May.

—*Lady Isabel and the Elf-knight*; CHILD, No. 4.

The Danish manner is as well known here as anything in a foreign tongue can be, from Jamieson's translation of *Svend Dyring*, given by Scott in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake*:

'Twas lang i' the night, and the bairnies grat,
And O gin I were young,
 Their mither she under the mools heard that
I' the greenwood it lists me to ride.

Sometimes there is a likeness of refrain, along with identity of subject, between a Scottish and a Danish ballad. This Scottish verse is taken from a variant of *Leesome Brand* (Child, No. 16; i. p. 184):

He houkit a grave long, large, and wide,
The broom blooms bonnie, and so is it fair,
 He buried his auld son down by her side,
And we'll never gang up to the broom nae mair.

The following is from one of the many Danish versions of the same story (D.g.F., No. 271, *Redselille og Medelvold*; v. p. 249).

Han grov en Grav baade dyb og bred,
Hvem plukker Løven udaf Lilientræ?
 Der lagde han dennem alle ned,
Selv træder hun Duggen af.

In Child's collection, which is full of miracles, there are not many things more wonderful than the Shetland ballad of Orpheus (Child, No. 19), 'obtained from the singing of Andrew Coutts, an old man in Unst, Shetland, by Mr. Biot Edmonstone':

Yees tak' your lady, an' yees gaeng hame,
Scowan ùrla grùn;
 An' yees be king ower a' your ain,
Whar giorten han grùn oarlac.

The refrain here is 'Norn,' a fragment of the old Northern speech of Shetland, belonging to the same Danish ballad tradition as that other miracle, the Foula ballad of Hildina, still remembered, but not understood, in the eighteenth century, and interpreted, though not easily, by Northern scholarship.¹

The Hildina poem is part of the same story as the Middle High German *Gudrun*; Andrew Coutts's song is connected in some way with the old romance of *Orfeo*, which professes to be a Breton lay, and certainly belongs to the same order as the lays of Marie de France in the twelfth century. It goes back to the very beginnings of modern literature, to the early days of French romance; a Greek story adapted, with strange success, to the fashions of the court of Faery, as many other classical matters were adapted, from Troy or Thebes, and made into 'Gothic' stories. And further, this relic of early medieval fancy appears in Shetland with a Norse refrain, unintelligible by this time to those who hear it, and to the singer himself, but closely resembling the burden of Danish ballads. The last line is uncertain, even to Grundtvig: the first, however—the *indstev* as it would be called in Norway—is very near the *indstev* of the Danish *Esbern Snare*, for example (D.g.F., No. 131):

'The shaws are green and gay'—

Hr. Iver og Hr. Esbern Snare
 —*Skoven staar herlig og grøn*—
 de drukke Mjød i Medelfare
Den Sommer og den Eng saa vel kunne sammen.

It would be premature to fix on Shetland as the chief meeting place or trading station between the ballads of Scotland and Norway; no doubt there were other ways of intercourse. Quite apart from such questions, the ballad of Orpheus brings out

¹ George Low, *A Tour through Orkney and Schetland in 1774*, Kirkwall, 1879; Hæ stad, *Hildinakvadet*, Christiania, 1900.

the close likeness between the Danish and the English fashion of refrain; and it is this, more than anything else, which makes a distinction between the Northern group of ballads—English-Danish—and the German ballads, High Dutch or Low Dutch, in which there is hardly an example of this sort. Interpolated refrains are found in the popular poetry of all the world, but the special manner common to Scottish and Danish ballads is not used in Germany. There the chorus does not come in after the first line with lyrical phrases:

O gin I were young—

And the sun shines over the valleys and a'.

Such things are found in German at the end of the stanza sometimes:

Dar steit ein lindboem an jenem dal
is bawen breit und nedden schmal
van gold dre rosen.

—UHLAND, 15B.

But where there is an *indstev* it is generally mere exclamation, like 'hey down' or 'hey lillelu' in English. There is, indeed, one German ballad, *Hinrich* (Uhland, No. 128), which is exactly in the Danish or Scottish manner:

Her Hinrich und sine bröder alle dre
vull grone,
Se buweden ein schepken tor se
umb de adlige rosenblome.

There does not seem to be any other, though there are instances of interpolated refrain of rather a different kind:

Maria wo bist du zur Stube gewesen?
Maria mein einziges Kind.

This ballad is one of the analogues of *Lord Randal*, and the refrain is used in the same way.

Other examples, kindly given me along with these by my friend Professor J. G. Robertson, are from poems too completely lyrical to be compared, except in a general way, with the Ballads:

Frisch auf gut gsell lass rummer gan!
tummel dich guts weinlein.
das gläslein sol nicht stille stan
tummel dich, tummel dich, guts weinlein.

—UHLAND, No. 219; compare No. 221.

Wo find ich dann deins Vaters Haus,

Säuberliches Mägdlein?

Geh das Gäslein aus und aus,

Schweig still und lass dein Fragen sein.

—*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. 1857, ii. p. 434.

Wer singet im Walde so heimlich allein?

O du liebe liebe Seel! O mein einziges Kind!

O weh!

Und die Kirchenglocken, sie läuten darein

Und das Scheiden und das Meiden, wie tut es doch so weh!

Ade! ade!

Ich seh' dich nimmermehr!

—HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN, *Herr Ulrich*, 1823.

There are two rather remarkable things here: that German ballad poetry should have avoided this kind of burden, though it is a common form in lyrical poetry; and that Denmark, though so near to Germany, borrowing half its dictionary from the German, and copying German literature in so many ways, should have taken its own line in the narrative ballads, and kept to it so distinctly and thoroughly. Denmark was shot through with German influences of all sorts from the earliest days; Danish life in the Middle Ages was overpowered by Germany as much as English culture was indebted to France. But in this field the Danes refused to allow any German example to prevail. Their ballads resemble those of England and Scotland, countries with which there was much intercourse indeed, but nothing like the intimate relations with Germany.

Further, this reservation in ballad-poetry, this rejection of German examples, was not the survival of anything ancient, national, Northern, Scandinavian, beating off the foreign intruder. It was not like the continuance, in England, of the old national verse, the alliterative line that in *Piers Plowman* and other famous poems holds its ground against the French measures and rhymes. The form of ballad-poetry in Denmark is not native, nor old, as age is counted in the history of those northern lands. As in England and Scotland, it is a foreign importation, truly and entirely French.

II

Resemblances in matter between Danish and Scottish ballads have by this time been pretty fully discussed, and it is hard to add anything new, after the commentaries of Grundtvig

and Child. On the whole, it may be said that the correspondence is rather less than one might expect. It is very close in certain cases, especially in *Earl Brand*,¹ *Sir Aldingar*,² *Binnorie*,³ *Leesome Brand*,⁴ *Fause Foodrage*,⁵ with their Danish counterparts. In *Earl Brand* and *Leesome Brand* the names have been thought to be Danish; also the name 'Clerk Colvin,' it is conjectured, is derived from the Olaf who rides out and meets the Elfwoman and comes home to die.⁶ There are indications of borrowing from Denmark or Norway in the story of *Earl Brand*, which is the *Douglas Tragedy* in another form. In all the northern versions the action turns on the deadly power of the name: the hero warns his bride when he is attacked by her father and brothers that she must not name him while he is fighting.⁷ She breaks this command when he has killed them all but one:

'Stay you, stay you, Hildebrand! stay you, in Our Lord's name! let my youngest brother live; he can bring my mother the tidings home!'

Scarcely were the words spoken, he fell to the earth with eighteen wounds.

There is hardly a trace of this in the English and Scottish versions. Generally one is not inclined to look on this country as in debt to Scandinavia for literary things; it is known that Norway borrowed from Scotland part of the romance of Charlemagne, according to the note in *Karlamagnus Saga* at the beginning of the chapter 'Concerning the Lady Olif and Landres her son,'⁸ and it is not too much to suppose that in many

¹ Child, No. 7; cf. D.g.F. 82, *Ribold og Guldborg*; 83, *Hildebrand og Hilde*.

² Child, No. 59; cf. D.g.F. 13, *Ravengaard og Memering*.

³ Child, No. 10; cf. D.g.F. 95, *den talende Strengelæg*.

⁴ Child, No. 15; cf. D.g.F. 270-273.

⁵ Child, No. 89; cf. D.g.F. 298, *Svend af Vollerstøv*.

⁶ Child, No. 42; cf. D.g.F. 47, *Elveskud*, and the notes thereto.

⁷ Cf. Nyrop, 'On the Power of the Name,' *Navnets Magt*, 1887.

⁸ 'This story was found by Sir Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey written and told in English speech in Scotland, when he stayed there the winter after the death of King Alexander. Now the kingdom after him went to Margaret, daughter of the worshipful Lord Eric, King of Norway, son of King Magnus, and the said Margaret was daughter's daughter of Alexander. Sir Bjarni was sent west to that end that he might secure and establish the realm under the maiden. And that the tale might be better understood by men, and they might receive thereof the more profit and pastime, Sir Bjarni had it turned from English into Norse.'—*Karlamagnus Saga*, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1860, p. 50.

other cases England or 'the English tongue in Scotland' may have provided the North with literature, and served as intermediary between the north and France.

The Danish editors accept for many of the ballads an English or Scottish origin, though the evidence is seldom very substantial. *Earl Brand*, not to speak of the Shetland Orpheus, appears to show that the trade was not all one-sided.

The problems of transmission are made more difficult by a large number of Danish ballads which, though they have no analogues in this country, are found—the plots of them that is—in France, Provence, Lombardy, Catalonia, and Portugal. M. Gaston Paris, in his review of Count Nigra's ballads of Piedmont,¹ clearly marked out what might be called the ballad region of the Latin countries, extending from France to northern Italy on one side and to the north of Spain on the other; not including the south of Italy, where popular poetry is generally lyrical, nor Castile, where the ballads are of a different order from those of Catalonia and of France. English ballads have many relations with this southern province; Child's indices are enough to show this. That the Danish ballads are connected in the same way was at first rather overlooked by Grundtvig, but the ground has been thoroughly surveyed in the later volumes of the *Folkeviser*. It may be remarked that Prior, the English translator of the Danish ballads, was one of the first to see that the popular poetry of France had been too much neglected in comparing ballad themes of different northern countries. The results, now that the comparisons have been made, are rather surprising. Briefly, they show that there is a considerable stock of ballads common to Denmark and the Latin countries from which England and Scotland are excluded, at least as far as the extant literature goes. Instead of the close relation between Denmark and Scotland which one had expected to find, there comes into view a closer relation between Denmark and France. Nothing can destroy the kinship of poetical form between Scotland and Denmark, the likenesses of rhythm and phrasing and refrain. In matter, however, there are many Danish ballads unparalleled in this country which are found in France and Italy. And in form also it may be that there is as close resemblance between Denmark and France as between Denmark and Scotland. But the matter of the ballad stories is to be dealt with first.

The following are some of the chief instances of ballads

¹ *Journal des Savans*, 1889.

common to Denmark and 'Romania,' which are not found in the English tongue, either in Scotland or England. The ballad of the dead mother's return to help her children¹ is known to most of the Romance languages in the region described. Generally the southern versions have rather a different plot from the well known one of Jamieson's *Svend Dyring*. There the mother in heaven is grieved by her children's crying, and comes to the Lord to ask leave to return to Middle-earth. In France, and generally in the South, the children go to the graveyard to find their mother; on the way they meet with Jesus Christ, who asks them where they are going, and calls their mother back to take care of them. But in the Piedmontese version,² as in *Svend Dyring*, the mother is awakened by the children's crying at home; and in many Danish variants³ the children go to the churchyard; 'the first grat water, the second grat blood, the third she grat her mother up out of the black earth.'

In Scotland there is apparently nothing corresponding, beyond what is told by Jamieson in *Northern Antiquities* (p. 318): 'On the translation from the Danish being read to a very antient gentleman in Dumfriesshire, he said the story of the mother coming back to her children was quite familiar to him in his youth, as an occurrence of his own immediate neighbourhood, with all the circumstances of name and place.' [Not recorded by Jamieson.] 'The father, like Child Dyring, had married a second wife, and his daughter by the first, a child of three or four years old, was once missing for three days. She was sought for everywhere with the utmost diligence, but was not found. At last she was observed coming from the barn, which during her absence had been repeatedly searched. She looked remarkably clean and fresh; her clothes were in the neatest possible order; and her hair, in particular, had been anointed, combed, curled, and plaited, with the greatest care. On being asked where she had been, she said she had been with her *mammie*, who had been so kind to her, and given her so many good things, and dressed her hair so prettily.'

The ballad of *The Milk White Doe*, translated from the

¹ D.g.F. 89.

² Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, No. 39, *La Madre Risuscitata*; references to French and Provençal versions, *ibid.* p. 213.

³ Grundtvig's versions D, E, F, M, N, P, in his second volume.

French by Mr. Andrew Lang,¹ is better known perhaps than most other French ballads in this country, and the version is so right that one would scarcely wonder if the same story in like phrases were discovered in some old manuscript ballad-book, such as the Danish ladies were fond of making three hundred years ago. What is not found in Scotland, except thus through the skill of the translator, is found in Denmark and Sweden. In Scottish traditional poetry there is little but a passing reference in *Leesome Brand* to show that possibly a ballad on this same theme once existed. In Danish and Swedish there is a poem that answers closely to the French; it has the same kind of lyrical quality, and is shorter than most of the Northern ballads:

The mother charged her son (*in the green-wood*): See thou shoot not the little hind (*that bears gold under her shoulder*): Shoot thou the hart, and shoot the roe, but let the little hind go free. Sir Peter goes to the rosy wood; there plays a hind as his hound comes on. The little hind plays before his foot; he forgot that he was to let her go. He bent his bow against his knee, against a tree-trunk he shot the hind. Sir Peter drew off his gloves so fine; with his own hands he would flay her. He flayed at her neck; he found his sister's tresses. He flayed at her breast; he found his sister's gold rings. He flayed at her side; he found his sister's white hands. Sir Peter cast his knife to the earth: 'Now have I proved my mother's words.'²

The ballad of the sister rescued from a tyrannical husband is found in Denmark and the other Northern countries,³ not here. In the Northern versions there is a horse, and a raven, mysterious helpers, who are not in the Southern story. It is thought that the Southern versions are all derived from the misfortunes of Clotilde, daughter of Clovis: notes and references are given by Nigra, p. 35 (*La Sorella Vendicata*).

A very common Southern ballad is that of the prisoner singing and changing the mind of his jailer by the power of his song.⁴ It is a favourite story in Denmark, with different

¹ *Ballads and Lyrics of Old France*, 1872, p. 68: cf. Haupt, *Französische Volkslieder*, p. 19 (*La Biche Blanche*).

² From Olrik's version, in 'Danish Ballads selected' (*Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*). In *D.g.F.* 58 there is a longer version of the same story: the shorter form is found in Arwidsson's Swedish ballads, No. 136, with a variant where it is his betrothed, not his sister, that is shot.

³ *D.g.F.* 62, *Blak og Ravn hin brune*.

⁴ Nigra, No. 47, p. 284; French, Catalan, and Portuguese equivalents there referred to.

settings.¹ In one of them the hero is a deer-stealer: and though it is found only in modern oral tradition in Jutland it keeps a trace of the cross-bow and bolt, which proves it to be fairly ancient.² Another ballad found both in old manuscript books and in modern tradition has the same sort of ending.³ Though the power of song is well enough known in the ballads of this country, in *Glasgerion* for instance, this use of it is apparently not found here, any more than the magic song recorded in the romance of *Count Arnaldos*, which is the glory of the ballads of Spain. No other people have equalled that good fortune *over the waters of the sea*.⁴

But there is another sea-ballad, in which the magic singing comes again, a simpler thing than *Arnaldos*, which is unknown in English and common in Denmark and the Southern group. It is a cheerful story, something like the Gaberlunzie Man who becomes 'the bravest gentleman that was amang them a'. Here, however, the young woman is otherwise carried off; drawn on board ship by the enchanting song of the captain (called Valivan in Norway and Sweden), who afterwards declares himself as the king's son of England (it may be) or in some other way distinguished; at any rate an honourable man.⁵

Another sea ballad with the same curious distribution is that which is scarcely known in England except in the irreverent shape of *Little Billee*. The French had begun to take it lightly before Thackeray translated it:

Il était un petit navire
Qui n'avait jamais navigué.

But there are other forms of a ballad where the horrors of starving at sea are viewed more grimly, with a curious variety of endings, between the Portuguese *Nau Catharineta*,⁶ the Provençal *Moussi*,⁷ the Norwegian and the Icelandic ballads.⁸

One of the strongest and most remarkable of the Southern ballads, *Donna Lombarda*, the story of which is supposed to

¹ Kristensen, *Jyske Folkeminder*, ii. No. 6; *D.g.F.* 384.

² *D.g.F.* 292.

³ A. Olrik in *D.g.F.* vi. 1, p. 467.

⁴ Yo no digo esta cancion sino a quien conmigo va.

⁵ *D.g.F.* 241: cf. Nigra, No. 44, *Il marinaro*, and references.

⁶ Hardung, *Romanceiro Portuguez*, i. p. 21. Cf. Puymaigre, *Choix de vieux chants portugais* (1881), p. 173 sqq.

⁷ Arbaud, i. p. 127.

⁸ S. Bugge, *Gamle Norske Folkeviser (dei frearause menn)*; *Islenszk Fornkvæði*, No. 6 (*Kaupmanna kv.*).

have come from the life of Rosamund, is to be found in Denmark; in this country there is no vestige of it beyond a very uncertain and incidental likeness in *Old Robin of Portugal*.¹

Other examples might be given. The ballad of *Babylon* or *The Bonnie Banks of Fordie*² is very like a favourite Northern ballad, *Sir Truels's Daughters*:³

'Enten vil i være tre Røveres Viv,
eller og i vil lade jert unge Liv?
Nei, hverken vil vi være tre Røveres Viv,
heller vi vil og lade vores unge Liv.'
He's tane the first sister by her hand
Eh vow bonnie.
And he's turned her round and made her stand
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie.
'It's whether will ye be a rank robber's wife,
Or will ye die by my wee penknife?'
'It's I'll not be a rank robber's wife,
But I'll rather die by your wee penknife.'
He's killed this maid and he's laid her by,
For to bear the red rose company.

In the Scottish ballad, the outlaw, the robber, is proved to be the brother of the three maids. In the Danish, this is the story also, in some versions; there are three robbers living so long in outlawry that they have lost all knowledge of their family and their relations; they murder their three sisters, and are detected afterwards in their father's house, where they learn what they have done, and who they are themselves. But another version is also common (Danish, Faroese, Icelandic), which has no such *recognition*, only *detection*, in the house to which they go after the murder, and where they are discovered by the 'red gold,' or the jewels, which they have taken from the murdered girls. This is the plot of a common Southern ballad,⁴ French, Italian, Provençal; which has nothing of the recognition found in the other Danish and the Scottish ballad, and it may be said, not much of the beauty of either.

Here again, even though Scotland is represented, there appears to be a closer relation between Denmark and France.

¹ Nigra, No. 1.; *D.g.F.* 345, where there is an elaborate discussion by Dr. Olrik of the whole subject.

² Child, No. 14.

³ *D.g.F.* 338.

⁴ Nigra, 12; Arbaud, *La Doulento*.

III

The comparative strength of the French influence among the Danish ballads may easily be overrated in one way. It is clear that no complete evidence as to the range of ballad-poetry is to be gained from either Child or Grundtvig; they give no more than what is extant, and what is extant is not everything. Many ballads have been lost, along with the 'Tale of Wade,' and the story known to Gawain Douglas, 'How the Wren came out of Ailsay.' Denmark has many extant ballads with plots common to Denmark and France, and now unknown in Scotland or England. That can be proved; but it cannot be proved that those gaps among the Scottish ballads have been there always; that there never existed in English a ballad of the mother's return from the dead, or of the prisoner's harp-playing. The proof only touches the extant ballad literature, and any of the instances given above might be happily refuted to-morrow by the discovery of some old note-book with rhymes in it.

The relation of Denmark and France, however, goes beyond the matter of the ballads, and hardly any new discovery, in addition to Child's collection, could possibly give to the English and Scotch ballads the same proportion of Southern forms and qualities as are found in the Danish. Whatever might be added to the stock of ballads, there would remain in English the large number that have parted with their overword, and this fashion of refrain, all but absolutely universal in the Danish ballads, is the plainest mark of French origin.

Refrains, burdens, were known in the ancient Northern poetry, as in Anglo-Saxon; it would be strange if this common thing were lacking in any age. But the ballad refrains of Denmark, like these of the Icelandic *danz*, are after a French original, and so close to it that an Icelandic ballad stave—a Danish ballad in Icelandic—is cited by Jeanroy,¹ as reproducing in a striking manner the rules of the old French *rondet*. The ballad quoted is one of those already mentioned among the stories familiar in France—the sailors' ballad, *La Courte Paille*.² It looks as if the Icelandic ballad had preserved both plot and form of an old importation from France and Denmark.

The ordinary double refrain, already mentioned as common

¹ *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 415.

² *Supra*, p. 369, notes 6, 7, 8.

to the English and Danish ballads, is derived from the same kind of old French poetry; the Icelandic ballad noticed by Jeanroy is only an exceptionally accurate repetition of the French device. All the interpolated refrains—‘Eh vow bonnie’; ‘Ay as the gowans grow gay’; ‘With a hey ho, the wind and the rain,’ etc.—are from the French School. Here there is small difference in practice between this country and Denmark. But there is a peculiar kind of ballad verse in Denmark, not used in the same way in English, which seems to have come from French lyric poetry, and helps to prove that the Danes made more out of their poetical commerce with France than any other nation did, in respect of their ballads at any rate.

This verse is exceedingly beautiful, and some of the finest things are composed in it—the ballad of *Sivard and Brynhild*,¹ of *Aage and Else*,² and the Icelandic ballad of *Tristram*,³ which is perhaps in Northern ballad poetry what the romance of the Count Arnaldos is among those of the Latin race—and that although everything in it is borrowed: ‘only a duplicate.’

Isodd heim frá sjónum gengur,
gatan var þraung:
einatt heyrði hun klukkna hljóð,
og fagran saung.

Isodd heim frá sjónum gengur,
gatan er bein:
einatt heyrði hún klukkna hljóð,
á veginum þeim.

Til orða tók hun bjarta Isodd,
búin með seim:
‘Eigi skyldi hann Tristram dauður,
er eg kem heim.’

Prestar stóðu á gólfinu,
með kertaljós:
drottningin niður að líki laut,
svo rauð sem rós.

Margur þolir í heiminum
svo sára nauð:
drottningin niður að líkinu laut,
og lá þar dauð.

Prestar stóðu á gólfinu,
og sungu psálm:
þá var hringt yfir báðum líkum
Rínar málm.

Þeim var ekki skapað nema að skilja.

¹ D.g.F. 3.

² D.g.F. 90.

³ Islensk fornkv. No. 23.

Nothing for them was shapen but to sunder.

Iseult goes from the sea inland
(The street was long);
And ever she heard the bells ringing,
The goodly song.

Iseult goes from the sea inland
(The street was strait);
And ever she heard the bells ringing,
As she came thereat.

Then she spake, the fair Iseult,
From over the foam:
'Nay, but Tristram should not die
When I come home.'

Out on the floor the priests were standing,
With tapers fair;
Queen Iseult came where Tristram lay,
And knelt there.

To many a man in the world is given
Sorrow and pain;
The queen knelt down and died there, Iseult,
Where he lay slain.

Out on the floor the priests they stood,
Their dirges said:
The bells of gold were rung for Iseult
And Tristram dead.

(Nothing for them was shapen but to sunder.)

The scheme of this verse is a familiar one in English, and it is used in popular lyric poetry, though not in the ballads. It comes in German poetry also, and loses nothing of its grace; there are certain kinds of verse that seldom go wrong; they keep their true nature in any language:

'O burmans sön, lat röselin stan!
se sint nicht dîn;
Du drechst noch wol van nettelnkrut
ein krenzelin.'

Dat nettelnkrut is het und bitter,
it brennet ser;
Vorlaren hebb ik min schönes lef,
it rüwet mi ser—¹

the very tone of the ballad of Iseult.

¹Uhland, No. 252.

Now this is found in the ballad poetry of the Romance tongues pretty frequently : in French, Italian, Catalan, etc.

Allons au bois, charmante brune,
allons au bois !
Nous trouverons le serpent verde,
nous le tuerons.¹

This French ballad is on the same story as the Italian *Donna Lombarda*, which has the same form of verse :

'Amei-me mi, dona Lombarda
amei-me mi.'
'O cume mai voll che fassa,
che j'ò'l mari.²

This stave is found in old French poetry in various combinations, one of them specially interesting, because it is the well-known stanza of Burns, which appears itself to have been originally a ballad measure of the old sort used in caroles. The well-known form—three lines and a half, then one and a half—is explained in the following way. The second line was originally the first refrain, and the one and a half concluding the stanza are the second part of the refrain, as in the old example analysed by Jeanroy (p. 412) :

Main se leva bele Aeliz,
(Dormez jaloux ge vos en pri)
Biau se para, miex se vesti,
Desoz le raim :
(Mignotement la voi venir,
Cele que j'aim.)

The concluding lines, 'Biau se para,' etc., are thus a metrical period by themselves, following the first refrain, and the form of them is easily detached and made into an independent stanza, which is that of the French ballad, *Allons au bois*, and of the Danish *Sivard*, the Icelandic *Tristram*.

It is possible to go further, and to find in Southern ballad-poetry not only the abstract scheme of verse, but verse and words agreeing to the same effect as in the North. The Icelandic poem of *Tristram* has repeated a common ballad motive,

¹ Rolland, No. cclix. ; iii. p. 10.

² Nigra, i. ; also in Rolland, *loc. cit.*, immediately following the French version. Note, that in the Italian each short phrase is repeated : 'Amei-me mi, amei-me mi'—as in 'The robin to the wren's nest cam keekin in, cam keekin in.' But this repeating is not universal ; the French tune, *e.g.*, does not repeat 'allons au bois' in the stanza quoted.

of the lover coming too late and hearing the funeral bells. It is given in Italian, in verse essentially the same as that of the *Tristramskvæði*.

In *Il Giovane Soldato*,¹ a ballad of Pontelagoscuro in Emilia, a young soldier asks leave of his captain to go home and see his betrothed, who is lying sick. He arrives only in time to hear the bells and meet the procession; and this rustic Italian ballad has the same mode of verse as the Northern poem of *Iseult*:

Quand l'è sta arent al castello,
 Al sentiva sunar :
 Questo l'è al son dla miè cara mrosa,
 Son drèe a putar.
 Fermite là o ti la purtantina,
 Riposat un po :
 Ch' a daga un basin a la miè mrosa,
 E po me n'andarò.
 Parla, parla, bochetta dorà,
 Rispondam un po—
 Ma cosa vot, se liè l'è morta ?
 Parlart la non pol.

‘When he came to his town he heard the bells ringing. “They are ringing for my own dear love; they are coming after with her bier. Stay there, set down the bier; rest a little, that I may give a kiss to my love, and then I will go away. Speak, speak, mouth of my love, answer me a little.”’

The friends say :

“What wilt thou, when she is dead? She cannot speak to thee.”

This is poetry also: a common motive no doubt, but it can hardly be mere coincidence that brings the South and North so close together as in these two ballads, in spite of the long interval of time, and the distance between Iceland and Italy.

IV

The great difficulty with the Danish ballads (as with the English) is to understand how the imported French poetical forms came to be adapted so thoroughly, not only to render Northern themes—there is nothing so strange in that—but to carry on the most ancient popular fashions of thought and imagination.

Nothing in the form of the Danish ballads is national or

¹Ferraro, *Canti popolari di Ferrara*, etc., 1877.

Northern. Even the habit of alliteration, which might naturally enough have been carried from the old Northern verse into the new rhymes, is allowed to drop, not only in Denmark,¹ but largely also in the Icelandic ballads, though in all other Icelandic verse, to the present day, the old prescription of the three alliterative syllables is retained. But while the change from Northern to Romance forms is carried out so thoroughly, the Danish ballads lose nothing of their home-bred quality in other respects: there is nothing artificial or foreign about their matter or spirit; they are in a foreign kind of verse, but their ideas, their manners, are in some respects more ancient than the poems of the Elder Edda. Some of those have been called ballads, indeed, by the editors of the Oxford *Corpus Poeticum*, and there are many points of likeness. The old poem of the *Fetching of Thor's Hammer* is much the same in scale and method as the later rhyming ballad on the same story.² But the rhyming ballads are fond of antique simple things which the more careful poems of the Elder Edda have rejected, e.g. the old tricks of repetition, found all over the world wherever poets are not too high-minded or artificial:

Aft ha'e I ridden thro' Striveling town
Thro' heavy wind and weet;
But ne'er rade I thro' Striveling town
Wi' fetters on my feet.

Aft ha'e I ridden thro' Striveling town
Thro' heavy wind and rain;
But ne'er rade I thro' Striveling town
But thought to ridden't again.

—*Young Waters*, Buchan's version.

There are figures of repetition, it is true, in the old heroic poetry, but they are not of this sort; the repetitions in the Danish ballads are exactly of this sort, the very same thing in all but the language.³ As 'wind and weet' is changed to 'wind and rain' in *Young Waters*, so for instance 'earth' and 'mould' are changed in Danish; 'Queen Bengerd lies in the black earth, and the good man keeps his ox and cow; Queen

¹ Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser*, pp. 125-137.

² *D.g.F.* No. 1.

³ Cf. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 197 *sqq.*, on ballad repetition. There appears to be a good specimen of this kind of rhetoric in the Babylonian *Descent of Ishtar*; as there are many in the *Tristram* ballad, quoted above.

Bengerd lies under the black mould, and every maid has her red gold still. *Wo worth Queen Bengerd!*'¹

Did the Danes and the English borrow such things from the French, along with the ballad verse and the music? If so, the result is wonderful, for nowhere else is there any such borrowing, with so little of the look of artifice about it, with an effect so purely natural and national. It is more wonderful in Denmark than in this country, though the general lines are the same in both: an adoption of foreign modes to express home-grown ideas, a revival of all the primitive simple ways of poetry in new-fangled poetical shapes, introduced from a foreign nation, and this, be it observed, after England and the Scandinavian countries had both of them had centuries of practice in the Teutonic alliterative verse, the verse of *Beowulf* and of the 'Elder Edda.'

The paradox is more striking in Denmark than in England and Scotland. England was nearer to France, much more closely related; the English tongue derived also a great many other things besides ballads from France, and ballads here never had the relative importance they had in Denmark. There—and this is the peculiar interest of the Danish ballads, historically speaking—the common ballad form had not to compete at such a disadvantage as in England or in Germany with more elaborate and courtly kinds of literature; so it grew into the national form of poetry—not merely popular, but national, capable of any matter or any idea known to any order of men in the kingdom—not a rustic, but a noble kind of literature. Gentle ladies took care of it, before it sank again to the 'knitters in the sun,' or rather the knitters in the dark cabins of Jutland, from whom Kristensen learned so much in different ways.² The ballad form in Denmark is used for something

¹ Queen Bengerd had been exacting contributions:

Nu ligger Bengerd í sorten Jord,
end har Bonden baade Okse og Ko:

Nu ligger Bengerd under sorten Muld,
end har hver Mø sit røde Guld:
Ve da vorde hende Bengerd!

²See Mr. W. A. Craigie's article on *Evald Tang Kristensen* in *Folklore*, September, 1898. Mr. Kristensen's work as a collector of popular traditions has scarcely its equal anywhere; though many of the old sources have perished, he still keeps on making discoveries. He has lately brought out a volume of comic ballads, in addition to the four that contain what is left—or what was left forty years ago—of the heroic ballads of West Jutland.

nearer true epic than is found in the ballads of France or even of Scotland; for heroic lays on business of greater moment than Otterbourne. The Danish ballads of the death of King Eric Klipping, or of Niels Ebbeson's stroke at the German Count, are heroic poems of a new kind, thriving in the fourteenth century after the older medieval epic forms are exhausted. This possibly, by the favour of the editor, may be the subject of another essay.

W. P. KER.

Lady Anne Bothwell

The Scottish Lady

IN the vault of the mausoleum of the Barons of Rosendal repose the remains of one who was known as 'The Scottish Lady,' and whose romantic story should be full of interest at least to Scottish readers. The lovely Lady Anne from Rosendal was the first wife of the Earl of Bothwell, and his marriage had not been annulled, unless heartless desertion of his young bride was valid annulment, when he wedded Mary Queen of Scots.

One who stands on a summer evening on the knoll beside the ancient church of Rosendal, a building in the Early English Gothic style and dating back at least to the thirteenth century, will fancy there are few fairer spots on earth than this Valley of Roses. The rays of the declining sun seem to glorify the burnished fjord, the island gems, the glacier slopes, the mountain peaks, and the hoary castle of the Rosenkrantz family,¹ nestling amid patriarchal trees in one of the very few demesne parks of which Norway can boast. Across the bay an abrupt serrated ridge rears itself aloft, and below, on the gentle, sunny slope at the mouth of the narrow valley running up from the shore, once stood the manor in which now more than 360 years ago the Lady Anne of story and of ballad first saw the light.

In July, 1560, the Earl of Bothwell, although only in his 25th year, was sent from Scotland by the Queen Regent to seek from France, of which Mary Stuart then was Queen, some aid in the war that had broken out with England. On his way to France Bothwell passed through Denmark, and there he met the famous admiral, Christopher Thronðssøn,² a native

¹ Prof. Yngvar Nielsen's *Norge* (Christiania, 1899), p. 228.

² Prof. Ludvig Daae's *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Christiania, 1872), vol. ii., p. 116.

of Rosendal in the Hardanger, where his ancestral property was. It is quite possible that the Danish admiral had made the acquaintance of Bothwell in one of his North Sea cruises, for from various sources we learn that he had frequent intercourse with distinguished Scotsmen; and one of his daughters, Dorothea, married a Scottish noble, John Stewart of Shetland. Bothwell was quickly on terms of closest intimacy with Admiral Thronðssön, and he was immediately captivated by the charms of Lady Anne, the admiral's fifth daughter. That Bothwell was anything but handsome in appearance we are told by those who knew him well. But handsome or not, he was a great lady's man, and he ever left sore hearts behind him in his wanderings. In any case Anne Thronðssön could not resist the flattering attentions of the Scottish ambassador to the Court of France. Lady Anne, according to tradition, was very beautiful, but it is possible that her dowry of 40,000 dollars had as much to do with bringing about the marriage as her personal charms. Bothwell was an impetuous wooer; his business brooked little delay, and the wedding took place at Copenhagen.

It was not long before the news reached Scotland and was made known to all by Bothwell's old friend, the Lady of Buccleuch. Writing to Cecil on 23rd September, 1560, Randolph also mentions that he had heard of the nuptials.¹ George Buchanan, in his history of Queen Mary, maintains that the marriage of Bothwell and Anne was never annulled.

The engagement had been a brief one, the wedding speedily followed, and bride and bridegroom set forth not for France, but for Scotland, for word had come that the Queen Regent was dead, and Bothwell concluded that he had better return for new instructions before proceeding to Paris. And so the honeymoon was spent in Holland.

Bothwell made sure of the dowry before the wedding, and as soon as the ceremony was over he had obtained full possession of the dollars. One morning Lady Anne Bothwell awoke to find her husband gone; and with him all his train. Without exciting suspicion in his wife's mind he had made the necessary arrangements for departure; and quietly getting on board a vessel he heartlessly deserted his bride, leaving her quite penniless. She was reduced to selling her jewels and personal articles of value in order to pay Bothwell's debts

¹ Schiern's *Life of Bothwell* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 55.

and get the money to take her home to Copenhagen and her friends.

In the Danish Privy Archives there is preserved a letter dated Engelholm, 22nd June, 1568, from Frederick II. to his brother-in-law, August, the Elector of Saxony, referring to the child of the marriage; and it is not impossible that the William Hepburn whom Bothwell's mother adopted was the son of the unfortunate Lady Anne. In the *Bannatyne Miscellany III.* (p. 304) we find the Will of Dame Agnes Sinclair, Countess of Bothwell, dated 21st March, 1572: 'Item, the said nobill Lady left hir haill gudis, the saidis dettis beand payit, to William Hepburne, sone naturall to James Erle Bothwell.' And if this were so, it was a better thing for him to possess his grandmother's goods than his father's heritage.

In 1563 Lady Anne Bothwell, proud and brave as her father's daughter must have been, proceeded to Scotland in order to seek restitution for the shameful treatment she had received at the hands of Bothwell. Possibly she brought with her the child, to which Frederick II. referred and which Dame Agnes Sinclair adopted, in order to make the greater impression and give her complaint the greater weight. But it is doubtful whether she even saw Bothwell during her two years' residence in Scotland. For on account of his many escapades he had been incarcerated in Edinburgh, and escaped only to make acquaintance with the inside of an English prison. It is doubtless Lady Anne to whom the English ambassador Randolph refers when, under the date 3rd June, 1563, he writes that everything the Earl then possessed consisted of a memento of a connection with a noble lady from the 'North Countries.'¹ When Bothwell escaped from his English prison in 1564 he made his way to France; and it was not till 1565, when Lady Anne had left for Norway, that Bothwell came back to Scotland.

But the runaway Earl's wife seems to have received hearty sympathy and a good reception from Queen Mary. There is evidence that the Queen appointed her as one of her ladies-in-waiting, and in this way the Norwegian lady became well acquainted with the Scottish Court and all its ways. When Lady Anne received the sad tidings of her father's death, and heard that her mother proposed leaving Copenhagen and retiring to her Norwegian estates, she also, since she concluded

¹ *Nyere historiske Studier* (Copenhagen, 1875), vol. i., p. 142.

no satisfactory redress was obtainable from Bothwell, prepared to make her way to Rosendal. Queen Mary, on 17th February, 1565, then issued an interesting passport in Latin, which is still preserved,¹ giving Lady Anne liberty to come and go within the realm and to leave the country whenever she pleased. A few months later we find her in Bergen, where she was manifestly held in great esteem and honour, and was called 'The Scottish Lady,' the name by which she seems afterwards to have been generally known.

Hr. Holst Jensen has written an admirable article on 'The Scottish Lady' in *For Kirke og Kultur*,² and we are indebted to him for many interesting details which we have nowhere else met with; and he refers to several authorities inaccessible to us. He especially gives numerous quotations from the diary of Absalon Beyer, one of the most distinguished scholars and priests of the Norwegian Church, who in his notes supplies a vivid picture of the life in Bergen during the period when Lady Anne was resident there.

Under the date 18th August, 1565, we are told that 'There was a baptism in the Cathedral on Saturday morning, also sermon, but no mass, for there were no communicants. Mrs. Anne Thronddssön, the Scottish Lady, was godmother to Herluf, son of the Lord Lieutenant, Jörgen Daa, of Utstein.' . . . A week after the baptism she was a guest at the most famous wedding celebrated for many years in the west of Norway. On the 25th August the bride and bridegroom proceeded in pomp and state to the dwelling of the feudal lord where troths were plighted; and at the feast given in his residence, Müren, the quaint house which is still standing, blocking the narrow Strandgade in Bergen, it is said that 'there were not fewer than eight courses.' On that occasion Lady Anne Bothwell played a prominent part. We are told that 'The Scottish Lady arrayed the bride in the Spanish fashion, which is that the bride had a collar studded with precious stones round her neck, a gold circlet on her brow, and a wreath of pearls with a feather of pearls in it, and she wore a red damask kirtle.' It is very manifest that Lady Anne had kept her eyes open when she was one of Mary Stuart's ladies-in-waiting, and that

¹ *Danske Samlinger* (Copenhagen, 1865-6), vol. i., pp. 397, 8.

² Christiania, 1903, p. 273; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. xiv., p. xliv, n.

she had brought over to Norway with her from Holyrood the very newest fashions of the Scots nobility.

On the following day the real wedding took place. The bride was dressed in a brown velvet kirtle; and she wore a grand bridal crown, with gold chains round her neck, shoulders, and elbows; she had even chains of gold hanging from her waist to the ground, and her hair floated about her all unbound. All the aristocracy of Western Norway were at the wedding feast, and among the fair dames present is specially mentioned Mrs. Anne, the Scot.

Two years later Lady Anne was to see her faithless husband once more under most peculiar circumstances. Bothwell had reached the giddiest height of his ambition. He had married the Queen of Scotland, and was king in all but name. However,

‘The best laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang aft agley.’

But a few weeks after the wedding Queen Mary’s troops were defeated at Carberry Hill and Bothwell’s fate was sealed. He made his way to Shetland, and then hurriedly quitted the islands without being able to provision his two ships, which were driven across to Norway. The skipper of a Hanseatic merchantman from Rostock¹ piloted them into Karm Sound, where Bothwell’s two vessels saluted the ‘Bear,’ a warship carrying the Danish flag, and cast anchor beside it. The naval captain demanded to see the ships’ papers of the newcomers. Bothwell replied that ‘they were Scottish gentlemen who wished to proceed to Denmark to serve His Majesty,’ and ordered one of his companions to repair to the ‘Bear’ and explain that the official whose ordinary duty it was to issue passports and papers in Scotland was in close confinement. The ‘Bear’s’ captain, as he afterwards reported, finding them ‘without any passport, sea-brief, safe-conduct, or commissions, which honest seafaring people commonly use and are in duty bound to have,’ resolved to convey them to Bergen. But Bothwell’s men numbered 140. The ‘Bear’ had not so many, and so the Captain secretly summoned all the neighbouring peasants to come on board during the night to assist to capture the privateers, as he called them; and in due course he laid hold of Bothwell and his men and ships, and took them to Bergen. Bothwell then went to

¹ Absalon Pedersson’s *Dagbog* (Christiania, 1860), p. 148.

Captain Aalborg in person and explained to him who he was, and that his proper clothes were in another ship; but the Danish Captain had difficulty in seeing in the man before him 'attired in old, coarse, ragged boatswain's clothes, the highest of the lords in all Scotland.' On 2nd September, 1567, the vessels anchored in Bergen; and the report of the capture was given to the Commandant of Bergen Castle, who summoned a Commission of 24 to investigate the whole affair. The members of the Commission proceeded on board the 'Bear,' and Bothwell explained to them that he was 'the husband of the Queen of Scotland.' On being asked for his passport he answered 'disdainfully, and enquired from whom he should get passport or letter, being himself the supreme ruler in the country.'

One of Bothwell's difficulties was to explain how he had obtained his chief vessel the 'Pelican':¹ for the Bergen authorities knew that the boat belonged to a Bremen merchant, from whom Bothwell had taken it against promise of payment. But he could not prove the purchase. And as he had carefully concealed his name from the crews of the vessels, when they were examined they declared that the Earl of Bothwell, so far as they knew, was still in Scotland. They said their captain's name was David Woth. Now, rumours had reached Bergen that a man of that name had recently captured a Norwegian ship, so David was at once charged with the crime and imprisoned in the Town House of Bergen.

When the tidings of Bothwell's arrival in Bergen reached the Scottish Lady, she at once seized the opportunity of seeking redress for the losses she had suffered for his sake. She summoned the Earl before the Court and read in his presence the documents that proved the marriage. Lady Anne declared that he seemed to regard marriage lightly 'since he had three wives alive, first herself, another in Scotland from whom he had secured his freedom, and the last Queen Mary.'

The interesting diary to which we have already referred describes the meeting of Lady Anne and the husband who had

¹ Schiern, *Life of Bothwell*, p. 320.

In *David Wedderburne's Compt Buik*, edited by Mr. A. H. Millar for the Scot. Hist. Society, we find a reference to a ship called the 'Pelican' in Dundee under the date 1580. It can be traced in the shipping lists as trading between Dundee and Denmark till 1618. In the year 1593 David Wedderburne purchased a sixteenth share in the 'Pelican'; and Mr. Millar thinks it very probable that this was the vessel Bothwell had when he was captured in 1567.

so heartlessly forsaken her during their honeymoon seven years previously. It might have happened yesterday. When the case was called in Court on 17th September compeared Lady Anne Bothwell charging her husband with desertion and claiming aliment. 'Mrs. Anne, the daughter of Admiral Christopher Thronddssön charged the Earl of Bothwell that he had taken her from her native land and her father's home and led her into a foreign country away from her parents and would not hold her as his lawful wife which he with hand and mouth and writings had promised them and her to do.' The case was settled by Bothwell agreeing to pay Lady Anne an annuity of 100 dollars, to be sent regularly from Scotland, and to hand over one of the two ships in which he and his men had come from Scotland.¹ The vessel was immediately transferred to her ; but the dollars, of course, she never got, for the Earl could not have paid them if he would. On 30th September Bothwell went on board the 'Bear' again to be conveyed to Copenhagen that the Danish Government might decide his fate. About the end of the year he was cast into prison at Malmöhus. Six years later he was transferred to Dragsholm in Sjælland, where he died on 14th April, 1578, after a long illness, his mind latterly being affected. He was buried at Faareville ; and many years ago a grave was opened there which was supposed to be Bothwell's. A mummy was found in the coffin, and a picture of the face was taken, showing Scottish features and hair—a picture which is preserved in the Scottish Antiquarian Society's Museum in Edinburgh.

Many years pass before we hear of the Scottish Lady again, but in 1594 we find her in the east of Norway. The famous Oslo Bishop, Jens Nilssön, kept his Visitation Books very carefully, and these contain many personal and historical notes of a most valuable and interesting character. The Bishop visited the church of Id on 21st April. He tells us the text he preached from, and that he examined the people ; and he mentions that Mrs. Anne, the Scottish Lady, was in the church. Evidently the old admiral's daughter was as important a personage in the east of Norway as she had been nearly 30 years before in the west. He records that as he was rowed that day to the parsonage of Berg he passed Sauöen, where Lady Anne's property

¹ *Liber Capituli Bergensis* (Christiania, 1860), p. 148.

Bannatyne Club, *Les affaires du Conte de Boduel*, 1568 (Edinburgh, 1829), p. xxxix.

lay; and at the priest's house the Scottish Lady was herself a guest over-night. The worthy bishop thinks it worth mentioning that he had some conversation with her, and that when Lady Anne was departing next day, the priest of Id accompanied her to her boat.

The Bishop, in continuation of his visitation, arrived two days later at Tune, where exactly two hundred years later Hans Nielsen Hauge, the Norwegian Wesley, was to begin that revival of religion which redeemed Norway from utter spiritual deadness and implanted those grains of vital godliness which in so many districts are leavening Norway still. At Tune he tells us that he met Christine, the sister of the Scottish Lady, and also her niece Anna, the daughter of Else.¹ This Anna, Else's daughter, may have been called after the Scottish Lady, and we are told that she married a Scotsman, Andrew Mouatt of Hovland.

Lady Anne Bothwell may possibly have lived on the Christiania fjord right down to 1604. In that year she inherited the ancestral property of Seim in Rosendal after the death of her nephew, her sister Margrethe's son. Lady Anne then seems to have taken up her residence in Rosendal, and three years later we learn that she transferred the property to her sister Else,² possibly for the sake of her namesake Anna.

Nearly half a century had passed since Lady Anne first met Bothwell in Denmark, and thirty years had gone since he had found a Danish grave. And no long time could elapse after the transfer of the property until the old bells in the tower of Rosendal Church tolled out to all the parish the sorrowful tidings that the famous Scottish Lady had gone to her final rest. She probably breathed her last in the house which had been her childhood's home, although in the years between many a stirring incident and strange experience had befallen her in other lands and amid less peaceful scenes. Every trace of the house has long since disappeared; but Prof. Ludvig Daae tells us that many descendants of the old admiral, the Scottish Lady's father, still survive in Norway, and that especially the greatly esteemed and respected family of Aga in Hardanger traces back its ancestry to him. But if the house in which she opened and closed her eyes has disappeared, the surrounding scenery in all

¹ Bishop Nilsson's *Visitatsböger* (Christiania, 1885), pp. 241-250.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1892-3, p. 239; *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. xiv., pp. cxii-xiv.

its entrancing beauty still charms the visitor's eye as it did 300 years ago; and the tradition of the Earl of Bothwell's Norwegian Bride, the Scottish Lady, lives on in Rosendal until the present day.

Prof. Daae¹ has made a very interesting suggestion with reference to 'The Scottish Lady,' a suggestion which is calculated to clear up a long unsettled question. The old ballad *Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament* is the plaint of a gentle mother to her little boy because of the heartless desertion of the husband and father. The ballad's outpouring of bitter grief and unrequited love could not possibly more appropriately render the feelings that must have stirred 'The Scottish Lady' when Bothwell left her as he did.

Bishop Percy in his *Reliques*, original edition, thinks the reference is to Lady Jean Gordon, whom Bothwell wedded in 1566, and in 1567 divorced in order that he might marry Queen Mary. But in a later edition he gives up the theory, and suggests that the tradition refers to some lady of position called Bothwell who was cast off by her husband or lover.

Aytoun, in his *Ballads of Scotland*, prefaces his version of the ballad with the words: 'The heroine of this pathetic ballad was Anne Bothwell, a daughter of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who performed the marriage ceremony between Queen Mary and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. This young lady had an intrigue with and was deserted by a son of the Earl of Mar, Col. Sir Alexander Erskine, who was killed by an explosion of gunpowder at Dunglass in the year 1640.' According to the accepted family genealogy we learn that Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, had only one daughter, who was called *Jean*, and was married to Sir William Sandilands of St. Monans. In Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs* we discover that the authority for suggesting that Adam Bothwell had a daughter Anne was a MSS. history of the family raked out by the scandal-loving C. K. Sharpe. History tells us that the Orcadian Bishop was a man of spirit. His son, Lord Holyroodhouse, would surely never have allowed his sister's seducer to escape condign punishment. We never hear of any strained relations between the cousins, for Erskine was Adam Bothwell's nephew. And on the whole we are not satisfied that the Bishop had more than one daughter. There is therefore great probability that Prof. Daae's hypothesis is perfectly correct, and that Lady Anne

¹ *Tillæg til Historisk Tidsskrift* (Christiania, 1872), vol. ii., p. 344.

Bothwell, the heroine of the affecting ballad, was none other than 'The Scottish Lady,' who was Anne, the daughter of Admiral Thronddssön.

Överland, in his *History of Norway*, says that in the *Lament* we have possibly an evidence of the sympathy Lady Anne met with in Scotland, and he gives a translation of the ballad which, with great skill and spirit, reproduces the original. In Norse and Scots the first verse runs :

Aa, by, by, barne', stans din graad !
 din lille kind den er saa vaad ;
 du maa, du maa ei grøede saa
 hvis hjertefred din mor skal faa.
 Aa, by, by, barne', mamas skat,
 din fader har os to forladt.

Balow, my boy, lye still and sleep !
 It grieves me sore to hear thee weep !
 If thou'lt be silent, I'll be glad,
 Thy mourning makes my heart full sad.
 Balow, my boy, thy mother's joy,
 Thy father bred me great annoy.

J. BEVERIDGE.



ANDREW MACPHERSON OF CLUNY

Painted in 1661

From a photograph by Donald Cameron-Swan, Esq., of the original picture in Cluny Castle

The Celtic Trews

WHEN the Baron of Bradwardine complimented Waverley upon the handsome figure he presented when fully attired as a Highland gentleman, he incidentally drew a comparison between the respective merits of the kilt and the trews, giving his decision in favour of the latter. 'Ye wear the trews,' he observed, 'a garment whilk I approve maist of the twa, as mair ancient and seemly.' There may be a difference of opinion at the present day as to which of these two varieties of Highland garb is the more seemly, but there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the trews, regarded as a part of the Celtic dress. Scott himself, speaking in his own person, states that Waverley had 'now fairly assumed the "garb of old Gaul,"' and there is sufficient evidence that this statement is correct, making due allowance for some modifications in vogue in the eighteenth century, and introduced at one time or another during that period and the immediately preceding centuries.

The dress of the Celts of Western Europe, about 2000 years ago, has been described by Mr. Charles Elton; his statements being drawn from such authorities as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Pausanias, and from such evidences as the pictures on the medals of the Roman emperor Claudius. Mr. Elton writes as follows:¹

'The men and women wore the same dress, so far as we can judge from the figures on the medals of Claudius. When Britannia is represented as a woman the head is uncovered and the hair tied in an elegant knot upon the neck; where a male figure is introduced the head is covered with a soft hat of a modern pattern. The costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt, with trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch.' This form of Celtic dress is of special interest to all who are connected with the Scottish Highlands. Because,

¹ *Origins of English History*, 2nd ed., Lond., 1890, pp. 110-111.

while it may have been worn by Continental Celts for many centuries after the date of Claudius, it eventually vanished from the Continent, and from all other parts of the British Isles except the Scottish Highlands, where it continued to be worn without any radical variation down to our own times.

The authority whom I have just quoted continues thus, with reference to the Celts of 2000 years ago: 'The Gauls were experts at making cloth and linen. They wove their stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter-wear, which are said to have been prepared with vinegar, and to have been so tough as to resist the stroke of a sword. We hear, moreover, of a British dress, called *guanacum* by Varro, which was said to be 'woven of divers colours, and making a gaudy show.' They had learned the art of using alternate colours for the warp and woof so as to bring out a pattern of stripes and squares. The cloth, says Diodorus, was covered with an infinite number of little squares and lines, 'as if it had been sprinkled with flowers,' or was striped with crossing bars, which formed a chequered design. The favourite colour was red or a 'pretty crimson.' In the words of Pliny [*Hist. Nat.*, xxii. 1], 'Behold the French inhabiting beyond the Alps have invented the means to counterfeit the purple of Tyrus, the scarlet also and the violet in grain; yea, and to set all other colours that can be devised, with the juice only of certain herbs, such colours as an honest-minded person has no cause to blame, nor the world reason to cry out upon.'¹ 'They seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament,' continues Elton. 'They wore collars and "torques" of gold, necklaces and bracelets, and strings of brightly-coloured beads, made of glass or of "a material like the Egyptian porcelain." A ring was worn on the middle finger [at one period, but in a later generation] the fashion changed, and that finger was left bare while all the rest were loaded.'

Such, then, was the attire of the Celts of 2000 years ago in time of peace. Of their armour, offensive and defensive, it would be out of place to speak here.

The accounts just cited, therefore, show us that the tartan was in full swing at that period in all its varied colours; red or crimson being chiefly preferred. And the dress was a sleeved blouse, often belted, with a tartan plaid thrown over it; the lower limbs being clad in trews, closely fitting at the ankle.

¹This translation, quoted by Elton, is from Holland, ii. 115. Holland lived 1552-1637.

This last item requires to be emphasized, owing to popular misconceptions, not only among illiterate Cockneys, but also among many educated people in England, Scotland, and elsewhere. The Celtic people whom Pliny styles (in Holland's words) 'the French beyond the Alps' were remarkable in the eyes of the Romans from the circumstance of their wearing the trews, an article of apparel of which the Romans were innocent. At Rome the word *transalpinus*, or 'a person living beyond the Alps,' was a synonym for 'a person wearing breeches or trousers.' The Celtic druids were nicknamed 'the long-trousered philosophers' and the Celts as a people were further nicknamed *Bracati* or *Gentes Braccatae*, 'the trousered people.' On the other hand, the Roman dress was the toga, or mantle, and the belted tunic, a garb very closely resembling the plaid and kilt which in later centuries became associated with at least one branch of the Celtic nation. So averse, indeed, was the early Roman to the restrictions of the nether garments of the Celts, that the first Roman emperor who so far forgot himself as to wear breeches at once raised against him a perfect storm of popular indignation. In fact it would seem to be the case that the wearing of these articles of apparel is a custom which the people of Europe have inherited from the Celts.

Whatever may have been the custom in the days of the Emperor Claudius, the trews has long ceased to be worn by Celtic ladies, unless occasionally in a metaphorical sense. One exceptional instance, it is true, is that of Miss Jeanie Cameron, whose name is so much associated with that of Prince Charles Edward; for she is pictured as attired 'in a military habit—tartan doublet and trews—fully armed, with a gun in her hand.'¹ But then, it was understood that she was dressed as a man.

The earliest representation of a trews-wearing Highlander which I am able to indicate seems to date from the sixteenth or possibly the seventeenth century, although the picture upon which this supposition is based was only printed in 1767. Curiously enough, it comes from Germany, having been printed on one of a pack of playing cards published in Nuremberg. It is entitled '*Ein böser Berg-Schott*,' 'a fierce Scottish Highlander.' The figure is that of a man wearing what is clearly meant to be a tartan plaid and tartan trews, with a cap or bonnet, in which may be discerned the tail feathers of a black-cock. His face is

¹ See an interesting account of 'Jenny Cameron' by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, in *Scottish Art and Letters*, Sept.-Nov., 1903, pp. 393-399.

clean-shaven, except for a small moustache. His right hand is engaged in drawing his sword, and with his left hand he is holding a pike, slanting over his shoulder. The butt of a pistol is seen projecting from his belt. One cannot say with certainty when the original of this picture was drawn, but it seems to contain inherent evidence that it describes a Highlander of at least a century before 1767.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland show us, from entries made in August, 1538, the dress then worn by James the Fifth during a hunting excursion in the Highlands. He wore a 'short Highland coat' of parti-coloured velvet, lined with green taffety, trews of 'Highland tartan,' and a long and full 'Highland shirt' of holland cloth, with ribbons at the wrists. I have here used the word 'trews,' but the entry in the accounts is: 'Item for 3 ells of Highland tartan to be hose to the King's grace, price of the ell 4 shillings and 4 pence.' This, I think, clearly indicates the trews. Stockings were known as 'short hose,'¹ to distinguish them from 'hose' or trews.

'Defoe, in his "Memoirs of a Cavalier," written about 1721, and obviously composed from authentic materials, thus describes the Highland part of the Scottish army which invaded England in 1639, at the commencement of the great Civil War. . . . "They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly and I think insignificantly [*i.e.* unmeaningly or needlessly] broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, stripped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of Merry-Andrews, ready for Bartholomew fair. There were three or four thousand of these in the Scots army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them.'" ²

The uncomplimentary comparison between these Highland soldiers and 'Merry Andrews' is obviously due to the resemblance between a man dressed in tartan trews and a Pantaloon, or Harlequin, in his chequered, tight-fitting suit. It is by no means

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Appendix, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

unlikely that the Harlequin's dress is a survival of the dress of the Celtic juggler. The prevailing colour in the tartan of these troops of 1639 is described as red and yellow. This suggests the MacMillan Clan. The M'Leods, however, are most prominently associated with the Royalist cause during the English campaigns, and it is well known that, owing to the heavy losses sustained by them when fighting for King Charles at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, the M'Leods were held exempt from warfare by the other western clans until time had tended to increase their numbers.

The portrait of Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, of the year 1661, gives one a good idea of the trews-wearing Highlander of this period. Somewhere about this period, also, ought to be placed the portrait of Fraser of Castle Leathers, which hangs in the Town Hall of Inverness. This chieftain is dressed in a slashed coat and waistcoat, with tartan trews, and he has also a small sporran or purse. The sporran seems to have been frequently worn with the trews.

If Defoe is right in picturing the whole of the 3000 or 4000 Highlanders in the Scottish army of 1639 as wearing the trews, he indicates that that garment was then common to all ranks. Such, however, was not the case in later years, as may be seen from many references.

Lord Archibald Campbell gives¹ a reproduction of the two supporters of the arms of Skene of that Ilk, as these were pictured in Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates* in 1672. The dexter supporter shows a man wearing a flat round cap or bonnet, a short plaid crossing his chest from the left shoulder to the right hip, its under fold coming from the right arm-pit down to the basket-hilt of his broadsword, which hangs at his left hip, suspended from a long shoulder-belt, apparently of ornamented leather, put on above the plaid. The plaid was fixed by a brooch or a silver bodkin, at its point of crossing on the breast; but this is not visible in the picture. The shoulder-belt is of course suspended from the right shoulder. He wears a short coat or jacket, having the sleeves slashed about halfway up, and with ruffs at the wrist. Possibly, however, these are the edges of his gauntlets. His costume is completed by a pair of tartan trews, with garters, the bows of which are very prominent,²

¹ *Highland Dress, Arms and Ornament*, 1899, opp. p. 119.

² This style of garter is seen in detail in Logan's *Scottish Gael*, 1831, vol. i., plate opp. p. 259.

and his feet are encased in high-heeled shoes. In his right hand he holds a drawn dirk, the point downward; and his left supports the dexter side of the shield. It may be added that his hair hangs down to his shoulders, his upper lip is shaven, as also his chin; but he either has a pair of whiskers coming right down to his jaws, or else his cheeks are clean-shaven, and what looks like whiskers is merely shadow.

The sinister supporter is a counterpart of the one just described, so far as regards head-dress, hair, and character of face. He wears a short jacket with plain sleeves, and above it is a plaid which, apparently crossing both shoulders, is belted in at the waist and then hangs as a kilt, coming down to about half-way between his waist and his knees. He has a pair of tartan stockings, whose vandyked tops reach to his knees, below which they are fastened by plain garters. He wears a pair of plain, low-heeled shoes. On his left arm he bears a round Highland target, studded with nails, and at his right hip there hangs a large quiver, full of arrows, which is suspended from a shoulder-belt coming from the left shoulder. His right arm supports the sinister side of the shield.

Nisbet himself states that the supporters of the shield of Skene of that Ilk are 'two highlandmen he on the dexter side in a highland gentlemans dress holding in his right hand a skeen point downward and the other on the sinister in a servants dress with his Darlach [quiver] and a Target on his left Arm.'¹ Referring to these seventeenth-century figures, and to Nisbet's definition of them, Lord Archibald Campbell observes (*op. cit.*, p. 122): 'It is impossible to conceive of evidence of a more conclusive and satisfactory character than that here adduced of the existence of both modes of dress at this period; and of the rank of the respective wearers.'²

Cleland, the Covenanting colonel who was killed while in command of the Cameronians in their defence of Dunkeld against the Jacobite Highlanders in 1689, clearly regarded the trews as a sign of rank, and not as a dress of the common people.

¹ Alexander Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, Edinburgh, 1892, Introduction, p. xlii.

² It may be added that although Nisbet's actual words are quoted above, two variants of the description are given in his *Heraldic Plates* (ed. of 1892). One describes the dexter supporter as 'a highland gentleman in his proper garb,' and the sinister as 'another highlandman in a servil habit.' The other merely says 'a highlandman in his proper garb' and 'another in a servill habit.' (See p. xlvii, and the Skene blazon.)

This appears in the doggerel verses which he wrote in 1678, describing the 'Highland Host.' After referring in slighting terms to the half-clad appearance of the ordinary clansmen, he goes on to say:

'But those who were their chief Commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie standarts,
Who led the van, and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear;
With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
With good blew bonnets on their heads,
Which on the one side had a flipe
Adorn'd with a tobacco pipe,
With durk, and snap work [pistol], and snuff mill,
A bagg which they with onions fill,
And, as their strick observers say,
A tupe horn fill'd with usquebay;
A slasht out coat beneath her plaides,
A targe of timber, nails and hides;
With a long two-handed sword,
As good's the country can afford;
Had they not need of bulk and bones,
Who fight with all these arms at once?'¹

Martin refers to the trews as worn by some of the Western Islanders in the reign of Queen Anne. 'Many of the people wear *trowis*,' he says, 'some have them very fine woven, like stockings of those made of cloth; some are coloured, and others striped: the latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before.'²

It will be seen that Martin does not speak of the trews as peculiar to any one class. Captain Burt, however, writing a little later, regards this variety of the Highland dress as almost, if not altogether, a mark of gentry. He remarks thus:

'Few besides gentlemen wear the trowze, that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan or plaiding; this, with the sword and pistol, is called a full dress, and to a well-proportioned man, with any tolerable air, it makes

¹ *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., p. 43.

² *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., p. 46. The last sentence suggests a small sporran, sometimes worn with the trews; but not if Martin's statement is to be accepted literally.

an agreeable figure; but this you have seen in London, and it is chiefly their mode of dressing when they are in the Lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go any where on horseback; but those among them who travel on foot, and have not attendants to carry them over the waters, vary it into the quilt.¹ Burt then goes on to describe the kilt or 'quilt,' which he speaks of as 'the common habit of the ordinary Highlanders.'

Another writer, J. Macky, who made a 'Journey through Scotland' sometime in the reign of George I., gives a companion picture to Burt's. Macky writes as an Englishman, and apparently he was one, in spite of his name. Of the dress of the people of Lochaber and the Great Glen he writes as follows:² 'The universal Dress here is a striped Plad, which serves them as a Covering by Night, and a Cloak by Day. The Gentry wear Trousings, which are Breeches and Stockings of one piece of the same striped Stuff; and the common People have a short Hose, which reaches to the Calf of the Leg, and all above is bare.'

A little later, Macky found himself in Crieff, with regard to which visit he makes the following observation:³ 'The Highland Fair of Crieff happening when I was at Stirling, I had the Curiosity to go see it. . . . The Highland Gentlemen were mighty civil, dress'd in their slash'd short Waistcoats, a Trousing (which is, Breeches and Stockings of one Piece of strip'd Stuff) with a Plaid for a Cloak, and a blue Bonnet. They have a Ponyard Knife and Fork in one Sheath, hanging at one side of their Belt, their Pistol at the other, and their Snuff-Mill before; with a great broad Sword by their side.' He then goes on to describe the common men who followed these gentlemen: 'Their Attendance were very numerous, all in Belted Plaids, girt like Womens Petticoats down to the Knee; their Thighs and Half of the Leg all bare. They had also each their broad Sword and Ponyard, and spake all Irish, an unintelligible language to the English. However, these poor Creatures hir'd themselves out for a Shilling a Day, to drive the Cattle to England, and to return home at their own Charge.'

It is noteworthy that Macky, who (like Captain Burt) writes as [an Englishman, finds it necessary to explain to his English

¹ *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., pp. 48-49.

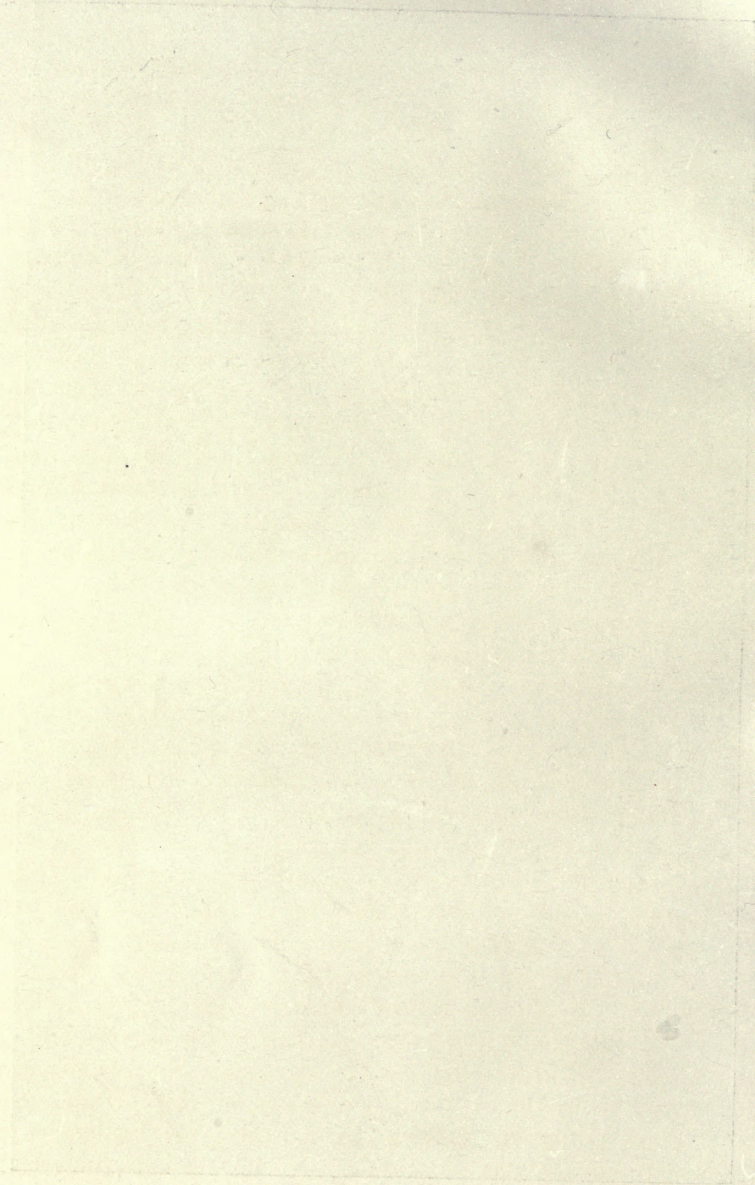
² *A Journey through Scotland*, London, 1723, p. 127.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 194.



SIR JOHN SINCLAIR OF ULBSTER, BARONET
in his uniform as Colonel of the Caithness Fencibles

From the painting by Sir Henry Raeburn



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readers (as Burt also does) what trews or 'trousings' are; the fact being that Englishmen then wore knee-breeches, and did not use trousers until about a century later.

It has been seen that the portraits of Cluny Macpherson of 1661, and of a Fraser chieftain living about the dawn of the seventeenth century, represent each as attired in what Nisbet calls 'a heighland gentleman's dress.' Other portraits bearing similar testimony are the following, all representing gentlemen of the eighteenth century: James, 6th Earl of Perth and Duke of Perth (the original being preserved in Drummond Castle), Normand, 19th Laird of MacLeod, painted by Allan Ramsay (preserved in Dunvegan Castle), one of the young sons of MacDonald of the Isles (the original, painted in 1750, being in Armadale Castle), and Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster, painted by Raeburn in 1795. This last picture is here reproduced. These are only some notable instances illustrating the attire which had long been specially associated with the gentry of the Scottish Highlands; and it is worth pointing out, as a fact not sufficiently realised, that a man may be of unimpeachable Highland lineage without any of his ancestors having ever worn the kilt.

Among civilians, the fashion of wearing the trews may be said to have ceased with the eighteenth century. The last Macdonell of Glengarry wore the trews (elegantly finished in a fringe above the ankle) when he was a boy; but he appears to have decided in favour of the kilt in later life. In our kilted regiments the trews is still the dress of mounted officers; and in its ungraceful form of modern trousers it constitutes part of the undress uniform of the junior officers and the men. In this form, also, it is worn on all occasions by a few Scottish regiments of Highland origin. It is not unlikely that the modern use of the trews, or of tartan trousers, by privates as well as officers, is in some measure due to the influence of Sir John Sinclair, who insisted on the trews as the dress of all ranks in his Caithness Fencibles, which regiment was raised by him in 1794. In spite of the fact that the trews was then or previously regarded as characteristic of the upper class in the Highlands, Sir John did not recognize such a distinction. Of its superior antiquity to the kilt he had no doubt, and strenuously asserted this doctrine in a pamphlet referred to in the *Memoirs* by his son (1837, vol. i., p. 257).

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

Note.—Since the preceding article was written, I have seen M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Les Celtes* (Paris, 1904), a chapter of which is devoted to

the history of *Le Pantalon Gaulois*. The author makes it quite clear that he refers to trousers reaching down to the ankle; and not to *culottes*, or knee-breeches. He points to the use of trousers by the Gauls as early as the third century B.C., at which time they also wore mantles, or plaids, for the upper part of the body. But he asserts that the Gauls derived this nether garment from the Germans, who in turn had derived it from the Scythians, and these from the Iranians of Persia. He also shows that the Amazons are represented as wearing trousers. The Gaelic word *triubhas* (Anglicised as 'trews') he derives from Old French *trebus*, Mediaeval Latin *tribuces* and *tribucus*, and Low Latin *tubrucus*,—analysed by him as *tu-brucus*, i.e. 'thigh-breeches.' *Braca* he derives, through German, from an Indo-European root *bhrāg*. He is wrong, however, when he states that 'the trews or breeches, in Ireland and among the Gaels of Scotland, was borrowed from the English in recent times.' Shakespeare, who, like the rest of his countrymen, wore knee-breeches, speaks of the 'strait trossers' of the 'kernes of Ireland.' (*King Henry V.*, Act iii., Sc. 7.)

I would also add that the two Highlanders who figure in the ornamental title of Blaeu's map of Scotia, published in 1654, are both represented as wearing tartan breeches. But as, in each case, the tartan of the legs differs from that of the thighs, it is evident that they are supposed to be wearing knee-breeches, not trews.

D. M^{CR}.

The Mediæval Stage.¹

IN a work of wide range and deep learning, Mr. Chambers has traced out the social conditions which gave rise to the mediæval drama. By attacking literary history from an unusual point of view, new ground has been opened up, and many facts which lost meaning through their isolation have been drawn together and converted into a source of very fresh and original inspiration. Further, by dint of the industrious accumulation of material, a comprehensive collection of references and an admirable bibliographical apparatus are placed at the disposal of future generations of students, and must very greatly lighten their labours. An opportune moment has been chosen to show how great are the services which many outlying branches of study can render to the understanding of literary history. A beautiful style and pure literary taste are not all we require of the historian of literature; if literature has a history, it is needful to find the links which bind the centuries together, and it is the antiquarian, rather than the man of letters, who may be best fitted for this work, even though his style be a negligible quantity.

It seems a far cry from Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Tille's *Christmas and Yule-tide* to the Reformation stage-play, but it is by tracing the passage from pre-Christian sacrificial ritual to the conventions of the sixteenth-century drama that many well-worn facts are given a new force. The book is mis-named: it is really a history of mediæval 'make-believe,' or rather a collection of 'memoirs to serve for' such a history. Like Warton's great history of English poetry, it is inartistically arranged, and is full of cross-references and repetitions, but to it, as to Warton, students will continue to go as to a great store-house of material.

The sources of mediæval dramatic literature are pronounced to be four, the heathen 'ludus,' the classic 'mime,' the German

¹ *The Mediæval Stage*, by E. K. Chambers, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

'scôp,' the liturgic 'trope,' and on these corner-stones, well and truly laid, a solid satisfactory structure is built up to serve in the place of the somewhat sketchy chapter with which our dramatic histories are generally allowed to begin. The early history of the Scottish drama, that great empty space in which only a broken pillar here and there serves to mark the what has been, fits roomily enough into such a ground-plan. Most of the broken pillars Mr. Chambers has marked, and in this place the reviewer cannot perhaps do better than test his scheme by the Scottish fragments.

The celebrated passages in the Chronicles of Lanercost under the years 1268 and 1282, which tell how the 'simulachrum Priapi' was used, and how Father Bacchus was served by a 'chorea' of girls 'cum cantantibus motu mimico,' will serve to remind us that no very broad gulf separated the Christianity of Scotland in the thirteenth century from what had gone before. It had not been easy to eradicate that 'ludus,' which was in part a ceremony of riddance, of purification;¹ and in part the recreative orgy of a sacrificial feast; and in part an expression of the mystery of sympathetic magic, which secures to the mimic the qualities of the divinity personated.

Dances, processions, beast-masks, hobby-horses, and disguisings are the remnants of a ritual of antiquity, of 'ludi,' with which the Christian world could not and would not part. Gregory the Great, with his usual sound worldly wisdom, bade St. Augustine convert the animal sacrifices of the Anglo-Saxons into a sacrificial meal in honour of Christ. Such meals could not be dispensed with altogether. Dancing in churches was the subject of canonical prohibition age after age, and died very hard. The beast-mask lives still to adorn the Christmas pantomime; it was a sore trial to the synods of the church, for they knew what all in the way of heathen belief lay behind it. But once the heathen deities had become safely housed in the nether-world of devils, the danger was over, and the most religiously minded may make a certain amount of irreverent sport with devils. The hobby-

¹ This element seems hardly sufficiently recognized by Mr. Chambers. It is admirably brought out in a new work by Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. In tracing the longevity of riddance ceremonies, it is curious to find that masks were forbidden at wakes at Ludlow in the fourteenth century. Toulmin Smith, *Gilds*, p. 194. The *barbatoriae*, who have given Mr. Chambers some trouble, were probably wearers of masks with large beards, originally intended—like the wake-masks, no doubt—to frighten away ghosts and devils.

horse, the 'cervulus,' so dreaded of the bishops of the dark ages, might 'foot it featously' and unabashed in the sixteenth century. One word, 'lâc,' the Scottish 'laík,' had meant to the Anglo-Saxon sacrifice, victim, gift, and sportive game, and Jamieson's examples will show the mixed meaning holding its own in Scotland.

To the 'mime' of the late Roman empire our author traces the note of degradation which attaches so persistently to the minstrels, or at least to a section of their fraternity. It was the spectacular performer, the professional tumbler and buffoon, with parti-coloured dress and flat-shod feet, whose utterances were the least important part of his dramatic 'business,' who was to link the Roman to the Germanic chain in the history of human entertainment. The Anglo-Saxon appears to have been little susceptible to the charms of the dance,¹ forbidden but once in the canons, but he was doubtless as fond as the rest of the world of the grotesque. According to Gaimar (whose source is not known), it was the feats of his dwarf tumbler which were used to draw Edward king and martyr to his death.

In tracing the fusing of the art of the 'scôp,' whose minstrelsy was the characteristic German contribution, with that of the mime, an interesting point is made of the minstrel's 'disguise,' which is early a favourite theme in history and romance; the walnut-stained and shaven face, clipped hair, bardy coat and motley wear, closely resemble the descriptions of the Roman mime's dress. It is the lower class of minstrel who takes the leading place in the tree of dramatic genealogy, and accordingly the minstrelsy, which is the usual theme of literary history, is here but scantily, perhaps too scantily, treated, and the history of court entertainment in the twelfth century leaves a rather awkward blank. Peter of Blois' description of Henry II.'s court serves to show that there was no real blank, but Rahere, the founder of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as *mimus regis* to William II., ought not to appear, under that designation at all events. Dr. Norman Moore has shown exactly whereon the story is based. Connection with the king's spectacular entertainment he may have had, but he is scarcely more of a mime than

¹ In the account of church dances, it should be noted that the 'vallationes,' forbidden by St. Eloi of Noyon, came possibly from St. Cæsarius of Arles. The *ant caraulas* (the 'carols,' so frequent in later descriptions of dances and processions) are an addition of a late MS., as Krusch shows in his excellent edition of the *Vita S. Eligii* for the *Mon. Germ. Script. Rer. Meroving. IV.*

certain mimes of King John named by Warton: A lady, he tells us, may marry whom she pleases, 'the king's mimics excepted.' It should not need a reference to the MS. to convert 'mimics' into 'enemies.'

It is singular that the minute accounts of John's *misae* should yield no fragments under the head of spectacular entertainment; so far as a hasty examination suffices to show, what time he could spare from misgoverning the country he spent at the game of tables and in active outdoor sport. But with the thirteenth century and the stream of monastic, episcopal, and other accounts, the place of the 'histriones,' mimics and minstrels becomes more closely assignable. The 'vafri,' 'waffarii,' performers of sleight-of-hand, of the Swinfield accounts deserve a note, as well as other entries from that source, in Mr. Chambers' useful appendices.¹

If only England would deal with her rich series of wardrobe accounts as Scotland has dealt with those of the Lord High Treasurer, much important evidence upon this subject (and on countless others) would come to light. It is the Durham accounts (admirably edited by Canon Fowler) which yield an allusion to the Scottish king's minstrels in 1278, and from that time they give a steady sequence of fees to 'histriones,' Scottish and other. The Leicester municipal accounts show that in the early fourteenth century minstrels are apt to be grouped with messengers, runners and heralds, and among them are some Welsh names. The Scottish 'minstrels of the chekkar' make one suspect that those Exchequer 'cockins,' who were liberally fed at Leicester, took part in the town's entertainment, when they made their periodic visits. The ordinance of Edward II.'s reign also classes minstrels with messengers, and its rules seem to recognize something in the nature of a craft-gild of minstrelsy. The disobedient minstrels must abandon their 'minstrelsy.' It is no mere accident that account writers multiply words for 'minstrel,' and do not give them that technical differentiation of which their language was generally so careful; the looseness of vocabulary has a real meaning. Music, minstrelsy, and dance, tumbling,

¹ The learned editor of Swinfield's accounts has also an interesting note, which Mr. Chambers would appreciate, on the epiphany fires of Archinfield, that home of ancient custom. For the twelfth century we should like also a reference to the tumbler of Alexander bishop of Lincoln's household, for whom Robert of Sempringham (of holy memory) was mistaken, so strangely did he gesticulate in his spiritual agonies. The *Leges Henrici Primi*, cap. 90, 11, show that the '*spectaculum feræ vel insani*' was what would draw a crowd in the early twelfth century—the dancing bear, or the dangerous madman.

conjuring, legerdemain, jesting and acting are all inextricably entangled, as the Scottish accounts show.

Turning next to liturgical dramatizations, to the dialogues of the troper, the sepulchre and cradle episodes at the two great church festivals, then to the curious outbursts of regulated irreverence connected mainly with the mid-winter festivals, the Feasts of Fools, the Boy Bishops, and Abbots, a collection of curious facts is methodically arranged; and drawn as it is from many varied sources, printed and manuscript, British and continental, it presents many more or less familiar pieces of knowledge in a new light, the light of the universality of certain kinds of dramatic representation within the church and of certain kinds of ritualistic buffoonery. The Feast of Fools, which it may not be too wild a guess to call the feast of the simple and unlettered, that feast which allows the lower orders of the clergy a grand outburst of fooling in the church itself, when all the sacred ceremonies of the year may for once be turned to burlesque, when men cense with pudding, sausages or old shoes, bray like asses at the supreme moments of the mass, repeat meaningless words, play at ball, and vest the fool in pontificals, has not been definitely traced in Scotland, and it is known at Sarum (whose use might send it to Scotland), only through a note in an inventory of 1222. But the Boy Bishop, whose companions in Scotland were imps and satyrs (*deblatis* and *ruffyis*), made his Christmas *quête* with regularity. He was a favourite at Sarum. The scraps of evidence concerning the mid-winter festivals were well worth collecting; never before have they been given their proper place in the history of pantomime in this country. The church took over the winter folk-games and made the winter king into a Bishop or an Abbot. The Aberdeen Abbot of Bon Accord, lord of misrule, was also manager of the Corpus Christi play, the Haliblude play on Windmill Hill, which is one of the rare traces of the miracle-play in Scotland, and the Abbot of Bon Accord presumably managed also the cycle of nativity plays or pageants which finished at Candlemas. Mr. Chambers is orthodox in tracing the origin of the Passion Play to the liturgical 'Planctus'; some account should be given, however, of that Greek passion play which was at one time said to be of the fourth century and of late is said to be of the tenth.

The passage from the 'miracle' to the 'morality' or moral interlude is not hard to bridge. But it is to be regretted that among the splendid appendices with which the book is furnished

room could not be found for the unpublished MS. of the plays ascribed to Stephen Langton and William Herman.¹ One may suspect that these literary exercises were not very unlike the elaborate verses, put in the mouths of the 'pageants' that broke the monotony of coronation and other town processions, such for instance as Leland has given in his account of Henry VII.'s progresses. There was little enough of action no doubt; the leading figure on the scaffold, or castle, or triumphal car, would merely recite the verses from memory. A link between the literary exercise and the spoken dialogue of the interlude may perhaps lie in the academic disputation. Behind the literary, moral, academic and dull interlude lie the equally literary, moral, academic and dull 'débat,' dialogue and 'strife.' Fitzstephen tells not only of the miracle-plays of London, but also in his account of the scholars' disputations something that might become drama of a serious kind seems to be traceable. There is dialogue; there is an audience, of parents perhaps, to please; what is recited has been in all likelihood committed to memory.

The interlude, and still more the French 'farce,' in which the spoken part of the entertainment was probably not important, were strongly enough developed in Scotland to leave numerous traces in literature, from the Christmas 'interludez' of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, to the written interlude of the Three Estates, the best written interlude that has been handed down to us. Lyndsay had 'played farces on the flure,' and with Patrick Johnson, Gilliam the taborer, bishop Andrew Forman, and Sir James Inglis to act as stage-managers and playwrights, evidently James IV.'s court was liberally supplied with 'ballattis, farses and pleasand playis.' Edinburgh, in the play-field at the Greenside, Dundee, in its play-field at the West Port, heard and saw, we may believe, the words and antics of the king's 'gysaris,' and shared in the pleasure of the 'mumre's graith' which figures in the royal accounts. But soon the fun was turned to earnest, when the popular interest was for the first time concentrated upon a great heart-searching theme. The Wedderburn who had been the king's 'fithelar' and teller of tales, who was provided with goatskins and harts' horns to dress up a tournament of 'wild men,' was to write plays on the beheading of John the

¹ What were the 'theatralibus ludis' in which Edward II.'s archbishop Reynolds excelled, and to which he owed his office? Was he 'a tripper on tapits, a wild player of summer's gamenes,' like the recipients of benefices in Wyclif's day, or was he a playwright? Mr. Chambers has omitted a notice of him.

Baptist and on Dionysius the Tyrant, whose religious and political meaning was unmistakable. At Stirling, in 1535, friar Kyllour was striking the same note in a passion play. In twenty years' time came the celebrated prohibition, and Scottish drama, which seemed about to become an important part of the national literature, was doomed.

Mr. Chambers' range, which begins by being continental, not unnaturally shrinks as the English detail begins to multiply, but Scotland, and Ireland too, receive their due. That the form of dramatic performances had a strong influence on the forms of mediæval art is made clear by a number of details, and it is a thought which deserves further study. In grouping and composition it is evident that the great miniaturists and painters of the fifteenth century owed something to the scenes represented on the stage, and perhaps the influence was reciprocal. In conclusion¹ one may perhaps be permitted to question whether the doctrine of evolutionary continuity will bear all the strain that is cast upon it by the scientifically-minded student of literature. The breaks and the changes in the character of the evidence ought not to be minimized. They are there and they mean something; it is well to know the true inwardness of Falstaff's buck's head, of the forgotten hobby-horse, of the fool's cock's comb and ass's ears, of 'Arry in 'Arriet's hat, and to realize that these things have a long and strange lineage; but there is also a lineage of human creative genius, and it has

¹ A few points of detail deserve only the obscurity of a note. Chabham was never either archbishop of Canterbury (i. 59) or bishop of Salisbury (ii. 262), and he did not die about 1313. Peter de Corbeil has been called an archdeacon of York, by mistake for Evreux; but was he ever really coadjutor bishop of Lincoln? 'Gutbercht, abbot of Newcastle,' is a curious disguise for Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth, whose life Bede wrote. The meaning of the cucking-stool punishment is not appreciated; to find it represented as in any way connected with rain-charms is surprising. The Beverley miracle play of the resurrection was not of *circa* 1220, but later, if Raine's note in *Historians of the Church of York*, i., p. lvi, may be trusted. Two fifteenth-century plays may be added from the Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS. E. 5. 9, a London chronicle, which says that in 22 Henry VI. a play of 'Eglemour and Degrebell' was played at St. Albans on June 30, and in the month of August was a play at Bermondsey 'of a knight cleft Florence.' Was this that Florent or Flormond of Albany whose romance is named in the *Complaynte of Scotland*? When we remember how little work has been done on the London chronicles, it seems not unreasonable to hope that more references may ultimately come from that source. Elizabeth was not without a jester; she kept on James Lockwood, and his career as a court jester was a long one. It appears for the last time in the Leicester accounts, 1566-7.

done its share in the origin of dramatic species. After all, the goat-song as the embryo of Greek tragedy does not upon examination prove altogether satisfactory. It is his zeal in the quest of 'origins' which has led the author somewhat to mar the form of his work by the inclusion of a good deal of matter which it is difficult to regard as in any sense relevant to the subject of the work. But whatever the theme of the digression, the reader will not feel ungrateful, inasmuch as it is always admirably supported by learned bibliographical references.

MARY BATESON.

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

I

IN a previous article in the *Scottish Historical Review*¹ some account was given of the movement to introduce improved methods of production into Scotland in the latter half of the seventeenth century. I have now collected such details as are recoverable of certain individual undertakings, partly as examples of the general tendency, partly from the intrinsic interest of the concerns themselves. For reasons explained in the article already alluded to, the Parliamentary papers preserve some record of the various businesses that applied for the privileges of the Act of 1681 for the encouraging of trade and manufactures. From this mass of references without illustrative detail it will be advisable to select certain groupings of undertakings of cognate character, since one will frequently be found to throw light on others of a similar nature. From 1660 to 1690 there is a fairly well-marked order of development, first the founding of soap and sugar works, and concurrently, but continuing later, of cloth factories. After 1690 the establishment of industries of a more miscellaneous character became common. Thus the present series of articles may be most fitly commenced by some account of the Glasgow sugar refineries and soap works. Subsequently the textile group and allied trades will be dealt with, and finally the miscellaneous undertakings. It may further be premised that in the case of three companies, the Newmills Cloth Works, the Bank of Scotland, and the Darien Company, the materials are so copious that any adequate account of these would extend beyond reasonable limits, so that no attempt will be made to treat of them except incidentally.

¹ January, 1904.

THE GREENLAND FISHING AND SOAP WORKS COMPANY,
OR THE GLASGOW SOAPERIE (1667-1785).

The manufacture of soap from an early period had been a favourite industry for the establishment of monopolies. In the time of James I. and Charles I. the production of this commodity was involved in a net-work of exclusive grants. The searches, fines, and imprisonments carried out at the instigation of the Society of Soapers of Westminster created no little indignation in England.¹ Scotland did not escape the effects of the same policy. In 1619 a patent was granted to Nathaniel Uddart for the manufacture of soap. Having erected 'a goodly work' at Leith, he petitioned the Privy Council on June 21st, 1621, that all foreign soap should be prohibited. In reply the Privy Council ordain that the importation of soap should be forbidden, provided that Uddart would sell that made by him at a price not exceeding 24s. per barrel for green soap and 32s. per barrel of white soap, the barrel to contain 16 stones. By July, 1623, several complaints had been made to the Council, and it was decreed that the privileges granted in 1621 should terminate in a year from the date of the order.² Probably this patent, if not recalled, was allowed to lapse, for in 1634 a new grant was made to the 'King's daily servitor,' Patrick Mauld of Panmure. In as much as Mauld was prepared to provide all the requisites for soap-boiling, and since the trade was of such a nature that the public would suffer if 'it were left indifferently to all,' the monopoly of making all kinds of soap was granted to Mauld and his representatives for thirty-one years. In addition, the patent licensed the grantee to fish in the Greenland and home seas to obtain the oil then required for the production of soap. He had also the sole right of making potash by utilising such wood as is most fit for the purpose, likewise all sorts of ferns and vegetable things whatsoever. As in other grants by the Stuarts, Mauld was to make a payment in return for the monopoly, which was fixed at £20 sterling a year.³ This patent would have continued till 1665, but in 1661 a monopoly for twelve years was granted for the manufacture of 'Castle Soap.'⁴

¹ *A Short and True Relation Concerning the Soap Business.* London, 1641, *passim*.

² Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. p. 510. *Leith and its Antiquities*, by James Campbell Irons, ii. pp. 141, 142.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 80, 81.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 47.

After the Restoration the attention of the legislature was directed towards soap, and in 1661 an excise of £6 Scots was imposed on each barrel imported; at the same time, all materials required by the home producer (such as oil, potash) were admitted free of duty, while soap made within the country was exempted from taxes for nineteen years.¹ As in the case of sugar, when soap was exported two ounce of bullion were to be brought to the mint for every six barrels shipped.² By a subsequent act of 1669 the same condition was applied to importation.³

Under the encouragement of these acts, which amounted almost to the exclusion of foreign soap, an influential company was formed in 1667, with its headquarters at Glasgow, for whale-fishing and soap-boiling. There were originally nine partners, who subscribed £1300 sterling each, making the capital of the undertaking £11,700 sterling. At first the chief efforts of the company were directed towards whale fishing and foreign trade to Greenland and the extreme north of America and Russia. A large ship (for that time) of 700 tons burden, and carrying forty guns, was built at Belfast and named the 'Lyon.' Soon afterwards three or four other ships were built and dispatched. The company was successful in catching whales, and the blubber was boiled down at Greenock in extensive premises known as the 'Royal Close.' This was only the first stage in the process of soap-making, for the main works, known as the 'Soaperie,' were situated in Glasgow at the head of the Candleriggs. These premises were built on the site now occupied by Nos. 108-120 Candleriggs and Nos. 12-16 Canon Street, and consisted of a large square surrounded by houses for the managers, stores, sheds, and cellars.⁴

This company, like so many of its predecessors, soon found that whale-fishing was a disappointing speculation, and the voyages became gradually less frequent. After some of the ships had been lost this part of the former operations of the company was abandoned, and in 1695 the Committee of Trade was prepared to grant privileges for seven or ten voyages to any who would adventure.⁵ The Glasgow company, though it had obtained in 1685 an act granting it the privileges of a manufacture, and also a recommendation to the tacksmen of the

¹ *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. pp. 88, 89, 203.

² *Ibid.*, vii. p. 253.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. p. 560.

⁴ *Glasgow Past and Present*, pp. 873, 874.

⁵ *Parliamentary Papers*, circa 1695: 'List of Acts to be desired.'

Customs that there should be no abatement of the duties on whalebone and soap,¹ does not appear to have responded to this invitation. The renewal of this part of the enterprise fell to others. Sir John Shaw, of Greenock, obtained an act granting the privileges of a manufacture to a company he had formed 'with a considerable stock,' to carry on the fishing industry,² and one of the many enterprises undertaken by Robert Douglas, of Leith, was whale-fishing, in which he was 'at vast expenses and great loss.'³ According to M'Ure all the capital invested by the Glasgow Greenland Fishing and Soap Company in the former undertaking was lost.⁴

The 'Soaperie,' freed from the incubus of unfortunate whaling voyages, was successful. Whether it remained in the hands of the original company or was sold to a new one does not appear. In 1700 the manufacture of soap was mentioned as one of the Scottish industries which was firmly established.⁵ In 1715 the manager advertised in the *Glasgow Courant* that he was prepared to sell good black or speckled soaps at the Soaperie at reasonable rates.⁶ The company appears to have continued a quiet, unenterprising career till the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. 'Senex,' who visited the works not long before the concern was wound up, wrote that 'there appeared to be only about half a dozen men employed, and these were *clamping* about the floor in a very inactive manner, having heavy iron shoes on their feet. It was easy to see that they were working at days' wages.'⁷ In 1777 the buildings were partly consumed by a fire,⁸ and in 1785 the whole ground buildings and utensils were advertised to be sold by public roup.⁹

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 490.

² *Ibid.*, x. p. 80.

³ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1703: 'The Petition of Robert Douglas, elder and younger, Soap Boilers in Leith.'

⁴ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 872.

⁵ MS. Discourses anent Improvements may be made in Scotland—Advocates' Library, 33, 5, 16, f. 15.

⁶ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 874.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Annals of Glasgow*, by James Cleland. Glasgow, 1816, ii. p. 367.

⁹ *Glasgow Mercury*, August 15, 1785, in *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 874.

THE SUGAR-REFINING AND RUM-DISTILLING
COMPANIES AT GLASGOW.

The Wester Sugar Works (1667).

The Easter Sugar Works (1669).

The South Sugar Works (1696).

The King Street Sugar Works (1700).

The refining of sugar had been started at Glasgow during the Protectorate of Cromwell, or not long after the Restoration.¹ At first the profits were very large, and, according to Gibson, it was in this industry that the first fortunes in business were acquired in the West of Scotland.² It was not long before the Government availed itself of the opportunity of raising revenue from the production of a new taxable commodity, for in 1661 an act was passed requiring that 2 oz. of bullion should be brought to the mint for every 60 lbs. of sugar exported.³ In 1669 this act was modified to the extent of imposing a duty of 6 oz. of bullion to be brought to the mint for every cwt. of loaf sugar exported.⁴ The design of this legislation was to secure that at least part of the proceeds of sales made abroad should be brought back in bullion, and that some of this would be handed over to the State to be used as coinage.

After the passing of the acts of 1661 a partnership was formed in the year 1667, consisting originally of four persons. 'At first the proprietors got a little apartment for boiling sugar—a Dutchman being master-boiler—this undertaking proved very effectual and their endeavours wonderfully successful, so that they left their little apartment and built a great stone tenement with convenient office-houses for their work, within a great court, with a pleasant garden belonging thereto.'⁵ This building, known as the Wester Sugar House, stood at the corner of Candleriggs and Bell's Wynd.⁶

About two years afterwards (*i.e.* in 1669) another partnership for sugar-refining was established by five partners. This

¹ *The History of Glasgow*, by James Gibson, Glasgow, 1777, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. p. 560.

⁵ *A View of the City of Glasgow*, by John M'Ure, Glasgow, 1736, p. 282.

⁶ *Old Glasgow*, by Andrew MacGeorge, Glasgow, 1880, p. 155.

was also successful, and, according to M'Ure, the Joint Stock employed 'wonderfully increased.'¹ In 1684 the capital employed in one of these undertakings amounted to £10,000 sterling.² The buildings afterwards erected for the refinery, founded in 1669, were known as the Easter Sugar Work. An illustration of the building, which was remarkable for its great height (considering the date when it was built), is given in *Glasghu Facies*.³ On the passing of the act of 1681 for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, the partners of both these works presented a joint petition to Parliament asking that the privileges offered by the act should be extended to their undertakings. They stated in support of their request that they were in a position to sell sugar at one-third of the price at which it had been imported, and on this and other grounds both Sugar Houses obtained the privilege of a manufacture for nineteen years from 1681.⁴

Soon afterwards an event happened which threatened the success of the Wester undertaking, and which at the same time shows a peculiar risk to which these very small companies or large partnerships were subject. Peter Gemmill, one of the four original partners, had died, leaving his share in the concern to his wife. She was unable to take part in the management 'as partners should and do, because it requires great skill and pains.' She also refused, according to the complaint presented to the Privy Council by the other partners, to contribute her share, or to reckon according to the contract signed by all the partners. As a result the works were absolutely at a stand, the stock of materials was wasting, and the servants idle—the latter meaning a loss of £16 sterling per month. The other partners prayed the Privy Council to settle the value of the widow's share, and they would buy her out. In the end, however, the magistrates of Glasgow were directed 'to compose the dispute,' and there is no further information as to whether the share in question was transferred, or whether the female partner became reconciled to the 'great pains' of business.⁵ If any conclusion can be drawn from the state of the

¹ *A View of Glasgow, ut supra*, p. 282.

² Collection of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer (Edinburgh University Library). "Petition of the Masters of the Sugarie Works at Glasgow."

³ p. 543.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 360.

⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1682-1685, ff. 187, 188.

partnership when M'Ure wrote his *View of Glasgow*, it would appear that though many of these West of Scotland partnerships at any given time were confined to a few persons, the interest was not long retained in one family, for in this particular case, in M'Ure's time, there were six partners, and none of the six had the same name as any of the original four.¹

Probably one reason for the continued success of these sugar works was that the refining industry was supplemented by the production of rum. The rum was sold to great advantage in the colonies, and a considerable amount of it was consumed at home. This branch of the industry, however, met with some hindrances from various sources. Owing to the system of leasing the collection of taxes to private individuals, the tacksmen of the Customs did not obey the different acts of Parliament designed to encourage home industries. In fact, as a contemporary writer expressed it, 'they do not regard the laws but their own profit, *per fas et nefas*.'² In the sugar industry, for instance, though exemption from Customs had been granted by the act in favour of the Wester and Easter Works in 1681, a few years later the tacksmen at Edinburgh seized a quantity of rum consigned for export by the proprietors of these works.³ The case was debated before the Exchequer in April, 1684, and the claim to exemption from duties was allowed.⁴ The matter did not rest at this stage, for a counter petition was presented declaring that the trade in rum should be suppressed, as this drink was injurious to the health of the lieges.⁵ Though this attack on the making of rum failed for the time, it eventually produced a temporary result, for in 1695 an act of Parliament was passed prohibiting both the making and sale of rum, except for export, on the grounds that it hindered the sale of strong waters made of malt, and also that 'being a drug rather than a liquor,' the consumption of it was prejudicial to health.⁶ This act was repeated soon afterwards. As against this short-lived repressive legislation is to be counted the imposition of a duty⁷ of

¹ *Glasghu Facies—Glasgow Ancient and Modern*, p. 871.

² *A Letter to a Member of Parliament*, Edinburgh, 1700, p. 13.

³ Bundle of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer (Edinburgh University Library). Petition of the Master of the Sugarie Works at Glasgow.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Petition relating to the Sugarie Works, Glasgow.

⁶ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 462.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. p. 34.

£6 Scots per cwt. on imported sugar candy. The Royal Burghs too had an intention of supporting the industry, but if any steps were taken there is no record of their nature.¹

On the settlement of domestic affairs in Scotland after the Revolution, when a serious effort was being made to develop home manufactures, it was to be expected that one of the first enterprises that would attract the capitalist would be that which was officially declared to have been 'a most profitable one.'² In 1695 Robert Douglas, of Leith, who was at the same time promoting works for the manufacture of soap, earthenware, china, and starch, was granted the 'privilege of a manufacture' for the usual term of nineteen years, not only for the diverse undertakings already mentioned, but also for sugar works from which he was entitled to export rum to the amount of 18 tuns yearly.³ In spite of this attempt to settle the industry at Leith the seat of trade remained at Glasgow. In 1696 an act was passed in favour of Robert and James Montgomery (who had at least one other partner associated with them), which stated that owing to the success of the industry the number of works should be increased. Accordingly the same privileges already granted to the other undertakings were conferred upon this one under the title of the 'New Sugar Manufactory at Glasgow.'⁴ Following the custom of the existing partnerships, this undertaking adopted a local designation, and its works became known as the 'South Sugar House.' It was described by M'Ure as situated on the west side of Stockwell Street, and consisting of a large court, surrounded by high and low apartments, with cellars, a store house, boiling houses with distilling apartments, pleasant gardens, and all conveniences whatsoever.⁵

There were now West, East, and South Sugar Houses, and it might be expected that the next to be founded would be the Northern Sugar House. As a matter of fact there were works under this title which were situated close to the Wester House, and appear ultimately to have been absorbed by the older undertaking.⁶ The Northern concern, however, was founded later, and the fourth Sugar House, known as that

¹ *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 95.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. p. 491.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. p. 66.

⁵ *A View of the City of Glasgow*, p. 283.

⁶ *Glasgow Past and Present*, *ut supra*, p. 871.

at King Street, was granted the privilege of becoming a statutory undertaking in 1700.¹ The act is in favour of Matthew and David Campbell, but soon afterwards the partners were six in number. In fact, during the first half of the eighteenth century, these and other co-partneries consisted of from five to ten of 'our high-class citizens, such as our Provost, Baillies, and Deans of Guild, with a "Sir John" or a "Sir George" scattered here and there among them.'² It is related that there was much consternation in Glasgow when, in 1736, the six partners in the Easter Sugar Work, comprising the Provost, two Bailies, the Treasurer of the City, and a goldsmith were bought out by a new and unknown co-partnery called 'Robert M'Nair, Jean Holmes and Co.' The title of the purchasing 'Co.' was in reality a somewhat ponderous joke. M'Nair was a 'new man' who had acquired considerable wealth, and finding that all undertakings of magnitude were in the hands of co-partnerships, he, as a satire on the prevalent custom, registered his own firm in his own name and that of his wife, thereby forming literally 'a one man' company.³

The Glasgow Sugar Houses constitute an exception to the general rule that few industrial companies founded in the seventeenth century survived the removal of protection after the Union. This fact is the more interesting, since the sugar trade had fewer privileges than the cloth, linen, or paper companies. It had been founded before the act of 1681, and there was never a complete prohibition of competitive products.⁴ Even the exemption from duties ceased in 1715, for in that year the Crown sued the Leith refiners for £40,000 sterling of 'bye-gone' duties. Eventually a compromise was effected by which the claim by the Crown was remitted on condition that the refiners would surrender their rights to exemption from duties under their private acts.

W. R. SCOTT.

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 212.

² *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-440.

⁴ As to the differences between the acts of 1661 and 1681, *vide* Article, January, 1904.

The Scottish Ancestors of President Roosevelt

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, whose name is unmistakably of Dutch origin, has nevertheless a more decided ancestral connection with Scotland than with Holland. While on the paternal side the President is directly descended from Claes (Nicolas) van Roosevelt, who settled in America in 1649, with no admixture of other nationalities save in his grandmother, Margaret Barnhill, of Anglo-American origin; on the maternal side he can claim kinship with the purely Scottish families of Stobo, Bulloch of Baldernock, Irvine of Cults, Douglass of Tilquhillie, and Stewart. His mother, Martha Bulloch, was the direct descendant of the Rev. Archibald Stobo, who accompanied the Darien Expedition from Scotland in 1699, was wrecked at Charleston, and remained there, becoming one of the pioneers of Presbyterianism in America. Stobo's romantic career may be briefly outlined.

The first idea of the promoters of the Darien Expedition in founding a Scottish colony, to be called New Caledonia, probably was to make an over-sea market for the surplus produce and manufactures of Scotland, which were excluded from England by heavy tariffs; and there was also, no doubt, a national desire to show that Scotland might be made a formidable commercial rival to the southern part of the kingdom in foreign trade. On 17th July, 1698, five large vessels with 1200 emigrants set sail from Leith, and arrived safely at the Isthmus of Darien on 3rd November. Preparations were made for a settlement; a fort was erected, and the pioneers began their work hopefully. But disaster soon overtook them. The climate and the scarcity of food made them the easy prey of disease. Many of them perished, and on 23rd June, 1699, the survivors embarked on their four vessels, intending to return home. One of the vessels was abandoned at sea. The *St. Andrew* reached Jamaica, having lost her captain and one hundred men; the *Caledonia* and the *Unicorn* reached New York, having lost three hundred men.

Meanwhile the managers of the Darien Expedition, having received no intelligence of these disasters, were busily organising a second relay of emigrants, consisting of fifteen hundred men. They sent off two ships in advance, from Leith, with three hundred men and provisions ; but these only reached Darien two months after the colony had been abandoned. To increase their misfortunes, one of the provision ships took fire in the harbour, and was destroyed ; and the despairing colonists embarked on their other vessel and left this scene of desolation long before news of this second misfortune had reached Scotland. The remaining portion of the second expedition left Bute on 24th September, 1699, in four vessels, containing about thirteen hundred men. They were to experience even more severe trials.

When the Darien Expedition was first proposed, the spiritual welfare of the colonists had not been neglected. Two ministers had been sent with the first expedition—Thomas James, from Cleish parish, and Adam Scott, from Jedburgh Presbytery. Both of them died on the outward passage. For the second expedition four ministers were appointed by the General Assembly, and it is with one of these that we have special concern. These four ministers were Alexander Shields, of the Second Charge in St. Andrews ; Francis Borland of Glasford ; and two probationers, Alexander Dalgleish and Archibald Stobo. They reached their destination on 30th November, and landed amid much discouragement. Nevertheless they set to work bravely, and there were some hopes of prosperity when another band of emigrants arrived at Darien. Three months after the settlement of the second expedition (March, 1700), Captain Campbell of Finab reached Darien in one of his own vessels, bringing with him a large number of his clansmen who had fought under his command in Flanders. He had entered enthusiastically into the Darien Scheme, and he soon found occasion to prove his sincerity. Shortly after he landed a party of Spaniards, sixteen hundred strong, marched against the Scottish settlers, and encamped at Tubucantee, awaiting the arrival of eleven Spanish war vessels that had been ordered to Darien to expel the intruders. Captain Campbell was chosen as leader of the Scots, and with two hundred men he put the Spaniards to flight. Five days after the return of this troop to Darien the Spanish fleet arrived, and landed troops to besiege the fort. For six weeks the Scotsmen remained in their beleaguered fortress, resisting the enemy ; but when their ammunition was exhausted, most of their officers

killed, and their water supply cut off, they capitulated with the honours of war, and agreed to abandon the isthmus. In the seven ships which remained the Scottish settlers embarked for home, intending to make first for the nearest British colonies. Only two of these vessels reached Scotland. Many of the emigrants died on the homeward passage, and it is stated that 'of the entire colony not more than thirty, saved from pestilence, war, shipwreck, and famine, ever saw their native land again.' (Hanna's *The Scotch-Irish in America*, vol. ii. p. 13.)

The fate of the four ministers who accompanied the second expedition was peculiarly sad. Alexander Dalgleish, like the two ministers first sent out, died in November, 1699, on the passage to Darien after the ship had left Montserrat. Alexander Shields, of St. Andrews, after enduring all the tribulation of the siege and the expulsion from Darien, made his way in one of the homeward-bound ships to Jamaica, and died there of malignant fever, at Port Royal, on 14th June, 1700. Francis Borland, who had left his charge at Glasford, in Hamilton Presbytery, to take up duty in Darien, and who witnessed the removal by disease and death of over two thousand of his associates, alone survived among the four ministers to return to Scotland, and took up his former parish work, arriving there on 27th July, 1701. He wrote the *Memoirs of Darien*, published at Glasgow in 1715 (reprinted at Glasgow as *The History of Darien* in 1779), which is the only account of the expedition written by an eye-witness. He died on 24th December, 1722, having, as he expressed it, 'experienced a great variety of Providence, and many tossings, both by sea and land, and seen much of the wonderful goodness of God in all of them.'

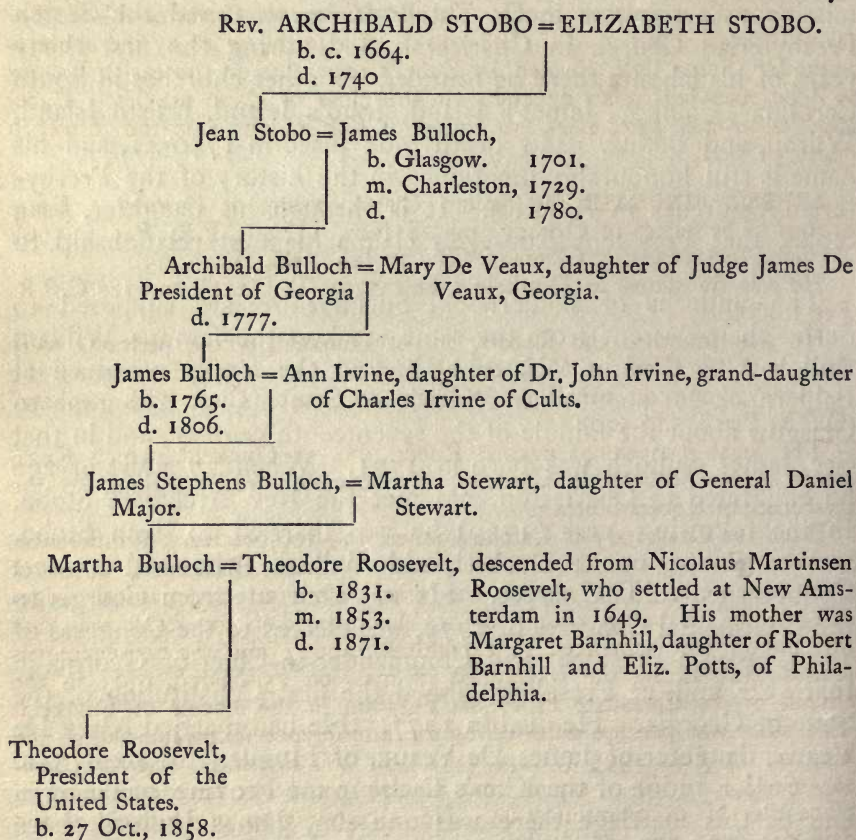
The name of Archibald Stobo, the fourth of these ministers, appears in Laing's *Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates* as having taken his degree of M.A. at the University on 25th June, 1697. There is no record of his having been licensed as a preacher before his appointment by the General Assembly as one of the Darien ministers; but probably his selection for this office would be tantamount to licensing. The date of his birth has not been ascertained. As he and his wife, Elizabeth Stobo, sailed together for Darien in September, 1699, it is likely that he would then be about 25 years of age. When the final disaster overtook the colony, Stobo and his wife and daughter, Jean, went on board the *Rising Sun*, the largest of the four vessels that had sailed from Bute. The course of the vessel was shaped for Jamaica, but

malignant fever prevailed among the passengers, and many died shortly after leaving Darien. When off the coast of Florida a terrible storm arose, which carried away the masts, and with great difficulty the labouring craft made its way to Charleston Harbour with temporary spars and rigging. While the *Rising Sun* was lying at Charleston for repairs and supplies, a deputation from some of the Scottish residents invited Stobo to preach to them. He consented, and went ashore with his daughter, leaving his wife and twelve other persons on board the vessel, which then lay off Charleston bar, waiting to be lightened that she might be brought into the harbour. During the night a fearful hurricane arose, and the disabled *Rising Sun* went to pieces, and all on board were drowned. Thus bereft of the only inducement to return to Scotland, and left in a strange land with his motherless child, Archibald Stobo decided to remain in Charleston, and to fulfil his mission as a minister there. In 1700 he organised the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Charleston, and during the first thirty years of his labours there he founded six other churches in South Carolina—Cainhoy, James's Island, John's Island, Edisto Island, Wilton, and Bethel. His death took place in 1740-41, and his name is still honourably mentioned in the history of the Presbyterian Churches in America. It is through his daughter, Jean Stobo, that President Roosevelt claims his first relationship to Scotland.

The Bullocks of Baldernock, Stirlingshire, are supposed to derive their descent from the same stock as the famous William Bullok, Chamberlain to David II., and the family remained at Baldernock for about four centuries. One branch had gone to Glasgow about the middle of the seventeenth century, and in that city James Bulloch was born in 1701. When 27 years of age he emigrated to Charleston, and met the Rev. Archibald Stobo. In the following year (1729) he was married to Jean Stobo, and they had one son, Archibald Bulloch, who had a most distinguished colonial career. He was Delegate from Georgia to the Continental Congress of 1775, was elected to the Congress of 1776, became President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia in that year, and, as President, signed the first Constitution of the State of Georgia. He died in 1777. He had married Mary De Veaux, daughter of James De Veaux, of Huguenot descent, who was Senior Judge of the King's Court in the Province of Georgia, and of this marriage there was one son, James Bulloch, born 1765. This James Bulloch was married to Anne Irvine,

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daughter of Dr. John Irvine, and she represented the Deeside families of Irvine of Cults, Douglass of Tilquhillie and Inchmarlo, and Horn of West Hall. James Bulloch died in 1806, leaving a son, James Stephens Bulloch, who rose to the rank of Major in the U.S. Army. Major Bulloch married Martha Stewart, daughter of General Daniel Stewart, a distinguished officer in the Revolution, whose grandfather, John Stewart, was one of the early Scottish colonists in America. Martha Bulloch, daughter of Major Stephens Bulloch, was married to Theodore Roosevelt on 22nd December, 1853, and was the mother of the present President of the United States, who was born in New York City on 27th October, 1858. The strain of blood in Theodore Roosevelt's veins may thus be equally claimed by Scotland and Holland. The following table, principally founded upon Hanna's *The Scotch-Irish in America*, shows the President's double ancestry:



A. H. MILLAR.

The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

Continued

IN the present and following numbers of the *Scottish Historical Review* I am able to add to other sources information derived from the Papal Records, as entered in Dr. Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi* (4to, Monasterium: 2 vols. 1898-1901). I cite this work by the abbreviation E. Some light thrown by Eubel's researches on the earlier bishops will be recorded in an appendix at the close of these articles. Eubel supplies several particulars not found in C.P.R. nor (for the fifteenth century) in B.

ROBERT SINCLAIR (de Sancto Claro), bishop of Orkney. He is spoken of as 'elect of Orkney' on 28 Nov. 1383 (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 566). Provided to Orkney by Clement VII., 27 Jan. 1384 (E. i. 395).

He was translated to Dunkeld 1 Feb. 1391 (E. i. 241), and see C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 575.

He was doubtless the Robert, bp. of Dunkeld, whose petitions were dealt with by Clement VII. on 25 and 26 Oct. 1394, for among the petitions is one on behalf of William de Sancto Claro 'his nephew' (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 589-590).

The legal proceedings against Robert, bp. of Dunkeld, which Keith places under Robert de Cardeny, his successor, really belong to the episcopate of Robert Sinclair.

From the Chartulary of Cambuskenneth (95-106) we learn of differences between Robert, bp. of Dunkeld, and William Blackburn, abbot of Cambuskenneth. The matter was tried before an ecclesiastical judge-delegate in the parish church of St. Andrews, and the result was that the bishop was sentenced to excommunication; and the sentence was promulgated during the celebration of mass on 25 March, 1393, in the church of the Carmelite Friars of Tullylum in the diocese of Dunkeld. The affair was perhaps adjusted by the interference (extra-judicial) of the king on 11 Feb. 1395 (*Ib.* p. 317). Sir W. Fraser is in error (*Cambuskenneth*, p. lviii) in saying that Sinclair could not have continued in office after his excommunication. He is certainly bp. of Dunkeld at the date just given, and had, doubtless, been absolved.

Sinclair is unknown to Myln and to Keith, and by the latter he is confounded with Robert de Cardeny.

As to the earlier history of this prelate, we find a Robert de Sancto Claro, dean of Moray, 18 July, 1378, and 11 Oct. 1380 (R.M. 183, 187).

We do not know when Robert Sinclair died, but see next entry.

ROBERT DE CARDENY (Cardany, Cardine, Carden, Cardny, Cairney), son of John Cardeny of Cardeny and afterwards, by marriage, of Foss (*Extr.* 204). Dean of Dunkeld (E. i. 241).

The succession of two bishops of the same Christian name commonly makes charter evidence uncertain. He was provided by Benedict XIII. 24 Nov. 1398 (E.). He is said by Myln to have been raised to the episcopate by Robert III. out of the affection which the king entertained for the bishop's sister, who presumably was Mariota de Cairdney 'dilecta regis' (Robert II.), mother of the king's half-brother, Sir James Stewart of Cairdney.¹

Myln's statement (followed by Spottiswoode) that he ruled the diocese for 40 years is not to be taken as strictly accurate.

We find a bishop of Dunkeld (unnamed) in Parliament in 1429 (A.P. ii. 28). He had been an Auditor, 1424 (*Ib.* 5).

In 1431 the abbot of Iona promises obedience to his ordinary Robert de Cardeny, bp. of Dunkeld (*Extr.* 233).

Robert died suddenly at a great age at Dunkeld on 17 Jan. 1436 (Sc. xvi. 26); on 16 Jan. 1436 (Myln 17).

The context relating to the death of the king (James I.) shows that Jan. 1436-37 is meant by Sc.

He had built the nave of Dunkeld from the foundations almost to the roof, and he was buried in a chapel (according to Myln, the chapel of St. Ninian) in the south of the nave.

DONALD MACNACHTANE, Dean of Dunkeld, doctor in decretals, elected by chapter in 1437. Died while on a journey to the Apostolic See for confirmation (Myln, 17, 18). He was a nephew of his predecessor *ex sorore*, and in the time of his uncle was 'procurator et pugil ecclesiae [Dunkeldensis] in singulis litibus' (*Ib.*).

He, then Dean of Dunkeld, was one of the commissioners of the King of Scotland at the Council of Basle, 1433. (The commission is printed, from a contemporary MS. in the Advocates' Library, by Joseph Robertson in *Statuta Eccl. Scot.* ii. 248.)

JAMES KENNEDY, son of Mary, second daughter of King Robert III. by her second husband, Sir James Kennedy. Bower (Sc. xvi. 26) speaks

¹ In 1380 the king of Scotland (Robert II.) petitioned the pope on behalf of a member of his household, Robert de Cardun (*sic*), student in arts at Paris, for a canonry in Moray, notwithstanding that he has canonries and prebends in Dunkeld and Dunblane (C.P.R. *Pet.* i. 553). Could this be our Robert? Note the variant 'Carden' among the ways of spelling his name. In 1394 a payment was made to Master Robert de Cardney for the expenses of John Stewart, brother of the king, studying at Paris (*Excheq. Rolls*, iii. 347).

of his mother as 'Countess of Angus,' her first husband being George Douglas, earl of Angus. He is described as Canon of Dunkeld, elect, provided 1 July, 1437 (E. ii. 163). His consecration may be inferred as being after 16 May, 1438; for 16 May, 1448, is in the tenth year of his consecration (R.B. 118). But this does not agree with Scone (187) where 10 April, 1456, is in the nineteenth year of his consecration. The error is, I think, in the Scone charter, for Keith refers to the Clackmannan Writs for 7 July, 1458, being in the twenty-first year of his consecration. I would place his consecration between 16 May and 7 July, 1438.

Kennedy was postulated to St. Andrews, 22 April, 1440, and was translated 28 May, 1440 (E. ii. 99), and made payment at the Roman court, 8 June, 1440 (B. i. 123). Myln (18) and Sc. (xvi. 26) concur in making him two years at Dunkeld. Myln's language, 'confirmatus stetit episcopus ad duos annos,' might lead one to suppose that he was not consecrated while at Dunkeld, but we have seen that he had been consecrated while in possession of that see.

As bishop of Dunkeld he was attending the Council of Florence when he was translated.¹

It is doubtful whether the next entry should not be removed to the Appendix, where 'Papal' bishops during the Schism are noticed.

THOMAS (DE LEVINGSTON, *see* T. No. 789), abbot of Dundrennan. This remarkable man had taken an active and leading part at the Council of Basle in effecting the, *de facto*, deposition of Eugenius IV. and the election of the Anti-Pope Felix V. By the latter, as I take it, he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld on the elevation of Kennedy to St. Andrews.²

Pope Nicholas V. succeeded Eugenius in 1447, and his policy was one of conciliation towards the former followers of the Anti-Pope. He certainly granted to Thomas de Levingston, 'in universali ecclesia Dunkeldensi episcopo,' the parish church of Corinsinule (Cairnsmull), or Kyrkynner, in the diocese of Galloway, which Dr. Joseph Robertson describes as the richest parish church in the diocese (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. xcix). *See* T. No. 789. For his other numerous preferments at home and abroad *see* Robertson (*l.c.*). He died some time before July, 1460 (T. No. 802). More particulars, with the authorities, will be found in Joseph Robertson (*l.c.*).

¹ For notices of Kennedy as bp. of St. Andrews *see* *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. v. p. 254.

² Joseph Robertson considers that he abandoned the cause of Felix at an early date, and was promoted by Eugenius (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. xcix); but *see* the question discussed by Dr. Rogers (*Rental-Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Coupar-Angus*, i. 60). The Anti-Pope at this time was not recognised by the kings of either Scotland or England. And in immediate succession to Kennedy we find Alexander de Lawerdre (*see* next entry) appointed by papal provision at the request of the King of Scotland (Sc. xvi. 26). For further reasons for believing that Thomas was appointed by the Anti-Pope *see* below, Appendix to Dunkeld. Levingston never obtained possession of the see; but there is no question but that he was consecrated for it, presumably by authority of Felix V.

ALEXANDER DE LAWEDRE (Laudyr, Lauder), Rector of Ratho, in the diocese of St. Andrews, uterine brother of William de Lawedre, Bishop of Glasgow, was elected in May, 1440 (*Extr.* 239), but appointed by Papal provision at request of the King (Sc. xvi. 26). Provided 6 June, 1440 (E. ii. 163). He is designated archdeacon of Dunkeld. (*Ib.*). He died, unconsecrated, at Edinburgh, on 11th October, 1440, and was buried in the church of Lawder with his forefathers (Sc. *ib.* : Myln, 19).

JAMES BRUCE (Brehous, *Extracta ex Cron.* 239), rector of Kilmany (in Fife). Jacobus de Brois, archdeacon of Dunkeld, provided 6 Feb. 1441 (E. ii. 163).

He is said to have been the son of a younger son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan (see Crawford's *Officers of State*, xxxiii.).

On the death of Lawedre (see above) he was elected and consecrated at Dunfermline on the 4th day of February, the first Sunday in Lent, 1441, according to Bower (Sc. xvi. 26). Bower means 1441-2, in which year the 4th of February fell on Sunday; but he is in error in making it the first Sunday in Lent, it being really Sexagesima in that year. Myln is also astray in saying that he was consecrated on Septuagesima. We find James, bp. of Dunkeld, attesting on 21st January, 1442-3 (*Histor. MSS. Commission*, 1885; Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Muniments*, p. 63).

He celebrated his first mass *festive* at Dunkeld on the feast of St. Adamnan (23 Sept.), 'anno sequenti,' i.e. 1442 (Sc. *ib.*). He was in Parliament in 1445 (A.P. ii. 59).

He died at Edinburgh in 1447, chancellor of the kingdom (Sc. *ib.*).

According to Myln he had been translated to Glasgow. This statement is borne out by the Papal Records, where we find him provided to Glasgow, 3 Feb. 1447 (E. ii. 177). He must have died soon after, for Turnbull is provided to Glasgow 27 Oct. in the same year (*Ib.*).¹

His benefactions to Dunkeld Cathedral will be found noticed in Myln.

WILLIAM TURNBULL (*TRUMBULL*), Archdeacon of Lothian, Doctor of Decrees, Keeper of the Privy Seal. Provided 10 Feb. 1447 (E. ii. 163).

On 27 March, 1447, he is elect of Dunkeld, and offers by his proctor, Simon de Dalglesch, of Scotland, 450 gold florins. *Obligaz.* (B. 128).

He was translated to Glasgow before the close of the year, on the death of Bruce (see above). Glasgow was vacant 4 Oct. 1447 (R.G. 366). He was 'elect of Glasgow' 13 Nov. 1447 (B. 154), and was consecrated after 1 Dec. 1447, for 1 Dec. 1453, is in '*anno sexto consecrationis nostrae*' (R.G. 399). Keith (without giving his authority) says he was consecrated in 1448 (p. 251). His consecration was before 16 June, 1448, for 16 June, 1450, is in the third year of his consecration (R.G. 379).

JOHN RAULSTON (*RALISTON*), Secretary of the king (Sc. xvi. 26), Dean of Dunkeld, Licentiate of Decrees of the University of St. Andrews. Appointed at request of the king. Provided 27 Oct. 1447, the same day on which Turnbull was translated to Glasgow (E. ii. 163).

¹ Of record evidence we may notice for 1444, *Dunfermline*, 365; for 1445 (3 July), *Act. Parl.* ii. 59.

On 13 Nov. 1447, Robert, bp. of Dunblane, proctor of John, elect of Dunkeld, offers 450 gold florins. *Obligaz* (B. 129). This is the same day on which Turnbull made his payment for Glasgow.

According to a charter in possession of the Earl of Wemyss, seen by Crawford (*Officers of State*, p. 359), he was consecrated on April 4, 1448. The day fell on Thursday, and as Sunday was the canonical day for the consecration of bishops the statement needs examination. There is a letter of Nicholas V., dated 6 Aug. 1448, stating that John, Bishop of Dunkeld, had represented to him, the Pope, that while, in the letters of papal provision and the concurrent letters, he had been styled Doctor of Decrees, he was in reality at the time only a Licentiate in Decrees. The Pope confirms all the contents of the letters as though the error had not occurred, and confers on John all the dignities and *insignia* which he would have had if he were a Doctor of the University of St. Andrews. (T. No. 753.)

On. 13 Aug. Pope Nicholas V. confirms the erection of four chaplaincies in the cathedral of Dunkeld made by his predecessor, James, Bishop of Dunkeld 'of good memory,' that is James Bruce. (T. No. 754.)

Myln must be wrong when he places his death in 1450, for he received a safe conduct from Henry VI. on July 5, 1451 (*Rymer*, xi. 286). He either died or resigned at latest early in 1452. (See next entry.) He was buried in his cathedral, north of the great altar.¹

THOMAS LAWDER (Lauder, Lawdre), Master of the Hospital of Soltre, and Preceptor of King James II.² Provided 28 April, 1452. He is described in the Papal Records as suffering from defect of birth (E. ii. 163) which falls in with his legitimation in 1473 (see below).

On 5 May, 1452, Thomas, elect of Dunkeld, offered by the hand of his proctor, Ninian Spot, priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, 450 gold florins. *Obligaz*. (B. 129). On 22 June, 1452, Master Thomas Lawdre, elect to the bishopric, having obtained confirmation from the Apostolic See, and having been admitted to the Spirituality, is admitted by K. James II. to the Temporality (R.M.S. ii. No. 578). Thomas was bp. of Dunkeld, 16 Oct. 1455 (R.M. 229), and 7 March, 1460-61 (*Collections for Aberdeen and Banff*, Spalding Club, 284), and 25 March, 1462 (Collegiate Churches of Midlothian, pp. 63-71).

Myln (p. 21) says he was a 'sexagenarian' when the King urged his appointment on the Chapter of Dunkeld, and that on account of his age the Chapter at first refused him. Twenty-two years after his succession to the See he sought assistance, and resigned in favour of James Livingston, on the conditions that he was to retain episcopal dignity, and to enjoy the revenues of that part of the diocese of Dunkeld which lay south of the

¹ I can find no ecclesiastical notice of 'Henry Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld,' who Father Hay, in his *Genealogy of the Sinclairs of Roslin* (p. 69), says was a son of the 7th Earl of Douglas by Beatrix Sinclair. There must, I think, be an error here.

² In 1449 Master Thomas de Lawdre, Canon of Aberdeen and Master of the Hospital of Soltre founded a chaplainry in St. Giles', Edinburgh. D. Laing's *Reg. Cart. Eccl. S. Ægidii*, pp. 88-9. See also another charter of Thomas, bp. of Dunkeld, not long before his death, on the same subject, p. 141.

Forth. He survived the appointment of his successor, and was one of his consecrators (see next entry).

There is a confirmation of a charter of Thomas, formerly bishop of Dunkeld, and now bishop in the universal church, made 13 March, 1480-1 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1469). He obtained a letter of legitimation, Feb. 1472-3 (R.M.S. ii. No. 1107).

He died 4 Nov. 1481 (Myln, p. 25).¹

Myln may probably be trusted about this bishop, 'cujus tempore vivebat Alexander Millus, canonicus, qui illius ecclesiae acta luculento et erudito stylo conscripsit.' (Dempster, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 441).

JAMES LEVINGSTON (Levingston, Levington), dean of Dunkeld, Rector of the churches of Forteviot and Weme (K.).

According to K. he was son 'of the lord of Salcotes' (Saltcoats in East Lothian). Provided 2 Oct. 1475 (E. ii. 163).

According to Myln (24) his appointment was opposed at Rome by Thomas Spens, bp. of Aberdeen, who desired to be translated to Dunkeld, but on David Meldrum, canon and official of Dunkeld, and David Colden, succentor of Dunkeld, resorting to the Roman Court, the matter was arranged, and Levingston provided to the see.

He was consecrated in Dunkeld Cathedral by James Hepburn, bp. of Dunblane, John Balfour, bp. of Brechin, and Thomas Lawder [late of Dunkeld], 'bishop of the universal church' (Myln, 26). On the Sunday next after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (Myln, 26). That Sunday in 1476 fell on 30th June.²

We find 'James, bp. of Dunkeld,' witnessing a royal charter at Edinburgh, 15th July, 1476 (R.G. ii. 432). In B. (129) we find that *William*, bishop of Dunkeld, paid 4821 (*sic*) gold florins, 21 shillings and 2 pence, on 17 Aug. 1476 (*Quietanze*). I can only suppose *William* is an error for *James*. There may be an error also in the amount paid, which seems quite inordinately large. He is a witness 26 Oct. 1481 (Laing

¹ Much that is interesting as to the Lawdre's episcopate will be found in Myln. The state of the Highlands in the neighbourhood of his cathedral was so disturbed that at first he was compelled (*propter roboriam Catheranorum contra ecclesiasticos factam*) to hold his synods at Tullilum (an insulated part of his diocese, which had many such insulated spots both north and south of the Forth) a short distance to the south of Perth. And, indeed, it would seem from the language of Myln that this practice had existed before Lawder's time. But things soon became better, and he appears to have transferred his synods to the chapter-house which he had built at Dunkeld. He obtained from James II. the incorporation of all his church-lands north of the Forth into one barony, called the barony of Dunkeld, bound to give one suit at the King's court at Perth. Similarly the lands of Cramond, Abercorn, Preston, Aberlady, and Bonkill, south of the Forth, were formed into the barony of Aberlady, bound to render one suit at the King's court at Edinburgh. His gifts of valuable copes, vestments, and silver *ornamenta* to the cathedral are also recounted. And notices will be found of his church-building and bridge-building.

² One is disposed to inquire why Myln did not say the morrow of St. Peter.

Charters, No. 184), 4 Aug. and 16 Nov. 1482 (Charters of the City of Edinburgh, 147, 171).

He died at Edinburgh on the feast of St. Augustine of Hippo (28 Aug.), 1483, and was buried in Inchcolm in the Forth (Mylne, 26).

ALEXANDER INGLIS (YNGLIS, ENGLISH).

Dean of Dunkeld, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Licentiate in Decrees, Clerk of the Rolls, the Register, and the King's Council.¹

Elected, probably almost immediately after the death of Levington, by the Chapter, on the nomination of James III. But the election failed to secure the confirmation of the Pope for the reasons assigned in the next entry.

'Alexander English, electus Dunkeld,' obtained a safe-conduct from Richard III. of England in 1483 (*Rymer*, v. 139, edit. 1741), and another safe-conduct in November, 1484 (*Ib.* v. 136). It was, no doubt, Inglis who sat in Parliament as 'the elect of Dunkeld' on 25 Feb. 1483-84, on 22 March, 1484, and on 10 May, 1485 (A.P. ii. 166, 167, 168), the King, not as yet recognising Browne, provided against his wish. Similarly 'the elect of Dunkeld' is one of the Lords Auditors in Feb. 1483 (*Act. Dom. Audit.* 127* 136*). And he is named 'Alexander, elect of Dunkeld and archdeacon of St. Andrews,' 22 May, 1483 (*Ib.* 141*). Indeed, on 26 May, 1485, commissioners were appointed by Parliament to inform the Holy Father that the King will not suffer Master George Brown, who has presumed to be promoted to the bishopric of Dunkeld to have any possession of the same (A.P. ii. 171).²

GEORGE BROWNE, chancellor of the cathedral of Aberdeen and Rector of Tynningham (in the county of Haddington). Browne had been sent to Rome as 'orator Regis' to press the claims of George Carmichael to the see of Glasgow. At Rome he became well acquainted with some of the Cardinals, and particularly intimate with Roderick Borgia, Bishop of Porto, and Vice-chancellor, who afterwards became Pope under the title of Alexander VI. To the influence of Borgia, according to Mylne (p. 28), the election of Inglis, though warmly supported by the King, was rejected, and Browne appointed to the vacant see.

Provided 22 Oct., 1483 (E. ii. 163).

Mylne says he was consecrated in 1484 in the church of St. James of the Spaniards at Rome by Alfontius, episc. Civitaten., Sanctus, Oloren., and Peter, Mastaurien. Brady (p. xxii), from *Formatari in Archivio de Stato Romano*, gives as follows: 'G. elect of Dunkeld consecrated on Sunday 13 June, 1484,³ on the mandate of Sixtus IV. by Alesius "episcopus

¹ A reference to B.C. iv. shows how very frequently he had been employed in affairs of State from 1473 to the time of his election, and then onward to 1493.

² There is mentioned by Keith a Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, witnessing a charter on May 19, 1485. He refers to the Mar charters. All that can be said is that this must be an error on someone's part.

³ The 13th June, 1484, did fall on Sunday.

Civitaten," assisted by Sancius "episcopus Oleren," and Peter "episcopus Nassarien."¹

The king expostulated with the Pope and the college of cardinals, pointed out that according to the constitutions of the Scottish Parliament one promoted in this way was reckoned a rebel and traitor, and repeatedly pressed the pope to withdraw the promotion of Browne. On 26 May, 1485, Parliament supplicated the pope on behalf of Alexander Inglis, dean and elect of Dunkeld, and begged that he would 'retrere and reduce the pretendit promotion of Master George Broun' (A.P. ii. 171). But through the influence of Borgia the pope remained firm. In the meantime in Scotland Robert Lawder, lord of the Bass, commonly called 'Robert with the borit quhyngar,' exerted himself with the king on behalf of Browne, and by threats and persuasions, and a payment of money (about which Myln relates an amusing story) induced the king to condone the offence of Browne, and to receive him. Browne, evidently fearing the wrath of the king, had, on his return, first landed at Inchcolm, the monastery in the island in the Forth, which was part of his own diocese, and in which so many of his predecessors had been interred. He was in Parliament 13 Oct. 1487 (A.P. ii. 175).

Browne's episcopate is remarkable from the ecclesiastical side for his having appointed first one, and afterwards four rural deans, functionaries who had been apparently hitherto unknown in the diocese of Dunkeld. Of the districts assigned to these an account will be found in Myln, who was himself appointed rural dean of Angus, and who is naturally very full of the events of this bishop's episcopate.

We find George bp. of Dunkeld, 22 May, 1506 (Laing Chart, 260): 5 Sept. 1510 (*Ib.* 277): 5 Sept. 1512 (*Ib.* 287).² He was afflicted with the stone, and the defeat at Flodden told upon his spirits. He died 14 Jan. 1514, *i.e.* 1514-15, in his 76th year (Myln 54).

Three days after Browne's death, James V. and Queen Margaret on 17 Jan. 1515 write to the Pope nominating Gawin Douglas to the see of Dunkeld vacant by the death of Browne (*Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic: Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. part i. No. 31).

¹ I venture to identify the principal consecrator of Browne, as Alphonsus de Paradnies, 'episc. Civitaten,' (*i.e.* bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo), who was 'provisor' of the Hospital of Spaniards at Rome, and died at Rome, aged ninety, 15 Oct. 1485: and the second as Sancius de Casanova, bishop of Oleron in France. The third at present baffles me. There is a Peter, bishop of Nazareth (*in partibus*), a suffragan of Cæsarea, but his provision is not till 1486 (E. ii. 221).

² Beside the references in K. we find him bishop of Dunkeld in 1488 (Paisley, 85,264): in 1489-90 (R.G. ii. 469).

J. DOWDEN.

(To be continued.)

Reviews of Books

THE DIARY OF SIR JOHN MOORE. Edited by Sir F. J. Maurice, K.C.B. Vol. I., pp. xxxii, 402; Vol. II., pp. xx, 437, with Portrait and 7 Maps. 2 vols., demy 8vo. London: Edward Arnold, 1904. 30s. nett.

THERE are few cases in which a Life, presented practically by a diary, and therefore being an unexpurgated autobiography, can be either trustworthy or capable of sustaining interest; especially if the diary be so copious as to fill two large-sized tomes. This is not the case with Moore's diary. It is a wonderfully complete record, and written in a straight-forward style, with nothing of the 'written-for-the-reader' failing about it. It is not a book which can have much interest for the too common reader, who takes little interest in history and less in military affairs of the past; but to those who wish to know an important part of the history of the most eventful time in European affairs, and especially in the assertion of national life and national liberties against a conqueror, ambitious enough to seek to master the civilized world, Moore's diary must be full of value. And every man who is not a slumberer in patriotism will re-echo Sir Frederick Maurice's words: 'Let us hope that it will not be with us the case, as it has been often before, that we refuse to profit by our experiences, and that others to our deadly disadvantage learn from them.'

It is the purpose of the Editor in his remarks to show that the earlier historians of the Napoleonic period have done scant justice to Moore, who, being a strong man, had his own views of his contemporaries, and who therefore has been put in the worst light by their partisans. Doubtless no one has been in a position to do greater justice to Moore than the Editor of his diary, for he has had the advantage of many manuscripts to which others had no access.

One thing shines out conspicuously in all the diary, that Moore was a soldier in the true sense, and not what so many of his contemporaries were, soldiers of tradition—men who, in a profession where such a course is most foolish and most cruel, 'learn nothing, and forget nothing.' Tradition of national morale and bravery is a noble and precious heritage; tradition of modes of warfare is absolutely dangerous in military affairs, and leads to much unnecessary loss in battle. Witness the horrors of St. Privat. It was Napoleon who spoke in praise of the Romans, that they

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were always ready to discard their tactical details 'so soon as they had found better ones.'

Moore was from the first an enlightened and learning soldier. It is interesting to find his diary teeming with instances of his foresight in adopting principles of training for war which were not thought of by many of his contemporaries. We have seen in our own time how the men who desired to adapt our war training to modern fighting conditions, and to make our officers true leaders of their men, and developers of their intelligence, have had to cut their way through dense thickets of prejudice. This was what Moore was engaged in all his life. A great part of the ill-will he has attracted to himself was the result of his outspoken objection to the dilatory and wasteful mode of conducting war operations, in which, as he says, speaking of the advantages of 'daring enterprises,' 'The loss on these occasions seems great because it all occurs on one day. It is in reality less than that which is suffered by regular approaches, consequent sickness, etc.'

Such words were prophetic of our own doings fifty years later in the Crimea, when with bold commanders we could have walked into Sebastopol at a fifth of the loss afterwards suffered in the horrors of that long siege.

Indeed, this book is surprising in its almost exact anticipation of things being done in war, which generals in those days pronounced impracticable. For we read of a Captain Cook, of the Navy, getting guns up a hill, of which the general (Dundas) had said, 'it was childish stuff to talk of getting cannon there.' It brings up Ladysmith to the mind, where both Boer and Briton brought up much heavier guns over as difficult ground. It is a painful fact, that too often a British general is a man who thinks nothing can be done that has not been done before. This is the very opposite of what should be found in the true soldier, and is the cause of so many of our battles in the past being 'soldiers' battles,' where the subordinate with set teeth has done what the general could not think of without a chattering of his professional jaws. This diary also brings out a truth which is not often realized. We look back upon our past great campaigns, and admire the splendid valour of our troops, and look upon them as heroes worthy of all honour, while we treat our present 'Tommy Atkins' as if he was the scum of the earth, although he is far above the soldiers of past days in respectability and good feeling, as was shown by his good conduct in the recent long and trying campaign. Here is the candid utterance of Moore, not writing for publication, but as a diarist :

'The troops are so infamous . . . the composition of the officers is horrid. However flattering command may be to a military man, I would give the world to get quit of mine. . . .'

One thing which has caused much enmity to Moore is the outspoken way in which he expressed his opinions. It is true that he did so, but it is plain from his diary that he was no partisan. What he thought he said, and he is as kindly in his praise of efficiency and genuine patriotism as he is severe upon ignorance, conceit, and that greatest curse

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in all military affairs, jealousy between commanders, which prevents their working together for the best, leaving their reputations to posterity to judge of.

Altogether the book is most interesting and instructive, and can be commended to all who care for knowledge of our national military history.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

LECTURES ON EUROPEAN HISTORY. By William Stubbs, D.D., formerly Bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. Pp. viii, 424. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 12s. 6d. nett.

THESE lectures were, we are told by the editor, delivered by the late Bishop when Professor of Modern History at Oxford, between 1860 and 1870. He was appointed to that chair in 1866. So great has been the historical research of recent years and the development of higher criticism in matters of history, that it may perhaps seem hardly fair to the reputation of a deceased author to publish work which he does not appear to have intended for publication, and which has not had the benefit of his revision. The editor takes the entire responsibility, and we agree with him that the world would be the loser if these lectures had remained unprinted. Bishop Stubbs was well known as a constitutional historian, and this volume proves beyond all question his immense knowledge of European history.

The periods dealt with are of vast political importance and interest. The first eleven lectures are devoted to the history of Charles V., while, in what follows, we have the political events subsequent to his resignation, and down to the end of the Thirty Years' War. Apart from the interest which attaches to Charles himself, this period includes the Reformation, with that remaking of Europe involved in this great religious revolution. It is in fact the story of the close of medieval and the opening of modern history.

Owing doubtless to the purpose for which this work was composed, the author's authorities are not given in the shape of notes. But there is at least one authority, of interest to Scotsmen, to whom reference is made in the text. That Principal Robertson should still be quoted says much for his merits, for he laboured under various disadvantages. It seems to have been a toss up whether he should select Greece or Charles V. for his subject—he resided remote from the direct sources of information, and had no personal knowledge of the scenes in which his drama was laid. Moreover, he lived in a superficial age and wrote for a public knowing nothing of the modern methods of research and criticism. Yet Robertson was quoted by the German writers of his own day as a great authority, and Bishop Stubbs a century later, while complaining of his want of unity and distinctness and weakness in the matter of dates, is of the opinion that very little really can be said against his accuracy. Our author differs from him in his views, for

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Robertson, 'arguing like a Scot, Protestant in religion, French in political affinity, takes a view of Charles which is too one-sided, too consistently one-sided, to impose on any one as true.'

We do not observe any reference to Sir William Stirling Maxwell's work upon the Emperor, which was published prior to the delivery of these lectures. But Sir William deals with the period of Charles's life subsequent to his resignation.

The Bishop is too sound a modern Anglican to wax enthusiastic over the Reformation. He thinks 'there is much in German Protestantism which is painful to an historically inclined mind.' One of the causes which led to the movement was, in his opinion, the great size of dioceses. 'In Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, England, and Scandinavia, where the bishops were few and secular in their ideas, the Reformation made great way.' Another view he advances is that the Reformation never triumphed in any nation independent of political support: where merely 'a matter of religion, learning, and cultivation' it failed. England was certainly a country in which politics had much more to do with the Reformation than had any desire of the people to be reformed. Accordingly England has an unique Church, but in other lands may it not be said that the political support was the result of the popularity of the movement? Where the movement was weak, it did not pay any political party to take it up.

We cannot say much for the literary style of this volume. It is somewhat heavy, and the book suffers from the amount of material compressed into a comparatively small space. There is no room for picturesque or brilliant passages. It must, however, be kept in mind that it was not written for the general public. The matter is truly excellent, and could only have been produced by one who was master of his subject, and possessed of a well-balanced and judicial mind.

W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

ECONOMIC INQUIRIES AND STUDIES. By Sir Robert Giffen, K.C.B.

Vol. I., pp. xii, 455; Vol. II., pp. vi, 461. 2 vols., demy 8vo.

London: George Bell & Sons. 21s. nett.

THE lot of the student of statistics is often a hard one. As a rule his subject is supposed to be synonymous with all that is dry and uninteresting, and the general public avoids figures as it would the plague. It may indeed be said that at certain distant periods, as for instance in the existing fiscal discussion, people become seized with what might almost be called a passion for statistics, and still at such a time the plight of the statistician is almost worse, for, as has been abundantly proved of late, the general tendency is for those who wish 'to be up in questions of hour' to seek from figures only a confirmation of pre-conceived opinions. It is a high compliment—perhaps, indeed, the highest—to these studies of Sir Robert Giffen's, extending over the last thirty years, to say that they will not be very helpful to those who consult them in the spirit indicated. For the work in these volumes is thoroughly scientific, and

that is only another way of stating that it demands as a *sine qua non* an impartial investigation. To characterize in one word the impression produced by these inquiries would be to describe them as evincing 'broad-mindedness.' Beneath the category of quantity with which Sir Robert Giffen starts, one cannot but recognize the pulsing of a varied life, industrial and political. Closely related to this, and in part a consequence of it, the subject dealt with is exhibited in a manner that holds the attention, and, more remarkable still, the interest. Finally, one other feature of the work should be mentioned, namely, the caution with which the conclusions in it are drawn. Where estimates must be made these are invariably framed with careful moderation.

These volumes are worthy of the attention of those who are prepared to make a serious study of the industrial condition of this and other countries during the last quarter of a century. These studies deal with topics connected with the fiscal dispute, with the bimetallic controversy, the taxation of land values, the cost of the Franco-German War, the progress of the working classes in the last half century, and the economic relations of Ireland to Great Britain.

Interesting as these discussions are, many readers will be inclined to turn at first to the articles relating to the question of fiscal policy. The partisan on either side, after a cursory inspection, will be inclined to close the book at once, when he finds that nine-tenths of the articles were written before 1902. Yet though this is so, Sir Robert Giffen's inquiries have a very real bearing on the present issue. It has been assumed (for it is only an assumption, and a baseless one) that the Birmingham propaganda is an entirely new departure. As a matter of fact, if Adam Smith were read at present, instead of being mutilated by brief quotations, it would have been remembered that when he wrote, predictions of the approaching ruin of the country were frequent, and they have recurred with some approach to a cyclic regularity almost ever since. More particularly, given certain economic conditions, there have been the same gloomy predictions with the threat of greater misfortunes, unless a protective policy is re-established. For instance, as early as 1877, Sir R. Giffen found it necessary to show the 'essential fallacy' in the statement that 'some nations which were formerly our customers are manufacturing for themselves, and other nations are going to the shops of our rivals, like the United States, France, and Germany, who are gaining upon us every day in the race' (i. p. 423). Again, in 1882, he refuted arguments for protection, such as the following: 'that our foreign trade is falling off enormously,' 'imports of manufactured articles into the United Kingdom are increasing, leading to the decay of manufacturing at home,' 'that excess of imports is a proof that the country is running into debt' (i. 374); and finally, most remarkable of all, 'our trade with the Colonies is specially beneficial and tends to increase more than our trade with foreign countries' (i. 377). All this had been advanced before 1883. One thing is certain, that the current arguments in favour of protection are far from new, and the reply that was regarded as conclusive before is at least worthy of consideration. All that is fresh in the present campaign is the artistic

setting of the medley of fallacy. In the early eighties the rhetorician appealed to the idea of an imagined ethic of trade (as is shown by the cry of Fair-Trade *v.* Free-Trade), now the framework is the idea of patriotism (*i.e.* no Preference no Empire). In time it is to be hoped that people will come to recognize that crude ethics mixed with still more crude economics do not and cannot produce a system of 'scientific taxation.'

W. R. SCOTT.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (Part II.). By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Vol. I., pp. x, 384; Vol. II., pp. viii, 374, with Maps. 2 vols., demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 21s. nett.

IN these two volumes on the American Revolution, Sir George Trevelyan continues the historical work begun in *The Early Life of Charles James Fox*; but those who admired that brilliant essay in eighteenth-century manners and politics cannot now but have fears for the ultimate form of the *magnum opus*. Sir George Trevelyan possesses all the qualities essential to a great historian of English society and politics—a traditional connection with one of the great English parties, a knowledge of the atmosphere, moral and intellectual, of the Houses of Parliament, without which no writer dare hope to deal with our greatest century in politics, a love of picturesque and quaint detail. In his earlier work all these had free scope, and the result was a volume not unworthy of the best English historical traditions.

It seems to us, however, that the development from this initial standpoint has placed Sir George in a difficult position. Beginning as social historian, he has now advanced to attempt what may easily become a general history of the nation, similar in scheme to Mr. Lecky's great work. Now, apart from the fact that Mr. Lecky has already covered the ground, Sir George Trevelyan is handicapped both by the scheme suggested in his first volume and by his method of discussing individual subjects. His strength lies in his undoubted mastery of interesting personal and social details; his methods gain by their discursiveness. In his *Life of Fox* the scope of the subject enabled him to use these qualities to great advantage; but now, when there is no longer unity of subject, when Westminster and Canada, Boston and Hesse demand our attention, the old love of small facts brings disconnectedness with it, and occasionally suggests triviality. It is only too easy to lose sight of the wood in the trees. In addition, one must own that the discursive habit of the author is no longer kept within due bounds. Anecdote, recollection, and comparison are the virtues of the social historian; but Sir George is fast developing them into vices through excess. Apart altogether from the fact that the military subject lends itself less to the social habit in writing than did Fox's biography, kindly garrulity and interesting digression too often run away with the historian. On its more charming side, the vice may be studied in the digression on the

statesmen who drew up the Declaration and their subsequent history, or in the details connected with the embassy to Howe in 1776, in which Franklin's views on the 'open-air' treatment incidentally found expression. But we contend that in his parallels from general history, as, for example, when he passes from the fight on Harlem Heights to dilate on the European Harlem, and in such expansions as those dealing with the antipathy to Scotland cherished by eighteenth-century Englishmen or with the political opinions of contemporary historians, Sir George Trevelyan sins against proportion and fitness. He too often suggests the amiability of the memoir-writer rather than the strenuous directness of the historian.

Our main criticism, however, must deal more with the subject than with the manner of the book. Sir George began with a subject, English and purely domestic, and he would have been well advised had he confined himself to this more restricted field. Surely the last thirty years of eighteenth-century England present a theme worthy of even the highest powers; and the author of Fox's early life might have earned new laurels from descriptions of the Fox of coalition and revolutionary times, or of Pitt's youthful triumphs, or Burke's final frenzies. But England has been subordinated to America. Such details as we have, all relate somehow or other to the great revolt, and Sir George Trevelyan holds out no promise of reverting to his former subject. In changing thus his plan, the author seems to us to be not merely an offender against artistic unity, but otherwise ill-advised. He admits that he is no scientific military historian, and even if he were, the subject chosen lacks distinction. His studies of Howe's Long Island campaign, and of Washington's dashing energy at Trenton and Princeton are admirable (for Sir George is never dull or perfunctory), but neither in subject nor in treatment may they compare with masterpieces in military history like Carlyle's battle scenes or the late Colonel Henderson's work on Stonewall Jackson. And this is what we have in exchange, say, for a portrait of Pitt's struggle with the coalition or some chapters on late eighteenth-century political satire. These we may have in subsequent volumes, but only as etceteras to American battle scenes which other and lesser men might have done with greater success than Sir George Trevelyan.

Criticism of one so illustrious in history is at all times unpleasant; more particularly when the faults arraigned are combined with excellences sufficient to furnish a smaller man with a respectable reputation. But we think that if Sir George intends to continue this work, he ought to be warned of the faults in both his subject and his manner. It may be too late to change; but it is hard to watch so great a master of the social style diverge from the true path. Eighteenth-century England, its cliques, its political intrigues, its war of pamphlets, its satire, its high social spirit, these await the historian, and at present we know of only one man with all the necessary qualities for the task—the author of these rather ill-proportioned but always interesting volumes.

JOHN L. MORISON.

LAUDER AND LAUDERDALE. By A. Thomson, F.S.A.Scot. With 62 Illustrations. Pp. xv, 395. Galashiels: Craighead Bros. 8s. 6d.

It is desirable that a reviewer should specify the standard by which he intends to judge a book. Judged, then, by any purely literary or expert tests, I fear that the claims of this book must be immediately disallowed. Scholarly the book certainly is not; it is not even very well-informed. It is obviously not the work of a trained historian, for the authorities consulted by the author are scanty and the most obvious; nor again is it the work of an active searcher after unrecorded information, for in this respect a great opportunity is let slip; nor is it the work of a practised penman. Still, let us remember that this is the twentieth not the eighteenth century; that nowadays all men are readers, and that there are readers (the majority) to whom mere scholarship and literary style are veriest caviare. It will be to these that Mr. Thomson's book will appeal, and to such I can cordially recommend it. The information it contains is neither rare nor carefully sifted, but, at least, there is plenty of it. And amid the vast diversity of tastes there are those—plenty of them—which prefer the ordinary and the commonplace. In the Commercial Chamber of a local inn—the haunt of busy men, intent on practical rather than on mental matters—this book would be in its place. There it would not be allowed to lie idle.

Now, to pass from generalities to the more particular. Among the more highly civilized of Scottish counties, Berwickshire is unfortunate in having no County History. Within recent years two writers, the one distinguished, the other truly admirable—Sir John Skelton and Mr. Francis Hindes Groome—have in succession set hand to a joint history of this county and Haddingtonshire: it is a singular and melancholy fact that each died before his work was well begun. Berwickshire, then, is in great need of having its history written. And it is as a partial stop-gap in the meantime, as a hod of material for the future historian, that this book may hope to be of use. I will now touch on one or two of its shortcomings.

Just four years ago last March there died in Lauderdale, aged 89, a lady of whom one may speak without exaggeration as the presiding genius and most representative figure of that wild and fascinating region. She had been throughout her long life the eager gatherer of Lauderdale lore, the repository of Lauderdale songs and traditions, the pious upholder of ancient local customs; forby, a great Scottish worthy and a delightful poetess. Now, would not one naturally conclude that, in this most picturesque and lovable of local figures, a writer upon Lauderdale at this moment would see his opportunity? He might not have had the privilege of the old lady's acquaintance, but there are naturally many persons still in life who preserve recollections, traits of her character. To profit by these Mr. Thomson has made no attempt; whilst to Lady John Scott herself he assigns one page of the 380 of his book. That page contains mainly facts which might have been gleaned from any newspaper obituary. Yet even there he contrives to commit the solecism of

speaking of her '*Annie Laurie* and other quaint love-songs' (p. 234). All the world knows that it is the older version of the song, not that by Lady John, which is the quaint one. Her version is a pure and lovely lyric. But Mr. Thomson's chapter on local poets and poetry is indeed strangely defective. Has he ever heard, I wonder, of the poet Mennon; or of the local ballad on the Twin Law Cairns' tragedy—a ballad, by the way, which was recited for the present writer's benefit by an octogenarian reciter in a cottage at Westruther not two years ago? And whilst on this subject I recommend to his attention, as one of the many local books he has overlooked, the *History of the Scottish House of Edgar* published by the Grampian Club, 1873.

A second lost opportunity—though one for which I do not wish to blame Mr. Thomson. Seven years ago there was presented to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries the remarkable piece of silversmith's work known as Midside Maggie's Girdle. Since then it has been the object of persons interested in Lauderdale to discover historical authority for the well-known and picturesque legend attaching to the girdle. Mr. Thomson,—if, indeed, he has thought it worth while to make any investigation,—has been no more fortunate than the rest of us, and for that, as I have said, we cannot blame him. It is his misfortune rather than his fault. Still, in telling the story, the least he should have done (if he pretends to write history) was to mention the fact that, though belonging ostensibly to the year 1658 or thereabout, the story is not found in writing until some 170 years later. Moreover, it is evident that while telling the story Mr. Thomson misunderstands it. For Lauderdale's gibing proposal to his tenant's wife was no token of relenting, as he suggests, but quite the reverse. *Apropos* to the Duke of Lauderdale, the author might have found some interesting and out of the way particulars in *Lawe's Memorials*, edited by Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

The task of pointing out defects becomes, however, quickly wearisome. Let me, then, conclude by giving what praise I can to the book as a laborious and doubtless painstaking *omnium gatherum* of local information. For to this category, rather than to that of the local histories proper, does Mr. Thomson's compilation belong.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

LEDGER AND SWORD, OR THE HONORABLE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES (1599-1874). By Beckles Willson. Vol. I., pp. x, 452; Vol. II., pp. 437. 2 vols., demy 8vo. Illustrated. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 21s. nett.

In the latter days of 'good Queen Bess' the merchants of England were much exercised as to how to commence and secure a trade with the East on their own account. The problem was indeed beset with difficulties. The Portugese were already in the field. The gigantic power of Spain, England's hereditary enemy, though discredited and to some extent crippled by the fiasco of the Armada, was still formidable. The journey was long and dangerous; its issue was doubtful. The

idea, if not the conviction, that there was somewhere a north-west passage which they could keep to themselves, if they could only find it, was still prevalent. But over these and other difficulties the spirit of adventure and, it may be added, the spirit of commerce triumphed; and on the 22nd September, 1599, a number of merchants met in London and inaugurated what will for ever be known in history as the East India Company, 'the richest, the most romantic, the most colossal private, commercial, military, and governing body that ever flourished, or now ever can flourish, on earth.' It is the story of the rise and fall of this famous Company of merchants which Mr. Beckles Willson has sketched for us in two interesting and brilliantly written volumes with the appropriate title of 'Ledger and Sword.' The story of the Company during the two and a half centuries of its existence is indeed a chequered one, but this was inevitable under the circumstances. Let it suffice to say that one after another, the Portugese, Dutch, and French, measured their strength against the London merchants, and had to retire vanquished from the struggle. But these foreign enemies, formidable as they often were, were not those from whom the Company had most to fear. Their worst and bitterest enemies were unscrupulous opponents and envious rivals in England, who were not only willing but able to place difficulties in the way of the Company, difficulties not to be met by shot and cold steel, but which could be overcome only by unwearied patience, intrepid courage, and consummate diplomacy. Happily for itself, at every crisis in its history, and there were many, the Company found among its own members the man who was equal to the occasion; and at times, when the very word Monopoly stank in the nostrils of England, they were able to vindicate their position, and maintain it in the teeth of unceasing and unscrupulous opposition. It is true that now and again they did condescend to the methods of their opponents, and had recourse to measures, *e.g.* bribery and chicanery, which are indefensible when judged by the standards of the present day; but to apply such standards to the commercial and political transactions of the age of Walpole and Suraj-ud-Dowlah would be futile and unjust.

It is not generally remembered now that the countries with which the East India Company had large transactions, were much more extensive than those we refer to now as India. They included St. Helena on the west coast of Africa, the Persian Gulf, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes Islands, China and Japan; and, indeed, the tea trade with China was for years the sheet anchor of its finance. The mere mention of these places indicates an extent and variety of interests and fortunes such as are not to be found in the history of any other trading company that the world has ever known. The change in the scope and prestige of the Company, gradual and, indeed, forced on it often very much against its will, and accepted with much reluctance and many misgivings, can be estimated by a contrast between the ordinary duties of its servants during the first century of its existence and their duties a century afterwards. During the first century their servants were appropriately and accurately described as 'writers, factors, and merchants.' At the end of

another century the Marquis of Wellesley, a competent judge, gives a very different description of their work, 'to dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue through districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions in the world; these are now the duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company.' Much obloquy—some of it unfortunately only too deserved—had been cast on the Company's servants for their rapacity and greed, for their want of consideration of and even injustice to those over whom they ruled. The name of Nabob at one time had come to mean in England a man who had enriched himself with untold wealth by the most barbarous and unscrupulous spoliation of ignorant, innocent, and helpless Easterns. Yet the Duke of Wellington, after much experience, said 'he believed that the government of India was one of the best and most purely administered governments that ever existed, and one which had provided most effectually for the happiness of the people over which it was placed.'

In Mr. Beckles Willson the Company has found an eloquent and enthusiastic advocate. The readers of his former work on the Hudson Bay Company will be prepared to find in these volumes literary merit of a high order. He is gifted with an ornate and perspicuous style and a judicious sense of proportion. In writing the history of the Company, the temptations to dilate on and to magnify the results of the Sword must have been very captivating, but they have been successfully resisted, and the story of the Ledger, which was the *fons et origo* of the Company, receives ample attention and justice. These volumes should have the happy result of re-awakening interest in a story which, although shaded here and there by incidents which we may regret to-day, nevertheless is, and ever will be, one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of England, and, indeed, we may say in the history of the world.

H. B. FINLAY.

THE HISTORY OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. By Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B., Author of *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815*. Vol. I., 1856-1865, pp. xviii, 529; Vol. II., 1865-1870, pp. xiv, 525. 2 vols., demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 24s. nett.

WHEN Sir Spencer Walpole published the last volumes of his previous history of this country some twenty years ago, he felt himself debarred from continuing the narrative beyond the end of the Indian Mutiny. Time, however, has removed the objections to a continuation of his design. The chief actors in the drama of the succeeding years have now passed from the stage, and the events in which they played a part are now sufficiently distant to find their true place and value in the perspective of history. At the same time, it may be pointed out, the historian has made the very earliest possible use of some of his material. *The Life*

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of Gladstone, by Mr. John Morley, for instance, was not published till nearly all Sir Spencer Walpole's *History* was written, and it was only by the courtesy of Mr. Morley in allowing him to read beforehand the chapters with which he was concerned that he was able to avail himself of the freshest light upon the career of the great Liberal leader. It will thus be seen that the new book is sufficiently 'up-to-date.' At the same time, by reason of the speed with which at the present day the materials of history find their way to publication, it is probable that nothing of vital importance regarding the period dealt with remains unrevealed. These volumes, therefore, possess the value of contemporary writing, while they are also enabled to show the philosophical grouping and treatment which distinguish history from mere chronicle.

Sir Spencer Walpole calls his work advisedly, *The History of Twenty-Five Years*, rather than a 'History of the United Kingdom,' in consequence of the necessity which he has found for taking wide views, and devoting considerable space to the correlative affairs of other nations. In this respect also he shows his modernity, for it must be recognized to be with history as it is with language—he who only knows that of his own country does not really know it at all. The work opens with a vivid picture of the state of affairs, the conditions of government, and the attitude of the public mind in this country and its nearest neighbours at the end of the Crimean War, and it closes with a masterly weaving together of the events and circumstances in Europe which led to the downfall of Napoleon III. in 1870. Between these two events the narrative marches with authority and with singular charm. The author concerns himself only to a limited extent with purely domestic legislation, though he treats in detail the various budgets and reform bills of the period with which he deals, and recounts at length the great Irish question and Mr. Gladstone's earlier attempts to solve it. He is more concerned with the foreign politics and higher diplomacy of the country. These especially he unrolls in a manner at once brilliant and fascinating. It may be, indeed, that the last word has not yet been said upon many of the questions dealt with in these pages, but Sir Spencer Walpole has provided what is probably the most readable and succinct account yet possible, from the British point of view, of the European history of our own time.

GEORGE EYRE-TODD.

THE DEVILS AND EVIL SPIRITS OF BABYLONIA. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. Vol. I. Pp. lxxviii, 211, and two plates. London: Luzac & Co., 1903. 15s.

THE Trustees of the British Museum have recently published the cuneiform texts which deal with Babylonian magic. These Mr. Thompson has transliterated and rendered into English with brief notes and an excellent introduction. The texts, among which considerable portions of three ancient collections, 'Evil Spirits,' 'Fever-sickness,' 'Head-ache,' have been identified, are remarkably interesting for several reasons. Written in

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Sumerian, with an Assyrian translation below, they are undoubtedly copies of primitive documents, and may be said to represent the spells and incantations used first by the Sumerians and then by the Babylonians some six or seven thousand years ago. Much valuable evidence for early religious ideas and customs may be gleaned from these tablets. They tell us, for instance, of the departed spirit which for some reason cannot rest and wanders as a spectre over the earth, demanding the attention due to it from the living; to lay this terror, offerings of food and drink must be paid to the dead. As Mr. Thompson points out, here we come upon the idea which lies at the base of ancestor-worship, and accounts for the desire, so strongly felt by the Semites, to have children, *i.e.* descendants who will do their duty by their parents' shades. We notice also a custom which still exists among certain classes of Jews—branches and flowers are hung on the lintel of the door to ward off evil spirits (p. 137). Babylonia was the home of sorcery; and from Babylonia many magic arts and superstitions were borrowed by the neighbouring nations—Hebrews, Syrians, Persians. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that Hebrew and Aramaic lexicography receives illumination from these texts, *e.g.* the Hebrew *shēdim*, 'demons,' is the Babylonian *shēdu*; *līlith* (Is. xxxiv. 14, 'the night-monster,' R.V., wrongly connecting the word with *lailah*, 'night') is the Babylonian *lilitu*, fem. of *lilū*; in Rabbinic legend *lilith* is the fairy wife of Adam, and bore to him devils and *lilin*, plural of the Assyrian *lilū*. Though Mr. Thompson does not mention it, the striking expression in Gen. iv. 7, 'if thou doest not well, sin is a lurker' (*rōbēs*), may well be influenced by the name of the Babylonian 'lurking demon,' *rabisu*. The Biblical student will note the connection between 'The Seven' (evil spirits, p. 77), and St. Luke xi. 26; in the New Testament, as in these texts, the wilderness is the special haunt of malignant powers (cf. p. 139 and St. Mark i. 3), and magical value is attached to the spittle (cf. p. 13 and St. John ix. 6). Mr. Thompson entirely demolishes the view, for which Professor Sayce is primarily responsible, that the well-known text beginning, 'In Eridu a vine grew overshadowing, in a holy place was it brought forth' etc., refers to the Garden of Eden and the tree of life. The tablet contains a prescription, in the form of an incantation, for the use of a medicinal plant, probably a variety of the astragalus, which yields gum tragacanth; it has nothing whatever to do with the Babylonian Paradise. Mr. Thompson has produced a valuable work, and we await his second volume with interest.

G. A. COOKE.

JOURNEY TO EDENBOROUGH IN SCOTLAND. By Joseph Taylor, late of the Inner Temple, Esq. Pp. 182. 8vo. Edinburgh: William Brown, 1903. 6s. nett.

THIS work, now first printed from the original manuscript, describes a journey by Taylor and two friends from London to Edinburgh by way of Northampton and Derby to Buxton, and thence by Nottingham, York, Newcastle, and Berwick, and their return by Moffat, Ecclefechan, Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, Chester, Harden,

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Nantwich, Litchfield, Coventry, Warwick, Daintree, Dunstable, and St. Albans. The observations by the travellers on the various places through which they passed are dull, save on two or three occasions when they met in England ladies who seem to have inspired their enthusiasm. The book has interest, however, in that it describes the impressions which the travellers formed of so much of Scotland as they saw, and specially of Edinburgh, which they reached on 31 August, 1707. In his interesting reproductions of the accounts given by 'Early Travellers in Scotland,' and the sequels to that volume, Dr. Hume Brown has familiarised us with the by no means satisfactory condition either of the town or country life, and of the habits of all classes of the people of Scotland in the seventeenth century. This work, however, written eighteen years after Thomas Morers' account—the last given by Professor Brown—shows that the condition of matters in Edinburgh, as observed by Taylor and his friends, had in no degree improved. 'The country round about [Edinburgh], next to that of Glasgow, says Taylor, is the most pleasant and fruitful in Scotland.' But he adopts the opinion of an English captain, who, when asked how he liked the country answered, 'Not at all,' adding that the Scotch 'had only eight commandments instead of ten,' and being desired to explain said that 'they had nothing to covet nor nothing to steal.' Describing the general features of the city and its public buildings, he states that during his visit the Scottish parliament discussed and passed the treaty of Union. By favour of the Lord High Commissioner (the Duke of Argyle) Taylor and his friends were permitted 'to stand upon the throne by his right hand.' 'The grand debate this day,' he proceeds, 'being about the act for a treaty with England, many learned speeches were made on the occasion,' the substance of which he quotes. But, he adds, after many 'debates and hard reflections on the English, it was at last put to the vote, whether there should be added a clause to the Act of treaty, which should prohibit any treaty with England till England had rescinded the claim of Aliens, or whether it should be in a separate way. Separate way was carried by two voices.' This being done, 'the Lord Commissioner did us the honour to turn to us and say that it was deciding whether England and Scotland would goe together by the eares.' Various details having been decided, the vote was taken as to whether the Act should be approven or not, and it was carried 'approven' by 34 voices. This momentous decision was come to on 16 January, 1707. A short reference to Leith, described as an 'indifferent place, something resembling Billingsgate,' introduces a reference to the failure of the Darien scheme, and to the trial and execution of Capt. Green, with all the irritation between the Scottish and English people which these events produced. The author then condemns in the strongest terms the filthiness of the City and the prevalence of Itch, and says, 'As the Scotch are nasty, so I found them as prophane and vitious as other people, notwithstanding all the pretended sanctity of their Kirk.' As regards the women he says they were 'most vail'd with plods, which gave us but little opportunity of passing our judgment on the Scotch beautyes, but those we saw were very indifferent. There is no other place but the church to take a view of them at, for in Edenborough the Kirk allows

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of no plays, or public entertainments, neither are there any walks for the ladies.' On 8 September the travellers left Edinburgh on their return journey, and Taylor's account of the country through which they passed, and the people they met, previous to their arrival at Carlisle is altogether unfavourable.

JAMES D. MARWICK.

A COURT IN EXILE. Charles Edward Stuart and the romance of the Countess d'Albanie. By the Marchesa Vitelleschi. Pp., Vol. I., xiii, 300; Vol. II., x, 359, with 26 full-page plates. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1903. 24s. nett.

THE writer has had access to many documents in Italy—the mss. of Mgr. Mercanti at Frascati, and of Signor Angelini, and the Marefoschi and Piombino Archives, and has used them in compiling a pleasantly written popular account of the Stuarts after their fall. The first 150 pages of the first volume deals with the history of the exiled Court of James II. at St. Germain, and that of his son the titular 'James III.' at Rome and Avignon, and only when the year 1745 is reached does it become a sketch of the life of Prince Charles Edward.

The writer recounts few new facts, and of these the most interesting bear upon slight incidents in the lives of two titular Queens, Clementina Sobieska and Louise of Stolberg. She notes the curious link between the marriage of James II. and his son, for the Princess Elizabeth of Pfalz-Neubourg, whom James II. rejected for Marie Beatrice of Modena, became the mother of Clementina Sobieska. The writer, however, calls the latter's father John, when he was Prince James Sobieski. Much is said about the nuns of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere and the Benedictines of San Clemente, and there are interesting extracts from the *Cracas* about the exiled Court, and many evidences of the constant friendship of the Corsini family towards the dethroned Stuarts.

In the account of the '45, the writer has apparently accepted the older account uncritically, without referring to the later authorities like Mr. Lang. Owing to the lack of authorities the book cannot be in any way regarded as a work of reference, although it is a pleasant book to read.

In the second volume, which treats of the Countess of Albany, her marriage and Alfieri's devotion, the writer is on firmer ground. Her sister, however, married a son of the Duc de Berwick, not of the Duc de Fitz James, she had no sister 'Louise,' and her grandfather was Prince (not Count) de Hornes. The most pleasing part of the book is the narrative of the Countess's later life, where full justice is done to her (though Fabre and the Duchess of Albany are rather severely handled), and there is considerable appreciation of her literary influence, natural dignity, and wide cultivation. There is also a satisfactory account of the Countess's influence over Alfieri, whose centenary the writer mentions in the preface, and she as the source of his inspiration deserves commemoration also.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

NAPOLÉON'S CAPTIVITY IN RELATION TO SIR HUDSON LOWE. By R. C. Seaton, M.A., Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; Author of 'Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon.' Pp. viii, 282, with 2 illustrations and a map. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons, 1903. 5s. nett.

THE last ten or twelve years have witnessed, alike in Europe and in America, a remarkable revival of interest in the First Emperor of the French. Professor Sloane and Mr. T. E. Watson on the other side of the Atlantic, and in this country the versatile President of the Scottish History Society, and Dr. J. H. Rose illustrate this fact. Napoleon in St. Helena, finding his custodian unimpressible and impassive, retaliated by a deliberate and systematic misrepresentation of Sir Hudson Lowe's character and conduct towards himself. The pathetic tale of the fallen Emperor's martyrdom at the hands of his inhuman jailor presented, as intended, a welcome weapon to unscrupulous politicians on both sides of the Channel, wherewith to discomfit Lord Liverpool and to dispossess Louis XVIII. Mr. Seaton, in exploding this legend, not only vindicates the Governor's unjustly sullied reputation, but proves that Britain need not be ashamed of the conduct of her scrupulous delegate, and also incidentally exposes the unfair bias of the latest history of Napoleon's Captivity.

He has, in this well-appointed volume, recast and expanded under a new title his earlier work (now out of print) on the same subject.

P. HENDERSON AITKEN.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE OF ROME. Illustrated. By John B. Firth, B.A. Pp. xvi, 371. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1903. 5s.

THIS is an accurate and readable sketch of the period of history which it covers. Mr. Firth writes brightly and does not allow the interest of his narrative to flag seriously at any point. The view taken of Augustus and his policy is the conventional one. In other words, his real character remains as great an enigma as ever. The comparison with Kaiser Wilhelm I. (p. 236) is not altogether happy. For, whatever else Augustus may have been, he was certainly a statesman and a man of genius. The account of the development of the principate is good, although a little more might with advantage have been said about the significance of the *imperium*. Mr. Firth is unduly hard on Horace (p. 292), and perhaps also on the Monumentum Ancyranum (p. 345). These, however, are small points. The book as a whole can be heartily recommended as well fitted to serve the purpose for which it was written. It will probably be reprinted. If so, the following slips should be corrected. The sentence which begins on line 7 of page 3 is ungrammatical; 'Zanthus' on page 85 ought to be 'Xanthus'; the form 'Liparic' (p. 118) is surely very questionable; in line 22 of page 175 a misplaced comma makes nonsense of a sentence; in the description of the army of Varus (p. 300), 'regiments of auxiliaries' is misleading as an equivalent for '*alae*.' Advantage should also be taken of any re-issue to amplify the index. The book is copiously illustrated, and some of the illustrations are good. The coins for reproduction have been selected rather at haphazard, and the explanations that accompany them are not very illuminating.

GEO. MACDONALD.

DALMENY KIRK: ITS HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE. By P. Macgregor Chalmers. Pp. 32, with 13 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Glasgow: Carter & Pratt. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE author of this dainty little monograph, of which only 120 copies have been printed, evidently possesses a wide knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture, and understands how to use it. Seldom have we met with an



The Interior of Dalmeny Church.

account of 'a temple shadowy with the remembrances of the majestic past' so free from blemishes. After sketching the history of the ownership of Dalmeny, Mr. Macgregor Chalmers advances the opinion that the church was founded by Gospatric, brother of Dolfin, at an early date in the twelfth century. He thinks that, as the architectural details of the church correspond very closely with those of Dunfermline Abbey and Durham

Cathedral, there can be little doubt of the source of the designer's inspiration. The interior, said to be 'unrivalled in Scotland,' of which a good illustration is given, has called forth an eloquent tribute. 'The two great arches with their wealth of carving, and the vaulted roof with its decoration combine with the length of the church, which is apparently increased by the converging lines of the choir and apse, to form a picture of great beauty, instinct with the medieval spirit which found in architecture the medium for the expression of its longing for mystic communion with the Infinite God.' The comparative study of early Scots church-towers, which forms a valuable section of the work, is made quite intelligible to non-professional readers by several excellent drawings. Though the historical statements in the narrative are for the most part fortified by trustworthy references, one cannot too often insist on the need of appeal to original authorities. In matters of family and territorial history, it is a wise rule never to put faith in official peerages or other second-hand evidence. Experience teaches.

JAMES WILSON.

THE LAY OF HAVELOK THE DANE. Re-edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt.D., D.C.L., Ph.D. With two facsimiles. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902. 4s. 6d.

BELIEVED to have been written about 1300 from Anglo-French sources, possibly founded on a Welsh original, this Lay has at various times received close critical attention. Now re-edited with the customary equipment and all the aids that come from a great English scholar's philological and literary lore, it appeals with added force to the student of early verse, especially as a vehicle for historical legend. The romance has a sort of basis of reality. Havelok is by his surname Cuaran in the French version clearly identified with Anlaf Curan, son of a viking conqueror, and was the King of Ireland, ally of the Scottish King Constantine in the famous battle of Brunanburh in 937. He is said to have closed an adventurous career in 981 as a monk in Iona. By its nature romance is libertine, and the Havelok of this old poem becomes both a Danish and an English hero and king, borrowing only minor things from biography, and being essentially a romantic or legendary creation. Editorially, the stress is laid on philological considerations. Many suggested insertions for improvements of scansion seem superfluous. Not only the quasi-historical elements, but also the folklore side of the poem would well bear further annotation, such for example as the miraculous flame from Havelok's mouth whereby his royal birth was disclosed. This feature is found in other old French romances, and would have repaid discussion by an editor who on such subjects can speak from the chair.

ALCUIN CLUB TRACTS. NO. IV. THE PARISH CLERK AND HIS RIGHT TO READ THE LITURGICAL EPISTLE. By Cuthbert Atchley, L.R.C.P. Pp. 33. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 1s. 6d.

THIS careful little work affords convincing proof of the contention of the writer that there is no reason why a competent Parish Clerk should not

read the Liturgical Epistle, as well as the ordinary lessons, during divine worship in the Church of England. The author seeks to establish that the Parish Clerk is not a layman in the canonical sense, and that therefore he has the right, which Laud assailed in 1635, by ordaining that none of 'the quire men of Winchester should presume to read the Epistles or the Gospel, unless they had been previously promoted to Holy Orders, and that henceforward the said Epistles and Gospel should be read at the Holy Eucharistic Table.' Mr. Atchley insists that the orders of the Parish Clerk, though 'not ordained with the more elaborate ceremonial of the middle ages,' are equally valid with the other orders of the Church of England.

COLIN CAMPBELL.

Several educational works have reached us. *A History of England*, Period V. Imperial Reaction—Victoria 1880-1901 (Longmans, 1904), by the Rev. J. Franck Bright, D.D., brings the annals of the kingdom down very nearly to date. Summing up the characteristics of our time Dr. Bright notes a general reactionary tendency towards aristocracy and war, and marks the love of excitement and the growth of town life as momentous and anxious features of current civilisation. *Geography of South and East Africa*, by C. P. Lucas, C.B. (Clarendon Press, 1904), containing several maps, is also a continuation, with added chapters by H. E. Egerton, M.A., on the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. It is a compact and instructive commentary on recent colonial enterprise.

Mrs. Armitage opens the *English Historical Review* (April) with the first instalment of a survey of the 'Early Norman Castles of England,' in which she develops with much research and topographical fact a compendious account of the fortresses from the standpoint of tracing their evolution from the original earthen *mottes* into the later keeps of stone. A proposition first suggested with great reserve as regards certain English castles, afterwards applied as a general proposition for England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, the doctrine of Mrs. Armitage which makes the *motte* the machinery of Norman conquest has gained wide acceptance since it began in embryo in Mr. Round's great study of *Geoffrey de Mandeville*. Details confirmatory of the view are steadily accumulating, and though the point seems small it is full of historical light. Miss Kate Norgate tackles with a certain measure of success the date of William of Newburgh's history. Mr. Firth displays his large critical grasp as well as his special knowledge of the period in his examination of Clarendon's 'Life' of himself.

From a British standpoint the most interesting item of the *American Historical Review* (April) is Mr. Woodbury Lowery's short paper on 'Jean Ribaut and Queen Elizabeth.' A Huguenot French colonist in Carolina, he placed his services at the command of Elizabeth in 1563, and undertook an enterprise upon the French settlement in Florida, which had a sudden interruption when it was discovered that he was playing false by his English colleagues, and playing into the hands of France.

He was imprisoned, and threatened with hanging, but survived that danger to sail to Florida, not as an English but as a French commander, in 1565, only, however, to fall a victim in the task of attempting the relief of the French colony. Weighty studies of wider bearing concern the relations of Frederick the Great with the American Revolution, and the Spanish conspiracy for the possession of the Mississippi basin in 1787.

There has been established at Washington in connection with the Carnegie Institution a Bureau of Historical Research. An interesting notice of its methods appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (April). Government archives are being reported upon, and a large scheme for editing them is in hand. Parallel investigations in Britain for American matters are prospective, including the preparation for early publication of a list of the printed papers found in British archives. The bureau is established with the purpose of being of use to scholars, and its foundations seem to be wisely laid.

Very interesting contemporary letters on the trial and death of Louis XVI. are edited in the *Revue des Études Historiques* (March-April). They were written by C. J. Bernard, a commissary of the King's court of Grenoble, who was a partisan of the Revolution with royalist sympathies. Two days after the execution, which he describes with many touching details, he writes to his mother, 'Je vous envoie l'âme du malheureux Louis XVI.'

The only 'matter of Britain' in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* of Louvain (April), is a discussion by G. Morin, O.S.B., of a textual dilemma arising out of the discovery that in a work known as the *De vita Christiana* attributed by Gennadius to Fastidius, a Pelagian fifth century British bishop, there occurs the very prayer which Jerome and Augustine say was composed by Pelagius himself. Hence comes the argument that the work is not by Fastidius but by Pelagius. It is a fine question, which may be safely left to Prof. Dr. Hugh Williams to thrash out with Dr. Zimmer. Noticeable among the criticisms in this Roman Catholic quarterly is a large review by A. Logghe of Prof. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*. The Protestant standpoint of that work we are glad to observe has not at all intervened to prejudice a most appreciative reception by the continental critic.

Several English subjects occupy attention in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (March), besides Dr. Rudolf Fischer's final instalment of the middle-English text of the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, and Dr. Koch's collation of MSS. of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. Helene Richter debates the question Who was Byron's Thyrza? She discusses, not without sympathy, an identification with Mary Chaworth which she is constrained at last to discard. In another contribution she reprints Byron's 'To Mary,' published in 1806, and suppressed—on grounds sufficiently evident.

Record Room

LETTER, WALTER JOHNSTONE of the Duke of Cumberland's
Army to SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE of Westerhall. Inverness,
May 8th, 1746.

This letter, which relates to the imprisonment of Margaret Johnstone, Lady Ogilvy (born 1724, died 1757), is printed with the kind permission of Mrs. Newall, of Glenlochar, in whose possession it now is. Lady Ogilvy was the wife of David Lord Ogilvy, with whom she had made a run-away match. Her husband was the elder son of John, Earl of Airlie, and on the outbreak of the Jacobite Rising joined Prince Charles Edward at Edinburgh at the head of 800 men of his own name. His wife also joined the Jacobite army at Glasgow and shared in its dangers and vicissitudes until she was taken prisoner by the Duke of Cumberland just before Culloden. In spite of the efforts of her family, she was imprisoned on June 15th in Edinburgh Castle, but managed in November 1746 to escape to France, where she was joined by her husband. The letter casts a pleasant light upon the Duke of Cumberland, of whose 'known goodness, affability, and great humanity' we are seldom, in Scotland at least, accustomed to hear.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

DEAR SIR,

I send you this by express, at your daughter Lady Ogilvy's desire and the desire of several people here, who have it very much at heart tho' not in their power at present to serve her out of regard to you and your family.

When Lady Ogilvy was first confined here I wrote Mr. Fergusson an account of it and what I had done and desired my letter might be communicated to you in order to alleviate as much as possible the grief I knew you would be under. Since that time her confinement has been made closer, owing to a silly accident which it was not in mine nor your other friend's power to prevent, and we have reason to believe she will be sent along with Lady M'Intosh to Edinr. Castle. Now as it is impossible with all the interest we can make to procure her liberty or change the Duke's resolution concerning her, and H.R.H. has been heard to say to the people (who) spoke for her that he heard a very good character of you and was acquainted with the Loyalty of your family, nay to ask where you was, as if it had been expected you should have been to wait of him. We have thought it best to acquaint you of it and that we believe if you thought proper to come to Edinr. and wait upon the Duke your known loyalty and Character might weigh with him so

as to deliver Lady Ogilvy into your hands, which would undoubtedly be more agreeable to you than having her confined in the Castle of Edinr. or sent to London. The Duke's known goodness, affability, and great humanity encourage me to think that this cannot fail altho' he were not so perfectly acquainted as he is with your father's Loyalty and yours, and that many branches of the family have faithfully served his father and grandfather. There are besides this other reasons which you will forgive me to mention to you who undoubtedly consider things with more justness than I am capable of, which must have their weight. Such as your being a representative for your County in Parliament, Lady Ogilvy's extreme youth, her having been obliged to follow her unhappy Lord wherever he went at his desire, add to this her marriage being entirely a marriage between two young people (who) liked one another without the knowledge or consent of parents. This is the light she has been represented to the Duke in, and indeed the truth, and I flatter myself that when they are by you laid before the Duke *viva voce* they will not only have the good effect to procure Lady Ogilvy's Liberty, but prevent any slur upon your other children actually in the service on her account. I don't think or say any blame materially falls upon them because their sister was unhappily married to Lord Ogilvy, and consequently obliged to obey him as a husband, but you are sensible it is best to be guarded against the idleness of tongues and the malice of the world. You will be so good I hope to excuse the freedom I have taken to lay before you this affair so tediously as I have done, as it must be disagreeable to you to read it and more to think of it, but my concern about this affair and the pain I am sensible it must have given you is so great that tho' I designed to be very short I could not contract my Letter.

Mr. Lawrence Dundass, who is Commissary to our Army here, helps me to forward this to Edinr. He has been of the utmost service to Lady Ogilvy in this affair, acted the part of a benevolent, humane, and good man. My Lord President, to whom I shall take care to be introduced, has been very active, and showed the greatest regard and esteem for his friend Sir James, but times and unlucky circumstances have as yet rendered all their pains ineffectual. We believe we shall march from this to Fort William, on Monday next, and it is thought the army will be nearer Edinr. in about three weeks. You will hear of its motions and the Duke's, so as to judge when to set out to wait upon him.

If you think any answer to this necessary inclose it in a cover to Lawrence Dundass, Esq., Commissary to H.R.H. the Duke's Army, and return it by the Express to his Brother the Merchant, it will come safe, and I shall have it from Mr. Dundass here or where we are. The Express (which) comes to you is paid. I am with the greatest Affection and Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obt. humble Servt.,

WALTER JOHNSTONE.

INVERNESS, May 8th, 1746.

Since writing the above I have got access to Poor Meggy, who begs you not to fail coming to Edinr. least the Duke should make no stay there. I have also heard another circumstance which makes me believe for certain she will have her Liberty upon your asking it. Please favour me with a line, it will make us all easy. W. J.

SUMMONS TO SAUCHIE CASTLE IN 1583.

AMONG some papers committed to me temporarily for historical purposes, the following is of sufficient note to print :

James be the grace of God King of Scottis To our lovittis
 _____ Messingeris our Shereffis in
 that part conjunctlie and severalie specialie constitute greting. Oure Will
 is and for certane caussis and considerationis moving ws we charge you
 straitlie and commandis that incontinent thir our lettres sene ye pas and in
 our name and auctoritie command and charge James Schaw of Sauchy, and
 all utheris keeparis and detineris of the place and fortlice of Sauchy, to
 rander and deliver the samin to you our officiar executour of thir our
 lettres within [*blank*] houris nixteftir they be chargit be you thairto under
 the paine of treasoun, with certificatioun to thame and thai faillye they
 salbe repute haldin estemit persewit and denuncit as traitouris and the proces
 and dome of forfaltour salbe ordourlie led and deducit aganis thame con-
 forme to the lawis of our realme : As ye will ansuer to Us thairupoun :
 The quhilk to do we commit to you conjunctlie and severalie our ful
 power be thir our lettres delivering the samyn be you dewlie execut and
 indorsit agane to the berar. Gevin under our signett and subscrivit with
 our hand at our burgh of Perth [*faded*] Julij, and of our regne the
 xvth yeir 1583.

Small
fragment
of Seal in
Red
Wax.

JAMES R̃.
 LENOX CRAUFURD.

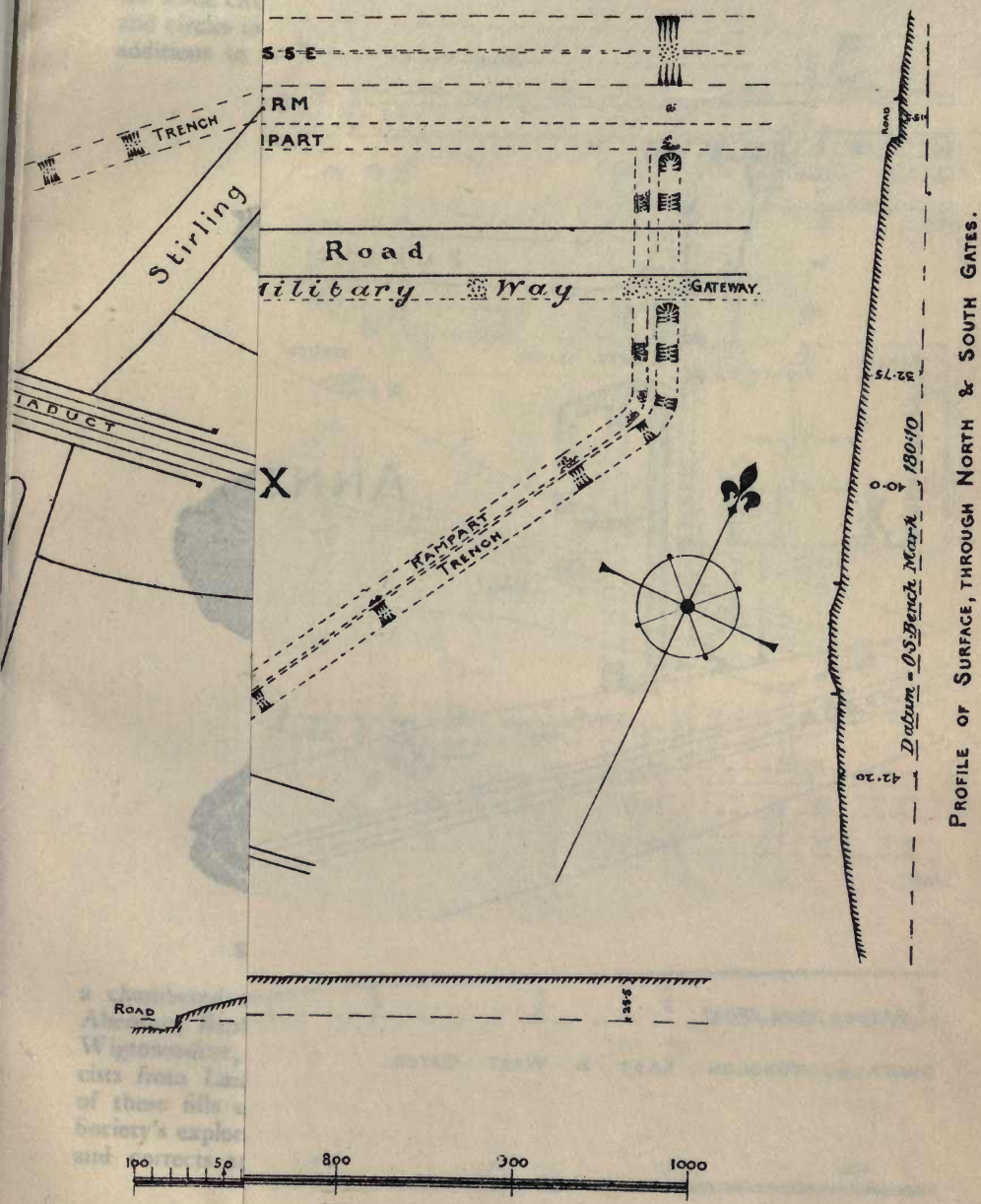
The place of signature and day of the month are badly faded, the former doubtful and the latter illegible. King James was at Perth on 29th July, 1583. So far as I am aware, the particular circumstances out of which this summons arose are not matters of public record. Perhaps some Stirlingshire antiquary can explain.

G. N.

Reports and Transactions

MR. A. H. MILLAR, communicated (May 9) a notice of a number of sheets of ecclesiastical music found in the burgh charter-room of Dundee, and exhibited the recovered leaves of the missal to which the music had belonged. In 1888 he had submitted to the Society several sheets found pasted as stiffening into the covers of a protocol book of Robert Wedderburne, dated 1580-85, and the sheets now found were similarly obtained from another of Wedderburne's protocol books, dated 1575-76. All the sheets form part of the same volume of a Roman Missal, the text being in black letter with red uncials, the staff lines and rubrics being also in red, and the large initial letters decorated with grotesque faces and floral scroll work. Mr. J. Graham Callander described a stone mould for casting flat bronze axes and bars, found two years ago in the parish of Inch, Aberdeenshire, with notes on the occurrence of similar moulds in Europe. The mould has on its different surfaces matrices for four flat bronze axes of different sizes, three for tools of smaller size than the axes, and two for bars or ingots. Such stone moulds are by no means common in the British Isles, and are less common on the Continent. Mr. Ludovic M'Lellan Mann, gave an account of some composite stone implements, with special reference to the primitive flint-toothed threshing machine, called tribulum by the Romans, two modern specimens of which he had recently obtained in Turkey. The Rev. A. Mackay, Westerdale Manse, Halkirk, gave an account of the Aberach-Mackay banner, now exhibited in the National Museum, traditionally believed to have been the battle-flag of John Aberach, who led the Mackays at the battle of Druim-nan-coup in 1432. The charges appear to be a lion rampant, on a shield with a double tressure. Above the shield is a crest of a hand erased, with the fingers extended, round which is the legend, 'Verk visly and tent to ye end.' Dr. Joseph Anderson described and exhibited photographs of a sculptured stone, with an Ogham inscription, at Keiss Castle, Caithness, and two fragments of sculptured stones, recently discovered by Rev. D. Macrae, B.D., at Edderton, Ross-shire. Matters dealt with in other papers at this final meeting for the session included earth-houses at Barnhill, Perth, a stone mould for two flat bronze axes from New Deer, Aberdeen, and burial mounds in Orkney.

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THE record of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland contained in the volume of *Proceedings* for session 1902-1903, does much credit to its energy and capacity. Chiefly the prehistoric and early things evoke effort. Dr. Thomas H. Bryce's description of his excavations in Arran, and Mr. Fred R. Coles's account of the stone circles of north-eastern Scotland, and notices of camps and circles in Kincardineshire, Peebles, Midlothian, and Fife are admirable additions to the tabulation of data. A chambered cairn in Rousay, and

*Society of
Anti-
quaries
Proceedings.*



Shoes and Sandal of Leather found at Castlecary.

a chambered mound at Stromness, both in Orkney, a group of cairns at Aberlour, Banffshire, cairns in Tyrie, Aberdeenshire, pile structures in Wigtownshire, perforated stone objects from the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, cists from Lauderdale, and from Craigie near Dundee—the classification of these fills up the bulk of the volume. A detailed report of the Society's exploratory work on the Roman station of Castlecary supplements and corrects at many points our knowledge of the Roman occupation,

although it presents little or nothing decisively new for the history of the Antonine Vallum and the period during which its forts were garrisoned. Dr. Christison notes the exceptional character of Castlecary as compared with other eight forts already excavated which are all of earthwork, while here the ramparts as well as the inner buildings are of powerful masonry. From the manner of junction of the station with the Antonine Vallum it is concluded that circa 142, the date of the Vallum, may be taken as the date of this camp also. No evidence of an antecedent occupation (such as has more recently been found at Barrhill, *ante*, p. 346) could be traced. Mr. Mungo Buchanan's plans and sections, and the photographs and engravings of stone work, such as the massively based latrine, and relics such as samples of the sandals from the refuse pit and ditch, greatly enhance the value of this very careful record of the enterprise of excavation which a (second) generous donation of £150 by the Hon. John Abercromby enabled the Society to undertake. Other contents embrace notes on 'forestalling and regrating,' on seals of Crail and Coupar, on Eileach-an-Naoimh identified with Columba's island of Hinba, on the round church of Orphir, Orkney, on various tombs, and on a hoard of coins from James III. to Mary. By the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries we are enabled to reproduce from their *Proceedings* Mr. Buchanan's general plan of the Castlecary fort. The course of the fosse berm and cespiticious rampart of the Antonine Vallum will be observed at the north-east corner of the fort. The plan is in itself a record of the excavations, as clear as it is succinct. Roman footgear, as represented in numerous examples disclosed in recent excavations, was as varied as our own. Capital types from Castlecary are shown in the two shoes and the sandal figured on preceding page and also in the Society's *Transactions*. To classify the specimens found at Castlecary and Barrhill is a task worthy of the skill of a specialist.

MR. JAMES SINTON has done well in reprinting for private circulation a few copies of a paper contributed by him to the *Transactions* of the Hawick Archaeological Society. It is the *Journal of A Border Tour in 1816*, a *Tour in the Scottish Border in 1816*, by Alexander Campbell, author of Albyn's *Anthology*, etc., prefaced by a short sketch of Campbell's life. Born in 1764 he wrote in 1798 an *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, and his literary tastes are manifested in his notes, now edited, of his third journey to the Borders. He was accompanied by James Hogg; breakfasted with Scott at Abbotsford; saw Peebles and Traquair, St. Mary's Loch, Melrose, and Jedburgh; made very careful jottings about the Border bagpipers alive and dead; had a letter of introduction to 'Robert Shortread, Esq.,' which was delivered to his wife in his absence; and after reaching Cavers, and setting out for Liddesdale, was turned from his purpose by an attack of gout. The diary is pleasant reading; it reflects a time when the genial personality of Sir Walter sweetened the border air.

Queries

CAMPBELLS OF ARDKINGGLASS. (1) Who was the third laird of Ardkinglass? The last mention I find of John Campbell, second of Ardkinglass, is August 4, 1442 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 346), and I find another John Campbell of Ardkinglass, February 26, 1480-1 (*Ibid.*, No. 1464), but he was not probably immediate successor of the former.

(2) Alexander Campbell of the Ardkinglass family, while still a boy, was appointed Bishop of Brechin in 1566. In Scott's *Fasti* he is called son of John Campbell of Ardkinglass, but this must be an error. Was he son of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass who succeeded his uncle Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass about 1564, and when was he born? About 1555? What other ecclesiastical preferment had he in childhood?

(3) Is the Baronetcy extinct or only dormant? Foster states (*M.P.'s Scot.*, p. 55) that it became extinct in 1752, but according to Scott's *Fasti* William, a younger son of the first baronet, was represented in the direct male line as late as any rate as 1823.

A. W. G. B.

CAMPBELLS OF ARDKINGGLASS. I should be obliged if any reader could identify these marriages referred to in an old MS. Pedigree of the Campbells of Ardkinglass written *circa* 1695. In speaking of the daughters of Colin, 3rd Laird of Ardkinglass (succ. *circa* 1460 and *ob. ante* 1486), it says that one was 'Lady Spenzie,' another 'Lady Lyndsey,' another 'Countess of Crawford, that family now extinct,' *sic*. This last daughter's marriage is well known, and her name was Margaret, wife of Alex., 6th Earl. But who was Spenzie? Can it be meant for Spynie or Spence? Was not Spynie at one time held by the Lindsays?

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

Coombe Hill Farm, Kingston on Thames.

CHIEFSHIP OF THE MURRAYS. Some years ago an interesting article in the *Scottish Antiquary* upon the 'Chiefship of the Murrays' laid stress upon the similarity of the arms borne by the houses of Cockpool and Polmaise, between the years 1450-77, to the older coat of the Murray of Bothwell. The first volume of the *Scots Peerage*, wherein articles appear upon Murray, Duke of Atholl and Murray, Earl of Annandale, advances the matter a little further. In the Atholl pedigree

reference is made to two sets of Murray arms which are to be seen in Tullibardine Church quartered and impaled with Stewart and Colquhoun respectively. This church is said to have been built in 1446. Can any of your readers say whether either of the coats in question are contemporaneous with the building? Should it be so, then Tullibardine would appear to be able to record a claim to the arms associated with the house of Bothwell at an even earlier date than either Cockpool or Polmaise.

WILLIAM MURRAY.

THE LEIGHTONS OF USAN AND THE OGILVYS. Andrew of Wyntown, in his account of the feud of Glaskune (*Cron.*, vol. ii., p. 369), records the deaths in 1391 of Sir Walter de Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, Sheriff of Angus, and of his half-brother Walter de Lichtoun,

‘Of sundry Fadirs was thai twa,
of lauchful bed ilkane of tha.’

Various writers state that Sir Walter Ogilvy was the son of Patrick Ogilvy of West Powrie, and Walter Lichtoun seems to have been a son of Henry de Lichtoun of Inverdovat in Fife. Is there any record of the name of their common mother?

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Henry de Lychtoun, the distinguished Bishop, first of Moray and then of Aberdeen, was a son of Henry de Lichtoun and Jonete. . . . Was the Christian name of West Powrie’s wife Jonete?

The Leightons of Usan appear to have been closely connected with the Ogilvys for many generations. After the death of Sir Walter de Ogilvy in 1391 Duncan de Lychtoun became Sheriff *locum tenens* of Angus. A century later Walter Lychtoun de Ulishaven, whose sasine is dated 6th March, 1501, married Janet, second daughter of John, second Lord Ogilvy of Airlie.

On the 18th of October, 1591, John Lichtane of Usane headed an Ogilvy raid against the Campbells, with him being Archibald and Alexander Ogilvy, his servants; David Ogilvy in Kamen; George Ogilvy, son to Alexander Ogilvy of Drummis, then servant to James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; William and . . . Ogilvy, sons to John Ogilvy of Quheich; . . . Ogilvy, brother to Innerquharritie; John Ogilvy, servant to the laird of Teiling; James Ogilvy; and others, to the number of three score, ‘hounded out and resetted by James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie’ (see Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., p. 264).

The *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (vol. xiv., pp. 386-7) contains lists of the names of ‘the landit men off the names of Lyndesay and Ogillway with their dependeris within Angowsse,’ and under the head of Ogilvys I find Johne Lychtoun off Wlissen, Robert Lychtoun fier of Ullissen, and Robert Lychtoun his sone. This list is dated 1600.

The Leightons of Usan held that barony—which, besides Usan itself, included the lands of Campsy, Kinnaird and Brigend, in the parish of

Lintrathen, and Dalladies, Capo, and Steilstrath in Kincardineshire—direct from the King, so that in that sense they can hardly have been dependents of the Ogilvys.

The arms of the Usan family were: argent, a lion rampant—which Nisbet says was sometimes blazoned salient and sometimes passant—gules. It is curious that Guillim's heraldic remarks seem to connect the Leightons with the Ogilvys. He says:—'Argent, a Lyon passant, Gules. This pertains to Leichstein of Uzzan. He beareth Pearl, a Lyon passant, guardant, Ruby, gorged with a Ducal-crown, Topaz, and charged on the shoulder with a Mullet of the first, and is born by the name of Ogilvy, and honourable and spreading Family in Scotland, the chief of which are the right Hon. James Earl of Airly, Elight and Glentrahen, a person ever Loyal to the Crown, and was always concerned with the Earl of Montross in his loyal undertakings,' etc., etc.

The lion in the arms of the house of Airlie is crowned with an imperial crown and is not charged with a Mullet, but there is no other difference.

Did the Leightons constitute a sept of the Ogilvy clan?

ARTHUR GREEN.

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Glasgow University, although standing second in point of antiquity among the Scottish Universities, was the last of the four to call a printer to practise his craft under academical patronage. Edward Raban, an Englishman, was able in 1620 to describe himself as printer to the University of Sanct Andrewes; on the title page of Alexander Lunan's *Theses Philosophicæ*, published in 1622, he appears as Universitatis Typographus of Aberdeen. GEORGE ANDERSON, who in 1638 came to Glasgow on (as I believe) the joint invitation of the Town Council and the University authorities, issued his last piece of printing in Edinburgh from King James his Colledge. We know from the Town Council accounts that George Anderson received financial encouragement to come to Glasgow; the accounts of the university, viewed in relation to the selection of type founts which he brought with him, are strong evidence of an understanding with the College authorities. For he had in his stock a sufficient quantity of Hebrew type to print, in 1644, a Grammar and a Dictionary compiled by John Row, the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, the two works forming a little volume which has the distinction of being the first Hebrew book printed in Scotland. His pension was in 1647 granted by the Town Council to his relict and bairnes, and his business was continued by his son ANDREW ANDERSON, who, however, soon removed to Edinburgh, whence he was re-called in 1657, and whither he returned in 1661. He was succeeded, or perhaps supplanted, by ROBERT SANDERS, a bookseller and the son of a bookseller in the city, who began by describing himself as town's printer, but in 1672 entitled himself printer to city and university, and this form he continued till about 1684, when these titles were merged in the more imposing formula, 'One of his Majesties Printers.' He may have exercised his other offices till his death in 1696 or 1697; but it

is not probable that they were exercised by his son and successor, ROBERT SANDERS, usually designated 'of Auldhouse.'

We hear, indeed, nothing of a Printer to the University from 1684 until 1713, when proposals were drafted for erecting a bookseller's shop and a Printing Press within the University of Glasgow. In a preamble setting forth 'how necessary and advantageous a well furnished shop with books, paper, pens, ink, etc., or a printing press within the University will be,' we are told that 'as to a printing press, the simple consideration of our being obliged to go to Ed^t in order to gett one sheet right printed makes out the absolut necessity of one.' So great was the zeal of the Faculty to supply the deficiency that they seem to have made the college almost an asylum for printers. JAMES HART printed there in 1714. An account of a conference between a minister of the Gospel and 'a disorderly preacher'; and HUGH BROWN, whose name appears on several books published about this time, unwarrantably assumed the title of 'Printer to the University' in a book entitled *The Jacobite Curse*, aggravating his offence by allowing his Christian name to appear as Huhg. Of course the faculty disowned him, and published an advertisement 'shewing that the said Hew Brown never was printer to the university, but only employed by Donald Govan, who some months past was allowed to print within the college, and with whom the Faculty is yet [Dec., 1714] under communing about his being constituted Printer to the University.' The outcome of these communings was the appointment of DONALD GOVANE, younger, merchant in Glasgow and printer, to be 'printer to the said universitie, and that for all the years and space of seven years and sua long thereafter as the said Universitie shall please.' Among other things it was stipulated that he should provide all necessary materials for printing Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee; but the only known pieces from his press are an edition of *The Merchant's Companion*, 1715; an edition of one of Puffendorf's books; and the first Glasgow newspaper. It would appear that Govan was succeeded by ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, the son of Professor Gerschom Carmichael, and bookseller as well as printer, whose name appears with those of other booksellers on the title page of the first edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, issued in 1725. Carmichael had various partners; the one who continued longest in the business was ALEXANDER MILLER, who was printing in the College so late as 1741.

There may have been a brief interval when the College was without a printer, before, in 1743, the University authorities honoured themselves by granting the petition of the erstwhile barber's apprentice, ROBERT FOULIS, 'desiring he may be made University Printer.' The connection of the brothers Robert and Andrew with the college lasted till the death of Andrew in 1776, and during the thirty odd years of its existence their press sent forth over 500 examples of workmanship unexcelled in the Europe of the day, not even by the productions of Baskerville's house. The types, too, it should be remembered, with which these beautiful books were printed, were the product of the Wilson foundry at Camlachie; and the combination of scholarly printers and tasteful typefounders raised

the printing reputation of Glasgow to its highest point, for, like Aldus Manutius, the Foulises set great store by the correctness of their texts. But the devotion of the brothers Foulis to literature and to art, to painting and to printing, was unfortunately not accompanied by a real capacity for business; and the end of their lives found their affairs in a state of bankruptcy. Their stock was sold, but the printing business was carried on till nearly the end of the century by ANDREW, the son of Robert.

The estate of the Foulis firm was wound up by Robert Chapman and James Duncan, the latter the possessor of a name continuously met with in the annals of Glasgow printing for over a century, and appearing again among the 'Printers to the University' in the nineteenth century, JOHN and ANDREW DUNCAN holding the appointment in the 'twenties.' EDWARD KHUL was university printer in the 'thirties' of last century; and a later *typographus academicus* was GEORGE RICHARDSON, whose business was bought in 1872 by ROBERT MACLEHOSE, who was succeeded in 1895 by his nephews, the present University printers.

An exhaustive account of the relations between the University authorities and their printers has not been aimed at here, but it is hoped that the information given may draw forth replies which will help towards the compilation of a complete list of the University Printers.

W. STEWART.

West Princes Street, Glasgow.

BARON OF ARGENTINE. Who was the Baron of Argentine mentioned by Hollinshed as slain at the Battle of the Buttes fought near Glasgow in 1543? Hollinshed was translating Bishop Leslie's Latin *Argenteae villae Baronem*. The laird of Silvertonhill was Andrew Hamilton, who succeeded about 1535, and lived until 1592. Pitscottie states (*Historie*, S.T.S., vol. ii., p. 27) that it was the Laird of Comskeith who was killed, and Bishop Leslie (*Historie*, Dalrymple's translation, S.T.S., vol. ii., p. 272) that 'ane of the house of Cambuskeith and the Barroune of Syluertoune' were missing. John Hamilton, who was of Cambuskeith in 1530 did not die till September 12, 1547 (*House of Hamilton*, p. 255).

A. W. G. B.

SIR ANTHONY BUCHANAN. May 15, 1780, 'At his seat near Hampstead, in Hertfordshire, Sir Anthony Buchanan, aged 96' (*Scots Magazine*, vol. 42, p. 280). I will be glad of any information about the above. The *Gentleman's Magazine* styles him Baronet, but this must be an error, or else the name is given incorrectly.

A. W. G. B.

BLAIR OF GARTLECHANE, BARRASTOUN, AND LUM-LOCHT. On the 30th of December, 1544, William, Earl of Montrose, granted 'to Alan Blayr, heir of the late David Blayr of Gartlethane, alias Barrestoun and his heirs, in fee and heritage the land called Gartlethane

(or Gartlachan), alias Barrestoun, lying in the Carietam (Carucate?) of the granter's land of Balgroquhan, with twenty-four acres lying in the south portion of the Drumlochtherhill, with the loning going from and to the mansion of Barrestoun to the lands called Akynhornfauld and Murhouse, with the privilege of cutting peats, etc., in the moors and mosses of Balgroquhan. To be holden of the granter blench for one penny. Signed and sealed at Kincardine, 30th December, 1544. Witnesses, Robert, Master of Montros, Patrick Moncur, Mr. Umfrid Dowglas, and Mr. James Sutherland, rector of Killern.'

In the Laing collection of charters and in the Diocesan Records of Glasgow I find three more references:

'Decimo septimo Marcii, Katrine Blair, dothyr to Alaine Blair of Barestoun, and oo (grandchild) to Wylzem Lothean in Lumlocht is rentailit in plaice of umquhil Ezabel Lothean, dothyer to wmquhil Alexander Lothean in Lumlocht, wyth Wylzem Lothean, son to Wylzem Lothean burges of Glasgo, in xxxiijs, iij penny land lynd in Lumlocht, according to the tenour of ane contract maid betwix the said wmquhil Alexander on the ane pairt and Wylzem Lothean, burges of Glasgo, on the vthyr pairt vnder the sign and subscription manvel of Schir Daud McKewyne, notar public of the dait at lumlocht, the xxvij day of Maii 1546, zeir.'

'Eodem day (viiij Apprylis 1557) is rentalit Walter Blar, son to Allaine Blar in Barastoun, in the xvjd land of Lumlocht, be consent and ourgevine of Katrine Blar, his sistyr, last rentalær thairof, wyth licence.'

'1564. The xxiiij day of Februar, Issobell Lotheane and Wylzeme Blair, hir son, ar rentailit in xxlljs land four d land in lumlocht, be decis of Wylzene Lotheane hir fadir, last renteller thairof, margaret Colquhone bruklad it induring hir Wedoheid.'

From what family of Blairs did they spring? and how long were they identified with the places mentioned? What are their arms?

ROBERT STERLING BLAIR.

15 Sacramento Street, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Replies

DENHOLM OF CRANSHAW (i. 351). David Denholm (or Denham), writer in Edinburgh, acquired in 1702 the lands and barony of Cranshaws, Berwickshire, from Sir John Swinton of that Ilk, and had a charter under the Great Seal of the same in 1704 (*Swintons of that Ilk and their cadets*, pp. 84, ccxxiv). He married Katherine Lundie, sister of James Lundie of Spittle, by whom he had three sons and two daughters: James, who succeeded him (*Services of Heirs*), David, Walter, Margaret, and Jean, who died before her father (*Morison's Decisions*, vol. viii, p. 6346). He died April 1, 1717, testaments dative being recorded December 13, 1717, and August 8, 1740 (*Commissariat of Edinburgh*,

Testaments, vols. 86 and 103) His relict, Katherine Lundie, died in 1748, her will, dated February 22, being recorded June 14, 1748. She nominated as her executrix and legatee her grand-daughter, Margaret Denholm, daughter of David Denholm, formerly of Broadmeadows, now shipmaster at Hull, and wife of George Graeme, merchant in Eyemouth. She left £1 to James Denholm of Cranshaws, and 10s. to David Denholm of Broadmeadows in full of any claim they might have (*Commissariat of Lauder, Testaments*, vol. 7). She had the life-rent of the lands of Howboig.

James Denholm of Cranshaws was served heir special to his father in the lands of Crainshaws, Jormburne (Thorneburne), Howboig, and Doighouses, April 17, 1718. He sold the lands in 1739 to James Watson of Saughton (*Swintons of that Ilk*, p. 84 n). He appears to have been married twice, and died at Edinburgh in 1767. By his will, dated January 22, recorded October 15, 1767, he nominated as his executor James Denholm, surgeon in Haddington, his eldest lawful son. He refers to a claim he had on the estate of his late uncle, James Lundie of Spittle, as nearest heir and representative, also to 'aliment due to me by Catherine Allan, daughter of deceased Archibald Allan, merchant in Annan, and James Gilkie, writer in Edinburgh, conform to agreement between them and Sophia Cockburn my spouse, dated 20th January, 1761' (*Commissariat of Edinburgh, Testaments*, vol. 120). I find no mention of him as Sir James Denholm.

Cranshaws, not Craushaws, is a parish in the Lammermoors.

A. W. G. B.

'GRAHAM' AS A NORTHUMBRIAN TABOO. The note in your January issue (i. 244) raises another question beyond folk-lore. Apparently in the north-east corner of Northumberland the name of Graham is of evil omen. Your correspondent puts this down to its likeness to 'grim,' and we are once more face to face with the old tale of Grim's Dyke.

But the first known man of the Graham name was not William Grim or Graym. He witnesses the foundation charter of Holyrood, c. 1128, as Will de G^ham,¹ and at Roxburgh he appears as witness to a grant of Berwickshire lands, in 1139, as William de Grahā.² Where was this Gra-ham whence he hailed? It has somehow come to be assumed that it was in Lincolnshire. If it cannot be with certainty located there, I should like to put it before Northumbrian antiquaries that they should search for it among the lost names of the coast round Holy Island. There, there have been many changes. Warndham has become Warrenton.³ In that county for six hundred years the surname Grey or Gray has been as common as from even earlier days was the affix 'ham.' Also, not only do we find David de Graham witnessing, c. 1195, a charter concerning Ellingham,⁴ but, in 1295, John de Graystones owning

¹ Bannatyne Club, *Liber de Sancte Crucis*.

² Raine's, *North Durham*, Appendix, charter xx.

³ *Northumberland History*, vol. 1., p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 11., p. 273.

property in Bamburgh, and representing the Burgh in Parliament,¹ and in 1281 John de Greynham, then constable of Bamburgh, witnessing a charter of Detchon.² When, moreover, the Montrose family were granted an English peerage, in 1722, they took for their title 'Earl Graham of Belford in the county of Northumberland.' Why? Was there any family tradition? In 1293 Nicolas de Graham, when asked to show by what warrant he claimed to have the fines from breaches of the assize of ale at Belford, said that he claimed the liberties from time immemorial, for he and all his ancestors had enjoyed them without interruption.³ I know that he would appear to have got these fines by his marriage with Marjory, co-heiress of the Muscamps, but if the statement is correctly transcribed he speaks of *his* ancestors. Anyway the Montrose family do not represent the issue of this Muscamp marriage, for they come off the main Graham line three generations before it.

Lastly, to look at their arms. The single scallop shell borne by Henry, c. 1230, growing into the three shells on a chief, which they have borne since c. 1260,⁴ would seem to 'call cousins' with the 'on a bend three escallops' which was carried by the owners of the lands of Goswick;⁵ while in the latter half of the 13th century the elder branch placed, above and around their Graham coat, the three boars' heads so common within 20 miles of the old town of Berwick.⁶ Bamburgh, Ellingham, Detchon, Belford, and Goswick are all within a short ride of Beadnell, where the fishermen still shy at the name of Graham. May it not be that the 'taboo' is a definite hereditary fear of the Grahams, handed down for some 800 years; and nothing to do with the Devil?

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

ACONEUZ (iii. 351). Is this not two words—the preposition *a*, *ab*, and *conuez*, contracted *cuez*, which is a variant of *conveth*=convivium? Convivium is defined by Ducange as *pastus*, *droit de past*, *cum tenens aut vasallus tenetur ex conditione feudi aut tenementi domino convivium semel aut pluries quotannis exhibere*. The service is well known to Scottish Legal Antiquaries. Professor Innes [*Scotch Legal Antiquities*, p. 205], quotes a Charter by Malcolm IV. to the Canons of Scone granting them from every plough belonging to the Church of Scone for their *conveth* at the Feast of All Saints a cow and two swine and certain other victuals which are mentioned. 'The same charter granted the Canons this privilege, that no one should take *conveth* from their men and lands except with their consent.' He gives another example early in the thirteenth century which considerations of space prevent me from quoting.

JOHN EDWARDS.

¹ *Northumberland History*, vol. 1., p. 120.

² Raine's *North Durham*, Appendix, ch. dccviii.

³ *Northumberland History* vol. 1., p. 378.

⁴ *Scottish Armorial Seals*. W. R. Macdonald, p. 140.

⁵ Raine's *North Durham*, p. 182.

⁶ *Scottish Armorial Seals*, p. 140.

JOHN DE PEBLIS (i. 321). Previous to his obtaining the bishopric of Dunkeld, John of Peblis held various appointments and benefices, most of which have been referred to by Bishop Dowden (*ante*, p. 321). Supplementing the particulars already given, it may be noted that in 1362 'John de Peblis' was treasurer of Glasgow (*Reg. Glas.*, p. 271), and collector in the deaneries of Lanark, Peebles, and Eskdale of the tenth penny levied for the ransom of King David (*Exchequer Rolls*, ii. p. 110); in 1369, by which time he had the M.A. degree, he acted as envoy to the Roman Court (*Ib.* p. 344); and three years later he was in receipt of a yearly pension of £20, payable out of Crown revenues (*Ib.* p. 395). Then, unless there were in Glasgow diocese two contemporary clerics bearing the same designation, the bishop had at one time intimate official connection with the town from which his name was derived. By Letters dated 8th March, 1362, King David II. desired the bailies and burgesses of Peebles to assign to 'John de Peblys, master of the hospital thereof,' a site for a chapel to be built and dedicated in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary.¹ The hospital here referred to was that of St. Leonard, near Peebles. It was under royal patronage, and on another occasion was possessed by a prospective prelate, George of Lawedre having vacated the mastership on his promotion to the bishopric of Argyle, about the year 1427. There is a charter, undated, but on good grounds believed to belong to about 1362-3, whereby John of Moravia granted certain lands to 'Sir John of Peblis' on behalf of the chapel; and by another undated document, ascribed to *circa* 1365-6, 'John of Peblys, perpetual vicar thereof,' with consent of the Bishop of Glasgow, conceded to the chapel certain oblations pertaining to the vicarage (*Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities*, pp. 65-75). On 13th January, 1368-9, 'John de Peblis' was a witness to proceedings in Glasgow Cathedral, and he was then designated a canon of Glasgow (*Reg. de Passelet*, p. 329).

R. R.

¹ *Peebles Rec.*, p. 8. The word 'fratri,' printed within square brackets and prefixed to 'Johanni,' seems to have been inserted under misapprehension. No trace of the word has been detected after a careful inspection of the original parchment, and so far as is known John of Peblis is not so designated elsewhere. Besides the 'Letters' there is also still preserved a charter dated 20th September, 1367, whereby King David endowed the chapel with the mills of Innerleithen. This charter having been produced to the Parliamentary Committee on Royal Burghs in 1793, and noticed in their Report, the author of *Caledonia* hastily concluded that Peebles was by it made a royal burgh, and his statement to that effect has often since misled the unwary. Peebles was a royal burgh in the time of the first King David, who bestowed part of its yearly ferm on Kelso Abbey (*Peebles in Early History*, pp. 33, 34, and authorities cited).

Notes and Comments

IN view of the growing importance attaching to early earthworks as pieces of national history, and the service to archaeology accomplished even by preliminary classifications, Scottish antiquaries must regard with interest and sympathy the 'Scheme for recording ancient defensive earthworks and fortified enclosures' resulting from the Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is embodied in a pamphlet prepared by an influential Committee numbering among its members Lord Balcarres as chairman, Sir John Evans, Mr. Haverfield, Mr. St. John Hope, and Mr. Round, and having Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, who has made this subject a specialty, as hon. secretary. The scheme invites archaeologists to prepare schedules of the earthworks in their districts with a view to ultimate publication of the lists. Although its scope does not seem to extend beyond England the central idea of the scheme is equally applicable to Scotland. The Committee suggest that the lists should be confined to defensive works, omitting barrows and boundary banks; also that careful record should be made of all finds or other data tending to determine the period of the structures or the races by whom they were raised.

It is proposed, say the Committee, that defensive works be classified as far as may be under the following heads:

- A*, Fortresses partly inaccessible.
- B*, Fortresses on hill-tops, with artificial defences.
- C*, Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Roman and British period.
- D*, Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling fosse.
- E*, Fortified mounts with traces of courts or baileys.
- F*, Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts.
- G*, Works which fall under none of these headings.

Category *F*, we believe, would find really no examples in Scotland. For the other classes there is a sufficiency of Scottish instances. Indeed the work of classification by lists, and rough general sketches and descriptions, has been well set agoing by Dr. Christison and Mr. Coles in papers contributed to the Society of Antiquaries and Dr. Christison's *Early Fortifications in Scotland*. No one will dispute the advantage likely to result from such a classification completely carried out, and we heartily commend the scheme for particular consideration by district

antiquarian societies, which could render immense service by recording in this manner their topographical antiquities.

It is gratifying to know that a Memorial Volume, containing a reprint of a number of articles by the late Mr. Thomas Graves *The late T. G. Law.* Law, LL.D., is to be published under the sympathetic editorship of Prof. Hume Brown. Mr. W. B. Laikie's little obituary notice, privately reprinted (with a good portrait) from the *Scots Law Times*, is an admirable tribute to Dr. Law's character both as a man and as an author, but it is well that we can now anticipate a more extended memoir of him, and a collection of representative essays from his pen. The Memorial Volume is to be issued at a guinea to subscribers whose names will be welcomed by Mr. John Ayling, 11 Thistle Street, Edinburgh.

MEMORIES of history cluster so thickly round the old fortifications of Berwick-on-Tweed that recent proposals to demolish a portion *Berwick-on-Tweed.* of the Edwardian walls have naturally evoked widespread and influential protest. The object of the vandal design being merely to furnish a site for a house, offers no cogency whatever for a step so destructive and irreparable. Not only residents of Berwick, but visitors from far and near take pleasure in her stones, and have long found in these old walls a chief attraction of its surviving antiquities. The Town Council was surely ill-advised to countenance a precedent, however restricted, for the obliteration of so outstanding a historic memorial of the March battles of long ago. We notice with satisfaction a report that H. M. Board of Works has intervened to procure adequate information on the state of the ancient structures.

Berwick was a fortress under what may be called the modern, as well as under the medieval regime. We learn that the Board of Works' report bears that the Elizabethan walls, under the superintendence of the War Department, are in excellent condition, whereas the Edwardian masonry, under the care of the town, is utterly neglected, and the fosse in places strewn with broken pitchers and refuse. This is not as it should be, considering the wonderful part which the old town played for so long as a walled city and frontier bulwark, sometimes Scottish and sometimes English, according to the fortune of war. Its modern townsmen ought by their public spirit to rebut all reproach of disrespect to their historical inheritance. No great expense would be required, and it would be money well bestowed to trim and preserve the ditches and remains of the walls, as the traditions of Berwick demand.

THE *Saga Book of the Viking Club* proves that the Club deserves well of all who love the North with its memories of sea kings and their part in the making of Britain. The issue for January, 1903, *The Viking Club.* has a contribution by Mr. A. W. Johnston in which he identifies Earl Harald's *bú* at Orfiara, mentioned in the *Orkneynga Saga* under

the year 1136, with the Bu of Orphir in Orkney associating it by a persuasive series of data with the 'splendid church' which the Saga puts beside it. At Orphir there was a remarkable round church of which only the apse and a small part of the wall of the nave now remains, and which is deemed to be the sole example in Scotland of a twelfth century church built in imitation of the church of the holy sepulchre. There is some discussion of the terms Bu and Borland. The reference in Bracton's *Tractatus* (ed. 1640 fo. 263) might be added 'Est autem dominicum quod quis habet ad mensam suam et propriè, sicut sunt Bordlandes Anglicè.'

AMONG the legends of the Reformation few have more romantic colour than that which tells of the determination of the magistrates of Glasgow Cathedral. Glasgow, instigated by Andrew Melville and others, to demolish the Cathedral. Workmen were, according to the story, actually convened for the operations when the crafts of the city rose in arms for the defence of the sacred edifice 'swearing with many oaths that he who did cast down the first stone should be buried under it,' and thus the rage of reforming zeal was stayed. Unheard of in the records of public proceedings at the time or in contemporary annals, and first set down half a century later in Spotiswood's *History*, this episode has of late been regarded with suspicion, and was almost relegated to the region of myth. But myths so circumstantial have usually some rational basis; and recent studies of Mr. Robert Renwick in the Kirk Session records have evoked an important opinion confirmatory of the late Dr. M'Crie's suggestion on the origin of the popular tradition—for such it must be assumed to have been, when the not very exact Archbishop Spotiswood took it for history. Myth much oftener comes from misconception than from fraud, and misconception appears to Mr. Renwick as the likeliest source of a picturesque, if transitory, error, whereby the crafts of Glasgow are glorified at the expense of the magistrates, and are made to appear as the saviours of the Cathedral. In 1574 the Town Council had imposed a tax for repairing 'the greit deokay and ruyne that the hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, throuch taking awaye of the leid, sclait, and uther graith thairof, in this trublus tyme bygane.' In 1586 the Kirk-Session were in communication with the Town Council regarding repairs. In March, 1588, 'the commissioneris and haill brethreine of the kirk and sessioun' resolved that the 'lache stepill' should 'be tane down to repair the masoun work of the kirk, and the bell and knok be sett on the hiche stepill.' The 'laiche stepill' was the north-west tower, which through a change of plan—possibly brought about by popular clamour—was saved at the time, and reserved for demolition by the renovators of the nineteenth century. Particulars regarding the abandonment of the scheme have not been recorded, but the retention of the tower had been resolved upon by 16th May, on which date 2s. was given 'for the mending of the lache stepill locke.' On 20th March, 1588-9 the treasurer was instructed to 'big the window under-neth the lache stepill,' and on 17th July, 1589, some money was expended in repairing 'the knok in the laiche stepill.' It had been intended that the material of the tower should be used in making alterations on the

Cathedral, perhaps the construction of a midwall and the transformation of choir and nave into two churches—which were ultimately effected half a century later—but the work actually carried out consisted of repairs on the choir, the requisite funds being raised by taxation. After due allowance for the exaggerative power of traditionary gossip, the proceedings of 1588 as detailed in the session records seem to afford the requisite foundation for the Archbishop's uncritical narrative. The group of known facts harmonises fairly well with the picturesque account of the doomed Cathedral saved by the patriotic crafts.

'WHEN was John Knox born?' It is Dr. Hay Fleming who raises the question at a rather uncomfortable juncture, just as the ecclesiastical authorities have arranged to celebrate Knox's quater-^{Date of} century in 1905 on the footing, accepted by all the biographers, ^{John Knox's} from Dr. M'Crie to Prof. Hume Brown, that he was born in ^{Birth.} 1505. There is conflict of testimony. Spotiswood, writing before 1639, says that Knox at his death in 1572 was in his 67th year. David Buchanan, editing Knox's history in 1644 (when Spotiswood's *History* was still unpublished), states independently, not only that he was 67 at death but that he was born in 1505. *Per contra* in Beza's *Icones*, published in 1580, the age is given as 57, and a letter to Beza by Sir Peter Young in 1579 gives it as 59. Discussion will hardly end with Dr. Hay Fleming's letter to *The Scotsman* (May 27), where the preferability of Beza's figure as much the earlier evidence is advanced with clearness and force.

When an analogous difficulty and dispute arose between three parishes contending for the honour of burying Saint Baldred, the dead saint was able to adjust everything on an amicable, if miraculous, footing by presenting his body for interment intact in triplicate. It is a pity we cannot settle a disquieting query by allowing Knox an excess over the orthodox single and indivisible birth.

THE Lord Advocate, Mr. Scott Dickson, found an entertaining subject for his address to the Glasgow Juridical Society last year on 'Scotland in the fifteenth century as represented in the Laws and Acts of Parliament.' His survey of the statute-book of the ^{Statute Law} period glanced over many curious matters illustrative of earlier ways ^{Revision.} of life, thought, legislation and litigation, and the Juridical Society is to be congratulated on adding it to the number of the Addresses published by them. A reference at the close to the demands of law reform and law revision suggested clearly enough that the lord advocate's attention to the subject was in part professional, and that his lordship's official share in the Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill, 1892, had something to do with what proved a happy selection. That Bill proposed to clear the statute-book, prior to the union of the kingdoms, of such Scottish statutes as are clearly obsolete or useless, or repealed by later acts, and it has been carried over into the present session. Naturally the legal profession has looked very critically at a measure which, while intended

only to eliminate unnecessary statutes long fallen into desuetude or expressly repealed, yet designs to remove many antique provisions which were the basis or the authoritative expression of many doctrines since adopted and embodied as principles of the constitution or the common law. Hence, therefore, a certain jealousy and a well-defined anxiety lest revision should unwittingly go beyond its purpose and involve a sacrifice of any substantial right conferred or conserved by some old and seemingly superfluous enactment. A special committee of the Incorporated Society of Law Agents has reported somewhat adversely, pointing out evidences of haste and inaccuracy, finding many faults with the execution of the revision, and demanding very careful reconsideration of the whole Bill. The report recommends that a set of experts in statute law should take up separate periods of half a century each. 'These old Acts,' conclude the reporters, 'have stood so long on the statute-book that undue haste in parting with them should be avoided. They have stood on the parliamentary rolls for several centuries, and very little is gained by hastening their repeal.'

Two members of committee dissent from the report only for the purpose of making emphatic protest against the whole object of the Bill. The one objector urges that the body of acts as revised for future currency would omit much of what is of deep historic interest: the other argues that the fragments which are allowed to stand will obtain additional prominence by being separated from a setting plainly not applicable to modern conditions. No serious disadvantage, he maintains, has arisen from the old statutes being left to the abrogation by desuetude 'while by cutting and carving upon their terms in the crude manner suggested, we should impair, and in great measure destroy, many interesting and valuable historical records.'

To take an illustration—a Reformation statute 'anent the abolissing of the Pape and his usurpit authoritie' in 1567: the deletion of that, sweeping though it is in its violent denunciation of papal authority as 'contumelious to the eternall God' and 'prejudiciall to our Soveranis authoritie and commonn weill of this Realme,' would be high treason to the national history. Every antiquary will think that the objectors have made out a strong case against the Bill.

THIS part completes the first volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*: the Index is being prepared, and will be issued, with the Titles and List of Contents, with the October part. In closing this volume the Editor very cordially thanks all those who have made this enterprise possible. Any communications for him should be addressed to The Editor, *Scottish Historical Review*, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

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